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### Slaying the Syncretistic Chimera: A Study of the Consensus Repetitus in Light of Confessionalization Theory

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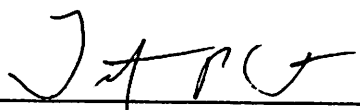
SLAYING THE SYNCRETISTIC CHIMERA: A STUDY OF THE *CONSENSUS REPETITUS*  
IN LIGHT OF CONFESSIONALIZATION THEORY

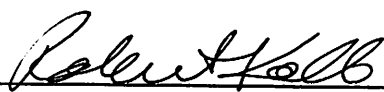
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A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of  
Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Historical Theology  
in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

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By  
Timothy R. Schmeling  
February 2014

Approved by   
Timothy Dost Advisor

  
Robert Kolb Reader

  
Gerhard Bode Reader



**To Annette, Sophia, and Andreas**

Sie gehören nicht einer Secte an, sondern der Kirche der Reformation, der von allen Greueln des Pabstthums gereinigten, der Kirche des reinen Bekenntnisses und der unverfälschten Sacramente, der rechtgläubigen Kirche, der wahren sichtbaren Kirche Gottes auf Erden. Alle Secten, welche von dem Pabstthum ausgegangen sind, waren ursprünglich lutherische Gemeinden. Die schweizerische, französische, holländisch, englisch und schottländisch sogenannten reformirten Secten waren alle ursprünglich lutherisch, und was sie noch Gutes haben, das verdanken sie der Reformation Luthers. Ihre ersten Märtyrer waren lutherische Märtyrer und sind von den Papisten als Lutheraner erschlagen, geköpft, verbrannt, eingemauert, erhenkt, ersäuft, durch Gift und dergleichen umgebracht worden. Zwar sagen diese Secten alle, sie seien vom Pabstthum noch mehr gereinigt, als die lutherische Kirche, aber ihre angeblich größere Reinigkeit besteht darin, daß sie auch diejenigen Lehren verworfen haben, welche sie mit ihrer Vernunft schlechterdings nicht reimen konnten. O, freuen Sie sich denn, daß Sie in die alte Kirche der Reformation eingetreten sind.

C. F. W. Walther, *Ansprachen und Gebete gesprochen in den Versammlungen der ev.-luth. Gesamtgemeinde und ihres Vorstandes* (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1888), 10–11.

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## PREFACE

The Lutheran University of Helmstedt (1576–1810), or the *Academia Julia Helmstadiensis*, had emerged as a late humanist center with statutes penned chiefly by none other than one of the formulators of the *Formula of Concord*, David Chytraeus (1531–1600), to become the third most frequented German university (after Leipzig and Wittenberg) before the Thirty Years' War (1618–48). Sixty-nine years after the death of the infamous Helmstedt theology professor, Georg Calixt (1586–1656), when Pietism and Rationalism were the controversial issues of the day, an anonymous German *Flugschrift* appeared, which omitted the name of the publisher and place of publication. It was titled, "Proof, that Christian-Evangelical Lutheran parents, who have heartfelt love for the non-falsified purity of the faith, cannot send their sons to study theology at Helmstedt without offending their conscience." How then did Helmstedt end up so excoriated by the Orthodox Lutherans during the Syncretistic Controversy (ca. 1645–86) that someone still felt compelled in 1725 to warn parents of prospective theology students not to let their sons study at Helmstedt? The answer to this question is, in part, the focus of this study on the Syncretistic Controversy and the *Consensus Repetitus* it bore. The Helmstedt theology of Georg Calixt and his collaborators, chief of which was Conrad Horneius (1590–1649), had clearly provoked a deep-seated reaction in Lutheran society to suffer from this much of an identity problem. In fact, a whole host of unsavory metaphors, such as Samaritanism, Babylonianism, and hermaphroditism, would be hurled at Helmstedt theology to argue that it was not only an "unLutheran" existential threat to Lutheranism, but also an illegal mixing of the religions. One of the most interesting of these metaphors to be emblematically employed as an illustration of Calixtinism's theological confusion inspired the title of this dissertation, the mythological Greek Chimera, which was part lion, goat, and snake or dragon. Clearly such polemics represent disciplinary measures of a confessionalized Orthodox Lutheranism, which was vying to preserve its own form of Lutheran identity in face of Helmstedt's conception of Lutheranism.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I want to give thanks to the Thrice-Holy God, who gave me the ability and perseverance to bring this work to fruition. My sincere thanks and appreciation are due to Timothy Dost, Robert Kolb, and Gerhard Bode as well as the rest of the Concordia Seminary faculty, for their steadfast encouragement, guidance, and counsel. The librarians at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, MO, Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany, Universität Leipzig in Leipzig, Germany, Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, PA, Luther Seminary in St. Paul, MN, as well as Bethany Lutheran College and Bethany Lutheran Theological Seminary in Mankato, MN have all been of invaluable help to me and I am truly indebted. Michael Smith, Gaylin Schmeling, and Paul Lange deserve thanks for reading the dissertation with a careful and scrutinizing eye. I am very grateful for my parents, Gaylin and Rebecca Schmeling, who provided me with their unwavering support. It was my father, moreover, who first instilled in me a love for the church, her history, and the Orthodox Lutheran divines. I want to thank my in-laws, Kermit and Marjorie Habben, for encouraging me to pursue graduate studies. Last but not least, I want to thank my wife, Annette, and two children, Sophia and Andreas, who graciously suffered far more than they should have to bring this study to light. Any errors in this work are my own.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Ap Apology of the Augsburg Confession
- BC Book of Concord
- BSLK *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*. 11th ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992.
- CA Augsburg Confession (Confessio Augustana)
- CR Melancthon, Philipp. *Corpus Reformatorum. Philippi Melancthonis opera quae superseset omnia*. Edited by Karl Bretschneider and Heinrich Bindweil. 28 vols. Halle: Schwetschke, 1834–60.
- CR1664 "Consensus Repetitus Fidei Vere Lutheranae in illis doctrinae capitibus, quae Contra puram & invariata[m] Augustanam Confessionem, aliosque libros Symbolicos, in Formulae Concordiae comprehensos, scriptis publicis hodieque impugnant D. Georgius Calixtus, Professor Helmstadiensis, eiusdemque complices," in *Consilia Theologica Witebergensia, Das ist / Wittenbergische Geistliche Rathschläge Deß theuren Mannes GOTTES / D. Martini Lutheri, seiner Collegen, und treuen Nachfolger / von dem heiligen Reformation-Anfang / biß auff jetzige Zeit / in dem Namen der gesampten Theologischen Facultät außgestellte Urteil / Bedencken / und offentliche Schrifften / In Vier Theilen / Von Religion-Lehr-und Glaubens-Ministerial und Kirchen-Moral-und Policy-Matrimonial-und Ehe-sachen / Und allerhand dabey vorfallenden Casibus, Ordentlich zusammen gebracht / Und zur Ehre GOTTES / Erhaltung der reinen Lehre / und Nutz der Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirchen / auf vielfältiges Begehren abgefertigt von Der Theologischen Facultät daselbsten*, 1:928–95. Frankfurt: Wust, 1664.
- CRL1666 *J. N. J. Consensus Repetitus Fidei Vere Lutheranae In illis Doctrinae capitibus, Quae Contra puram, & invariata[m] Augustanam Confessionem, aliosque; libros symbolicos, in Formulae Concordiae comprehensos, scriptis publicis impugnant D. Georgius Calixtus, Professor Helmstadiensis, eiusdemque complices. In gratiam Eorum, qui distantiam D. Calixti, Rintelensium, & aliorum Novatorum a fide Lutheranae in Synopsi intueri discipiunt, Ob praesentem Ecclesiae necessitatem, seorsim editus*. Edited by Abraham Calov. Wittenberg: Borckard, 1666.

- CRG1666 *Wiederholter Consens Des wahren Lutherischen Glaubens in denen Lehr-Puncten / welche Wieder die reine und unveränderte Augspurgische Confeßion / und andre in dem Christlichem Concordien-Buch begrieffene Glaubens Bekänntniß / in öffentlichen Schriften angefochten D. Georgius Calixtus, Professor zu Helmstädt / und die ihm hierinnen anhangen: umb derer willen / welche den unterscheid und die distantz D. Calixti, der Rinteler / und anderer Neulinge von den wahren Lutherischen Glaubens / in einem kurtzen Außzuge / sehen und erkennen wollen / Aus erheischender itziger Nothdurft der Kirchen absonderlich ausgefertigt.* Edited by Abraham Calov. Wittenberg: Borckard, 1666.
- CR1669 Strauch, Aegidius. *Consensus Repetitus Fidei Vere Lutheranae, in LXXXVIII. Punctis, Quae Contra Puram Et Invariantam Augustanam Confessionem, Aliosque Libros Symbolicos, In Formula Concordiae, Et Ipsomet Corpore Doctrinae Julio Comprehensos, Scriptis Publicis Ita Impugnarunt D. Georgius Calixtus, Ejusdemque Complices, ut Lutheranorum Titulo Indignos Sese Omnino Reddiderint, A Calumniis, Mendaciis Et Iniqvis Censuris D. Friderici Ulrici Calixti, Iussu Et Auctoritate Collegii Theologici in Academia Wittebergensi, vindicatus.* Wittenberg: Mevius and Schumacher, 1668.
- CR1846 *Inest theologorum Saxoniorum consensus repetitus fidei vere Lutheranae.* Edited by E. L. T. Henke. Marburg: Elwert, 1846.
- CT Catalogue of Testimonies
- EP Epitome of the Formula of Concord
- FC Formula of Concord
- LC Large Catechism
- KW Kolb, Robert, and Timothy Wengert, eds. *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000.
- SA Smalcald Articles
- SC Small Catechism
- SD Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord
- Tr Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope
- WA Luther, Martin. *Dr. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe.* Edited by J. K. F. Knaake et al. 65 vols. Weimar: Böhlau, 1883–1993.

WABr

Luther, Martin. *Dr. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Briefwechsel*. 18 vols. Weimar: Böhlau, 1930–85.

## ABSTRACT

Schmeling, Timothy R. "Slaying the Syncretistic Chimera: A Study of the *Consensus Repetitus* in Light of Confessionalization Theory." Ph.D. diss., Concordia Seminary, 2014. 478 pp.

The Syncretistic Controversy (ca. 1645–86) was the most important controversy of seventeenth-century Lutheranism. It was inaugurated by Helmstedt theology professor Georg Calixt (1586–1656), who sought mutual tolerance between Christendom's confessions on the basis of the fundamental agreement all shared by virtue of their adherence to the *Apostles' Creed* and theology of the first five centuries. In response the Electoral Saxon theological faculties promulgated the *Consensus Repetitus fidei vere Lutheranae* (1655), a confession against syncretism and reaffirmation of the *Augsburg Confession*. The convergence of this new act of confession building with Electoral Saxon alliance formation, social disciplining, identity formation, and state building suggests that a new analysis of the Syncretistic Controversy in light of Heinz Schilling's confessionalization paradigm is now in order. This dissertation addresses two questions: first, can the confessionalization paradigm provide a more penetrating and comprehensive explication of the development and propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus* than the limited number of previous studies? Second, what elements or aspects of the aforementioned confessionalization paradigm prove warranted or unwarranted in light of the development and propagation of this Lutheran symbol? To answer these questions the dissertation reviews the current state of syncretistic and confessionalization studies. It then narrates how Calixtine or Helmstedt theology came to challenge Lutheran identity. The Electoral Saxon and Ducal Saxon ecclesial-political engagement with Helmstedt theology leading up to the development of the *Consensus Repetitus* is then discussed. Finally, the breakdown of Electoral Saxony's ecclesial-political machinery against Helmstedt theology is explicated. The dissertation argues that the matrix of confessionalization theory provides a more comprehensive interpretation of the *Consensus Repetitus* by elucidating the interconnectivity of the rise and fall of Electoral Saxon confession building with the other marks of confessionalization. It also maintains that the unique process behind the *Consensus Repetitus* warrants a modification of the classical confessionalization paradigm, although ultimately this particular process collapsed or failed to reach fruition, preventing an assessment of its macro-historical impact.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM, RATIONALE, AND PROCEDURE OF THE DISSERTATION

Johannes Wallmann described the state of late sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century Lutheran research at the 1988 *Wissenschaftliches Symposion des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* with these words:

It would be wonderful if we got so far as to have gaps in the research on church history and the history of theology in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For the time being a few edifices tower over a large field on which every once in a while something is erected. In between: no gaps, but rather no man's land.<sup>1</sup>

In a 2006 historiographical survey of seventeenth-century German Lutheran studies, Robert Kolb largely resonated with Wallmann: "Church historians likewise have a host of tasks inviting them from the still relatively empty landscape Wallmann described almost two decades ago."<sup>2</sup>

Kolb goes on to suggest that the tide is beginning to turn. A notable contribution to the resurgent interest in seventeenth-century Lutheranism has been the historical theory of confessionalization. The classical theory of confessionalization is a paradigm grounded in the confession-building work of the Tübingen University professor, Ernst Walter Zeeden, but

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<sup>1</sup> Johannes Wallmann, "Lutherische Konfessionalisierung—Ein Überblick," in *Die lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland. Wissenschaftliches Symposion des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1988*, ed. Hans-Christoph Rublack (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1992), 47–48, translated in Robert Kolb, "Lutheran Theology in Seventeenth-Century Germany," *Lutheran Quarterly* 20 (2006): 429. See also James Kittelson, "The Confessional Age: The Late Reformation in Germany," in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. Steven Ozment (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982), 361–81; Hans-Christoph Rublack, "Zur Problemlage der Forschung zur lutherischen Orthodoxie in Deutschland," in *Die lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland. Wissenschaftliches Symposion des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1988*, ed. Hans-Christoph Rublack (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1992), 13–32. Note all foreign language citations unless indicated are done by the author.

<sup>2</sup> Kolb, "Lutheran Theology," 451.

developed by the Humboldt University professor, Heinz Schilling, and the Augsburg University professor, Wolfgang Reinhard, into a macro-historical process. Ute Lotz-Heumann summarizes the confessionalization paradigm as follows:

All in all Schilling und Reinhard see confessionalization as a fundamental process in society and as a process of modernization with the following results: first, confessional homogenization of the population; second, the intensification of state formation (i.e., confessionalization as the first phase of Absolutism because the state gained control over the church); third, a general process of social disciplining resulting from the discipline measures of church and state; fourth, the development of cultural and political identities in which the confessional factor played a key role. The concept of confessionalization thus sees the three confessional churches not from the point of view of their doctrinal differences but from a comparative perspective that stresses the functional similarities of the confessions, for instance, their contributions to the development of social control.<sup>3</sup>

According to Kolb, one region of the "relatively empty landscape" of late sixteenth and seventeenth-century Lutheran research where "further work must be done" is the Syncretistic Controversy. More specifically, a new investigation is needed "on the interaction between Calixt and his opponents within the Lutheran churches."<sup>4</sup> The Syncretistic Controversy narrowly defined occurred ca. 1645–86. It was inaugurated by the theological synthesis, pejoratively dubbed syncretism<sup>5</sup> of Helmstedt theology professor Georg Calixt as well as his chief

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<sup>3</sup> Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Confessionalization," in *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1:498. See also Heinz Schilling, "Confessional Europe," in *Visions, Programs, and Outcomes*, vol. 2 of *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, ed. Thomas A. Brady Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1996), 641–82.

<sup>4</sup> Kolb, "Lutheran Theology," 440.

<sup>5</sup> The term "syncretism" was introduced into the controversy by the Straßburg theological professor, Johann Dannhauer (1603–66), to characterize the theology of Georg Calixt and his adherents as a *confusio Religionum*. See Johann Dannhauer's 1648 *Mysterium Syncretismi Detecti, Proscripti, Et Symphonismo Compensati* (Straßburg: Spoor, 1664), par. 31. This Greek term had already been explained and popularized by the Renaissance Humanist, Desiderius Erasmus (1467–1536). See Klemens Löfler, "Syncretism," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), 14:383–84; Paul Tschackert, "Synkretismus," in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Albert Hauck, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897), 19:239–43. Erasmus writes, "Sugkrhtismo.j, 'Syncretism' was the word used in a Cretan proverb whenever it happened that those who recently seemed to be most deadly enemies suddenly came into complete agreement. This often happens, especially when some misfortune strikes which is common to them both. Plutarch in the essay 'On Brotherly Love' reviews the proverb and explains it in the following words: 'Furthermore it

collaborator, Conrad Horneius. In a recent article for *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*,

Wallmann provides the following description of the controversy:

The Syncretistic Controversy is the name for the longstanding controversy in the second half of the seventeenth century between Lutheran High Orthodoxy and the church union efforts, suspected of religious syncretism, emanating from G. Calixt and the University of Helmstedt. Having moved from confessional polemics to irenicism under the impact of the Thirty Years' War, Calixt had promoted tolerance and church peace between the confessions on the basis of the ancient church fundamental doctrine [*Lehrfundaments*] (*consensus antiquitatis*) common to all. After the Jesuits rejected his universal church union plan, which excluded the primacy of the papacy, Calixt gave theological legitimacy to the inner-Protestant union efforts between the Lutherans and Reformed (among others Brandenburg-Prussia and Hessen-Darmstadt), imperially recognized in the Peace of Westphalia. The Syncretistic Controversy broke out in strict Lutheran East Prussia, after the failed 1645 Colloquy of Thorn, when the Great Elector, Friedrich Wilhelm, called adherents of Calixt (Ch. Dreier, J. Laternann) to chairs at the University of Königsberg and C. Myslenta, the leader of East Prussian Orthodoxy, was suspended from his office. Nearly all of Orthodox Lutheranism allied itself with Königsberg Lutheran Orthodoxy. A massive amount of polemic literature (among others J. Hülsemann, J. K. Dannhauer, A. Calov, Ä. Strauch) opposed Calixt's restriction of church fundamental doctrine [*Lehrfundaments*] to the Apostles' Creed on account of the marginalizing of the Lutheran central doctrines of justification and the Lord's Supper. The attempt of Electoral Saxon Orthodoxy in Wittenberg and Leipzig to exclude Helmstedt Syncretism from Lutheranism through a new confession (*Consensus repetitus fidei*

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will be necessary to keep this in mind, when brothers are quarrelling, to preserve our familiarity with the brother's friends and to associate with them especially at that time; but to avoid and shun their enemies, following that example at least of the Cretans, who often fought among themselves in factions and intestine strife, but when an enemy from outside attacked them they put aside their difference and stood together; and this was called "syncretism" by them." See Desiderius Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974–), 31:60. The Heidelberg professor and Reformed irenicist, David Pareus (1548–1622), interpreted *syncretism* in a positive manner when he called for pious syncretism (*pio syncretismo*) between Lutherans and Calvinists against Roman Catholicism. See David Pareus, *Irenicum sive De Unione Et Synodo Evangelicorum Concilianda Liber Votivus: Paci Ecclesiae & desideriiis pacificorum dicatus* (Frankfurt: Rosa, 1614), 66. Employing the term in a pejorative manner, the Wittenberg professor, Leonhard Hutter (1563–1616), countered Pareus by arguing that his "pious syncretism" was really "samaritanism; i.e., a mixing and confusion of two distinct religions with respect to the whole foundation of faith." See Leonhard Hutter, *Irenicum Vere Christianum: Sive De Synodo Et Unione Evangelicorum Non-Fucata Concilianda, Tractatus Theologicus* (Wittenberg: Helwig, 1618), 23. The Electoral Saxon theological professors and chief opponents of Calixtinism, Johann Hülsemann (1602–61) and Abraham Calov (1612–86), retained the pejorative sense of this term articulated by Hutter and Dannhauer. They ensured that the theology of Georg Calixt and his adherents would be known as syncretism among Orthodox Lutherans. See Johann Hülsemann, *Judicium De Calixtino Desiderio Et Studio Sarciendae Concordiae Ecclesiasticae, Bono, Animo, Publicae, Luci Expositim Freibergae* (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1651), par. 15; Abraham Calov, *Systema Locorum Theologicorum E Sacra Potissimum Scriptura, & Antiquitate, Nec Non Adversariorum Confessione, Doctrinam, Praxin & Controversiarum Fidei, Cum Veterum, Tum Imprimis Recentiorum, Pertractationem Luculentam Exhibens* (Wittenberg: Hartmann and Wilcke, 1655–77), 1:122–24.



*vere lutheranae*, 1655) failed because of the denial of signatures by the Jena theologians (J. Musaeus). Temporarily interrupted after the death of Calixt, the controversy flamed up anew during the Colloquies of Kassel (1661) and Berlin (1662–1663). Friedrich Ulrich Calixt (1622–1701) in Helmstedt and Calov in Wittenberg were the spokesmen. On the basis of conciliatory *Gutachten* (among others from Ph. J. Spener, 1670), Duke Ernst the Pious of Saxon-Gotha sent a peace delegation a number of times to the Protestant courts and universities. The controversy ended after the death of Calov in 1686 or was extinguished by the controversies between Orthodoxy and Pietism.<sup>6</sup>

### Statement of the Problem and Hypotheses

The focus of this dissertation is defined by two questions: can the confessionalization paradigm provide a more penetrating and comprehensive explication of the development and propagation of the Electoral Saxon *Consensus Repetitus Fidei Vere Lutheranae*,<sup>7</sup> composed in 1655, but published in 1664 than the limited number of previous studies? What elements or aspects of the aforementioned confessionalization paradigm prove warranted in light of the development and propagation of this Lutheran symbol?

This statement of the problem is prompted by the aforementioned work of Robert Kolb. He argues that the merits of the confessionalization paradigm represent one of the most pressing questions facing current scholars of seventeenth-century Lutheranism or the period known as Lutheran Orthodoxy.<sup>8</sup> He also maintains that the interplay between Georg Calixt and his adversaries within the context of their territorial churches requires further exploration.

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<sup>6</sup> Johannes Wallmann, "Synkretistischer Streit," in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Hans Dieter Betz et al., 4th ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998–2007), 7:1969.

<sup>7</sup> The 1664 and 1666 editions of the *Consensus Repetitus* will be cited by chapter/s and point. The 1669 and 1846 editions of the confession, which have replaced the previous editions' chapters and nonconsecutive points with consecutive points, will be cited only by point. This system will help the reader track down references in any edition of the *Consensus Repetitus*. See the abbreviations.

<sup>8</sup> The historiographical term "Lutheran Orthodoxy" has been criticized for being too myopic. The general term "Confessional Era" and the more specific "Lutheran Confessionalization" have been proposed by advocates of confessionalization as more suitable alternatives to describe this period. This study retains the term "Lutheran Orthodoxy" because the aforementioned substitutes really refer to longer periods or more than one period and have not yet displaced the term "Lutheran Orthodoxy" in academic usage. The periodization of Lutheran Orthodoxy has been disputed as well. This study affirms with Kolb that the "Late Reformation" (1546–80) should be distinguished

This study anticipates that the matrix of confessionalization theory will provide a fuller and a more acute explanation of the development and propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus*. But it also expects that not all the facets of the paradigm will be germane. As an explanation of how the theological and ecclesial-political question of the nature of Lutheranism drove this controversy and the development of the *Consensus Repetitus*, it also represents a contribution to the field of confessionalization in the context of seventeenth-century Lutheranism.

### Thesis

Prompted by a clash of state-backed Lutheran theological identities grounded in different interpretations of alternate *corpora doctrinae*, the Electoral Saxon *Consensus Repetitus* represents the symbolic norm of a new internal Lutheran trans-territorial process of directed change, last attempted by the *Formula of Concord*. This included confession building, alliance formation, social disciplining, identity formation, and ecclesial political directorship (of Corpus Evangelicorum) building. The Electoral Saxons attempted to import and cultivate their own dogmatic reading of the *Book of Concord* to theologically and legally exclude Helmstedt theology from Lutheranism via *Augsburg Confession*-driven polemic. Furthermore this expanded the theological-political leadership of the Director of the *Corpus Evangelicorum* against Lutheran (Welf [Guelph]) and Calvinist (Hohenzollern) rivals. This new process began to unravel after 1655 for the following five reasons: first the resistance of those same conflicting confessionalized Lutheran identities over against Electoral Saxon theological and authority

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from Lutheran Orthodoxy and that Lutheran Orthodoxy should be dated approximately 1580–1750. See Robert Kolb, *Luther's Heirs Define His Legacy: Studies on Lutheran Confessionalization* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), ix; Robert Kolb, ed., *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675* (Brill: Leiden, 2008), 10–12. See also Olivier Fatio, "Orthodoxy," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3:180–83; Markus Matthias, "Lutherische Orthodoxie," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–2004), 25:464–85; Johannes Wallmann, "Orthodoxie, 1. Historisch, a) Lutherische Orthodoxie," in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Hans Dieter Betz et al., 4th ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998–2007), 6:696–702.

claims, second the breakdown of the Electoral Saxon front against Calixtine theology, third the lack of a *Formula of Concord*-like subscription-building campaign, fourth the construction and implications of the *Consensus Repetitus* itself, and fifth the degeneration of subsequent polemics into invective.

In addition to bearing the classic marks of confessionalization up to 1655, the process behind the *Consensus Repetitus* was unique for several reasons. First, it thrived after 1650. Second, it revolved around the question of the theological content essential to Lutheranism. Third, the process attempted to build a new Lutheran identity by supplanting other territorial identities with Electoral Saxon Lutheran identity. Fourth, it was driven by theologians who attempted to use imperial law and the state-building objectives of their sovereign to accomplish theological ends and build their own theological hegemony. These theologians would also defy subsequent Saxon electors when the latter stood in the way of the process, which stalled out after 1655. Where they did succeed was in getting Lutheran society to define itself over against Calixtine theology and with respect to identity formation and social disciplining helped to bring about the fall of Calixtine theology. The process also curbed rival ecclesial-political agendas to that of the Director of the Evangelicals as well as contributing intentionally and inadvertently to the state building of later Saxon electors.

### **Review of Syncretistic Studies**

The survey of the status of syncretistic studies (Appendix One) has shown some weaknesses of previous scholarship and raised new unanswered questions. Whereas older scholarship was focused on the Syncretistic Controversy, recent scholarship has focused more on penetrating analyses of the persons or parties involved in the controversy. Moreover the subject of Georg Calixt has dominated recent syncretistic studies. Since 1950 seven German monographs have been produced on Georg Calixt, a critical edition of his works has been

initiated, and a number of books and essays have discussed him. Only one significant German study has been produced on the Syncretistic Controversy in modern times, Heinz Staemmler's recently published 1963 German dissertation on the *Consensus Repetitus*. It largely focused on the Electoral Saxons' role in the controversy.<sup>9</sup>

Shifting foci have also occurred within Calixtine scholarship. Older scholars like Heinrich Schmid, Wilhelm Gaß, and E. L. T. Henke centered much of their attention on whether or not Georg Calixt was a legitimate heir of the Reformation and/or Lutheranism, but their analysis has often been colored by their theological disposition, their concept of humanism, their concept of the new scholasticism, and their own historical context. The question of legitimacy has also overshadowed the question of how Georg Calixt read and understood the various documents of the Lutherans Confessions. The little that has been said echoes Henke's assessment that Calixt at best understood the *Augsburg Confession* to be superfluous. With the exception of surveys of church history and some essays by such reputable scholars as Inge Mager and Johannes Wallmann, newer scholars have been less interested in Calixt's Lutheranism, his role in Lower Saxon Lutheranism, and his place in the Syncretistic Controversy. While Calixt's irenic theology has been penetrated as never before, newer Calixtine scholarship has been driven by ecumenical questions and the notion of Old Catholic (Erasmian, or humanist) irenicism. Conversely the most recent scholarship by Andreas Merkt began to explore Calixt as a confessional irenicist. In addition some scholars like Hermann Schüssler have alluded to Calixt's retention of Lutheran concepts and references to the *Augsburg Confession*. If Georg Calixt advocated a Lutheran

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<sup>9</sup> The only exceptions to this are two nineteenth-century monographs on the Syncretistic Controversy, two early twentieth-century dissertations on Königsberg syncretism, one tome on Swedish syncretism, as well as mentions in church histories and theological dictionaries. See Appendix One.

irenicism grounded on a particular reading of the Lutheran Confessions, this would contribute to a new understanding of the Syncretistic Controversy.

The *Consensus Repetitus'* failure to achieve universal Lutheran acceptance has repeatedly been reduced to a struggle between Melanchthonian Renaissance humanism and Gnesio-Lutheran Orthodox scholasticism.<sup>10</sup> Even the most current and seminal study of the *Consensus Repetitus* misunderstands this point. Heinz Staemmler not only roots the Syncretistic Controversy and the failure of the *Consensus Repetitus* in Helmstedt humanism and Electoral Saxon scholasticism, but also in the proto-rationalism of Jena. This represents inadequate concepts of humanism and the new seventeenth-century scholasticism. Paul Oskar Kristeller and Richard A. Muller have shown that Renaissance humanism and the new scholasticism respectively are not philosophical systems that would determine particular theologies, but approaches to scholarship.<sup>11</sup> Harry Mathias Albrecht's reassessment of Johann Musaeus has revealed some of

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<sup>10</sup> Robert Kolb distinguishes Gnesio-Lutherans from Philippists as follows: "Within in this late medieval context the Philippists appear as the conservatives and the Gnesio-Lutherans as radicals. From the perspective of the year 1500 the Philippists took relatively more conservative positions on ecclesiastical usages and on doctrinal questions in the area of theological anthropology. In contrast, the Gnesio-Lutherans were more radical, both in their rejection of some medieval usages and in their use of Luther's radical critique of late medieval views of the relationship between God and his creatures, of the role of the law in the Christian life, and of the power of human creatures to contribute to their own salvation." In addition to conflicting attitudes toward anthropology and medieval ritual, Kolb argues the Gnesio-Lutherans had "a desire to keep secular officials from meddling in church affairs (along with a willingness to use secular governments when they did not disagree with ecclesiastical leaders)," while Philippists had "a more placid relationship with governments and with other theologians." See Robert Kolb, "Dynamics of Party Conflict in the Saxon Late Reformation: Gnesio-Lutherans vs. Philippists," in *Luther's Heirs Define His Legacy: Studies on Lutheran Confessionalization* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), I:2 and I:16–17 respectively. That said, all the Late Reformation Lutherans with the exception of Amsdorf trained under Melanchthon and thereby became Melanchthonian in one way or another. For this reason this study calls Calixtine Lutheranism Philippist, rather than Melanchthonian. While Calixtine theology developed Philippist doctrinal positions in new ways, even this designation is not completely satisfactory.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, ed. Michael Mooney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 22–23; Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics: The Rise and Development of Reformed Orthodoxy, ca. 1520 to ca. 1725*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 34–37; Richard A. Muller, "Approaches to Post-Reformation Protestantism: Reframing the Historiographical Question," in *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 15–17; Richard A. Muller, "Scholasticism and Orthodoxy in the Reformed Tradition: Definition and Method," in *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 25–46.

the problems with Staemmler's proto-rationalist interpretation of the Ducal Saxons by arguing that they represented a third Lutheran way between Helmstedt theology and Electoral Saxon theology. Thus Albrecht makes an important first step toward a new investigation of the Electoral Saxon and Ducal Saxon response to the Helmstedt theology by moving beyond an explanation of the controversy in terms of conflict between humanism, scholasticism, and proto-rationalism. His interpretation, however, is largely limited to Musaeus' ecclesiology and does not interpret the role of each party involved in the context of their ecclesial-political setting.

The survey of the status of syncretistic studies (Appendix One) has uncovered evidence indicating the *Consensus Repetitus* merits investigation in light of the confessionalization paradigm. Historians have recognized that from the beginning the Lutheran Confessions were at the center of the controversy and that a new Lutheran symbol was forged by the Electoral Saxons to oppose Helmstedt syncretism and reaffirm the *Augsburg Confession*. Three different parties or schools of thought—the Braunschweigers, Ducal Saxons, and Electoral Saxons have been identified. Heinrich Schmid and Heinz Staemmler demonstrated that the *Consensus Repetitus* was more than a mere reaffirmation of the *Book of Concord*. C. George Fry introduced the sociological concept of identity to account for these different parties or schools of thought. Johann Mosheim alluded to the politics involved in the controversy and the legal implications of the *Consensus Repetitus*. Isaak Dorner indicated that even before the controversy, the Electoral Saxons have been trying to claim a kind of theological primacy in Lutheranism which they supported by the Saxon elector's directorship of the *Corpus Evangelicorum*. Tschackert adds that the Saxon elector's anti-Calvinist politics, specifically targeted against the Palatinate and Brandenburg, played a role in the controversy. Sven Göransson's work suggests that not only Hohenzollern politics, but also Swedish politics are also factors. Heinz Staemmler shows that the Saxon elector and his theologians opposed the Helmstedt theologians in the development of the

*Consensus Repetitus*. But since these studies all antedate the development of confessionalization theory, the time is ripe for an investigation of the development and propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus* in light of confessionalization theory.

### **Review of Confessionalization Studies**

The grand narrative of confessionalization as a macro-historical process (Appendix Two) is not without its problems as the review of confessionalization criticism demonstrates.

Nevertheless, this study maintains with Robert Kolb that confessionalization theory is a "healthy and helpful framework for studying the [early modern] period" as well as the development and propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus*. Kolb explains the value of confessionalization theory in much the same way as Bodo Nischan made his case for the use of the theory in his seminal study, *Prince, People, and Confession: The Second Reformation in Brandenburg*:

One benefit of the approach to this period embodied in the concept "confessionalization" is its emphasis on the social and political context in which religious ideas made their impact on early modern European culture. In the midst of this healthy and helpful framework for studying the period, however, historians dare not lose sight of why the phenomenon is called "confessionalization." According to the perceptions of those who experienced, shaped, and conceptualized the social-political developments in this period, their roots were largely to be found in the religious confession of the common people and the leading figures of state society—and in the theological basis of this confession.<sup>12</sup>

While applying the merits of the classical confessionalization theory as an interpretative paradigm for the development and propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus*, this study will employ the criticisms and proposed modifications to the paradigm advanced by previous scholars. In contrast to the classical theory, scholars have proposed that confessionalization is interpretive model of theological, social, and political change that occurs well after 1650, but did

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<sup>12</sup> Kolb, *Luther's Heirs*, x. See also Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People, and Confession: The Second Reformation in Brandenburg* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 1–3.

not always succeed in achieving its objectives. In this process, the clergy normally forged a confessional symbol or standard that shaped the identity of a confession, territory, or community, although the degree to which that identity penetrated a society naturally varied. This identity is consolidated from above by the clergy, often with the support of the state through social disciplining. Still such consolidation also occurred from below and without the state. When the clergy collaborated with the state to form disciplined subjects marked with a desired identity, the clergy did not act as mere pawns of the state, but their alliance often resulted in wider theological consolidation and state building. Confessionalization as a macro-historical process that significantly contributed to the development of modern society or a fundamental modernizing process of social transformation has proven to be problematic.<sup>13</sup>

### **Rationale, Significance, or Need for the Study**

The Syncretistic Controversy was without a doubt the most significant controversy of the period known as Lutheran Orthodoxy. This controversy was so important because it centered on the question of what it meant to be Lutheran.<sup>14</sup> Not since the heady days of the development and propagation of the *Formula of Concord* had the question of what it meant to be authentically Lutheran been raised to this extent. It should come as no surprise then that Lutherans have often come away from the Syncretistic Controversy aligning their own conception of Lutheranism with one party or another, a combination of the parties involved, or a synthesis of all three parties.<sup>15</sup>

In contemporary American Lutheranism, when the question of Lutheran identity once again looms large, one can profitably return to a study of the Syncretistic Controversy.

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<sup>13</sup> See Appendix Two for the specific advocates of these views.

<sup>14</sup> Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation*, 5th ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 100.

<sup>15</sup> See Eric W. Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 134–35; Mayes, “Syncretism,” 315; Fry, “Three Lutheran,” 138–39.



In 1958 American Lutherans were newsworthy enough to find themselves on the cover of *Time* magazine. They had not done anything sensational, but they stood out in an era when American churches of different denominations were beginning to look and act alike as they moved to suburbia and assimilated to mainstream America. Lutherans were influenced by the same forces, but their strong confessional nature, with a stress on theology rather than practical Christian living, as well as their liturgy and ethnicity, set this tradition apart from other Protestants, suggesting a promising future. They were Protestants with a difference at a time when differences were supposed to be dissolving in the American melting pot. Whether or not the 1950s was a golden age for American Lutheranism, there is the wide perception that the years that have followed are posing serious questions to Lutheran identity.<sup>16</sup>

At the heart of the question about Lutheran identity is the Lutheran Confessions. Robert Preus and Johann Wallmann have rightly observed that the Lutheran Confessions played an important role in the Syncretistic Controversy.<sup>17</sup> Charles Arand has shown that Lutherans have been reading the Lutheran Confessions differently in nineteenth- and twentieth-century American Lutheranism resulting in different conceptions of Lutheranism.<sup>18</sup> The Syncretistic Controversy reveals that Lutherans were doing the same thing in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European Lutheranism. The controversy did not just compel Lutherans to reexamine their confessional hermeneutics, it also challenged notions of the sufficiency of the ancient

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<sup>16</sup> Richard Cimino, ed., *Lutherans Today: American Lutheran Identity in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), ix. See also Mark Noll, "American Lutherans Yesterday and Today," in *Lutherans Today: American Lutheran Identity in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, ed. Richard Cimino (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), 3–25.

<sup>17</sup> See Robert Preus, "The Influence of the Formula of Concord on the Later Lutheran Orthodoxy," in *Discord, Dialogue, and Concord; Studies in the Lutheran Reformation's Formula of Concord*, ed. Lewis Spitz and Wenzel Lohff (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 86–101; Johannes Wallmann, "Die Rolle der Bekenntnisschriften im älteren Luthertum," in *Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Zeitalter des Barock: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1995), 46–62. However, their contention that the Lutheran Confessions were not used extensively in the period of Lutheran Orthodoxy has begun to be disputed. See Kenneth G. Appold's study of Wittenberg disputations, *Orthodoxie als Konsensbildung: Das theologische Disputationswesen an der Universität Wittenberg zwischen 1570–1710* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004). That said, Arthur Carl Piepkorn already recognized Lutheran Orthodoxy's use of the *Book of Concord* in disputations in 1961, but he still maintained it made limited use of the *Book of Concord* in dogmatic works after Leonard Hutter. See his "Walther and the Lutheran Symbols" in *The Sacred Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions: Selected Writings of Arthur Carl Piepkorn, Volume Two*, ed. Philip J. Secker (Mansfeld: CEC Press, 2007), 155.

<sup>18</sup> For a study of nineteenth- and twentieth-century American Lutheran confessional hermeneutics see Charles P. Arand, *Testing the Boundaries: Windows to Lutheran Identity* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995).

creeds as well as the *Book of Concord* itself. While Arthur Carl Piepkorn surmises the following from the controversy, not all Lutherans have come to his conclusion:

The Book of Concord itself indicates that no further creedal statements are necessary. Three and three quarter centuries of Lutheran experiences testify to the rightness of this position. In the seventeenth century oft-married Abraham Calov attempted to have his *Consensus Repetitus* adopted as a supplementary symbol; his contemporaries rightly rebuffed the effort.<sup>19</sup>

The theologians of Lutheran Orthodoxy, who defended, cultivated, and explored the inheritance of the Reformation within the catholic tradition, have loomed large on the pages of nineteenth- and twentieth-century theology. Repristination theology, Erlangen theology, mediating theology, Neo-Lutheranism, and even Neo-Orthodoxy have all felt the need to engage with Lutheran Orthodoxy. If recent critical editions of Orthodox Lutheran writers, translations of their works, and historical monographs are any indication, the new millennium will continue to dialogue with the formative period of Lutheran Orthodoxy. But the historical setting for this theology largely remains *terra incognita*, particularly for the English-speaking world. The study of the Syncretistic Controversy is so valuable because no other controversy contextualizes and reveals the theological interaction of so many Orthodox Lutheran divines.

Confessionalization studies have taken a great interest in the parallelism of the great western confessions. The confessionalization paradigm sees the roles that Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism, Anglicanism, and Calvinism<sup>20</sup> played in the development of modern society as

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<sup>19</sup> Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "No New Symbols," in *The Sacred Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions: Selected Writings of Arthur Carl Piepkorn, Volume Two*, ed. Philip J. Secker (Mansfeld: CEC Press, 2007), 104. Arthur Carl Piepkorn adds, "Do we need new Symbols to supplement the old? The desire for additional Symbols is a more or less perennial one. It is traceable to as early a period as the fourth century in the Western Church, while in our church it was precisely in the days of Abraham Calov, in the era of Orthodoxy, that the inadequacy of the Symbols was alleged because of the impotence of the orthodox party in proving its point against what it was pleased to call the 'syncretism' of Georg Calixt," in "The Significance of the Lutheran Confessions for Today," in *The Sacred Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions: Selected Writings of Arthur Carl Piepkorn, Volume Two*, ed. Philip J. Secker (Mansfeld: CEC Press, 2007), 96. See also FC, SD, Rule and Norm, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lutherans used the terms "Calvinism" and "Calvinist" to refer to "Reformed theology" and "Reformed figures," not only Orthodox Calvinism. For example, the 1563 Heidelberg

interchangeable. The Lutheran Syncretistic Controversy has cross-confessional parallels that remain unexplored.<sup>21</sup>

In an essay on Helmstedt theology, Johann Wallmann asserted the need for a new study of the Syncretistic Controversy. He writes, "A renewed reappraisal of the Syncretistic Controversy must pay greater attention, in the footsteps of the work of Göransson, to the entanglement of the theological discussion with the political areas of conflict of the time."<sup>22</sup> This dissertation will take up Johannes Wallmann's mandate and pursue a study of the propagation and development of the *Consensus Repetitus* in light of confessionalization theory. It will supplement the seminal work already accomplished by numerous Calixtine scholars, Sven Göransson, Heinz Staemmler, and Harry Mathias Albrecht with an interpretation of the failure of the *Consensus Repetitus* to achieve universal Lutheran acceptance due to the clash of competing interpretations of Lutheranism backed up by confessionalized states.

### Research Procedures

This dissertation is a historical study of the Syncretistic Controversy, and more specifically the *Consensus Repetitus* it bore. Therefore, it will lay out the course of the controversy while drawing historically appropriate conclusions appropriate to each chapter's material. This dissertation also represents a test case of the merits of the confessionalization theory for elucidating the development and propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus*. The lens of

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Catechism does not teach double predestination. Thus the terms "Calvinization," "Calvinism," and "Calvinist" are used here in this broad sense. However, Lutherans often distinguished Arminians from Calvinists. In fact, they used the Calvinists' treatment of the Arminians as proof that the Calvinists were incapable of the pious syncretism with Lutheranism that they claimed to desire.

<sup>21</sup> Such a study is beyond the scope of this particular dissertation. Still a rather interesting test case for the merit of parallelism would be a comparison of the Lutheran Syncretistic Controversy and the 1655 *Consensus Repetitus* with the Reformed Amyraut Controversy and the 1675 *Formula Consensus Helvetica*. See Brian G. Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth-Century France* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2004).

<sup>22</sup> Wallmann, "Zwischen," 78.

confessionalization theory dares not limit the parameters of the narrative or its analysis. Still confessionalization theory will provide an additional set of questions for the narrative presented in the chapter conclusions. The dissertation conclusion will then provide a final interpretation of the development and propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus* and ascertain the merits of confessionalization theory as an interpretive model for the events of the controversy.

Therefore, the dissertation evaluates which facets of the confessionalization paradigm prove useful in providing a comprehensive theological, social, and political picture of the development and propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus*. On that note, John M. O'Malley's basic criticism of the confessionalization paradigm should be heeded.

More basic is the problem raised by the application of any such "model" to historical data. The results the model yields conform to the grid the model imposes. The model becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. It puts a net on the sources that will capture only what the net will hold, letting everything else slip through. As we have repeatedly seen, this is a fundamental problem raised by any category of interpretation, but it is particularly acute when the category is as sharply yet comprehensively defined as this one.<sup>23</sup>

But this word of caution will not stymie the investigation of historical events behind the *Consensus Repetitus* in light of an interpretative model. What historian does not explore a topic without some preconceived notions or bias? Proper procedure does not let the paradigm create the narrative, but it lets the narrative test the paradigm. To be sure, there is also the danger that the confessionalization paradigm becomes a wax nose. The narrative could be made to prove the confessionalization paradigm, provided the theory is augmented enough. To address this problem, this study will begin with the touchstone of Schilling's classic theory of confessionalization, while assessing its conclusions in light of new research. That said, augmentations to the theory by later scholars will be entertained for two reasons. First, it is the

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<sup>23</sup> O'Malley, *Trent*, 138.

hope of this study to add to the development of what is already a generally accepted historiographical paradigm. Second, aspects of the confessionalization theory and its corrections will still prove helpful in elucidating the propagation and development of the *Consensus Repetitus* even if the paradigm needs to be modified in this case study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE CHALLENGE BY CALIXTINE LUTHERANISM

Chapter two will focus on how Calixtine or Helmstedt theology challenged Lutheran identity. It will situate Georg Calixt and his irenic theology in the unique context of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel Lutheranism. The chapter will present Calixt's Lutheran irenicism in light of his understanding of the Lutheran Reformation and his reading of the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*. It will illustrate how Georg Calixt's irenic theology shaped the Braunschweig territorial churches and impacted those beyond its borders. Elements of Helmstedt theology that were deemed problematic by early censures will also be explicated.

#### The Lutheranism of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Georg Calixt

The theology of Georg Calixt, the Helmstedt theology professor and Königslutter Abbot, has a distinct pedigree within Lutheranism. The main catalyst for his school of thought was the Lutheranism of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and its burgeoning University of Helmstedt.<sup>1</sup> Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel represented one of the four Early Modern duchies that comprised the former medieval duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, which had been divided among the dukes of the House of Welf (Guelph) on the eve of the Reformation. The other three duchies were Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Braunschweig-Grubenhagen, and Calenberg-Göttingen.<sup>2</sup> All four

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Baumgart, "Die Anfänge der Universität Helmstedt im Spiegel ihrer Matrikel (1576–1600)," in *Universitäten im Konfessionellen Zeitalter: Gesammelte Beiträge* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co., 2006), 239–72; Franz Eulenburg, *Die Frequenz der deutschen Universitäten von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1904), 100–103.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Ziegler, "Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Hildesheim," in *Der Nordwestern*, vol. 3 of *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, ed. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991), 9–43; Hans-Walter Krumwiede, *8. Jahrhundert–1806*,

of these Braunschweig duchies were eventually reformed and their respective dukes signed the 1580 *Book of Concord*, except for the Duke of Calenberg-Göttingen, although his cities signed it.<sup>3</sup> But events had already begun to transpire that would prevent Concordial Lutheranism from taking hold of the Braunschweig duchies.

The son of the infamous and belligerent Roman Catholic Hans Wurst, Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1528–89), molded his duchy into a model politically pro-imperial Early Modern state and reformed its church into a Lutheran state church.<sup>4</sup> Its 1569 *Kirchenordnung*,<sup>5</sup> 1569 *Klosterordnung*,<sup>6</sup> 1576 *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*,<sup>7</sup> not to mention

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vol. 1 of *Kirchengeschichte Niedersachsens* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 191–93; Luise Schorn-Schütte, "Braunschweig," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1:210–12; Hans-Walter Krumwiede and Klaus Jürgen, "Braunschweig," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–2004), 7:141–51.

<sup>3</sup> Their signatures can be found in the BC, Preface; and the CA, Conclusion (BSLK [15–17], 136–37, 763, 765–66). Unless otherwise indicated, all German and Latin citations from the BC are made on the basis of the BSLK. Unless otherwise indicated, all English translations of the BC are made on the basis of KW. However, it should be noted that the BSLK is a critical edition of the individual texts that make up the 1580 BC and that KW is a translation of this critical edition. Thus the BSLK and KW are not exactly the same text as the 1580 BC, the text around which the Syncretistic Controversy actually revolved.

<sup>4</sup> Luise Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit in der Frühneuzeit: Deren Anteil an der Entfaltung frühmoderner Staatlichkeit and Gesellschaft* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1996), 67–69, 162–78; Gerhard Oestreich, *Geist und Gestalt des Frühmodernen Staates. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1969), 207–9; Horst Dreitzel, *Protestantischer Aristotelismus und absoluter Staat* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1970), 31–32, 38–39.

<sup>5</sup> "Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii, herzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneberg etc. Wie es mit lehr und ceremonien unsers fürstenthumbs Braunschweig, Wulffenbüttelischen theils, auch derselben kirchen anhangenden sachen und verrichtungen hinfurt (vermittelst göttlicher gnaden) gehalten warden sol. Gedruckt zu Wulffenbüttel durch Cunradt Horn 1569," in *Niedersachsen*, vol. 6 of *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Emil Sehling (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1955), 1:83–280. See also Hans-Walter Krumwiede, *Zur Entstehung des landesherrlichen Kirchenregiments in Kursachsen und Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 199–222. Luther Reed has distinguished three main liturgical traditions in the Lutheran church orders: ultra-conservative (e.g. 1540 Brandenburg, 1543 Pfalz-Neuburg, and 1571 Austria), the central Saxon (e.g. Luther's *Formula Missae* and *Deutsche Messe*, 1533 Brandenburg-Nuremberg, 1539/1540 Heinrich Agenda, and 1552 Mecklenburg), and the mediating or radical (e.g. 1553/1559 Württemberg), of which the central Saxon tradition represents the bulk of the church orders. It should be noted that 1552 Mecklenburg-derived agenda of the 1569 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel *Kirchenordnung* represents the central Saxon liturgical tradition. See Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Service of the Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947), 87–109; Aemilius Ludwig Richter, ed., *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnung des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1967), 2:509–11.

<sup>6</sup> "Christlicher und gründlicher bericht, welcher gestalt die herrn und jungfrauenklöster im herzogthumb Braunschweig, Wulffenbüttelischen theils, reformiret, aus welchem die jungfrauen nicht allein ihr gewissen gegen

Helmstedt University itself<sup>8</sup> and its late humanist infused statutes<sup>9</sup> were all designed by the formulators of the *Formula of Concord* to mold the confessional identity of the new territorial

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Gott bewaren, sondern auch meniglich genugsame rechenschaft geben können, das sie aus keiner leichtfertigkeit, sondern mit beständigen grund des catholischen christlichen glaubens und reinem gewissen die kappen sampt dem orden abgelegt und verlassen," in *Niedersachsen*, vol. 6 of *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Emil Sehling (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1955), 1:281–335. See also Nicolaus C. Heutger, *Evangelische Konvente in den welfischen Landen und der Grafschaft Schaumberg* (Hildesheim: Lax, 1961); Frederick Sheely Weiser, "The Survival of Monastic Life in Post-Reformation Lutheranism" (S. T. M. thesis, Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, 1966), especially 43–89.

<sup>7</sup> This current study uses the 1603 edition of the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*, which contains the same content as the 1576 edition. See *Corpus Doctrinae, Das ist / Die Summa / Form und Fürbilde der reinen Christlichen Lehre / aus der heiligen Göttlichen Schrift der Propheten und Aposteln zusammen gezogen / Darinn folgende Schrifftten begriffen: Die Drey Heuptsymbola / Apostlicum, Nicaenum, und Athanasianum. Der kleine und grosse Catechismus Lutheri. Die Augspürgische Confession / so Anno 1530 Keyser Carolo uberantwortet und folgendes 1531. gedruckt. Die darauff erfolgte Apologia, Anno 1531 gedruckt. Die Schmalcaldische Artickel. Das Büchlein D. Vrbani Rhegii / Wie man fürsichtiglich von den fürnemsten Artickeln Christlicher Lehre reden solle / mit einem nützlichen Appendice, & c. Bericht von etlichen fürnemen Artickeln der Lehre / etc. Aus gnediger verordnung des Durchleuchtigen hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn IVLII, Hertzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg etc. für seiner F. G. Kirchen und Schulen zusammen gedruckt* (Helmstedt: Lucium, 1603). It comprises the two prefaces, three ancient creeds, the 1531 CA, Ap, SA, Tr, SC, LC (including the Luther's *Baptism Booklet* and *Marriage Booklet*), Chemnitz' *Kurzer, einfeltiger und nothwendiger bericht*, and a German translation of Urbanus Rhegius' 1535 *De formulis caute et citra scandalum loquendi de praecipuis Christianae doctrinae locis*, including Chemnitz' appendix to it called the *Wohlgegründter Bericht*. The contents are identical to the BC except that the BC has its own preface, it includes the FC, and it lacks the writings of Chemnitz and Rhegius. Arthur Carl Piepkorn, explains the function of *corpus doctrinae* in Lutheran culture and society: "The Symbols have various intended uses. They can serve as a legal club, in order to enforce conformity with their teachings by a clergyman or instructor who has solemnly committed himself to teach and practice according to them, under pain of dismissal for having obtained money or other emoluments under false pretenses. But this is certainly an *opus alienum*. Their proper office includes serving as a *norm* of teaching and administering Sacraments, to which an individual solemnly and voluntarily committed to them strives conscientiously to conform; as a *symbol*, that is, an identification among Lutherans, since they are the constitutive factor of the Lutheran Church as a denomination; as a *witness* to the way in which the authors of the Symbols (as well as their present-day spiritual posterity) understood and interpreted the Sacred Scriptures on controverted points; and as a *confession*, that is a classical formulation of our own grateful response to divine revelation." See his "Suggested Principles for a Hermeneutics of the Lutheran Symbols," in *The Sacred Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions: Selected Writings of Arthur Carl Piepkorn, Volume Two*, ed. Philip J. Secker (Mansfeld: CEC Press, 2007), 106–7; *Piepkorn's italics*. Robert Kolb adds, "Yet the Augsburg Confession became more than an instrument for the proclamation of the Gospel. Ernst Koch has identified three major areas in which it served the church and European society: the secular, political realm; the realm of ecclesiastical discipline and order; and the realm of doctrinal authority within the church." Kolb then continues to identify four functions of the symbols: defining norm, regulating symbol, normative symbol, and testifying before kings. See his *Confessing the Faith: Reformers Define the Church, 1530–1580* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1991), 38–42.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Kaufmann has argued, "In diesem Sinne kann man sagen: *Ohne Theologieprofessoren keine Konfessionalisierung*." See Thomas Kaufmann, *Universität und luthersiche Konfessionalisierung: Die Rostocker Theologieprofessoren und ihr Beitrag zur theologischen Bildung und kirchlichen Gestaltung im Herzogtum Mecklenburg 1550 und 1675* (Gütersloh: Güterloher Verlagshaus, 1997), 603ff. See also Inge Mager, "Helmstedt," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–2004), 15:35–39; Peter Baumgart, "Die Gründung der Universität Helmstedt," in *Universitäten im Konfessionellen Zeitalter: Gesammelte Beiträge* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co., 2006), 126–39; Peter Baumgart, "Universitätsgründungen im konfessionellen Zeitalter: Würzburg und Helmstedt," in *Universitäten im Konfessionellen Zeitalter: Gesammelte Beiträge* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co., 2006), 61–84; Peter Baumgart, "Universitätsautonomie und landesherrliche Gewalt im späten 16. Jahrhundert: Das Beispiel Helmstedt," in *Universitäten im Konfessionellen*



church. Even though these texts were by no means atypical in comparison to other Lutheran territories, such as Electoral Saxony, their Voluntaristic Christology,<sup>10</sup> ethical emphasis, and stress on catholicity<sup>11</sup> would become hallmarks of Helmstedt theology. Georg Calixt's irenic theology would morph these hallmarks into a conception of Lutheranism that advanced beyond the letter of these texts. Subscription, moreover, not only to the substance, but also the letter of the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* was required of all the duchy's clergy, professors, and officials.<sup>12</sup>

Even though the *Formula of Concord* was accepted by two-thirds of Lutheranism, it failed to create a homogenized pan-Lutheran confessional identity, much less achieve universal

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*Zeitalter: Gesammelte Beiträge* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co., 2006), 203–38; Peter Baumgart, "Die deutschen Universitäten im Zeichen des Konfessionalismus," in *Universitäten im Konfessionellen Zeitalter: Gesammelte Beiträge* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co., 2006), 5–30.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Baumgart and Ernst Pitz, eds., *Statuten, die, der Universität Helmstedt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963). See also Peter Baumgart, "David Chytraeus und die Gründung der Universität Helmstedt," in *Universitäten im Konfessionellen Zeitalter: Gesammelte Beiträge* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co., 2006), 141–202; Peter Baumgart, "Humanistische Bildungsreform an der deutschen Universitäten des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Universitäten im Konfessionellen Zeitalter: Gesammelte Beiträge* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co., 2006), 31–60; Krumwiede, *Zur Entstehung*, 251–60. Inge Mager sees an even closer connection between Melancthon's statutes for the University of Wittenberg and the Helmstedt statutes than Baumgart. See Inge Mager, "Melancthon's Impulse für das Theologiestudium. Verdeutlicht am Verlauf der Wittenberg Universitätsreform und am Beispiel der Helmstedter Universitätsstatuten," in *Melancthonbild und Melancthonrezeption in der lutherischen Orthodoxie und in Pietismus*, ed. Udo Sträter (Lutherstadt Wittenberg: Edition Hans Lufft, 1999), 105–26.

<sup>10</sup> The Helmstedt theology professor, Tilemann Heshusius (1527–88), maintained that Christ *can* be present with his body where ever he *wills*. But Heshusius insisted that it was a misuse of reason and an ontological deduction foreign to the words of Scripture to conclude that because the two natures of Christ are personally united and because the divinity is present everywhere that Christ must be present everywhere with his body (ubiquity). See Thilo Krüger, *Empfangene Allmacht: Die Christologie Tilemann Heshusens (1527–1588)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 293–355, specifically, 297–98, 308–11, 354–55.

<sup>11</sup> The creeds were stressed as a catholic consensus of Scripture, albeit not to the exclusion of the *Augsburg Confession* and *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*, which were also recognized as catholic. See *Corpus Doctrinae*, 2ff. Quentin Stewart shows that Orthodox Lutherans continued to maintain Lutheranism's catholicity on the basis of Scripture, the Ecumenical Councils, and the church fathers, but their stress on the Vincentian Canon and the *consensus patrum* waned as Lutherans engaged the Council of Trent, Robert Bellarmine, and Georg Calixt. See Quentin Stewart, "Catholicity or Consensus?: The Role of the Consensus Patrum and the Vincentian Canon in Lutheran Orthodoxy from Chemnitz to Quenstedt," (PhD diss., Concordia Seminary, 2006), 288–311.

<sup>12</sup> The *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* itself actually delineates the nature of proper subscription. It not only demanded its churches and schools to conform their teaching to the substance of the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* (*non tantum quod ad res ipsas attinet*), but also to the language of it (*verumetiam quod attinet ad formam sanorum verborum*). See *Corpus Doctrinae*, 3.

subscription to it.<sup>13</sup> To be sure Duke Julius and his theologians had signed an exemplar of the *Bergen Book* and the *Preface to the Book of Concord*,<sup>14</sup> but three factors would change Duke Julius from being one of the Concordial project's leaders and financial backers into a non-enforcer of that subscription in his own lands. First, Duke Julius received a severe rebuke from his pro-*Formula of Concord* Gnesio-Lutheran theologians, (especially, Martin Chemnitz [1522–86] and Timotheus Kirchner [1533–1587]), and his fellow Lutheran princes after he had his son, Heinrich Julius (1564–1612), consecrated as a Roman Catholic bishop to expand Welf lands and influence.<sup>15</sup> Second, the formulators and princes marginalized Duke Julius' role in the Concordial project. At the same time, Elector August of Saxony (1526–86), who had expelled the Crypto-Philippist from his own lands, now that he realized that he was being duped by them, assumed the Welf duke's role as the leader of the project. As a result, supporters of the *Formula of Concord* were removed from power in the duchy and critics of the new symbol rose to

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<sup>13</sup> Inge Mager, "Aufnahme und Ablehnung des Konkordienbuches in Nord-, Mittel-, und Ostdeutschland," in *Bekenntnis und Einheit der Kirche: Studien zum Konkordienbuch*, ed. Martin Brecht and Reinhard Schwarz (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1980), 271–302; Werner-Ulrich Deetjen, "Concordia Concors—Concordia Discors. Zum Ringen um das Konkordienwerk in Süden und mittleren Westen Deutschlands," in *Bekenntnis und Einheit der Kirche: Studien zum Konkordienbuch*, ed. Martin Brecht and Reinhard Schwarz (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1980), 302–49.

<sup>14</sup> The BC, Preface (BSLK [15], 763) and the BC, Names of Clerical Signatures lists the signatures of Julius, Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg, 5 abbots, 6 Helmstedt professors, 4 general-superintendents, 18 special-superintendents, 25 teachers, and 219 pastors. See *Concordia. Christliche, Widerholet/ einmütige Bekenntnis nachbenanter Churfürsten / Fürsten und Stende Augspurgischer Confession / vnd derselben zu ende des Buchs vnderschiedener Theologen Lere vnd glaubens. Mit angeheffter / in Gottes wort / als der einigen Richtschnur / wolgegründter erklerung etlicher Artikel / bey welchen nach D. Martin Luthers seligen absterben / disputation vnd streit vorgelassen. Aus einhelliger vergleichung vnd beuehl obdachter Churfürsten / Fürsten vnd Stende / derselben Landen / Kirchen / Schulen vnd nachkommen / zum vnderricht vnd warnung in Druck vorfertiget* (Dresden, 1580); Inge Mager, *Die Konkordienformel im Fürstentum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel: Entstehungsbeitrag — Rezeption — Geltung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 283–84n4; 283–97, 307–24. The theologians signed as a rule, "Ego Gregorius Marbachius, pastor Ecclesia Supplinburgensis corde, ore, et manu subscribo." The recently arrived new Helmstedt theology professor, Tilemann Heshusius, signed, "Ego Tilemannus Heshusius Theol. Doct., corde, ore, et manu subscribo. Ac Deum toto pectore oro, ut extinctis omnibus corruptelis salutaris concordiae opus suo sancto spiritu promoveat et stabiliat." These subscriptions are cited in Mager, *Die Konkordienformel*, 289.

<sup>15</sup> Inge Mager, "'Prima tonsura sey inuentum et traditio ... Antichristi Papae' Zur Tonsurierung dreier evangelischer Fürstensöhne im Kloster Huysburg im Jahre 1578," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 94 (1996): 109–21; Eduard Bodemann, "Die Wiehe und Einführung des Herzogs Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig als Bischof von Halberstadt und die damit verbundenen Schwierigkeiten," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen* (1878): 239–97; Mager, *Die Konkordienformel*, 325–39.

prominence at the University of Helmstedt.<sup>16</sup> Third, in typical Northern German fashion, (not to mention in accord with the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*),<sup>17</sup> the reorganized Gnesio-Lutheran Helmstedt theological faculty (especially, Tilemann Heshusius [1527–88] and Daniel Hoffmann [1538–1611]), was opposed to Swabian ubiquity, which became a dominant characteristic of Helmstedt theology.<sup>18</sup> Fearing Duke Julius might now abandon the project or worse, Landgrave Wilhelm IV of Hesse-Kassel (1532–92) turned to the Saxon elector as "the chief column of the *Augsburg Confession*" (*vornehmsten Columnen der Augsburgerischen Confession*) to bring Duke Julius back on track.<sup>19</sup> This rising role of the Saxon elector would prove a bone of contention during the Syncretistic Controversy.

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<sup>16</sup> Johannes Wallmann suggests that Julius might also be motivated by resentment and rivalry. See his "Zwischen," 64. In contradistinction to Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, which never suffered Calvinization, both the Palatinate and Electoral Saxony underwent a second Calvinization in 1583 and 1586–92 respectively, with the result that only Electoral Saxony came out of it Lutheran.

<sup>17</sup> The *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* states, "Was aber die Disputation belanget De Ubiquitate, Ob der Leib Christi auch sonst allenthalben / vnd an allen Orten seyn möge, setzen wir dieselbige nach Lutheri Raht beyseits / vnd das aus hochwichtigen bedencklichen Ursachen, biß wir ein mal in ewigen Leben Christum von Angesicht zu Angesicht in seiner Herrlichkeit sehen werden." See *Corpus Doctrinae*, 55. See also *Kurzer, einfeltiger und nothwendiger bericht* on the Lord's Supper: "Daß Christus nach seiner Menschlichen Natur / vns seinen Brüdern / allenthalben gleich ist / außgenommen die Sünde / sondern / daß auch diß feste stehe vnd wahre sey / Weil die menschliche natur in Christo mit der Göttliche persönliche vereiniget / vnd erhaben ist / vber alles / was genennet kan werden / nicht allein in dieser / Sondern auch in der künfftigen Welt / Ephes 1." See *Corpus Doctrinae*, 33ff. Martin Chemnitz is making reference to comments on I Corinthians 11:24, which were attributed to Martin Luther by the Jena edition of his writings, but really belong to Philipp Melancthon. This reference would become an important argument for the Helmstedt theologians against Swabian ubiquity. Its authenticity was also questioned by the Swabian Wittenberg theology professor, Leonard Hutter (1563–1616). See WA, 48:236–237; Leonard Hutter, *Concordia Concors. De Origine Et Progressu Formulae Concordiae Ecclesiarum Confessionis Augustanae* (Wittenberg: Meisner, 1614), 9. The Northern German stance against ubiquity is also maintained in the 1571 *Confessio Saxonica*, which Chemnitz penned in response to the new Wittenberg Catechism. See "Wiederholet Christliche Gemeine Confeßion vnd Erklerung," in *Die Debatte um die Wittenberger Abendmahlslehre und Christologie (1570–1574)*, vol. 8 of *Controversia et Confessio*, ed. Irene Dingel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 713–93.

<sup>18</sup> The reformer of Württemberg, Johannes Brenz (1499–1570), helped introduce a distinct Swabian Christology to Lutheranism. For Brenz, "die Person nicht als dritte Größe über den beiden Naturen versteht, sondern als das 'einmalige neue Geschehen der Gemeinschaft von Gott und Mensch.'" The specific difference (*differentia specifica*) of the person of Christ is not the personal union (*unio hypostatica*) because the essential presence of God pertains to all creatures, but the communication between God and man, which, moreover, constitutes the person itself. In other words, "'Personsein' geschieht 'als Kommunikation.'" As a result, the first genus of the *communicatio idiomatum* and the distinction between abstract and concrete language in discussing the person of Christ becomes unimportant. See Krüger, *Empfangene*, 331–35; Hans Christian Brandy, *Die späte Christologie des Johannes Brenz* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1991), 155–68.

<sup>19</sup> Landgrave Wilhelm's August 23, 1579 letter to Duke August is reprinted in Bodemann, "Die Wiehe," 281–

Already critical of the *Preface to the Book of Concord* and convinced that the *Book of Concord* should only be passed by a General Lutheran Synod, the Braunschweigers objected to the text of the *Formula of Concord* published in the 1580 Dresden *Book of Concord*, which deviated from the exemplar of the *Bergen Book* to which they had subscribed. The 1583 *Apologia, Oder Verantwortung deß Christlichen Concordien's* reading of the *Formula of Concord* only compounded the problem.<sup>20</sup> Now the Braunschweigers did not just have theologically-based textual concerns with the *Preface to the Book of Concord* and the published *Book of Concord*, coupled with concerns about the confessional canonicity of the *Marriage Booklet, Baptism Booklet, and Catalogue of Testimonies*. They also objected to the *Book of Concord's* failure to name errorists' names like the *Smalcald Articles* did, opposed the Swabian ubiquity that they identified in both the published *Formula of Concord* and the *Apologia*, questioned the authority of Luther's Christological exegesis, and disputed the legitimacy of the process behind the *Formula of Concord* and *Apologia* altogether.<sup>21</sup> In the end, a General

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<sup>20</sup> The 1583 edition of the *Apologia* was published in Heidelberg. The following is the 1584 Dresden edition consisting of four parts: Part 1: *Apologia, Oder Verantwortung deß Christlichen Concordien Buchs / In welcher die ware Christliche Lehre / so im ConcordiBuch verfasst / mit gutem Grunde heiliger Göttlicher Schrift vertheydiget: Die Verkehrung aber und Calumnien / so von unrühigen Leuten wider gedachtes Christlich Buch im Druck aufgesprenget / widerlegt werden* (Dresden: Stöckel, 1584). Part 2: *Warhaffte Christliche Vnd gegründete Widerlegung der vermeynten Entschuldigung der Prediger zu Bremen in zweyen fürnemen Artickel der waren Religion / Von der Person Christi / und heiligem Abendmahl* (Dresden: Stöckel, 1584). Part 3 (omitted in 1584 Dresden edition): *Refutatio Irenaei: Gündlicher Bericht auff das Examen M. Christophori Irenaei, so er Anno 1581. wider den ersten Artickel deß Christlichen ConcordiBuchs, von der Erbsünde durch offenen Druck außgesprenget: Und beständiger Beweis, daß gemeldter artickel in Gottes Wort noch starck und fest stehe* (Heidelberg: Spies, 1583). Part 4: *Gründliche Warhafftige Historia: Von der Augspurgischen Confession / Wie die Anno 1530. geschrieben / Keyser Carolo ubergeben / Vnd von dero verwandten Stenden vnd zugethanen / im Artickel vom H. Abendmahl / je vnd allwege verstanden / vnd in öffentlichen Religionßhandlungen / erkleret vnd verteidiget worden: Auch was das Gegenteil je vnd allweg da wider fürgenommen vnd attentiret. Item: Von der Concordia / so Anno 1536 zu Wittenberg / von gedachtem Artickel auffgerichtet / Jetzund deduciert biß zum ende deß 1561. Jhars: Wider deß gedachten / unauffrichtigen Ambrosii Wolffii gefelschete Historiam / so er dauon in die gantze Christenheit außzusprengen / sich vermessenlich understanden* (Leipzig: Defner, 1584).

<sup>21</sup> Hutter, *Concordia*, 280–313, 358–63; Irene Dingel, *Concordia controversa. Die öffentlichen Diskussionen um das lutherische Konkordienwerk am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1996), 413–67. When Abraham Calov later traces the roots of Calixtine theology to Helmstedt's opposition to the FC, he says a bit too much when he says that the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* completely agrees with the FC. See Calov,

Lutheran Synod was never convened and the 1583 Quedlinburg Colloquy failed to resolve the conflict. As a result, Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel retained a distinctive form of anti-ubiquitarian Concordial Lutheranism until 1614. The 1569 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel *Kirchenordnung* and 1576 *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* were officially retained as the binding norms of the duchy. Eventually these two texts became symbolic in Calenberg-Göttingen and Braunschweig-Grubenhagen as they came under the influence of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel as well. Still the *Formula of Concord*, albeit "in its correct sound sense" (*In Ihrem rechten, gesunden Verstande*), continued to have some normative value in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel until Georg Calixt put an end to it after 1614.<sup>22</sup>

The confounding of trans-territorial Lutheran identity initiated by Duke Julius' non-enforcement of subscription to the *Formula of Concord* was only amplified by his son, Heinrich Julius. Subscriptions to the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* by both professors and students began to wane at the University of Helmstedt during his reign as a circle of Philippists began to dominate the philosophical or arts faculty.<sup>23</sup> The apogee of this circle's power prior to the advent of Georg

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*Historia*, 565–71.

<sup>22</sup> The "Konkordienformel als positive Rechtsnorm bis 1613" is a key thesis in Inge Mager's *Die Konkordienformel*, 476–501. See also C. G. H. Lentz, "Die Konkordienformel im Herzogthum Braunschweig," *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie* 18 (1848): 265–314.

<sup>23</sup> Paul Zimmermann, ed., *Album Academiae Juliae*, vol. 1 of *Album Academiae Helmstadiensis* (Nedeln: Krauss Reprint, 1980), 89–93; Wallmann, "Zwischen," 66. Much of the scholarship about Helmstedt theology and its early opponents has been reduced to a conflict between Helmstedt Melanchthonian humanism and Gnesio-Lutheran Ramism. In the case of the Syncretistic Controversy, the scholarship has been reduced to Helmstedt Melanchthonian humanism and Wittenberg/Leipzig Gnesio or Lutheran-Orthodox scholasticism, as if their theological and philosophical differences stemmed from Renaissance humanism and scholasticism. Current scholarship has not only shown that both Renaissance humanism and the new scholasticism were approaches or methods of scholarship (not philosophical systems that determined theologies), it has also shown that Renaissance humanism was not the private prerogative of the Melanchthonian tradition of Lutheranism. For a study of Martin Luther's use of humanist skills, see Helmar Junghans, *Der junge Luther und die Humanisten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1985); Timothy Dost, *Renaissance Humanism in Support of the Gospel in Luther's Early Correspondence: Taking all Things Captive* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2001). For a study of Late Reformation humanism, see James M. Kittelson, "Humanism in the Theological Faculties of Lutheran Universities during the Late Reformation," in *The Harvest of Humanism in Central Europe: Essays in Honor of Lewis W. Spitz*, ed. Manfred P. Fleischer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992), 139–57. The notion that Gnesio-Lutheranism as opposed to the Philippism rejected humanism is put to rest by Robert Kolb, "Philipp's foe,

Calixt was the Hoffmann Controversy, which revolved around the question of the limits of philosophy and became a rallying point for the Braunschweig Lutheran nobles' resistance of Heinrich Julius' efforts toward centralization. With ducal support, the circle had managed to solidify Aristotelianism at the university, make Hoffmann publicly repudiate his militant Ramism, and temporally expel Hoffman from Helmstedt.<sup>24</sup> Even though a form of Gnesio-Lutheran anti-ubiquitarian Concordial Lutheranism was still able to maintain its hold on the territory until the death of Wolfenbüttel court-preacher Basilius Sattler (1549–1624), the university came increasingly under the influence of the Philippist philosophical faculty.<sup>25</sup>

Georg Calixt(us) (Callisen, Kallisön, or Kallisøn) (1586–1656) was born December 14, 1586 in Medelby, Schleswig, a German fief of the King of Denmark at that time. His father, Johannes Calixt (1539–1618), was the Lutheran pastor of Medelby and the son of a shoemaker,

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but followers nonetheless: late humanism and the Gnesio-Lutherans," in *Luther's Heirs Define His Legacy: Studies on Lutheran Confessionalization* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), XV:159–77.

<sup>24</sup> Luise Schorn-Schütte, "Lutherische Konfessionalisierung? Das Beispiel Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1589–1613)," in *Die lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland. Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1988*, ed. Hans-Christoph Rublack (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1992), 163–98; Markus Friedrich, *Die Grenzen der Vernunft: Theologie, Philosophie und gelehrte Konflikte am Beispiel des Helmstedter Hofmannstreits und seiner Wirkung auf das Luthertum um 1600* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004). It also needs to be pointed out that the philosophical faculties of Lutheran universities not bound to the *Formula of Concord*, more specifically the Helmstedt philosophy faculty under Cornelius Martini (1568–1621), was more open to the reception of Giacomo (Jacopo) Zabarella's (1532–1589) theologically autonomous Renaissance Aristotelianism. According to Ian Hunter, this form of Aristotelianism could "serve theology without being transformed into natural theology or Christian philosophy," as well as developed metaphysics "as a positive ontology exclusive of the divine being." In contradistinction, a confessionalized Orthodox Lutheran school philosophy (*schulphilosophie*) was being developed at Lutheran universities bound by the *Formula of Concord* that sought to combat Roman Catholicism and Calvinism by undergirding the Christology and Eucharistic theology of the *Formula of Concord* with Aristotelian metaphysics, particularly "the fundamental doctrine of the priority of transcendental substances in relation to bodies in space and time." For this reason, Daniel Hoffmann's penchant for attacking Orthodox Lutherans, his Ramist war on philosophy, and assertion of double truth found no support from the Orthodox Lutheran universities. See Ian Hunter, "University Philosopher in Early Modern Germany," in *The Philosopher in Early Modern Europe: The Nature of a Contested Identity*, ed. Conal Condren et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 35–43, 56–64. See also Walter Sparr, *Wiederkehr der Metaphysik: Die ontologische Frage der frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1976); Walter Sparr, "Die Schulphilosophie in den lutherischen Territorien," in *Das heilige Römische Reich deutscher Nation, Nord- und Ostmitteleuropa*, vol. 4 of *Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Helmut Holzhey et al. (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), 474–587.

<sup>25</sup> Wolfgang Sommer, "Basilius Sattler als Hofprediger in Wolfenbüttel," in *Gottesfurcht und Fürstentum: Studien zum Obrigkeitsverständnis Johann Arndts und lutherischer Hofprediger zur Zeit der*

in Apenrade, Schleswig. Johannes Calixt's first wife, Catharina née Lützens, gave birth to six sons before she died on August 16, 1583. None of these sons survived Johannes, except Johann (d. 1634), a Flensburg merchant. In 1585 Johannes married his second wife, Catharina née Rickerts (1541–1634), the daughter of the Flensburg mayor. She bore her husband a single child, Georg.<sup>26</sup> Johannes, who was a student of Philipp Melanchthon at the University of Wittenberg and a student of David Chytraeus at the University of Rostock, served as a schoolmaster before receiving a call in 1568 to the parish in Medelby. This enabled him to personally undertake Georg's early formation until he reached the age of twelve. Johannes' early education and experiences within the contentious and chaotic milieu of the Late Reformation molded him into a "Lover of Erasmus," a "Melanchthon Devotee," and an ardent Flacian adversary, who inculcated this outlook in his progeny and also a penchant for ancient dogma over against new dogma.<sup>27</sup> In July of 1598, Johannes entered Georg into the second class of the Flensburg Latin School. Two years later, Bernhard Latomus (d. 1613), a Mecklenburger student of Chytraeus and Caselius at Rostock, took control of the institution (1600–1604) as its new rector.<sup>28</sup>

Georg Calixt was reared in a land where the Danish Philippist, Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600), had loomed large and the *Formula of Concord* was strictly prohibited in no uncertain

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*altprotestantischen Orthodoxie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 225–54.

<sup>26</sup> "Callisen-Calixtus-Familie," in *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Biographisches Lexikon*, ed. Olaf Klose and Eva Rudolph (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1974), 3:55; Erwin Freytag, "Calixtus, Georg," in *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Biographisches Lexikon*, ed. Olaf Klose and Eva Rudolph (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1974), 3:60–61. Titus and Moller list Stickert as Georg Calixt's mother's maiden name. Henke lists Nissen as his mother's maiden name, but indicates Stickert and Richter can be found. Henke adds that Johannes Calixt Latinized their name. Dowding argues on the basis of a notice from Baron von Warnstedt that Calixt was born in Flensburg. See Titius, *Laudatio*, A 3ff; Moller, *Cimbria*, 1:83; Henke, *Georg*, 1:81–82; Dowding, *German*, 17–18.

<sup>27</sup> Titius, *Laudatio*, A 3ff; Georg Calixt, "De fine et scopo studiorum oratio. 1643," in *Einleitung in die Theologie*, vol. 1 of *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Inge Mager (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 457–58.

<sup>28</sup> Moller, *Cimbria*, 2:454.

terms.<sup>29</sup> In 1651 Georg Calixt wrote the subsequent response to criticisms of his Lutheranism by the Electoral Saxon court-preacher, Jakob Weller von Molßdorf (1602–64):

I was born and brought up in a land until sixteen years old where the *Formula concordiae* was never received or favored. I remember that at the time often and many times I heard it said that Frederik II, King of Denmark, of blessed memory, threw the *Formulam* into the fire when it was sent to his majesty at the Cloister Anderschow in the Seeland. The reason for this was that his majesty regarded the old confessions that were already adhered to as sufficient and a new one unnecessary; in particular because a new one would introduce and maintain a new doctrine of omnipresence, or as it is commonly called the ubiquity of the humanity and body of Christ. I say I have heard this so many times in my youth that I remember it like it just happened. Thus neither in the kingdom of Denmark nor in the Holsteiner lands was the *Formula* accepted.<sup>30</sup>

Since Johannes Calixt shared his countrymen's unfavorable assessment of the *Formula of Concord*, this limited the number of universities that young Calixt might attend. The University of Helmstedt was a logical choice given its stance on the *Formula of Concord*, its Philippist-

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<sup>29</sup> Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause: Denmark's Role in the Wars of Religion, 1559–1596* (Leiden: Brill, 2004). Trygve Skarsten points out that King Frederik II made it a "capital offence" on July 24, 1580 "for anyone to import, sell, or own a copy of the *Book of Concord*." See Trygve R. Skarsten, "The Reaction in Scandinavia," in *Discord, Dialogue, and Concord: Studies in the Lutheran Reformation's Formula of Concord*, ed. Lewis Spitz and Wensel Lohff (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 136–41; V. A. Secher, ed., *Corpus Constitutionum Daniae. Forordninger. Recesser og andre kongelige Breve, Danmarks Lovgivning vedkommende, 1555–1600* (Copenhagen: Rudolph Klein, 1887–97), 2:166–68.

<sup>30</sup> "Ich bin gebohren vnd bis an das sechzehende Jahr meines Alters erzogen in einem Lande / darinn die Formula concordiae niemahlin angenommen oder beliebet worden. Ich weis mich zu erinnern / daß ich zu der zeit oft vnd vielmahls erzehlen gehöret / daß Friederich der Ander König in Dennemarck höchstlößlicher Gedechnis die seiner Majestät zugeschichte Formulam auff dem Kloster Anderschow in Seeland ins Fewr geworffen / vnd ward die Vrsache hinzugethan / daß seine Majestet es dafür gehalten es were genung an alten Confessionen die man schon hette / vnd einer newen unvonnöthen / insonderheit weiln die angesehen were eine newen Lehre von der omnipraesenz, algegenwart / oder / wie die gemeiniglich gennet wird / ubiquitet der Menschheit vnd des Leibes Christi zu behaupten vnd einzuführen. Dis / spreche ich / habe ich in meiner ersten Jugend so vielmahl gehöret / daß es mir gleichsam annoch im frischen angedencken. Ist also weder in dem Königreich Dennemarck oder in den Holsteinischen Landen die Formula angenommen worden." See Georg Calixt, *Wiederlegung Der unchristlichen und unbilligen Verleumdungen / damit Ihn D. Jacobus VVeller ChurSächsischer Oberhoffprediger zu beschmitzen sich gelüsten lassen; Imgleichen Verantwortung Auff dasjenige / was Ihme in der Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen und dero jetzt gemalten Oberhoffpredigern an Ihre FFF. GGGn. die regierende Hertzoge zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg außgelassenen Schreiben auffgerucket und beygemessen wird; Daneben Antwort Auff D. Johannis Hülsemanni Meisterliches Muster. Accessit Appendix continens Expositionem septimi & seqq. versuum cap. XXXIX Gen. ad historiam Iosephi de ejus continentia; Catholicae ecclesiae & oecumenicorum conciliorum Symbola & confessions; Desiderium & studium concordiae ecclesiasticae* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1651), T ii.



humanist disposition, its Danish connection through its duchess, and the number of Danish students already attending.

Georg Calixt matriculated at the University of Helmstedt on April 28, 1603, about two months after Basilius Sattler had momentarily regained the upper hand over the philosophy faculty through a visitation and a rebuke of their conduct via a visitation recess.<sup>31</sup> There Calixt dedicated himself to the study of the *studia liberalium artium* and Aristotelian philosophy. He became a devoted part of the Philippist circle of Johann Caselius (1533–1613), the so-called “last great humanist among the Germans,” and his former student, Cornelius Martini (1568–1621), “the actual founder of metaphysics among the German Lutherans.”<sup>32</sup> In opposition to the rehabilitated Daniel Hoffmann, Calixt sided with his beloved Martini, who “proved by good and clear reason the true value of philosophy, both in regard to human life, and in the use and necessity of illustrating and vindicating religion.”<sup>33</sup> Calixt received his master’s degree on May 14, 1605 and began to lecture.<sup>34</sup> In 1607 he commenced his theological studies. Not surprisingly, Calixt seems to have avoided the lectures of Daniel Hoffmann and his student, Caspar Pfaffrad (1562–1622), and only attended the lectures of Laurentius Scheurl (1558–1613) and Heinrich Boëthius (1551–1622), who were more sympathetic to Caselius and Martini.<sup>35</sup> At this juncture,

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<sup>31</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:165. *Non juravit* does not appear behind his name.

<sup>32</sup> Gottfried Bernhardt, *Grundriß der römischen Litteratur*, 5th ed. (Braunschweig, 1872), 132. In reality the Wittenberg philosophy professor, Daniel Cramer (1568–1637), was the first Lutheran to produce a text on Aristotle's metaphysics (*Isagoge in Metaphysicam Aristotelis*, 1594). See Max Wundt, *Die deutsche Schulmetaphysik des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1992), XIII, 51, 98.

<sup>33</sup> In his funeral oration for Martini, Georg Calixt wrote, “Tam periculosus et perniciosus molitionibus, quarum successus quantivis emtos voluissent qui tyrannidem suam nobis et universae ecclesiae obtrudunt, animose obviam eundum censuit, et bonis atque evidentibus rationibus dignitatem philosophiae, et eius cum in reliqua vita humana, tum in explicanda et vindicandi religione usum et neccessitatem asseruit, atque adeo ut secundum literas et scientias iudicaretur, sicuti par erat, obtinuit,” Calixt, *Orat. Funeb.*, cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:108–9.

<sup>34</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:181. A letter from Calixt’s brother dated August 3, 1605 congratulating the new master is cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:111.

<sup>35</sup> Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:122; Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:343, 1:375–76, 1:378; Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 10; Henke, *Georg*, 1:112–113.

Georg Calixt also turned to Cornelius Martini, who was housing him, for private theological lectures.<sup>36</sup> Cornelius Martini's historical approach to philosophy and humanist predilection for ancient sources as the purest sources provided Calixt with a historical approach to theology and humanist predilection for early patristic theology as the purest sources. This foundation was a key element that helped shape his later Lutheran irenicism. In his funeral oration for Calixt, Helmstedt theology professor, Gerhard Titius (1620–81), reports that Georg Calixt had once remarked,

I saw, he said, my master, Cornelius [Martini], commended and valued ancient philosophy before those recent opinions, which have started up among us today, yesterday, or the day before yesterday, and I discovered that his judgment was correct. I thought, therefore, it would be no less valuable if after making a thorough study of ancient philosophy, to approach ancient theology, and be thoroughly instructed by it.<sup>37</sup>

In 1608 Calixt returned to Medelby, perhaps to take over his father's parish, but his voice was considered to be weak.<sup>38</sup> He came back to the University of Helmstedt in 1609 and conducted lectures and disputations, which were not well received by some.<sup>39</sup> But soon he embarked on two educational excursions (1609–13). On the first trip (1609–10), he visited a number of German cities and universities. At Jena he presided over a disputation that highly

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<sup>36</sup> Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:122; Calixt, *Epitomes Theologiae Moralis*, 125. For this reason, the Prussian theologian and future Wittenberg theology professor, Abraham Calov, later described Calixt "als der in der Scholastica Theologia fast nur seine Zeit zugebracht / ein auvtodi,daktoj, der nie Theologos orthodoxos gehoret hat, und in GOTTes Wort eben wenig gegründet war." See Calov, *Historia*, 574.

<sup>37</sup> "Videbam, dicebat, magistrum meum Cornelim, veterum Philosophiam, prae recentiorum heri & nudius tertius enatis placitis, commendare atque extollere. Et comperiebam, iudicium ipsius congruere cum re ipsa. Existimabam igitur, me pretium operae nihilo minus facturum, si, post perceptam antiquam Philosophiam, ad antiquam etiam theologiam accederem, eaque me penitus imbuerem." See Titius, *Laudatio*, B–B 2.

<sup>38</sup> Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 1–3; Henke, *Georg*, 1:115. Calixt's brother-in-law, Johannes Schwartzkopf, calls him *Gevatter* or *Gossip*. See Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 275–76.

<sup>39</sup> Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:195. In December of 1608, Calixt's friend Berthold Nihus wrote him, "Ob disputationem tuam postremam apud nonnullos, non adeo bene audis, quos, satius quidem esset esse bonos viros quam ita aliud agere." See Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 4–5.

praised philosophy.<sup>40</sup> The Hessian theology professor, Balthasar Mentzer I (1565–1627), gave a gentle defense of ubiquity just for him to ponder while he visited the new Lutheran University of Giessen (*Ludoviciana*), which had been founded in 1607 after the Calvinization of the University of Marburg (*Alma Mater Philippina*).<sup>41</sup> At Mainz Calixt engaged the Jesuit controversialist, Martin Becanus (1563–1624), in a discussion over the seven sacraments in the library of the college.<sup>42</sup> In the citadel of the German Reformed theology, Heidelberg, Calixt seems to have seen David Pareus. Even though Pareus' *Irenicum* would not appear until 1615, he had already initiated his irenic endeavors with the Lutherans on the grounds that agreement in fundamental doctrine existed between them.<sup>43</sup> In Frankfurt (Main) Calixt met Matthias van Overbeck (d. 1638), a wealthy Dutchman and friend of Caselius' circle, who later tried to win Calixt for the University of Leiden and gave scholarships to many of Caselius' and Calixt's protégés. The two

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<sup>40</sup> This 1609 disputation is reprinted in Conrad Horneius, *Compendium Logicae pro Tyronibus. Accessit Georgii Calixti Disputatio, De natura Logicae, & universae Philosophiae* (Nürnberg: Endter, 1643).

<sup>41</sup> "Wie in 1610 in der Fasten ich gehn Franckfurt auff die Messe vnd ferner in Oberteutschland mich daselbst zu besehen / gereiset / habe ich auff der domaligen neuen Vniversitet Giessen D. Mentzerum angesprochen. Er nötigte mich bey ihme niederzusitzen / vnd wie er vernommen / daß ich zu Helmstadt studieret / hebet er an von der Vbiquitet zu reden vnd zu dero behauptung eins vnd ander anzuführen. Wie ichs hatte an- vnd außgehöret / war ich bereit darauff zu antworten. Er aber replicirte, er hette solches fürgebracht / nicht darumb daß ich darauff solte antworten / sondern daß ich es in der furcht gottes müchte betrachten. Damit bin ich von ihme geschieden / vnd habe mit ihme ein mehres nicht die zeit meines Lebens weder mündlich noch schriftlich communiciret. Ich habe an ihme niemahlin geschrieben / er an mich auch nicht. Mus aber bekennen daß er mir from vnd freundlich fürkommen / vnd bey weiten nicht so grimmig / als theils deren / die der Vbiquitet beypflichten / zu seyn pflegen. Habe gleichwol damals vnd dann auch aus seinen Schrifften wahrgenommen / daß er ein Ramist." See Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, V.

<sup>42</sup> Years later Georg Calixt wrote of this incident, "Jam tum de odiis & dissidiis Christianorum mitigandis cogitarem, eoque facientia proponerem, vltro fateri, rectam illam esse doctrinam, & modo res istae, quae, sacramenta appellari solent, bene singulae explicentur & administrentur, parum referre, an ita vel aliter nominentur aut numerentur. Mihi no veniebat in mentum, Tridentinos anathema denunciassse discentibus sacramenta plura vel pauidora, quam septem, objecturo alias; nec forte illi cenit, alias vix ita loquuturo. Apparet tamen animos, nisi praejudiciis vincirentur, de regore multum remissuros." See Georg Calixt, *Responsvm Maledicis Theologorum Moguntinorum Pro Romani Pontificis Infallibilitate Praeceptoqve Commvniionis Svb Vna Vindiciis Oppositvm, Ad Reverendissimvm Et Eminentissimvm Archiepiscopvm Et Electorem Mogvntinvm* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1644), par. 129.

<sup>43</sup> Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:123. See also Günther Brinkmann, *Die Irenik des David Pareus: Frieden und Einheit in ihrer Relevanz zur Wahrheitsfrage* (Hildesheim: H. A. Gerstenberg, 1972), 69.

traveled through Giessen and Marburg in May of 1610 on their way back to Helmstedt.<sup>44</sup> Once there Calixt recommenced his own philosophical lectures and produced his first systematic work. The latter was a collection of 15 synthetically organized disputations, titled *De Praecipuis Christianae Religionis* (1611). Here he objected to ubiquity for the first time and, according to Abraham Calov, the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium's* understanding of the communication of attributes. But he still considered Roman Catholics and Calvinists to be sects and heretics.<sup>45</sup>

Towards the end of 1611, Calixt made another educational excursion (1611–12) with Matthias van Overbeck to Roman Catholic and Reformed centers. The two spent that winter in Cologne. There they were quite taken with the city, Cologne's learned scholars, its "rich libraries and bookshops," and "the editions of the works of the ancient, medieval, and modern era" that Cologne had produced.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, he penned his *De Pontificio Missae Sacrificio Tractatus* in Cologne, which was first published in 1614. It clearly affirmed that Roman Catholicism had fallen into apostasy.<sup>47</sup> Reflecting on this text years later, Calixt sighed, "I do not deny that according to the custom of the age and with youthful passion that I had my revenge on

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<sup>44</sup> Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:123; Henke, *Georg*, 1:126. Overbeck was a friend of Caselius's circle and was already acquainted with Calixt. See also the May 30, 1607 letter, cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:116; Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 45–46; Constantin Fasolt, *The Limits of History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 59.

<sup>45</sup> Georg Calixt, *De Praecipuis Christianae Religionis Capitibus Disputationes XV* (Helmstedt: Taeger, 1658); Calov, *Historia*, 571–572. The former is the third unaltered edition. The second 1613 edition had the subtitle: *Adversus Arianos, Pontificios, Calvinos Et Alios Horum Temporum Sectarios Disputationes XV*. Its third Christological disputation was attacked (36–61) after Calixt's nomination as a Helmstedt theology professor. See Henke, *Georg*, 1:130–35, 174–75.

<sup>46</sup> Calixt, *Epitomes Theologiae Moralis*, 285.

<sup>47</sup> He writes concerning the pope, "Se Deum quidem non vocabit, pro Deo tamen geret, nempe tribuet sibi quae unius Dei sunt; volet omnes iudicare, iudicari a nemine, etsi myriades animarum gehennae mancipet. Recte igitur et cordate et pie fecerunt landatissimi maiores nostri, quia defecerunt ab eo qui prior defecerat a Deo et introduxerat generalem publicamque quondam avpostasi,an. Equidem me operae pretium facturum existimavi, si missam pontificiam, istius quam dixi avpostasi,aj praecipuam partem, ob oculos ponerem, et ostenderem hanc unam priori seculo secedendi a regno papae et excundi e Babylone caesarum, si nullae fuissent aliae, pius quam satis dedisse." See Georg Calixt, *De Pontificio Missae Sacrificio Tractatus: Cvivs Priore Parte Caeremoniae eius describuntur: Posteriore ritus administrandae Eucharistiae antiquitus vsitati adnotantur* (Frankfurt: Bringer, 1614), 7, cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:160–61.

opponents, who were accustomed to attack our reformed church in the most insulting way, using some harsher words, which now, perhaps, offend nobody more than myself.”<sup>48</sup> After visiting a number of Dutch cities, the two crossed the channel and arrived in England. Here he met the Genevian, Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), who had embraced the Church of England and had been in correspondence with Caselius. Casaubon was an irenic with an affinity for the theology of the ancient church, a prototype of what Calixt would eventually become. Here Calixt visited Cambridge, Oxford, and many of the Anglican Bishops.<sup>49</sup> One contemporary, therefore opined, “It was not so much his teachers in Germany, who had guided Calixt to the reading of the fathers and church history, as the bishops in England, who possessed the most furnished libraries.”<sup>50</sup> Finally, they visited Paris where they seem to have encountered the President of the Parliament, Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553–1617). Fearing Roman Catholic reprisal for his refutation of papal primacy in his 1611 dogmatic treatise, Calixt refrained from accompanying Overbeck to Italy and embarked for Schleswig, where he remained for almost a year.<sup>51</sup> Calixt returned to Helmstedt in November of 1613 and took up his lectures and disputations again. That same year, both Johann Caselius and Duke Heinrich Julius died. Consequently, the son of the latter, Duke Friedrich Ulrich (1591–1634) of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, took over the duchy.

It was Georg Calixt's performance at the Hämelschenburg debate (September 1614) in place of Cornelius Martini that first brought him to the attention of the duke. Calixt's dispute

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<sup>48</sup> "Interim non nego ad exemplum aevi per juvenilem fervorem, & ut adversarios in reformatam nostrum ecclesiam contumeliosissime invehi solitos ulciscerer, excidisse mihi asperiores nonnullas vocas, quae nunc forte nemini magis displicent, quam mihimetipsi." See Calixt, *Epitomes Theologiae Moralis*, 129.

<sup>49</sup> Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:123. Casaubon's first letter (1602) praising Caselius is cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:146–47. Calixt later praised Casaubon's critique of Baronius' *Annales*. See Georg Calixt, "Apparatus sive introductio in studium et disciplinam Sanctae Theologiae. 1628–1656," in *Einleitung in die Theologie*, vol. 1 of *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Inge Mager (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 283.

<sup>50</sup> Johann Schupp, *unterr. Student*, 245, cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:149.

<sup>51</sup> Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:123; Henke, *Georg*, 1:151–55, 1:159.

with the Jesuit Augustin Turrianus (1566-1644) of Hildesheim ultimately proved unable to dissuade the young Braunschweig nobleman, Ludolf von Klencken, from converting to Roman Catholicism. But his performance convinced Duke Friedrich Ulrich to call Calixt to the Helmstedt theological faculty.<sup>52</sup> Since Calixt's lectures and disputations had been accused of heresy and Calvinism by certain theological professors, it was all the more "necessary" that Calixt be examined by the Wolfenbüttel Consistory on October 12, 1614 in order that the duke could "speak with him via his consistorial and other advisors about the chief matters of our true Christian religion and the *Corpus Iulium*."<sup>53</sup> The duke named Calixt his new professor of theology on December 12, 1614.<sup>54</sup> The faculty offered no objections to his conduct or acumen. But Caspar Pfaffrad criticized Calixt's early systematic disputations for its interpretation of Eutychianism and the assertion that the Bible only speaks of Christ in concrete language.<sup>55</sup> In

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<sup>52</sup> Georg Calixt, *Colloqvium Hemelschenbvrge: Inter Georgivm Calixtv m Et P. Avgvstinvm Iesvitam Habitvm Propriidie Kalend. Septembr. Anni. M D C X I V*, 2nd ed. (Helmstedt: Müller, 1665).

<sup>53</sup> "Durch seine Consistorial- und andern Rätthe mit ihm zuvörderst unsere wahre christliche religion und Corpus Iulium betreffend nach Nothdurft reden." See Kanzler und Rätthen in Wolfenbüttel an die theol. Facultät zu Helmstädt vom 12. Dec. 1614, cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:172. A 1615 university report to the consistory reads, "Ist aber bei der Fürstl. Herrn Consistorialen zu Wolfenbüttel bereits vor zweien Jahren hiervor Erinnerung gesehen, und M. Calixti Disputationes als ketzerisch daselbst ausgeschrien, warum ist damals nicht alsbald einreissenden Uebel vorgebuet, und da man unserer Facultät Bericht hätte haben wollen, solches nicht zeitlich notificirt?" cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:160. In a 1651 document to the future Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Calixt writes, "Ich leugne / nicht daß ich schon für dreissig vnd mehr Jahren eben dieselben Ramisten, vnd andre zu Feinden vnd Verleumbdern gehabt / welche den tapffern Männern Caselio vnd Cornelio Seligen / meinen wohl verdienten praeceptoribus, aufsetzig gewesen / vnd dannhero sehr ungemer geschien / daß Hertzogen Friederich Ulrichen Fr. Gn. mich alles afterredens ungeachtet Professorem Theologiae constituiret. Dieselben haben ihnen damals mich als einen Calvinisten zu traduciren, eusserstes fleisses angelegen sein lassen." See Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, X x iv. See also Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, A a iv. Gerhard Titius reports, "Quorum etiam accusationes adversum, adversum sese intortas, in pleno senatu, & praesente ipso laudatissimo Principe, ita elisit Calixtus, ut adversariis suis tum quidem fuerit obmutescendum." See Titius, *Laudatio*, B 3ff.

<sup>54</sup> The duke's nomination is cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:173.

<sup>55</sup> Henke makes this summary of Pfaffrad's objections on the basis of a fascicle in the registry of the consistory at Wolfenbüttel, but adds that an exemplar of Calixt's disputation on the person and office of Christ from the *De Praecipuis Christianae Religionis* can also be found with the acts of the consistory. It marks and underlines the following points: Personam notamus vocabulo aliquo concreto, ut Deus, homo, filius Dei, filius hominis etc. Naturam abstracto, ut deitas, humanitas (Par. 26). Ipsas scripturae loquutiones consideremus, humana de Deo et de homino divina nunquam nisi in concreto enunciante 2 Cor. 2, 8. Act. 20, 28. Io 8, 58. 17, 5 (Par. 29). Manifestum est ex hisce, ab Eutychianismo alienos non esse quicumque divina attributa, quae reapse idem sunt cum essentia divina, humanitati attribunt, ita ut eam in abstracto ab illis denominent, et quatenus talem intrinsece cum illis idem

addition, Pfaffrad charged Calixt with teaching that the power to forgive sins was nothing more than the proclamation of God's will because God alone saves man from sin.<sup>56</sup> Despite great efforts and much irritation, Calixt's acceptance could not be stymied, although Basilius Sattler remained convinced that Calixt's teachings were opposed to the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*.<sup>57</sup> Days before his entrance into the theological faculty, the faculty further reminded the consistory that Calixt's "disputations" were "heretical," but to no avail.<sup>58</sup> Georg Calixt took his professorial oaths on January 18, 1615 and was received into the theological faculty on February 25, 1615.<sup>59</sup> The new professor of theology held his doctoral disputation and was promoted to doctor of theology on May 6, 1616.<sup>60</sup> His admittance represents the first real advance of a member of Caselius' circle into the theology faculty.

Even though his 1614/15 *Anstellungsrevers* (legal appointment) is not extant, there is no reason to doubt his subscription to the 1569 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel *Kirchenordnung* and

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faciant, nominatim qui immensitatem sive omnipraesentiam carni adscribunt. Nam quorum eadem est omnipraesentiam divina, eorum eadem quoque est essentia, quia harum maxima et simplicissima est identitas, ut nisi cogitatione separari nullo modo possint. Sed humanitatis iuxta ipsos et divinitatis eadem est omnipraesentia. Ergo humanitatis et divinitatis eadem quoque erit essential (Par. 43–44). Remoto Eutychnismo sive relliquiis Eutychnismi, restat videre quid revera humanae naturae per illam unionem collatum fuerit. Quoniam enim adsumta est humana in consortium divinae et cum ea hypostaticae unita, ineffabilibus quoque et supernaturalibus donis ab eadem in unione personae dotata et exornata est (Par. 51). See Henke, *Georg*, 1:134, 174–75.

<sup>56</sup> Pfaffrad wrote, "In disputatione nondum excusa de ministerio verbi concedit quidem per sacramenta et verbum effici, confirmari et conservari fidem Th. 9. et Christum velle per ministerium esse efficacem, sed thesi 15 haec ita explicat, ut potestas peccata remittendi quae per ministrum vi ministerii demandati exseritur, nil, aliud sit quam potestas praedicandi et annunciandi voluntatem Dei in lege et evangelio patefactam. Quod ut confirmet viam Cinglianorum ingressurus hoc utitur argumento: Quia solius Dei sit homines a peccatis salvare. Hoc vero argumentum cum non minus de fidei ortu, confirmatione et conservatione, quam de remissione peccatorum adsumi possit, manifestum est, quae huius generis de sacramentis eorumque per administrationem operatione depraedicavit, eodem pacto de significativa, commemorative et sic annunciativa ratione accipi oportere, quod Cinglianis haud ingratum fuerit." See Henke, *Georg*, 1:176.

<sup>57</sup> For Calixt's frustrations with these "Ramists," see Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, A a iv; Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, X x iv; Calixt, *Epitomes Theologiae Moralis*, 129. In a March 10, 1651 letter, Calixt called Sattler the "pater et patronus ignorantiae." See Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 232. E. L. T. Henke reports that in the *Actenconvolut* of the Consistory Pfaffrad's objections can be found as well as Sattler's *Missiv, Reverendi collegae, es hat D. Pfafradius überschickt ex thesibus M. Georgii Calixi sequential dogmata cum corpore doctrinae pugnancia*. See Henke, *Georg*, 1:175.

<sup>58</sup> The February 9, 1615 faculty report is cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:160.

<sup>59</sup> Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:124; Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:244.

*Corpus Doctrinae Julium* in accordance with the university statutes. In 1615 Duke Friedrich Ulrich had published a second edition of the 1569 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel *Kirchenordnung*. In addition, he rededicated his officials and professor in 1619 to the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession*, the 1569 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel *Kirchenordnung*, and the 1576 *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*.<sup>61</sup> On one hand, Calixt and Heinrich Julius Strube (1586–1629) appear to be the last Helmstedt theologians to sign the 1591 Christological *Revers* or *Abschied* (between Daniel Hoffmann and Polykarp Leyser the Elder [1552–1610]), which bound them to the Christology of Chemnitz' 1571 *Confessio Saxonica*. On the other hand, they do not appear to have subscribed to the *Formula of Concord* in any form.<sup>62</sup> What is more, Calixt altered the land's ordination oath in 1619/20 to exclude the *Formula of Concord* and this appears to have become permanent after 1626.<sup>63</sup> Calixt would once again subscribe to the *Augsburg Confession* and *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* when he was made *professor primarius* on July 21, 1636 by Duke August the Younger of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1579–1666).<sup>64</sup> At the same time, the

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<sup>60</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:251.

<sup>61</sup> Friedrich Ulrich's December 6, 1613 *Religionsassecuracion* is cited in Philip Christian Ribbentrop, *Sammlung der Landtagsabschiede, Fürstlichen Reversalen und anderer Urkunden, die landschaftliche Verfassung des Herzogthums Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttelschen Theils betreffend* (Helmstedt: Fleckeisen, 1793–97), 1:242; Johann Christoph Stübner, *Historische Beschreibung der Kirchenverfassung in den Herzogl. Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Landen seit der Reformation* (Goslar: Ernst Wilhelm Gottlieb Kircher, 1800), 83, 113–15.

<sup>62</sup> Mager, *Die Konkordienformel*, 467, 496. In 1591 Duke Heinrich Julius was prompted because of political reasons to resolve the controversy over ubiquity between Daniel Hoffmann and the Swabian-born Wittenberg theology professor in exile and current superintendent of the city of Braunschweig, Polykarp Leyser the Elder, with a *Revers* (legal declaration), which sanctioned the *Formula of Concord's* moderate interpretation and which subsequent theological professors had to sign. The text of the 1591 *Revers* is cited in Mager, *Die Konkordienformel*, 466–67.

<sup>63</sup> "Ego ... hac mea manu profiteor testorque me doctrinam e prophetarum et Apostolorum scriptis in Corpore doctrinae Julio Symbolisque confessionibus et libris in eodem comprehensis aut adprobatis expositam toto animo amplecti et sincere ac constanter omni mea vita docere et tueri velle," cited in Mager, *Die Konkordienformel*, 499. The *Pfarrbestallungsreverse* from the time of Friedrich Ulrich are also not extant.

<sup>64</sup> The July 21, 1636 *Anstellungsrevers* reads, "Sich in lehren, lesen, disputiren und schreiben dem wahren reinen wort Gottes, der Augspurgischen ... confession, dem corpori doctrinae Julio und andern in unsern Fürstenthumben und Landen Hergebrachten libris symbolicis gemeiß auch in leben und verhalten also bezeigen," solle, wie einem primario facultatis aignet und geziemet," cited in Mager, *Die Konkordienformel*, 496–97.



promotion oath recorded in the 1650 visitation's recess only bound candidates to Calixt's delineation of the *consensus antiquitatis* and the *Augsburg Confession* as well as the upholding of the honor of the University of Helmstedt.<sup>65</sup> Horst Dreitzel and Inge Mager, therefore suggest, the land might never have been completely without the *Formula of Concord*, if it had not been for the electors' refusal to alter the text of the confession or the efforts of Professor Georg Calixt.<sup>66</sup> The reasoning behind the text of the promotion oath will become clearer as Calixt's Lutheran irenicism unfolds.

Between the end of 1614 and the start of 1615, Calixt completed an oration on the papacy, only to produce two more orations on the papacy for the hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. In contrast to the Orthodox Lutherans, who denied Roman Catholics and Calvinists were Christians because they did not adhere to all the fundamental doctrines (i.e., doctrines necessary for salvation), these orations regard all baptized adherents of Christ as Christians, suggesting that Calixt had already begun to reduce the number of doctrines Orthodox Lutherans typically deemed fundamental.<sup>67</sup> Still they also considered the pope to be the Antichrist, Roman

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<sup>65</sup> "Reverendi etc. candidati, priusquam vobis summis in Theologia vel in Philosophia gradus conferatur, duobus digitis huic sceptro appositis iurabitis primum quidem in religionem Christianam, Catholicam et Apostolicam, in Scriptis veteris et novi Testamenti fundatam, de tribus priscae Ecclesiae Symbolis, Apostolico Nicaeno et Athanasiano nec non Anathematismis Ephesinis et expositione Chalcedonensi declaratam, uberius autem Augustana Confessione Carolo quinto Imperatori anno superioris seculi trigesimo oblata expositam. Deinde iurabitis fidem et gratitudinem Serenissimae Domui Principum Brunsvicensium et Luneburgensium, imprimis Magnificentissimo huius Academiae Juliae Rectori et qui eius vices gerit Magnifico Prorectori, vestro Promotor et omnibus huius Academiae Professoribus. Jurabitis etiam vos hunc gradum in huius Universitatis ignominiam alibi repetere nolle, sed de ipsa eiusque Professoribus, ubiquemque vixeritis, honorifice sentire et loqui velle. Jurabitis aequae vos hunc ipsum, quem modo consequimini gradum, vitae sanctimonia morumque intergritate condecoratos, in explicandis Scripturis et dogmatibus odiosas et pernitiosas contentions non moturos, sed paci et concordiae sedantisque potius controversiis quam exacerbandis vel augendis operam duros. Denique iurabitis, ut pios cordatos et eruditos Theologos decet, ad Dei gloriam Ecclesiaeque Catholicae tranquillitatem et incrementum omnia, quaecumque feceritis, facturos esse. Ita Deus vobis sit propitius," cited in Inge Mager, "Theologische Promotionen an der Universität Helmstedt im ersten Jahrhundert des Bestehen," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 69 (1971): 98.

<sup>66</sup> Dreitzel, *Protestantischer*, 40; Mager, *Die Konkordienformel*, 467, 499-501.

<sup>67</sup> Wilfried Joest, "Fundamentalartikel," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–2004), 11:727–32. The former Wittenberg theology professor and Superintendent of Lübeck, Nicolaus Hunnius (1585–1643), had already spelled out the classical Lutheran distinction between primary fundamental doctrines (i.e.,

Catholicism to be a sect, and union with Rome to be impossible.<sup>68</sup> In 1617 Calixt declined a call to the University of Frankfurt (Oder), insisting in 1651 against the Orthodox Lutherans that if he were a Calvinist, he would not have returned it.<sup>69</sup> The Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg (1572–1619), who converted to Calvinism in 1613, had probably heard about Calixt from his daughter, Anna Sophia (1598–1659), the wife of Friedrich Ulrich. The elector no doubt believed this Philippist, who was already being accused of Calvinism, might be of service to him. Calixt also declined a call to Nuremberg’s University of Altdorf in 1624. Altdorf had refrained from subscription to the *Formula of Concord* and sought a learned professor well versed in the writings of Melancthon.<sup>70</sup>

On October 3, 1619, Georg Calixt married Catharina Gertener (1592–1654), the daughter of a Helmstedt mayor and childless widow of Conrad Pauli (d. 1617). She bore him four children; two that died soon after childbirth, as well as Johann Erich (d. 1627) and Friedrich

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articles of which one cannot be ignorant or deny to be saved), secondary fundamental doctrines (i.e., articles of which one can be ignorant, but cannot deny to be saved), and non-fundamental doctrines (i.e., articles of which one can be ignorant or deny and still be saved). On this basis, Hunnius concluded that there could be no communion between Lutherans and Reformed because they were not in fundamental agreement with each other. Calixt's Lutheran irenicism is founded on this same distinction. However, he will conclude that Lutherans and Reformed are in fundamental agreement because his list of fundamental doctrines was smaller than Hunnius' list. See Nicolaus Hunnius, *Dia,skoyij Theologica De Fundamentali Dissensu Doctrinae Evangelicae-Lutheranae, Et Calvinianae, seu Reformatae* (Wittenberg: Helwig, 1626); Robert Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970), 1:143–54.

<sup>68</sup> Georg Calixt, *De Pontifice Romano Orationes Tres*, ed. Friedrich Ulrich Calixt (Helmstedt: Taeger, 1658). These three orations were first published in 1658 by Calixt's son, Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, two years after Georg died. See Henke, *Georg*, 1:267–71. "Omnes mortales qui Christo nomen dederunt et per baptismum inserti sunt." See Calixt, *De Pontifice*, 50, cited in Schüssler, *Georg*, 50, 193. "Animadverto inter omnes haereticos eminere, quos quoties a nonnullis Catholicos adpellari audio, ... eos dico qui Romanum Pontificem universae ecclesiae praesidem, ... principem, imo universi orbis Dominum agnoscunt et adorant. Non esse aliam sectam perniciosiorem nemo, credo vestrum est, ... qui dubitet aut ignoret." See Calixt, *De Pontifice*, 3, cited in Schüssler, *Georg*, 193. "Si Pontifex est Antichristus, quicumque amat Christum, cum illo societatem nullam contrahat, contractam ocyns solvate et si aliter fieri nequeat, ultra Sauromatas et Indos, quinimo ultra anni solisque vias se proripiat potius quam ut cum illo quicquam commercii habeat." See Calixt, *De Pontifice*, quoted in Leube, *Kalvinismus*, 280.

<sup>69</sup> Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, X x iv–Y y. See also Bodo Nischan, "The Schools of Brandenburg and the 'Second Reformation': Centers of Calvinist Learning and Propaganda," in *Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of Confessionalism* (Alderhot: Ashgate, 1999), XI:215–33.

<sup>70</sup> Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 12–14. See also Calixt's 1646 explanation of his Lutheran irenicism for the Nuremberg Scholarchen in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 98–99.

Ulrich Calixt (1622–1701).<sup>71</sup> While Friedrich Ulrich Calixt never garnered the respect that Erich received from their father, Friedrich Ulrich Calixt had the highest respect for his father, zealously defended his theology, and tirelessly promoted his legacy during the Syncretistic Controversy. In 1621 Georg Calixt's beloved mentor, Cornelius Martini, passed away.

### **The Lutheran Irenicism of Georg Calixt**

The Syncretistic Controversy was inaugurated by Georg Calixt's theological synthesis, pejoratively dubbed *syncretism*. It was marked by a departure from the *Formula of Concord* in Christology, soteriology, ecclesiology, and authority. But at the heart of this synthesis was his Lutheran irenicism. In light of his own interpretation of the Lutheran Reformation and his fundamentalistic reading of the *Augsburg Confession*, Calixt sought mutual toleration and hoped for an eventual God-given communion between the confessions of Christendom (i.e., between Roman Catholics and Lutherans first and foremost, but with the Reformed as well). The basis for this toleration was the fundamental agreement each confession shared by virtue of their adherence to the *Apostles' Creed*, a symbol Calixt himself recognized as non-apostolic. Calixt further articulated a historically static Vincentian conception of the *consensus antiquitatis*, which for practical reasons he limited to the ecumenical councils, a number of particular councils, and certain Greek and Latin Fathers of the first five centuries. It served as a parallel articulation of the fundamental doctrine, a second principle of knowledge alongside Scripture, as well as the arbitrator of controversies between the confessions of Christendom.

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<sup>71</sup> Freytag, "Calixtus," 3:61.

In contrast to older Calixtine scholarship, Georg Calixt was not yet a Lutheran irenicist when he penned his *De Pontifice Romano Orationes Tres*.<sup>72</sup> Subsequent scholarship has recognized a shift in Calixt from a polemic to a new irenic position.<sup>73</sup> The catalyst for Calixt's irenic thought was the Thirty Years' War. Hermann Schüssler has shown that the devastation which the great confessions inflicted upon one another in the Thirty Years' War prompted Calixt to examine whether or not there really was a fundamental division between the confessions.<sup>74</sup> Drawing on the work of Friedrich Kantzenbach,<sup>75</sup> Hermann Schüssler and Christoph Böttigheimer argue, much like Abraham Calov,<sup>76</sup> that Georg Calixt developed his irenic program during the 1620s through his exposure to the Old Catholic or the Erasmian irenicism of Georg Cassander (1513–66) and Marco Antonio de Dominis (1560–1624),<sup>77</sup> rather than through exposure to Reformed irenicism. The latter generally focused exclusively on Protestant

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<sup>72</sup> Henke, *Georg*, 1:124; Gaß, *Geschichte*, 2:68ff.

<sup>73</sup> Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte*, 4:374, 4:398ff; Leube, *Kalvinismus*, 289ff.

<sup>74</sup> Schüssler, *Georg*, 45–49.

<sup>75</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach connects Calixt with Erasmian humanism, but does not deem him to be an irenicist until after 1634. See Kantzenbach, *Das Ringen*, 234.

<sup>76</sup> Schüssler, *Georg*, 45–52; Böttigheimer, *Zwischen*, 385; Calov, *Historia*, 185–96. Schüssler's argument runs as follows: First, Calixt knew about the first part of de Dominis' *Respublica Ecclesiastica* in 1617. The third part of de Dominis' *Respublica Ecclesiastica*, including book VII that contained his explanation of church unity, appeared in Hanau by 1622. Calixt makes use of this text directly and indirectly in his 1628 commentary on Titus, his 1628 *Apparatus sive introductio in studium et disciplinam Sanctae Theologiae*, and his 1629 *Prooemium ad Augustini 'De Doctrina Christiana' et Vincentii Lerinensis 'Commonitorium'*. Second, Calixt's mature Lutheran irenicism claimed all confessions were agreed on the fundamental doctrines as contained in the *Apostles' Creed*, employed early church tradition as the hermeneutical key for confirming the proper explication of the fundamental articles contained in the creed, and focused primarily on Roman Catholic-Protestant reconciliation. Cassander and De Dominis shared these same ideas.

<sup>77</sup> Irena Backus adds, "I argue that to Cassander the church of the first five centuries provided the universal standard of orthodoxy, regardless of how it interpreted the Bible. He thus takes it for granted that the early church was not free from heresies. Although he does not establish a correlation between the early church and either Catholics or Protestants, in *De duabus in Christo naturis* he does establish an exact correlation between the ancient heretics Eutyches and Nestorius on the one hand, and sixteenth-century Anabaptists Menno Simmons and Adam Pastor on the other." See her "The Early Church as a Model of Religious Unity in the Sixteenth Century: Georg Cassander and Georg Witzel," in *Conciliation and Confession. The Struggle for Unity in the Age of Reform, 1415–1648*, ed. Howard P. Louthan and Randall C. Zachman (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 107–8. See also Erika Rummel, "Erasmus and the Restoration of Unity in the Church," in *Conciliation and Confession. The Struggle for Unity in the Age of Reform, 1415–1648*, ed. Howard P. Louthan and Randall C. Zachman (Notre

reconciliation until Calvinism had legal status in the empire by means of the 1648 Peace of Westphalia.<sup>78</sup> This being said, Andreas Merkt posits that Calixt should rather be interpreted as a confessional irenicist, who was very much shaped by humanist irenicism.<sup>79</sup> He makes this assertion on the basis of two essays penned by Guillaume H. M. Posthumus Meyjes and Rob Van der Schoor respectively. Meyjes distinguished "humanist irenicists" from "confessional irenicists." The former stood "in the tradition of Erasmus," were "as a rule not profession theologians," and "the distinction between the *necessaria* and *non necessaria* was fundamental to their irenicism." The latter "stood firmly on the floor of a determined confession" and "conducted disputes around confessions."<sup>80</sup> On the basis of this distinction, Rob Van der Schoor opined that Calixt was a confessional irenic:

It is indeed probably in the consensus of opinion about the early church as the common basis for all confessions that the prime explanation for Calixtus's interest in the sixteenth-century irenicist [Cassander] lies. But there is more: from the polemic with which the confessional irenicist Calixtus, to whom irenicism really meant a continuation of the Reformation, surrounded the so much calmer prose of the old humanist, as if it wished to seduce and inflame those old lines, we can also see that Calixtus is trying to make of venerable Cassander, the man who had always placed himself above squabbling, a comrade in arms. In the way he uses the humanist heritage we see the confessional irenicist Calixtus, and in that light a reference to a theologian like de Dominis seems no longer so wide of the mark.<sup>81</sup>

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Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 62–72.

<sup>78</sup> Howard Hotson argues that Reformed irenicism in the empire was motivated by imperial, international, and territorial concerns. Imperially the Reformed needed to convince Lutherans that "they too had a right to legal protection under the terms of the Peace of Augsburg" (i.e., Calvinism too should have legal status in the empire under the umbrella of the CA), and that "they needed to persuade Lutheran princes and cities to join with them in resisting any attempt to repress either of the two Reformations by force." Internationally, the Reformed argued to Lutherans that they need to take up the common evangelical cause against Rome. Territorially, the Reformed maintained that peaceful coexistence should occur between Lutherans and Reformed subjects in lands where their former Lutheran rulers converted to Calvinism but were unable to Calvinize their Lutheran populace. See his "Irenicism in the Confessional Age: The Holy Roman Empire, 1563–1648," in *Conciliation and Confession. The Struggle for Unity in the Age of Reform, 1415–1648*, ed. Howard P. Louthan and Randall C. Zachman (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 239–45, 259.

<sup>79</sup> Merkt, *Das Patristische*, 25, 86–91.

<sup>80</sup> Meyjes, "Protestants," 205–22, referenced in Merkt, *Das Patristische*, 25.

<sup>81</sup> Van de Schoor, "Reprints," 175.

This current study also maintains that Calixt was a confessional irenicist, who was very much indebted to the thought of Georg Cassander and Marco Antonio de Dominis, particularly their conception of the *Apostles' Creed* and the *consensus antiquitatis*. It does this not to dispute Calixt's use of Renaissance humanism, or attempt to fill humanism with any philosophical content, which is sometimes latent in the aforementioned studies and definitions of Old Catholic, Erasmian, or humanist irenicism. It is also aware of Calixt's departure from many prevailing concepts in Lutheranism. Rather this current study will demonstrate that Georg Calixt was a confessional irenicist not only because he believed that the Lutheran Reformation was necessary, but also because he maintained that the *Augsburg Confession* was a restoration of the doctrine of the ancient church.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, he felt he was being a faithful Lutheran by calling Roman Catholics first and foremost, but also the Reformed, back to the doctrine of the ancient church. In addition, he focused much of his efforts on exposing Roman Catholic deviations, Reformed deviations, and in his estimation some Lutheran deviations (such as ubiquity) from the catholic faith, which is most faithfully expressed among the confessions by those who simply adhere to the *Augsburg Confession*. He grounded his Lutheran irenicism on the distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental doctrine. Finally, he focused on doctrinal agreement as the basis for communion between confessions, rather than liturgical uniformity, provided that liturgical *cultus* did not deviate from the *consensus antiquitatis*.

Georg Calixt centered his irenic efforts in writings, book dedications, the acquisition of a printing press, correspondence, theological conferences, and the gaining of the support of politicians.<sup>83</sup> In the winter of 1624–25, Calixt and his close friend and coworker, Conrad

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<sup>82</sup> E. L. T. Henke argues that the CA was nothing more to Calixt than a document of expedience. See Henke, *Georg*, 1:534–35. Werner Elert states that Calixt disavowed the CA and deemed it superfluous. See Elert, *The Structure*, 209–10.

<sup>83</sup> Mager, "Georg Calixt—der niedersächsische," 88.

Horneius, housed a very interesting guest in their home, Metrophanes Kritopulos (1589–1639), a Greek Orthodox monk from Mount Athos. The former Patriarch of Alexandria, current Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, and Reformed sympathizer, Kyril Lukaris (1572–1638), sent Kritopulos in 1617 to study theology at the University of Oxford under the direction of George Abbot (1562–1633), a Puritan sympathizing opponent of William Laud's (1573–1645) high church party. After six years of study at Oxford and London, Kritopulos visited the Protestant churches and universities of Switzerland and Germany. In Geneva he presented Kyril Lukaris' three theses for church reunion. During his visit to Bremen, its Reformed preacher, Ludwig Crocius (1586–1653), recommended that he meet with Georg Calixt.<sup>84</sup> It appears that Calixt had already begun to develop his Lutheran irenicism and shared a common disposition with the Greek monk.<sup>85</sup> Referencing Galatians 3:28 Calixt wrote in May of 1625 in Kritopulos' album, "Ouvk e;ni vloudai/oj ouvde. e[llhn\ pa,ntej ga.r ei-j evste evn Cristw/| vIhsou/." He further adds, "... in memory and good will, but chiefly of the union, therefore evident, between the catholic church and apostolic Greek church and the whole oriental church."<sup>86</sup> Prompted by the Helmstedt faculty, Kritopulos also penned a confession of faith that included the western church in Christ's church.<sup>87</sup> Even though Kritopulos later signed the Eastern Orthodox anathemas against Kyril Lukaris, it appears that he found some common ground with Calixt.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Crocius' September 13, 1624 letter to Calixt introducing Kritopulos is cited in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 14–15. See also Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 47–49.

<sup>85</sup> Schüssler, *Georg*, 99–100.

<sup>86</sup> "Memoriae et benevolentiae, praeipue vero conjunctionis cum ecclesia catholica et apostolica Graeciae totiusque Orientis testandae ergo," cited in Johannes Dräseke, "Metrophanes Kritopulos," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, n. s. 1, 2 (1893): 588.

<sup>87</sup> Metrophanes Kritopulos, *Confessio catholicae et apostolicae in oriente ecclesiae, conscripta compendiose per M. C., hieromonachum quondam et patriarchalem Constantinopolitanum protosyngelum, ed. Et latinitate donata a J. Hornejo* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1661); Schüssler, *Georg*, 101.

<sup>88</sup> Martin Luther and the Lutheran Confessions also made very favorable statements about the Greek Church. Luther appealed to the Greek Church in his debates with Eck. The Greek Church is cited six times in the Ap, two

On October 15, 1626 Calixt gave an oration for the 51<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the founding of the university, titled *Oratio de Caesareae maiestatis dignitate et auctoritate*. It was delivered before a meager audience, since nearly all the professors and students had fled the university because of the plague and the Thirty Years' War. It had two significant foci. Politically speaking, it advised the princes to remain faithful to the emperor and to avoid foreign alliances that would ultimately threaten the empire.<sup>89</sup> Calixt retained this imperialist stance throughout his life, which was something he shared with Electoral Saxony. Theologically speaking, it argued confessional division was the chief cause behind the Thirty Years' War.<sup>90</sup> What is more significant, it claimed both sides were "Christians," and it hoped for a softening of polemics through moderation and erudition.<sup>91</sup>

Calixt presented his first list of "the articles of the faith and the fundamental doctrines of salvation" (*articuli fidei & fundamenta salutis*) in his comments on Titus 3:9 from his 1628 *In Epistolam Sancti Apostoli Pavli Ad Titum Expositio Literalis*. The list includes the Trinity,

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times in the SA, and once in the FC. The Tübingen theological faculty conducted a dialogue from 1572–79 with Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremiah II (1536–95), during the formulation of the *Formula of Concord*. The *Consensus Repetitus* was willing to call Greek Orthodox "Christians" as opposed to Roman Catholics and the Reformed. Nevertheless, the significance of Calixt's dialogue should not be underplayed. See also Georg Mastrantonis, *Augsburg and Constantinople: The Correspondence between the Tübingen Theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession* (Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1982); CR1664 VII, VIII, & XXVIII:1; CR1846 59.

<sup>89</sup> Georg Calixt, "Oratio de Caesareae maiestatis dignitate et auctoritate. 1626," in *Ethische Schriften*, vol. 3 of *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Inge Mager (Göttingen: Vandenoock & Ruprecht, 1970), 3:180, 3:184–87.

<sup>90</sup> "Utinam hi ipsi et quotquot uspiam gentium sunt, sacrorum praesides et doctores, in hoc fatali religionis dissidio (ut principem quoquo malorum causam obiter attingamus), ab animi aequitate et moderatione non deflectant nec privitas aut nuper natas sententias niriium ament." See Calixt, "Oratio de Caesareae," 3:188.

<sup>91</sup> "Si ab omni parte cum adversariorum tum nostra ea esset animi aequitas et moderatio, quae deceret Christianos et homines fideles in unum eundemque Deum Deique Filium mundi servatorem credentes; si ea esset eruditio, quae doctores rerum sacrarum et tantae controversariae advocatos non leviter tinxisset, sed plane imbuisset; si candor et integritas, absque quibus nec maxima eruditio multum profuerit; si minus intemperanter alii in alios debaccharemur et cum lenitate et mansuetudine bonis potius et validis argumentis quam acribus conviciis ageremus; si alii ab aliis discere sustineremus; si ista, inquam, fierent, spes esset, dissidia ecclesiastica, si non penitus tolli et aboleri posse, tamen minui et diffidentiam illam, qua propter diversitatem sentiendi ordines Imperii populique et nationes summo cum discrimine hodie colliduntur, itidem vel sublaturum vel imminutum iri." Calixt, "Oratio de Caesareae," 3:189.



creation, the incarnation, baptismal regeneration, the oral reception of the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and that believers in the gospel are preserved by the grace of God and pious living.<sup>92</sup> He goes on to attribute divisions in Christendom and the terrible schism (*horrendum schisma*) to two factors. The first is "the immense and immoderate ambition and tyranny of the Roman bishop." The second is that "we [Lutherans] make chief doctrines and fundamentals from subtleties and insignificant controversies, and we who least of all understand it, mostly determine in one or the other part, the things under the designation *evterodoxi,aj* or heresies."<sup>93</sup> If this schism is to be mended, Calixt opined, the doctrines necessary for salvation must be distinguished from the less necessary, undeterminable, superfluous, and the non-useful ones.<sup>94</sup> With these last remarks, Calixt is indicating that non-fundamental doctrines are unnecessary for church reconciliation.

In 1629 Calixt obtained the right to print, which not only brought about a groundswell of publications by Calixt, but it helped transmit his irenic ideas beyond the confines of the duchy. The first publication of Calixt's newly purchased printing press was a 1629 reprint of Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* and Vincent of Lerins' *Commonitorium*, which he introduced with a *Prooemium* or preface. This tome was dedicated to Basilius Sattler's successor, Peter Tuckermann (1580–1651), perhaps as an attempt to win his support. At any rate,

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<sup>92</sup> "Vt Quod vnus sit Deus, qui Pater, Filius & Spiritus sanctus; Quod idem mundum condiderit; Quod Filius pro nobis homo factus; Quod per baptismum nos regeneret; Quod in Eucharistia corpus suam manducandum nobis praebeat; Quod in gratia Dei credentes Euangelio pieque viuentes seruemur." See Georg Calixt, *In Epistolam Sancti Apostoli Pavli Ad Titvm Expositio Literalis in Acad. Jvliæ, Anno, Sypereiore, Pvblice Propositia*, 2nd ed. (Helmstedt: Lucius, 1636), 34–35.

<sup>93</sup> "Vnum quidem immensam & immoderatam Romani episcopi ambitionem & tyrannidem; alteram vero, quod e quibusvis subtilitatibus & minutijs controuersias capitales siue fundamentales facimus easque in alterutram partem sub nota *evterodoxi,aj* & haereseos plerumque determinant, qui omnium minime rem intelligunt." See Calixt, *In Epistolam*, 35.

<sup>94</sup> "Quemadmodum autem in occidente, pro dolor! in eum rerum statum denenimus, vt omnio quaestiones multas disputari & controversias tractari oporteat; quicquid ejus est negotij, id totam demandetur viris exacti ingenij, solidae eruditionis & animi moderati. Illi dogmata pure necessaria ab alijs minus necessarijs, & a questionibus indeterminabilibus, superfluis & inutilibus segregant." See Calixt, *In Epistolam*, 36.

Tuckermann's response was favorable.<sup>95</sup> In the *Prooemium*, Calixt developed the two principles of his irenic theology: Scripture and the *consensus antiquitatis*. Inge Mager explains,

Augustine's explanation in his introduction to biblical studies corresponds exactly with Calixt's view of Scripture as first principle. And what Vincent of Lerins had once worked out in his memoir against Augustine's "new" doctrine of grace concerning the validity of church tradition in determining truth, is virtually identical with Calixt's conception of the "consensus quinquesaecularis."<sup>96</sup>

Calixt posited a need for the *consensus antiquitatis* to counteract heretics and their misuse of Scripture. Scripture is regarded to be the fount and source of true and legitimate tradition, the latter of which is subordinate to Scripture.<sup>97</sup> In harmony with his teacher, Johann Caselius, Calixt understood authentic catholic tradition in terms of the Vincentian Canon of universality, antiquity, and consensus (i.e., legitimate tradition is that which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all).<sup>98</sup> Such tradition is derived from two streams, namely, the symbols,

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<sup>95</sup> Georg Calixt, "Prooemium ad Augustini 'De Doctrina Christiana' et Vincentii Lerinensis 'Commonitorium' 1655," in *Einleitung in die Theologie*, vol. 1 of *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. by Inge Mager (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 3:367–68. Tuckermann's response is cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:440–41.

<sup>96</sup> Inge Mager's *Einleitung* for Calixt, "Prooemium," 1:365–66. See also Calixt, *Apparatus*, 1:250ff. Johannes Wallmann states, "Vom *consensus antiquitatis* (die verbreitete Formel *consensus quinquesaecularis* is nicht von Calixt, sondern von seinem Straßburger Gegner Johann Georg Dorsch 1648 geprägt worden) hatte die Theologie schon vor Calixt gesprochen. Auch für J. Gerhard was es gewiß, daß die alte Kirche in den ersten fünf Jahrhunderten die apostolische Lehre bewahrt habe (Loci, ed. Cotta XI, 325) und daß man in den einzelnen Kontroversen den Konsens mit der alten Kirche zu demonstrieren habe (a.a.O. 335). Neu ist nicht die Rede vom *consensus antiquitatis*, sondern der Gebrauch, den Calixt macht, wenn er ihn als ein zweites Erkenntnisprinzip neben die Heilige Schrift setzt und im Rekurs auf ihn das sicherste Mittel zur Behebung der konfessionellen Kontroversen sieht." See Wallmann, "Georg," 7:554; Johann Gerhard, *Loci theologici cum pro abstruenda veritate tum pro destruenda quorumvis contradicentium falsitate per theses nervose solide et copiose explicati*, ed. Ed. Preuss (Berlin: Gust. Schlawitz, 1863–85), Locus 15, Paragraph 203ff (Hereafter 11:203ff).

<sup>97</sup> "Vincentii vero opusculum, quomodo historia ecclesia et cognitione antiquitatis ad confundendos et constringendos haereticos recte utendum sit, ostendit." See Calixt, "Prooemium," 1:371, 381. "Ideo Vincentius Scripturis traditionem subiungit, et tum quae sint legitimae traditionis requisita, notae sive proprietates indicat, tum quomodo ad dignoscendum, fugiendum, et convincendum haereses recte ea utendum sit demonstrat." See Calixt, "Prooemium," 1:381. "Uterius sequitur Sacram scripturam et ipsa quidem Novi testamenti ut fundamentum fidei ita quoquo fontem esse verae et legitimae antiquitatis ecclesiasticae." See Calixt, "Prooemium," 1:387.

<sup>98</sup> "Legitimae itaque traditionis tres iuxta Vincentium notae sunt: Universitas, Antiquitatis et in ipsa antiquitate Consensio, quam ita aliquando effert, ut dicat tenendum esse, quod 'Universaliter Antiquitus' traditum fuerit, ut cap. IV et XXV. Aiquando Universitatis Et Antiquitatis Consensionem coniungit, omnes tres notas hac locutione combinando ut cap XXXIV, antepenultimo et ultimo. Alibi dicit: 'Teneamus quod Ubique, quod Semper, quod Ab Omnibus creditum fuit' (cap. 3.) Vir priscae et eruditionis et pietatis Iohannes Caselius, magnum quondam Iuliae nostrae totiusque Germaniae ornamentum, in junc modum alicubi extulit (ad Laur. Scheurl, novam acad. hospitem):

confessions, and declarations of the universal church councils on one hand, and the consensus of the church fathers on the other.<sup>99</sup> Herein Calixt also clearly recognizes and articulates the presuppositional undergirding for his *consensus antiquitatis*:

The sum of those things, which we have said, is that it could not be possible that the universal church, especially the church of the first ages, could embrace falsities instead of the chief points or articles of the faith, and propagate them to posterity; that the church, I say, could have erred in all antiquity in the fundamentals of religion.<sup>100</sup>

As a confessional irenicist, Georg Calixt then closes the *Prooemium*, arguing that Rome has departed from the fundamentals or ancient faith with respect to papal claims to worldly authority and papal infallibility. Rome's understanding of the authentic text of Scripture, indulgences, the Eucharist, veneration of Mary, purgatory, priestly celibacy, etc. are deemed further aberrations from the consensus of the fathers.<sup>101</sup>

Georg Calixt's comprehensive introduction to the study of theology, the *Apparatus sive introductio in studium et disciplinam Sanctae Theologiae*, was initiated before the *Prooemium*, but was not published until 1656. This study guide is closely related to the *Prooemium* and treats the following subjects: the concept of theology and the tasks of theologians, the ancillary disciplines of theology, the church fathers' approval of such disciplines for theology and the

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'Quae religiosissimi omnibus seculis, omnibus locis inter se consentientia tradiderunt, ea demum sunt avlhqwj kaqolika.'" See Calixt, "Prooemium," 1:382. Martin Chemnitz also favored the Vincentian Canon, but he modified it and grounded it firmly in Scripture: "Quia vero Catholicum hoc est, sicut Lerinensis non male definit, quod semper, quod ubique, et ab omnibus fidelibus, ex Scriptura constanter receptum fuit." See Martin Chemnitz, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, ed. Ed. Preuss (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1915), 721.

<sup>99</sup> "Ulterius sequitur Sacram scripturam et ipsa quidem Novi testamenti ut fundamentum fidei ita quoquo fontem esse verae et legitimae antiquitatis ecclesiasticae." See Calixt, "Prooemium," 1:387. "Traditio igitur ex antiquitate derivatur per duos rivos: unum quidem symbolorum, confessionum et declarationum, ut plurimum ab Universalibus conciliis emanantium, alterum consentientium doctorum scriptorumque, quorum hic quasi continuo et nusquam interciso fluxa labitur, ille videri potest deficere alicubi vel interrumpi." See Calixt, "Prooemium," 1:398.

<sup>100</sup> "Summa eorum, quae diximus, huc redit non potuisse fieri, ut ecclesia universa, inprimis ecclesia primorum seculorum in vicem capitum sive articulorum fidei falsitates amplecteretur et ad posteros propagaret, ut ecclesia, in quam universaliter antiquitatus in fundamentis religionis erraret." See Calixt, "Prooemium," 1:392.

<sup>101</sup> Calixt, "Prooemium," 1:368, 402–6.

interpretation of Scripture, the necessity of philology and philosophy for exegesis and dogmatics, the essence of religion and various marks of the world religions, the history and state of Christianity in the world, Christian literature and the history of ideas with special consideration to papal history, the progression and order of theological study, and the main themes of church history in light of the struggle between the *Imperium* and *Sacerdotium*.<sup>102</sup> He opens the work distinguishing between faith and theology. In contrast to faith, Calixt argued theology was only necessary for the clergy so as to explain, prove, and defend the faith.<sup>103</sup> Calixt asserts the necessity of Luther's Reformation as deliverance from the manifold abuses under the Roman Pontiff.<sup>104</sup> Still he laments that those who under the pretext of the Reformation or evangelical freedom have caused heresies, errors, and sects. He goes on to define the articles of the catholic faith as those first set forth in the *Apostles' Creed*:

With men of such a kind [who caused heresies, errors, and sects], we have nothing in common. We have embraced the doctrine delivered by the apostles contained in the sacred canonical Scripture and set forth in the symbols; first in the Apostolic, then in the Nicene and Constantinopolitan, to which is added the Athanasian; then in the confessions and declarations of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. We have received with a devout mind, and believed, whatever the faithful of the first ages, the doctors of the church and the martyrs of Christ received and believed, by common consent, as being necessary to salvation. We say anathema to all which they say: we condemn Manicheans, Donatists, Pelagians and all those they condemn. But such

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<sup>102</sup> Calixt, "Apparatus," 1:45–46.

<sup>103</sup> Calixt, "Apparatus," 1:65–66.

<sup>104</sup> "Fieri itaque aliter non poterat, quin sicut pridem a Romano episcopo secessionem facerat Oriens et licet saepius res tentaretur, constante tamen et firma unione numquam postea potuit coniungi, ita quoquo Occidens schisma parturirit et tandem eniteretur. Homines enim tantae tyrannidis, tot nundinationum et expilationum pertaesi sub iugi gemebant, et Deus ecclesiae suae misertus impietatem tandem voluit ulcisci, cum sine more modoque cumulatis superstitionibus et pecuniae aucupiis conculcarentur religio, profanarentur Sacramenta, a Servatore Christo abducerentur homines, et veniam delictorum factorum faciendorum et expiationem poenarum vivos mortuosve manentium et gaudio paradisi ad tinnitum nummorum e spectare iuberentur. Praeunte igitur et moderante divina excusserunt, ecclesiam a superstitionibus purgareunt Principibus securitatem et oboedientiam, Sacramentis integritatem, Scripturis suum usum et splendorem, Christo mediatori suam gloriam reddiderunt et mentes atque facultates suas in libertatem asseruerunt. Initium autem factum fuit eodem illo anno, quo finierat Lateranense concilium stabiliendae et adversus insultus quosvis muniendae, immo in immensum evehendae Pontificiae tyrannidi indictum et habitum." See Calixt, "Apparatus," 1:240–41.

matters as are not contained in Holy Scripture and were unknown to the entire period of purer antiquity, these we cannot consider to be articles of the Christian catholic faith; for we know and are most certain that whatever is necessary to be believed for salvation was believed by the apostles and by their disciples, the heads of the primitive church; and was written down in written records.<sup>105</sup>

Calixt is clearly functioning now with the *consensus antiquitatis* as a second principle of theology.<sup>106</sup>

At this point in his irenic development something extraordinary takes place. The pro-imperial Anti-Calvinist Electoral Saxons, who had fiercely opposed any religious or political alliances with the Reformed momentarily altered their political policy in light of the March 6, 1629 *Edict of Restitution*. This edict coupled with fear of becoming subjects of King Gustavus Adolphus II of Sweden (1594–1632) forced the Lutheran Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony (1585–1656), at the continual prodding of the Reformed Elector Georg Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Prussia (1595–1640), to gather the Protestant estates for a meeting in Leipzig. Neither Friedrich Ulrich nor his chief theologian, Calixt, appear to have attended, but the duke did send his chancellor, Arnold Engelbrecht (1582–1638). There a purely defensive alliance

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<sup>105</sup> "Cuiusmodi cum hominibus nihil commune est nobis, qui doctrinam ab Apostolis traditam sacrisque canonicis Scripturis comprehensam et expositam symbolis, primum quidem Apostolico, deinde Nicaeno et Constantinopolitano, quibus iungatur Athanasianum, tum confessionibus et declarationibus synodorum Ephesinae et Chalcedonensis, amplectimur; et devota mente recipimus atque credimus quicquid prisci fidelis, ecclesiae doctores et Christi martyres tamquam ad salutem necessarium unanimi consensu receperunt et crediderunt, anathema dicimus omnibus, quibus illi dixerunt: damnamus Manichaeos, Donatistas, Pelagianos et omnes, quos illi damnarunt. Quae vero in Scripturis non habentur et toti puriori antiquitati ignota fuerunt, articulos Christianae catholicae fidei reputare non possumus. Scimus enim et certissimi sumus quicquid ad saltem creditu necessarium est ab Apostolis et eorum discipulis, primitivae ecclesiae antistitibus creditum et literarum monumentis consignatum fuisse." See Calixt, "Apparatus," 1:244. Despite the fact that many earlier Lutherans had uncritically used similar language, the LC reads, "Aufs erste hat man bisher den Glauben geteilet in zwelf Artikel, wiewohl, wenn man alle Stück, so in der Schrift stehen und zum Glauben gehören, einzeln fassen sollte, gar viel mehr Artikel sind, auch nicht alle deutlich mit so wenig Worten mügen ausdrückt werden." See LC 2 (BSLK 646–47).

<sup>106</sup> "Demonstrabitur autem tamquam primario argumento per Scripturas canonicas, tamquam secundario per legitimam traditionem sive per testimonium vererandae antiquitatis et consensum priscae citra controversiam orthodoxae ecclesiae eiusque doctorum. Sed utrumque hunc demonstrandi modum suo loco plene explicabimus, nunc oblitter et in transcurso saltim tangimus. Neque dubium est, quin omnes articuli fidei sive necessaria dogmata cum e Scripturis et solide et perspicue demonstrari, tum perpetuo et unanimi Apostolicae et catholicae ecclesiae consensu confirmari queant. Contra vero quae nec in Scripturis habeantur aut ex iis valida et manifesta consequentia deduci possint nec antiquitati curae fuerint aut ad eius notitiam pervenerint, ad salutem necessaria non esse." See

materialized in the 1631 Leipzig Bund to defend the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire by creating a neutral third force between the imperial, League, and foreign armies. This political union materialized in the 1631 Leipzig Bund.<sup>107</sup> The theologians of the aforementioned sovereigns met for the Leipzig Colloquy (March 3–23, 1631) to examine, where they agreed and disagreed on the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession*. The significance of the colloquy was that one of the harshest Lutheran opponents of the Calvinism and Austrian-born first Dresden *Oberhofprediger*, Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg (1580–1645), reached the highest level of accord with Calvinists up until that point! But once the Lutherans were able to regain the *status quo* with the Roman Catholics in the Thirty Years' War, the Electoral Saxons soon ignored the agreement that had been reached with these Reformed irenicists and returned to their old polemics against the Reformed.<sup>108</sup>

The protocol from the Leipzig Colloquy encouraged Calixt's Lutheran irenicism. Two years later Duke Friedrich Ulrich attempted another religious discussion with the Reformed to

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Calixt, "Apparatus," 1:256.

<sup>107</sup> In contradistinction to past scholarship, Bodo Nischan argues that the Elector Georg Wilhelm of Brandenburg under the influence of his privy council was the great advocate of Protestant rights not Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony (1585–1656). See "Brandenburg's Reformed Räte and the Leipzig Manifesto 1631," in *Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of Confessionalism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), XIV:365–80; Henke, *Georg*, 1:460.

<sup>108</sup> The Lutheran participants were the Electoral Saxon court-preacher, Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, the Leipzig theology professor, Heinrich Höpffner (1582–1642), and the Leipzig theology professor, Polykarp Leyser the Younger. The Reformed participants were the Brandenburg court-preacher, Johann Bergius (1587–1658), the Hessen-Kassel court-preacher, Theophilus Neuberger (1593–1656), and the Marburg theology professor, Johannes Crocius (1590–1659). An accord was reached on *Augsburg Confession* I-II, V-IX, XI-XXVIII. Both sides agreed on the doctrine of justification, but the Lutherans believed full agreement on *Augsburg Confession* IV required an accord on election. Here the Lutheran position of election in view of faith (*intuitu fidei*) butted heads with the Reformed position on election. There was also disagreement on the communication of attributes (*communicatio idiomatum*), oral eating (*mandicatio oralis*), eating of the unworthy (*mandicatio indignorum*). See "Colloquium Lipsiense, Das ist, Die Vnterredung deren zu Leizig im Jahr 1631. anwesenden Chur-Sächsischen, Chur-Brandenburgischen vnd Fürstlichen Hessischen Theologen, Von denen zwischen den Evangelischen streitigen Religions Punkten," in *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum*, ed. H. A. Niemeyer (Leipzig: Klinkhardt, 1840), 653–68; Bodo Nischan, "Reformed Irencism and the Leipzig Colloquy," in *Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of Confessionalism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), XIII: 3–26; J. L. Neve, *The Lutherans in the Movements for Church Union* (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication House, 1921), 57–62; Irene Dingel, "Religionsgespräche IV. Altgläubig-protestantischen und innerprotestantisch," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–2004), 28:666–67.

create a Protestant political union at the Frankfurt General Conference in 1634. There is no evidence that any theological discussions occurred at that conference. But Friedrich Ulrich's correspondence with the Helmstedt theological faculty regarding this conference demonstrates that Friedrich Ulrich had come to share Calixt's conception of Lutheran irenicism and that Calixt also took an active interest in mutual toleration with the Reformed.<sup>109</sup>

Calixt's efforts for mutual toleration with the Reformed can be seen in his correspondence as well. The Scottish Presbyterian clergyman, John Dury (Duraeus) (1595–1680), became involved in irenicism while serving an English congregation in Elbing that was under Swedish control. He obtained some support for his rather nebulous plan for Protestant reunion among the moderate Anglican bishops and proceeded to Germany with a declaration of their consent. Even though King Gustavus Adolphus II of Sweden and his court-preacher, Johannes Matthiae Gothus (1592–1670), favored Protestant reunion, Dury neither received the king's promised recommendation to the German princes, nor would he receive it from the Saxon-educated Swedish Chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna (1583–1654), after the king's death at Lützen (1632).<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> In 1633 Friedrich Ulrich petitioned the Helmstedt theological faculty in lieu of 1634 meeting at Frankfurt, "Euch wird nunmehr vorkommen sein, welchergestalt auf den 1. Martii ein Generalconvent aller evengelischer Stände nach Franfurt zu dem Ende beschrieben dass nicht allein eine beständige coniunctio consiliorum et armorum gestiftet, sondern auch auf eine allgemeine sichere und aufrechte compositio pacis gedacht werden möge. Was nun dabei zuvörderst von Gott dem Allmächt von Herzen wohl zu wünschen, dass sine göttliche Allmacht durch seinen h. Geist allen christlichen Herzen die Gnade verleihen wolle dass mit einmüthigem Herzen und Sinn öffentlich in allgemeiner Christenheit gelehret, geglaubt und in wahren Glauben und christlichem wohlgefälligem Thun und Lassen aus christlicher Liebe effectuirt, alle subtile weitgesuchte Intepretationes zurückgesetzt, und, wie in unterschiedlichen Synodis geschehen, kürzlich erläutert und explicirt würden ... wie füglich unitas ecclesiae so viel immer möglich zu stiften, auch ob und wie nahe insonderheit mit den Calvinisten, zu deren Lehr oder Confession wir aber Gottlob nicht incliniren, sondern bei der wahren Augsburgischen Confession bis an unser letztes Ende zu verharren gedenken, zusammen zu treten sei," cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:503. This can also be seen in the duke's subsequent petition asking for prayers, "Herzen zu inspiriren, wie doch mit einmüthigen Sinn und Herzen öffentlich unter allgemeinen Christen gelehret, geglaubet ... was in Gottes heiligem kräftigem Worte klärlich ohne schwere Auslegung und welt gesuchte subtile Interpretationes in dogmatibus offenbaret und geordnet, dann auch wie dasselbe in symbolo apostolico ratione articulorum in compendium gefasst, auch in Athanasiano, Niceno, Constantinopolitano, primo Ephesino, et Chalcedonensi erläutert worden," cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:504.

<sup>110</sup> Neve, *The Lutherans*, 77–80. Gustavus Adolphus' father also had Calvinist sympathies. Henke claims that Oxenstierna opposed Swedish episcopatism and favored Dury until 1638. See Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:252. See also Oxenstierna's son and Swedish Privy council member, Johan Oxenstierna's (1611–67), 1644 letter to Calixt in

Even so he tried to gain support for his plan from the princes anyway, and found the greatest support in Helmstedt.<sup>111</sup> More importantly, significant members of Swedish court and clergy were exposed to the thought of Calixt during this time, including the Swedish politician, Johann Adler Salvius (1590–1652); the former tutor of Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–89) and later Bishop of Strängnäs, Johannes Matthiae Gothus; the former Helmstedt student and later Åbo theology professor, Johannes Elai Terserus (1605–1678); the former Helmstedt student and later Archbishop of Uppsala, Lars Stigzelius (1598–1676); and the Swedish Queen herself, who found a home for Helmstedt sympathizers at the University of Uppsala and converted to Roman Catholicism in 1655. They all helped prompt the Syncretistic Controversy in Sweden.<sup>112</sup>

Matthias van Overbeck (d. 1638) had facilitated a cordial relationship between the University of Helmstedt and the University of Leiden for some time. This relationship helped bring Calixt to the attention of both Calvinists and Arminians alike. Calixt was thereby introduced to a Leiden theology professor, Gerardus (Gerrit Janszoon) Voss(ius) (1577–1649), who shared his irenic disposition. The two then took up a friendly correspondence.<sup>113</sup> Meanwhile Calixt had become enamored with the irenic work of Hugo Grotius (1593–1645), the Dutch Arminian jurist in exile and Swedish ambassador to Paris. Their learned exchange was facilitated by Brandan Dätius (1607–88), who was Calixt's student and the future Wolfenbüttel court-preacher, for whom Grotius obtained a call as the pastor of the Swedish embassy (1636–38) in

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Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 71–73.

<sup>111</sup> Dury's 1633 letter to the Helmstedt theology faculty, cited in Schüssler, *Georg*, 93; The Helmstedt theology faculty's March 7, 1634 favorable response to Dury, cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:506; Dury's 1643 letter to Calixt, cited in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 68.

<sup>112</sup> Salvius' 1649 letter to Conring, cited in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 202–3; Calixt's 1653 letter to Queen Christina of Sweden, cited in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 261–63; Terserus' 1653 letter to Friedrich Ulrich Calixt expressing the queen's praise of his father is cited in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 264–66; Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:331. See also Göransson, *Ortodoxi*.

<sup>113</sup> Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 39–42, 487; Henke, *Georg*, 2/1:27; Schüssler, *Georg*, 97–98.



Paris. Their correspondence, however, ultimately ended because of conflicting understandings of Roman Catholicism.<sup>114</sup>

The first attempt to put his irenicism into action came when Calixt was asked to reorganize the church and school of the new Duchy of Franconia. In 1633 the Swedes had created from the bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg this new duchy as a territory subject to Sweden. This Swedish duchy was given to Bernhard of Saxony-Weimar (1604–39) as a reward for his service. He, in turn, had his brother, Duke Ernst the Pious of Saxony-Gotha (1601–75), govern it. Since Ernst the Pious believed that Calixt was the right man for the reorganization of duchy's biconfessional church and school, Ernst the Pious petitioned Friedrich Ulrich to obtain the services of the Helmstedt professor.<sup>115</sup> While Friedrich Ulrich was at first opposed to sending his professor, he finally consented, but bid Calixt to return quickly via the August 1, 1633 letter from the Braunschweig statesmen, Jacob Lampadius (1593–1649). Calixt probably did not want to involve himself in this Swedish venture given his imperial stance, but he could hardly pass up this opportunity to put his irenic ideas into practice.<sup>116</sup> At any rate, Calixt's ideas for reorganizing the church and school of the new duchy were for naught, because the Roman Catholics would retake Würzburg by October 18, 1634.

In his 1633 *Discurs Von der wahren Christlichen Religion vnd Kirchen*, Calixt not only spelled out his ideas for the first time in German, but also presented his plans for the reorganization of duchy.<sup>117</sup> The first half of the book is a review of church history that maintains

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<sup>114</sup> Calixt, *Commercii*, 2:9, 3:32; 3:36. 38ff; Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 24; Schüssler, *Georg*, 98–99.

<sup>115</sup> Friderich Ulrich responded on August 1, 1633 that he could not entirely surrender his *vornehmen Subjecti*, cited in Calixt, *Widerlegung*, X x iii. See also Mager, “Bemühungen,” 19–32.

<sup>116</sup> Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 37–39; Henke, *Georg*, 1:475–76.

<sup>117</sup> Georg Calixt, *Discurs Von der wahren Christlichen Religion vnd Kirchen Vff inständiges Begehren einer hohen Fürstlichen Person vor zwanzig Jahren vffgesetzt* (Braunschweig: Zilliger, 1652).

that the fundamentals of Christianity have persisted, despite the manifold errors and abuses of the papacy and the unfortunate schism in Christianity. The central goal of this work was "to tear out those still stuck under the yoke of the papacy and to bring them to a complete knowledge of the truth." At the same time, the Roman Catholics were to be considered "brothers," who "continue to use the fundamentals of Christianity at the end of their life and in the hour of death just as Luther clearly said and confessed in certain places in his writings."<sup>118</sup> Calixt then reaffirms the utility of the Vincentian Canon for revealing papal errors and abuses. He maintains the universal church cannot err on matters of salvation on the basis of Matthew 16:18 and 28:20, but states that the fundamentals must be distinguished from private opinions, secondary doctrines, and subtleties (*privat opiniones, Nebenpuncten vnd subtiliteten*).<sup>119</sup> Even though Calixt draws on theologians from every era of the church, because of the great difficulty of accurately representing what has been believed everywhere, always, and by all, he focuses his *consensus antiquitatis* on the ecumenical councils, a number of particular councils, and certain Greek and Latin Fathers of the first five centuries that God has preserved in his providence.<sup>120</sup> Calixt,

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<sup>118</sup> "Nun stehet ja gantz nicht zu hoffen / daß / die jetzt angedeuteter massen ihr Leben schliessen vnd ihren Geist auffgeben / verlohren gehen solten / vnd hieraus abzunehmen / wie auch im Pabstthumb mitten vnter vielen Mißbräuchen / Aberglauben vnd Dominat deß Pabsts / dannoch das Fundament deß Christenthumbs am letzten End vnd in Sterbensnöhten zu gebrauchen verblieben / wie solches auch der Herr Lutherus in seinen Schrifften an gewissen Orten deutlich aussaget vnd bekennet / woraus wir ferner Vrsach vnd Anlaß nehmen sollen / die so noch vnter dem Joch deß Pabstthumbs stecken / heraus zu reissen vnd zu völliger Erkäntnis der Warheit zu bringen / sollen demnach selbige / weiln sie neben vns einen Gott vnd Vater vnd heiland Jesus Christum erkennen vnd also unsere Brüder sind / vnd verhoffentlich Miterben des ewigen Lebens seyn werden / nicht hassen oder verfolgen / sondern vns bearbeiten daß sie mit Sanfftmuth / Glimpff vnd wolgegründeten Beweißthumb gewonnen / ihrer Irrthumb entlediget / vnd mit vns einig zu seyn bewogen werden." See Calixt, *Discurs*, th. 76. See also Calixt's references to the priest's questions for the sick in Pre-Reformation agendas, Calixt, *Discurs*, th. 71–72.

<sup>119</sup> Calixt, *Discurs*, th. 89, 93–94.

<sup>120</sup> Calixt, *Discurs*, th. 92. The Greek Fathers included Justin, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory of Neocaesarea, Eusebius, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Basilus Seleuciensis, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, and Isidorus Pelusiota. The Latin Fathers included Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Minucius Felix, Hilary, Optate Milevis, Pacian, Ambrose, Jerome, Prudentius, Augustine, Maximus of Turin, Paulinus, Leo the Great, Peter Chrysologus, Prosper of Aquitaine, and Fulgentius. The ecumenical councils included Nicaea (325) Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), and Chalcedon (451). The particular councils included: Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Milevis, and Orange. See Calixt, *Discurs*, th. 95, 97.

furthermore, affirmed the catholicity of the *Augsburg Confession*, stating that it was gathered from the Apostles, ' Nicene, Athanasian, and other symbols, but only composed in the reformers' words as a new symbol because the emperor requested a confession from the Lutherans.<sup>121</sup>

Therefore, Calixt argues that he could have more succinctly confessed his faith as follows:

My faith and my confession is as it stands in the Apostles, Athanasian, Nicene, Constantinopolitan Symbols and then further in the confessions of this and other councils, such as Ephesus, Chalcedon, Milevis, Orange, which have rejected and damned the heretics of the ancient church, such as the Ebionites, Manicheans, Donatists, Pelagians, etc. All is contained in these symbols and confessions, which is necessary for salvation.<sup>122</sup>

But for all of his efforts to prepare the way for mutual toleration, Calixt is still convinced that only the Holy Spirit can effect unity.<sup>123</sup>

A former Helmstedt student and convert to Roman Catholicism (1622), Berthold (Barthold) Nihus (Neuhaus, Niehus) (1590–1657), gave Calixt the opportunity to fully express his Lutheran irenic program to Roman Catholics in 1632. Even though Nihus published two tracts against Calixt in 1626, Calixt still cordially received him at his home.<sup>124</sup> But when Nihus published his *Ars Nova Dicto Sacrae Scripturae Unico Lucrandi E Pontificiis plurimos in partes Lutheranorum* in 1632 against Helmstedt theology, Calixt was compelled to respond.<sup>125</sup> Nihus

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<sup>121</sup> "Aus diesem als dem Apostolico, Athanasiano, Nicaeno vnd andern Symbolis ist die Augsburgische Confessio zusammen getragen / darinnen die unsrige ihrer eigenen Wort sich gebraucht / weiln sie befähiget eine absonderliche eigene Confession aufzusetzen." See Calixt, *Discurs*, th. 97.

<sup>122</sup> "Man kan aber in die kurtze zu gehen vnd das caulliren abzuschneiden vnd zu verhüten / eben deroselben in oberwehneten Symbolis befindlicher formulen vnd Wort sich gebrauchen. Als wann mich ein Papist fraget / was mein Glaube vnd Bekäntnis sey/ sprech ich: Mein Glauben vnd Bekäntnis ist / wie es stehet in Symbolo Apostolico, Athanasiano, Nicaeno, Constantinopolitano vnd denn ferner in den Bekäntnissen dieser vnd anderer Conciliorum, als Ephesini, Chalcedonensis, Milevitani, Arausicani, Welche ketzer die alte Kirche verworffen vnd verdamet hat / als Ebioniten, Manicheer, Donatisten, Pelagianer, u. die selbe verwerffe vnd verdamme ich auch. In diesen Symbolis vnd Bekäntnissen ist alles begriffen / dessen Wissenschaft die Selligkeit zu erlangen nöhtig ist." See Calixt, *Discurs*, th. 97.

<sup>123</sup> Calixt, *Discurs*, th. 105.

<sup>124</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:187, 1:223; Calixt, *Epitomes Theologiae Moralis*, 142; Henke, *Georg*, 1:338–42.

<sup>125</sup> Berthold Nihus, *Ars Nova Dicto Sacrae Scripturae Unico Lucrandi E Pontificiis plurimos in partes Lutheranorum: Detecta nonnihil & suggesta Theologis Helmstedtensibus, Georgio Calixto praesertim, & Conrado*

insisted that since Roman Catholicism's teachings were known from ancient times, the burden of proof was on the adherents of the *Augsburg Confession* to prove their doctrines correct by the bare letter of Scripture as opposed to inference. Nihus sought to show that every exegesis will necessarily go beyond the *nuda Scriptura* either in accord with tradition or the interpreter's personal judgment.<sup>126</sup>

In response Calixt penned his *Digressione De Arte Nova, Ad Omnes Germaniae Academias Romano Pontifici Deditas Et Sveditas Inprimis Coloniensem*, which was appended to his *Epitome Theologiae Moralis* (1634).<sup>127</sup> The *Epitome Theologiae Moralis* was the first Lutheran moral theology to treat moral theology independent of dogmatics. It was arranged according to the analytical method. Moral theology was deemed a practical science, whose subject was the regenerate man. Its purpose was eternal life (i.e., not the acquisition of faith, but the retention of it).<sup>128</sup> The *Epitome Theologiae Moralis* was intended to compliment dogmatics, counter the perceived moral degeneration, and cultivate the *praxis pietatis*. Calixt appended his *Digressio De Arte Nova* to this moral theology because he believed that the *praxis pietatis* was essential for his Lutheran irenicism.<sup>129</sup> Thus the ethicist Calixt, who came to cite Johann Arndt in support of his

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*Horneio; Qui monentur, imo etiam atque, etiam rogantur, ne compendium hoc negligant* (Hildesheim: Blankenberg, 1632).

<sup>126</sup> Schmid, *Geschichte*, 42–44; Henke, *Georg*, 1:497–99.

<sup>127</sup> Georg Calixt, "Epitomes theologiae moralis pars prima 1634," in *Ethische Schriften*, vol. 3 of *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Inge Mager (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 25–142.

<sup>128</sup> The analytical method was based on the work of the Paduan logician, Giacomo Zabarella (1533–89). It regards theology to be practical rather than theoretical, resulting in a threefold division of its contents: man's eternal life with God as the purpose or goal of theology, man as the subject of theology, and the means of salvation as the principia of salvation.

<sup>129</sup> For Calixt's rebuke of the moral degeneration of the duchy and call for repentance, see "Oratio de imminuta et adulterata moneta et subsecuta annonae caritate, 1621," in *Ethische Schriften*, vol. 3 of *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Inge Mager (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 163–79; Georg Calixt, "Oratio de recta iuventutis informatione et praeceptorum officio. 1627," in *Ethische Schriften*, vol. 3 of *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Inge Mager (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 191–211; Calixt, "De fine," 1:453–66; Titus, *Laudatio*, 2.

theology, represented a spirit similar to, although less mystical than, the spirit of Arndt.<sup>130</sup> It should also be noted that the latter as opposed to the former was a defender of the *Formula of Concord*.

Calixt addressed the *Digressio De Arte Nova* not to Nihus, but to all the Roman Catholic universities of Germany, especially Cologne. He sent copies to these universities hoping to call Roman Catholics back to the ancient faith that they already possessed and to give up their later innovations, so that the divisions within Christendom could be overcome.<sup>131</sup> To facilitate this objective, Calixt argued that Scripture and the tradition of the catholic church (Vincentian Canon) are the two sufficient principles whereby all articles of the faith necessary for salvation may be recognized and reconciliation could be achieved.<sup>132</sup> He further stressed the use of common speech (*ratio colloquendi*) in religious debate and cautioned against the use of subtle logical terminology.<sup>133</sup> In support of his challenge to Roman Catholics, Calixt cites Martin Luther's *Von Der Widdertauffe an zween Pfarherrn: Ein brieff Mart. Luther* (1532):

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<sup>130</sup> When charged with synergism by Statius Buscher (d. 1641), Calixt defends himself saying, "Gewesenen General Superintendentens des Fürstenthumbs Lüneburg sel.," der, "in seinen Büchern vom wahren Christenthumb fürnemlich nicht anders denn dasjenige treibe, wie neben dem rechten wahren glauben, auch ein gottseliges Christliches Leben führt werden müsse, da man dermaleinst zu Gott kommen vnd ewig selig werden wolle." See Georg Calixt, *Gründliche Widerlegung Eines unwarhafften Gedichts unterm Titul, Crypto-Papismvs Novae Theologiae Helmstadiensis, Das ist / Heimlich Pabstthumb der newen Theologiae auff der Fürstl. Julius Universitet zu Helmstädt / Welches M. Statius Buscherus, gewesener Prediger bey S. Aegidien in Hannover zu Hamburg drucken vnd spargiren lassen im Jahr 1640: Zu Rettung der Vnschuld vnd Warheit / Auff Fürstlichen Befehl gestellet vnd publiciret* (Lüneburg: Stern, 1641), 2:371. That said, Johannes Wallmann asserts, "Die Annahme liegt nahe, daß Johann Arndt, wenn er den Begriff der Theologie als einer 'bloßen Wissenschaft und Wortkunst' bekämpft, gar nicht so sehr die ferne lutherische Orthodoxie in Wittenberg und Leipzig als vielmehr den humanistischen Wissenschaftsbetrieb in nahen Helmstedt in Visier gehabt hat." See Wallmann, "Zwischen," 68–69. For a comparison of Calixt with Arndt, see Mager, "Spiritualität," 31–41.

<sup>131</sup> Calixt, "*Epitomes theologiae moralis*," 167, 417.

<sup>132</sup> "Duo vero sunt principia, quae tamquam certissima et extra omnem dubitationis aleam positia utrimque admittimus, quae etiam sufficere, credimus, ut ne quidem de pluribus, e quibus articuli fidei & quae ad salutem necessaria sunt solide evincantur, constet. De iis in suo Commonitorio noster Vincentius in hunc modum: Qui in Fide sana sanus atque integer permanere vult, duplici modo munire fidem suam, Domino adjuvante, debet, primo scilicet Divinae Legis Auctoritas; tum deinde Ecclesiae Catholicae Traditione." See Calixt, *Epitomes theologiae moralis*, 160.

<sup>133</sup> Calixt, "*Epitomes theologiae moralis*," 191–93.

"We [Luther] confess that under the papacy there is much that is Christian and good, indeed everything that is Christian and good, and that [much that is Christian and good] also has come from the papacy to us. Namely, we confess that in the papacy there is the true Holy Scripture, the true baptism, the true sacrament of the altar, the true keys for the forgiveness of sins, the true office of the ministry, the true catechism in the Ten Commandments, the articles of the creed, and the Lord's Prayer. Moreover, I say that under the pope there is the true Christianity; indeed, the true embodiment of Christianity, and many pious and great saints." The argument which he [Luther] uses will hardly be equally acceptable to all. It may even anger not a few. Still I [Calixt] will dare to state it. "Listen to what St. Paul says: the Antichrist will sit in the temple of God. If then the pope is (as I [Calixt] cannot but believe) the true Antichrist, then he must not sit or rule in the devil's stall, but in the temple of God. No, he will not sit where the devil and unbelieving are idle or where no Christ nor Christianity is, because he is to be an Antichrist. Therefore, he must be among the Christians. And since he is to sit there and rule, he must have Christians under him. It is called God's temple, not a pile of stones, but holy Christianity. Therein he is to rule. If then Christianity is under the pope, then they must indeed be Christ's body and members of it. If they are his body, then they rightly should have the true spirit, faith, baptism, sacrament, keys, office of the ministry, prayer, Holy Scripture, and all what belong to Christianity. We do not rave as the rabble-rousers so that we reject everything that is under the pope. If so, then we would also cast out Christianity, the temple of God, with all that it has from Christ. But this we complain about and reject, that the pope will not abide with the treasures of Christianity, which he has inherited from the apostles, but adds his devilish additions thereby and over them and uses such treasures not for the improvement of the temple of God, but for its destruction, so that one regards his commands and orders to be higher than Christ's orders. In spite of this destruction, Christ, nevertheless, maintains his Christianity just as he maintained Lot in Sodom. Therefore, both remain: the Antichrist sits in the temple of God through the work of the devil, and yet the temple of God is and remains the temple of God, through Christ's preservation."<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> "Wir bekennen / das unter dem Bapsthumb viel Christliches gutes / ja alles Christliche gut sey / und auch daselbst herkommen sey an uns / Nemlich / wir bekennen / daß im Bapsthumb die rechte heilige Schrifft sey / rechte Tauffe / recht Sacrament des Alters / rechte Schlüssel zur vergebung der Sünde / rechte Predigtamt/ rechter Catechismus / als zehn Gebot / die Artikel des Glaubens / das Vater unser. Item, Ich sage daß unter dem Bapst die rechte Christenheit ist/ ja der rechte Außbund der Christenheit / und viel frommer grosser heiligen. Argumentum, quo utitur, omnibus sine dubio haut aequae acceptum erit, nonnullis etiam bilem forte movebit: audebo tamen adscibere. Höre du selber / was S. Paulus sagt: Der Endechrist wird im Tempel Gottes sitzen. Ist nun der Bapst (wie ich nicht anders glaube) der rechte Endechrist / so sol er nicht sitzen oder regieren in des Teufels Stal / sondern in Gottes Tempel / Nein / er wird nicht sitzen / da eitel Teufel und Ungleubigen / oder da kein Christus oder Christenheit ist / denn er sol ein Widerchrist seyn / darumb mus er under den Christen seyn. Vnd weil er daselbst sitzen und regieren sol so mus er Christen under sich haben. Es heisset ja Gottes Tempel nicht Steinhauffe / sondern die heilige Christenheit / darin er regieren sol. Ist den nun unter dem Bapst die Christenheit, so mus sie wahrlich Christ Leib und Glied seyn / ist sie sein Leib / so hat sie rechten Geist / Evangelium / Glauben / Tauffe / Sacrament / Schlüssel / Predigtamt / Gebet / heilige Schrifft / und alles was die Christenheit haben sol. — Wir schwermen nicht also wie die Rottengeister / daß wir alles verwerffen / was der Bapst unter sich hat / denn so würden wir auch die

In contrast to the Roman Church, Calixt maintains the necessity and purpose of the Lutheran Reformation, explaining that Martin Luther did not found a new religion, but only pruned away the errors, superstitions, and abuses that had arisen in the church.<sup>135</sup> He asserts once again the catholicity of the *Augsburg Confession* by stating that Lutherans could have given a shorter summary of their faith by simply pointing to the declarations of the ecumenical councils and consensus of the ancient church, but in obedience to the emperor, they penned the *Augsburg Confession*.<sup>136</sup> He adds that Roman Catholicism is already in accord with the first six articles of the *Augsburg Confession* and that the apparent disagreement on justification and good works is more about terminology than meaning.<sup>137</sup> He concludes this text by placing the burden on Roman Catholicism to return to the ancient faith expressed by Scripture and tradition.

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Christenheit / den Tempel Gottes verwerffen / mit allem / das sie von Christo hat / Sondern das fechten wir an / und verwerfen daß der Bapst nicht bleiben lassen wil bey solchen Gütern der Christenheit / die er von den Aposteln geerbet hat / sondern thut seinen Teufels zusatz da bei und drüber / und brauchet solcher Güter nicht zur besserunge des Tempels Gottes / sondern zur Verstörung / daß man seine Gebot und Ordnung höher helt denn Christus Ordnung. Wiewol in solcher Zerstörung / Christus dennoch seine Christenheit erhelt / gleich wie er Loth zu Sodom erhielt. Das also beides bleibe / der Endechrist sitze im Tempel Gottes durchs Teufels wirkung / und doch gleichwol / der Tempel Gottes sey und bleibe Gottes Tempel / durch Christ erhaltung." See Calixt, "*Epitomes theologiae moralis*," 382–83. See also Luther, WA, 26:147–48.

<sup>135</sup> "Manifestum hinc est, opera & ministerio Lutheri novam in orbem & hasce septemtrionis ac occidentis partes religionem investam non esse, nec inveni potuisse vel debuisse. Mansit eadem Christiana religio, qua substantiam suam, quae pridem fuerat. Superstitiones, corruptelae, errores, abusus, quos partim inscitia, partim praeposterus & scientia destitutus zelus, partim & potissimum quidem averitia & ambitio adjecerant, ut eliminarentur a majoribus nostris data est opera; in cujus praemium a Pontificibus, quorum auctoritas & questus imminui videbatur, ut aqua & igni ipsis interdiceretur, imo ut ignibus ipsi addicerentur, meruerunt." See Calixt, "*Epitomes theologiae moralis*," 385.

<sup>136</sup> "Sed propius ad metam accedendum denique erit. Res nostrorum eo tandem deductae sunt, ut Augustae in Comitibus Imperii, vigore Caesarei edicti, Confessionem fidei suae exhibere eos oportuerit. Et sanè ex usu erat, ecclesias reformationem amplexas ex communi consensu, quid de religionis & fidei capitibus statuerent, per solennem ejusmodi professione declarate & palàm facere, ne privatae opiniones, & quod unus aut alter per incogitantia vel contentionis servorem effudissent, sive etiam quae sub praetextu reformationis perperam à nonnullis acta essent, ipsis imputarentur. Potuissent autem sese brevibus expedisse, si dixissent suam de doctrina fidei confessionem esse Symbolum Apostolicum, Nicaenum, Constantinopolitanum, Ephesinos articulos, Chalcedonensem e; kquesin, et quicquid unanimi consensus vetus universa ecclesia professa esset. Caeterum malorem obsequii quàm compendii sui rationem habuerant. Iuxta Caesaream propositionem, quemadmodum ipsi loquuntur, & ut Caesarea Majestatis voluntatis obsequerentur, exhibuerunt confessionem suis ipsorum verbis latinè & germanicè conceptam, & quidem adeo sollicitè, ut in multos articulos eam distinguerent, nec opiniones, quae superiorum seculorum curiositate in scholis agitari coeperant, prorsus praeterirent." See Calixt, "*Epitomes theologiae moralis*," 364–65. Calixt reaffirms his short summary of faith in Calixt, "*Epitomes theologiae moralis*," 396–99.

<sup>137</sup> Calixt, "*Epitomes theologiae moralis*," 365–67.

Friederick Kalb wrote, "The Syncretistic Controversy, precipitated by Calixtus, which disturbed Orthodoxy about the middle of the 17th century, yielded nothing for the investigations into the nature of worship."<sup>138</sup> Still Georg Calixt's Lutheran irenicism had liturgical implications, even if those implications were not contested by the Lutherans embroiled in the syncretistic controversy. In 1638 Calixt issued a new edition of his *De Sacrificio Christi Semel in Cruce oblato* that included an *exercitatio* titled, *Ritvs Missae Ivxta Avgvstanam Confessionem Reformatae Enarrans*.<sup>139</sup> Here Calixt used the razor of his *consensus antiquitatis* to dissect the Lutheran Mass (as expressed in the 1569 Braunschweig Wolfenbüttel *Agenda*) over against the Roman Catholic Mass. Taking his cue from *Augsburg Confession XXIV* (and *Apology XXIV*), his study concludes that the Lutheran Mass represents a return to the authentic catholic faith and *cultus* of the first five centuries.<sup>140</sup> In this way Calixt put forth the Lutheran Mass as an ecumenical model in contradistinction to the additions and subtractions to catholic Christian worship made by Roman Catholicism and Calvinism respectively. It is indeed true that Calixt's theology centered on irenicism through catholic theology, but it is also clear that not even worship or church law could escape the razor of his *consensus antiquitatis*. Later Calixt would even dare to use this principle to criticize Duke Friedrich Ulrich of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel's

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<sup>138</sup> Friederick Kalb, *The Theology of Worship: In 17th-Century Lutheranism*, trans. Henry P. A. Hamann (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), xii; Paul Graff, *Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1937), 1:66.

<sup>139</sup> Georg Calixt, *De Sacrificio Christi Semel in Cruce oblato* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1638), th. 51 ff.

<sup>140</sup> "Caeterum ex iis, quae exposita hactenus sunt, quod in vestibulo dissertationis ex Augustana confessione eiusq; Apologia proposuimus, manifestum redditur; nempe *retineri Missam apud nos Protestantes, & summa reuerentia celebrari; seruari vsitatas ceremonias fere omnes*, simpliciter enim omnes seruari, aut perpetuo & vbiq; easdem permanere neq; necesse est, neq; semper ex vsu: deniq; *nos summo studio dignitare Missa tueri*, priscae scilicet istius, verae & genuinae Missae, in qua non solum hymni canatur, deprecationes fiant, Scripturae legantur & explicantur, panis vinum q; benedicantur & consecrentur, sed etiam ad manducandu & bibendum distribuuntur. Talem enim Missam Dominus & Seruator noster a suis discessurus in suae mortis commemorationem instituit, & vsque ad suum reditum frequentari praecipit." See Calixt, *De Sacrificio*, th. 89.



successor, August the Younger (1579–1666), when he replaced the Epistle and Gospel pericopes in his lands with his own paraphrases.<sup>141</sup>

In 1642 Calixt reinitiated his aforementioned challenge to the German Roman Catholic universities to depart from their uncatholic doctrinal innovations in his *Ad Academiam Coloniensem Iterata compellatio*, which was appended to a new edition of Georg Cassander's *De Commvniōe Sv̄ Vtraqve Specie Dialogus*.<sup>142</sup> By this time Calixt had clearly won Duke August the Younger of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel for his cause. The new duke provided the book with a letter of introduction supporting Calixt's Lutheran irenicism, and sent both to Mainz and Cologne.<sup>143</sup> The Jesuit Mainz theology professor, Veit Erbermann (1597–1675), who would become Calixt's greatest Roman Catholic antagonist, responded with a polemical treatise against Calixt that addressed papal infallibility and communion in one kind (1644).<sup>144</sup> With ducal support, Calixt responded to the Mainz theologians in two treatises where he first developed his own concept of a colloquy for peace.<sup>145</sup> Herein he also shows that he does not literally believe the

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<sup>141</sup> "Daß an statt des Textes Göttl. Heil. Schrift, als eines unveränderlichen Fundaments, eine Paraphrasis, worinnen nothwendig viel Worte, welche der Geiste Gottes den canonicis Scriptoribus selbst nicht in die Feder gelegt, mit eingemischt werden müssen, contra praxin universae Ecclesiae nova exemplo abgelesen werden solle," See "Gutachten der Helmstedter Universität vom 30. Juni 1646," *Fortgesetzte Sammlung von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen* (1729): 542.

<sup>142</sup> Georg Calixt, *Georgi Cassandri De Commvniōe Sv̄ Vtraqve Specie Dialogus, Vna Cvm Aliis Syperiore Secvlo Scriptis Et Actis Eodem Facientibvs* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1642).

<sup>143</sup> The introductory letter is cited in Henke, *Georg*, 2/1:181–82.

<sup>144</sup> Veit Erbermann, *Anatomia Calixtina h.e. Vindiciae Catholicae, Qvas, Auspice Christo Jesu, pro asserendo S. Rom. Ecclesiae Tribvnali In Fidei Causis Infallibili, Praeceptoqve Communionis sub una specie, &c. Contra Georgii Calixti, Theologie In Acadmia Iulia Helmestadij Professoris, Non-antiquas Impugnaciones; In Archiepiscopo-Electoralis Vniversitate Moguntina, ad diem X. Mensis Maij. M. DC. XLIV. solenni Disceptatione indicit* (Mainz: Heil, 1644).

<sup>145</sup> Georg Calixt, *Responsvm Maledicis Theologorum Moguntinorum Pro Romani Pontificis Infallibilitate Praeceptoqve Commvniōis Sv̄ Vna Vindiciis Oppositvm, Ad Reverendissimvm Et Eminentissimvm Archiepiscopvm Et Electorem Mogvntinvm* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1644), E e 3ff; *Responsi Maledicis Theologorum Moguntinorum Vindiciis oppositi Pars Altera Infallibilitatem Romani Pontificis Seorsim Excvtiens; Qvam SUN QEW Sv̄ Eivsdem Praesidio Pvblice In Acad. Ivlia VI. Kl. Sextil. Defendet M. Christophorvs Sporer Trevirensis* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1645). Calov notes that the Mainz Jesuits responded, "Daß er [Calixt] Machiavellica impietati velficire und dem Antichrist und Atheismo den Weg bereite." Calov, *Historia*, 575.

apostles authored the creed and now divides the articles of the faith into three categories using a distinction from Bonaventure (1221–74). The first are *antecedentia* or precursory articles, which would include the natural knowledge of God, the immortality of the soul, the knowledge of the canonical books, etc. The second are the *constituentia* or principal articles of the faith set forth in the symbols. The third are the *consequentia* or articles derived as corollaries from the principle articles of the faith. The latter can also be subdivided between those of which one dare not be ignorant and those of which one can be ignorant or even deny.<sup>146</sup> Calixt also posits that since it was highly unlikely that Roman Catholics would accept the *Augsburg Confession*, much less Lutherans accept the Council of Trent (1545–63), both should then adhere to the *consensus antiquitatis*.<sup>147</sup>

A few years later the Landgrave Ernst of Hesse-Rheinfels-Rotenburg (1623–93), the Calvinist educated son of Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Kassel (1572–1632), who Calvinized his Lutheran lands in 1605, came under the spell of Roman Catholicism. But before he would convert, he called for a religious debate to take place at Frankfurt (Main) in 1651. The landgrave invited Calixt to take part, whom he "regarded to be the most learned and most moderate of the Protestant divines."<sup>148</sup> He encountered Calixtine theology through Hessian statesman, Johann Christian von Boineburg (1622–72), a former student of Calixt. This Hessian ambassador to the

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<sup>146</sup> Calixt, *Resonsvm Maledicis Theologirum Moguntinorum Pro*, th. 35, 44. See also Joest, "Fundamentalartikel," 11:728–30.

<sup>147</sup> "Eximij viri, video equide sperari non magis posse, ut vestra pars Augusta nam Confessionem recepiat, quam ut nostra Concilium Trident. ad mitat, &c. Compendium oportet facere tum verborum, tum litis, ad captu potius negocij & arcem causae accedentes, interrogati quae fides nostra, quae doctrina, respondemus eam esse fidem & doctrinam nostram, quam complectitur Symbolum Apostolicum, Niceaenum, Constantinopolitanum & Athanasium, & Anathematismi Ephesini confessio Chalcedonensis...." See Calixt, *Resonsvm Maledicis Theologirum Moguntinorum Pro*, th. XXX.

<sup>148</sup> Landgrave Ernst wrote that he "[Calixt] vor den gelahrtesten und moderatesten von allen protestirenden Theologen halte," in his September 10, 1651 letter to Calixt, cited in Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:241. See also Alexander Ritter, "Landgraft Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels (1623–1693). Konversion and Irenik als politische Faktoren," in *Irenik und Antikonfessionalismus im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Harm Klueting (Hildesheim: Olms, 2003), 117–40.

Swedish court and later Electoral Mainz statesman converted to Roman Catholicism in 1656. All of this came on the heels of Calixt's efforts to keep fellow Holsteiner, Christoph of Rantzau (1630–91), from converting to Roman Catholicism in 1650 on a trip to Italy.<sup>149</sup> The Reformed Marburg theology professor, Johann Crocius (1629–74), the Lutheran Giessen theology professor, Peter Haberkorn (1604–76), and the Apostolic Missionary (for Germany, Poland, and Hungary) and Capuchin irenicist, Valerian Magni (1586–1661), were also asked to participate. They were to debate two questions about authority (i.e., the merits of a faith defined by an infallible pope and the merits of a faith derived from the interpretation of Scripture mediated by the Holy Spirit).<sup>150</sup> Calixt was prevented by the Braunschweig dukes from participating in this debate because the Syncretistic Controversy had now begun. But he was permitted to respond to the landgrave's questions.<sup>151</sup> The conversion to Roman Catholicism by a number of those who were influenced by him, moreover, had now become a problem that would continue to haunt the reputation of his theology long after his passing. In truth, Calixt clearly opposed the landgrave's conversion. He insisted that both Roman Catholics and the Reformed have made errors and abuses to the catholic faith through their additions, although they are not heretics, because they hold to the fundamentals. In contradistinction, he contends that those who simply adhered to the *Augsburg Confession* represent the purest expression of *consensus antiquitatis*:

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<sup>149</sup> Hans Peterse, "Johann Christian von Boineburg und Die Mainz Irenik des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Union—Konversion—Toleranz. Dimensionen der Annäherung zwischen den christlichen Konfessionen im 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt and Gerhard May (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 105–18. Rantzau's 1651 letter to Calixt is found in Johann Hülsemann, *Calixtinischer Gewissens-Wurm / Aus Seinen wider die Evangelische / von Ihm selbst Eydlich beschworne / Aber Schändlich verlassene und Verlästerte Warheit / in Teutsch- und Lateinischer Sprach ausgelassenen Schrifften / Sonderlich aus der Dedication-Schrift an Seine genannte Widerlegung / Verantwortung und Antwort Entdeckt und Erwiesen* (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1654), 930ff. See also Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 248.

<sup>150</sup> Landgrave Ernst's 1651 plan for the debate is cited in Schüssler, *Georg*, 117.

<sup>151</sup> Schüssler, *Georg*, 118. Crocius wrote Boineburg, "Ich staune daß die Gießener in solchem Hasse gegen Calixtus brennen, daß sie sich weigern, mit ihm für die Wahrheit gegen die gemeinsamen Feinde zu kämpfen," cited in Ritter, "Landgraft," 132. Calixt wrote Duke August, "Die Ubiquitisten sind gemeiniglich grimmig und können nicht vertragen, daß man von ihrer Meinung im geringsten diskrepire," cited in Ritter, "Landgraft," 132

Some Lutherans simply adhere to the *Augsburg Confession*. Others add several doctrines, among those the doctrine of ubiquity distinguishes itself. I give thanks that I was born and educated in a church, which never accepted it and live today in an academia, which never approved of it. Therefore, I know of none that can be reckoned more pure, or are purer elsewhere, especially with respect to doctrine. But I do not at all deny that there can be present in some or another [church] what is more preferable and greater with respect to what pertains to sacred rites and the practice of manners.<sup>152</sup>

### Calixtinization of Braunschweig

Johannes Beste referred to the years 1624–1747 as "the Calixtine Period" in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Horst Reller and Hans-Walther Krumwiede regard Helmstedt theology or Calixtinism as having a significant effect on Braunschweig at this time.<sup>153</sup> We have just seen Georg Calixt advance his conception of Lutheranism in Europe through his irenic writings, dedications, the acquisition of a printing press, correspondence, call for theological conferences, and the gaining of the support of politicians. Now we shall see how he remolded much of Braunschweig in his conception of Lutheran identity as well.

Upon the death of Heinrich Julius in 1613, his son, Duke Friedrich Ulrich (1591–1634), assumed control of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. His reign signaled new hope for Caselius' circle. The duke had been educated in that circle, favored their learning, and promoted one of

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<sup>152</sup> "Lutheranae aliae simpliciter inhaerent Augustanae confessioni, aliae nonnulla dogmata addiderunt, inter quae eminet dogma Vbiquitatis. Ago Deo gratias, quod natus & educatus sim in Ecclesia, quae idipsum numquam probaverit. Scio proinde, purioribus merito accenseri, nec alibi puriores, praesertim quod doctrinam attinet, inveniri. Quod attinet sacros ritus & emendationem morum, nolim negare in aliquibus vel illos commodiores, vel hanc majorem dari posse." See Georg Calixt, *Ad Illvstrissimvm Et Celsissimvm Principem Et Dominvm, Dominvm Ernestvm, Landgravium Hassiae, Principem Hirsfeldae, Comitem Cattimelibocorum, Dietzae, Ziegenhainii, Niddae & Schoumburgi, Georgii Calixti S. Theol. D. & in acad. Iuliae primarii professoris, hodie Prorektoris, coenobii Regii Lutterani A. Responsvm* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1651), 11.

<sup>153</sup> Johannes Beste, *Geschichte der Braunschweigischen Landeskirche* (Wolfenbüttel: Zwißler, 1889), 189; Horst Reller, "Die Auswirkungen der Universität Helmstedt auf Pfarrer und Gemeinden in Niedersachsen," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 74 (1976): 35–52; Krumwiede, *Kirchengeschichte*, 1:212. See also Friedrich Uhlhorn, "Die Bedeutung Georg Calixts für die lutherische Kirche der welfischen Lande," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 32/33 (1928): 201–17.

their own, Georg Calixt, to the theological faculty.<sup>154</sup> This being said, Friedrich Ulrich's reign proved to be one the most devastating reigns in Braunschweig history. Friedrich Ulrich had come under the influence of his Danish mother, Elisabeth; his mother's brother, King Christian IV of Denmark; his father's brother, Philipp Sigismund; and his court-preacher, Basilius Sattler. His father had left him with a 1,200,000 *Reichstaler* debt. Not long after assuming office, Friedrich Ulrich affiliated himself with the Protestant Union. His unsuccessful 1614–15 siege of the city of Braunschweig caused his mother, brother, and uncle to persuade him to entrust the rule of the duchy to a group of officials that would supervise all his actions. These officials, Anton von Streithorst (1562/1563–1625) supported by four magistrates, impoverished the duchy by debasing the coinage and exploiting ducal and cloister property for their own gain. In 1617 Friedrich Ulrich lost Braunschweig-Grubenhagen to the Braunschweig-Lüneburg line of House Welf by virtue of an imperial decision. In 1623, the unfaithfulness of his wife, Anna Sophia, was exposed, resulting in her flight back to the court of her brother, Elector Georg Wilhelm (1595–1640), in Berlin.<sup>155</sup>

But Friedrich Ulrich's politics in the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) would have the most devastating consequences for the duchy. Duke Friedrich Ulrich desired a neutral stance with respect to the Thirty Years' War. His affiliation with the Protestant Union and familial relationships prevented such a policy. His cousin's husband, Duke Friedrich V (1565–1632) of

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<sup>154</sup> Casilius had recommended Rudolf Diephold (1572–1626) as the duke's tutor. Diephold conducted his education from 1599 until he left the University of Helmstedt. See Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:169, 1:436; Henke, *Georg*, 1:157–59.

<sup>155</sup> Wilhelm Havemann, *Geschichte der Lande Braunschweig und Lüneburg* (Göttingen: Dieterischen Buchhandlung, 1853–57), 2:442–45, 582–605; F. Spehr, "Friedrich Ulrich, Herzog von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel," in *Allgemeine Deutsch Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humboldt, 1875–1912), 7:501–5; Friedrich Wagnitz, "Herzog Friedrich Ulrich von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel Ein glückloser Fürst in schwerer Zeit," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 87 (1990): 51–60. Wagnitz' essay cautions readers from rash overly critical assessments of Friedrich Ulrich by Spehr and previous scholarship, arguing the duke was a luckless prince in a difficult time. See also Calixt, "Oratio de imminuta," 3:163–79; Calixt, "De fine,"

the Palatinate, sought refuge from him after losing the Battle of White Mountain (November 8, 1620) and the imposition of the imperial ban (January 21, 1621). His firebrand of a brother, Christian the Younger (1559–1626), helped bring the Thirty Years' War to northern Germany through his campaign to continue the Palatinate's cause. His uncle, King Christian IV of Denmark, became *Kriegsobersten* of the Lower Saxon Circle in 1625 to protect his own interests and prevent his rival, King Gustavus Adolphus II, from creating his Swedish Lake. Thus Christian IV made the strongest fortified Lower Saxon city, Wolfenbüttel, his headquarters. He also stationed Danish troops in Friedrich Ulrich's territory, much to the chagrin of his citizenry, who were abused by the soldiers they were required to quarter. The convergence of the Count of Tilly (1559–1632), Johann Tserclaes, and Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583–1634) on his lands caused the duke to consider making peace with the emperor.<sup>156</sup> In June of 1626, Friedrich Ulrich's brother and mother died, freeing him from their influence. He renewed negotiations with the Count of Tilly and withdrew his troops from the Danish army days before the battle at Lutter am Barenberge in August of 1626. There the Count of Tilly defeated the Danes, who in turn would lay waste to the duke's lands.<sup>157</sup> Friedrich Ulrich fled to the city of Braunschweig, but received an imperial *Protectorium* on July 24, 1627, guaranteeing all his property and privileges.<sup>158</sup> Since the Danes retained Wolfenbüttel, Friedrich Ulrich was charged high payments for the imperial troops to liberate the city on December 19, 1627. But they tried to prove from the archives that the duke remained a threat (i.e., that he had always been in league with his

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1:455–56.

<sup>156</sup> Calixt's November 27, 1625 letter to Ernest von Steinberg is cited in Dowding, *German*, 109–11; Horneius' November 1, 1625 letter to Calixt is cited in Dowding, *German*, 107–8.

<sup>157</sup> Horneius' June 12, 1626 letter is cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:370–71.

<sup>158</sup> Calixt, "Oratio de recta," 3:191–93.

brother and remained loyal to the Danes). On this basis, they occupied the city until 1643.<sup>159</sup> Following his Baltic campaign, Wallenstein sought to impose the imperial ban upon Friedrich Ulrich in order to acquire his lands. Between 1628–29 Friedrich Ulrich was stripped of Hohenstein, Regenstein, Blankenburg, Calenberg, Hildesheim, and Halberstedt. On March 6, 1629 Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637) issued the *Edict of Restitution*. It mandated a return of Roman Catholic property that had been secularized after 1552. A number of territories were endangered, not to mention Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, which had only begun to be reformed in 1568. Friedrich Ulrich and other princes turned to Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria (1573–1651). In 1630 Elector Maximilian managed to get the emperor to dismiss the ever ambitious Wallenstein, who was distrusted by both friend and foe alike. Friedrich Ulrich signed an agreement with Gustavus Adolphus II in 1632, whereby the latter promised to return the duke's occupied lands. Following the Battle of Lützen (1632), Friedrich Ulrich proposed at a 1632 Lower Saxon *Kreistag* the creation of a great army for the purpose of maintaining neutrality, but found himself still reliant on the Swedes.<sup>160</sup>

The deaths of Helmstedt professors, Caspar Pfaffrad and Johann à Fuchte (1568–1622), in 1622 signaled the waning of anti-ubiquitarian Concordial Lutheranism in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Of the three surviving theology faculty members, Theodor Berckelmann (1576–1645), Georg Calixt, and Heinrich Julius Strube, only the latter shared Sattler's disposition.<sup>161</sup> Several attempts had been made before 1622 to recruit the Jena theology professor, Johann Gerhard (1582–1637), for the University of Helmstedt in order to bolster its orthodoxy as well as

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<sup>159</sup> Havemann, *Geschichte*, 2:596–656; Henke, *Georg*, 1:349–73; Wagnitz, "Herzog," 56, 60–64. See also Horneius' July 9, 1627 letter to Calixt cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:373.

<sup>160</sup> Havemann, *Geschichte*, 2:657–709; Henke, *Georg*, 1:374–80; Wagnitz, "Herzog," 64–70; Ziegler, "Braunschweig-Lüneburg," 37.

<sup>161</sup> Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 15–16, 29–30; Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:344–45, 1:380, 1:383.

its prestige. The court-preacher of Duchess Elisabeth of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Michael Walther (1593–1662), wrote a letter to Gerhard dated October 18, 1622 on behalf of Friedrich Ulrich. He did so to inquire once again if the famed Jena divine would accept a call to the “upset” theological faculty and help remedy the situation at Helmstedt.<sup>162</sup> Gerhard declined the call again after receiving letters from the Electoral Saxon court-preacher, Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg (1580–1645), and the Wittenberg theology professor, Balthasar Meisner (1587–1626), discouraging his acceptance on account of his age, his health, and the dubious orthodoxy of Helmstedt. So Walther assumed the professorship himself and hoped to diminish the influence of what in his estimation was its Rahtmann-sympathizing *Calvinomixtus* (i.e., Calixt). But he only served until 1626, when he took a call as court-preacher and general-superintendent of Aurich.<sup>163</sup> On November 9, 1624, Basilius Sattler died, depriving anti-ubiquitarian Concordial Lutheranism of its most significant leader. He was succeeded by Peter Tuckermann. He was no Calixtine, but he was more favorable to Calixt than his predecessor.<sup>164</sup>

The theological disposition of the university was permanently altered by two events: the 1625–26 plague and the convergence of the Count of Tilly’s and Wallenstein’s armies upon Helmstedt. These two threats drove all the professors from Helmstedt, save Calixt and the

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<sup>162</sup> This letter is recorded in Erdman Fischer, *Vita Ioannis Gerhardi Qvam E Fidis Monvmentis, Magna Ex Parti Nondvm Antea Editis, Atque Ex Instrvtissima Serenissimi Dvcis Gothani Bibliotheca Benignissime Secvm Commvnicatis, Lvcvleter Copioseqve Exposvit, Et Illvstrandam Historiam Ecclesiasticam Eivs, Qva Ille Vixit, Aetatis Direxit* (Leipzig: Coerner, 1723), 187–89.

<sup>163</sup> The letters can be found in Fischer, *Vita*, 222–26; Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:344, 1:383. In 1624, Michael Walther wrote Balthasar Meisner, “Von Rahtmanns gefährlichen Neuerungen, hat Strubius sich klüglich vorgesehen, daß von unserer Universität kein decisum gefordert würde. Deprendendum enim, nosterum Calvinomixtum (quo scommate putido ad Calixti cognomen alluditur) omnia, qvae in quaestione de verbo Dei agitantur, ex Rahtmanni parte simpliciter approbare, nec admodum dissentientem trahere Berkelmannum. - - - Dolendum est, ad latus nobis esse, qvi innumera serme errorum portenta in pectore foveat, Calvinianis, Pontificiis & Schwenckfeldianis, classicum canunt, & pestilentissimos Haereticos singularissimis suis opinionibus in Orthodoxos armant,” cited in Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:141. See also Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 101–2. Herrmann Rahtmann (1585–1628) was a Danzig Lutheran, who proposed an unorthodox doctrine of Scripture.

<sup>164</sup> Beste, *Geschichte*, 210–13.



Swedish physics professor, Nicolaus Granius (1569–1631), as well as most of the student body.<sup>165</sup> From March 3 to August 4, 1625, 198 students matriculated. For the remainder of that same year, only 10 students enrolled, in 1626 no students were listed, and in 1627 only two students matriculated. No student matriculated between January 4, 1627 and November 13, 1627. Ordinations, however, continued to occur throughout this entire period.<sup>166</sup> From January until October of 1628 the majority of professors began to return to the university and 102 students matriculated.<sup>167</sup> Some Helmstedt professors such as Christoph Heidmann (1582–1627), Johann Heinrich Meibom (1590–1655), and Theodor Berckelmann never resumed their posts and found safer employment elsewhere.<sup>168</sup>

Georg Calixt's faithfulness to the university ensured that vacancies in the university were staffed largely by his friends and students. The reconstituted philosophical faculty consisted of Heinrich Schaperus (1560–1629), Granius, and Conrad Horneius.<sup>169</sup> Heinrich Julius Scheurl (1600–1651), the son of Calixt's former colleague, was received on February 7, 1629 into the philosophical faculty as professor of ethics.<sup>170</sup> Ernst Strisser (1595–1636), a student of the Universities of Wittenberg and Jena, was received into the philosophical faculty as a professor of Hebrew.<sup>171</sup> A former student of Calixt, a beneficiary of a stipend from Matthias van Overbeck at the University of Leiden, and one of the most famous polymaths in Europe, Hermann Conring

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<sup>165</sup> Calixt, "De Fine," 1:456; Georg Calixt, "Oratio de Caesareae," 3:181–82; Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 30–34; Zimmermann, *Album*, 381, 437. See also the remarks by Calixt's student, Rosenbohm, cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:381, and Horneius' April 25, 1628 letter, cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:383.

<sup>166</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:307–17. See also Eulenburg, *Die Frequenz*, 100–103.

<sup>167</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:311–12, 1:350–51, 1:355, 1:364.

<sup>168</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:312–16, 1:344–45, 1:380, 1:417.

<sup>169</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:364.

<sup>170</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:307, 1:318, 1:440.

<sup>171</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:324, 1:440.

(1606–81), was received on September 4, 1632 into the faculty as professor of physics and rhetoric.<sup>172</sup> Andreas Kinderling (1595–1664), a former student of Martini and tutor of Overbeck's children, thanked Calixt for getting him a post at Helmstedt in 1634, but did not come until the death of Overbeck in 1638. Christoph Schrader (1601–1680), a housemate of Calixt and beneficiary of Overbeck's stipend at Leiden, was received on April 23, 1636 into the philosophical faculty as professor of eloquence.<sup>173</sup> The reconstituted theological faculty consisted of Georg Calixt and Heinrich Julius Strube. On June 10, 1629 Conrad Horneius (or Konrad Hornejus; 1590–1649) was transferred from the philosophical faculty into the theological faculty. He was a close friend of Calixt and became his chief theological collaborator.<sup>174</sup> Paul Müller (d. 1645) assumed the office of Heinrich Julius Strube after his death on December 7, 1629 and was received into the theological faculty on July 5, 1630. He had been educated at the University of Wittenberg, but he became friends with Calixt.<sup>175</sup>

At the University of Helmstedt, Calixt inculcated his irenic Helmstedt theology in various ways. He cultivated it through faculty friendships (Conrad Horneius and Paul Müller), the housing of students (Christoph Schrader), and the facilitation of student study at the University

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<sup>172</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:328, 1:419.

<sup>173</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:337, 1:441; Henke, *Georg*, 1:482–84. Following his study in Holland, Schrader had confessed some of his misgivings about the doctrine of justification to the faculty during his 1632 stay in Wittenberg. He claims that the Wittenberg theologians merely regarded him as suspect. In fact, Johann Hülsemann became convinced that he was an Arminian despite a 1634 retraction. When Schrader came to Helmstedt, he reported that Calixt addressed his concerns and put them to rest through his clear reasoning. See Henke, *Georg*, 2/1:78; Hülsemann, *Calixtinischer*, 14ff, 736ff.

<sup>174</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:364. Horneius had attended the Braunschweig Catharineum and matriculated to the University of Helmstedt on March 5, 1608. He lived five years with Caselius and eight years with Martini. He was promoted to Master of Arts under Martini on June 14, 1612. He took his professorial oaths on June 28, 1619 and was appointed to the philosophical faculty despite the consistory on July 3, 1619. Calixt promoted him to Licentiate of Theology on December 30, 1622. On April 27, 1636 Conrad Horneius was promoted to doctor of theology. See Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:197, 1:223, 1:276, 1:295, 1:317, 1:384–85; Sabine Ahrens, *Die Lehrkräfte der Universität Helmstedt (1576–1810)* (Wolfenbüttel: Roco Druck GmbH, 2004), 122; Ernst Ludwig Theodor Henke, "Horney," in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Albert Hauck (Stuttgart: Besser, 1856), 6:265–67.

<sup>175</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 1:320, 1:323, 1:345, 1:383–86.

of Leiden (Herrmann Conring and Andreas Kinderling). He promoted his irenic theology through his writings, lectures, and disputations. In point of fact, a number of the defenders of these disputations assumed important roles in Braunschweig society and became involved in the Syncretistic Controversy in one way or another.<sup>176</sup> Most German universities had history professorships (often bound with poetics, ethics, and rhetoric) by the time of Melanchthon's death, had introduced universal history by 1648, and began introducing profane history thereafter. But Helmstedt was the first university in 1650 to establish a church history professorship as a fifth ordinary professor in its theological department.<sup>177</sup> Finally, the promotion

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<sup>176</sup> Conrad Homeius defended Calixt's *Disputatio Theologica De Scriptura* (Helmstedt: Lucius, 1622); Michael Schneider defended Calixt's *Theses De Veritate Vnicae Religionis Christianae* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1633); Johann Blathoff defended Calixt's *Theses De Providentia Dei* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1635); the Helmstedt professor, Christoph Schrader, defended Calixt's *Disputatio Theologica De Gratia Per Fidem Iustificatio* (Helmstedt: Lucius, 1635); the future Wolfenbüttel court-preacher, Brandan Dättrius, defended Calixt's *Theses De Corpore Et Sangvine Domini Reapse Praesentibus In Sanctissima Eucharistia* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1636); the Helmstedt professor, Paul Müller, defended Calixt's *Disputatio Theologica De Peccato* (Helmstedt: Lucius, 1636); the Helmstedt professor, Ernst Strisser, defended Calixt's *Theses De Calice Dominico Omnibus Ad Sanctam Eucharistiae Communionem Admissis Porrigendo* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1636); Jacob Hackmann defended Calixt's *Theses Theologicae De Sacra Scriptura* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1637); Jacob Keseberg defended Calixt's *Adsertiones De Aeterna Praedestinatione Et Electione* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1639); the future Rinteln professor, Johann Henich (1616–71), defended Calixt's *Disputatio Theologica De Auctoritate Antiquitatis Ecclesiasticae* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1639); Theodor Möllmann defended Calixt's *De Haeresi Nestoriana Eiqve Opposito Concilio Ephesino, Oecumenico Tertio Exercitatio* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1640); Brandan Dättrius, defended Calixt's *Disputatio Theologica De Baptismo Sive Sacro Regenerationis Ac Renovationis Lavacro* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1640); the future Hannover court-preacher, Justus Gesenius (1601–73), defended Calixt's *Disputatio Theologica De igna Purgatorio Quem credit Ecclesia Romana, & orbi Christiano sub anathemate credendum obruduit* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1643); the future Wittenberg professor, Johann Andreas Quenstedt, defended Calixt's *De Transsubstantiatione Contra Pontificios Exercitatio Secvnda* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1643); Philipp Christoph Dörer defended Calixt's *De Transsubstantiatione Contra Pontificios Exercitatio* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1643); Theodor Danckwers defended Calixt's *De Visibili Ecclesiastica Monarchia Contra Pontificios Exercitatio* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1643); the future Königsberg professor, Johann Latermann (1620–62), defended Calixt's *De Sanctissimo Trinitatis Mysterio Contra Socinianos Exercitatio* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1645); the future Austrian statesman, Heinrich Julius Blume (1622–88), defended Calixt's *De Missis Solitariis Contra Pontificios Exercitatio* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1647); Stephan Kenckel defended Calixt's *De Auctoritate Sacrae Scriptura, Et Numero Librorvm Canonivorvm Veteris Testamenti Contra Pontificios Exercitatio* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1648); the future Celle general-superintendent, Joachim Hildebrand (1623–91), defended Calixt's *Desiderivm Et Stvdivm Concordiae Ecclesiasticae* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1650); future Helmstedt professor, Balthasar Cellarius (1614–71/89), defended Calixt's *Disputatio Theologica De Cvltv Sanctae Virginis Mariae Apvd Pontificios* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1650); the future Braunschweig Wolfenbüttel superintendent, Erasmus Hannemann, defended Calixt's *Disputatio Theologica Primatv Romani Pontificis* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1650); the future Helmstedt professor, Gerhard Titius, defended Calixt's *De Gratia Iustificatione Hominis Peccatoris Coram Ivdicio Dei* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1650). See also W. A. Kelly, *The Theological Faculty at Helmstedt, An Outline of its Intellectual Development as Mirrored in its Disserations and Programmata* (East Linton: The Cat's Whiskers Press, 1996), 10–21 for a cursory discussion of Calixtinism and Helmstedt dissertations.

<sup>177</sup> Emil Scherer, *Geschichte und Kirchengeschichte an den deutschen Universitäten: Ihre Anfänge im Zeitalter*

oath recorded in the 1650 visitation's recess bound candidates to Calixt's delineation of the *consensus antiquitatis* and the *Augsburg Confession* as well as the upholding of the honor of the University of Helmstedt.<sup>178</sup>

Georg Calixt's influence extended beyond the reconstituted University of Helmstedt and its students as well. In gratitude for manning the helm of the University of Helmstedt as its sole unpaid theological professor, Duke Friedrich Ulrich invested Calixt on July 28, 1627 with the reversion of the Abbacy of Königsutter.<sup>179</sup> In 1628 Calixt purchased a printing press in Halberstadt and petitioned the duke for the right to print. The Braunschweig statesmen and former Helmstedt professor, Jacob Lampadius, granted this privilege to Calixt on behalf of the duke. His 1629 letter to Calixt also shows the high regard in which Calixt was held at the court.<sup>180</sup> Calixt's prominence was highlighted again when the Wolfenbüttel court-preacher, Peter

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*des Humanismus und ihre Ausbildung zu selbständigen Disziplinen* (Freiburg: Herder, 1927), especially 216–53. Helmstedt was followed by Giessen and Marburg respectively. Rinteln, Jena, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Duisburg, Frankfurt (Oder), Halle, Königsberg, Greifswald, Rostock, Kiel, Straßburg, Altdorf, Tübingen, and Heidelberg introduced regular church history lectures in that order. That said, Wittenberg had tried to create an extraordinary professorship of church history in 1624. The reopened University of Erfurt (1633) had spelled out a short-lived church history professorship in its new statutes.

<sup>178</sup> Mager, "Theologische Promotionen," 98.

<sup>179</sup> "Von Gottes Gnaden Friedrich Vlrich / Herzog zu Braunschweig vnd Lüneburg /etc. UNsern gunst zuvor / Würdiger Hochgelarter lieber getrewer / Demnoch wir vns ewerer auff unserer Iulius Vniversitet zu Helmstedt nun etzliche Jahr hero geleisteten getrewen Dienste erindert / daneben aber in gnaden behertziget / daß ihr dagegen noch zur zeit nicht remunerirer, ohne daß auch eine zeithero bey itzigen beschwerlichen Leufften ewers verdienten Soldes entrahten müssen. Als haben wir euch mit der Abteylichen dignitet vnsers Stiffts Königsutter auff den ersten Fall / der in Gottes handen stehet / vmb mehres ewers unterhalts willen / vnd ewere Studia desto Fleissiger vnd besser fortzu setzen / gnädig anzusehen geschlossen / Wollen euch auch dieselbe hiemit vnd in krafft dieses in gnaden / Jedoch dero gestalt versprochen haben / Weil euch der Almächtiger Gott fürnehme qualiteten ynd gaben in ewerm Beruff verliehen / Daß ihr nicht destoweiniger daneben bey ewerer nützlichen profession zu erbawung der Kirchen Gottes / auch Land vnd Leute / verbleiben / vnd deroselben einen Weg wie den andern abwarten sollet / zweiffeln auch nicht / ihr werdet ewern Fleis / wie bißdahers / also auch noch fürters / zu behueffder lieben studirenden Jugend zum besten anzuwenden nichts abgeben lassen / Vnd verbleiben euch ferner mit gnaden wolbeyegethan. Datum in vnser Stadt Braunschweig am 18 Iulii Anno 1627." See Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, X ii. His coat of arms as abbot can be seen in Dowding, *German*, 345.

<sup>180</sup> "Privilegia typographiae, prout voluisti, perfacili negotio optimus princeps concessit, cui volupe est iis gratificari, quos vitutis et pietatis studiis praeter ceteros duci, quosque fastigium praestantissimae omnium disciplinae apprehendisse compertum habet. Age igitur, praeclarissime vit, ut propediem percrebrescat, optimos quosque studiis tuis neque applaudere frustra, neque serenissimum principem patrocinari. Optimus maximus Deus aspiret praeclaris conastibus tuis propitius, teque nobis praestet iugiter incolumen." Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 17–18.

Tuckermann, made a request of Friedrich Ulrich for someone to assist and ultimately succeed him due to an illness. The former Helmstedt theology professor, Michael Walther, was suggested by Tuckermann. After the duke solicited Calixt's opinion, Calixt prevented this call from happening.<sup>181</sup> Lastly Friedrich Ulrich's correspondence with the Helmstedt theological faculty regarding the 1634 Frankfurt General Conference demonstrates that both Friedrich Ulrich's court and the Helmstedt theology faculty had come to share Calixt's conception of Lutheran irenicism.<sup>182</sup>

With the ascension of the New House of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Calixt's influence on the duchy was strengthened and now expanded into the New House of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. The heirless Friedrich Ulrich was succeeded in 1634 by the founder of the New House of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Duke August the Younger (1579–1666). He was followed by two of his three sons (Rudolph August [1627–1704] and Anton Ulrich [1633–1714]), and two of Anton Ulrich's three sons, (August Wilhelm [1662–1731] and Ludwig Rudolf [1671–1735]), until Ferdinand Albrecht II (1680–1735) formed the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel-Bevern line of

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<sup>181</sup> Henke, *Georg*, 1:409–10.

<sup>182</sup> The Braunschweig statesmen, Lampadius and Kipius, wrote on April 17, 1634, "Nicht allein den Christen übel anstehen, ja dem Christenthum schnurpleich zuwider sind, sondern auch die Regiment und Politien in überaus grosse Verwirrung, nachtheil und Schaden setzen.... Das Fundament und die via regia da zu ist in dem Extract ausgesprochen,... dass neben der h. Schrift auf den übereinstimmenden Consens der werthen und unzweifelhaften reinen Antiquität, welcher aus den uraltern Symbolis erhellet, das Absehen genommen, und dagegen alle den lieben Alten unbekante, zum wahren Christenthum unnöthige, hohe, subtile und guten Theils ganz ungewisse Nebenfragen beiseits gesetzt oder in die Schulen verwiesen werden. ... so muss nun anfangs dies die Intention sein, dass man mit allen Christenmenschen, die sich keiner von Altersher verdamnten Ketzereien, als da sind die arianische, phoinianische, manichäische, pelagianische u. dgl. theilhaftig gemacht, Fried und Einigkeit treffen wolle. ... es sei denn dass sie sich selbst absondern und von keinem Frieden hören wollen; aber dann wird doch dadurch kund werden dass die ursach der Spaltung und des daher rührenden Unglücks an unsrer Seite nicht hafte, et pax nostra ad nos revertetur.... Es steht aber nicht zu Papsts aus heiliger Schrift und ecclesiastica genuina antiquitate zu behaupten, dass wegen solches ungegründeten italienischen Papstthums oder Ansehns und Genusses, der davon der italienischen Nation mittelst anderer Nationen Despect und Schaden zuwächst, die Deutschen ihre eigenen Verwandten und Freude ewiglich zu verfolgen oder sich selbst unter einander zu Boden zu richten Belieben tragen werden.... Weil aber die Calvinisten, mit deren Irrthümern wir doch nichts zu schaffen und selbige verwerfen, uns viel näher kommen, und in wenigeren Artikeln discrepiren als die Papisten, wird von und mit ihnen billig der Anfang gemacht, und wie nahe ein Theil dem andern treten möge, mit gebühlicher Sorgfalt versucht," cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:506–7. See also Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 34–37, 42–44.

the House Welf. Duke August the Younger was the fourth son of Duke Heinrich (1553–98) of Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Dannenberg, and the grandson of Duke Ernst the Confessor. He inherited the duchy because his father had renounced his claim of Braunschweig-Lüneburg in 1569 to Wilhelm the Younger (1535–92), and thus his father became the Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Dannenberg. This was contingent on certain compensations and the assurance that if the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel line died out, Heinrich's line would be the first to inherit it.<sup>183</sup> Nevertheless, a number of Friedrich Ulrich's lands were not received by Duke August the Younger, but instead were transferred to the founder of the New House of Lüneburg, Duke Georg of Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen (1583–1641). He was the son of Wilhelm the Younger, as well as the younger brother of Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1568–1636) and Duke Friedrich of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1571–1648). First, Duke Georg wrestled Braunschweig-Grubenhagen away from Friedrich Ulrich in 1617 via an imperial decision. Second, the December 14, 1635 Braunschweig Land Division granted Calenberg-Göttingen to Duke Georg and made Helmstedt the joint university of the three Braunschweig duchies, the oversight of which shifted annually between the dukes.<sup>184</sup> Third, the emperor's distrust of Duke Georg and Duke Georg's refusal to give up Hildesheim ensured that the emperor would not return the Wolfenbüttel Residence to Duke August the Younger, despite the dukes' consent to the 1635 Peace of Prague. But while both Braunschweig dukes then informally allied with the Swedes, the Treaty of Goslar was eventually forged with the emperor by 1642. On this basis, Duke August the Younger and now Duke Georg's sons would no longer ally with Sweden,

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<sup>183</sup> P. Zimmermann, "Wilhelm der Jüngere, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg," in *Allgemeine Deutsch Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912), 43:1–4.

<sup>184</sup> K. Janicke, "Georg, Herzog von Braunschweig-Lüneburg," in *Allgemeine Deutsch Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912), 8:629–34; Werner Hillebrand, ed. *1636–1685*, vol. 2 of *Die Matrikel der Universität Helmstedt* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1981), X–XI.

Wolfenbüttel would be restored, and Hildesheim would be given up.<sup>185</sup> After the death of Duke Georg of Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen in 1641, his sons, Christian Ludwig (1622–65) and Johann Friedrich (1625–79), ruled Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen in succession until his last surviving son, Ernst August (1629–98), inherited both Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen and Braunschweig-Lüneburg, uniting them into Electoral Hannover in 1692. This could occur because Duke Georg's other son, Georg William (1624–1705), had inherited Braunschweig-Lüneburg in 1648 following the death of Friedrich of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Harburg, moreover, had already been absorbed into Braunschweig-Lüneburg following the 1642 death of Duke Wilhelm of Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Harburg.

Duke August the Younger of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel was known as one of the most learned and pious princes of his day. He was educated at the universities of Rostock and Tübingen, rather than Helmstedt, perhaps because his father signed the *Formula of Concord*. Since it was unlikely that Duke August the Younger would rule, he devoted himself to scholarly pursuits at his residence in Hitzger (his Ithaca), which centered chiefly on a revision of the text of the Luther Bible and Bible paraphrases. In fact, his personal library would come to form the basis of the famous *Herzog August Bibliothek* in Wolfenbüttel.<sup>186</sup> During these years of scholarly pursuits, Duke August corresponded with the 1611–21 General-superintendent of Celle, Johann Arndt, and may have become friends with him.<sup>187</sup> Coupled with vocal Arndtian advocates around the duke, (his court-physician, Melchior Breler, and court-preacher, Heinrich Varenius [1595–

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<sup>185</sup> Beste, *Geschichte*, 230–34; Henke, *Georg*, 2/1:46–50.

<sup>186</sup> F. Spehr, "August der Jüngere, Herzog von Braunschweig und Lüneburg," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912), 1:660–62; Inge Mager, "Die Beziehung Herzog Augusts von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel zu den Theologen Georg Calixt und Johann Valentin Andreae," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 6 (1980): 76–80; BC, Preface; (BSLK [16], 763).

<sup>187</sup> Johannes Wallmann, "Herzog August zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg als Gestalt der Kirchengeschichte: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Verhältnisses zu Johann Arndt," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 6 (1980): 16–32.

1635]), the writings of Arndt and fellow Arndtians played a significant role in the duke's lifelong pursuit of the cultivation of piety, albeit not his confessional indifference.<sup>188</sup> From Hitzger August the Younger also took up correspondence with Calixt and came to regard him as a friend and theological advisor. Since the duke had already permitted an irenic work by Nuremberg jurist, Johannes Busenreuth (1548–1610), bound with a preface by Johann Arndt, to be published by the Lüneburg Sterne publisher in 1621, it should come as little surprise that he expressed in a November 8, 1631 letter a favorable interest in Calixt's irenic writings.<sup>189</sup> Three years later he would request that Calixt pen the memorial for his deceased Duchess, Dorothea (1607–34), and met with him in Flensburg to discuss it. Calixt took this opportunity to petition the duke's

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<sup>188</sup> The confessional tolerance that would come to mark the reigns of Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Duke Ernst the Pious of Saxony-Gotha (1601–75), and Elector Johann Georg II of Saxony (1613–80) should not be attributed to an anachronistic and procrustean conception of *Reformorthodoxie* as a stream or party within Lutheran Orthodoxy. Hans Leube has shown that reform was the common theme of Lutheran Orthodoxy. See Leube, *Die Reformideen*, 36–140. In addition, some have used Leube's ideas not only to suggest that there was an ever-diminishing Anti-Arndtian "Strict Orthodoxy" and an Proto-Pietistic Arndtian "Reform Orthodoxy" party in Lutheranism, but often also to suggest that Arndtian piety was concomitant with irenicism and confessional indifference. However, Johann Arndt's dismissal for his refusal to drop the baptismal exorcism in Anhalt shows that he was very much opposed to confessional indifference. What is more, Abraham Calov, who is universally regarded to be one of the clearest representatives of "Strict Orthodoxy," promoted Arndt, defended Philipp Jakob Spener, helped systematize the mystical union, and wrote devotional works himself. Likewise, Johann Dannhauer, who is universally held up to be one of the clearest representative of "Reform Orthodoxy," was every much the polemicist and opponent of syncretism that Calov was. See Johannes Wallmann, "Pietismus und Orthodoxy: Überlegung und Fragen zur Pietismusforschung," in *Pietismus-Studien: Gesammelte Aufsätze II* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 1–21.

<sup>189</sup> Johannes Busenreuth, *Reformatio Papatus, iuxta Confessionem Augustanam, Qua proponitur Romanorum Pontificum atque Conciliorum Consensus, cum Augustana Confessione, in Omnibus Fidei Articulis* (Lüneburg: Sterne, 1621); Mager, "Die Beziehung," 92. August wrote Calixt, "Augustus der Jüngere, Hertzog zu Braunschweig und Luneburgk. Unserm gantz geneigten willen und gnädigen gruss zuvorn. Ehrwürdiger Ehrentvester Hochgelarter, lieber Andächtiger und Besonderer, wir haben sein Schreiben vom letzten Octobris, für diesem, nebst seinen Buchern die coelibatu Clericorum und was er ex scriptis Augustini ex Vincentii Lirinensis hat wollen hervorgeben, woll empfangen. Vernehmen zu foderst gerne darauss, dass er der letzhin gepflogenen kurtzen conversatio sich noch erinnert, Spuren darauss seine sonderbahre gute affection, Unsers ortes versichern wir ihn hinwieder, da wir einigen günstigen gefallen ihm erweysen werden können, an uns nichts erwinden zu lassen. So bald wir das de Conjugio Clericorum vom Buchbinder werden erlangen, wollen wirs mit fleiss durchlesen: verhoffen, demnach es de tanto Theologo herrühret, die Zeit nicht übel zu spendiren. Als wir auch ex praefatione für den Augustinum vernehmen, dass er eine eigene typographiam in seinem hause angerichtet, so haben wir unserm von Hauss aus bestaltem Rahte, D. Lig. Cludio zugeschrieben, er möchte ihm, das Buch Reformatio Papatus etc. intitulieret, so wir zu Luneb. zum Truck verordnet, demnach die Exemplaria verkauffet, zuschicken. Ob ers etwa den andern Edition würdig zu erachten, und mit einem Auctuario ex Instructissima Academiae Bibliotheca verbessern möchte. Verbleiben ihm mit gnaden gewogen. Eylig Hitzger, 6 Calend. Octobris 1631." See Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 22–23. Mager states the October 6 date is incorrect.



protection for his irenic endeavors and penned his *De supremo iudicio* in memory of the duke's wife.<sup>190</sup>

Beginning his reign in the last decade of the Thirty Years' War, August the Younger showed a paternal interest in the organizational reconstruction and spiritual renewal of his realm as *summus episcopus*.<sup>191</sup> His 1636 assecuracion of religion recommitted his officials and professors to the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession*, the 1569 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel *Kirchenordnung*, and the 1576 *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*.<sup>192</sup> The duke issued a liturgy for a June 20, 1636 Day of Repentance and Prayer. He spelled out pious norms for the celebration of rituals in the duchy that were reinforced with fines.<sup>193</sup> A new *All-gemeine Landes-Ordnung* was codified in 1647, which enforced regular participation in all aspects of parish life (such as communion and catechism attendance) as well as pious and ethical behavior with threats of punishment.<sup>194</sup> August the Younger published a new *Schul-Ordnung* in 1651 that maintained Helmstedt norms of education. The duke issued a new cloister order in 1655 that now brought the cloisters under the control of a central *Klosterratsstube*.<sup>195</sup> Since copies of the second edition of the 1569

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<sup>190</sup> Calixt's October 11, 1635 letter to August is cited in Henke, *Georg*, 2/1:73; Georg Calixt, "De supremo iudicio," in *Schriften zur Eschatologie*, vol. 4 of *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Inge Mager (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 240–426. The meeting occurred as Calixt was returning to Schleswig to settle his family affairs following the death of his brother.

<sup>191</sup> See also Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische*, 70–78; Beste, *Geschichte*, 230–47.

<sup>192</sup> Ribbentrop, *Sammlung*, 2:100ff; Stübner, *Historische*, 84.

<sup>193</sup> *Buss: Bett: vnd Fasttags: Ordnung. Dess Durchleuchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn / Herrn Avgusti Dess Jüngern / Hertzogen zu Braunschweig vnd Lüneburg / u.* (Braunschweig: Gruben, 1636); *Des Durchleuchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürsten / und Herrn Augusti, Herzogen zu Brunswieg / und Lünäburgk / Wiederholte / und von neuen übersehne Verlöbnis- Hochzeits- Kindtaufs- und Begräbnis-Ordnung* (Wolfenbüttel: Sterne, 1646).

<sup>194</sup> *Des Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten / und Herrn / Herrn Augusti, Herzogen zu Brunswieg / und Lünäburgk All-gemeine Landes-Ordnung: Welche künftige auf allen / und jeden land-gerichten / wo dieselbige gehalten werden / öffentlich allemahl verlesen / und mit ernst darüber gehalten werden soll* (Wolfenbüttel: Bismark, 1647).

<sup>195</sup> The 1651 *Schul-Ordnung* is reprinted in Reinhold Vormbaum, ed. *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1860–64), 2:407–24; *Unsers / von Gottes Gnaden Augusti, Herzogens zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg. Verordnung / Wy es mit Besez- und Verfassung der Clöster / auch administration und inspection über*

Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel *Kirchenordnung* were wanting, he published a third edition in 1649, but added a new preface and listed his own name on the title. In addition, a new *Agenda Oder: Erster Teyl der Kirchen-Ordnung* was issued in 1657, which reaffirmed the June 4, 1646 ducal mandate that had replaced the reading of the traditional Epistles and Gospel pericopes (but not the sermon text), from the Luther Bible in the Lutheran Mass with readings from the duke's 1644/45 *Evangelische Kirchen Harmonie*. Lections from this paraphrase of the pericopes were intended to facilitate the simple Christians' understanding of the Bible. It was retained in the duchy until the 1709 *Kirchenordnung*.<sup>196</sup> Finally, two new catechisms were introduced under August the Younger. The first was penned by the Wolfenbüttel court-preacher and chief general-superintendent, Joachim Lütke mann (1608–55). The other was authored by general-superintendent, Erasmus Hannemann (1606–72).<sup>197</sup>

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*deren Güter / in unserm Fürstentum Brunswyg Wolfenbüttelschen Teils / und der Grafschaft Blankenburgk zu halten / und wy selbiges nach dem estern und uralten Zustande / so weit es der verenderten Zeiten und Umstände halber möglich einzurichten* (Wolfenbüttel: Sterne, 1655); D. Dettmer. *Das Konsistorium zu Wolfenbüttel: Ein Beitrage zur Braunschweigischen Kirchen- und kirchenverfassungsgeschichte* (Branschweig: E. Appel hans & Co., 1922), 51.

<sup>196</sup> *Kirchen-Ordnung / Unser / Von Gottes Gnaden Augusti, Herzogen zu Brunswieg / und Lunäburg /u. Wie es mit der Lehr / und den Zeremonien unsers Fürstentums Brunswieg / Wolfenbüttlichen und Tannen bergischen Teils / Auch derselben Kirchen anhangenden Sachen / und Verrichtungen / hinfort / bis zu fernerer Verordnung / (vermitteltst göttlicher Gnaden/) gehalten werden sol* (Wolfenbüttel: Sterne, 1649); *Agenda Oder: Erster Teyl der Kirchen-Ordnung / Unser von Gottes Gnaden Augusti, Herzogen zu Bruns-Wyk und Lunä-Burg. Wy es mit den Ceremonien / auch andern nootwendigen Sachsen und Verrichtungen in den Kirchen Unserer Fürstentume Graf-Herrschaften und landen zu halten* (Wolfenbüttel: Sterne, 1657); August the Younger, *Evangelische Kirchen Harmonie Das ist: Der hoch-heiligen Skrift unterschiedene Texte / und Welche von unseren gottseligen Vorfahren / aus den Geschichte-Büchern der Evangelisten / und aus den Briefen der Apostelen / so wol auch aus den Skriften des alten / und ersten Bundes / oder Testaments / vor vielen hundert Jahren herausgezogen / und an gewissen Tagen des HErrn / und der Festen /in öffentlichen Zusammen Künsten / und Versammlungen / den Gemeinen der Christen / jährlich vorzulesen / und zu erklären / aus besonderer Andacht wolmeinendtl ich verordnet : Und von Einem Liebhaber seines liebsten HErrn Jesu / und dessen heiligen Wortes / neulich übersehen / zusammen getragen / und mit skriftmässiger Erklärung ausgeführet seynd* (Wolfenbüttel: Sterne, 1646).

<sup>197</sup> Joachim Lütke mann, *Corpus Doctrinae Catecheticae Augustum, das ist: Anleitung zur Catechismus-Lehr: Wie dieselbe in des Fürstenthums Braunschweig- Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttelschen Theils Schulen und Kirchen einfältig und erbawlich zu treiben / Auff des Durchläuchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Augusti, Hertzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg /u. gnädige Verordnung aufgesetzt / und in drey Theilen abgefasset* (Lüneburg: Sterne, 1656); Erasmus Hannemann, *Catechismus-Lehr / In Fragen und Ant-Worten gefasset / und mit Haupt-Sprüchen der Skrift erkläret* (Wolfenbüttel: Bismark, 1660).

After the Helmstedt theology faculty issued a critical *Gutachten* of Duke August the Younger's supplanting of the pericopes, some tensions emerged between the duke and the faculty. But August the Younger still remained a supporter of Calixt and his Lutheran irenicism as far as he was able.<sup>198</sup> One of the duke's first acts was to recognize the translation of the Abbey of Königslutter to Calixt in 1636, making him a chief prelate and member of the estates.<sup>199</sup> On July 21, 1636 Calixt was made the duke's *professor primarius*.<sup>200</sup> As an amateur theologian, August the Younger requested many theological opinions from Calixt regarding his devotion writings and the works of others. Since Calixt had never served as a preacher, it was sometimes hard for him to assist the duke with his devotional projects, but Calixt consistently reminded him to avoid new terminology (*novitas terminorum*).<sup>201</sup> Calixt provided prefaces for the duke's 1640 passion history, but stressed the duke's paraphrase was a private work that was not intended as a critique of Luther's translation of the Bible.<sup>202</sup> Even though Calixt had also attempted in this

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<sup>198</sup> See also Mager, "Die Beziehung," 82, 94, 80–85, 90–94, Krumwiede, *Kirchengeschichte*, 1:214.

<sup>199</sup> August's instructions for the election of a new abbot are quoted in Henke, *Georg*, 2/1:61.

<sup>200</sup> Mager, *Die Konkordienformel*, 496–97.

<sup>201</sup> The duke requested Calixt's opinion of the Erfurt theology professor, Johann Meyfart's (1590–1642), *Christliche vnd Auß trewem Hertzen wolgemeinte / Auch demütige Erinnerung/ Von Erbauung vnd Fortsetzung Der Academischen Disciplin auff den Evangelischen Hohen Schulen in Deutschland; wo etwa dieselbige gefallen / vnd Schaden verübet / wie solcher in Richtigkeit zubringen und abzuwenden? Damit dem grimmigen Zorn Gottes gestewret vnd die betrübte Kirche nach langem Seufftzen erfrewet werde* (Schleusingen: Birckners, 1636), which attacked university life, particularly the theology students, as well as the corruption of the post-Apostolic and present church. Calixt was sympathetic, but took issue with Meyfart's assertion about the corruption of the early church. He responded on March 14, 1636, "Dass zwar bald nach der Himmelfahrt des Herrn Christi, wie nach Ableben der H. Apostel macherlei und ganz grobe Ketzereien entstanden; die aber solche Ketzereien gestiftet oder dero sich theilhaft gemacht sind alsofort von der Gemeinschaft der rechten wahren Kirche der Bekenner und Märtyrer und Lehrer absondert, es ist derowegen der Ketzereien ungehindert die Kirche an sich auch, so weit als dieselbe heutigen Tages aus dem einhelligen Consens der überbleibenen und bis auf uns derivirten Schriften bekannt ist, in ihrer Sincerität erhalten, gemeldete Ketzereien aber durch Fleiss und Arbeit jener Kirchenlehrer und Scribenten widerleget und endlich zu Boden gerichtet worden," cited in Henke, *Georg*, 2/1:88–89. See also the correspondence between Calixt and August, cited in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 52–55, 66–67, 195–96; Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:50; Mager, "Die Beziehung," 84, 95–96.

<sup>202</sup> Calixt wrote, "Etiamsi enim magna ex parte nova quoque sit Versio, veterem tamen B. Lutheri neque reprehendit neque reicit." See August the Younger, *Die Geschichte Von des HERRN Jesu des \* Gesalbten Leyden / Sterben und Begräbnisse: (\* Joh. 1,41.Act.4,27.) Auß der Evangelisten Schrifftten* (Lüneburg: Stern, 1640).

preface to discourage the duke from replacing the pericopes by means of the *Jus Episcopale*,<sup>203</sup> Calixt remained a trusted theological advisor of the duke. However, the duke would now take up an extensive correspondence with the less restrictive, but suspect grandson of Jakob Andreae and Stuttgart court-preacher, Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654). Johann Andreae provided the *Evangelische Kirchen Harmonie* with a preface, but considered the work to be postil and not a substitute for the pericopes.<sup>204</sup> After the Helmstedt theology faculty objected to the duke's supplanting of the pericopes in a 1646 *Gutachten*, because of the inalterability of the Scripture and the practice of the universal church, August the Younger chose the Pomeranian devotional writer, Joachim Lütkemann, as his new Wolfenbüttel court-preacher and chief general-superintendent (1649–55) instead of a Helmstedt-trained clergyman.<sup>205</sup> That said, the Leipzig theological faculty's much stronger *Gutachten* against this exercise of the *Jus Episcopale* no doubt helped solidify the duke's opposition to Electoral Saxon interference in Braunschweig.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> Wallmann and other scholars contend, "Daß in dem Chor der über die absolutistische Kirchenpolitik, die 'Cäsaropapie' der deutschen Fürsten klagenden Theologen ... die Stimme Calixts offensichtlich fehlt." See Wallmann, "Zwischen," 80–81. But Mager demonstrates that Calixt maintained the *gubernatio ecclesiae* properly belong to the church, that he was willing to accept a territorial church system under certain circumstances, that he was not immune from making critiques of authority, and that as a prelate he was opposed to a functionless *Landstände*. See Mager, "Die Beziehung," 94–98. Calixt writes, "Hinc duo videntur ministrorum praecipua officia. Unum tractandi Verbum et Sacramenta, alterum advertendi in vitam et mores auditorium... Praeter duo principua modo dicta tertium Presbyterorum officium est externum Ecclesiae ordinem, ceremonias et ritus ita instituere et modeari." See Georg Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae 1619," in *Dogmatische Schriften*, vol. 2 of *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Inge Mager (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 288–89. Calixt writes, "Unusquisque enim, qui membrum est Ecclesiae, tenetur inuare Ecclesiam modo et mediis, quibuscunque potest et operam, quanta in se est, conferre, ut sarta tecta conservetur. Manifestum autem est reges et magistratus politicos hac in re plurimum posse." See Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 292.

<sup>204</sup> Mager, "Die Beziehung," 85–89. See also Martin Brecht, *J. V. Andreae und Herzog August zu Braunschweig-Lüneburg* (Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002).

<sup>205</sup> Wolfgang Sommer, "Herzog August d. J. zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg und sein Hofprediger Joachim Lütkemann (1649–1655)," in *Gottesfurcht und Fürstentherrschaft: Studien zum Obrigkeitsverständnis Johann Arndts und lutherischer Hofprediger zur Zeit der altprotestantischen Orthodoxie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 255–85. Mager interprets, "Die Helmstedter Universität erblickte in dieser Maßnahme weniger einen Eingriff in das allein der Kirche zustehende Recht der Gottesdienstgestaltung, als vielmehr einen Verstoß gegen das reformatorische Schriftprinzip." See Mager, "Die Beziehung," 95–96. But the Helmstedt *Gutachten* can also be seen as reaffirmation of the *consensus antiquitatis* as well. It should be noted that Andreae, Lütkemann, and the Straßburg theology professor, Johann Schmidt, supported the duke.

<sup>206</sup> "Gutachten der Helmstedter," 542; "Ob ein Fürst / welcher das Jus Episcopale in seinen Landen hat / an stat

As criticism of Calixt's theology became more vocal, August the Younger lamented the controversy Calixt had to endure, but remained just as supportive of Calixt's Lutheran irenicism as he had been with Calixt's efforts to dialogue with the Mainz and Cologne theologians. For instance, he sent his "chief prelate and abbot" to the 1645 Colloquy of Thorn because "this Christian intention could in no way be hindered."<sup>207</sup> Even through the duke felt theologians had to fight their own battles among theologians, he obtained confirmation in 1650 from Johann Valentin Andreae that Calixt was not guilty of "syncretism, samaritanism, and atheism."<sup>208</sup> He maintained a united Welf front against Electoral Saxon church-political and legal attacks against Calixt and Braunschweig Lutheranism.<sup>209</sup> The favor that Calixtine theology still held in the realm after the 1646 *Gutachten* is further evidenced by the subsequent appointments. In 1646 the duke

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der gewöhnlichen Evangelien und Epistlen eine andere paraphrasin in seiner Kirchen der Gemeine vor dem Altar vorzulesen einführen könne?" in *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum*, ed. Georg Dedeken, Johann Ernst Gerhard, and Christian Grübel (Jena: Hertel, 1671), New Appendix: 692–97. The Electoral Saxons like many other Lutherans not only defended Luther's translations, but also saw the church year, historic propers, pericopal preaching, the Lutheran mass, medieval rituals, vestments, traditional customs, statutes and images as instruments for the inculcation the faith as well as for counteracting Calvinism. Thus deviations from such practices were seen as Calvinistic deviations from Lutheran dogma, especially after a number of Lutheran states began turning Calvinist. See the extensive citations in Bodo Nishan, "Demarcating Boundaries: Lutheran Pericopic Sermons in the Age of Confessionalization," in *Lutherans and Calvinist in the Age of Confessionalism* (Alderhot: Ashgate, 1999), VI:199–216; his "Ritual and Protestant Identity in Late Reformation Germany," in *Lutherans and Calvinist in the Age of Confessionalism* (Alderhot: Ashgate, 1999), II:142–58; his "The Exorcism Controversy and Baptism in the Late Reformation," in *Lutherans and Calvinist in the Age of Confessionalism* (Alderhot: Ashgate, 1999), III:31–50; his "The 'Fractio Panis': a Reformed Communion Practice in Late Reformation Germany," in *Lutherans and Calvinist in the Age of Confessionalism* (Alderhot: Ashgate, 1999), IV:17–29; his "The Elevation of the Host in the Age of Confessionalism: Adiaphoron or Ritual Demarcation?" in *Lutherans and Calvinist in the Age of Confessionalism* (Alderhot: Ashgate, 1999), V:1–27.

<sup>207</sup> August's April 25, 1640 letter to Calixt, cited in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 55. August wrote Calixt on July 26, 1645, "Calixtus möge seine 'Reise in Gottes Namen fortsetzen und die angetragene Gelegenheit in Acht nehmen', 'dieweil wir dies christliche Vorhaben gar nicht zu hindern,'" cited in Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:89.

<sup>208</sup> August wrote Andreae on January 15, 1650 after Calixt was attacked by Weller and Hülsemann, "Es wird unser guter Alter seinen thesin wohl zu defendiren wissen," cited in Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:188. Andreae wrote August on November 6, 1650, "Herrn Dr. Calixti, cui fausta quaeque precor, desiderium concordiae ecclesasticae habe ich mit Fleiß und Lust drei mal überlesen, wünschte, daß vieler theologorum aequanimorum Gedanke und Mühe dahin gerichtet wäre, und will verhoffen, es werde Herr Calixtus sich also verwahret haben, daß in diesen generalibus ihm kein Synkretismus, Samaritanismus, viel weniger Atheismus möge aufgedrungen werden," cited in Mager, "Die Beziehung," 92.

<sup>209</sup> Calixt's April 20, 1648 letter to August, cited in Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Y; Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:134ff; the three Braunschweig Dukes' April 29, 1650 letter to the Saxon Elector Johann Georg I, cited in Calixt, *Widerlegung*, z iii; Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 207–209; Calixt's May 22, 1654 letter to August, cited in Mager, "Die Beziehung," 84.

made Calixt's brother-in-law, Johann Schwartzkopf (1596–1658), chancellor. He was a fierce proponent of the territorial church structure, who left his mark on all the post-1646 territorial orders.<sup>210</sup> The duke also named Calixt's former student and Helmstedt philosophy professor, Christian Schrader, general-inspector of all the territorial schools in 1648. In 1662 he made Calixt's former student, Brandan Dättrius, the first Calixtine Wolfenbüttel court-preacher and the last clerical director of the consistory.<sup>211</sup> Even when the so-called "pietist on the Welf throne," Rudolph August, assumed control of the duchy in 1666, he still shared his father's respect for Georg Calixt and was unable to give his lands a pietistic character. His Calixtine-imbibed brother and co-regent, Anton Ulrich, moreover, married his grand-daughter to the emperor in 1708 and converted to Roman Catholicism himself in 1710.<sup>212</sup>

Duke Georg of Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen shared this favorable disposition towards Calixt and the University of Helmstedt as well. The duke consulted with the Helmstedt faculty in 1635 with respect to the Peace of Prague.<sup>213</sup> The 1636 Calenberg *Landtag* subordinated his clergy to a consistory, whose clerical members would be stocked with court-preachers linked to Helmstedt: Paul Müller, Justus Gesenius, and Brandan Dättrius.<sup>214</sup> The latter two had both been

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<sup>210</sup> In his 1655 *Bedenken von Einrichtung des Juris circa sacra*, he criticized notions of the church's independence from the state and the preacher's disciplinary office over against the authorities. He identified such ideas in Lütkeemann's reforming measures and *Regentenpredigt* after the ducal mandated 1650/1653 visitations. Therefore, Inge Mager sees Schwartzkopf as a strong proponent of a *landesherrliche Kirchenregiment*, but maintains, "Man kann keineswegs sagen, Schwartzkopfs Maßnahmen seinen als Ausfluß calixtinischen denkens zu werten. Im Gegenteil Calixt blieb hier hemmend." See Mager, "Die Beziehung," 97–98; Wallmann, "Zwischen," 81–86; Sommer, "Herzog, 285–314; Dettmer, *Das Konsistorium*, 47.

<sup>211</sup> Reller, "Die Auswirkungen," 46. In 1689 a secular official replaced the general-superintendent as director of the consistory, which weakened the power of the latter. See Dettmer, *Das Konsistorium*, 53–75.

<sup>212</sup> Rudolf August wrote Andreae on March 13, 1644, "Spero enim post Rev. Calixti, Juliae nostrae celeberrimi Professoris, Compendium Theologicum, quod aliquoties perlegi nullam in Theologicis Hafenerferiana praemonstrante Discipulo non inferiori certiore Cynosuram sequi posse," cited in Mager, "Die Beziehung," 98. See also Johann Lerche, "Herzog Rudolf August und die Stillen im Lande," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 66 (1968): 172–77.

<sup>213</sup> Henke, *Georg*, 2/1:39–40.

<sup>214</sup> Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 49–52; Henke, *Georg*, 2/1:43–44.

students of Calixt, although Gesenius had also been influenced by Johann Gerhard during his study in Jena.<sup>215</sup> That same year the *Landtag* further determined that all its schools would conform themselves in the fundamental principles and method (*in principiis fundamentorum et methodo*) of the University of Helmstedt, a policy continued by Duke Georg's sons.<sup>216</sup> In 1639 the 1569 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel *Kirchenordnung* was reaffirmed and the consistory ordered that the afternoon catechetical sermon would be based on Justus Gesenius' new devotional catechism, which fostered Calixtine Lutheranism among the general populace.<sup>217</sup> To be sure, the soon-to-be Hannover court-preacher and general-superintendent, Justus Gesenius, may not have embraced Calixt's irenicism, but his initially controversial catechism was intended to be "the application of Calixt's theology to the congregation."<sup>218</sup> In 1667 the Wolfenbüttel

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<sup>215</sup> Beste regards Gesenius to be a synthesis of Johann Gerhard and Calixt. See *Geschichte*, 217–23.

<sup>216</sup> *Landtagsabschied* from February 26, 1636 is cited in Johann Pfeffinger, *Historie des Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Hauses, und selbiger Landen, bis auf gegenwärtige Zeiten; mit Beyfügung der darin befindlichen hoch-gräflich, frey-herrlich, und hoch-adelichen Geschlechter, Stifter, Clöster, Gerechtsamen der Städte, Beschaffenheit der Sülzte und derselben Soothmeister-Wahl, nebst anderen Sonderheiten der Stadt Lüneburg, und vielen Anmerckungen aus alten glaubwürdigen Urkunden* (Hamburg: König und Richter, 1731–1734), 3:307, 314ff; Calixt, *Gründliche Widerlegung*, 1:28, 2:342–92; Henke, *Georg*, 2:1:43–44. See also Georg Calixt's "De bono perfecte summo 1643," in *Schriften zur Eschatologie*, vol. 4 of *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Inge Mager (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 427–500, which represents an attempt to shore up Christian Ludwig's support for Calixtine theology after the Büsscher Controversy and the death of his father.

<sup>217</sup> The August 29, 1639 *Consistorialausschreibung* is referenced in Henke, *Georg*, 2/1:116; Stübner, *Historische*, 134–35; Krumwiede, *Kirchengeschichte*, 1:217; Justus Gesenius, *Kurtze Catechismus-Fragen / Über den Kleinen Catechismus D. M. Lutheri* (Hannover: Förster, 1698). The explanation from the catechism can also be found in Friedrich Wilhelm Bodemann, *Katechetische Denkmale der evangelische-lutherischen Kirche* (Hamburg: Danckwerts, 1861), par. 5. Since the 1631 edition listed no author and the Straßburg theology professor, Johann Schmidt, liked it so well, he provided a preface for it and issued a 1632 Straßburg edition. It was republished in Straßburg in 1643. The 1635 edition included Gesenius' name and Schmidt's preface. It was also dedicated to Tuckermann, Calixt, Horneius, and Müller. See also Eduard Bratke, *Justus Gesenius und seine Verdienst um die Hannoversche Landeskirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1883), 6; Karl Adolf Stisser, "Beobachtung zum Verhältnis von Justus Gesenius zu Herzog August d. J. und dem Wolfenbüttel Hof," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 6 (1980): 52–75.

<sup>218</sup> Gesenius' catechism did not speak of the creed as containing all the articles of the faith like Georg Calixt. Inge Mager states, "Schon 1639 wurde sein Katechismus, den er Calixt als eine, 'Anwendung seiner Theologie in der Gemeinde' gewidmet hatte, auf Befehl des Herzogs in allen calenburgischen Kirchen und Schulen eingeführt." See Mager, "Georg Calixt—der niedersächsische," 89; Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 84–89. The first section of the catechism presents the chief parts in their non-elucidated original form for the youngest catechumen. Gesenius' inclusion of the prohibition against graven images under the first commandment and designation of the Lord's Prayer as "the Unser Vater" could be construed as Calvinistic. The second section presents Luther's explanation of the catechism. Gesenius' own third section focuses more on piety than doctrine. It responds, "Ja" to "Haben denn all Nachkommen

court-preacher, Brandan Dättrius, even got Duke Rudolf August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel to introduce the catechism of his former colleague, Justus Gesenius, into his lands.<sup>219</sup> The Hannoverian court's irenic overtures to the Great Elector during the Peace of Westphalia show its Calixtine character and openness to Hohenzollern Calvinism.<sup>220</sup> The conversion of Duke Georg's son, Johann Friedrich, to Roman Catholicism in 1651 signaled a recurring problem for Calixtine Lutheranism.<sup>221</sup> After the death of his brother, Duke Christian Ludwig of Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen (d. 1665), Duke Johann Friedrich would reintroduce the Roman Catholic Mass in Celle and Hannover. An Apostolic Vicar of the Northern Mission was also

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Adams durch seinen Ungehorsam das Ebenbild Gottes verloren" (q. 8)? But it defines original sin as, "Darinnen wir empfangen und gebohren werden" (q. 68). It responds, "Wer Buße thut und glaubet dem Evangelio, und befließet sich auch gute Früchte der Buße zu thun, des Herrn Christi Joch auf sich nimmet, und von ihm lernet" to the question, "Wer hat sich denn solcher Erlösung zu erfreuen? Oder wer wird denn durch Christum frei vom Zorn Gottes und vom Dienst der Sünden" (q. 27). It lists three parts to true repentance, "1) Eine herzliche Traurigkeit, Reue und Leib über die Sünde. 2) Wahrer Glaube und Zuversicht, und in solchem Glauben eine demüthige und kindliche Abbitte aller Sünde, daß sie Gott um Christi willen vergeben wolle. 3) Ein fester Sinn, Vorsatz, und Fleiß, Böses zu lassen und Gutes zu thun, und über dem Kämpfen wider die Sünde nicht müde zu werden" (q. 29). It answers, "Was heißet denn glauben? Oder: Was bedeutet das, wenn du sprichst: Ich glaube?" with "Glauben begreift in sich zweierlei: 1) Für gewiß und für göttliche Wahrheit halten, was Gott unserer Seligkeit halber in seinem Worte uns offenbaret, darum die weil es Gott geredet hat. 2) Auf die Verheißung und Zusage Gottes festigkeit und darauf sich verlassen" (q. 147). It responds, "Nein," to "Kann aber der wahre seligmachende Glaube wohl sein und bestehen ohne gute Werke, und ohne Uebung der Gottseligkeit" (q. 150)? But it also answers, "Nein," to "Wird er nicht durch die Werke vor Gott gerecht und selig" (q. 208)? Finally, it adds questions on the *Table of Duties*. See also Walch, *Historische*, 3:249–58; Friedrich Ehrenfeuchter, *Geschichte des Katechismus mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Hannoverschen Landeskirche* (Göttingen: Dieterischen Buchhandlung, 1857), 81–82; Michael Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism: A History of Its Origin, Its Distribution, and Its Use* (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1929), 186–187; Gerhard Bode, "Instruction of the Christian Faith by Lutherans after Luther," in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675*, ed. Robert Kolb (Brill: Leiden, 2008), 192–94. Interestingly enough the Superintendent of Ulm, Conrad Dieterich (1575–1639), wrote in 1613, "Quid est symbolum apostolicum? Est brevis et summaria omnium christianae fidei et religionis articulorum formula, qua ecclesia ejusque membra se ab aliis sectis discernunt," in his *Institutiones Catecheticae Depromptae E. B. Lutheri Catechesi Et Variis Notis Illustratae Annexas Quatuor Symbolis Oecumenicis Et Augustana Confessione Sive Catechismi Lutheri Expositio* (Berlin: Gust. Schlawitz, 1864), 197. Even though he clearly did not understand the *Apostles' Creed* as a complete summary of the fundamental articles as evident by his polemics against the Roman Catholics and Reformed, the syncretists would use such language in support of their irenicism. Note also that the *Institutiones Catecheticae* would be reprinted in Electoral Saxony even after the Syncretistic Controversy.

<sup>219</sup> Stübner, *Historische*, 132–34.

<sup>220</sup> It states, "Die Lutherische und Reformirte mit einander verglichen und diese Vereinigung auch unter währung hiesigen Trachten ... durch Zusammenschickung vorgenommen warden möchte." See Bernhard Erdmannsdörfer and Kurt Breysig, *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1864–1930), 2:403.

<sup>221</sup> When Helmstedt professor, Heinrich Blume (1624–99), was sent to counsel him, he eventually converted to Roman Catholicism as well. See Ahrens, *Die Lehrkräfte*, 23.



established in 1667.<sup>222</sup> Still the land remained Lutheran even after it was absorbed into Electoral Hannover in 1692 and after its sovereigns became Kings of England.

In contradistinction to Duke Georg and his children, Duke Friedrich of Braunschweig-Lüneburg was no friend of Georg Calixt. The outspoken opponent of Calixt and now Celle general-superintendent, Michael Walther, no doubt facilitated this attitude, just as his predecessor Johann Witzel did.<sup>223</sup> Michael Walther drew up his own catechism for the duchy, rather than use Gesenius' catechism, which "he could not approve of in a number of points."<sup>224</sup> But Walther's efforts to limit the impact of Helmstedt theology on the duchy were compromised when Duke Georg William inherited Braunschweig-Lüneburg in 1648. After Walther's death in 1662, the duke appointed Helmstedt theology professor, Joachim Hildebrand (1623–91), as Celle general-superintendent.<sup>225</sup> Similarly the Welf-independent city of Braunschweig had militantly resisted the influence of Helmstedt under such superintendents as Martin Chemnitz, Polykarp Leyser the Elder, and Jakob Weller von Molßdorf. Chemnitz' immediate successor, Johann

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<sup>222</sup> Krumwiede, *Kirchengeschichte*, 1:219–20. When Duke Johann Friedrich of Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen converted to Roman Catholicism, Justus Gesenius wrote under the pseudonym, Timotheus Friedlieb, the following tome. *Erörterung der Frage: Warumb wilt du nicht Römisch-Catholisch werden / wie deine Vorfahren waren?: Ist ein Christliches Gespräch und Unterredung über der Frage / Ob ein Evangelischer-oder einer der Augspurgischen Confession und Bekändniß zugethaner und Verwandter Christe / mit gutem Gewissen ... zu der Römischen Kirchen treten ... könne / und was ihn billich davon abhalten solle und müsse / Für einfältige Evangelische Christen* (n.p.: n.p., 1669).

<sup>223</sup> Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 58–66.

<sup>224</sup> The catechism can be found in Bodemann, *Katechetische*, par. 6. A *Gutachen* from the 1723 Stade'schen Controversy over Gesenius' catechism states, "Es ist ganz unleugbar, daß der selige Dr. Walter, damaliger Superintendens Generalissimus zu Celle, den neuen Catechismum Dr. Gesenii in fast vielen Puncten nicht approbiret, jedoch Ärgeriß zu verhüten solches nicht in öffentlichen Schriften, sondern nur in Privat-Schreiben zu verstehen gegeben, in welchen er, was bei dem Catechismo zu erinnern deutlich eröffnet, auch eben um deßwillen den jetzo noch in Cellischen üblichen Catechismum verfertigt und von damalier gnädigster Herrschaft confirmatorias darüber ausgewirket, welche annoch beständig dar vor gedrucket werden," cited in Ehrenfeuchter, *Geschichte*, 87–88. See also Wolfgang Sommer, "Gottesfurcht und Furstenherrschaft: Das Verständnis der Obrigkeit in Predigten der Hofprediger Justus Gesenius und Michael Walther," in *Politik, Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Luthertum der Frühen Neuzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 91–110; Rudolf Steinmetz, "Die Generalsuperintendenten von Lüneburg-Celle," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 20 (1915): 99–111.

<sup>225</sup> Ahrens, *Die Lehrkräfte*, 116–17; Reller, "Die Auswirkungen," 46–47; Steinmetz, "Die Generalsuperintendenten," 111–25.

Heindenreich's, attempt to supplant the *Book of Concord* with the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* failed. However, the city's opposition to Helmstedt theology collapsed in 1646, when Brandan Dättrius was called to replace Jakob Weller as its 1645–62 superintendent. The city was finally brought back under Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel control in 1671.<sup>226</sup>

### **The Theology of Georg Calixt Confounds Lutheran Identity**

The first criticisms of Calixt's theology occurred when he began to give disputations at the university, but these attacks reached a whole new dimension after his acceptance into the theological faculty. The inability of Basilius Sattler and Caspar Pfaffrad to prevent his theological professorship on the grounds that his Christology departed from the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* and the 1591 Christological *Revers* or *Abschied* only strengthened their resolve against him. Interestingly enough, it was his denial of the communication of divine attributes to the human nature of Christ *in abstracto* and even his denial of the omnipresence of Christ's body that they attacked!<sup>227</sup> In 1616 Basilius Sattler appears to have convened a general consistory for the purpose of discrediting Calixt as a heretic and Calvinist.<sup>228</sup> That same year, Calixt sent his doctoral disputation on the immortality of the soul and resurrection of the body to the consistory to undergo theological review before printing. It was subsequently forwarded to the new University of Giessen. The Giessen theological faculty responded with a *Gutachten* that objected

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<sup>226</sup> Krumwiede, *Kirchengeschichte*, 1:212–13. Justus Gesenius had also served as the pastor of the Braunschweig Magnuskirche from 1629–36.

<sup>227</sup> In the consistorial acts, an unsigned *Concept* dated April 20, 1615 can also be found that reads, "Ihr werdet Euch zu erinnern wissen als etliche Eure in den Druck gegehene Theses de persona Christi Unserm Corpori doctrinae ungemäss befunden, indem Ihr negirt dass Christo nach seiner Menschheit göttliche Majestät und Eigenschaft in abstracto, wie in scholis redet, zugeschrieben werde, insonderheit aber omnipraesentiam corporis Christi als ob die den fürnehmsten Artikeln Unseres Glaubens zu widerlaufe und eutyhianisch sei; gleichergestalt gänzlich wider den Abschied so in D. Dan. Hofmanns und D. Polyc. Leysers, beider seligen Controversia allhier vor langen jahren gegeben, leugnet, und die Lehre de singulari praesentia Ecclesiae promissa mit keinem Wort anrühret; imgleichen auch in loco de ministerio den Worten Christi," cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:180.

<sup>228</sup> Dietrich Gunther's 1616 letter to Calixt is reprinted in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 6.

to the weight assigned to philosophical proofs for the immortality of the soul.<sup>229</sup> The subsequent order to revise it accordingly was so discouraging that Calixt reminisced to Schwartzkopf in 1651, “As long as we were required to send our writings to the consistory or rather to Dr. Basilius to be censored, I wanted to have nothing published.”<sup>230</sup> The Giessen theology professor, Balthasar Mentzer I, became more deeply involved in shoring up Helmstedt’s orthodoxy when he was invited to conduct a visitation of the university. Conrad Horneius, a close friend and future co-worker of Calixt, was so agitated by this prospect and its implications for Martini and Calixt that he warned Calixt on December 18, 1618 about it.<sup>231</sup> Mentzer’s visitation, however, does not appear to have borne out any negative consequences for them. In 1619 Caspar Pfaffrad published a preface for Martin Luther’s *De Servo Arbitrio Martini Lutheri ad D. Erasmus Roterodamum* (1526). According to Abraham Calov, it objected to the Calixtine conception of a state of pure nature (*status purorum naturalium*), which Adam and Eve possessed before the reception of original righteousness (*iustitia originalis*) and retained uninjured after the fall.<sup>232</sup>

In 1619 Calixt’s dogmatic lecture notes, the *Epitome Theologiae*, were published without his permission by his student in the free imperial city of Goslar. It was arranged according to the

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<sup>229</sup> This dissertation is no longer extant. See Georg Calixt, “De immortalitate animae et resurrectionis carnis 1627,” in *Schriften zur Eschatologie*, vol. 4 of *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Inge Mager (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 55–239. The December 10, 1616 *Gutachten* states, “Quando igitur in schola theologica contra Sadducaeos, Libertinos, et alias Epicureos hoc dogma tractandum est, tunc ante omnia illud super immotis scripturae fundamentis exstruendum, quae gignunt plhrofori,an, et tunc, si libet, testimonia gentium obiter attingenda,” quoted in Henke, *Georg*, 1:279.

<sup>230</sup> “Ich erinnre mich, dass anno 1624 für gewesen, wie wir allhier das oneris mittendi scripta nostra in Consistorium sive potius ad D. Basiliam, ut conserentur, möchten ohnig werden: quamdiu onus id nobis incumbabat, ego nihil edebam.” See Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 232.

<sup>231</sup> Horneius’ letter to Calixt, who was attending his father funeral in Schleswig, is cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:282.

<sup>232</sup> Caspar Pfaffrad, *Qvaestio De Libero, Servoq; Arbitrio Hominis Naturali Inter Lvthervm et Erasmus Agitate: Inde Post varias de viribus potentiisq; in Natura hominis post Lapsum reliquis controversias exortas, disceptatas Ab Ecclesiis per Germaniam Reformatis labiriose discussa, dextre explicata; gravi iudicio ex Scripturis definita* (Guelferbyti: Holwein, 1619); Calov, *Historia*, 572.

analytical method and is the most accessible summary of his early theology.<sup>233</sup> The General-superintendent of Wolfenbüttel, Heinrich Wideburg (d. 1648) requested an assessment of the *Epitome Theologiae* from his father-in-law Balthasar Mentzer I. Mentzer responded to Wideburg with an unofficial letter in April of 1620.<sup>234</sup> Mentzer began by recognizing Calixt's gifts, but felt his traces of error were no small matter. He criticized his prolegomena with little explanation. Since he had already produced an analytical arranged dogmatics in 1610, he was not attacking the analytical method itself.<sup>235</sup> Mentzer was most likely disturbed by Calixt's conception of

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<sup>233</sup> Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae, 30–309; Calixt, *Epitomes Theologiae Moralis*, 130; Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, D d ii. Calixt's second attempt to produce a dogmatics and first attempt to use the analytical method took place ca. 1611/1612, but remained unpublished. See Georg Calixt, "De Constitutione S. Theologiae Tractatus [1611/1612]," in *Dogmatische Schriften*, vol. 2 of *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Inge Mager (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 9–29.

<sup>234</sup> Johann Hülsemann, *Dialysis Apologetica Problematis Calixtini Num Mysterium Sanctissimae Trinitatis Aut Divinitatis Christi E Solo Vetere Testamento Possit Evinci, Et Omnibus Ejus Temporis Fidelibus Ad Salutem Creditu Fuerit Necessarium? Cum Refutatione Appendicis, Defensionis Hujus Problematis Pro Subsidio Nuper Missae* (Leipzig: Ritzschiano, 1649), 99–100. Mentzer's letter reads as follows: "Gratiam habeo pro transmissa Epitome D. Calixti, in qua animadverto ingenii dotes haut vulgares, sed & vestigia apparent errorum hautquaquam levium. Opus habet accurate lima liber iste, si recipi debeat. Non faciam mentionem errorum in vestibulo & Prolegomenis occurrentium, in quibus excusandis scio, quid, praetexti soleat. De imagine Dei & de peccato video multa ad palatum Papistarum, quae probari cordatis Theologis non possunt. Doctrina de Praedestinatione recte proponitur, sed mirror hanc locutionem usurpari p. 147: Electionem nostrum nihil aliud esse, quam decretum de nostra salute. Nam electio est facta secundum decretum sive propositum Dei, tanquam regulam. De unione hypostatica quaedam erudite differunt; sed de communicatione Idiomatum sermo lubricus est: & ubi de officio redemptionis agitur, pia mens acquiescere non potest in eo quod humanae naturae tribuitur tantum, quod humanum est, non facta mentione communicationis operationum, juxta Canonem Concilii Chalcedonensis. Neque probare possum verba p. 151. lin. 5: Meritum Christi esse aliqua ex parte infinitum. Justificationi assignantur duae partes, remissio peccatorum & imputatio justitiae Christi: Atqui non sunt illae diversae partes, sed qui unum dicit, dicit alterum, idque necessario includit, nimirum, remissis peccatis justitia imputatur, & imputata justitiae, peccata remittuntur ut patet Rom. 4. v. 7. Confer in ipsa Epit. P. 190: ubi haec sententia confirmatur. In discrimine V. & N. Testamenti, quaedam admiscuntur Calvinianis non ingrata, quemadmodum etiam de Sacramentis ita loquitur, ut placere eis queat. Imprimis vehementer offendunt pios animos verba p. 133. Alio modo, inquit, intelligere possumus, Deum esse causam peccati indirecte, improprie & per accidens. At, inquam ego, Nullo modo Deus est causa peccati, quod etiam naturae ipsius & voluntati, nobis in verbo revelatae est contrarium, ac proinde illud odit, detestatur, prohibet & punit, Ps. 5. Quae & complura similia mirror in Academia Julia publice doceri ab illis, qui Corpori doctrinae Julio nihil contrarium se velle profiteri jurarunt: Et magis mirror, Consistorium connivere. Tu liberato animam tuam, & protestare solenniter, tibi vehementer istam perniciosissimam licentiam displicere. Imbuatur juventus erroribus istis, qui difficulter postmodum deponuntur. Perpende Cap. 3 Apoc. V. 15. 16. Mihi si otium esset, exciperem ex eo libro sententias plurimas, sanae verborum formae haut quaquam consentientes, quas quidem Autor si humaniter & amice moneatur, corrigit, Deo clementer annuente. Dato igitur operam, ne quid in te desiderari possit, & c. Datae Prid. Calend. Aprilis Anno 1620," cited in Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 100–102, Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:140, and Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 2:52–53.

<sup>235</sup> The first Protestant to clearly use the analytical method in logic (1601) and theology (1602) was Abraham Calov's Calvinist predecessor at the Danzig Gymnasium, Bartholomäus Keckermann (1571/3–1609). The first published analytically arranged Lutheran dogmatics was either the *Synopsis Theologiae Analytico Ordine*

theology. In contradistinction to saving faith, Calixt maintained with Martini that theology is only necessary for the teachers of the church. Calixt understood theology to be "a practical, intellectual aptitude" acquired through natural means, rather than Johann Gerhard's classical Lutheran conception of theology as a "God-given aptitude" (*Deo, sicuti habitus*).<sup>236</sup> Mentzer asserted that Calixt's conception of the image of God and sin smacked of Papism. In opposition to Matthias Flacius' conception of original sin as the formal substance (*forma substantialis*) of man, Calixt posited a state of pure nature, not unlike Roman Catholicism, so that what is a supernatural gift is removed by the fall, but what is natural remains.<sup>237</sup> His anthropology, moreover, regarded original righteousness and the image of God to be supernatural gifts or accidents. Similarly original sin is deemed both an accident and a lack of those supernatural

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*Comprehensa* (1610) of Balthasar Mentzer I, or the *Systema Problematum Theologicorum* (1610) of the Wittenberg theology professor, Johann Förster (1576–1613). Balthasar Meisner advocated the analytical method in his 1611 *Philosophia Sobria* as the best method for constructing dogmatics. But even though Abraham Calov, Johann König (1619–64), Johann Andreas Quenstedt, Johann Deutschmann, and David Hollaz (1648–1713) would come to use it, the analytical method was not used exclusively in Lutheranism. One reason for this may have been because it situated good works under the *principia* of salvation. See Appold, *Orthodoxie*, 64–72; E. Weber, *Die analytische Methode der lutherischen Orthodoxie* (Naumburg: Lippert & Co. [G. Pätz'sche Buchdrucker], 1907), 20–37.

<sup>236</sup> "Stricte itaque et proprie Theologiae nomine venit illa tantum doctrine, quae explicat, probat et defendit. Haec cuiusvis fidelis non est neque vero cuiusvis necessaria est. Manifestum igitur satis est discrimen inter habitum fidei vel acquisitae vel infusa et habitum Theologiae stricte et ut nos eam modo accipimus dictae. Hic non est cuiusvis fidei ad salutem necessarius et propterea neque communis fidelibus, sed proprius est Doctoribus." See Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 2:66. "Theologia est Habitus intellectus practicus qui e revelatione divina sacris literis comprehensa docet et ostendit, quomodo ad aeternam vitam perveniendum sit." See Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 2:133. See also Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 2:36–49; Gerhard, *Loci*; Preface:31, Wallmann, *Der Theologiebegriff*, 95–161; Engel, *Die eine Wahrheit*, 43–45, 58–65; Preus, *The Theology*, 1:107–43, 154–228; Appold, *Orthodoxie*, 241–82; Marcel Nieden, *Die Erfinden des Theologen: Wittenberger Anweisung zum Theologiestudium im Zeitalter von Reformation und Konfessionalisierung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 160–236.

<sup>237</sup> "Sed ut haec rectius intelligantur eoque plenior et distinctior subiecti nostri cognitio habeatur, proponemus particulatim, quae naturalia, quae item supernaturalia in homine sunt, sive quid et quantum in statu merorum naturalium sibi relictorum potuisset, quid in statu supernaturalium sive innocentiae potuerit, unde postea quoque elicitor, quid nunc amissis supernaturalibus in statu peccati sive corruptionis possit." See Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 2:154. "Breviter itaque totam rem expendere possumus dicendo hominem in statu post lapsum habere ea, quae proprio et stricto sensu naturalia appellavimus et super enumeravimus, Supernaturalia vero omnia amississe Et quidem absentiam supernaturalium, quae superioribus potentiis conveniebant, peccatum esse, ut paulo post ostendemus. Absentiam vero supernaturalium, quae inferiores potentias attinebant, poenam esse peccati." See Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 2:162.

gifts.<sup>238</sup> Mentzer was surprised to read that election is simply the decree of our salvation.<sup>239</sup>

Mentzer objected to the omission of any mention of Christ's human nature in the communication of attributes,<sup>240</sup> and his notion that the merits of Christ are only to some extent infinite.<sup>241</sup> Calixt had divided justification into two parts (i.e., imputation of Christ's righteousness and the forgiveness of sins). But Mentzer maintained that one must always include the other because righteousness is imputed by the forgiveness of sins and sins are forgiven by imputed righteousness.<sup>242</sup> Calixt's distinctions between the testaments and sacramental thought smacked

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<sup>238</sup> "Porro imago illa Dei, quam homo in lapsu amisisse dicitur, non fuit naturalis fluens aut dependens ex naturalibus principiis (alioquin naturalem dicere potes, si nihil aliud intelligas quam coepisse cum ipsa natura sive ab ipso ortu et origine naturae fuisse), sed supernaturalis peculiari Dei dono concessa iustitia, innocentia et integritas. See Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 2:154. "Circa haec itaque omnia dico voluntatem proprie loquendo neque liberam neque servam esse, sed plane nullam.... Ob hunc igitur defectum iustitiae originalis omnes posterius Adami 'natura' hoc est ab ipso ortu et origine nostra, 'summus filii irae', Eph. 2, v. 3, quippe qui careamus eo, per quod Deo placere possesmus et quod ex vi primae institutionis divinae habere debebamus. Atque haec carentia, cum qua nascimur, est peccatum illud, quod originali, nempe: in intellectu ignorantia rerum, quae sine iactura salutis ignorari nequeunt, et voluntatis divinae de modo et mediis consequendi salturm tenebrae sive caligo; in voluntate aversio a Deo et bono; in appetitu rebellio." See Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 2:165–66. "Peccatum itaque non est ipse homo, anima, mens, caro neque de essentia hominis, mentis, varnis, verum accidens eorum." See Calixt, *De Praecipuis*, par. 87, cited in Böttigheimer, *Zwischen*, 74.

<sup>239</sup> "Quippe praedestinare nihil aliud est quam decernere salutem, et electio nostra nihil aliud est quam decretum de nostra salutem." See Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 2:186. Inge Mager suggests that despite the latent synergism detected by Rune Söderlund in Calixt's election theology, the omission of any charge of synergism in Calixt's conception of election by Mentzer and the *Consensus Repetitus* shows that his conception of election did not essentially deviate from the Orthodox Lutheran position after Aegidius Hunnius. See Mager, "Georg Calixts Versöhnliche," 211–22. But the fact that the *Consensus Repetitus* charges the following statement from the *Epitome Theologiae* with synergism, suggests that seventeenth-century Lutheran election theology was not unified: "Certum est hominem posse esse suscipere curam de mediis ad eam: Hoc qui faciunt, eos Deus majoribus auxiliis dignatur, ut intelligant verbum &c. Et hoc ab homine praestari vult, priusquam ipsi majora & specialiora, & suo genere supernaturalia suppeditet auxilia Iterum: Non negamus, esse quodam actus in hominis potestate sitos quos ab ipso Deus praestari velit, priusquam ad auxilia & dona supernaturalia progressus fiat." See CR1664 XII:2; CR1846 76.

<sup>240</sup> "Neque enim attributa divina sicut Filio a Patre per aeternam generationem ita humanitati a divinitate per personalem unionem communicantur (sequeretur hinc Eutychianismus et manifesta confusio naturarum in Christo), sed quia assumpta humanitas (ut recte loquitur Chemnitius in lib. de duabus naturis, cap. XXIII) attributa illa divinitatis tou lo,gou personaliter sibi unita habet, ita ut in illa et per illam operationes suas exerant, ideo dicitur communicationem cum illis habere." See Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 2:196–97.

<sup>241</sup> "Infinitae enim Dei iustitiae nisi per poenam et meritum, quod aliqua sui parte infinitum sit, satisfieri non potest." See Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 2:188.

<sup>242</sup> "Atque hae divinae actiones omnes simul sunt tempore, nempe donatio fidei salvificae, imputatio eiusdem fidei ad iustitiam, imputatio passionum Servatoris et remissio peccatorum, imputatio meriti activi et acceptatio ad vitam aeternam, denique donatio sive infusio sive inchoatio quaedam iustitiae inhaerentis. Est tamen inter has ordo naturae, et distinguuntur in signo rationis. Imputatio meritorum Christi et non-imputatio peccatorum nostrorum est formalis ratio nostrae iustificationis. Donatio fidei et imputatio eiusdem ad iustitiam praecedunt eam tanquam

of Calvinism in Mentzer's estimation. Mentzer was particularly incensed with his assertion that God was the cause of sin "in an indirect, improper, and accidental manner."<sup>243</sup> When under attack in 1651, Calixt maintained that Wideburg had never shown him Mentzer's letter.<sup>244</sup>

In September of 1621, the Dresden court-preacher, Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, assembled a number of Electoral and Ducal Saxon theologians with the Elector of Saxony's support for a conference over which Hoë von Hoënegg presided.<sup>245</sup> The conference addressed matters of internal doctrinal controversy, moral theology, projects, and Calvinism as well as helped expand the influence of Electoral Saxony.<sup>246</sup> The son of Polykarp Leyser the Elder and superintendent of Torgau, Wilhelm Leyser (1592–1649); the Leipzig professor and superintendent, Polykarp Leyser the Younger (1586–1633); Friedrich Leyser; the Wittenberg professor, Balthasar Meisner; Wittenberg professor, Friedrich Balduin (1575–1627); Leipzig professor, Vincent Schmuck; Leipzig professor, Heinrich Höpffner (1582–1642); Caspar Finck from Coburg; the Jena professor, Johann Himmel; the Jena professor, Johann Major the Elder (1564–1654); and

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causae, donatio vero inchoatae iustitiae comitatur eam ut infallibile consequens." See Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 2:217. On this basis Jörg Baur correctly states, "Denn daß der seit 1614/15 ununterbrochen als Theologieprofessor in Helmstedt wirkende Georg Calixt von Anfang an auch über den Artikel von der Rechtfertigung zu mindest problematisch lehrte, wurde nicht erst in den 40er-Jahren bemerkt." See Jörg Baur, "Die Helmstedter Lesart des Rechtfertigungsartikels und deren rechtgläubige Kritiker: Eine Untersuchung zur Genese des 'synkretistischen Streits,'" in *Zur Rechtfertigungslehre in der Lutherischen Orthodoxie*, ed. Udo Sträter (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2003), 81–136.

<sup>243</sup> "Alio modo intelligere possumus Deum causam dici peccati 'non nisi' indirecte, improprie, occasionaliter et per accidens." See Calixt, "Epitome Theologiae," 2:177–78.

<sup>244</sup> Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, V ii.

<sup>245</sup> Hans-Dieter Hertrampf, "Der kursächsische Oberhofprediger Matthias Höe von Höenegg—seine Theologie, Polemik und Kirchenpolitik" (Theol. Diss., Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, 1967), 127–28, 156–61.

<sup>246</sup> "Die "Propositio" sieht folgende zehn Punkte zur Beratschlagung vor: 1. Streit zwischen den Tübinger Professoren Osiander und Thumm und den Gießener Mentzer und Feuerborn; 2. Calixt; 3. Forführung der Evangelienharmonie; 4. An frage wegen des Kalvinismus in Böhmen; 5. die evangelische Version einer lateinischen Bibel; 6. Fortführung der Magdeburger Zenturien; 7. unwichtig; 8. wie man sich zu den veröffentlichten Akten der Dordrechter Synode stellen solle; 9. Wucher im Münzen; 10. jährliche Konvente als feste Einrichtung." See Hertrampf, "Der kursächsische," 156–57. The tenth point on the Propositio advanced the need for annual conferences in the future and such conferences took place in Dresden or Leipzig almost annually under Hoë von Hoënegg until 1630. See Henke, *Georg*, 1:317–18; Hertrampf, "Der kursächsische," 156–76.

the Jena professor, Johann Gerhard; all gathered at the Jena Castle.<sup>247</sup> Cornelius Martini and Georg Calixt were the second point on their ten-point agenda.<sup>248</sup> The discussion of Martini and Calixt went as follows. Johann Major the Elder stated, "It is necessary to extinguish the fire between the theologians at Wittenberg and Helmstedt, also what Cornelius Martini wrote against Dr. Meisner."<sup>249</sup> Apparently Meisner had entered into a dispute with Helmstedt, perhaps even before learning that Calixt taught good works preserved faith.<sup>250</sup> Friedrich Balduin complained that his father-in-law, Meisner, had been accused of Manichaeism by Calixt.<sup>251</sup> Caspar Finck said, "The Helmstedters do not deserve that an honorable and distinguished individual should deal with them. One might rather send young people to them, who could toy with them as the cat plays with a mouse."<sup>252</sup> Polykarp Leyser the Younger agreed and added, "The Helmstedters remain in *contradictione perpetua*."<sup>253</sup> Heinrich Höpffner reported that Heinrich Julius Strube had claimed that "he was not conscious of any importunity by Calixt;" rather he suggested, "Dr.

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<sup>247</sup> "Exempel Brüderlicher Eintracht der Sächßischen Theologen zum Anfang des 17. Seculi," in *Unschuldige Nachrichten von Alten und Neuen Theologischen Sachen / Büchern / Uhrkunden / Controversien / Veränderung / Vorschlägen und dergleichen / Zur geheiligten Übung in gewissen Ordnungen verfertigt* (Leipzig: Vogelgesang, 1704), 591–593; Hertrampf, "Der kursächsische," 157.

<sup>248</sup> In 1621 Hoë wrote Balthasar Meisner, "Die Schriften von Tarnov und Calixt habe ich gelesen und oft bei mir aufgeseufzt ... sollten sie sich nicht zu gute gegen, so wird man auf andere Mittel denken müssen," cited in Tholuck, *Geist*, 104.

<sup>249</sup> "Es sei nöthig zu dämpfen das Feuer so zwischen den Theologen zu Wittenberg und Helmstädt, auch was Cornelius Martini wider Hern. Dr. Meisner geschrieben," cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:318–19.

<sup>250</sup> According to Tholuck, Heinrich Julius Strube had already complained in a 1618 letter to Balthasar Meisner, "Daß Calixt gegen ihn die Erhaltung des Glaubens durch gute Werke vertheidiget, in einem andern, daß derselbe die, welche in formali peccati statuant positivum, anschuldige, in ipsum fundamentum fidei impingere, non quidem directe sed per consequentiam. 'Siehe, setzt er hinzu, den Hochmuth des Menschen, der die ganze orthodoxe Kirche eines error in fundamento anklagt.'" See Tholuck, *Geist*, 101.

<sup>251</sup> Cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:319.

<sup>252</sup> "Helmstadiani seien nicht werth dass ein ehrlich vornehmer Mann sich an sie mache; man möge junge Personen an sie schicken, die mit ihnen spielten wie die Katz emit der Maus," cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:320.

<sup>253</sup> "Helmstadienses blieben in contradictione perpetua; wer Meisner lobe werde verfolgt; man solle Studenten an sie schicken, die sie ein wenig vexirten," cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:320.



Meissner eagerly wanted to protect his own reputation."<sup>254</sup> Johann Gerhard found the Helmstedt theologians to be "incorrigible." With respect to Calixt, Gerhard stated, "He had denied the real communication of attributes in a public disputation" and "was very inclined to Calvinism."<sup>255</sup> Himmel said, "One should simply disapprove of Calixt's opinions in our academies."<sup>256</sup> Like all the participants, Friedrich Leyser disputed Calixt's conception of original sin and wanted it explained. Only Vincent Schmuck claimed, "He knew nothing of the Helmstedt controversies."<sup>257</sup> Their decision was published on September 5, 1621:

Because one could not entirely expect at the University of Helmstedt that there could be agreement or could become agreement with the Saxon theologians, for Dr. Calixt as well as Cornelius Martini would hardly give up their behavior because they both held Chancellor Dr. Weyhen in their favor; one should in the future, if they bring forth innovations *in realibus*, refute such as soon as proper and either let young *Studiosos* dispute *problematicæ*, or every theologian who is attacked should defend himself with moderation.<sup>258</sup>

That said, nothing seems to have resulted from this decision. In fact, Sattler's younger colleague

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<sup>254</sup> "Dr. Höpfner aus Leipzig bezeugt, '[sic] es habe Dr. H. J. Strube an die Facultät geschrieben, dem er geantwortet; von D. Calixti Importunität sei ihm nichts bewusst;' dem, 'modus mit einem Studioso' zieht er es vor dass 'Dr. Meisner selbst sene famam vindiciren wolle,'" cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:320.

<sup>255</sup> "'D. Calixtus sei nicht so gar richtig': denn 'er habe die realem communicationem idiomatum in publica disputatione negiret,' und, wie er wohl daraus schliesset, 'inclinire sehr ad Calvinismum,'" cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:320. Gerhard had already received a 1619 letter from the Nuremberg pastor, Johann Schröder. It states, "Die Helmstädter Streiten gegen den Allgemein gültigen Satz, den Sreube vertheidigt: das pecc. originis sei sterhtikw/j zu erklären; daß etwas Positives darin sei, erkennen sie nich an. Ich weiß nicht, was jene Universität für einen Geist hat, die ihre Lust darin findet, wankend zu machen, was fest geworden. Doch darf man sich nicht wundern, daß der dergleichen da geschieht, wo die Philosophen das Scepter in ihre hand bekommen, und wo die Metaphysik, welche das Grab der reinen Theologie zu werden droht, mehr als recht is geliebt wird," cited in Tholuck, *Geist*, 104. Later it would appear that Gerhard developed a more favorable disposition towards Calixt, but there is no evidence that Gerhard's theological position changed. See Henke, *Georg*, 1:491.

<sup>256</sup> "Calixti Meinung sole man in nostris academiis billig improbiren, Martini sei theologorum flagellum," cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:320.

<sup>257</sup> "Er wisse nichts von der von der controversia Helmstadiana," cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:320.

<sup>258</sup> "Decretirt, weil zur Universität Helmstedt man sich ganz und gar nicht zu versehen dass sie mit der sächsischen Theologen einig sein oder werden könne, Dr. Calixtus auch sowohl also Cornelius Martini schwerlich von ihrer Art ablassen werden, zu mal weil sie beide Dr. Weyhen den Kanzler zu ihrem Favor hätten, so solle man inkünftig, wenn sie in realibus Neuerung fürbrachten, solche alsobald gebührlich refutiren, und entweder junge Studiosos problematicæ disputiren lassen, oder ein jeder Theologus der angegriffen werde sich selber bescheidenlich verantworten." See also Hülsemann, *Calixtinischer*, 43, quoted in Henke, *Georg*, 1:320–21.

and recently promoted doctor of theology at Helmstedt, Peter Tuckermann, conducted the visitation of his *alma mater* in July of 1624. He ironically spoke of removing the Helmstedt professors' obligation to send their works to the censor.<sup>259</sup> The former Braunschweig superintendent, Jakob Weller, claimed years later that the Wolfenbüttel consistory had rebuked Calixt, ordered him to correct his *Epitome Theologiae*, and compelled him to sign a *Revers* (legal declaration) to refrain from future innovations.<sup>260</sup> Calixt admitted that such a conversation had occurred, but that it concerned secondary matters (*Nebenfragen*) and terminology, not articles of faith. Calixt also declared that he had not been in Wolfenbüttel that entire year, that he had never seen this legal declaration, and that Tuckermann had not seen it when he was asked.<sup>261</sup>

The second wave of censures against Calixt was ignited by the former rector of the gymnasium at Hannover and the current pastor of the St. Aegidius Church in Hannover, Stadius Büscher (d. 1641). By 1625 this convinced Ramist had already penned two books against Helmstedt, arguing its method and philosophy were detrimental to faith and piety.<sup>262</sup> When the February 26, 1636 *Landtags Abschied* announced a visitation, which was intended to suppress Ramism and conform all the Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen Schools to the methods and principles of Helmstedt, it is not surprising that Stadius Büscher took umbrage. If this were not

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<sup>259</sup> Zimmermann, *Album*, 298; Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 231; Calixt's February 10, 1651 letter to Duke August quoted in Henke, *Georg*, 1:329.

<sup>260</sup> Hülsemann, *Calixtinischer*, 1034; Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:140.

<sup>261</sup> Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, A a iii–B b; Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 231. Calixt's writing is quoted in Henke, *Georg*, 1:330.

<sup>262</sup> Hermann, Rohde "M. Stadius Buscher. Schuld und Schicksal eines hannoverschen Pfarrers," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 38 (1933): 234–82; Stadius Büscher, *SS. Theologiae Synopsis Methodica. Succinctae & perspicuas Articulorum Fidei Definitionis earumque Analysin, Una Cum Theorematis Ad Fidei Vitaeque Christianae sinceritatem directis comprehendens Iuxta normam Verbi divini Ad iuventutem Scholasticam in studio Veri Christianismi Informandam* (Lüneburg: Stern, 1625); Stadius Büscher, *Christliches vnd Nothwendiger Bedencken / Wie die Studia der L. Jugendt zu Gottes Ehren vnd der Menschen Wolfahrt sollen gerichtet werden / Vnd ob man Rami Logicam hiezu in Christlichen Schulen bey der Institution nützlich gebrauchen könne. Dabei Usus Logicae in Analyti & Genesi sowol in sacris als profanis studiis wird erwiesen* (Rinteln: Lucius, 1625).

enough to set him off, the consistory's 1639 mandate that the afternoon sermon be replaced by catechesis from Justus Gesenius' catechism certainly did the trick. While some printings appeared earlier, Statius Büscher's *Crypto-Papismus Novae Theologiae Helmstadiensis* appeared in Hamburg on April 10, 1640 as a call to arms against any further advance of Helmstedt theology. Four hundred and seventy-eight exemplars were published under the pseudonym Christian Petri, but nine hundred listed Büscher as the author.<sup>263</sup>

In this the first critique of Calixt's theology and irenicism, Statius Büscher was convinced that the theologians of Helmstedt were advocating a Romanizing theology, which conflicted with the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* and thereby raised church-political and legal questions about Helmstedt theology.<sup>264</sup> He attempted to demonstrate this thesis by contrasting a panoply of passages chiefly from the writings of Calixt with passages from the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*, not to mention a few notable references to the *Formula of Concord*. Büscher wrote the *Crypto-Papismus* in German and translated all Latin citations so that he could make his case to the widest audience possible. A similar strategy would be employed by the Electoral Saxon *Consensus Repetitus*, except that passages from syncretistic authors would be juxtaposed with passages from the *Book of Concord*. Thus the *Crypto-Papismus* provided a potent model for ecclesial-political polemic of the Electoral Saxon *Consensus Repetitus*.

The *Crypto-Papismus* consists of seven parts. On the basis of the two prefaces to the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*, Part I, "Concerning the Rule and Guiding Principle of Pure Doctrine"

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<sup>263</sup> Statius Büscher, *Crypto-Papismus Novae Theologiae Helmstadiensis. Das heimliche Papstthumb / in der neuen Helmstädtischen Theologen Schrifften / vnter dem Schein der Evangelischen Lehr / hin vnd wiederversteckt. Allen Evangelischen Lutherischen Christen zur getrewen Warnung fürgestellt* (n.p.: n.p., n.d.); *Der Fürstl. Julius Universität zu Helmstedt Schutzrede Wider dero höchstunbillige Verleumbdere / Insonderheit D. Aegidium Strauchen Professoreem zu Wittenberge* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1668), 94.

<sup>264</sup> Heinz Staemmler argues that Abraham Calov was the first of the Electoral Saxons to present a comprehensive picture of Helmstedt theology, but Statius Büscher gave a fairly comprehensive picture of Calixt's irenic theology already at this juncture. See Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 85.

maintained that Scripture is the sole norm, form, rule, and guiding principle of theology in opposition to Calixt's teaching that *consensus antiquitatis* was a second principle of theology.<sup>265</sup> In contradistinction to Calixt's fundamentalistic reading of the *Augsburg Confession*, Büscher takes every effort to show that Calixt's Lutheran irenicism had made the *Augsburg Confession*, as well as the remaining Lutheran Symbols, substantively speaking, unnecessary, which is contrary to the intention of the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*'s understanding of catholicity.<sup>266</sup> The *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*, conversely, is deemed a necessary witness (not a second principle of theology) of the *Consensus Ecclesiae Evangelicae* in addition to the *consensus antiquitatis*. In accord with the prefaces to the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*, it asserts this need because of papal errors that have arisen, the sects that have now resulted from papal atrocities, and the sects' attempt to hide their errors under interpretations of the *Augsburg Confession*.<sup>267</sup> On the basis of

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<sup>265</sup> Büscher, *Crypto-Papismus*, B.

<sup>266</sup> "Corpus Doctrinae saget: Daß die Augspurgischen Confession vnd andere scripta diesem corpori einverleibet / sey die Summa vnser Christlichen Lehre neben den alten Symbolis wie auch die Stastuta Juliae sagen / das es sey perpetuus Ecclesiae Catholicae consensus: Calixtus saget: Allen die alten Symbola ohn der Augspurgische Confession sey genug zu Bekänntnuß vnser reinen Lehre." See Büscher, *Crypto-Papismus*, Cff.

<sup>267</sup> "So setzet Corpus Doctrinae nicht consensum patrum primis quinq; seculis wie Calixt, sondern die drei Häupt Sympola, Apostolicum, Nicaenum, Athanasium, nicht das sie das ander principium sein sollen / neben Gottes Wort in Glauben sachen wie Calixtus fürgiebt; Sondern das es ein öffentlich Zeugnuß seyn soll, dass wir uns zu dem rechten vhralten Apostolischen Catholische allgemeinen Christlichen glauben / welcher in diesen alten bewehren Symbolis begriffen / in unsern Kirchen bekennen / vnd davon keines weges durch vnser Kirchen Reformation abgeweichen seyn / wie die Wort bald hernach in der andern Vorrede A 2 lauten. 2. Setzet Corpus Doctrinae nicht diesen consensum antiquitatis, sondern auch consensum Ecclesiae Evangelicae dieser letzen zeit / so in der Augspurgischen Confession / deren Apologia Schmalkaldischen Artickulen / dem grossen vnd kleinen Catehechismo Lutheri vnd andern seinen Schrifften begriffen / wie an dem Orte mit mehrem zu lesen. Item in der andern Vorrede A 2. Weil nach der lieben Väter Zeit das Kindt deß Verderbens vnd der Grewel aller Verwüsterung der Bapst oder Antichristi mit allerley falschen Lere / Abötterey / Aberglauben / Mißbräuchen / die arme Kirche verwirret und verführet / hat der fromme getrewe Gott sein hauß zu diesen letzen Zeiten auß der H. Schrifften durch den tewren Mann Gottes Lutherum davon wieder gereiniget. Weil aber zu derselben Zeit vber die Böpstliche grewel / auch viel andere Rotten und Secten mit einreissen wolten / sind die fürnembsten Häuptstücke der reinen gesunden Lehre / wider deß Bapsts Grewel / auch wider andere Rotten vnd Secten / auß Christlichem rathe vnd Bedencken auß Gottes Wort zusammen gezogen in die Augspurgische Confession / welche Anno 1530 der Röm Keyserl. Mayt. vnd grantzen Reiche offeriret vnd vberantwortet ist.... Weil aber auch leider in diesen letzen betrübten Zeiten der Welt / etzliche Rotten vnd Secten ihre corruptelas vnter dem Nahmen der Augspurgischen Confession zu bedencken vnd zu beschönen sich vnter stehen / von vnter demselben schein / newe frembde / auch wol widerwertige meynungen vnd corruptelas außsprengen vnd verthedigen / muß diese declaration deutlich dabey gesetzet werden / das wir die Augspurgische Confession annehmen / vertstehen vnd behalten in dem Verstande / wie sie in der erfolgeten vnd angehefften Apologia / nachmals in dem Schmaldischen Artickulen / vnd endlich in dem Catechismus vnd andern

the *Kurzer, einfeltiger und nothwendiger bericht*, the *Augsburg Confession*, the *Smalcald Articles*, the *De formulis caute et citra scandalum loquendi de praecipuis Christianae doctrinae locis*, the *Wohlgegründter Bericht*, and writings of Luther, Part II "Concerning Original Sin" attacked Calixt's conception of original sin as a mere accidens or lack of original righteousness, his notion that concupiscence is not in itself sin, and his positing of certain positive abilities to fallen man.<sup>268</sup> For example the *Kurzer, einfeltiger und nothwendiger bericht* states the following concerning original sin:

This same original sin is not only an *impedimentum, seu corruptio accidentium, ipsa substantia seu natura hominis existente integra ...* but the whole nature of man is made disordered, corrupted, and poisoned through sin, so that there is a lack of all good and in exchange for it a garbage heap for all evil and hostility against God. Romans 8.<sup>269</sup>

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Schriften Lutheri auß Gottes Wort expliciret vnd erkäret ist." See Büscher, *Crypto-Papismus*, Bii.

<sup>268</sup> Büscher, *Crypto-Papismus*, C ii–E. Calixt states, "Affectus autem sive passionis, quae quamvis aliquando sine vitio esse possint, tamen sine vitio saepe non sunt, numerantur a civilis doctrinae auctoribus in Appentente quidem facultate circa bonum delectabile absolute sumptum et ex simplice sua convenientia aestimatum, Amor; circa absens Concupiscentia, sive desiderium; circa praesens Delectatio et gaudium; circa malum absolute captum Odium; circa absens Fuga sive aversatio; circa praesens Dolor et tristitia." See Calixt, "Epitomes theologiae moralis pars prima 1634," 32; "Si autem accidentia intelligas, concedo totum hominem esse corruptum per peccatum, & quoad corpus quidem, du ex immortalis mortales factus est, quae corruptio poena peccati est: quoad animum autem, dum iustitiam originalem & sanctitatem pristinam amisit, in qua corruptione peccatum ipsum consistit. Nec tamen ita etiam animus corruptas est ut nulla prorsus divinae imaginis reliquiae in eo remanserint, per quas etiam post lapsum quadamtenus Deum tu cognosere, tum quid honestum in vita sit intelligere & quod tale esse novit utcumq; agere possit, sed ita & ipse totus corrptus est, & natura ejus depravata, ut nec Deum novit, aut cognosere possit, nec praecepta ejus servat, aut servare queat, sicutid fieri par erat, & ad salutem aeternam opus est. 7." See Georg Calixt, *Dispytatio Theologica De Peccato* (Helmstedt: Lucius, 1636), th. 45; "Ex quibus omnibus jam relinquitur, peccatum originalis nihil aliud esse, quam carentiam iustitiae originalis, ut & apol Aug. Confess. Id definit." See Calixt, *Dispytatio Theologica De Peccato*, th. 49; "Ergo etiam infantes habent peccatum, non actuale; actu enim peccare non possunt, quamdiu rationis usu carent: aliud igitur & connatum." See Calixt, *Dispytatio Theologica De Peccato*, th. 7.

<sup>269</sup> "Vnd dieselbige Erbsünd ist nicht allein ein impedimentum, seu corruptio accidentium, ipsa substantia seu natura hominis existente integra, Als wenn man einen Magnet mit Knoblauchs safft bestreicht / oder einem / der Geschicklichkeit / Krafft vnd vermögen zu gehen hat / die Füße bindet / wie etliche mit den Papisten schwermen / Sondern die gantze Natur des Menschen ist durch solche Sünde verrücket / verderbet / vnd vergiffet / Also daß da ist ein mangel alles Guten / vnd dagegen ein vnraht zu allem bösen / vnd eine Feindschafft wider Gott. Rom 8." See *Corpus Doctrinae*, 12. Chemnitz' *Wohlgegründter Bericht* adds, "Es weiset aber die *Apologia* auff's einfeltigste / daß die beschreibung der Erbsünde diese drey Stücke in sich begreiffte / I. *Defectum & carentiam*, den mangel oder gantzlich darbung der Erbgerechtigkeit / welche / wie Paulus zeuget / Ephes. 4 gewesen ist / Warheit Heiligkeit / und rechtschaffene Gerechtigkeit in des Menschen Sinn Herten/ Willen/ vnd in allen seinen Krefften / das ist / wie es die Lateinische *Apologia* weiter erkläret / Die Beschreibung der Erbsünde benimpt vnd entzeucht der Menschlichen vnbekehrten Natur gantzlich alle Geistliche Gaben / vnd auch das vermögen vnd kreffte in

On the basis of the *Augsburg Confession*, its *Apology*, and the *Wohlgegründter Bericht*, Part III "Concerning Justification and Good Works" objects to Calixt's Thomistic concept of merit and his teaching about the preservation of faith through the pursuit of holy things (*sanctimoniae studium*) spelled out by the *Epitomes Theologiae Moralis*.<sup>270</sup> For instance the *Wohlgegründter Bericht* states, "This is also incorrect that some say the righteousness and salvation which one takes hold of through faith is thereby preserved through subsequent good works."<sup>271</sup> On the basis of the prefaces to the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*, the *Athanasian Creed*, the *Augsburg Confession*, its *Apology*, and the *Smalcald Articles*, Part IV "Concerning the Christian Church" rejects that Roman Catholics and Reformed can be called Christians by virtue of their adherence to the

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Geistlichen Sachen etwas anzufahen / vnd zu wirken. II. *Concupiscetiam prauam, seu vitiosum habitum*, Die böse gifftige Vnarth / vnd schendlich zuneigung zu allem bösem, so an stat des mangels in die verderbte Natur eingesessen ist / vnd ist eine tieffe böse verderbung der Natur vn aller kreffte des Mensche von Gott / wie der Schmalkaldische Artickel davon reden dauon reden da der Mensch von Gott vnd nach allem dem / so dem Göttlichen Willen zu wider ist / neben einem widerspenstigen widerwillen wider Gott / in allen seinen öbern vnd vntern krefften / im / Verstande / Hertzen vnd Willen / Also / daß numehr nach dem Fall alles tichten vnd trachten des Menschlichen hertzens / vor der Widergeburdt des heiligen Geistes / nur böse ist immerdar / vnd fleischlich gesinnet seyn / eine Feindschafft ist wieder Gott vnd vnser Bekehrung vnd Seligkeit belangend ist / Denn in eusserlichen Weltlichen sachsen vnd hendeln / so der Vernunft vnterworffen / seyn noch etlicher masse etliche Kreffte / wiewol sehr schwachlich im Mensen vbrig / wie gesagt sol werden in dem nechst *folgenden loco de Libero arbitrio*. III. Bringet vnd hat die Erbsünder auch mit sich die straffe / als den Zorn Gottes den Tod / vnd andere Leibliche Vnfälle / sampt des Teuffels Tyranny vnd wüten / wie denn leider die Menschliche Natur in die dienstbarkeit vmb der Erbsünde willen dem Teuffel vbergeben ist / der sie mit irrigem Wahn verführet / vnd darinnen ver wirret / Sie auch in allerley grewliche Sünde vnd Schande stürztet.... Ist derwegen die Erbsünde nicht eine solche verderbet / daß dadurch die *Accidentia* vnd *Qualitates* verendert / vnd in einen andern zustand gebracht weren / dabey die Natur für sich in Geistliche Sachen noch gut vnd vnuerderbt geblieben were. Ist auch nicht nur allen eine eusseliche Verhinderung zum guten in Geistlichen Sachen.... So lehren auch von der Erbsünde vnrecht / die da fürgeben / daß wol Menschenliche Natur durch Adams Fall vber die masse sehr geschwечet sey / aber dennoch habe sie nicht gantzlich das vermögen vnd alle gute kreffte zu Geistlichen Sachen verloren." See *Corpus Doctrinae*, 69–70.

<sup>270</sup> Büscher, *Crypto-Papismus*, E–F ii. Calixt states, "Caeterum princeps eorum Thomas Aquinas. Prima secunda, quaestione CXIV, articulo primo, ita loquitur: *Meritum hominis apud Deum esse non potest nisi secundum praesuppositionem diuinæ ordinationis, ita scilicet, vt id homo consequatur a Deo per suam operationem, quasi mercedem, ad quod Deus ei virtutem operandi deputauit.... Quia actio nostra non habet rationem meriti, nisi ex praesuppositione diuinæ ordinationis.*" See Calixt, *Epitomes Theologiae Moralis*, 369; "Porro quemadmodum per huiusmodi sanctimoniae studium fides non acquiritur, sed, quae acquisita iam ante fuit conservatur; ita quoque per idipsum studium vita sive ius, si ita loqui libeat, ad haereditatem vitae aeternae aliquando adeundam non acquiritur, sed acquistum, ne amittatur aut intercidat, custoditur, quin et confirmatur." See Georg Calixt, "Epitomes theologiae moralis pars prima 1634," 3:30.

<sup>271</sup> Chemnitz' *Wohlgegründter Bericht* adds, "Es ist auch dis unrecht / daß etliche sagen / Die Gerechtigkeit vnd Seligkeit / die man durch den Glauben ergreiffet / wird darnach durch folgende Werck erhalten." See *Corpus Doctrinae*, 99. See also the *Kurzer, einfeltiger und nothwendiger bericht* in *Corpus Doctrinae*, 18ff.

ancient symbols, despite their preaching and administration of the sacraments, because of their improper understanding of the Gospel. It is because of conflicting interpretations of the ancient symbols that Büscher points out that the prefaces to the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* assert that “true members of the Christian Church are proved by the articles of the *Augsburg Confession*” and that “the doctrine gathered in the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* is the original Apostolic doctrine, faith, and religion free from all errors for the salvation and blessedness of the church.”<sup>272</sup> Büscher adds, “The *Corpus Doctrinae* treasures all articles and points gathered therein as highly necessary and important, and regards it to be dangerous to deviate or teach against them.”<sup>273</sup> Part V “Concerning the Power and Authority of the Pope” focuses on the *Smalcald Articles* and Philipp Melancthon’s subscription to it. It disputes Calixt’s claim on the basis of Luther and Melancthon that the pope could become the supreme spiritual power over the patriarchs and all other bishops by human right (*iure humano*).<sup>274</sup> In light of the *Augsburg Confession*, its *Apology*, and the *De formulis caute et citra scandalum loquendi de praecipuis Christianae doctrinae locis*, Part VI “Concerning the Lord’s Supper and Papist Sacrifice of the Mass” opposes Calixt’s willingness to assign to the mass an intercessory if not reconciliatory character as well as

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<sup>272</sup> Büscher, *Crypto-Papismus*, F ii–G. Büscher states, “Corpus Doctrinae saget: Daß die ware Christliche Kirche sey / in welcher nach reinen verstande das Evangelium einträchtiglich geprediget vnd die Sacramenta dem göttlichen Worte gemeß gereicht werden. Calixtus gehet dahin / daß das die Christliche Kirche sey / welche sich zu Christo vnd der Christlichen Lehre / die in den Symbolis vnd Confessionibus der alten Kirchen geführet wird / bekennet vnd den Namen der Christen führet. Das thun aber alle Papisten / Calvinisten vnd dergleichen mehr. Welche doch das Evangelium nicht nach reinem Verstande mit uns / oder auch ein Hauffe mit dem andern einträchtiglich predigen / auch nach Gottes Word die Sacramenta nicht reichen.” See Büscher, *Crypto-Papismus*, F iii; CA VII; “In der andern Vorrede deß Corporis Doctrinae wie droben Art. 5. angezogen / wird außdrücklich gesetzt / das man bey dem Artickeln der Augspurgischen Confession die waren Glieder bey der Christlichen Kirchen probieren / vnd dagegen von widerwertiger Lehre sich bescheidenlich absondern solle. In der ersten Vorrede pag. 1 wird gemeldet / daß die Lehre im Corpore Doctrinae verfasst / sey die rechte vhralte Apostolische Lehre / Glauben vnd Religion von allem Irrthumb gereiniget / zu der Kirchen heyl and seligkeit.” See Büscher, *Crypto-Papismus*, F iii.

<sup>273</sup> “Corpus Doctrinae schätzet alle Artickel vnd Puncta darin verfasst für hochnötig vnd wichtig / vnd helts gefehrlich davon abzu weichen / oder darwieder zu lehren.” See Büscher, *Crypto-Papismus*, F iii.

<sup>274</sup> Büscher, *Crypto-Papismus*, G–H iii; SA, Subscriptions. See Calixt, “Prooemium,” 1:415; Calixt, *Epitomes Theologiae Moralis*, 312–314, see also 300–314.

Calixt's assertion echoing the *Apology* that he could not reject prayers offered for the dead in the mass.<sup>275</sup> Part VII "Concerning Several Other Corruptions" exposes a number of errors. Calixt maintained that God is the indirect cause of evil. The Helmstedt theologians insisted on freedom in doctrinal matters. Alardus Vaeck claimed that God elects man in time and for this reason man is elected if he remains faithful and practices holiness until his end. Büscher points out this is contrary to the *Formula of Concord*. Justus Gesenius' catechism teaches the preservation of faith through good works, divides faith into two parts (knowledge and trust), provides a rather weak description of original sin that even a papist could accept, and counts Papists and Calvinists as members of the church. Calixt and Horneius, moreover, deny the real indwelling of the Holy Spirit as taught by the *Formula of Concord*.<sup>276</sup>

The Helmstedt theology faculty and Hildesheim consistory had become aware of the *Crypto-Papismus* and sought to prevent its publication in 1640. The Hildesheim consistory repeatedly summoned Büscher to appear before it.<sup>277</sup> When the *Crypto-Papismus* appeared, Calixt was exceedingly disturbed by it, particularly the charge that his *Digressio De Arte Nova*,

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<sup>275</sup> Büscher, *Crypto-Papismus*, H iii–K. Calixt states, "Quum gratiarum actiones & preces sacrificia sint, in sancta eucharistia sive Missa, quae gratiarum actiones & preces, quales diximus complectitur, insigne admodum eius generis sacrificium occurrere. Quin Deum Patrem per Christum Christique mortem & meritum obtestari & precari mihi est aliud, quam Deo Patri Christum Christique mortem & meritum offerre. In Misa itaque Deo Patri suus Filius, Filiique mors, quae verissimum est sacrificium, offertur, & quidem, vt ex iis quae hactenus prolata sunt, constat, pro viuis & pro defunctis. Sicut enim Christus ipse quando in coelis *compares in conspectu Dei pro nobis, & interpellat pro nobis*, se metipsum suamque mortem Deo sistit & offert: ita etiam in terris ecclesia, quae corpus eius est quando per ipsum in terris ecclesia, quae corpus eius est, quando per ipsum & mortem eius Deum deprecatur, itidem ipsum eiusque mortem, atque adeo sacrificium in cruce peractum Deo offert." See Calixt, *De Sacrificio*, th. 46, 47–48; "Sed nos, vt protestatur Apologia Augustanae confessionis, *orationes pro mortuis non prohibemus, nec Aërio patrocinamur*." See Calixt, *De Sacrificio*, th. 39, 40, 78–79. The Ap reads, "Falso etiam citant adversarii contra nos damnationem Aërii, quem dicunt propterea damnatum esse, quod negaverit in missa oblationem fieri pro vivis et mortuis.... Neque nos Aërio patrocinamur, sed vobiscum litigamus, qui haeresin manifeste pugnantem cum prophetis, apostolis, et sanctis patrum scelestè defenditis, videlicet quod missa ex opere operato iustificet, quod mereatur remissionem culpae et poenae, etiam iniustis pro quibus applicatur, si non ponant obicem." See Ap XXIV, 96.

<sup>276</sup> Büscher, *Crypto-Papismus*, K–M iii. The CA states, "De causa peccati docent, quod tamentsi Deus creat et conservat naturam, tamen causa peccati est voluntas malorum, ut diaboli et impiorum, quae, non adiuvante Deo, avertit se a Deo sicut Christ ait, Ioh. 8: Cum loquitur mendacium ex propriss loquitur." See CA XIX.

<sup>277</sup> Baur, "Die Helmstedter," 89–95.



which he had penned to overthrow the papacy, favored the papacy.<sup>278</sup> Büscher's sovereign, Duke Georg of Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen, immediately had all copies of the *Crypto-Papismus* confiscated. Meanwhile, Büscher fled to Stade, which belonged to the Lutheran archbishop and future of King of Denmark, Friedrich III (1609–1670), where he continued his war on Helmstedt in safety. From June 25 to 28, 1640, a conference was held in Hildesheim.<sup>279</sup> Here Duke Georg issued a June 27, 1640 edict that was read from all the pulpits in the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen.<sup>280</sup> It noted that Georg Calixt, Conrad Horneius, Paul Müller, and Justus Gesenius had been accused of publicly writing and teaching against God's Word, the *Augsburg Confession*, and the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*. The commissioners, conversely, had univocally found that their professors, theologians, and court-preacher were not guilty of publicly writing and teaching against God's Word, the *Augsburg Confession*, and the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*. For this reason, they advised that all "should refrain from all premature judgments" for "the incontrovertible truth would quickly come to light."<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> Calixt's April 24, 1640 letter to Duke August, cited in Dowding, *German*, 215–16.

<sup>279</sup> Baur, "Die Helmstedter," 95–99; Mager, "Das Corpus," 122.

<sup>280</sup> The edict is cited in *Der Fürstl.*, 93–97.

<sup>281</sup> "Wir haben aber nichts da weniger heut dato in Gegenwart unser deputirten über den vornehmsten und wichtigsten Punkten / die beschuldigte Theologos mit ihrer Antwort vernehmen lassen / welche auch dieselbige der massen gründlich und außführlich abgeleget / daß auff beschehene unterthänige relation Wir mit sattem contento befunden / daß mehr gedachte unsere Professores, Theologi und Hoffprediger / entweder dasjenige wessen sie in erwehnter Schrifft geziehen werden wollen / nicht / sondern daß Widerspiel öffentlich geschrieben und gelehret / oder da sie etwas desselbigen dociren / daß solches dem heiligen Wort Gottes / unser Christlichen Augspurgische Confession und dem Corpori Doctrinae Julio gemeß und dergleichen von andern eben derselbigen Confession zugethanen vornehmen Theologen in ihren Schrifften gelehret worden / In massen dann solches erster Möglichkeit auff unsern gnädigen Befehl durch offenen Truck männiglich zu guter genüge für Augen gestellt werden sol.... So ersuchen Wir nach Standes gebühr / als obstehet / männiglich diestfreundlich gñsten und gñädig / den unsern aber erstlich und bey Vermeidung unser schweren Vngnad und Straffe gebietend / daß sie von die ohne Grund und erheblichen Vrsachen entstandenen Streitigkeit zu keinem bösen Argwohn noch verdacht sich bewegen lassen / sondern alles frühezeitigen judicirens und urtheilens allerdings sich entmüssigen / auch des fernern außschlages dieser Sache eine geringere Frist erwarten wollen / sintemahl Wir uns embsiglich werden angelegen sein lassen in möglichster bälde den Dingen gründlich abzuhelffen / und die unwiderlegliche Warheit an des Tages Licht kommen zu lassen." See *Der Fürstl.*, 94–97.

At this same conference Calixt was also ordered by ducal mandate to produce a readable German rebuttal of Statius Büscher. His two-part *Gründliche Widerlegung* appeared the following year just after Büscher's death in February 14, 1641.<sup>282</sup> It largely reaffirmed his articulated theological positions and provided further support for them from Scripture, the church fathers, and other Lutherans. Calixt's entire first part was dedicated exclusively to refuting Büscher's first part. Since his Lutheranism was now being challenged, he reiterated his basic contention:

The doctrine contained in the *Augsburg Confession* is *quo ad rem ipsam* not new, but is the *perpetuus catholicae ecclesiae consensus* and the correct original ancient doctrine without which the church of God has never been, will be, or can be. It is the *Dispositio*, the position, composition, and division in so far as articles of doctrine, in so far as misuses are done away with by it, and only its formulations are new.<sup>283</sup>

For this reason, Calixt maintains that when one argues exclusively from the Old Testament with Jews, he is not intending any disrespect toward the New Testament. Likewise when one argues exclusively from Scripture and the *consensus antiquitatis* with Roman Catholics, he is not intending any disrespect toward the *Augsburg Confession* and *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*.<sup>284</sup>

Calixt's second part refutes Büscher's six other parts. He draws attention to the fact that the

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<sup>282</sup> Calixt, *Gründliche Widerlegung*, Title, Prefaces; Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 111.

<sup>283</sup> "Summa, wie gesaget / die Augpurgischen Confession begriffene Lehre ist quo ad rem nicht new / sondern is perpetuus catholicae ecclesiae consensus, vnd die rechte vhralte Lehre / ohne welcher die Kirche Gottes niemalen seydt wird / oder seyn kan / die Dispositio, Stellung, Abfassung / vnd Abtheilung in so viel Articul von Lehre / in so viel von abgeschafften Mißbräuchen / vnd dergleichen formalia sind alleine new." Calixt, *Gründliche Widerlegung*, 1:92. See also the appendix to part 2, *Quod Augustanae Confessionis Doctores iuxta scripturam consensum Antiquitatis semper maximi fecerint*.

<sup>284</sup> "Ein Christ spricht zum Juden / wir Christen gläuben / der Messias vnd Heiland der Welt sey vorlängst angekommen / ihr Juden aber verleugnet solches / vnd verwerffet zugleich das neue Testament / darin seine Ankunft deutlich beschrieben wird / vnd haltet euch allein an das Alte: Nun wolan / so wil ich mich des Newen keines wegens gegen euch gebrauchen / sondern aus dem Alten / welches ihr annehmet / vnd für Gottes Wort haltet / beweisen / daß ihr irret / vnd daß der Messias förlängst gekommen sey. Solcher gestalt muß ein Christ gegen die Juden verfahren / vnd sein beweisthumb nicht aus dem Newen / sondern allein aus dem alten Testam. Nemen vn führen. Solte daraus folgen / der Christ verleugnete vnd verwürffe das Newen Testament? Also belibet auch die Augpurgischen Confession, laut corporis doctrinae Julii ein rechtes / schönes / reines / wolgegründetes Symbolum der reformirten Kirchen / ob schon daraus wider die Papisten / gleich wie aus den alten Symbolis vnd aus dem Consensu antiquitatis, der von ihren angenommen vnd zugelassen wird / nicht mag disputiret vnd beweiß gezogen

Saxon theology professors, Georg Mylius (1548–1607) and Leonard Hutter (1563–1616), also distinguished between levels of symbolic authority, giving the ecumenical symbols more weight than the *Augsburg Confession*.<sup>285</sup> Calixt explains his conception of original sin in terms of his distinction between theology and faith. He writes that simple believing Christians need only know “that original sin is real sin and in fact such a great sin that it hurls one into damnation and eternal death.” Moreover, “the learned must settle among themselves, how such original sin should be accurately and perfectly defined.”<sup>286</sup> When attacked for synergism, Calixt appeals to the blessed Celle general-superintendent, Johann Arndt, whose *vom wahren Christenthumb* Büsscher himself sanctioned. Calixt writes, “In his books *vom wahren Christenthumb*, [he] puts forth chiefly nothing else but that in addition to the correct true faith, a God-pleasing Christian life must be led, if one wants to come to God hereafter and be eternally saved.”<sup>287</sup> He argues that *causa per accidens* means *re ipsa non est causa, sed sic propter quondam vicinitatem appellatur, causa per se est proprie causa*.<sup>288</sup> Gesenius’ catechism, he adds, expresses the same desire for

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werden.” See Calixt, *Gründliche Widerlegung*, 1:86–87.

<sup>285</sup> Calixt, *Gründliche Widerlegung*, 2:87–89. Hutter writes, “13. Agnoscuntne Ecclesiae nostrae plures libros Symbolicos [than the *Apostles’ Creed*, *Nicene Creed*, and *Athanasian Creed*]? Utique agnoscunt [the *Book of Concord*]: sed non nisi in eodem testimonii genere, de doctrina suorum temporum: gradu tamen inferiore, quippe minore seculorum consensu approbata.... 15. Paremne auctoritatem omnia, quae hactenus enumerasti, scripta symbolica [the *Book of Concord*] obtinent? Non: Longe enim majorem auctoritatem obtinent ea, quae unanimi totius Catholicae Ecclesiae consensu sunt approbata, qualia sunt traï illa symbola Oecumenica: quam quae paucarum tantum quarundam particularium Ecclesiarum iudicio et applausa sunt recepta. Quanquam in eo conveniunt singula, quod a Scripturis sacris magno differentiae gradu sunt differentiae gradu sunt discernenda.” See Leonhard Hutter, *Compendium Locorum Theologicorum*, ed. Wolfgang Trillhaas (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1961), 3–4.

<sup>286</sup> Calixt, *Gründliche Widerlegung*, 2:115ff

<sup>287</sup> “In seinem Büchern vom wahren Christenthumb fürnehlich nichts anders denn das jenige treibe, wie neben dem rechten wahren Glauben, auch ein gottseliges Christliches Leben geführt werden müsse, da man dermaleinst zu Gott kommen vnd ewig selig werden wolle.” See Calixt, *Gründliche Widerlegung*, 2:371.

<sup>288</sup> Calixt, *Gründliche Widerlegung*, 2:292–93.

piety as Johann Arndt's *Vom wahren Christenthumb*.<sup>289</sup> Calixt regards Büscher's conception of a mystical union between the substance of God and the believer as Weigelian.<sup>290</sup>

This assault did not bring about the war on Helmstedt theology that Büscher desired, but it did prompt two Electoral Saxon theologians to begin a correspondence with Conrad Horneius and Georg Calixt regarding their positions on good works. The first letter was addressed to Horneius and dated July 17, 1640.<sup>291</sup> It was penned by Wilhelm Leyser, a Wittenberg theology professor. He opens the letter giving thanks for those that took part in addressing Dury's church reunion efforts and hopes a remedy might be found that, while preserving the truth, might lead Lutheranism's enemies away from their errors and closer to the truth. But the real purpose of this letter was to address Horneius' November 14, 1639 disputation titled *De Iustificatione Et Nova Iustificationum vita*, which Horneius had sent to Leyser. In response to the disputation, Wilhelm Leyser confesses that in his opinion the disputation undermines forensic justification and a proper understanding of the role of good works. Contrary to Horneius' first thesis, Leyser is certain that the context of I Corinthians 9 and Titus 2 does not support "a moral understanding of the term justification" (*moralis vocis Iustificationis*). He objects to the idea that "man disposes himself to the reception of justification through grace" (*hominem se per gratiam ad justificationem consequendam disponere*). He simply cannot approve of the claim that good works are necessary for salvation (i.e., that we ought to seek after good works "if we want to be saved" [*si salvi esse velimus*] or that good works are necessary for salvation if one wishes to achieve "the end of justification" [*finem justificationis*]). Cognizant of a potential breach in

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<sup>289</sup> Calixt, *Gründliche Widerlegung*, 2:112.

<sup>290</sup> Calixt, *Gründliche Widerlegung*, 2:393–418; Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Q q q–S s s.

<sup>291</sup> Wilhelm Leyser's "D. Lyseri & Hornaei literae de Necessit. B. O Anno 1640," can be found in Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 450–52; Baur, "Die Helmstedter," 131–32. Hülsemann's pagination is indicated in the text of the latter.

Lutheran confessional identity and the threat of Arminianism, Leyser cautions that such language could undermine orthodoxy among “the laity” (*incautos*).<sup>292</sup>

Horneius responded to Leyser in a letter dated December 21, 1640.<sup>293</sup> Horneius responds with astonishment. He argues that he did not dispute the forensic understanding of I Corinthians 9, but only of Titus 2. However, he argues that the *Apology* recognizes both meanings are found in Scripture. He argues that Martin Chemnitz would agree that through the “impulse” (*motus*) of penitence (i.e., the recognition of sin, sorrow over sins, and a new course of life), a man can prepare and dispose himself to the reception of justification, which happens through faith, if only the impulse for it is not attributed to the powers of nature but to grace. “I can hardly believe my eyes,” he states, that anyone would take issue with the necessity of the “new life” (*novitatis vitae*) for one’s salvation. He employs Romans 8, Galatians 6, and Hebrews 12 in support of his position. Martin Chemnitz and the remaining doctors, he adds, only objected to the proposition, “good works are necessary for salvation; without good works no one is able to be saved,” if understood in the Roman Catholic sense (i.e., if they be understood as the merits and cause of salvation).<sup>294</sup> He further cites the second chapter of the Wittenberg theology professor, Balthasar Meisner’s, 1623 *Brevis Consideratio Theologiae Photiniana* to demonstrate the orthodoxy of his language:

Nor can it be simply denied that good works are necessary for salvation, but it must be distinguished. It is granted that it is necessary as a condition without which man cannot be saved, but it is denied that it is necessary as a cause. He [Meisner] adds also these words: It is altogether necessary that whoever wishes to be saved, conduct himself according to the spirit.<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 450–51.

<sup>293</sup> Conrad Horneius’ “Responsio D. Hornei,” can be found in Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 452–56; Baur, “Die Helmstedter,” 132–35. Hülsemann’s pagination is indicated in the text of the latter.

<sup>294</sup> Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 452–55.

<sup>295</sup> Meisner writes, “Nec enim simpliciter negat, bona opera ad salutem necessaria esse, sed distinguit, &

Finally, he states that he has taught nothing contrary to Christ or St. Paul. However, we are able to merit an increase of grace and a grade of glory as the *Apology* teaches.<sup>296</sup>

The Leipzig theology professor, Heinrich Höpffner, was prompted by Calixt's *Gründliche Widerlegung* to address a private letter to Calixt dated May 17, 1641.<sup>297</sup> Höpffner quickly expresses concerns about Horneius understanding of justification. It is possible, Höpffner suggests, to understand Horneius as saying that "besides faith something more is required for justification" (*praeter fidem aliquid adhuc aliud require ad justificationem*). Suspicions about Calixt's orthodoxy on this subject have been increasing, he adds, because he did not condemn justification "through the practice of inherent righteousness" (*per inhaerentem justitiam habitualem*) in the lists of papal errors assembled in the *Digressio De Arte Nova*. Pointing out that Martin Luther disapproved of good works being necessary for salvation, he argues that Martin Chemnitz and the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* understand the idea "to be absolutely false" (*non sub certa hypothesisi, sed absolute pro falsa*). Höpffner thinks Calixt is only creating confusion about Luther's work by asserting the necessity of good works for salvation with scholastic terminology like "without which there is not" (*causa sine qua non*).<sup>298</sup>

Calixt responded to Heinrich Höpffner with a letter dated September 27, 1641.<sup>299</sup> Heinz Staemmler sees this letter as the first example of a bitter tone emerging between Helmstedt and the Electoral Saxons. He points out the fact that Calixt's son, Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, had been

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necessaria esse ut conditionem, sine qua non salvatur homo, concedit, ut causam autem necessaria esse negat. Addit etiam haec verba: Necessarium omnino est, ut qui salvari vult, secundum spiritum ambulet," cited in Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 452–55.

<sup>296</sup> Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 455.

<sup>297</sup> Heinrich Höpffner's "Copia literarum D. Hopffneri ad Calixtum & Calixti ad Hopffnerum," can be found in Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 444–49; Baur, "Die Helmstedter," 127–30. Hülsemann's pagination is indicated in the text of the latter.

<sup>298</sup> Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 444–47.

<sup>299</sup> Calixt's "D. Calixtus Hoepffnero," can be found in Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 449–50; Baur, "Die Helmstedter,"

studying under Höpffner in Leipzig, suggesting Höpffner's lack of support may have something to do with Calixt's tone. Instead of responding to Höpffner's concerns in this letter, Calixt answers them by sending a new edition of his *Historia Josephi*.<sup>300</sup> In contrast to the understanding of good works articulated by Höpffner, Calixt references Old Testament Joseph, stating, "Therefore, his act of abstinence from adultery, homicide, and the remaining works of the flesh were necessary to have and obtain the kingdom of heaven."<sup>301</sup> He illustrates his position by comparing Joseph's avoidance of sin or good works to a roof of a house and his faith to a fire kindled in that house. Just as the roof was not the true cause of the fire, so too the avoidance of sin was not the true cause of faith. Just as the fire would be extinguished without a roof to protect the fire, so too faith would also be extinguished without avoiding sin.<sup>302</sup> Both letters failed to achieve their desired ends.

### Conclusion

Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel's Late Reformation 1569 *Kirchenordnung*, 1569 *Klosterordnung*, 1576 *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*, and late humanist-infused statutes endowed its territorial church and university with a Voluntaristic Christology, ethical emphasis, and stress on catholicity. The failure of the confessionalization process behind the *Formula of Concord* to achieve a pan-Lutheran homogenized Lutheran identity provided the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel church the latitude to develop a distinct form of Lutheranism, the propagation of which ultimately proved such an existential threat to other conceptions of Lutheranism that it birthed the Syncretistic Controversy. The marginalization of Duke Julius of Braunschweig-

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130. Hülsemann's pagination is indicated in the text of the latter.

<sup>300</sup> Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 449–50.

<sup>301</sup> Georg Calixt, "Historia Iosephi. 1654," in *Ethische Schriften*, vol. 3 of *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Inge Mager (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 213.

Wolfenbüttel by the formulators and princes after permitting his son to be consecrated a Roman Catholic bishop, coupled with the *Formula of Concord's* tolerance of ubiquity, resulted in the curtailment of the *Book of Concord's* authority in the duchy. As a result, a Gnesio-Lutheranism anti-ubiquitarian and sometimes Ramist Concordial Lutheranism came to hold sway in the land. Under Duke Heinrich Julius, subscriptions to the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* began to wane and a circle of Philippists gained increasing control of the University of Helmstedt. Thus Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel's Voluntaristic Christology, ethical emphasis, and stress on catholicity along with this circles' penchant for humanist studies and Aristotelianism provided a unique set of factors, which would facilitate the theology of Georg Calixt and which he would morph into a confessionalized alternative to Concordial Lutheranism.

Calixt was born into a land and family opposed to the *Formula of Concord*. His father gave him a humanist formation and a Philippist disposition, of which the former should by no means be construed as causing the philosophical or theological positions of the latter. This foundation would be solidified by his father's decision to send him to the University of Helmstedt. At Helmstedt this Renaissance humanist formation and Philippist disposition were cultivated by the circle of Johann Caselius. From that circle Cornelius Martini would play the most significant part in shaping Calixt's humanism, Aristotelianism, and early theology. Helmstedt humanism gave him a historical-grammatical approach to his subject matter, predisposed him to the belief that older theology must be a purer theology, supplied him the historical ability to distinguish later doctrinal formulations from the older creedal theology of the fathers, and gave his theology a strongly ethical dimension. Helmstedt Aristotelianism provided him with a critical mind and the logical tools he needed to develop his mature irenic theological system. Two educational

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<sup>302</sup> Calixt, "Historia Iosephi. 1654," 3:218.



excursions exposed him to many of the leading theologians of the day and may have already had a certain moderating effect on his assessments of the other confessions. This being said, his humanism, Aristotelianism, his travels, and his Philippist disposition were important components that facilitated Calixt's Lutheran irenicism. But in and of themselves, they did not cause his irenicism.

The *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* remained in force throughout Calixt's career, but he developed its ideas and interpreted it in new ways. Calixt had bound himself to the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* and was one of the last theologians to sign the 1591 Christological *Revers* or *Abschied*. But he does not appear to have subscribed to the *Formula of Concord* in any form and he altered the land's ordination oath to exclude the *Formula of Concord* in 1619/20. The promotion oath spelled out by the 1650 visitation's recess, moreover, bound candidates to a Calixtine conception of the *consensus antiquitatis* and the *Augsburg Confession*. As a bound adherent of the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* and a Lutheran irenicist, Calixt developed a fundamentalistic reading of the *Augsburg Confession*. This meant that for Calixt the *Augsburg Confession* was essentially nothing more than the sixteenth century reformulation of the *consensus antiquitatis*, which was only necessary to draft because the emperor had demanded a confession of faith from the Lutherans. It also meant that he regarded the remaining symbols of the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* to be mere explications of the *Augsburg Confession* (i.e., they were unable to formulate further binding doctrinal positions from the doctrine confessed in the *Augsburg Confession*). In other words, for Calixt the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* and even more so the *Augsburg Confession* were by no means irrelevant, because they showed that those who simply adhered to the *Augsburg Confession* represent the purest expression of the *consensus antiquitatis* among the various confessions of Christendom. But it also indicates that the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* and even the *Augsburg Confession* were, substantively speaking, unnecessary,

because there was no further fundamental doctrine to define or formulate that had not already been defined or formulated by the *Apostles' Creed* or at least the *consensus antiquitatis*. Finally, it meant that the non-fundamental doctrines contained in the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* and the *Augsburg Confession* were not necessary for communion between the confessions.

Georg Calixt developed his confessional irenicism in response to the devastation of the Thirty Years' War, which was brought about in part by confessional division. His irenic conception of the *Apostles' Creed* and the *consensus antiquitatis* is decidedly influenced by Georg Cassander and Marco Antonio de Dominis. But Calixt was a Lutheran irenicist, who sought mutual toleration and the hope of an eventual God-given communion between the confessions of Christendom in light of his own interpretation of the Lutheran Reformation as an absolutely necessary reform of papist errors, abuses, etc., as well as the restoration of the *consensus antiquitatis*, which is properly expressed in the *Augsburg Confession*. Therefore, he believed he was being a faithful Lutheran by calling Roman Catholics first and foremost, but also the Reformed, back to the doctrine of the ancient church. In addition, he focuses many of his irenic efforts on exposing Roman Catholic deviations, Reformed deviations, and what he regards to be Lutheran deviations (like ubiquity) from the catholic faith. He grounded his Lutheran irenicism on the distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental doctrine and focused on doctrinal agreement as the basis for communion between confessions rather than liturgical uniformity, provided that liturgical *cultus* did not deviate from the *consensus antiquitatis*.

The basis for such mutual toleration between the confessions was the fundamental agreement each confession shared by virtue of their adherence to the *Apostles' Creed*, a symbol Calixt himself recognized as non-apostolic. He further articulated a historically static Vincentian conception of the *consensus antiquitatis*. He limited the *consensus antiquitatis* to the ecumenical councils, a number of particular councils, and certain Greek and Latin Fathers of the first five

centuries because of the virtual impossibility of discerning what was believed everywhere, always, and by all. But by doing this he inferred that all necessary formulation or definition of fundamental doctrine ceased after the first five centuries. This *consensus antiquitatis* served as a second principle of knowledge alongside Scripture, as another articulation of fundamental doctrine, as well as the arbitrator of controversies between the confessions of Christendom. Since Calixt would ultimately use the church fathers collectively as an infallible Scripture-derived second principle of theology, he could not accept the notion that the visible church has ever or could have ever erred, much less be nearly destroyed in any age of the church.

Beyond the confines of the duchy, Calixt propagated his Lutheran irenicism in writings, book dedications, the acquisition of a printing press, correspondence, theological conferences, and the gaining of the support of politicians. In this way he also advanced his conception of Lutheranism in Europe and found sympathetic ears for his irenic project among the Lutherans and the Reformed. With the *Apostles' Creed*, church fathers, councils, and the *Augsburg Confession* as its symbolic standard, Calixtine theologians also allied with their Braunschweig sovereigns and statesmen, cultivated Calixtine Lutheran identity, reinforced it through social discipline, and contributed to the state building of the Welf dukes. Calixt's steadfast commitment to the university won him a privileged prelate status and ensured that the reconstituted faculty was made up largely of his friends and students. The December 14, 1635 Braunschweig Land Division made Helmstedt the joint university of the three Braunschweig duchies, which helped expand the influence of Helmstedt theology in Braunschweig. Calixt won the Welf dukes over to his conception of Lutheranism and even involved them in his irenic projects. At the university Calixt inculcated his irenic theology through faculty friendships, the housing of students, and the facilitation of student study at the University of Leiden. He promoted his theology through his writings, lectures, irenic disputations, and promotion oaths. Many of his students then went on to

assume important roles in Lutheranism, perpetuated his thought in society, and become involved in the Syncretistic Controversy. Even though Calixt spent little time promoting his conception of Lutheranism at the parish level, it was propagated by the clergy he trained and by Justus Genesisius' catechism. The Büscher Controversy not only represents one of the best examples of Calixtine social disciplining, but it also helped galvanize Helmstedt theology's hold on the Braunschweig duchies. Finally, Calixt's brother-in-law, Chancellor Schwartzkopf, did much to further Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel's state building efforts to centralize power through his various ducal orders and other mechanisms, despite the fact that Calixt was personally opposed to certain aspects of centralization.

Still the Calixtinization of Braunschweig was by no means total. The degree to which Calixtine theology penetrated the general populace is difficult to determine. The Helmstedt theology faculty's *Gutachten* on the supplanting of the pericopes irritated Duke August enough that he chose Joachim Lütkemann instead of a Helmstedt trained clergyman as his court-preacher. Braunschweig-Lüneburg and the city of Braunschweig resisted Calixtine theology for a considerable amount of time. While Duke August the Younger's own disposition was closer to Johann Arndt than Calixt, he remained a vital supporter of Calixtine theology, assisted him in his irenic endeavors, and chose a Calixtine court-preacher to follow Lütkemann. Eventually Braunschweig-Lüneburg and the city of Braunschweig came under the sway of Calixtine theology. Even the Leipzig theological faculty's *Gutachten* against Duke August's supplanting of the pericopes helped Calixtine theology, because it solidified the duke's opposition to Electoral Saxon authority claims and interference in Braunschweig.

The Calixtine conception of Lutheranism quickly proved challenging enough to other conceptions of Lutheranism that it did not take long to foment rebuttals. It proved so destabilizing that Lutherans almost immediately began to level charges against Helmstedt

theology as diverse as Rahtmannism, Calvinism, and Papism. Calixt's theology had already come under suspicion before he became a professor at Helmstedt. It was criticized during his appointment and continued to be attacked by the Gnesio-Lutheran anti-ubiquitarian Concordial Lutheran party of the duchy. The first wave of censures came from this same party, the new Giessen theology faculty, Balthasar Mentzer I, and the 1621 Saxon Conference in Jena. The anti-ubiquitarian Concordial party maintained that the Christology of Calixt's early disputations was Calvinist, as well as objected to his anthropological idea of a state of pure nature. The new Giessen theology faculty criticized his doctoral disputation's use of reason and philosophical argument. Balthasar Mentzer disputed the *Epitome Theologiae*'s concept of theology and religion as well as its Romanizing anthropology, including its notions of the state of pure nature, the image of God, original sin, and original righteousness. In addition, he took issue with its doctrine of election, justification, its assertion that God is the indirect cause of evil, and its Calvinising covenantal theology and sacramental theology. Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg's gathering of the most important Saxon theologians of the day for a 1621 Saxon Conference in Jena under his presidency reveals the expanding influence of Electoral Saxony in Lutheranism. Already informed of Calixt's understanding of original sin and the preservation of faith through good works, Polykarp Leyser the Younger complained about the perpetual contradictions of the Helmstedt theologians, Friedrich Balduin complained that Calixt had accused Balthasar Meisner of Manichaeism, and Johann Gerhard complained about Calixt's Calvinising Christology. Johann Himmel suggested that Calixt's opinions should be disapproved of in their universities, Caspar Finck did not think the Helmstedt theologians were worth their time, and all but one of the Leipzig theologians seemed already aware of the threat Calixtine theology posed. The conference's decision more importantly recognized the futility of attaining agreement between the Helmstedt theologians and the Saxons, especially when the former held favor in their court.

Still it maintained at this juncture that the orthodox should refute Helmstedt errors when necessary and befuddle Helmstedters with orthodox students.

The second wave of censures came from Statius Büscher's *Crypto-Papismus*, Wilhelm Leyser, and Heinrich Höpffner. Statius Büscher's *Crypto-Papismus* was not only a penetrating critique of Calixtine theology and reading of the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*, but also the first real critique of Calixtine irenicism as well. It argued that the Helmstedt theologians were advocating a Romanizing theology which conflicted with the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* and thereby raised ecclesial-political and legal questions about Helmstedt theology. The *Crypto-Papismus* demonstrated its thesis by contrasting passages chiefly from the writings of Calixt with passages from the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*. It was written in German and translated all Latin citations so that it could make its case to the widest audience possible. In this way, the *Crypto-Papismus* provided a model for ecclesial-political polemic of the Electoral Saxon *Consensus Repetitus*.

Statius Büscher's *Crypto-Papismus* made three important contributions to the debate. First, the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* is a necessary witness of the *Consensus Ecclesiae Evangelicae* in addition to the *consensus antiquitatis*, because of papal errors that have arisen, the sects that have now resulted from papal atrocities, and the sects' attempts to hide their errors under interpretations of the *Augsburg Confession*. Second, the Reformed cannot simply be called Christians by adhering to the ancient symbols, because they interpret these symbols differently as well as preach and administer the sacraments on the basis on an improper understanding of the Gospel. Third, the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* maintains that the authentic Christian Church is defined by the *Augsburg Confession*. The doctrines contained in the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* are not only highly necessary and important, but deviations from them are dangerous.

It should also be noted that in addition to showing Calixt's deviations from the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*'s anthropology and soteriology, Büscher was the first to bring to light Calixt's

Thomistic concept of merit and Calixt's claim from the *Smalcald Articles* that the pope could become the supreme spiritual power over the patriarchs and all other bishops by human rite. In addition, he notes Calixt's willingness to assign to the mass an intercessory if not reconciliatory character, Calixt's assertion from the *Apology* that he could not reject prayers offered for the dead in the mass, the Helmstedt theologians' insistence on Christian freedom in religious matters, the errors of Justus Genesisius' catechism, and Calixt's and Horneius' denial of the real indwelling the Holy Spirit as taught by the *Formula of Concord*.

This assault did not bring about the war on Helmstedt theology Büscher desired, but it did prompt two Electoral Saxon theologians to address Conrad Horneius and Calixt with respect to their positions on good works. Wilhelm Leyser believed that Conrad Horneius' 1639 *De Ivstificatione Et Nova Ivstificatorvm vita* had undermined forensic justification and a proper understanding of the role of good works. He also detected synergism and added that the Helmstedter language about such doctrines could confuse the laity. Similarly, Heinrich Höpffner felt that both Horneius and Calixt were confounding Luther's work by asserting the necessity of good works for salvation with scholastic terminology like "without which there is not."

All in all Helmstedt theology was no ordinary heresy that could be easily put down. Rather Calixtine theology was emerging as confessionalized Philippist alternative to Concordial Lutheranism. To be sure, the *Formula of Concord* was also Melanchthonian, but Helmstedt theology was Philippist in the sense that it had further developed Philippist doctrinal positions refuted by the *Formula of Concord*. This is not only why Concordial Lutheranism would have to respond in a fuller fashion to the Helmstedt theology, but also why it was so difficult to oppose.

## CHAPTER THREE

### ECCLESIAL-POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT WITH HELMSTEDT THEOLOGY BRINGS ABOUT THE ELECTORAL SAXON *CONSENSUS REPETITUS*

The Electoral Saxon and Ducal Saxon ecclesial-political engagement with Helmstedt theology through the development of the *Consensus Repetitus* will be laid out in chapter three. It will explore the setting of Electoral Saxony and Ducal Saxony to help contextualize the controversy. The 1645 Colloquy of Thorn, the Great Elector's promotion of Helmstedt theology, and Helmstedt writings prompted the 1646 Saxon *Fraterna Admonitio*. This chapter will reveal how the Helmstedt theologians' response not only compelled the Electoral and Ducal Saxons to rethink their ecclesial-political and trans-territorial disciplinary measures against Helmstedt theology, but also how it exposed their different readings of the *Book of Concord* and conceptions of Lutheran identity. It will explain how ecclesial-political attempts to resolve the controversy thereafter brought about the development of the *Consensus Repetitus*.

#### **Electoral Saxony and Ducal Saxony or the Saxon Duchies**

The rivalry between Albertine Saxony (Ducal Saxony 1484–1547, Electoral Saxony 1547–1806, and the Kingdom of Saxony 1806–1918) and Ernestine Saxony (Electoral Saxony 1484–1547 and Ducal Saxony or the Saxon Duchies, some of which date from 1547–1918) during the Syncretistic Controversy can be traced back to the deep-seated tensions that emerged from their entangled theological and socio-political development. The late medieval rise of the House of Wettin to the most powerful position in the empire after the House of Habsburg was weakened by the Ernestine insistence on the 1485 Leipzig Partition. The reform-minded Ernestine electors, whose progeny would splinter their lands, came away from it with poorer agriculturally-driven



lands and ultimately became politically overconfident. The imperial Albertine dukes, who had established primogeniture, came away from it with better more industrialized lands and became increasingly more politically ambitious.<sup>1</sup> The Luther question created a new rift between Ernestine Saxony and its pioneering Renaissance humanist University of Wittenberg (1502, *Leucorea*) on one hand,<sup>2</sup> and Albertine Saxony and its late medieval *universitas scholastica*, the University of Leipzig (1409, *Alma Mater Lipsiensis*), on the other, until the latter was reformed in 1539.<sup>3</sup> But while Albertine Lutheranism was no more concerned about its catholicity than Ernestine or even Welf Lutheranism,<sup>4</sup> the Albertine 1539 *Heinrichsagenda* was liturgically more conservative in nature than the Ernestine or the Welf cultus.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Rudolf Kötzschke and Hellmut Kretzschmar, *Sächsische Geschichte: Werden und Wandlungen eines Deutschen Stammes und seiner Heimat im Rahmen der Deutschen Geschichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Wolfgang Weidlich, 1965), 116–47; Günther Wartenberg, “Sachsen II,” in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–2004), 29:558–66; Günther Wartenberg, “Saxony,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3:489–90; Heribert Smolinsky, “Albertinisches Sachsen,” in *Der Nordosten*, vol. 2 of *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, ed. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990), 8–11; Thomas Klein, “Ernestinisches Sachsen, kleinere thüringische Gebiete,” in *Mittleres Deutschland*, vol. 4 of *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, ed. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Münster: Aschendorff, 1992), 8–14; Reiner Gross, *Geschichte Sachsens*, 4th ed. (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 2012), 14–38.

<sup>2</sup> In many ways the Lutheran Reformation began at Wittenberg as “a massive educational reform that affected the entire populace,” whereby “humanist methods were made to serve doctrinal purposes.” See James Kittelson, “Luther the Educational Reformer,” in *Luther and Learning: The Wittenberg University Luther Symposium*, ed. Marilyn Harran (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1983), 95–114; Lewis Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963); Lewis Spitz, *Luther and German Humanism* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996); Maria Grossmann, *Humanism in Wittenberg, 1485–1517* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975). See also Heiner Lück, “Wittenberg,” in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–2004), 36:232; Walter Friedensburg, *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1917), 1–249.

<sup>3</sup> Otto Kirm, *Die Leipziger Theologische Fakultät in fünf Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1909), 1–39; Konrad Krause, *Alma Mater Lipsiensis: Geschichte der Universität Leipzig von 1409 bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2003), 21–51; Franz Häuser, ed., *Geschichte der Universität Leipzig 1409–2009* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2010), 1:21–392.

<sup>4</sup> Elector Johann Friedrich of Ernestine Saxony (1503–54) had Melancthon provide new Lutheran and humanist imbibed statutes for the Wittenberg theological faculty in 1533 that bound the university to a catholic understanding of the CA: “Vt in Ecclesijs totius ditionis nostrae et in puerilibus scholis, ita in Academia, penes quam semper debet esse praecipua gubernatio et censura doctrinae, uolumus puram Euangelij doctrinam, consentaneam confessioni, quam Augustae anno M D XXX Imperatori Carolo exhibuimus: quam doctrinam certo statuimus esse uerum et perpetuum consensum Catholicae Ecclesiae Dei: pie et fideliter proponi, conseruari & propagari. Seuerissime etiam prohibemus spargi ac defendi haereses ueteres, damnatas in Synodis Nicena,

With the ascendancy of Elector Johann Friedrich of Ernestine Saxony (1503–54), inter-Saxon relations spiraled so out of control that the unthinkable happened. Duke Moritz of Albertine Saxony (1521–53) joined the emperor in the Smalcald War (1546–47) to gain the electorship, to expand his lands, to save Saxony, and to preserve the Lutheran faith from possible annihilation.<sup>6</sup> But when he recognized the problems that the interims were causing for Lutheranism, he turned on the emperor and ended the Augsburg Interim via the 1552 Peace of Passau, which established Albertine Saxony as the most powerful Protestant state in the empire. The consequential 1555 Peace of Augsburg created a new ecclesial-political problem by outlawing all confessions except Roman Catholicism and the *Augsburg Confession*, forcing Calvinism into a struggle for its very existence in the empire.<sup>7</sup> The question of the theological

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Constantinopolitana, Ephesina, et Chalcedonensi." See Melancthon's 1533 statutes and their revisions, reprinted in Walter Friedensburg, *1502–1611*, vol. 1 of *Urkundenbuch der Universität Wittenberg* (Magdeburg: Selbstverlag der historischen Kommission für die Provinz Sachsen und für Anhalt, 1926), 154–58, 261–65, 302–8. See also Karl Förstemann, *Liber decanorum facultatis theologiae Academiae Vitebergensis* (Leipzig: C. Tauchnitz, 1838), 152–60.

<sup>5</sup> "Kirchenordnungen zum anfang, für die pfarherrn in herzog Heinrichs zu Sachsen u. g. h. fürstenthum," in *Sachsen und Thüringen, Nebst Angrenzenden Gebieten*, vol. 1 of *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Emil Sehling (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1902), 1:264–81. See also Luther D. Peterson, "The Philippist Theologians and the Interims of 1548: Soteriological, Ecclesiastical, and Liturgical Compromises and Controversies Within German Lutheranism," (Phd diss., University of Wisconsin, 1974), 328–32; Luther D. Peterson, "Johann Pfeffinger's Treatise of 1550 in Defense of Adiaphora: 'High Church' Lutheranism and Confessionalization in Albertine Saxony," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor of Bodo Nischan*, ed. John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 91–105; Reed, *The Lutheran*, 87–109.

<sup>6</sup> Johann Herrmann, *Moritz von Sachsen (1521–1553) Landes-, Reich- und Friedensfürst* (Beucha: Sax-Verlag, 2003); Smolinsky, "Albertinisches Sachsen," 19–23; Gross, *Geschichte*, 54–71. See also Georg Schmidt, "Der Kampf um Kursachsen, Luthertum, und Reichsverfassung (1546–1553) — Ein deutscher Freiheitskrieg?" in *Johann Friedrich I. — der lutherische Kurfürst*, ed. Volker Leppin, Georg Schmidt, and Sabine Wefers (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 2006), 55–84.

<sup>7</sup> "Abschied der Röm[isch] königl[ichen] Majestät und gemeiner Stände auff dem Reichs-Tag zu Augsburg auffgericht, im jahr 1555," in *Kaiser und Reich: Verfassung des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher nation vom Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahre 1806 in Dokumenten*, ed. Arno Buschmann (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994), 1:215–83. The Peace of Augsburg defined the CA *in genere* (i.e., it did not specifically limit legal protection to the adherents of the 1530 CA). The Reformed, moreover, viewed the 1540 CA as a "mere beginning and transition point for pure Reformed doctrine." See Martin Heckel, "Reichsrecht und 'Zweite Reformation': Theologisch-juristische Probleme der reformierten Konfessionalisierung," in *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland—Das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation, Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1985*, ed. Heinz Schilling (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1986), 11–43; Bodo Nischan, "Reformation or Deformation? Lutheran and Reformed Views of Martin Luther in

and legal status of Calvinism would help launch the Syncretistic Controversy into the realm of power politics and exposed fault lines in Lutheranism even between the two Saxonies. The different Lutheran answers to this question were not just colored by the various emerging identities within Lutheranism, but also by Calvinist theology, Reformed irenicism's theological-legal campaign to be recognized as adherents of the *Augsburg Confession*, the Palatinate's militant pan-Protestant confessional politics against Habsburg Roman Catholicism, as well as the attempted and successful Calvinizations of Lutheran territories.

After the Wittenberg Catastrophe, the Ernestine hope to recuperate its losses and the Albertine desire to shore up its gains had a profound effect on each land's respective confessional politics and mutual distrust in the years to come. From the new Wittenberg (*translatio studii*), the new University of Jena (1558, *Salana*), the Ernestine Gnesio-Lutherans waged theological war on the Albertine Philippists at the University of Leipzig and the newly acquired Albertine University of Wittenberg.<sup>8</sup> Ernestine Saxony likewise assumed a hostile political stance against Albertine Saxony and the emperor, whereas Albertine Saxony worked through imperial channels to subdue and gain control of Ernestine Saxony.<sup>9</sup> With Elector August

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Brandenburg's 'Second Reformation,'" in *Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of Confessionalism* (Alderhot: Ashgate, 1999), 1:203–15.

<sup>8</sup> The 1548 Jena Statutes, the 1558 Jena Statutes (expanded in 1569), and the imperial privileges are reprinted in J. C. E. Schwarz, *Das erste Jahrzehnd der Universität Jena: Denkschrift zu ihrer Dritten Säkular-Feier* (Jena: Friedrich Frommann, 1858), 132–41, 94–102, 142–45 respectively. According to the 1558 statutes, Jena's purpose was the defense of Luther's theology. See Schwarz, *Das erste*, 94–95. See also Gustav Frank, *Die Jenaische Theologie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1858), 1–25; Karl Heussi, *Geschichte der theologischen Fakultät zu Jena* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1954), 13–29; Siegfried Schmidt, *Alma mater Jenensis. Geschichte der Universität Jena* (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1983), 16–38; Helmut G. Walter, "Von Leipzig nach Jena (1409–1548): Tradition und Wandel der drei wettinischen Universitäten," in *Johann Friedrich I. — der lutherische Kurfürst*, ed. Volker Leppin, Georg Schmidt, and Sabine Wefers (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 2006), 129–53.

<sup>9</sup> Hans Patze and Walter Schlesinger, eds., *Das Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation*, vol. 4 of *Geschichte Thüringens* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1972), 1–7; Daniel Gehrt, "Kurfürst Johann Friedrich I. und die ernestinische Konfessionspolitik zwischen 1548 und 1580," in *Johann Friedrich I. — der lutherische Kurfürst*, ed. Volker Leppin, Georg Schmidt, and Sabine Wefers (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 2006), 307–26; Klein, "Ernestinisches," 19–22; Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *German Histories in the Age of the Reformations, 1400–1650*

of Saxony's (1526–86) repudiation of Philippism in 1574 and his establishment of Concordial Lutheranism<sup>10</sup> in both Albertine and Ernestine Saxony via the 1580 *Book of Concord*<sup>11</sup> and the 1580 Electoral Saxon *Kirchenordnung*,<sup>12</sup> it looked as if the tensions between the two Saxonies might finally be abated.

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 240–45.

<sup>10</sup> Ernst Koch, "Der kursächsische Philippismus und seine Krise in den 1560er und 1570er Jahren," in *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland—Das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation. Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1985*, ed. Heinz Schilling (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1986), 60–78; Johannes Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch: Eine systematische-theologische Untersuchung zu Debatte um die Wittenberger Christologie und Abendmahlslehre in den Jahren 1567 bis 1574* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006); Ulrike Ludwig, *Philippismus und Orthodoxes Luthertum an der Universität Wittenberg: die Rolle Jakob Andreäs in Lutherischen Konfessionalisierungsprozess Kursachsens (1576–1580)* (Münster: Ashendorff, 2009).

<sup>11</sup> The BC, Preface (BSLK [15] 763) and BC, Names of Clerical Signatures list the signatures of Elector August of Saxony, Duke Johann Casimir of Saxony-Coburg-Eisenach, Duke Johann Ernest of Saxony-Coburg-Eisenach, Duke Friedrich Wilhelm I of Saxony-Weimar, Johann of Saxony-Weimar (1570–1605), along with the Wittenberg theology faculty, the Leipzig theology faculty, the court-preachers, superintendents, and pastors, and schoolmasters. See *Concordia*. The 1580 Electoral Saxon *Kirchenordnung* ensured that all *Kirchendiener* "das buch der concordien mit eigener hand unterschrieben hat" before they could be invested with their office. It further affirms the catholicity of the Lutheran symbols. See "Des durchlauchtigsten, hochgeboren fürsten und herrn, herrn Augusten, herzogen zu Sachsen u. s. w. Ordnung, wie es in seiner churf. g. landen bei den kirchen mit der lehr und ceremonien, desgleichen in derselben universiteten, consistorien, fürsten und partikular schulen, visitation, synodis und was solchem allem mehr anhanget, gehalten werden sol. 1580," in *Sachsen und Thüringen, Nebst Angrenzenden Gebieten*, vol. 1 of *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Emil Sehling (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1902), 1:380, 440. In January of 1581 all Wittenberg professors were required "ex mandato Illustrissimi Electoris" to subscribe to the FC. On February 16, 1581, it was further mandated, "Ut in posterum omnes cuiuscunque professionis, si in numerum Professorum Academiae, Formula Concordiae subscribere iuberentur quo firma et constans quoad confessionem pax inter omnium Facultatum Professores conservetur." See Förstemann, *Liber decanorum*, 59–60, 158–59. Likewise the 1591 Jena Statutes, which remained in effect into their 1653 revision, took a hardline against Philippism: "So soll kunfftigk unndt wann sich eine lectur erledigett, einn Jeder Professor, wann er abgenommenn, gemeltem Christlichen Concordien buch unterschreyben, domit also denn Statutenn nachgegangen werde." See G. Mentz, "Die Statuten der Universität Jena von 1591," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte* 9 (1899): 62.

<sup>12</sup> "Des durchlauchtigsten," 1:1:359–457; Reinhold Jauernig, *Der Bekenntnisstand der Thüringischen Landeskirchen* (Gera: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1930); Heussi, *Geschichte*, 110–11. The 1580 Electoral Saxon *Kirchenordnung* consists of a preface, a sort of *corpus doctrinae*, a revised 1539 *Heinrichsagenda*, and a number of segments concerning ecclesiastical law, including orders for the prince's schools and universities. The preface develops the state church character of the Saxon churches not unlike the 1569 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel *Kirchenordnung*, but it asserts a certain trans-territorial interest and perspective. See "Des durchlauchtigsten," 1:1:359–63. The *corpus doctrinae* focuses on the CA, but the church order as a whole binds its clergy to the 1574 Torgau Articles and 1580 BC. The *Heinrichsagenda* was a bit more conservative than the 1569 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel *Kirchenordnung*, but both represented the central Saxon liturgical tradition. See Reed, *The Lutheran*, 87–109. The Electoral Saxon church law is a little more developed than 1569 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel *Kirchenordnung*, but both were extensively derived from the 1559 Württemberg *Kirchenordnung*, albeit the Electoral Saxon church law also draws on the 1557 Saxon *General-Artikel*. See Richter, *Die evangelischen*, 2:511.

At the opening of the Syncretistic Controversy, there were three Saxon dukes: Friedrich Wilhelm II of Saxony-Altenburg (1603–69), Ernst the Pious of Saxony-Gotha (1601–75), and Wilhelm IV of Saxony-Weimar (1598–1662), the latter two being the sons of Johann of Saxony-Weimar (1570–1605). By the middle of the controversy, two of Johann of Saxony-Weimar's progeny, Wilhelm IV and Ernst the Pious, had complete control of Ernestine Saxony, but his grandsons and great-grandsons would splinter the Ernestine lands into ten different duchies. Still the University of Jena remained the common possession of all the Ernestine dukes.

The new influence that the Saxon elector held on the Ernestine dukes came to an end with the children of Johann of Saxony-Weimar. Despite the theological narrowing between Electoral and Ducal Saxony, there remained differences. The clearest example of this is the Ernestine dukes' much friendlier disposition toward Calvinism, as evident in their political and marriage alliances (e.g. Hesse, Anhalt, and the Palatinate). In fact, Johann of Saxony-Weimar's children were raised by their Reformed-reared mother from the House of Anhalt, Duchess Dorothea Maria (1574–1617), who favored the Baconian induction and vernacular pedagogical theory of Wolfgang Ratke (1571–1635). They received their historical and legal education from Friedrich Hortleder (1579–1640), who stressed the Ernestine Saxons' role as defenders of the Reformation, penned a famous history of the Smalcald War, and served as one of the dukes' most important political advisors.<sup>13</sup> It was not unexpected then that Johann Ernst the Younger of Saxony-Weimar (1594–1626) affiliated himself with the Protestant Union. But his support for Friedrich V (1596–1632) in the 1620 Battle of White Mountain and refusal to submit to the emperor cost him his

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<sup>13</sup> Veronika Albrecht-Birkner, *Reformation des Lebens: Die Reformen Herzog Ernsts des Frommen von Sachsen-Gotha und ihre Auswirkungen auf Frömmigkeit, Schule und Alltag im ländlichen Raum (1640–1675)* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2002), 31–36; Franz Xaver von Wegele, "Friedrich Hortleder," in *Allgemeine Deutsch Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humbolt, 1875–1912), 13:165–69. It should also be noted that the former student of Georg Calixt, Berthold Nihus, helped educate them (1616–22) just before he converted to Roman Catholicism. See Weimar court-preacher, Johann Kromayer's (1576–1643), June 22, 1622 letter to Georg Calixt,

lands. Still he continued to fight the Habsburgs with the Dutch and the Danes. His younger brothers, moreover, shared his sympathies. Wilhelm IV of Saxony-Weimar (1598–1662), who assumed control of his lands, entered into the service of the Danes and Swedes during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), along with his famous brothers, Ernst the Pious and General Bernard of Saxony-Weimar (1604–39). It was ultimately only conflict with Oxenstierna that prompted Wilhelm IV and his brothers, except Bernard, to opt for the 1635 Imperial Peace of Prague, which excluded Calvinism from legal protection.<sup>14</sup>

Of these brothers Ernst the Pious of Saxony-Gotha would not only play a leading role in the Syncretistic Controversy, but his reign was also considered a golden age in Ernestine Saxony. He was cut out the same Arndtian cloth as Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. While the duke was not university-educated or traveled, he focused all his efforts on his conception of the "Reformation of Life," which has raised some questions about his motives.<sup>15</sup> He tried to accomplish his political, socio-economic, pedagogical, and ultimately pious ends in a variety of ways. The duke's relatively tolerant 1633/34 attempt to reorganize the biconfessional church and school of Franconia already mentioned above shows the high esteem he already held for Georg Calixt and the effect that Calixtine ideas started to have on him.<sup>16</sup> He strengthened the economy

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cited in Henke, *Georg*, 1:338–42.

<sup>14</sup> Patze, *Das Zeitalter*, 3:13–15; Klein, "Ernestinisches," 24–29.

<sup>15</sup> Veronika Albrecht-Birkner, "Zur Rezeption Johann Arndts in Sachsen-Gotha (1641/42) und in den Auseinandersetzungen um den Pietismus der 1690er Jahre," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 26 (2000): 29–49. Like Lowell Green, Veronika Albrecht-Birkner has argued against past scholarship that Ernst the Pious should not be seen as proto-pietist or even as a representative of Reform Orthodoxy. Unlike Green, who uses Ernst the Pious merely to argue for a broader understanding of Lutheran Orthodoxy, Albrecht-Birkner interprets Ernst the Pious as a moderating influence between Helmstedt and Wittenberg, but one that leans toward the Philippist and the Calixtine tradition. This tendency manifests itself in the Saxony-Gotha's confessional tolerance, anthropology, and the clergy's discipline of the magistate. See Lowell Green, "Duke Ernest the Pious of Saxe-Gotha and his Relationship to Pietism," in *Der Pietismus in Gestalten und Wirkung: Martin Schmidt zum 65 Geburtstag*, ed. Heinrich Bornkamm et al. (Bielefeld: Luther-Verlag, 1975), 179–91; Albrecht-Birkner, *Reformation*, 72–73, 120–23, 514–16, 526–28.

<sup>16</sup> On November 7, 1633 Ernst the Pious had requested *Gutachten* from the Weimar theologians "wie bei der

of Saxony-Gotha, constructed a new palace named *Friedenstein*, and founded the popular Gotha Gymnasium, where the Lutheran Pietist, August Francke (1663–1727), would later receive his early formation. Under the influence of Sigismund Evenius (1585–1639), his school inspector, Christoph Brunchorst (1604–64), the future Gotha court-preacher, Ernst the Pious came to believe that his lands suffered from a dearth of godliness and that poor catechization (or at least poor catechetical knowledge) was to blame. Duke Wilhelm IV of Saxony-Weimar disagreed. The Weimar court-preacher, Johann Kromayer (1576–1643), went so far as to claim the anthropological position of Evenius' and Brunchorst's reform proposals were "Interimistic, Majoristic, Schwenckfeldian, und Anabaptist." Asking for a more limited visitation and non-threatening pastoral examinations, he stressed the power of sin even in the regenerate and doubted that only those who used words other than the catechism to explain the faith understood it. In addition, he blamed the vices of the day on the stubbornness of the will rather than a lack of catechetical understanding, maintained there are already good men in the land, and insisted that an improvement of knowledge would not lead to an improvement of society.<sup>17</sup> *Gutachten* were requested from Helmstedt, Straßburg, Jena, Altenburg, and Dresden as well, but only Dresden's

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Verbreitung der evangelischen Lehre im Herzogthume Würzburg und Bamberg zu werke zu gehen und zu hoffen sei, daß dort die verführten Leute im Papstthume durch Gottes Gnade allgemach zur Erkenntniß der Wahrheit gebracht würden," cited in August Beck, *Ernst der Fromme, Herzog zu Sachsen-Gotha und Altenburg: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1865), 1:93. He also requested *Gutachten* from the Jena theological faculty and Georg Calixt, of which the Ernestiner *Gutachten* are summarized in Beck, *Ernst*, 1:95–96. Duke Ernst the Pious came to tolerate Roman Catholics, but still believed they should hear Lutheran sermons and attend united schools, so that they could make up their own mind about the true faith and hopefully become Lutheran. See Beck, *Ernst*, 1:79–98.

<sup>17</sup> Kromayer cited in Albrecht-Birkner, *Reformation*, 119; SC, Preface; Albrecht-Birkner, "Absichten und Wirkungen Einer 'Reformation des Lebens' in Sachsen-Gotha und Herzog Ernst dem Frommen (1640–1675)," in *Pietas in der Lutherischen Orthodoxie*, ed. Udo Sträter (Wittenberg: Drei Kastanien Verlag, 1998), 125–36. The reform proposals of Evenius and Brunchorst are reviewed in Albrecht-Birkner, *Reformation*, 112–18. Kromayer's concerns are spelled out in Albrecht-Birkner, *Reformation*, 87–89, 95, 118–23. One later discredited Ernestine pastor, Elias Johannes Heßling (1605–67), also charged that Ernst the Pious' "Reformation of Life" program had uncritically accepted Johann Arndt's *Von wahren Christenthumb*. See Albrecht-Birkner, *Reformation*, 80, 98–100.

response was really critical.<sup>18</sup> On July 25, 1638, the orthodoxy and writings of Evenius and Brunchorst were confirmed. So Ernst the Pious had Salomo Glassius (1593–1656), Johann Gerhard's handpicked successor at Jena (1638–40) and now Arndtian Gotha court-preacher, conduct a general church and school visitation of his lands from 1641 to 1645 to bring about "a Reformation ... of life."<sup>19</sup> As a result, Ernst the Pious took measures to legislate and enforce the temporal and spiritual improvement of his people. Prompted by Evenius in 1636, the duke had Ernestine theologians compile an annotated study Bible for use in each parish (1641 *Weymarische Bibel, Kurfürsten Bibel, or Ernestinische Bibel*).<sup>20</sup> The duke issued the first mandatory school law, the 1642 *Schulmethodus*, which stressed Ratkian vernacular education and catechesis for the purpose of renewal of society.<sup>21</sup> He instituted mandatory weekly catechism

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<sup>18</sup> Georg Calixt was very favorable and offered assistance. Straßburg stressed that it should be a "reformation of all estates" and recommended the use of "soul registers," but was generally positive. The Jena professors, Johann Major and Johann Dilherr (1604–69), wrote that they did not disapprove of the reform proposals as some apparently supposed. Dresden's reaction was prompted by the imprisonment of Heßling. It felt that Ernst the Pious had overstepped his bounds. In addition, Dresden objected to any alteration of the text of Luther's *Small Catechism* and stressed the limits of human nature. See Albrecht-Birkner, *Reformation*, 124–31.

<sup>19</sup> He called for "eine recht ernstliche gleich durchgehende starcke Reformation (nicht zwar der Christlichen lehre / welche wie obgemelt / klar vnd hell gnug durch Gottes Gnade dar ist / sondern deß Lebens / vnd also) Abschaffung deß Bösen / hergegen Anschaffung vnd Fortpflanzung deß Guten / vnd der wahren Gottseligkeit." See *Deß Durchläuchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn / Herrn Ernsts / Herzogens zu Sachsen / Jülich Cleve vnd Berg / u. Landgraffens in Düringen / Marggraffens zu Meissen / Graffens zu Marck vnd Ravensburg / Herrns zu Ravenstein / etc. Ausschreiben / wie es bey der General Vistiation in I. F. Gn. Fürstenthumb / bey Geist: vnd Weltlichen Ständen / Stadten / Bedienten / Pfarrkindern / Vnterthanen vnd Einwohnern / praeparatione gehalten werden soll* (Erfurt: Dedekind, 1640), C. See also August Tholuck, *Lebenszeugen der lutherischen Kirche aus allen Ständen vor und während der Zeit des dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Berlin: Verlag von Wiegandt & Grieben, 1859), 63–66; Heussi, *Geschichte*, 130–33.

<sup>20</sup> *Biblia, Das ist: Die gantze H. Schrift, Altes und Newes Testaments Teutsch / D. Martin Luthers: Auf gnädige Verordnung deß Durchleuchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Ernsts / Hertzogen zu Sachsen / Jülich / Cleve und Berg / etc. Von etlichen reinen Theologen, dem eigentlichen Wort-Verstand nach erkläret* (Nürnberg: Wolfgang Endter, 1641). It should be noted that Johann Kromayer opposed the project. See Herbert von Hintzenstern, "Die Weymarische Bibel: Ein riesiges Kommentarwerk Thüringer Theologen aus den Jahren 1636 bis 1640," in *Laudate Dominum: Achtzehn Beiträge zur thüringischen Kirchengeschichte. Festgabe zum Geburtstag von Landesbischof D. Ingo Braecklein* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1976), 151–59. Dresden *Oberhofprediger*, Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, called it, "Quodlibet, ein gestümmeltes Buch, von welchem man nicht wüßte, ob's Calvinisten oder Papisten vertiret." See Beck, *Ernst*, 1:667.

<sup>21</sup> The 1642–85 *Herzogl. Sachsen-Gothische Schulordnungen* are reprinted in Vormbaum, *Die evangelischen*, 2:295–363.



for adults.<sup>22</sup> In support of the duke's project, Salomo Glassius produced a new catechism for the common man, which included questions on the Table of Duties and a twenty-three question epitome.<sup>23</sup> Kromayer's 1625 popular abbreviated edition of the German *Book of Concord* was reprinted. Glassius provided a new agenda and family devotional book.<sup>24</sup> The duke's paternal and moral legislations reached their apex in the 1670 *Fürstliche Sächsische Landes- und Proceß-ordnung*.<sup>25</sup> Finally, the duke intervened for the Austrian Lutherans, became a patron to the Lutheran Church in Moscow, and tried to introduce Lutheranism in Abyssinia.

By this time the Jena theological faculty had also reached its zenith and rivaled Wittenberg in importance under the first Johannine Triad, Johann Gerhard, Johann Major the Elder, and Johann Himmel. It would even displace Wittenberg as the second most frequented German university after Leipzig following the Thirty Years' War and could boast the likes of the Neostoic humanist, Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), who served from 1572–74 as its chair of rhetoric and history.<sup>26</sup> Like their Electoral Saxon counterparts, they hardly despised humanist studies,

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<sup>22</sup> *Fürstliches Sächsisches Außschreiben / Wegen angeordneter Christlichen Information und Unterrichtung der Erwachsenen unwissenden / in den nothwendigsten Stücken der Christlichen Lehr / so in dem Catechismo Lutheri begriffen / Im Fürstenthumb Gota* (Gotha: n.p., 1642).

<sup>23</sup> Glassius' *Kurzer Begriff der christlichen Lehre, aus dem Catechismo Lutheri gezogen, und in gewisse Stücke ordentlich zerleget. Für die, welche die Worte des Catechismi zwar können, in dessen Verstand aber nicht genugsam gegründet sind* can be found in Bodemann, *Katechetische*, par. 2. See also Albrecht-Birkner, *Reformation*, 424–92.

<sup>24</sup> *Concordien-Büchlein / Deutsch: Darinnen: 1. Die drey Haupt-Symbola: 2. Die Augspurgische Confession: 3. Die Schmalkaldischen Artikel; 4. Die eilff Artickel / welche man eigentlich nennet die Formul Concordiae: Für die Kirchen im Fürstenthumb Gotha / auff Gnädige Fürstl. Verordnung / also in Druck gegeben* (Gotha, 1646); *Kirchen-Agenda: Das ist / Ordnung / Wie es von Pfarrern und Seel-Sorgern / beym öffentlichen Gottes-Dienst / und sonst / gehalten werden sol. Für die Kirchen in Fürstenthumb Gotha* (Gotha: Schall, 1647); *Christliches Hauß-Kirch-Büchlein / Darinnen gelehret und gezeiget wird / Wie ein Christ nicht allein für sich / in der Wissenschaft derer zur ewigen Seligkeit gehörigen nothwendigen Stück / sich gründen / und in dem wahren Gottes-dienst üben / sondern auch die Seinen hierin recht anführen und aufziehen solle ... Am Ende ist angefüget Ein Christliches Bet-Büchlein / Nach Ordnung des Catechißmi Lutheri eingetheilet* (Gotha: Schall, 1647).

<sup>25</sup> *Fürstliche Sächsische Landes- und Proceß-ordnung / Des weyland Durchläuchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Ernsten / Hertzogen zu Sachsen / Jülich / Cleve und Berg / Landgrafen in Thüringen / Marggrafen zu Meissen / Gefürsteten Grafen zu Henneberg / Grafen zu der Marck und Ravensberg / Herrn zu Ravenstein / u. Mit Beyfügung unterschiedlicher nach und nach ausgegangener und darzu gehörigen Ordnungen* (Gotha: Reyher, ca. 1670).

<sup>26</sup> Eulenburg, *Die Frequenz*, 100–103.

Aristotelian philosophy, and ecclesiastical antiquity.<sup>27</sup> They were just as anti-Calvinistic and opposed to the type of irenic theology that would take hold of Helmstedt.<sup>28</sup> While Johann Gerhard may not have been an active imperialist, he, if not the whole theological faculty did not share the Ernestine anti-imperial pan-protestant confessional politics like the rest of the University of Jena did.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Johann Gerhard equates the "linguarum & disciplinarum liberalium studia," especially language study and philosophy, with the Gentile court of the temple through which one must pass to gain access to the temple of theology proper. See Johann Gerhard, *Methodus Studii Theologici Publicis praelectionibus in Academia Jenensi Anno 1617 exposita* (Jena: Steinmann, 1620), 38–40. Gerhard would use the Helmstedt professor, Cornelius Martini's, *Compendium metaphysicum* for his lectures at Jena. See Wundt, *Die deutsche*, XIII, XVII, 51, 59, 98, 126; Max Wundt, *Die Philosophie An Der Universität Jena In Ihrem Geschichtlichen Verlaufe Dargestellt* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1932), 1–42. Gerhard not only used the church fathers to support Lutheran theology, but he also penned the first Lutheran patrology. See Johann Gerhard, *Confessionis Catholicae, in qua Doctrina Catholica Et Evangelica, Quam Ecclesiae Augustanae Confessionis addictae profitentur, ex Romano-Catholicorum Scriptorum Suffragis confirmatur*, 2 vols. (Jena: Steinmann, 1634–37); Johann Gerhard, *Patrologia, sive De Primitivae Ecclesiae Christianae Doctorum Vita ac Lucubrationibus Opusculum posthumum. Accesserunt de Scholasticis ac Historiae Ecclesiasticae Scriptoribus, tum aliis quoquo recentioribus nonnullis judicium varia. Item Laudationes Funebres in diversis Germaniae Academiis dictae, in quibus Auctoris vita ac scripta pertractantur* (Jena: Sengenwaldus, 1653).

<sup>28</sup> Johann Himmel's *Collegium Irenicum Seu Pacificatorium Quo ostenditur Legitimus Lutheranam cum Ecclesia Calviniana Conciliandi Modus, Disputationibus ILX, institutum in Academia Jenensi* (Jena: Reiffenberger, 1634). To be sure, Gerhard, like many earlier Lutherans wrote the following, but never intended it to be construed in a Calixtine sense: "Articuli fidei, quos per pi,stin hoc loco apostolus intelligit, quorum cognitio omnibus ad salutem necessaria est, verbis claris et perspicuis in Scriptura tradunter, quorum summa in symbolo apostolico, quod patres regulam fidei saepius vocant, breviter repetitur." See Gerhard, *Loci*, 1:532. He also stressed that the ancient and more recent interpreters as well as the common position of the old church serve as a witness and aid to Scripture. He even stated that the church and its ministry serve as the ministerial and inferior judge of theological controversies as well as the public interpreter of doctrine. See Gerhard, *Loci*, 1:537, 453–80, 528. That said, he maintained, "Scriptura Sacra sit unicum et proprium theologiae principium." See Gerhard, *Loci*, 1:1; 1:394–413. He not only rejected the idea that the fathers could serve as a norm for theology, but also argued that doctrine was not completely pure in the first five centuries and that the fathers do not actually all agree with each other. See Gerhard, *Loci*, 25:203–30; 25:104–25. He further insisted that the visible church has been at different times and could once again be nearly destroyed in this life and that the church militant can err (even fundamentally for a time), albeit not as a whole. See Gerhard, *Loci*, 25:86–125. See also Heussi, *Geschichte*, 121–23.

<sup>29</sup> When Duke Johann Ernest the Younger of Saxony-Weimar requested a *Gutachten* from the Jena theological faculty on whether he should actively support the emperor or remain neutral against the Bohemian rebels, the faculty responded on March 27, 1620 that he should remain neutral on the basis of Matthew 22:21. See "Von der Böhmischen Unruhe," in *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum*, ed. Georg Dedeken, Johann Ernst Gerhard, and Christian Grübel (Jena: Hertel, 1671), New Appendix: 750–55, 742–47. But following the Battle of White Mountain, Johann Gerhard wrote, "Die Niederlage der Calvinisten wird viele von der Gemeinschaft mit diesen Häretikern abziehen; denn das ist dieser calvinistische Geiste, im Unglück feig und im Glück übermütig zu sein!" cited in Tholuck, *Lebenszeugen*, 192. See also Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 116; Patze, *Das Zeitalter*, 3:16–17; J. V. Polišenský, "Die Universität Jena und Aufstand der böhmischen Stände in der Jahren 1618–1620," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena* 7 (1958), 441–47.

During the reign of Elector Christian I (1560–91), Electoral Saxony faced another attempted Calvinization, but its nobles, clergy, and populace had been confessionalized and resisted.<sup>30</sup> Upon Christian I's death, the guardian (1591–1601) of his two sons (Christian II [1583–1611] and Johann Georg I [1585–1656]), Duke Friedrich Wilhelm I of Saxony-Weimar (1562–1602), shored up the land's Lutheranism. The Saxon duke called the former Marburg theology professor and Swabian student of Andreae, Aegidius Hunnius (1550–1603), to rebuild Wittenberg. With the assistance of a fellow Swabian, Leonard Hutter, he would develop its long tradition of Concordial Orthodoxy. The duke also commissioned Hunnius and others to compose the 1592 *Christian Visitation Articles* and conduct a new visitation of the land.<sup>31</sup> These articles, to which all clergy and teachers had to subscribe until 1836, consisted of four positive and negative anti-Calvinist articles on the Lord's Supper, Christ, baptism, and election & providence.<sup>32</sup> As a result, the Crypto-Calvinists were exiled, imprisoned, or executed in Electoral Saxony. This anti-Calvinist disposition was inculcated in Christian II, so that when he assumed full control of the electorate in 1601, he published a new oft-reprinted Latin octavo edition of the *Book of Concord* in 1602 and bound all of his officials to it.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Thomas Klein, *Der Kampf um die Zweite Reformation in Kursachsen, 1586–1591* (Köln: Böhlau, 1962); Karlheinz Blaschke, "Religion und Politik in Kursachsen 1586–1591," in *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland—Das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation, Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1985*, ed. Heinz Schilling (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1986), 79–97; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 321–45; Smolinsky, "Albertinisches Sachsen," 26–28; Gross, *Geschichte*, 88–92.

<sup>31</sup> Förstemann, *Liber decanorum*, 74–78. Hunnius was a battle-tested opponent of Calvinism in Hesse. His attempts to shore up its Lutheranism resulted in a Calvinist Hesse-Kassel and Lutheran Hesse-Darmstadt. See Matthias, *Theologie*. One of the best examples of this tradition is Hutter's very popular *Compendium Locorum Theologicorum*, which is a small dogmatics derived from the Scripture and the BC. As noted earlier, he narrated the Helmstedt's dissent from the BC in his 1614 *Concordia Concors*. See Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 398–402.

<sup>32</sup> Appendix II in J. T. Müller, ed., *Die symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen deutsch und latinisch*, 11th ed. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1912), LXXXII, 785–86.

<sup>33</sup> Appendix II *Das Mandat des Churfürsten Christian II von Sachsen* in Müller, *Die symbolischen*, LXXXII, 779–84.

Electoral Johann Georg I of Saxony followed his brother, Christian II, and would be a pivotal figure in the Syncretistic Controversy. In addition to continuing to cultivate the Italian character of Dresden Lutheran court culture like his predecessors, the humanist-educated Johann Georg I maintained a strict Orthodox Lutheran disposition,<sup>34</sup> confessional hostility toward Calvinism, and the traditional Albertine pro-imperial political stance (*status quo* inside the empire) during the Thirty Years' War.<sup>35</sup> This disposition was inculcated by his anti-Calvinist mother, the Electress Sophia of Brandenburg (1568–1622), who was dubbed the "Judith of Saxony," when she had Chancellor Krell beheaded in the Dresden Neumarkt after Christian II's death. It was solidified by the two burgeoning non-republican Calvinist states, the Palatinate and Brandenburg-Prussia, which were vying to supplant Electoral Saxony's leading role among the evangelical princes, not to mention Lutheran Sweden's union-friendly attempt to do the same via the 1633 Heilbronner

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<sup>34</sup> Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque* (Houndsmills: Palgrave, 2002), 1–70; Karlheinz Blaschke, "Johann Georg I," in *Neue deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953–), 10:525–26; Karl Müller, *Kurfürst Johann Georg der Erste, seine Familie und sein Hof* (Dresden and Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1838); Gross, *Geschichte*, 93–100.

<sup>35</sup> In the wake of the second attempted Calvinization of Electoral Saxony, the Wittenberg theology professor and former Dresden court-preacher, Polykarp Leyser the Elder, spelled out the Electoral Saxon confessional politics that marked the reign of Johann Georg I: "Und zwar / was das Reich Christi und Gottes belangen thut / da scheiden wir uns mit unserm Glauben / desselben Bekenntnus / Gebet und andern Ceremonien von beyden Antichristen / dem Occidentalischen so wol als dem Orientalischen / und begehren mit ihnen zu beyden theilen nicht die geringste Gemeinshaft in allen ihren Irrthumen zu haben. Was aber des Keyzers Reich belanget / weil in demselben nit lauter Evangelische / sondern auch Papisten sind / und aus des Danielis und Johannis Weissagung nicht zuersehen ist / daß wir das Römische Reich der Religion halb zureissen / sondern so viel an uns ist / fleiß fürwenden sollen / daß dasselb ein Corpus bleiben möge / so betragen sich die Lutherischen mit den Papisten in Weltlichen Sachen gütlich / nemen den auffgerichteten Religionsfrieden / als ein nützlich Band / dardurch das Reich zusammen gehalten wird / als eine Gottesgabe mit Dank auff / verwahren demselben / und hüten / daß nirgents kein Loch darein gemacht werde / leisten ihrem Keyser nach vermögen einen getrewen Beystand wider den Orientalischen Antichrist und Tyrannen / als der das Römische Reich oppugniret / und befleissen sich also / daß sie die Warheit gegen Gott / und den Frieden gegen den Menschen erhalten / so lange sie Gott in diser Welt will leben lassen." See *Christianismus, Papismus & Calvinismus D. Polycarpi Lyseri. Das ist / Drei unterschiedliche Außlegung des Catechismi Lutheri. Eine / Darinnen geweiht wird / in welchen Håuptstrücken wir Evangelischen mit den caluinisten: Die Andere / In welchen wir Evangelischen mit den Papisten nicht einig sein. Die Dritte / Wie ein rechter Christ die Lehr des Catechismi / zu täglichen Buß / nützlich gebrauchen sol* (Wittenberg: Schürer, 1623), B iii. See also Wolfgang Sommer, "Polykarp Leyser d. Ä.—Erster Hofprediger in Dresden zur zeit der Regierung des Administrators Friedrich Wilhelm I. und Kurfürst Christian II. (1594–1610)," in *Die lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden: Grundzüge ihre Geschichte und Verkündigung im Kurfürstentum Sachsen* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 115–136; A. Gotthard, "'Politice seint wir bápstisch.' Kursachsen und der deutschen Protestantismus im frühen 17. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 20 (1993): 275–320.

Bund.<sup>36</sup> In 1613 he lost his claim to Jülich-Cleves-Berg to the Brandenburg elector. When Johann Georg I refused the Bohemian crown, the Calvinist Friedrich V of the Palatinate's (1596–1632) militant pan-Protestant anti-Habsburg politics as well as Friedrich V's privy council compelled him to accept it. Johann Georg I and his privy council were then motivated to take action with the emperor against the so-called "Winter King" in order to maintain the existing imperial/confessional order, to check the Palatinate, to ensure the electorate's hold on its secularized bishoprics (Meissen, Merseburg, Naumberg), and increase electoral lands (Lausitz and Anhalt). Along with his son-in-law, Duke Georg II of Hesse-Darmstadt (1605–61), the Saxon elector negotiated with the Catholic league at Mühlhausen (March 11, 1620) terms for helping Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637) put down the "Winter King" and his Bohemian rebels. Following the Battle of White Mountain (November 8, 1620), Johann Georg I received the territory of Lausitz for executing his part of the imperial plan as well as vague promises about the state of secularized bishops and the rights of Lutherans via the 1621 Dresden Accord.<sup>37</sup> Sven Göransson says, "The emperor awarded the Elector of Saxony in 1621 the *ius directorii* for the adherents of the *Augsburg Confession*."<sup>38</sup> Johann Georg I maintained this pro-imperial neutrality until the 1629 Edict of Restitution and the Swedish offensive compelled him to accept a short-lived defensive alliance with the Calvinist princes at the Leipzig Colloquy. Once the situation had changed, he reassumed his former position. Despite his politics, his lands were some of the hardest hit. He favored the 1635 Peace of Prague over against the 1648 Peace of

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<sup>36</sup> Ute Esseger, *Fürstinnen am kursächsischen Hof Lebenskonzepte und Lebensläufe zwischen Familie, Hof, und Politik in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2007), 13; 30–36; Blaschke, "Religion and Politik," 79–97; Göransson, "Schweden," 225, 230.

<sup>37</sup> Frank Müller, *Kursachsen und der böhmische Aufstand 1618–1622* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 1997); Siegfried Seifert, *Niedergang und Wiederaufstieg der Katholischen Kirche in Sachsen, 1517–1773*. (Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1964), 85–87. Göransson states, "Dem Kurfürsten von Sachsen, dem 1621 das *ius directorii* für die Verwandten der CA vom Kaiser zuerkannt worden war."

<sup>38</sup> Göransson, "Schweden," 222.

Westphalia.<sup>39</sup> In point of fact, Johann Georg I tried his best to suppress the Peace of Westphalia's codification of the legal idea that adherents to the *Augsburg Confession* were a genus consisting of two species, Lutheranism and the Reformed.<sup>40</sup>

The *Instrumentum Pacis Osnabrugensis* was not only the foundation of postbellum European politics, but also played a key role in Lutheran church law and the polemic of the Syncretistic Controversy. The treaty reaffirmed the 1552 Peace of Passau and 1555 Peace of Augsburg, which help codify the ecclesial and legal notion that the Lutheran princes (and their consistories) possessed "episcopal power" (*Jus Episcopale*) in their lands.<sup>41</sup> But it modified it in three important ways. First, it still maintained two protected religious parties, but it now clearly bestowed legal status on both Lutherans and the Reformed as adherents to the *Augsburg Confession*. Sects and religious minorities remained excluded.<sup>42</sup> Second, it restricted the princes' *ius reformandi* to after the 1624 normal year. Thus a prince could convert and change the state church thereafter. But he could not force his subjects to convert from the territory's official confession in 1624, nor could he force his subjects to convert from one of the legally protected confessions, if his subject already had that right by agreement, privilege, or long usage in 1624.

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<sup>39</sup> Smolinsky, "Albertinisches Sachsen," 28–30; Wartenberg, "Sachsen II," 29:569; Tschackert, "Synkretistische," 19:246.

<sup>40</sup> The Saxon elector's March 24, 1646 *Contenta der Haupt-Instruction* against free religious practice is reprinted in Gottfried August Arndt, ed., *Archiv der Sächsischen Geschichte* (Leipzig: Erben and Reich, 1784–1786), 2:61ff. The *Oberhofprediger*, Jakob Weller's, June 16, 1648 *Chur-Sächsische Vorstellung und Protestation wider den Articul die Reformirten betreffend* is reprinted in Johann Gottfried von Meiern, ed., *Acta Pacis Westphalicae Publica* (Hannover, 1734–1736), 6:281–86. The Saxon elector's May 1649 rejection of the concept that "die Augustanae Confessionis addictos, als das Genus ausgedeutet, welches Lutheranos und Reformatos, als Species, unter sich begreiffe," can be found in Meiern, *Acta*, 6:1017–18.

<sup>41</sup> Gerhard, *Loci Theologici*, 26:108; Benedikt Carpzov, *Jurisprudentia Ecclesiastica Seu Consistorialis* (Leipzig: Stark, 1708), which was originally published in 1649. See also Martin Honecker, *Cura religionis magistratus Christiani Studien zum Kirchenrecht im Luthertum des 17. Jahrhunderts, insbesondere bei Johann Gerhard* (Munich: Claudius Verlag, 1968); Martin Honecker, *Evangelisches Kirchenrecht: Eine Einführung in die theologischen Grundlagen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 49–50.

<sup>42</sup> Article VII, 1–2 of "Instrumentum Pacis Osnabrugensis," in *Kaiser und Reich: Verfassung des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher nation vom Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahre 1806 in Dokumenten*, ed. Arno Buschmann (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994), 2:63–64.

In this same connection, it made provision for religious freedom in private homes as well as the right to emigrate.<sup>43</sup> Third, it extended the ecclesiastical reservation even to spiritual territories under protestant control, but only until 1624.<sup>44</sup> It should also be noted that the *Instrumentum Pacis Osnabrugensis* now legislated that the *Corpus Catholicorum* (the body of Roman Catholic estates) and the *Corpus Evangelicorum* (the body of evangelical estates) should convene separately at imperial diets (*itio in partes*) and reach decisions by a friendly settlement (*amicabilis compositio*), rather than by colleges (elector, princes, and cities) and reaching decisions by majority vote.<sup>45</sup> For this reason, Johann Georg I declined his legal position as leader of the Protestants at the time to maintain his relationship with the emperor, but would accept the position in 1653.

Johann Georg I's confessional politics were theologically shored up by the sermons, *Gutachten*, and polemics of his *Oberhofpredigern*, who were court-preachers, father confessors, and political advisors all wrapped up in one. Even though this office was not a member of the privy council, there was no ecclesial office more powerful and influential in German Lutheranism than the Director of the *Corpus Evangelicorum's* *Oberhofprediger*. The noble-born son of a Viennese Lutheran lawyer and member of the imperial privy council, Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, was the first court-preacher to hold this title and he would set the bar for this office.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Article V, 31–32, 42 of "Instrumentum Pacis Osnabrugensis," 2:48–56. See also Article V, 30, 32, 34–37, 44–44 of "Instrumentum Pacis Osnabrugensis," 2:48–56.

<sup>44</sup> Article V, 15 of "Instrumentum Pacis Osnabrugensis," 2:39.

<sup>45</sup> Article V, 52 of "Instrumentum Pacis Osnabrugensis," 2:58. See also Derek Croxton and Anuschka Tischer, *The Peace of Westphalia: A Historical Dictionary* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002), 16–19, 66–69, 140–43; Fritz Wolff, *Corpus Evangelicorum und Corpus Catholicorum auf dem Westfälischen Friedenskonferenz: Die Einfügung der konfessionellen Ständeverbindungen in die Reichsverfassung* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1966); Klaus Schlaich, "Majoritas—protestatio—itio in partes—corpus Evangelicorum: Das Verfahren im Reichstag des Hl. Römischen Reichs Deutscher Nation nach der Reformation," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze: Kirche und Staat von der Reformation bis zum Grundgesetz*, ed. Martin Heckel und Werner Heun (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997), 68–134.

<sup>46</sup> In contrast to past scholarship, Sommer points out that Hertrampf's work has demonstrated that Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg was no maverick or "geistlichen Orakels," but rather a "Spachrohr des Dresdner Hofes" and worked

The Wittenberg educated *Oberhofprediger* fostered in Electoral Saxony the confessional disposition of his Swabian teacher and predecessor, Polykarp Leyser the Elder, and many others. He saw Lutheranism as the true catholic faith over against Papist innovations, but also maintained Roman Catholicism was preferable to Calvinism.<sup>47</sup> He, likewise, equated Calvinism with Islam, the Oriental Antichrist, in a book that enumerated ninety-nine doctrinal points which Calvinists shared with Arians and Turks—a theological position that also bolstered the court's political policy.<sup>48</sup> Assuming that the Holy Roman Empire was the fourth monarchy of Daniel, Hoë von Hoënegg actively sought to stamp out any opposition to the Electoral Saxon court's pro-imperial political stance on the eve of the Battle of White Mountain, especially since the Wittenberg theological faculty had advised Johann Ernest I of Saxony-Weimar to assume a different political posture. He argued that Lutheran princes could not unite with the Bohemian

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within the tradition of Albertine confessional politics. See Hertrampf, "Der kursächsische," 128; Wolfgang Sommer, "Matthias Hoe von Hoënegg—Kursächsischer Oberhofprediger zur Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges (1613–1645)," in *Die lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden: Grundzüge ihre Geschichte und Verkündigung im Kurfürstentum Sachsen* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 137–166. See also the introduction to this collection of essays.

<sup>47</sup> Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, *Evangelisches Handbüchlein / Darinnen Unwiderleglich / Auß einiger Heiliger Schrift erwiesen wird / Wie der genandten Lutherischen Glaub / recht / Catholisch: Der Böpstler aber Lehr / im grund irrig / und wider das helle Wort Gottes sey. Zu rettung der Himlischen Warheit ... Mit einer Vorrede / der Ehrwürdigen Theologischen Facultet zu Leipzig* (Leipzig: Voigt, 1603). He republished Polykarp Leyer the Elder's *Eine wichtige / vnd in diesen gefährlichen Zeiten sehr nützliche Frag: Ob / wie / vnd warumb man lieber mit den Papisten gemeinschaft haben / vnd gleichsam mehr vertrauen zu ihnen trage solle / denn mit / vnd zu den Calvinisten* (Leipzig: Lamberg and Kloseman, 1620). See also Hotson's remarks on Lutheran Anti-irenicism in his "Irenicism," 245–51.

<sup>48</sup> Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg *Augenscheinliche Prob Wie die Calvinisten in Neun vnd Neuntzig Punkten mit den Arrianern vnd Türken vbereinstimmen* (Leipzig: Lamberg, 1621). The concept of the two Antichrists, the greater and lesser, Pope and Islam respectively, can already be found in Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558), is maintained by Johann Gerhard and Abraham Calov, and is still articulated by the late Pomeranian dogmatician, David Hollaz (1648–1713). Nevertheless, a number of Lutherans like Hieronymus Weller (1499–1572), Leonard Hutter, and Johann Andreas Quenstedt (1617–88) were opposed to it. See Hans Preuss, *Die Vorstellungen vom Antichrist im späteren Mittelalter, bei Luther und in der konfessionellen Polemik* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1906), 245–47; Calov, *Systema*, 8:464–75. Regarding Calvinism's relation to the Oriental Anti-Christ, Hoë von Hoënegg wrote a letter to Count Joachim Andreas von Schlick after Friedrich V of the Palatinate accepted the Bohemian crown. Herein he states, "O wie schad, o wie schad, umb so viel Edle Länder, dass sie alle dem Calvinismo in den Rachen sollen gesetzt werden, vom Occidentalischen Antichrist sich loß reißen, und den Orientalischen dafür bekommen, ist in warheit ein schlechter vorthail," cited in Hans Dieter Hertrampf, "Höe von Hoënegg—sächsischer Oberhofprediger 1613–1645," *Herbergen der Christenheit* (1969): 137. See also See Leyser, *Eine wichtige*, 9. In short, Lutheran charges that an affinity exists between Calvinism and Islam are quite pervasive at this time even outside of Electoral Saxony. See also Bodo Nishan, "Lutheran Confessionalization, Preaching, and



rebels or remain neutral, but must assist the emperor against the Calvinists, who threatened the imperial constitution and the true Lutheran religion.<sup>49</sup> Finally, Hoë von Hoënegg sought to expand Electoral Saxony's role of theological oversight in Lutheranism. He himself claimed this role for Electoral Saxony following the Calvinization of Brandenburg,<sup>50</sup> and cultivated it by initiating and presiding over eight Saxon theological conventions (1621–29). It was at a 1621 conference where the Majoristic and Calvinizing charges against Cornelius Martini and Georg Calixt first came to Electoral Saxon attention. Three years later his conference produced the *Decisio Saxonica* (1624), which resolved the Crypto-Kenotic Controversy between the Tübingen and Giessen theological faculties.<sup>51</sup>

### **The Colloquy of Thorn to the Saxon *Admonitio Fraterna***

Georg Calixt's challenge to Lutheran identity reached critical mass at the Colloquy of Thorn and in its aftermath. Lutheranism first reached Poland through German-speaking urban centers along the Baltic Sea and the Duchy of Prussia, the first Lutheran state. Soon the

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the Devil," in *Lutherans and Calvinist in the Age of Confessionalism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), VII:1–20.

<sup>49</sup> See the Wittenberg theologians' Conversion of St. Paul, 1620 "Ob ein Stand des H. Römischen Reichs nicht billig Bedencken haben soll / wider seine Glaubens / Genossen Käiserlicher Maj. assistenz zu leisten?" in *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum*, ed. Georg Dedeken, Johann Ernst Gerhard, and Christian Grübel (Jena: Hertel, 1671), New Appendix: 747–50; Hoë von Hoënegg penned his anonymous *Deutliche vnd gründliche Außführung dreyer jetzo nochnötiger vnd gantz wichtiger Fragen: I. Ob einiger Evangelischer Chur- oder Fürst / Gewissenshalben verbunden gewesen / denen Herren Böhmen beyzusetzen? II. Ob einiger recht Evangelischer Chur- oder Fürst / mit gutem gewissen, dem Römischen Kayser in jetzigem Krieg / assistenz leisten können vnd sollen? III. Ob ein Christlicher Evangelischer Chur- oder Fürst / (zumal auff ordentlichen Beruff / von seinem Häupt / deme er Pflicht zugethan) mit gutem Gewissen / Fug / Recht / vnd Nutz / lieber Neutral bleiben / vnd keinem Theil beystehen solle, oder nicht?* (n.p.: n.p., 1620). See also Sommer, "Matthias Hoe," 148; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 409; Ludwig Schwabe, "Kursächsische Kirchenpolitik im dreißigjährigen Kriege (1619 bis 1622)," *Neuen Archivs für Sächsische Geschichte* 11 (1890): 282–318.

<sup>50</sup> Bodo Nischan writes, "Hoe was determined to make Saxony, the cradle of the Reformation, the bastion and leader of Lutheran orthodoxy. 'We evangelical theologians here in Saxony,' he observed once, '... owe it to God to rescue and proclaim his Word against all false beliefs and heretics wherever these may be found.'" See Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, *Wolgegründete vnd zuvörderst denen Evangelischen Christen in der Chur vnd Mark Brandenburg zu nothwendiger nachricht verfertigte Verantwortung* (Leipzig, 1614), 16, cited in Nischan, *Reformed Irenicism*, XIII:12. See also the Wittenberg theology professor, Caspar Schmidt, who penned eight sermons in 1641 that compared Wittenberg with Jerusalem, *Wittenbergisches Jerusalem / Das ist: Vergleichung Wittenberg mit der Stadt Jerusalem: In acht Predigten dargethan / in der Pfarrkirchen zu Wittenberg* (Wittenberg: Röhner, 1641).

Reformed and Bohemian Brethren made inroads too. With the exception of the Ducal Prussian Lutherans, who were bound to the 1567 *Corpus Doctrinae Prutenicum (Repetitio corporis doctrinae ecclesiasticae)*,<sup>52</sup> the Royal Prussian Lutherans, Polish Calvinists, and Polish Bohemian Brethren produced the 1570 *Consensus Sandomiriensis*. It confessed their mutual orthodoxy in fundamental doctrine, functioned as a united front against a resurgent Roman Catholicism, and bolstered their rights and status as "dissidents" in Poland.<sup>53</sup> The support of King Sigismund III (1566–1632) of the House of Vasa for the Counter-Reformation, however, turned the tide against Polish Protestantism. Royal Prussian Lutheran dissatisfaction with the *Consensus Sandomiriensis*, the Calvinists' exploitation of it, and the publication of the *Book of Concord*, moreover, ensured that the 1595 General Synod of Thorn (modern Toruń, Poland) would be the last time the Polish Lutherans would reaffirm it.<sup>54</sup> Finally, the 1613 conversion of the Brandenburg elector and Prussian Duke, Johann Sigismund of the House of Hohenzollern (1572–1619) to Calvinism and his reaffirmation of only three Lutherans symbols (*Augsburg Confession, Apology, and Repetitio corporis doctrinae Christianae*) in his 1609 Prussian

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<sup>51</sup> Dörner, *History*, 2:197; Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 3, 243–45.

<sup>52</sup> While Margrave Georg Friedrich, the estates, and 310 Ducal Prussian clergymen signed the FC along with their Brandenburg counterparts, the University of Königsberg did not. The Calvinist Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg omitted the FC in his 1609 Prussian privileges. Thus the *Corpus Doctrinae Prutenicum* largely functioned as the standard authority in Ducal Prussia. See BC, Preface (BSLK [15] 762); *Concordia*; Christoph Hartknoch, *Preussische Kirchen-Historia / Darinnen Von Einführung der Christlichen Religion in diese Lande / wie auch von der Conservation, Fortpflanzung / Reformation und dem heutigen Zustande derselben ausführlich gehandelt wird* (Frankfurt: Beckenstein, 1686), 479, 487–89, 512–13. The *Corpus Doctrinae Prutenicum* bound the Ducal Prussians to the CA, Ap, SA, SC, LC, and the 1567 *Repetitio corporis doctrinae Christianae. Oder Wiederholung der Summa und inhalt der rechten, allgemeynen, Christlichen Kirchen lehre*, written by Joachim Mörlin and Martin Chemnitz. See Robert Kolb, "The Braunschweig Resolution: The *Corpus Doctrinae Prutenicum* of Joachim Mörlin and Martin Chemnitz as an Interpretation of Wittenberg Theology," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor of Bodo Nischan*, ed. John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 67–89.

<sup>53</sup> Dariusz Petkunas, "The *Consensus of Sandomierz*: An Early Attempt to Create a Unified Protestant Church in the 16th Century Poland and Lithuania," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 73 (2009): 317–46.

<sup>54</sup> Brigitte Poschmann, "Königlich Preußen, Ermland," in *Der Nordosten*, vol. 2 of *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, ed. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990), 220–33; Paul Knoll, "Poland," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the*

privileges brought about fierce opposition by the Ducal Prussian Lutherans (not to mention the Brandenburg Lutherans) and the University of Königsberg or the *Albertina* (1544, modern Калининград, Russia). This was only compounded by Johann Sigismund's policy of religious tolerance after his Lutheran subjects refused to convert and his subsequent efforts to promote a unique brand of 1530 *Augsburg Confession*-affiliated Hohenzollern court Calvinism in his very conservative Lutheran lands.<sup>55</sup> Since the Hohenzollern policy of religious tolerance and state building threatened the Ducal Prussian Lutherans, they used the 1569 Union of Lublin's (*Unia lubelska*) prohibition of all non-adherents of the *Augsburg Confession* (Roman Catholicism notwithstanding) in Ducal Prussia to hold off the advance of Calvinism into the duchy as well as attempted through their supreme authority, the King of Poland, to assert their independence from the Hohenzollerns.<sup>56</sup>

The rise of King Sigismund III's son, Władysław IV of Poland (1595–1648), to the throne marked a new era of tolerance. But his Lutheran-born privy council secretary, Bartholomäus Nigrinus (1595–1646), who had been converted from Calvinism to Roman Catholicism by

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*Reformation*, vol. 3, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 285–88.

<sup>55</sup> Iselin Gundermann, "Herzogtum Preußen," in *Der Nordosten*, vol. 2 of *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, ed. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990), 220–33; Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 512–13. The 1614 "Confessio Fidei Ioannis Sigismundi, Electoris Brandenburgici," in *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum*, ed. H. A. Niemeyer (Leipzig: Klinkhardt, 1840), 642–52, defined Hohenzollern Calvinism as a continuation and completion of the Lutheran Reformation. It affiliated itself with the 1530 CA (albeit with its later improvements), professed an unconditional election (albeit with a desire to save all men), and rejected any attempt to coerce Lutheran subjects into Calvinism. For a study of the development of the Hohenzollern religious policy of mutual Protestant toleration if the Calvinization of their lands was unattainable, see Nischan, *Prince*; Bodo Nischan, "The Palatinate and Brandenburg's 'Second Reformation,'" in *Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of Confessionalism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), VIII:303–18; Bodo Nischan, "Confessionalism and Absolutism: the Case of Brandenburg," in *Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of Confessionalism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), X:181–204.

<sup>56</sup> The July 19, 1569 *Privilegium Lublinense* guaranteed the Prussian estates, "Ut Augustanae confessionis doctrina incorrupta servata, omnia alia peregrina dogmata et haeresium genera quae post Augustanam confessionem exorta, quaeque ab ea sunt aliena non modo non ferantur, sed penitus prohibeantur et aboleantur." See Mathias Dogiel, *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Poloniae* (Vilnius: Piar, 1758–64), 4:345. See also Walther Hubatsch, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche Ostpreussens* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), 3:122–28; Karen Friedrich, *Brandenburg-Prussia, 1466–1806* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 36–42.

Valerian Magni, a Capuchin irenicist and opponent of Jesuit Neo-Scholasticism, won the king for his plan to reunite the Polish Protestants with Roman Catholicism. So King Władysław IV and Maciej Łubieński (1572–1652), the Primate of Poland and Archbishop of Gniezno, began inviting the confessions of Poland and the bordering provinces to take part in the "Colloquy of Charity" (*Colloquium caritativum*) or Colloquy of Thorn in order to achieve this end. The colloquy ultimately occurred from August 28 to November 21, 1645.<sup>57</sup>

Like most Protestants, Georg Calixt recognized that the colloquy was intended to return them to the fold of Roman Catholicism. Still he sought to contribute to this foreign colloquy because he could not pass up such an opportunity to put his irenic ideas into practice. First, Calixt sent a copy of his 1644/5 *Responsvm Maledicis Theologorum Moguntinorum Pro Romani Pontificis Infallibilitate Praeceptoqve Commvniionis Svb Vna Vindiciis Oppositvm* to Danzig (modern *Gdańsk*, Poland), where his close friend, Vincenz Fabricius, was *Syndikus*. He did this to help them prepare for the colloquy.<sup>58</sup> Next, Calixt gathered the invitations to the colloquy, including the king's most recent one, suggesting foreign theologians could contribute. He added

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<sup>57</sup> The invitations and correspondence are reprinted in Calov, *Historia*, 199–229. The *Acta Thoruniensia* are reprinted in Calov, *Historia*, 230–560. See also Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 934–57; Franz Jacobi, "Das liebeiche Religionsgespräch zu Thorn 1645," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 15 (1895): 345–63, 485–560; Edmund Piszcz, *Colloquium Charitativum w Toruniu A. D. 1645* (Geneza i przebieg, Toruń, 1995); 61–82; Hans Joachim Müller, "Irenik als Kommunikationsreform in Umfeld des Thorner Colloquium Charitativum von 1645," in *Union—Konversion—Toleranz. Dimensionen der Annäherung zwischen den christlichen Konfessionen im 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Heinz Duchhardt and Gerhard May (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 61–82; Janusz Mattek, "Die Sehnsuch nach Einheit. Das Colloquium Charitativum in Thorn im Jahre 1645," in *Kulturgeschichte Preußens königlich polnischen Anteils in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Sabine Beckmann and Klaus Garber (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001), 213–26; Hans-Joachim Müller, *Irenik als Kommunikationsreform. Das Colloquium Charitativum von Thorn 1645* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); Howard Louthan, "From Rudolfine Prague to Vasa Poland: Valerian Magni and the Twilight of Irenicism in Central Europe," in *Conciliation and Confession. The Struggle for Unity in the Age of Reform, 1415–1648*, ed. Howard P. Louthan and Randall C. Zachman (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 199–227; Dingel, "Religionsgespräche," 28:663.

<sup>58</sup> Calixt's September 21, 1644 letter to the Danzig council is reprinted in Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Ll iii–Mm. See also Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 73; Inge Mager, "Brüderlichkeit und Einheit: Georg Calixt und das Thorner Religionsgespräch 1645," in *Thorn. Königing der Weichsel 1231–1981*, eds. Bernhart Jähning und Peter Letkemann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 209–38. Calov says that Calixt was "der Meynung / man würde da eine geistliche Vereinigung mit den Reformirten und Pabstlern treffen und eingehen / wie er sich denn bey E. E. Raht zu Dantzig deßwegen angemeldet / ob er mit ihren Theologen könnte dahin geschicket werden...." See Calov,

his own appendix and published them in his *Scripta Facientia Ad Colloqvium* to propagate it and seek appointment to it. The appendix asserts the fundamental unity of the three confessions in the creed, calls for a return to the *consensus antiquitatis*, and discusses some of the parameters necessary to make this first step toward reconciliation fruitful.<sup>59</sup> But Calixt's involvement was opposed by the heads of the Danzig Lutheran ministerium, Johann Botsach (1600–1674), Abraham Calov (1612–1686), Johann Mochinger (1603–52), and Johann Fabricius (1608–53). They objected to the *Responsvm Maledicis Theologorum Moguntinorum Pro Romani Pontificis Infallibilitate Praeceptoqve Commvniionis Svb Vna Vindiciis Oppositvm's* syncretism, its promotion of the irenic theology of Marco Antonio de Dominis, and its assertion that the three confessions are brothers. The Danzigers regarded Calixt to be a Philippist. They charged him with doctrinal breaches on the Trinity and deity of Christ in the Old Testament, holy communion, and the baptism of St. John as well.<sup>60</sup> To be sure, even the zealous Prussian Lutherans, like all Orthodox Lutherans, were very much in favor of church union on the basis of real doctrinal agreement in the articles of the faith. This is why they could not accept Calixtine Lutheranism. What is more, they came to regard it as a new religious party. In their estimation, it

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*Historia*, 561.

<sup>59</sup> Georg Calixt, *Scripta Facientia Ad Colloqvium A Serenissimo Et Potentissimo Poloniae Rege Vladislao IV Torvnii In Borvssia Ad Diem X Octobris Gregoriani In Anno MDCXLIV Indictvm, Et Deinde Vsque In Annvm Seqventem Diemque XXIX Avgvsti Dilatvm* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1645); Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, Ll.

<sup>60</sup> "Satis apparet e literis Archi-Episcopi Moguntini ad Augustum Ducem Lunaeburgensem praefat. A. 3. D. Calixtum id consilium dedisse, (quod & aliunde jam constat) ut concordia, vel potius syncretismus ineatur cum Pontificiis.... Expendi velim E. 3. & seq. iudicium M. Antotonii de Dominis." See their November 15, 1644 *Gutachten* reprinted in Abraham Calov, *Nöthige Ablehnung, Etlicher injurien / falschen aufflagen / und bezüchtigungen / Damit D. Calixtus ihn D. Calovium hat belegen und angiessen wollen / sambt Nützlicher Entdeckung / unterschiedener anderer Calixtinischen guten Wercke / Zu steuer der Warheit / und rettung seines guten Namens. Mit Consens und approbation der Theologischen Facultet in Wittenberg / ausgefertigt* (Wittenberg: Hartmann, 1651), 31–35. In response to Calixt's, "Quod nos & Pontificii simus filii Patris, membra Christi, fratres concorporales," they responded, "Quae vero communio Christo cum Belial, inquit Apostolus." See Calov, *Nöthige*, 34. They further wrote, "A quo zelo quanto abit longius Calixtus, tanto accedit propius ad tepiditatem Philippicam, qualis praesertim ea fuit post fata B. Lutheri." See Calov, *Nöthige*, 34. For Calov's assessment of Melanchthon, see Appold, "Das Melanchthonbild," 71–79. For Orthodox Lutheran thought on the Trinity and deity of Christ in the Old Testament, see Preus, *The Theology*, 2:131–38, 142–44. The fact that the

did not adhere to the *Augsburg Confession* or the doctrinal standards of the other legal confessions in Poland, much less the empire.<sup>61</sup>

Calixt never directed a tome against Abraham Calov, but Calixt found his intellectual match and greatest adversary in Calov, the Prussian theologian and *Vice-Moderator Theologorum Augustanae Confessionis* at the Colloquy of Thorn.<sup>62</sup> While this self-professed "ready athlete of Christ" (*strenuus Christi athleta*) considered himself chiefly to be a biblical theologian, Calov's friends dubbed him a pious "Second Athanasius." In contrast his foes regarded the oft-married Calov to be a Lutheran pope, who daily prayed, "Fill me, O God, with the hatred of heretics" (*Imple me, Deus, odio haereticorum*).<sup>63</sup> Far more than "the prototype of the Orthodox Lutheran polemicist," Calov was "the father of Lutheran Late Orthodoxy," a proponent of an "Anti-Scholastic 'Scholasticism'" (i.e., "he situates his theological work in the

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Danzigers first raised this issue against Calixt is not surprising given the prevalence of Socinianism around them.

<sup>61</sup> Calov, *Historia*, Unnumbered Introduction, First Preliminary Chapter, and Second Preliminary Chapter.

<sup>62</sup> Johann Mayer, *Der Biß in seinen todt Gottfürchtende Abraham / unserer Zeit / Der Magnificus, Hochwürdige / Wohl Edle und Hochgelahrte Herr D. Abraham Calovius, Umb die gantze Evangelische Kirche Höchstverdienstester Theologus, der Heil. Schrift dey dieser Hoben Schule Hochberühmtester Professor Primarius, der Theologischen Facultät Hochansehnlicher Senior, und dieser Zeit Decanus, des Churfürstlichen Consistorii Hochbestalter Assessor, der Stadt-Kirchen treufleissiger Pastor, und des Chur-Kreyses Hochverordneter Superintendentens Generalis, ward zum Exampel heiliger Nachfolge Seinen geistlichen Kindern / ja allen Heiligen und Geliebten Gottes / als man dessen Gott-geheiligten Leichnam Den IV. Martii, dieses 1686. Jahrs / In der Pfarr-Kirchen Bey überausgrosser Versammlung zur Ruhe bracht* (Wittenberg: Schultzen, 1687). This funeral sermon by Calov's later Wittenberg colleague is bound with his *Curriculum Vitae, B. D. D. Abrahami Calovii* (n.p.: n.p., n.d); Conrad Schurzfleisch, *Oratio Quam In Funere Caloviano* (n.p.: n.p., n.d); Johann Mayer, *D. O. M. S. Vitae Parallelae Athanasiorum, Alterius Alexandrinae Urbis seculo IV. Episcopi, Arianorum mallei, Alterius Nostro seculo Orthodoxiae Vindicis incomparabilis & Assertoris Summi Abrahami Calovii, S.S. Theol. Doct. & in Acad. Vitembergensi Prof. P. Primarii, Electi, Sax. Superintend. Generalis, Facult. Theol. & Consist. Ecclesiast. Senioris Ipsa, qui magno Heroinalis fuerat, die in publica panegyri nomine Collegii Theologici in Academia Vitemb. Solemniter recitatae nunc Immortali Divi Calovii memoriae consecratae* (n.p.: n.p., n.d). See also Bethge "Epistolae," 22–68.

<sup>63</sup> Calov, *Systema*, 1:Preface; Jung, *Das Ganze*, 7–10, 310–12; Mayer, *Vitae Parallelae Athanasiorum*. Tholuck attributed this prayer to the Halle law professor, Christian Thomasius (1655–1738). See Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 209. Two years before his death a 72-year-old Calov, who had already been married five times and had thirteen children, married the daughter of his younger colleague, Johann Andreas Quenstedt. See Tholuck, *Das akademischen*, 2:143–44, Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 192–99. Gotthold Lessing wrote, "So viele, die auch Christen sind. Freilich nicht Wittenbergische-Lutherische Christen, freilich nicht Christen von Calovs Gnaden," cited in Jung, *Das Ganze*, 2. Tholuck also marshals forth a chain of less than savory names for Calov, such as the "heißblütigen Zionswächter," "lutherischen Torquemada," "Großinquistor," and "Mann von Stahl und Eisen." See Tholuck, *Der*

tradition of the Church Fathers and humanist theology ... " but still "recommends a '*moderatum Scholasticorum Theologorum studium*' ['guided study of the Scholastic Theologians'] with regard to the controversies"), "one of the most unique minds" of seventeenth-century German scholastic metaphysics, a "man of deep piety and warm devotional life," and "one of the best among the Lutheran exegetes" according to "the father of higher criticism," Richard Simon (1638–1712).<sup>64</sup> Kenneth Appold goes so far as to say that Calov not only "remains perhaps the single most prolific protestant theologian of all time, and one of the most influential figures of his time," but also his "texts emerge, after detailed study, as immensely rich pieces of work, both strikingly original and ahead of their time when viewed from a contemporary perspective."<sup>65</sup>

On April 16, 1612 Abraham Calov (Kalau) was born into a devout and learned household of an electoral notary (*Ampt-Schreiber*) in Mohrunge, Ducal Prussia (modern Morąg, Poland). There he and his older brother, Fabian, who would later hold the office of the Supreme-secretariat (*Ober-Secretariat*) of Ducal Prussia, began their elementary education. Despite having to overcome a speech impediment, Calov was gifted and hard-working. In 1624 a twelve-year-old Abraham followed his older brother to the celebrated Royal Prussian Gymnasium of Thorn, where he received a superb almost university-like humanist, Aristotelian, and scientific formation.<sup>66</sup> But before long, plague forced him home. There Calov diligently studied "rhetoric,

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*Geist*, 202, 209, 229; Tholuck, *Das akademischen*, 2:143.

<sup>64</sup> Johannes Wallmann, "Abraham Calov (1612–1686)," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–2004), 7:568; Appold, "Abraham Calov als Vater," 49–58; Ulrich Leinsle, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*, trans. Michael Miller (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2010), 306–7; Wundt, *Die deutsche*, 134; Robin Leaver, *J. S. Bach and Scripture: Glosses from the Calov Bible Commentary* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1985), 23; Hoffmann, "Lutherische," 137. See also Preus, *The Theology*, 1:59–61, 157–228; Appold, "Abraham Calov on the 'Usefulness,'" 295–312.

<sup>65</sup> Appold, *Abraham Calov's Doctrine*, preface. Calov wrote over 500 tomes! The largest collection is at the Biblioteka Gdńska PAN. See also Walter Menn, "Ein Kupfertitel als Personalbibliographie," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1958): 194–96.

<sup>66</sup> Mayer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1–3. Calov said, "Vita & Studium Theologorum nequaquam est otium; sed negotiorum negotium." See his *I. N. J. Isagoges Ad SS. Theologiam Libri Duo, De Natura Theologiae, Et Methodo*

logic, and elements of philosophy, as well as Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac," in addition to all that he had learned in Thorn. In 1625 he entered the Ducal Prussian Gymnasium of Königsberg (*Alt-Städtische Schule*), where he made "very good progress in the languages and the arts" (*sehr gute progressus in lingvis & artibus*), until plague forced him home once again. And yet the fourteen-year-old Abraham had made such progress that he matriculated at the University of Königsberg on an electoral and Prussian estate stipend in 1626, and became proficient in the humanities (*humanioribus studiis*), philology, philosophy, even mathematics and botany. He graduated with a master's degree in 1632.<sup>67</sup> He then joined the philosophical faculty, began lecturing, and commenced his study of theology under the two ordinary theology professors, Johann Behm (1578–1648) and Coelestin Myslenta (1588–1653). They were among the most militant Ducal Prussian opponents of the Hohenzollern religious policy, albeit the former would ultimately capitulate to it. The Polish Lutheran Orientalist and Anti-Calvinist, Myslenta, who taught Calov the theology of the *Corpus Doctrinae Prutenicum*, had a significant impact on him.<sup>68</sup> At this juncture, Abraham Calov penned his first theological work, the 1635 *Stereoma testamenti Christi*, against the attack on the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence by Johann

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*Studii Theologici, Pie, Dextre, Ac Feliciter Tractandi, Cum examine Methodi Calixtinae* (Wittenberg: Hartmann, 1666), 1:18. See also Henryk Porożyński and Stefan Rudnik, "Lutheran Secondary School in the 16th and 17th Century Pomerania (Thorn, Elbing)," in *Luther and Melancthon in the Educational Thought in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Reinhard Golz and Wolfgang Mayrhofer (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1998), 139–45; Lech Mokrzejki, "Protestant Grammar Schools of Royal Prussia in the Polish School System in the 16th and 17th Centuries," in *Kulturgeschichte Preußens königlich polnischen Anteils in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Sabine Beckmann and Klaus Garber (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001), 359–70; Stanisław Salmonowicz, "Das protestantische Gymnasium Academicum in Thorn im 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Kulturgeschichte Preußens königlich polnischen Anteils in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Sabine Beckmann and Klaus Garber (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001), 395–410; Karen Friedrich, *The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland, and Liberty, 1559–1772* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 71–96.

<sup>67</sup> Mayer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 3–4; Georg Erler and Erich Joachim, eds. *Die Matrikel der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1910–17), 1:292. The dean of the philosophy faculty and professor of history, Sigismund Weier (1579–1661), with whom Calov lived, said of him at his graduation, "Nondum complesti qui bis duo lustra, Magister Audis, post quintum non mihi Doctor eris?" See Mayer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 4.

<sup>68</sup> Iselin Gundermann, "Coelestin Myslenta. Luthertum und Calvinismus in Preußen," *Altpreußische Geschlechterkunde* 13 (1982): 112–33. Wallmann calls him "ein Calov vor Calov." See Wallmann, "Abraham



Bergius (1587–1658), Hohenzollern court-preacher and Calvinist irenicist. This treatise ensured Calov's early status as a fellow Prussian Lutheran opponent of Calvinization and won him admirers among the Lutheran nobles, who funded his doctoral studies.<sup>69</sup> Calov entered the Mecklenburg University of Rostock in 1634 as a philosophy professor and doctoral student. There Calov and Christian Dreier, his former Pomeranian friend and later syncretistic opponent, lived with Johann Quistorp the Elder (1584–1648), with whom Calov had formed a strong bond. In 1635 he conducted a series of disputations on nearly every article of the *Augsburg Confession*. This series of disputations, like much of Calov's *opera*, began as disputations, but eventually were turned into a published tome. In a later expanded edition of these disputations, Calov explains against Calixt why the *Augsburg Confession* as well as new symbols are necessary:

1. The emperor required a distinct and clear confession of faith. Such, therefore, had been drawn together by a divine mandate. I Peter 3:15. 2. They [Lutherans] were not able through the repetition of the old symbols alone to distinguish in a sufficiently clear manner their doctrine from papist errors. The papists also received the old symbols. Therefore, a common confession is not able or proper to be recommended [as a basis for church union]. 3. They are not able to separate themselves from the sects by such repetition, inasmuch as the Zwingilians protest that they have received the symbols. 4. In the ancient church, new professions were published as often as controversies arose. The Council of Jerusalem in Acts 15, the Council of Nicaea, and others teach this. If a *locus* for Calixtine practice has been [found], they can merely appeal to Scripture. 5. A false hypothesis is posited as if all the articles of the faith are contained in these symbols, and that these symbols adequately distinguish what is catholic from what is heretical. We refute this in [Calov's] *Syncretismus Calixtinus* postul. I. & II. It does not hinder [anything] that we set forth symbols at the Colloquy of Thorn as a profession of our faith, to which Dr. Calixt objects. They set forth not only the *Augsburg Confession*, but also additional positions, suitable to the time and state of the modern church.<sup>70</sup>

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Calov," 7:564.

<sup>69</sup> Abraham Calov, *In Nomine Jesu! Stereoma Sacratiffimae Testatoris Christi Voluntatis De Substantiali Praesentia Et Orali Perceptione Corporis & Sanguinis Sui In S. S. Eucharistia ad solidiam skoliodoxi,aj Zvinglianae confutationem & Fundamentalem yeudoserew,matoj Antesignani Reformatorum hodie celeberrimi D. Johannis Bergii, eversionem* (Rostock: Reusner, 1635).

<sup>70</sup> These Rostock disputations were expanded and republished in 1655. See Abraham Calov, *I. N. J. Exegema Augustanae Confessionis, Articulos Fidei Succincte Exponens, Et Adversus Varios, Imprimis Modernos Errores,*

Calov also distinguished himself at Rostock as one of the foremost Lutheran philosophers, who used philosophy in service of the Church of the *Augsburg Confession*.<sup>71</sup> One of his students included Carolus Lithman (1612–86), the later Uppsala theology professor and Bishop of Strängnäs. Since war prevented him from his hope of further study with Johann Gerhard at Jena or at Wittenberg, he visited the Universities of Greifswald and Copenhagen in 1636. He returned to Rostock and received his doctorate in 1637.<sup>72</sup> That same year, he became an adjunct to the

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*Statu Controversiae Accvrate Constituto, Cum Expressis Scripturae Testimoniis, Tum Immotis Consequentiis Demonstrans, Eademque Ab Exceptionibus Potioribus Vindicans*, 2nd ed. (Wittenberg: Borckard, 1665), Dedication. Herein Calov argues for the necessity of the CA against Georg Calixt: "Nam (1.) requirebatur a C. M. Confessio distincta & aperta fidei. Talis ergo adducenda erat, tenore mandati divini. 1. Petr. 3.15. (2.) Non poterant per solam repetitionem veterum symbolorum suam doctrinam luculenter satis a Papistarum erroribus discriminare. Nam & Papistae recipiunt vetera symbola. Quae ergo confessio communis est, ea non poterat ceu propria venditari 3. Nec a Sectariis sese illa repetitione separare poterant; siquidem & Zvingliani protestentur sese symbola recipere. 4. In primitiva Ecclesia nova professio edita fuit, quandocunque Controversiae enatae sunt. Quod Concilium ipsum Hierosolymitanum Act. XV. Concilium Nicenum, & alia docent. Si Calixtinae prudentiae locus fuisset, ad Scripturam tantum provocare potuissent. 5. Supponitur falsa hypothesis, quasi in Symbolis illis omnia credenda contineantur, iisque adaequate discernantur Catholici a quibusvis haereticis, quam profligavimus in Syncret. Calixt. postul. I. & II. Neque obstat, quod in Colloquio Thoruniensi a nobis Symbola illa proposita sint in professione fidei nostrae, quod objicit D. Calixtus. Nam proposita sunt, sed non sola, verum cum August. Confessione: & positiones praeterea speciales exhibitae, statui Ecclesiae modernae & temporis accommodatae." Calov, *Exegema*, D 2. Calov also insists that the ecumenical creeds do not condemn all "heresies," and asserts that a hypothetical subscription is meaningless because it can even be made of the Koran. See also Calov, *Exegema*, B 3ff.

<sup>71</sup> Calov's philosophical writings from this era were later reworked and republished. Abraham Calov, *Scripta Philosophica, I. Gnostologia. II Noologia, Seu Habitus Intelligentiae. III. Metaphysicae Divinae Pars Generalis. IV. Metaphysicae Divinae Pars Specialis. V. Encyclopedia Mathematica. VI. Methodo Docendi Et Disputandi. VII. Idea Encyclopedias Disciplinarum Realium, Philosophiam Universam, Facultates Superiores, Ut Et Logicam Repraesentantes. Quae partim primun nunc prodeunt, diu multumque desiderata. Partim revisa & locupletata, ita exhibentur, ut non minus SS. Theologiae, quam accuratioris Philosophiae cultoribus insigni usui esse queant, simulque abusum, ac Sophismata varia Socinianorum Calvinianorum & Pontificiorum solide refellant* (Rostock: Wilde, 1651). Although developed from the work of the Königsberg philosopher, Georg Gutke (1589–1634), Riccardo Pozzo and others call Calov's *Gnostologia* and *Noologia* "sehr positiven Beitrag." He goes on to say, "Während Calixt den reinen Aristotelismus von Jacopo Zabarella (1533–1589) vertrat, bewegte sich Calovs *Gnostologia* im Anschluß an den platonisch gefärbten Aristotelismus von Francesco Piccolomini (1520–1604) insofern in einer eklektischen Richtung, als sie die neuplatonische proódos von der techné zum nous einbezieht, und dies in krassen Gegensatz zum reinen Aristotelismus, der am Primat der epistéme festhielt." See his "Aristotelismus und Eklektik in Königsberg," in *Die Universität Königsberg in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Hanspeter Marti and Manfred Komorowski (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2008), 175. See also Appold, *Abraham Calov's Doctrine*, 37–44; Sparr, "Die Schulphilosophie," 571–77.

<sup>72</sup> Adolph Hofmeister and Ernst Schäfer, eds. *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock* (Rostock and Schwerin: In Commission der Stillerschen Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung and Bärensprungsche Hofbuchdruckerei, 1889–1922), 3:IX, 3:98, 3:111. See also Abraham Calov, *Dissertationes Theologicae Rostochienses in Quibus Praecipue Diligenter Agitur* (Rostock: Hallerford, 1637), which shows his life-long concern with defending the Trinity against Socinians and later the Syncretists. Calov has rightly been called the greatest Orthodox Lutheran defender of the Trinity.

theological faculty in Königsberg. As a result of Thirty Years' War, it had become the fifth most attended German university between 1620 and 1700 and the most frequented between 1641 and 1645 because it was free of the horrors of the Thirty Years' War.<sup>73</sup> For this reason, as well as the growing popularity of his lectures, Calov had a significant impact on many of the students of the day, including Zacharias Klingius (1610–71), the later General-superintendent and chancellor of Dorpat and Bishop of Göteborg. When he received a call to the University of Rostock in 1639, the Calvinist Elector, Georg Wilhelm (1595–1640), ironically even held him and his preaching in such high esteem that he intervened and raised him to extraordinary professor of theology at Königsberg in 1639/40. Calov served the theological faculty twice as dean, helped revise its statutes, and served as a superintendent of the Samland.<sup>74</sup> In 1643 he took a call to the poly-confessional Royal Prussian city of Danzig to serve as the pastor of Trinity church, which he shared with the Reformed, and as the rector of its famous humanist gymnasium (*Athenaei Gedanensis*), where he had to overcome the influence of one its famed former Calvinist rectors, Bartholomäus Keckermann (1571/3–1609).<sup>75</sup> In Danzig, Calov served the city ministerium's senior, Johann Botsach, as his right hand man in establishing Lutheran dominion over a city that had been largely controlled by the Reformed.<sup>76</sup> According to Wallmann, Calov wrote very little

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<sup>73</sup> Erler, *Die Matrikel*, 1:CXXIV–CXXXIII; 1:384–5; Eulenburg, *Die Frequenz*, 84ff, 100–103, 153.

<sup>74</sup> Mayer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 5–8; Erdmannsdorfer, *Urkunden*, 15:290–305. See also Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 598; Wallmann, "Abraham Calov—theologischer," 308.

<sup>75</sup> Theodor Hirsch, *Geschichte des akademischen Gymnasiums in Danzig, in ihren Hauptzügen dargestellt* (Danzig: Wedelschen Hofbuchdruckerei, 1837), 26–28; Wallmann, "Abraham," 7:565.

<sup>76</sup> Michael Müller, "Protestant Confessionalization in the Towns of Royal Prussia and the Practice of Religious Toleration," in *Toleration and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. Ole Grell and Bob Scribner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 262–81; Michael Müller, "Unionsstaat und Region in der Konfessionalisierung: Polen-Litauen und die großen Städte der Königlichen Preußen," in *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa: Wirkung des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur*, ed. Joachim Bahlcke and Arno Strohmeyer (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 123–38; Michael Müller, *Zweite Reformation und städtische Autonomie im Königlichen Preußen: Danzig, Elbing und Thorn in der Epoche der Konfessionalisierung (1557–1600)* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997); Hans-Joachim Müller, "Streiten und Herrschen: Konfessionelle Konflikte in Danzig zwischen 1630–1650," in *Debatten über die Legitimationen von Herrschaft: Politische*

Anti-Roman Catholic polemic because he was courting the Roman Catholic Polish King's protection of Prussian Lutheranism. Still the three foci of Calov's polemics began to emerge in Danzig, namely, clandestine Polish Socinianism (or Photinianer as Lutherans were apt to call them), Hohenzollern state-supported Calvinization, and soon Hohenzollern-backed Lutheran Syncretism.<sup>77</sup> As is already becoming apparent, these are the two main reasons why Calov's polemics against Calixtine theology were so ferocious apart from his industrious, relentless, and inflexible nature. First, he considered Calixt's Lutheran irenicism to be the new Trojan Horse of the Hohenzollern religious policy and state building, which had threatened his homeland ever since 1613.<sup>78</sup> Second, Calov lost close friends in the controversy to Calixtine theology such as the Königsberg theology professors, Michael Behm (1612–50) and Christian Dreier (1610–88).<sup>79</sup>

Since the Polish Protestants feared that they might now lose their rights or worse in the Colloquy of Thorn, the Bohemian Brethren tried to persuade their Polish Lutheran "brothers" at a conference in Leszno (April 1645) to put aside their differences and present a common front against Roman Catholicism. So the Polish Lutheran theologians and nobles contacted Elector

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*Sprachen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Luise Schorn-Schütte and Sven Tode (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006), 125–42.

<sup>77</sup> Wallmann, "Abraham Calov—theologischer," 307–8. See also Siegfried Wollgast, "Zur Widerspiegelung des Sozinianismus in der lutherischen Theologie und Schulmetaphysik im Reich, Danzig und Preussen in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Socinianism and its Role in the Culture of XVI-th to XVIII-th Centuries*, ed. Lech Szczucki, Zbigniew Ogonowski, and Janusz Tazbir (Warsaw–Łódz: Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, 1983), 157–68; Lech Mokrzejki, "Socinianismus in den Diskursen der Danziger Professoren im 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Socinianism and its Role in the Culture of XVI-th to XVIII-th Centuries*, ed. Lech Szczucki, Zbigniew Ogonowski, and Janusz Tazbir (Warsaw–Łódz: Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, 1983), 183–92; Appold, "Abraham Calovs Auseinandersetzung," 71–80.

<sup>78</sup> Baur, "Die Pflicht," 230–32; Wallmann, "Abraham Calov—theologischer," 303–11.

<sup>79</sup> Abraham Calov, "Digressio De Nova Theologia Helmstadio-Regiomontanorum Syncretistarum Georgii Calixti, Conradi Hornei, Michaelis Behmii, Christiani Dreieri, Iohan. Laternmanni ante Sexennium Parti primae Institutionum Theologicarum Dantisci editae subjuncta, Nunc cum praefatione tunc ad Illustres DDNN. Regentes, & Inclutos Status Ducatus Borussiae directa causas hujus tractationis exponente, Illustrandae materiae de Articulis Fidei, ob multorum desideria, hic repetita Abraham Calovi D. Anno MDCLV," in *Systema Locorum Theologicorum, E Sacra Potissimum Scriptura, & Antiquitate, Nec Non Adversariorum Confessione Doctrinam, Praxin & Controversiarum Fidei, Cum Veterum, Tum Imprimis Recentiorum, Pertractationem Luculentam Exhibens* (Wittenberg: Hartmann, 1655), 1:888; Moldaenke, "Christian Dreier," 5.

Johann Georg I of Saxony in order to obtain the opinion of the University of Wittenberg on the matter as well as to acquire a Leucorea theologian to counsel them at the colloquy.<sup>80</sup> The Wittenberg theologians answered that such a relationship with the Bohemian Brethren would be "Samaritan," "syncretistic," and contrary to the Bible on the grounds that there was no fundamental agreement between them. However, they did assert that a mere external political union could be possible.<sup>81</sup> While Hoë von Hoënegg and the supreme consistory advised against sending a faculty member to them, the Wittenberg faculty suggested that the theology professor, Johann Hülsemann (1602-1661), could lead the Polish Lutherans at the colloquy. The Saxon elector decided to send Hülsemann as the *Moderator Theologorum Augustanae Confessionis*, but at Polish Lutheran expense.<sup>82</sup>

In contrast to the more exegetical and historical approach to theology of Calixt and Calov, Johann Hülsemann was more philosophically and systematically inclined. He was born to a Lutheran superintendent in Esens, East Frisia. The advance of the Reformed and the Radicals

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<sup>80</sup> For the documents regarding the Polish Lutheran participation in the colloquy and with the Bohemian Brethren, see *Fortgesetzte Sammlung von Alten und Neuen Theologischen Sachsen, Bücher, Urkunden, Controversien, Veränderungen, Anmerkungen, Vorschlägen, u. d. g. Aur geheiligten Übung in beliebigem Beytrage Ertheilet Von Einigen Dienern des Göttlichen Wortes* (Leipzig: Jacobi, 1745), 319–33. For the Polish Lutherans' 1645 letter to the Saxon elector, see *Fortgesetzte*, 182–84. See also Johann Hülsemann, *Widerlegung Der Calvinischen Relation Vom Colloquio zu Thorn / Welche von Einem ungenannten Tockmäuser zur Vngebühr ausgesprengt worden* (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1646), 9–37; Theodor Wotschke, "Die Lutheraner Großpolens und das Thorner Religionsgespräch," *Deutsche wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Polen* 31 (1936): 31–79.

<sup>81</sup> "Aliter respondere non possumus quam coalitionem in fidei unitate ad unam constituendam Ecclesiam sine consensu in articulis fundamentabilis salvificam praesertim fidem generantibus locum habere plane non posse Syncretismus enim diversarum religionum in sacris prohibitis 2. Cor. 6, 14. 15." See "De Syncretismo Lutheranorum & Doctorum Bohemicae Confessionis contra Papistas, in Colloquio Thoruniensi," in *Consilia Theologica Witebergensia, Das ist / Wittenbergische Geistliche Rathschläge Deß theuren Mannes Gottes / D. Martini Lutheri, seiner Collegen, und treuen Nachfolger / von dem heiligen Reformation-Anfang / biß auff jetzige Zeit / in dem Namen der gesampten Theologischen Facultät außgestellte Urteil / Bedencken / und öffentliche Schrifften in Vier Theilen / von Religion-Lehr-und Glaubens-Ministerial und Kirchen-Moral-und Policey-Matrimonial-und Ehe-sachen / Und allerhand dabey vorfallenden Casibus Ordentlich zusammengebracht und zur Ehre Gottes / Erhaltung der reinen Lehre / und Nutz der Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirchen / auf vielfältiges Begehren abgefertigt von Der Theologischen Facultät daselbsten* (Frankfurt: Wust, 1664), 1:527, 531–34. For an overview of the Electoral Saxon, Königsberg, and Danzig Lutheran position against syncretism with the Reformed at the colloquy, see Müller, *Irenik*, 272–322.

<sup>82</sup> Wotschke, "Die Lutheraner," 40–79.

into his homeland as well as the Emden Revolution (1595) no doubt shaped his own reaction to Calvinism and Lutheran syncretism.<sup>83</sup> He attend the school at Norden in 1614 and the school at Stade from 1615 to 1618. He enrolled at the Hannover Gymnasium in 1618, when Statius Büscher was its rector. In 1621 he matriculated at the University of Rostock. He left in 1622 for the University of Wittenberg, where he lived with Friedrich Balduin, who had a great influence upon him.<sup>84</sup> Later Hülsemann married Balduin's widow (1630) and one of his daughters married Calov. In 1627 he transferred to the University of Leipzig, lived with Heinrich Höpffner, earned his master's degree, and distinguished himself as one of the scholastic minds of the day.<sup>85</sup> Following an educational tour from August 1627 to June 1628 of Belgium, France, and Germany, he returned to Leipzig. He turned down a call to Norden in 1628. In 1629 he was called to serve as fourth theology professor at the University of Wittenberg, where he quickly rose in the ranks as one of the most important Orthodox Lutherans of the day. He was promoted to doctor of theology in 1630.<sup>86</sup> In contrast to Calov, Johann Hülsemann's early writings show that he was initially open to a possible reconciliation with Calvinism. He entered into a friendly

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<sup>83</sup> East Frisia had long been a haven for the Reformed and religious dissidents. The city of Emden was even called the "Geneva of the North." When Lutheran Count, Edzard II of House Cirksena (1532–99), tried to impose a Lutheran church throughout the land, Emden outlawed Lutheranism and resisted with Dutch assistance in the so-called Emden Revolution (1595). As a result, his son Enno III (1563–1625) issued a biconfessional church order for the territory confirming the preexisting reality of the territory. See Menno Smid, "Ostfriesland," in *Der Nordwestern*, vol. 3 of *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, ed Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991), 162–81.

<sup>84</sup> Martin Tielke, "Johann Hülsemann," in *Biographisches Lexikon für Ostfriesland* (Aurich: Ostfriesische Landschaft, 2007), 3:209–11; Keller-Hüschemenger, *Das Problem*, 12–15; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 413; Kirn, *Die Leipziger*, 76–77; Hofmeister, *Die Matrikel*, 3:42; Bernhard Weissenborn, ed, *Album Academiae Vitebergensis. Jüngere Reihe Teil 1 (1602–1660)* (Magdeburg: Ernest Holtermann, 1934), 1:272. Hülsemann defended Balduin's *Deo adjuvante De Questione Theologica, Quae Dogmata As Salutem Creditu Sint Necessaria?* (Wittenberg: Boreck, 1627).

<sup>85</sup> Hülsemann defended Heinrich Höpffner's *D.O.M. A. Disputatio Theologica de Fidei Ad Ivstittiam Imputatione, Pontificiis, Photinianis & Arminianis opposita* (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1627). When Bergius had trouble with scholastic terminology at the Colloquy of Thorn, one Jesuit even said, "Da sollte Hülsemann hier seyn, der würde es verstehen," cited in Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 248, 165. Preus is less impressed by his acumen. See his *The Theology*, 1:57.

<sup>86</sup> Keller-Hüschemenger, *Das Problem*, 15–18; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 413–14; Weissenborn, *Album*,

correspondence with the Dutch Calvinist Gerardus Vossius (1577–1649) whom he met in Amsterdam.<sup>87</sup> On the way to the colloquy, Hülsemann accepted an invitation with Calixt to eat at the Berlin home of the Hohenzollern court-preacher, Johann Bergius. According to Calixt, there Hülsemann praised Calixt and agreed that moderation was necessary with respect to ubiquity.<sup>88</sup> But his 1641 analytically arranged *Breviarium Theologicum* and a 1641 *Calvinismus Irreconciliabilis*, both maintained the Calvinists were not in fundamental agreement with the Lutherans.<sup>89</sup> As the Saxons geared up for the 1646 *Admonitio Fraternalis*, he would assume a hardline position against Helmstedt theology under the influence of Jakob Weller and Abraham Calov.

Despite the potential dangers for his own confession, the Great Elector of Brandenburg and Prussian Duke, Friedrich Wilhelm (1620–88), hoped that the Colloquy of Thorn could get the Reformed confession legally recognized in Ducal Prussia by the King of Poland just as it was in rest of Poland. In contradistinction to his politically ineffective father, Georg Wilhelm, the Great Elector took a shrewd and aggressive stance both with respect to state building and advancing

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1:272.

<sup>87</sup> Tielke, "Johann Hülsemann," 3:209–11; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 416; August Tholuck, *Vorgeschichte des Rationalismus* (Berlin: Verlag von Wiegandt und Grieben, 1861–62), 2:54.

<sup>88</sup> Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Ll. Calixt writes, "Wie ich zu Berlin war/ vnd er [Hülsemann] auch dahin kam / besuchte er mich in meiner Herberg / vnd fing seine Rede an mit diesen Worten: Ich preise Gott / daß ich zu sehen bekomme einen so alten hochverdienten etc. vnd that hinzu dergleichen viel worte mehr. Wie wir miteinander redeten / gerieten wir auch auff die materiam de moderatione & declinandis mutuis condemnationibus. Wie er sich nun hievon nicht vneben verlauten lies / sprach ich / So werden die Herrn zu Wittenberg auch mit uns Helmstädern zu frieden seyn / daß dogma Vbiquitatis nich annehmen / vnd uns deßwegen nicht verdammen: Darauff antwortet er / Daß geschicht nicht / vnd sol auch nicht geschehen. Welches ich dann gern gehöret." See Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Pp iii. Note also the Wittenberg and Greifswald faculties had discouraged taking meals with committed Calvinists in 1619 *Gutachen* found in *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum*, ed. Georg Dedeken, Johann Ernst Gerhard, and Christian Grübel (Jena: Hertel, 1671), 2:123ff. Hülsemann wrote Calixt a friendly letter after the Colloquy of Thorn. See Tholuck, *Der Geiste*, 169. He would still call Calixt, "Ein alter und vormehmer Theologus Augspurgischen Confession," in his 1646 *Widerlegung*, 7–8.

<sup>89</sup> Johann Hülsemann, *Breviarium Theologicum Exhibens Praecipuas Et Novissimas Fidei Controversias Quae Hodie Inter Christianos Agitantur Commonstrans SS. Scripturarum Fontes Pro Asserenda Veritate, Et Destruenda Falsitate* (Wittenberg: Wendt, 1644); Johann Hülsemann, *Calvinismus Irreconciliabilis, seu Delineatio causarum, Earumq; applicatio ad Calvinismum, Propter quas Josephus Hallus, Exoniensis Episcopus Papisum cenfuit esse*

Calvinism in his lands. He did this on the grounds that Calvinists were fellow adherents of the *Augsburg Confession*, who were in fundamental doctrinal agreement with Lutheranism. That said, he still maintained that Lutheranism's residual papism was in desperate need of further reform. To be sure, Brandenburg-Prussia would become one of the most tolerant territories in the empire. Like his grandfather Johann Sigismund, Friedrich Wilhelm was a committed German Calvinist, who worked for the Protestant good. But he was also only tolerant of non-polemizing Lutherans because of the political realities of ruling a committed Lutheran populace.<sup>90</sup> Since the 1641 Regensburg Diet, he had been working with the Calvinist Hessians and the union-friendly Braunschweig dukes to get the Reformed recognized in the empire as adherents of the *Augsburg Confession*.<sup>91</sup> In 1641 his Calvinist court-preacher, Johann Bergius, argued in a new irenic tome that Hohenzollern Calvinism was in complete and total harmony with the *Augsburg Confession*. He further maintained that neither the *Corpus Doctrinae Prutenicum* nor the *Formula of Concord* were recognized by the Polish King.<sup>92</sup>

What is more, the Ducal Prussian Lutheran clergy and estates had greatly offended the Great Elector. First, they tried to oppose Bergius' officiating of his father's funeral in the

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*Irreconcilabilem* (Wittenberg: Berger, 1641), 131, 209.

<sup>90</sup> Derek McKay, *The Great Elector: Profiles in Power* (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 146–58; Klaus Deppermann, "Die Kirchenpolitik des Großen Kurfürsten," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 6 (1980): 99–105, 113–14; Wolfgang Gericke, *Glaubenszeugnisse und Konfessionspolitik der Brandenburgischen Herrscher bis zur Preussischen Union 1540 bis 1815* (Bielefeld: Luther-Verlag, 1977), 36–45; Martin Lackner, *Die Kirchenpolitik des Grossen Kurfürsten* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1973), 9–107, 304–9. See also Hugo Landwehr, *Die Kirchenpolitik Friedrich Wilhelm, des Großen Kurfürsten Auf Grund archivalischer Quellen* (Berlin Ernst Hofmann & Co., 1894).

<sup>91</sup> Göransson, "Schweden," 222.

<sup>92</sup> Johann Bergius, *Apostolische Regell / Wie man in Religions sachen recht richten solle* (Elbing: Bodenhausen, 1641). For a study of Bergius' thought, irenicism, and his vital contribution to Hohenzollern religious policy, see Bodo Nishan, "Calvinism, the Thirty Years' War, and the Beginnings of Absolutism in Brandenburg: the Political Thought of John Bergius," in *Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of Confessionalism* (Alderhot: Ashgate, 1999), IX:203–23; Bodo Nishan, "John Bergius: Irencism and the Beginnings of Official Religious Toleration in Brandenburg Prussia," in *Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of Confessionalism* (Alderhot: Ashgate, 1999), XII:389–404; Rudolf von Thadden, *Die brandenburgisch-preussischen Hofprediger im 17. Und 18. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Absolutistischen Staatsgesellschaft in Brandenburg-Preussen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1959).



Königsberg castle church, despite the king's permission. Second, they continually stated that Calvinists were "Photians, Arians, and Turks, non-Christians." Third, they placed so many conditions on participating in a Hohenzollern-requested inter-protestant dialogue in the spring of 1642 that it could not take place.<sup>93</sup> After trying for some time to get the Polish King to legalize the practice of the Reformed faith in Königsberg, the Great Elector petitioned him once again when the king required his help with the Cossacks. In the summer of 1645, King Władysław IV of Poland permitted Calvinism to be practiced in Königsberg Castle, even when the elector was not in Königsberg. When the Polish King died in 1648, his brother, King Jan II Kazimierz of Poland (1609–72), renewed the Reformed's free public practice of their religion as adherents of the *Augsburg Confession* because he owed the Great Elector for his crown.<sup>94</sup> That same year, Calvinism obtained official status as co-adherents of the *Augsburg Confession* in the Holy Roman Empire via the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, much to the chagrin of Electoral Saxony. The French-influenced Peace of Westphalia made Brandenburg-Prussia an even greater rival to Electoral Saxony by granting it the poly-confessional lands of Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg from Jülich-Cleves-Berg, as well as the Lutheran lands of Magdeburg, Halle, Minden, Halberstadt, Hohenstein, and Western (Brandenburgian) Pomerania (but not Eastern [Swedish] Pomerania, which would become a bone of contention with Sweden until 1815). In the Northern War (1655–60), the Great Elector's modern military and "pendulum policy" (*Schaukelpolitik*) furthermore gained him full sovereignty over Ducal Prussia from King Charles X of Sweden

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<sup>93</sup> Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 599–601; Erdmannsdörfer, *Urkunden*, 1:90–104. See also Lackner, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 148–59.

<sup>94</sup> Erdmannsdörfer, *Urkunden*, 1:156–59, 258–63. The October 16, 1648 Religionsprivileg of Jan II Kazimierz states, "Also geloben Wir hiermit Sr. Ch. Ld. und dero Unterthanen, dass sie Zeit Unser Regierung darinnen unangefochten gelassen werden, sondern denen (also genannten) Reformirten, weil sie sich zur Augsbургischen Confession mit Hand und Mund bekennen, alleweg wie denen Catholischen und (genannten) Lutherischen das publicum exercitium ihrer Religion frei und von männiglich ungefährt, unbeeinträchtigt und unverunruhiget gelassen werden soll." See Erdmannsdörfer, *Urkunden*, 1:308–10.

(1622–60) through the 1656 Treaty of Labiau, which was later confirmed by King Jan III Sobieski of Poland (1629–96) in the 1657 Treaty of Wehlau.<sup>95</sup> Now the Great Elector could legally take measures to advance the Reformed Confession into Ducal Prussia, insisting that the exercise of the Reformed religion would not destabilize Lutheranism's status. Ducal Prussia Lutherans, conversely, opposed his sovereignty and continually tried to limit these measures, insisting that Calvinists were not adherents of the *Augsburg Confession*.<sup>96</sup> In the 1661 constitutional charter, the Great Elector legitimized the Reformed as adherents of the *Augsburg Confession* and only recognized the three Lutheran symbols (*Augsburg Confession*, *Apology*, and *Repetitio corporis doctrinae Christianae*) that his grandfather ratified in the 1609 Prussian privileges (i.e., insofar as this *corpus doctrinae* did not attack the Reformed confession). Since the Ducal Prussian Lutheran estates continually refused to recognize the Reformed as adherents of the *Augsburg Confession*, he ignored their demands to confirm the *Formula of Concord*.<sup>97</sup> In response to the 1685 Edict of Nantes, he would later issue the 1685 Edict of Potsdam, which both provided the Huguenots a place to immigrate and greatly impacted the ecclesial and socio-political character of his lands.

As a bordering Reformed sovereign, the Great Elector sent Johann Bergius, his court-preacher, and Friedrich Reichel (1608–53), the Calvinist Frankfurt (Oder) theology professor, to the Colloquy of Thorn. Intentionally marginalizing Coelestin Myslenta, the militant Polish

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<sup>95</sup> Dogiel, *Codex*, 4:486ff; Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 42–53; McKay, *The Great*, 85–105.

<sup>96</sup> Erdmannsdorfer, *Urkunden*, 15:510ff; McKay, *The Great*, 136–37.

<sup>97</sup> The 1661 Verfassungsurkunde states, "Daß wir Sie bey der Augspurgischen, wie dieselbe in Anno 1530 am 25 Juny Kayser Carolo dem fünften über geben deßen Apologia, dem Corpore doctrinae, und andern bey den Evangelischen alßo genannten lutherische Religion angenommenen libris Symbolicis, soweit dieselbe undt vorgedachtes Corpus doctrinae keine gefährlichkeiten undt beschuldigung wider Unßere bekenntnuße in sich begreifen...." See Theodor Wiechert, "Die Verfassungsurkunde des Herzogtums Preußen vom Jahre 1661," *Zeitschrift für preußische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 11 (1874): 40–44; Erdmannsdorfer, *Urkunden*, 16:237–42, 299–313. See also Lackner, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 164–73; Hubatsch, 1:134–43.

Lutheran ordinary professor, the Great Elector as the Duke of Prussia sent Levin Pouchenius (1594–1648), Christian Dreier, and Michael Behm (Johann Behm's son), all of whom were extraordinary theology professors at Lutheran Königsberg. This Lutheran delegation ultimately arrived too late to affect the colloquy. However, Dreier, who was already suspect for his Calixtine-like theology, had suggested much earlier to the Great Elector that Calixt should represent the Lutherans because he would be the least prejudiced.<sup>98</sup> Calixt had come to the Great Elector's attention even before this through his aunt, the Duchess Anna Sophia of Schöningen, the unfaithful wife and widow of Duke Friedrich Ulrich of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Johann Quistorp the Elder was the Great Elector's first choice, but the Rostock divine declined the invitation because of scruples about Bergius.<sup>99</sup> So the Great Elector invited Calixt to the colloquy via a letter from Johann Bergius, whom Calov would call Calixt's "brother in Christ" (*Frater in Christo*) after their first meeting at Thorn.<sup>100</sup> By affiliating himself with Calixtine theology, the Great Elector hoped not only to assuage the Prussian Lutherans at the colloquy, but also to promote mutual Protestant toleration so that he could advance Calvinism in his lands if not a new Hohenzollern church.

Calixt's last Welf opponent, Duke Friedrich of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, supported by his Celle general-superintendent, Michael Walther, felt that Calixt's association with the Great Elector would only help the Reformed at the Colloquy of Thorn. Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, who called Calixt's participation a "Christian work," was also not completely

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<sup>98</sup> Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 604–5.

<sup>99</sup> Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 936; Mager, "Brüderlichkeit," 219. See also Quistorp's June 17, 1646 letter to Calixt in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 101–3.

<sup>100</sup> Bergius' June 14, 1645 letter to Calixt praises his moderation and irenicism as well as expresses the high esteem in which the Great Elector held him. It formally invites him to participate at Hohenzollern expense and spells out some travel plans. Finally, it expresses doubts about the Danzig and Königsberg Lutherans' agreement to pan-Protestant action at the colloquy, but hopes that Calixt might persuade them in this regard. The letter is reprinted in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 76–79. See also Calov, *Historia*, 562, 561, 575.

comfortable with Calixt attending the colloquy.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, Calixt received Duke August's permission to attend on July 26, 1645 "because we did not want to hinder this Christian project in any way." Calixt accepted the Great Elector's invitation and departed for the colloquy under the assumption that all the Braunschweig dukes would accept his participation.<sup>102</sup> Calixt was accompanied by his Leipzig-educated son, Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, and his former student, Johann Latermann (1620–62). Latermann had made such an impression on the Duchess Anna Sophia of Schöningen that she funded his way to the Colloquy of Thorn and then invited him to the wedding of the Great Elector's sister in Königsberg as well.<sup>103</sup> But when Calixt arrived at the colloquy, the Great Elector would not permit his representatives to take part until the king permitted him his own legate to help oversee the colloquy.<sup>104</sup> The next day Calixt had a falling out with Abraham Calov. He reports that Calov was "fair and tractable, until he perceived that I [Calixt] had scruples about damning the Calvinists and casting them out of the number of true Christians."<sup>105</sup> Since Elbing's senior was a Helmstedt graduate, the Royal Prussian cities of Thorn and Elbing then made a request to have the sidelined Calixt represent them at the colloquy. But Calov and Hülsemann got them to retract their offer because Calixt had departed from Orthodox Lutheranism.<sup>106</sup> Hülsemann explained that he was excluded from the Lutheran party because he colluded with the Calvinists even in public, he processed with the Calvinists to the city hall for

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<sup>101</sup> The Great Elector's June 25, 1645 letter to the dukes, Duke Friedrich's July 4, 1645 letter to August, Duke August's July 6, 1645 letter to Calixt, and Calixt's July 7, 1645 response to their concerns are reprinted in Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Nn–Oo 1, Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 456–59. See also Calov, *Nöthige Ablehnung*, 6.

<sup>102</sup> Duke August's July 26, 1645 permission is reprinted in Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:89. Calixt's July 15, 1645 acceptance letter is reprinted in Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 456–59.

<sup>103</sup> Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 605.

<sup>104</sup> See Calixt's report cited in Mager, "Brüderlichkeit," 227; Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:90.

<sup>105</sup> Calixt writes, "D. Calovius was auch zimlich vnd tractabilis, biß er vernommen / daß ich die Calvinisten zu verdammen vnd aus der Zahl waren Christen zu stossen bedencken getragen." See Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Oo–Oo 2; Calov, *Historia*, 562.

<sup>106</sup> Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Ll–Mm, Oo 2–Pp 1. See also Calov, *Nöthige*, 19–22; Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 939.

the colloquy, and he failed to dress as a Lutheran clergyman in a proper clerical habit.<sup>107</sup> But despite the fact that the sidelined Calixt came to assist the Calvinists with their confession when they asked him for help, Calixt ironically was still able to obtain a formal statement from Sigismund Goldenstern and Johann Hülsemann, asserting that a misunderstanding had arisen, that Calixt had not been excluded from the Lutheran party, and that his orthodoxy was not in question.<sup>108</sup>

The colloquy was conducted in Thorn's Gothic city hall and consisted of thirty-six sessions of which all but five were held in private. Twenty-six Roman Catholics, twenty-four Reformed, and fifteen (later twenty-seven) Lutheran theologians appeared for the opening session. To achieve an irenic end, the king had instructed that the discussions were to take place in three phases: Each confession was to present a doctrinal statement with the chief points of controversy in "brief, simple, and clear words and propositions." An examination of these statements should then occur. Finally, the king hoped that this process would lead toward a common position on the chief points of doctrine.<sup>109</sup> Controversies immediately arose. First, the parties disagreed on a number of points about the *modus operandi* for the colloquy. Second, the Lutherans objected that they could not participate in joint prayer with the other confessions as well as avoided the joint singing of the confessionally neutral hymns, *Veni Creator Spiritus* and *Laudata Dominum omnes gentes*, at the opening and closing of each session. Third, the confessions disagreed about the

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<sup>107</sup> Hülsemann's report is reprinted in Colestin Myslenta, *Abgenöthigte Verantwortung zweier Schreiben* cited in Schmidt, *Geschichte*, 73. See also Calov, *Historia*, 249.

<sup>108</sup> The requests are found in Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 441–43, 459–63. The November 21, 1645 statement is reprinted in Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Vv 1; Hülsemann, *Widerlegung*, 7–8. Calov interprets Calixt's assistance to the Reformed as a "conjunction mit den Calvinisten / in publico Confessionis actu." See Calov, *Historia*, 561–62, 575–76.

<sup>109</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 230–51; Müller, *Irenik*, 323–50; Jacobi, "Das liebreiche," 556–60.

norm of the faith, including the role of the magisterium/church, tradition, and *corpus doctrinae*, not to mention the catholicity of each other. Fourth, the parties could not agree on doctrine.<sup>110</sup>

The Roman Catholic statement began with three *negativa* on justification, the sacraments, and sacrifice & other cultic aspects as well as four positive articles on the rule of faith, Christian righteousness, the sacraments, and the Roman Catholic cultus.<sup>111</sup> The Reformed confession was called the *Generalis Professio Declaratio Ecclesiarum Reformatarum in Regno Poloniae*, which along with 1614 *Confessio Sigismundi* and 1631 *Colloquium Lipsiense* became the *corpus doctrinae* of Hohenzollern Calvinism. Insofar as it bears some very distinctive marks of Calixtine theology, Calov rightly called it a "Calixtine confession" (*Calixtinische Professio*). Still Calixt correctly points out in his *Annotationes Et Animadveriones In Confessionem Reformatarum* that he only gave input on certain articles of the symbol, which is still a distinctively Reformed confession.<sup>112</sup> Calixt's impact is unmistakably evident in the stress placed on the creed, commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and sacraments as the summary of saving doctrine. If doubts should arise about these doctrines, the *Nicene Creed*, the first six

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<sup>110</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 245–306; Müller, *Irenik*, 351–68. The Roman Catholics wanted to lead the Protestants in joint prayer at the colloquy. According to Calov's edition of the *Acta Thoruniensia* and Hülsemann's *Widerlegung*, the Lutherans objected in principal to joint prayer and hymn singing with Roman Catholics and the Reformed. They then list a series of reasons for this practice. According to the Prussian historian, Hartknoch, they merely objected because they were not given a turn to lead the prayers. In the end, the Lutherans conducted their prayers in the city hall's chancellory, while the Roman Catholics led the Reformed in prayer. See Calov, *Historia*, 270–75, 547–49; Hülsemann, *Widerlegung*, 43–44, 125–28; Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 946; Müller, *Irenik*, 356–57. The Lutherans also maintained they were catholics and that Papists were *Roman Catholics*. The Lutherans insisted the Reformed could not be called adherents of the CA. See Calov, *Historia*, 271–74; Jacobi, "Das liebreiche," 498–99. Note also that Hülsemann defines the catholic faith in terms of Canonical Scripture, the symbols of the ecumenical councils, and the BC. See Calov, *Historia*, 279.

<sup>111</sup> The statement is reprinted in Calov, *Historia*, 286–93.

<sup>112</sup> "Generalis Professio Declaratio Ecclesiarum Reformatarum in Regno Poloniae, Magno Ducatu Lithuaniae, annexisque Regni Provinciis, in Conventu Thoruniensi, Anni 1645. ad liquidationem Controversiarum maturandam, exhibita d. 1. Septembris," in *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum*, ed. H. A. Niemeyer (Leipzig: Klinkhardt, 1840), 669–89; Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Pp iii, Tt 1; Georg Calixt, *Annotationes Et Animadveriones In Confessionem Reformatarum, Thorunii In Colloquio An. MDCXLV. 13. Sept. oblatam, & 16. ejusd. mensis publice lectam in quibus doctrina De Peccato Originis, De Avxiliis Divinae Gratiae Et Praedestinatione, &c. De Praesentia Corporis Et Sangvinis Christi In S. Coena, breviter quidem sed nervose explicatur* (Braunschweig: Bißmark, 1655), 13ff.

ecumenical councils, the Milvian Council, and the Council of Orange, moreover, are regarded as their proper explications.<sup>113</sup> The Lutheran *Confessio Fidei* was not allowed to be read, because of its polemic. Not intending to be a new symbol but a reaffirmation of the *Augustana*, it consisted of twenty articles with sub-points, each of which first spelled out what the Lutherans taught and then stated the Roman Catholic position it denied. It concluded with a list of points of which the Lutherans were improperly accused. The confession ordered its articles according to the outline of the *Augsburg Confession*, but replaced its first article with one on Scripture, its fifth article with one on free will, its eighteenth article with one on human merit, and its twentieth article with one on the cult of saints.<sup>114</sup> In the end, the Colloquy of Thorn was not only a failure, it also increased Lutheran hostility toward the Reformed and helped galvanize the Lutherans into a more united front against Calixt. In fact, a disheartened Calixt reported to Duke Christian Ludwig of Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen, "The colloquy was no true colloquy, much less was it charitable, but rather it was an irritation."<sup>115</sup>

The Great Elector came away from the colloquy with a new ally in Calixtine theology, one through which he hoped to advance Calvinism while still maintaining some semblance of peace with Lutheranism. Once the Great Elector began to champion Helmstedt theology, the long simmering Syncretistic Controversy began to boil. The Great Elector's appointment of Latermann to the Königsberg theological faculty would quickly face strong resistance from Coelestin Myslenta, the rest of the university, the city clergy, and the estates.<sup>116</sup> While Johann

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<sup>113</sup> "Generalis," 669–71. See also Mager, "Brüderlichkeit," 233–35.

<sup>114</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 308–9; *Confessio Fidei, Qvam Statvs, Cives & Ecclesiae in Polonia, Prvssia Et Lithuania Inv. Conf. Avg. Addictae in Colloq. Charitat. Thorvnii, A. MDCXLV Habito Primvm Serenissimi Regis Poloniarvm Vladislai IV. Legato, Dn. Georgio Ossalinski, Deinde Ipsi Sereniss. Reg. Maiest. Tradidervnt Denvo Ivxta Exemplar Lipsiens. A. 1655*, ed. Samuel Günther (Danzig: Knock, 1735).

<sup>115</sup> Calixt's December 6, 1645 letter to the duke is reprinted in Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:105.

<sup>116</sup> Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 602–33. See also Hermann Freytag, "Zur Geschichte der Latermannschen

Latermann lit the fuse for the controversy in Ducal Prussia, the real intellectual leader of Königsberg Lutheran irenicism was Christian Dreier. This native of Stettin, Pomerania was educated at the universities of Jena, Wittenberg, Rostock, Copenhagen, and Königsberg.<sup>117</sup> Since he had already exhibited certain tenets of Calixtine theology, the faculty required him to make an oath at his 1644 doctoral promotion at Königsberg, which largely repudiated Calixtine conceptions of authority and anthropology. But he refused and instead reaffirmed his subscription to the symbols of Ducal Prussia.<sup>118</sup> Much to the chagrin of Myslenta, Dreier assumed Calov's former extraordinary theology professorship in 1645, not to mention Myslenta's seat at Thorn for himself.

At the Colloquy of Thorn, Johann Latermann, Calixt's former student, formed a friendship with Michael Behm, his future brother-in-law. He came to Königsberg through the Duchess Anna Sophia of Schöniggen's invitation to the wedding of the Great Elector's sister, but it was his preaching there that won him the favor of the Great Elector. He, in turn, named the Helmstedt master an extraordinary professor of theology at the University of Königsberg in 1646.<sup>119</sup> That same year Latermann set off a powder keg when he defended a disputation on predestination under the presidency of his soon-to-be father-in-law, Johann Behm, who had not read his

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Streites," *Altpreußischen Monatsschrift* 33 (1896): 550–61; Walther Hubatsch, "Das Thorner Religionsgespräch von 1645 aus der Sicht des Geistlichen Ministeriums der Dreistadt Königsberg," in *Thorn. Königin der Weichsel 1231–1981*, eds. Bernhart Jähnig und Peter Letkemann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 239–58; Thomas Kaufmann, "Königsberger Theologieprofessoren im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Die Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg und ihre Professoren*, ed. D. Rauschnig and D. Von Nerée (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1995), 49–86; Thomas Kaufmann, "Theologische Auseinandersetzungen an der Universität Königsberg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Kulturgeschichte Ostpreußens in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Klaus Garber, Manfred Komorowski, and Axel Walter (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001), 303–18; Hubatsch, *Geschichte*, 1:143–52.

<sup>117</sup> Moldaenke, "Christian Dreier," 1ff. See also Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 90–92.

<sup>118</sup> Erler, *Die Matrikel der Albertus*, 1:387. The text of the nine point doctoral oath can be found in Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 603–4. Calov reports that Dreier told him, "Ich habe wol auff die Kirchen-Bücher geschworen: aber der Eyd ist mir abgedrungen / da ich traun umb Gottes Willen der Kirchen Ruhe zu schonen gebeten habe." See Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 604.

<sup>119</sup> Latermann's February 7, 1646 letter to Calixt is reprinted in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 93–98.



theses.<sup>120</sup> An outraged Myslenta charged it with both Calvinism and Pelagianism, as well as quickly won most of the university (including students), the city clergy, and the estates to his side. The theological faculty coalesced around Latermann, including Johann Behm, the elderly *professor primarius*. So both sides began to solicit *Gutachten*.<sup>121</sup> Unable to obtain his doctorate from Königsberg, Latermann matriculated in 1646 and received it the next year at the University of Rostock, which apparently assumed he was in good standing at Königsberg.<sup>122</sup> He joined the Königsberg theology faculty as extraordinary professor in 1647 and republished his original Königsberg disputation, but with a defense of it.<sup>123</sup> That same year, Myslenta and the Königsberg ministerium issued a summary of Latermann's errors. Already suggesting that syncretism was a confused mixing of religions, they charged that Latermann asserted the active role of the human will in conversion, denied that original sin alone merited damnation, and raised doubts about the Christian's preservation in the faith. They then proceeded to levy the following seemingly contradictory charges. Latermann had a Calvinist understanding of Romans 3 and 9–

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<sup>120</sup> Johann Latermann, *De Aeterna Dei Praedestinatione Et Ordinata Omnes Salvandi Voluntate Exercitatio Quam Adsistente Dei Opt. Max. gratia Sub Praesidio Johannis Behmii* (Königsberg: Reusner, 1646).

<sup>121</sup> Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 605–9, 164. See also Latermann's February 4, 1648 letter to Calixt in Henke, *Georg*, 1:131.

<sup>122</sup> Hofmeister, *Die Matrikel*, 3:149; Kaufmann, *Universität*, 114–15. In an August 19, 1646 *Gutachen*, the Rostock faculty dean, Johann Cothmann (1588–61), writes to Calov and Myslenta that Latermann had promised obedience to the church, had filial love for Myslenta, and had repented of any sin. See Königsberg Ministerium's *Censurae Theologorum Orthodoxorum: Qvibus Errores varii, iique; periculosi, utpote in Scripturam S. ac Libellos Symbolicos Ecclesiarum invariatae Augustanae Confessionis impingentes, Autore D. Johanne Latermanno tum in Exercitatione de Praedestinatione in Academia Regiomontana; tum alibi distinctis velitationibus propugnati, examinantur & damnantur: a multis pio erga puriorem religionem zelo flagrantibus hactenus desideratae: Jam vero e bono Ecclesia una cum quibusdam Apographis & Breviariis literarum a celeberrimis Theologis orthodoxis exaratarum, lectuque, non minus dignarum, quam necessariorum & utilium publica luci expositae. Studio & opera Ministerii respectivè Tripolitani Regiomontani* (Danzig: Rhetian, 1648), 137–38.

<sup>123</sup> Hofmeister, *Die Matrikel*, 3:149. Latermann sought to show his orthodoxy in his *Disputatio Theologica Inauguralis De Praesentia Corporis Et Sanguinis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi in Sanctissima Eucharista Cujus Theses In Illustri Universitate Rostochiensi Auxiliante Sanctissimi hujus Sacramenti Instituire Veneradi & Amplissimi, quod ibi est, Theologorum Collegij consensu Sub Praesidio Johannis Cothmanni* (Rostock: Kilius, 1646). There he also published his suppressed, *Disquisitio Theologica De Gratia Et Libero Hominis Arbitrio Regiomonti in Borussia primum excudi coepta, post autem ob iter in Germaniam susceptum Rostochii continuata, mense Julio, anno MDCXLVII* (Rostock: Kilius, 1647). See also Kaufmann, *Universität*, 114–15.

11. He opined that God's grace was not equally distributed. He claimed that Calvinists had so distanced themselves from previous errors that they could be called brothers. Finally, they also charged that Latermann functioned with two sources of theology, asserted that Christ only appeared to the patriarchs as an angel, argued that the Trinity is not clear in the Old Testament, and maintained good works are necessary for salvation.<sup>124</sup> Such contradictory charges against syncretism would become commonplace and arise from syncretists' glossing over of the doctrinal distinctives of each confession in their irenic ventures.

In 1648 Latermann's father and Quedlinburg pastor, Wolfgang Latermann (1585–1659), gathered twenty-two of the requested *Gutachten* and letters into a defense of his son's orthodoxy titled the *Celeberrimorum Theologorum Judicia & Censurae Pro Orthodoxia Johannis Latermanni*.<sup>125</sup> It included some from theological faculties (Rostock, Tübingen, Jena, Leipzig) as well as theologians (Johann Valentin Andreae, Johann Quistorp, Joachim Lütke mann, Georg Calixt, Conrad Horneius, Johann Reinboth [the Holstein General-superintendent], etc.). In response, Myslenta gathered forty-six *Gutachten* and letters, publishing them under the title *Censurae Theologorum Orthodoxorum*. It consisted of reactions from theological faculties (Wittenberg, Leipzig, Jena, Straßburg, Rostock), ministeriums (Danzig, Hamburg, Ulm), and a number of theologians (Johann Hülsemann, Michael Walther, Johann Cothmann [1588–1661, the Rostock dean], Justus Feuerborn [1587–1656, a Giessen professor]; Paul Röber [1587–1651,

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<sup>124</sup> The 1647 *Verzeichniß der Vielfältigen und zwar groben und gefährlichen Irrthümer / welche M. Johann Latermann in seinen u. Disputationibus verthädiget und verfochten hat / samt einer gründlichen Widerlegung derselben* is summarized along with Latermann's rebuttles in Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 610–12.

<sup>125</sup> The Königsberg theology faculty's April 1647 request for *Gutachten* is reprinted in Wolfgang Latermann, *Celeberrimorum Theologorum Judicia & Censurae. Pro Orthodoxia Johannis Latermanni, S. Theologiae D. ejusdem in Academia Electorali Regiomontana Borussorum, Professoris Publici. Speciminis loco edita, Et Censuris atque Epitolis illis, a D. Coelestino Myslenta evulgatis, oppositae. Donec plura ejusdem generis sequantur. Philipp apud Pezel. in Postill. Domin 4. p. 72: Non est faciendum Schisma, nisi sit evidens veritas, propter quam sit discendum ab aliis. Qui enim sine justa Causa facit Schisma, Ille est Parricida ecclesia. August in Matth. 8. C. Magna fuit tempestas; ut magnum appareret miraculum* (Halberstadt: Colvvaldianis, 1648), 1–11. See also Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 126–29, 140–49.

a Wittenberg professor], Johann Botsach, Wilhelm Leyser, Georg Calixt, Johann Müller [1590–1673, the Hamburg Senior], Jodocus Capeller; Abraham Battus [1606–74, a Greifswald professor], Abraham Calov, Johann Quistorp, Johann Dorsche [1597–1659, a Straßburg professor], and Jakob Weller). All in all these *Gutachten* foreshadowed much of the reaction to the Electoral Saxon *Consensus Repetitus*. Still the connection between Latermann and the new Helmstedt theology did not go unnoticed.

Georg Calixt, who later claimed that he had never recommended Latermann, thanked Johann Behm the Elder that he had received his student.<sup>126</sup> The Rostock theological faculty that promoted Latermann recognized that he diverged from them in a couple of points, but nothing that should disturb the peace of the church.<sup>127</sup> Having suffered during the crypto-kenotic controversy, Melchior Nicolai (1578–1659), the Tübingen chancellor, not surprisingly disparaged the strife and called for the restoration of charity in accordance with I Corinthians 1:10.<sup>128</sup> The *Gutachten* of the theological faculties of Jena and Leipzig were initially mild because according to Myslenta they were based on reports of the Latermann party, but they would later strengthen their admonitions.<sup>129</sup> In contrast, the *Gutachten* of the Danzig ministerium

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<sup>126</sup> Calixt, *Widerlegung*, B iv; Latermann, *Censurae*, 37.

<sup>127</sup> On July 4, 1646, the Rostock faculty wrote, "In Uno atque; Altero Capitate Diversum A Nobis Sentire intelleximus, non tamen propterea Ecclesiarum pacem turbendam esse putavimus." See also *Censurae*, 137, 182–83; Latermann, *Celeberrimum*, 27–36 for more from Johann Quistorp and Lütke mann. It should also be noted that Quistorp had been writing to Hülsemann and his former student, Calov, regarding his concerns. He references a fairly conciliatory letter from Calov dated February 20, 1646. See Latermann, *Celeberrimum*, 35–36.

<sup>128</sup> For Melchior Nicolai's December 17, 1646 response, see Latermann, *Celeberrimum*, 17–21. For the Stuttgart court-preacher, Johann Valentine Andreae's, March 15, 1647 defense of Calixt to Stephan Gerlach, see Latermann, *Celeberrimum*, 22.

<sup>129</sup> On June 14, 1646, the Jena faculty stated, "Eruditionem & dexteritatem autoris probamus, nec ullo in puncto ipsi dicam haereseos scribimus. Haec adversa pars in editione huius censurae omisit, illa autem inde excerpsit, quae unam alteramve phrasin concernunt, quas ideo, ut apparet, Dnn. Theologi Jenenses reprehenderunt, ut aliquid saltem in disputatione D. Latermanni notarent, atq. ita in commune consulerent. Subjicio, quibus literas suas claudunt, quae quia iterum ad palatum adversae partis minime fuerunt, itidem ab ea silentio fuere praeterita." See Latermann, *Celeberrimum*, 21. See also the Leipzig *Gutachten* in Latermann, *Celeberrimum*, 24–27; the June and August of 1646 Leipzig *Gutachten* in the *Censurae*, 73–94; the July and October of 1646 Jena *Gutachten* in the *Censurae*, 131–33. In August of 1646, the three Saxon faculties (Wittenberg, Leipzig, and Jena) wrote, "Non

was the most comprehensive and one of the strongest on the side of Myslenta. It examined the scope of Latermann's disputations, as well as objected to his interpretation of Romans, conversion, the certainty of salvation, Jacobus Arminius (1559–1609), the Reformed, the distribution of grace, Augustine of Hippo (354–430), the Christianity of Calvinism, the *Formula of Concord*, and other assertions of Latermann.<sup>130</sup> The Straßburg theological faculty shared the Danzig theologians' disposition. Despite being an "otherwise great man," Dorsche laments that Calixt "is instilling very unsafe doctrines with various errors and many aspects of atheism under the appearance of ancient learnedness" (*cum variis blandiatur Erroribus, & plurimum de Atheismo sub specie Eruditionis priscae instillet incautioribus*).<sup>131</sup> The Wittenberg theological faculty drew up Latermann's deviations from the *Corpus Doctrinae Prutenicum* and orthodoxy under fifteen points. Tracing Latermann's errors to Helmstedt, they made such diverse charges against him as Calvinism, Pelagianism, and synergism. The Leucorea theologians concluded, validating Myslenta's "pious zealotism," but hoped that now a corrected Latermann might be

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esse nulle, nec pauca, in Disputatione illa M. Latermanni de Praedestinatione quam in Academia vestra die nonae Martii publice proposuit, aut proponendam inscribit, emendatione dignam, modumque Examinis publici, a Dn. D. Mislenta instituti, pro diversa partium relatione, culpam omni vacare, & non vacara: Non videntur tamen Nobis haec Responsa ad partium relationes formata, sive praesens scandalum sublatura, seu periculum immiens depulsura, nisi hiatus in communi Ecclesiarum Prutenicarum propugnaculo horrendum dehiscens, cogatur & instauretur." See the *Censurae*, 159. On October 19, 1646, Gottfried Cundisius (1599–1651), the former friend of Calixt, Jena professor, and probable author of the mild Jena *Gutachten*, wrote Botsach, "Dn. D. Mislenta vicem doleo; Si pristinae dignitati restitutus fuerit cordatus iste Theologus, ex animo laetabor. Sed quid fiet de illis, qui secuti Praeceptores suos Formulam Concordiae impugnant? Vililate nobiscum, & orate?" See the *Censurae*, 154. Hülsemann wrote a twenty-six point refutation of Latermann. See *Censurae*, 95–102. He also wrote the junior Behm, "Qvod quaeris de Calixto, an eum habeam pro Schismatico? R. Scriptis ejusdem maximam partem ex M. Antonii de Dominis & volumine depromptis, ejusmodi principia inesse, quae novam Neutralistarum sectam progignere aliquando possint, haud abs re prudentibus videri queat, et si hoc solum evincere contenderit Dn. D. Mislenta, dubito an quenquam Theologorum orthodoxorum habiturus sit contradicentem." See the *Censurae*, 146. On October 1646, he pointed out to Myslenta that Helmstedt had already been rebuked for deviations from the FC and the *Corpus doctrinae Julium* with respect to the necessity of good works for salvation. See the *Censurae*, 186. See also Calov, *Historia*, 578–79; Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 612–13.

<sup>130</sup> The Danzig ministerium's July 9, 1646 *Gutachten* is found in *Censurae*, 1–59. See also the *Censurae*, 155–58, 166–81; Calov, *Historia*, 562.

<sup>131</sup> *Censurae*, 187. The September 6, 1646 Straßburg *Gutachten* is found in the *Censurae*, 194–99. See also Johann Dorsche's correspondence in the *Censurae*, 192–93.

granted amnesty.<sup>132</sup> The Hamburg ministerium's seven points found Latermann's ideas to be a new synergistic and Crypto-Calvinistic threat to Ducal Prussia.<sup>133</sup> The Ulm ministerium summarized their issues with Latermann in six points. The last point raised a common concern over Latermann's remark, "What does the *Formula of Concord* have to do with me" (*Quid mihi cum Formula Concordiae*)?<sup>134</sup> The Giessen theology professor and son-in-law of Balthasar Mentzer I, Justus Feuerborn, whom the Saxon elector was courting for Wittenberg, agreed that Myslenta was right in opposing Latermann's errors.<sup>135</sup> The former Braunschweig city superintendent and now Dresden *Oberhofprediger*, Jakob Weller, was shown to be drumming up support for a united front against Helmstedt theology.<sup>136</sup> Even the Celle general-superintendent, Michael Walther, broke Braunschweig ranks by providing an excoriating refutation of Latermann's errors.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> The Wittenberg faculty's June 10, 1646 *Gutachten* is found in the *Censurae*, 60–73. Wilhelm Leyser wrote on July 27, 1646, "Summa haec erat; Juste a R. T. Exc errata illa thesium notata fuisse, quibus nos multo plura addidimus. Laterm ergo, qui male Arminianos Doctores secutus, in viam revocandum esse." See the *Censurae*, 140–41. See also Leyser's correspondence about Helmstedt theology in the *Censurae*, 141–43.

<sup>133</sup> The Hamburg ministerium's August 26, 1646 *Gutachten* is found in the *Censurae*, 102–6. See also Johann Müller's seven points in the *Censurae*, 149–51.

<sup>134</sup> The Ulm ministerium's February 7, 1647 *Gutachten* is found in the *Censurae*, 133–37. See also the *Censurae*, 183.

<sup>135</sup> On September 14, 1646, Justus Feuerborn wrote Myslenta, "Ut autem prodromi loco sciatis, quid de M. Latermanni Exercitatione cunctisque reliquis transmissis sentiam, statuo candide, vos merito ipsius erroribus & exorbitationibus contradixisse, divinamque, veritatem vindicasse, & iniquis aliorum machinationibus restitisse. Doleo etiam non parum, vestros Dn. Collegas M. Latermanno in suis Erroribus patrocinari." See the *Censurae*, 138–39. See also Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 417.

<sup>136</sup> In June of 1647, Jakob Weller wrote Myslenta, "Sane autorem harum turbarum faciles sentimus Diabolum, qui dum novitates spargit, id agit, ut plenis velis Calvinismum introducat.... Dedissem operam, convocasset Serenissimus mens plures Theologos, imprimis Trium Academiarum, ut ita Spiritui novo omoquomadon obviam ire potuissemus, si literae advenissent." See the *Censurae*, 190. On April 27, 1647, he wrote Botsach, "Verum nisi mature obviam iturus fuerit, novas propediem & alibi traedias dabit. Sir error foecundus est. Monuere tres Acedemiae Helmstadianos. verum adeo Calixtus incaluit, ut mentis motae videatur: Er wirfft in deutscher Sprach mit Schlemm vnd Ehrendieben ümb sich / ut caetera scommata taceam." See the *Censurae*, 191.

<sup>137</sup> Michael Walther's October 1646 *Gutachten* is found in the *Censurae*, 107–30. See also the *Censurae*, 153, 189.

At the same time, Latermann issued a Latin defense of himself, which he later reissued in a German translation.<sup>138</sup> Myslenta and the Königsberg ministerium then countered with the *Litterae Ministerii Regiomontis Respective Tripolitani*,<sup>139</sup> and the more significant *Anti-Crisis*, which was later issued in a German translation. The latter placed the blame for Königsberg syncretism squarely on the shoulders of Georg Calixt and brought more *Gutachten* to bear on the matter.<sup>140</sup> The Königsberg theologians were so offended by this text that they wrote the theologians of Helmstedt so that they both might get their respective sovereigns to burn it in their territories just as was done with Büscher's polemic. Myslenta, however, translated and publicized the letter to make the ecclesial-political argument that Lutheran syncretism was not Lutheran, Roman Catholic, or Calvinist, but a mutation and, therefore, an illegal sect in both in the empire and Poland. This argument became a central theme of Calov's polemic and the *Consensus Repetitus*:

Dr. Behm, Dr. Dreier, and Dr. Latermann should be regarded as shameful Mukluks, deserters of the original catholic and apostolic doctrine, as falsifiers of almost all

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<sup>138</sup> Johann Latermann, *Declaratio Apologetica, qua se contra iniustas & importunas quorundam accusationes tuetur. In ea Gravissimae & hoc tempore non parum controversae questiones: De conversione hominis, De mitioribus modernorum Reformatorum sententiis, De condemnatione Reformatorum, De certitudine salutis, De studio & consensu Antiquitatis Ecclesiasticae, De necessitate bonorum operum, Pluraque alia veritatis & pacis studioso haud ingrata futura ventilantur ac discutuntur. Rom. VIII. 28. Scimus, quod his, qui Deum diligunt, omnia cooperantur in bonum Thorvnii, Mense Aprili Anno 1648* (Thorn: n.p., 1648).

<sup>139</sup> *Litterae Ministerii Regiomontis Respective Tripolitani. Exaratae ad Collegia Theologica in Academiis, & Ministeriis quibusdam, pro impetrandis Censuris super Dissertatione Latermanni de Praedestinatione, allisque ejus palcitis una cum Apologia D. Coelestini Mislentae, adversus delatorias complicum Latermanni ad eadem Collegia perscriptas & refutatione Programmatum Binorum in Academia Regiomontana affixorum, Praemissa est Praefatio Causas editionis exponens: Accessit Appendix Triplicem Declarationem Latermanni sub examen revocans, Opera Ministerij Tripolitani* (Danzig: n.p., 1649).

<sup>140</sup> *Anti-Crisis, Sive Confutatio Judiciorum, a Latermanni Errorum Complicibus, utpote D. Michaelae Behm, D. Christiano Drejero, nec non ipso D. Latermanno, sine judicio editorum, qua larva speciem Judiciorum prae se serens detrahitur; Censurarum genuinarum ab Orthodoxis Theologis expeditarum autoritas adseritur; innocentia Venerandi Ministerii Tripolitani vindicatur: Mystera insuper notabilia iniquitatis D. Calixti, ipsiusque; asseclarum in Prussia, Latermanni Complicum passim patrare, e latibulis in apricum protrahuntur, ac conspectui Ecclesiae in Dei gloriam sistuntur. Accessit appendix Declarationem Triplicem D. Latermanni concernens, quarum secunda Rostochii ab ipso exhibita variarum Heterodoxiarum, Calvinismo, Photinianismo, & Iudaismo applaudentium & patrocinantium, rea agitur; Tertia nuper divulgata Apologetica, non tantum communium cum Calvinianis & Pontificiis Errorum sed etiam Atheismi convincitur; qualem D. Latermannus, ductum Georgii Cassandri, Marci Antonii de Dominis I. 7. de Republ. Ecclesiasti; ut & D. Calixti, secutus, Ecclesiis Prutenicis una cum complicibus errorum suorum, obtrudere, nec non in easdem, ut & Acadmiam Regiomontanam, plenis velis invehere satagit. Opera & studio Ministerij respectivè Tripolitani apud Regiomontanos* (Danzig: Hünefeld, 1649).

articles of the faith, as deserters of the truth, and of the religion received by the churches of the unaltered *Augsburg Confession* and her symbolic books, as founders of a new Samaritan, Chimeraian, Babylonian, hermaphrodite sect: as atheists and deserters of God and his service; and finally as godless people and perjurers, whom one could not even believe if they had sworn the highest oath.<sup>141</sup>

In 1652 Latermann departed to assume a troubled post as Superintendent of Halberstadt.

Still Coelestin Myslenta continued to wage war on the Königsberg syncretists until his death in 1653. With the faculty senate's backing, Myslenta made it impossible for even Michael Behm to rise in the faculty. When Behm died, Myslenta barred his funeral from the cathedral and forbade Dreier from preaching a funeral sermon. In opposition to the university statutes, the Great Elector then removed Myslenta from the university senate as well as suspended his professorship and position in the consistory.<sup>142</sup> After Myslenta's death, the estates continued to oppose the Königsberg syncretists, but now syncretism had more opportunity to grow.<sup>143</sup>

Just as *Gutachten* from various German Lutheran faculties, ministeriums, and theologians were arriving in Königsberg, the Saxon elector and the three Saxon universities were taking measures to issue the first formal admonition of the University of Helmstedt. Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony was petitioned to order this disciplinary action by his Dresden *Oberhofprediger*, Jakob Weller von Molßdorf (1602–64).<sup>144</sup> The most immediate reason for

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<sup>141</sup> "D. Behm, D. Dreier, und D. Latermann für schändliche Mameluken und Verlasser der uhralten Catholischen und Apostolischen Lehre; für Verfälscher fast aller Glaubens-Artickel; für Verräther der wahren / und den Kirchen ungeänderten Augsburgischen Confession angenommenen Religion und ihrer Symbolischen Bücher; für Stifter einer neuen, Samaritanischen / Chimerischen / Babelischen / Hermaphroditischen Secte: Für Atheisten und Verräther Gottes und seines Dienstes; endlich für Glaubens-lose und Meineydige Leute, dennen man auch auff den höchsten Schwur nichts glauben könne / zu halten seyn." See Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 621–22.

<sup>142</sup> Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 617–30; Gundermann, "Coelestin," 130–32; Kaufmann, "Theologische," 315.

<sup>143</sup> Erdmannsdörfer, *Urkunden*, 15:362; 15:368–75. On July 12, 1661, the estates complained that Dreier was calling the Lutheran ministerium, "Novatianern, Luciferianern und Donatisten." See Erdmannsdörfer, *Urkunden*, 15:521–31. See also Dreier's support for the Great Elector at the 1661 Landtag, "Denn nicht die untertanen der Obrigkeit Gesetze geben können, sondern die Obrigkeit den Untertanen." See Weinberg, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 95.

<sup>144</sup> Wolfgang Sommer, "Jakob Weller als Oberhofprediger in Dresden," in *Vestigia pietatis. Studien zur Geschichte der Frömmigkeit in Thüringen and Sachsen*, ed. Gerhard Graf et al. (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000), 145–62; Sommer, *Die lutherischen*, 167–86. Weller's role is spelled out in LHA Dresden Loc,

Weller's actions was that the Helmstedt theology professor, Conrad Horneius, had presided over a 1646 disputation, which argued that while faith is the only instrumental cause or medium of salvation, good works are a condition or *sine qua non* for salvation.<sup>145</sup> Since this descendant of Hieronymus Weller von Molßdorf (1499–1572) and former Wittenberg professor of oriental languages was also the last Superintendent of the city of Braunschweig (1640–1646) to oppose the inroads of Helmstedt theology in that city loyal to the *Formula of Concord*, his actions were hardly unexpected. For the public good of the church, the Saxon elector then ordered on August 17, 1646 his theological faculties of Wittenberg and Leipzig to do the following:

We [elector] have been credibly reported to concerning one or another innovation that has arisen in the neighboring University of Helmstedt, and in fact more recently of a dangerous disputation concerning the necessity of works for salvation, which you no doubt already have [in your possession]. Since it is unknown to us if you yourselves ever admonished the *Facultatem Theologicam*, the church of God, and the students ... concerning this matter, not only [because] such errors are already rejected through the clear voice of the Evangelical Church, but also now [because] nothing is as great of an offence and [because] without [admonition] time can foster it among them. It is our gracious desire in this case both to admonish them still *privatim* in your name and to send a copy of your admonition to them as also their answer along with your Christian objections about such *Disputationes*, as well as to communicate with the one or the other university what you have herein.<sup>146</sup>

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1909, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 47; Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, C iii–D iii.

<sup>145</sup> "Sicut autem fides causa & medium justitiae & salutis per Dei gratiam & Christi meritum consequendae est: ita caritas & observatio mandatorum Dei conditio est, sub qua ij, qui per fidem justificati sunt, aeternam illam salutem adipiscuntur. ... fides autem causa instrumentalis & medium tantum est, observatio denique praeceptorum Dei non causa instrumentalis aut medium sed conditio solum vel causa sine qua non, non justitiae sed salutis." See Conrad Horneius, "Disputatio Theologica, De Summa Fidei Non Qualislibet Sed Quae per caritatem operator necessitate ad salutem Publice in Academia Iulia proposita, Praeside Conrado Horneio S. Theol. D. & Prof. Publ. Respondente M. Joan-Heinrico Fidler Tambachio-Thuringo X. Kal. Iun. M DC XLVI," in *Disputationes Et Tractatus Aliqvot: De Necessitate Studii Pietatis, si quis salvus esse per Christum velit: In Unum Opusculum Omnes Conjecti*, ed. Conrad Horneius (Frankfurt: Götzius, 1648), 3–4.

<sup>146</sup> "Wir sind glaubwürdig berichtet / welcher Gestalt in der benachbahrten Universität Helmstädt eine und andere / und zwar neulicher Zeit eine gefährliche Disputation von der Nothwendigkeit der Wercke zur Seligkeit / sey außgesprenget worden / welche ihr Zweifels ohne bereit haben werdet. Weil uns aber unwissend / ob ihr jemahls selbige *Facultatem Theologicam* ermahnet / der Gemeine Gottes / und der studirenden Jugend mit solchen Neurungen und weit außsehenden Disputationen, daraus nicht allein vor diesem / ehe durch einhellige Stimm der Evangelischen Kirche solcher Irrthumb verworffen worden / der gantzen Kirchen / sondern auch jetzo nichts als groß Ergernuß / und zwar bey diesem ohne das elenden Zeit erwachsen kan: Als ist unser gnädigstes Begehren / auff solchen Fall sie noch *privatim* in eurem Nahmen zu ermahnen / und die Abschrift eurer Vermahnung an sie / wie



The Leipzig theological faculty, consequently, invited the University of Jena on November 20, 1646 to join in this venture so as not to be accused of conspiring.<sup>147</sup> However, the Straßburg theology professor, Johann Dorsche, whom the Saxon elector would later try to win for Wittenberg, had already written the Salana theologians on September 3, 1646 in order to stir them to action:

It appears to me that old Jena has clearly taken on another form and has retained nothing of the older except several beloved sketches of a few friends. ... Now is the time that one must conspire in secret confederations for the common good. It will be good for discipline. It will be good for conquering the world. It will be good for the defense of our confessions and symbols.... We cannot abandon Dr. Myslenta in this cause. Wittenberg and Leipzig are also committed as I have learned from D. Hülsemann. The Hessian Lords won't do anything different.... For the longer there is silence or closed eyes, the worse the whole matter will be and in a short time, all of Germany will be amazed that it became Calixtine so quickly.<sup>148</sup>

Likewise a Straßburg law professor, whose name Calixt omits, had reported in a letter that students had been making a number of papistic utterances under the influence of Helmstedt. For example, the jurist states, "One recently announced in my home, having been instructed in the method of the *Julium*, that he had almost no scruples about going over to the side of the pontiffs:

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auch ihre Antwort / nebenst eurem Christlichen Bedencken über solche Disputationes: so wol / so etwa mit einer und der andern Universität ihr hierinnen was communiciret / einzusenden /u.." See the elector's August 17, 1646 order reprinted in Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 91–92; Calov, *Historia*, 576–77, 1092. The Wittenberg professor, Wilhelm Leyser, had already conducted an inaugural disputation against Latermann's denial of the clarity of the Trinity in the Old Testament in a 1645 disputation that Calixt presided over. See Calov, *Historia*, 574. On April 14, 1647, he later wrote Calov, "Fontem & originem mali in academia Iulia aggressi sumus, occasione arrepta ex disputatione Horneiana." See letter in the *Censurae*, 142–43.

<sup>147</sup> UA Halle XXXXII, 54, Vol I and LHA Dresden 1909, 87ff, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 47.

<sup>148</sup> "Mihi Jena pristina aliam plane faciem induisse videtur, & praeter paucorum amicorum dilectissima lineamenta nihil e forma vetri retinuisse. ... ut nunc sunt tempora, foederationibus secretioribus in commune bonum conspirandum est. Proderit hoc disciplinae; proderit ad mundi victoriam; Proderit ad confessionum symbolorumque; nostrorum patrocinium.... Nos D. Myslentae in ista re causam deserere non potuimus. Ita & Wittebergenses & Lipsienses fecisse, ex D. Hülsemann didici. Nec ibunt aliorum Domini Hassiaci.... Nam silentio longiore aut conniventia res tota pejor erit, & brevi orbis totus Germanicum mirabitur, se tam cito factum esse Calixtinum." See the letter in Johann Dorsche, *Latro Theologus, & Theologus Latro, Vigiliis Paschalibus expositus in Universitate Argentoratensi Gemino Panegyrico Anno Chr. MDCXLVII. & MDC LIII notis nonnullis auctior* (Rostock: Kil, 1655), 222–26; Calixt, *Widerlegung*, C–C iii; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 418. Hülsemann had long cultivated a friendship and correspondance with the Straßburgers. See Keller-Hüschemenger, *Das Problem*, 12–36; Tholuck, *Der Geist*,

we have nothing, which is not also found in the Roman Church."<sup>149</sup> On December 17, 1646, the Jena theologians relented and agreed to take part in the *Admonitio Fraterna*, but they maintained this was the task of the whole Lutheran church.<sup>150</sup>

On December 29, 1646, the three Saxon universities (Wittenberg, Leipzig, and Jena) issued the *Admonitio Fraterna* against Georg Calixt and Conrad Horneius. It represents the rebuke of thirteen Saxon theologians, although no specific signatures were listed on the document.<sup>151</sup> According to Heinz Staemmler, the *Admonitio Fraterna* was penned at the University of Leipzig, approved by the Wittenberg theological faculty, and then sent to the Jena theological faculty. The Jena faculty agreed with the substance of the document, but expressed two concerns based on their incomplete knowledge of the Helmstedt theologians' writings. First, they expressed concerns about the defensibility of that for which Helmstedt has been reproached. Second, they expressed concerns about not attributing positions to the Helmstedt theologians that they had never held.<sup>152</sup> The *Admonitio Fraterna* came quickly to the point:

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<sup>149</sup> "Vnus nuper in meis aedibus pronuntiavit, sibi religioni nullatenus fore ad partes Pontificorum transire, edoctum rationibus Iulii: nos nihil habere, quod non in Romana quoque Ecclesia deprenderetur." See the letter reprinted in Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Ee 3–Ee 4. See also Dorsche, *Latro*, 227–29.

<sup>150</sup> UA Halle XXXXII, 30 and XXXXII, 54, Vol I, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 48–49. On January 25, 1647, Johann T. Major the Younger (1615–55) wrote Dorsche, "Si e re Ecclesiae fuerit, & vestru & Dnn. Hassiacorum auxilium implorabimus: Vis enim conjuncta fortior est." See Dorsch, *Latro*, 247–50.

<sup>151</sup> The Saxon *Admonitio Fraterna* can be found in two places. "Copia epistolae monitoriae, quam iussa Serenissimi Domini Electoris Saxon. Tria Collegia Theologica, Anno MDCXLVI. ad Dd. Calixtum & Hornejum miserunt, de qua tam egregie excepta Calixtus in Epist. ad Acad. Witteberg. N. XXV. seqq. gloriatur," in *Dialysis Apologetica Problematis Calixtini: Num Mysterium Sanctissimae Trinitatis Aut Divinitatis Christi E Solo Vetere Testamento Possit Evinci, Et Omnibus Ejus Temporis Fidelibus Ad Salutem Creditu Fuerit Necessarium? Cum Refutatione Appendicis, Defensionis Hujus Problematis Pro Subsidio Nuper Missae*, ed. Johann Hülsemann (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1649), 464–69 and "Eorundem trium Collegiorum Theolog. Saxon. Admonitio faterna ad Theologos Helmstadienses, D. Gregorium Calixtum & D. Conradum Hornejum de phrasibus & sententiis ipsorum scandalosis," in *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum*, ed. Georg Dedeken, Johann Ernst Gerhard, and Christian Grübel (Jena: Hertel, 1671), New Appendix: 652–54. All citation will be made from the Hülsemann edition. See also Calov, *Historia*, 1092–93.

<sup>152</sup> The Jena theologians' January 1, 1647 letter to Leipzig in UA Halle XXXXII, 30, cited in Staemmler, *Auseinandersetzung*, 51–52.

We think that certain new phrases and opinions are not only observed by the learned in certain writings, extant in your name, which appear to deviate from that *Formula of Consensus or Concord*, which our blessed predecessors both with the greatest study and immense diligence sanctioned for themselves and their successors according to the norm of the Sacred Scripture, but that even the laity and common men (*plebei homines*) can discern in your writings things that are surprising, which clearly (*non obscure*) oppose both what has been received through the universal church of the *Formula of Consensus* and the rudimentary teachings of the catechism (*Catechesi rudiorum*), which up to now have been embraced in the *Augsburg Confession*. These, which concern the necessity of good works, are of such a kind, that we will say nothing of the others....<sup>153</sup>

Here the Saxon theology faculties assert that the Helmstedt theologians are guilty of a number of points that even the common man could see conflict with the *Formula of Concord* and the basic articles of the faith. But in compliance with the Saxon elector's order, they focused their admonishment on the Helmstedt theologians' position on good works. They go on to allude to Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel's own long tradition of adherence to the *Formula of Concord*, an argument that has some real force and is by no means irrelevant as spelled out in chapter two.<sup>154</sup> The Saxons do this first by reminding the Helmstedt faculty that not only their predecessors but also Duke Julius had subscribed to the *Formula of Concord* and the *Preface to the Book of Concord*. By doing this they swore "by no means, neither in content nor in phrases (*in rebus noch phrasibus*), to deviate from it, but rather to persist and remain agreed with it through the grace of the Holy Spirit, and also to regulate all religious controversies and their explanations

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<sup>153</sup> "Quod intelligeremus observari non a Doctis solum novas quasdam phrases & sententias, in scriptis quibusdam, sub nomine vestro extantibus, quae a Formula illa Consensionis seu Concordiae, quam beati Antecessores nostri utrinque summo studio immensaque diligentia pro se & Successoribus, juxta normam sacrarum Scripturarum sanxerunt, abire videantur; sed quod Laici etiam & plebei homines in scriptis illis vestris ea deprehendisse dicerentur, quae & receptae utrinque Consensionis Formulae, & Catechesi rudiorum per Universas Ecclesias, quae Augustanam Confessionem hactenus amplexae sunt, non obscure contraveniant. Qvalia, ut de caeteris nihil dicamus, cumprimis illa sint, quae de Bonorum Operum necessitate ad salutem...." See "Copia epistolae monitoriae," 464–65. See also Calov, *Historia*, 577.

<sup>154</sup> Calov also takes great pains to spell out a number of the details of their adherence to the FC in his *Historia*, 565–71. Staemmler seems to be of the opinion that this argument has little relevancy. See Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 23–26.

according to it."<sup>155</sup> They also did this by recalling that their predecessors had not objected to the *Book of Concord's* articles on original sin, free will, justification, good works, the cause of sin, etc. at the Quedlinburg Colloquy.<sup>156</sup> Asserting their oversight, the Saxons ask the Helmstedt faculty "to show moderation hereafter in their public disputations and their other writings and that they are not to appear to shake or weaken the fundamentals and foundations of the evangelical doctrine established and preserved by us [the Saxons]."<sup>157</sup>

The University of Helmstedt received the 1646 *Admonitio Fraternalis* on February 23, 1647. Calixt attributed the admonishment completely to Johann Hülsemann, who had now joined the Leipzig theological faculty and with whom Calixt felt he had a fairly cordial relationship up until then.<sup>158</sup> In fact, Calixt was so infuriated by the *Admonitio Fraternalis* that he fired off a sharp retorsion or legal charge of slander in February of 1647 to Hülsemann. Calixt retorted, "Because we are not bound to the *Formula*, he [Hülsemann] passes over it" to make this highly offensive charge that even common men can discern in Helmstedt writings things that oppose "the rudimentary teachings of the catechism, that up to now have been embraced in the *Augsburg Confession*." Calixt was so galled that he said, "I do not understand this [the rudimentary teachings of the catechism], nor am I able to understand it, nor ought I, unless I am exceedingly mistaken, other than the *Small Catechism* of the Blessed Luther, which I also studied as a child, and boys study throughout all the churches embracing the *Augsburg Confession* today."<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> "Copia epistolae monitoriae," 465–66; BC, Preface (BSLK [14], 761). The BC translation was made by the author.

<sup>156</sup> "Copia epistolae monitoriae," 466.

<sup>157</sup> "Atque eam imposterum in publicis Disputationibus aliisque scriptis suis adhibere moderationem, ne fundamenta & bases instauratae & conservatae hactenus Doctrinae Evangelicae per Nos ipsos moveri & labefactari videantur." See "Copia epistolae monitoriae," 467.

<sup>158</sup> Calixt, *Widerlegung*, C iii–D. Before assuming this position, Hülsemann had turned down the post of Dresden *Oberhofprediger*. See Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:42.

<sup>159</sup> Calixt's February 1647 letter to Hülsemann is reprinted in Georg Calixt, *Ad Svam De Questionibus Nvm*

According to Calixt, Hülsemann responded to him on March 5, 1647, asking him to recall his retorsion and appeared "to desire peace and tranquility." Calixt then wrote him a milder letter on March 26, 1647. It asserts his academic credentials, stresses his formation of many of the clerics of the day, reminds Hülsemann of the horrible offence given by the charges of the admonition, and affirms his willingness to forgive (provided this does not happen again). In addition, it encourages Hülsemann to negotiate a ceasefire with Dresden, so that they do not become a laughing stock to the Roman Catholics.<sup>160</sup> On March 27, 1647, Jakob Weller wrote the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel court-archdeacon, Wendlin Heubel, expressing the very same concerns as the *Admonitio Fraterna*.<sup>161</sup> In a March 29, 1647 letter to Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Calixt now had to give his own explanation of the *Admonitio Fraterna* and spell out what he deemed to be Saxony's real agenda:

These people are pursuing two things. One is that careful study and especially the study of ecclesiastical antiquity be extinguished, which here [Helmstedt] are of value and recommended to the young.... The other is that they may establish in the [Saxon] electorate a certain Pontifical tribunal, with authority to examine and decide doctrine and phrases, (as even they themselves say), and to which, those who embrace the *Augsburg Confession*, should be subject in the end.<sup>162</sup>

In February of 1648, the Königsberg ministerium's *Censurae Theologorum Orthodoxorum* arrived in Helmstedt with the result that a recalcitrant Calixt felt that he was now reliving the Büscher controversy, but on a much grander scale. That same year the Straßburg theology

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*Mysterium S. Trinitatis E Solo Vetere Testam. Possit Evinci; Et Nvm Patribvs Eivs Temporis Filivs Dei In Propria Sva Hypostasi Apparverit, Dissertationem Appendix Programma Programmati Scharfiano Oppositvm Cvm notis Et Ad Academiam VVittebergensem Epistola* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1649), M. Hülsemann later explained that *Catechesi rudiorum* referred to the basic articles of the faith not the catechism itself in the *Dialysis*, 151–59.

<sup>160</sup> The letter is found in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 108–20.

<sup>161</sup> The letter is cited in Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, D.

<sup>162</sup> "Duo agunt illi homines. Unum est ut opprimantur studia accuratiora et praesertim antiquitatis ecclesiasticae, quae hic in pretio sunt et inventuti commendantur.... Alterum est ut in electoratu erigatur tribunal quoddam Pontificium, cum auctoritate examinandi et sequestrandis dogmata et phrases (sic enim ipsi loquuntur) cui tanquam supremae subiiciantur qui Augustanam confessionem amplectuntur." See the letter cited in Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:127.

professor, Johann Dannhauer (1603–66), published his *Mysterium Syncretismi Detecti* against the Helmstedt faculty.<sup>163</sup> Now that all of Helmstedt was greatly disturbed, Calixt expanded his answer on April 20, 1648 to Duke August. Starting with the Büscher Controversy, he explained that Helmstedt was hated for four reasons. First, Helmstedt instructs its youth in Aristotelian philosophy. Second, it observes and highly regards the consensus of the early church. Third, it works for peace and overcomes religious divisions by focusing on what is fundamental and what is a secondary matter (*Nebenfragen*). Fourth, it teaches that to obtain heaven it is necessary to live according to God's commandments. Finally, he claims that not all the Leucorea theologians opposed Helmstedt (e.g. the former Helmstedt student of Cornelius Martini, Jakob Martini [1570–1649], and others), proposes that a conference be convened with their opponents at Magdeburg or elsewhere, and encourages Duke August to speak with other Braunschweig dukes (especially Michael Walther's sovereign Duke Friedrich of Braunschweig-Lüneburg) about protecting Helmstedt. Once again he accuses the Electoral Saxons of trying to establish "a new primacy or a pontificate, having sentence and final judgment on religious matters" (*eines neuen primatus oder Pontificatus der Auspruch vnd das Endvertheil von Religionssachsen*).<sup>164</sup>

### **Electoral Saxony and Ducal Saxony Divide on the Helmstedt Question**

Since Georg Calixt had made a retorsion, the Electoral Saxon theologians requested the Saxon elector's intervention in a letter dated April 2, 1647. They felt compelled to do this in light of the spread of Helmstedt innovations "in the University of Königsberg, yes, in all of Prussia, and also already in the many Lower Saxon churches and schools" (*Kirchen und Schulen*). "The unity in public doctrine and the confessions" (*Einhelligkeit in der öffentlichen Lehre und*

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<sup>163</sup> Calixt focused his wrath on the Electoral Saxons, Straßburgers, Coestlin Myslenta, and especially Michael Walther. See Calixt's February–May letters to Schwartkopff reprinted in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 133–38. Dannhauer, *Mysterium*, par. 31.

*Glaubensbekändnißen*) were not only in danger on the point of good works, "but also in many others, yes, in almost the majority of the articles of the *Book of Concord* and the writings of Martin Luther" (*sondern auch in vielen andern, ja fast mehrentheils Articuln des Concordien Buchs und der Schriften Herrn Lutheri*). The Electoral Saxon theologians further indicated that there were ecclesial-political reasons for action against Helmstedt. The evangelical position in the empire would be facilitated by it and the Calvinists "creeping in" (*Einschleichung*) under the protection of the *Augsburg Confession* would be made more difficult, "especially at the peace negotiations unfolding in Münster and Osnabrück" (*bey zumal noch währenden friedens Tractaten zu Münster und Osnabrück*). The Electoral Saxon theologians asked with which theologians from other territories they should continue their work of admonishment. Should they request each theologian to send his own admonishment to Helmstedt? Or should the Electoral Saxons communicate to the theologians their own comprehensive view of why the Helmstedt theologians' teachings contradict God's Word and Lutheran doctrine? The latter was deemed inappropriate, lest the Electoral Saxons be accused of conspiring against the theologians of Helmstedt.<sup>165</sup>

On January 16, 1648, the Wittenberg theological faculty (i.e., Jakob Martini, Paul Röber, and Wilhelm Leyser the Elder), wrote the Saxon elector. They were prompted to write because they could no longer be silent. The increasing spread of Helmstedt errors notwithstanding, "We are informed by other theologians that such silence is proclaimed by our opponents as if it were a sign of victory." In addition, they warned that some young clerics might find Helmstedt

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<sup>164</sup> The letter is reprinted in Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, X iii–Y ii.

<sup>165</sup> LHA 1909, 87ff, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 54–55. They feared, "Denen Augspurgischen Confessions Verwandten im Reich, in Schlesien, Böhmen und andern orten, die recuperation ihrer Religions Exercitij schwerer, den lauschenden Calvinisten aber die einschleichung unter den nahmen Augspurgischer Confessions Verwandten desto leichter und scheinlicher" could become. See LHA 1909, 87ff, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 54–55.

innovations "as something special and easily appealing." If something were not done about these errors now, they would spread. The Wittenberg theologians proposed the Saxon elector deal with the Helmstedt innovations by means of the same mechanism with which the Crypto-Kenotic Controversy and the Rahtmann Controversy were dealt. In short, the theologians of Wittenberg wanted the Saxon elector to issue a *Solida Deciso*, which was backed by the elector and the other Lutheran churches.<sup>166</sup>

Electoral Johann Georg I of Saxony responded on June 21, 1648. In light of the Electoral Saxon theologians' April, 2, 1647 report about the extent of Helmstedt deviations from the articles of the faith and the recent events in Königsberg, the Saxon elector issued the following command: "You will go from article to article to draw up what you think is contrary to God's Word and our church *symbolis*, and to use the latest suitable services of the land. Then send your statement to us and meanwhile keep this silent among yourselves."<sup>167</sup> The Leipzig theological faculty was first to respond. On August 16, 1648, the Leipzig theologians sent a document, spelling out the Helmstedt theologians' errors. It was signed by professors Johann Hülsemann, Christian Lange (1585–1657), and Daniel Heinrici (1615–66). Like the Lutheran confession at Thorn, their collection of Helmstedt errors was modeled after the topical arrangement of the *Augsburg Confession*.<sup>168</sup> The document began with a preface opposing Calixt's two *principia* as the basis of all articles of faith (i.e., Scripture and tradition). With respect to its first article, the

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<sup>166</sup> They recommended, "Dergleichen mittel, wie sie für diesem in den Tübingenischen undt Rattmanischen Streitigkeiten mit heylsamem nutz der gantzen Lutherischen Kirchen ergriffen." See LHA 1909, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 57–58.

<sup>167</sup> "Ihr wollet von Artickeln zu Artickeln gehen / was ihr Gottes Wort und unserer Kirchen Symbolis zu entgegen zu seyn vermeynet / auffsetzen / und tauglicher Bedienung der Gründe kürzlich gebrauchen / uns denn solche eure außführung ehester Tage einsenden / und dieses unterdeß in der Stille bey euch behalten." See the Saxon elector's June 21, 1648 letter is reprinted in Calov, *Historia*, 579–80, 1093–94. Calov incorrectly dates it January 21, 1648.

<sup>168</sup> For this reason, Staemmler not only attributes the CA arrangement of the *Consensus Repetitus'* articles to Leipzig, he also uses this document as his first proof that Hülsemann is the chief author of the new symbol. See



document takes issue with Calixt's assertion that the attributes of God need not be treated by theologians, because they can be deduced "from philosophy and the book of nature." In addition, it refutes the teachings that one did not have to explicitly believe in the Holy Trinity in the Old Testament or that God does not dwell substantially in the believer, but only through his gifts. The document opposed Calixt's notion that original sin is merely a *caerentia* or *defectus* in its second article. The third article treated the Christology of Conrad Horneius and rejected his denial of the omnipresence of Christ according to the human nature. Its fourth article, which in light of its *Augsburg Confession* arrangement included its article six and article twenty, treated Helmstedt's teachings on the subjects of justification and good works. The Leipzig faculty recognized no conflict on the doctrines of the ministry and baptism, namely articles seven and nine respectively. The twelfth and eighteenth articles examined repentance and free will respectively. Article nineteen took issue with Calixt's teaching that God was the accidental cause of sin (*causa peccati per accidens*), a controversy that the Salana theologians had with the Helmstedt theologians for some years.<sup>169</sup> The theologians of Leipzig finally advised that a "conference could be arranged with the Helmstedt theologians in the presence of a few political councilors" (*mündtliche conferentz mit den Helmstädtischen Theologen in beyseyn etlicher politischen Rätthe, könnte beygelegt*). The theologians "on both sides" should "be instructed by their princes" to teach, write, or publish nothing that runs contrary to the confessions." Distrustful of the Braunschweigers, the Leipzig faculty recommended that the Saxon elector at any rate have the superior consistory to do the following,

[For the protection of] many young pastors and school teachers, who have ears itching for such innovations ... examine the *ordinandos*, particularly on the first eight articles of the *Book of Concord* and permit no one *ad Ministerium*, who is suspect in

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Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 59.

<sup>169</sup> LHA 1909, 93ff, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 59–60.

any way of not being correct on one or another article until he brings the testimony of the university or the theological faculty that he has corrected his *sententiam libri concordiae* with respect to the aforementioned eight articles, or has defended and confessed them *in exercitiis et Disputationibus Academicis*, if not in public still in private, and hereafter has taken the *solenne juramentum religionis*.<sup>170</sup>

According Staemmler, an aging and fainthearted Wittenberg theological faculty, now consisting of Jakob Martini (d. 1649), Paul Röber (d. 1651), and Johann Scharf (d. 1660), responded to the Saxon elector on October 30, 1648. On the basis of the few Helmstedt writings that they were able to acquire through students, they concluded that Helmstedt had not only made "dangerous statements on one or the other articles" of the faith, but also threatened Lutheranism itself (*Hauptwerck, fundament und gänzliche verenderung der Lutherischen Religion*).<sup>171</sup> The Wittenberg theologians made three attempts to carry out the Saxon elector's assignment. The first attempt was a list of dubious Helmstedt theological statements. The second attempt was a list of Helmstedt errors, topically arranged according the *Augsburg Confession*. But this attempt ran aground after the first article, which the Wittenberg faculty still did not deem complete. The third attempt was based exclusively on Georg Calixt's *Epitomes Theologiae Moralis*. This attempt was not intended to be comprehensive, but only to show where Helmstedt deviated from the articles of the *Book of Concord*. Finally, the Leucorea theologians did not seem to want to spar with Helmstedt. They recommended "only the dubious points without proofs from their writings" be sent them, and added, "One shall engage in no exchange of words." If this were not viable, then "a certain form" like the *Solida Deciso* should be drawn up

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<sup>170</sup> Since they feared "der Helmstädtischen Theologen Obrigkeit allerseits, sich hierinnen nicht binden lassen dörfte, viele junge Pfarrer und Schuldiener aber nach solchen newerungen jückende ohren haben" they recommended "ordinandos sonderlich auß den ersten 8 artickuln des Concordienbuchs zu examiniren undt niemant ad Ministerium zuzulassen, der einiger weise suspect ist, das er in einem oder andern bemelten artickuln nicht richtig sey, biß er Zeugnuß von einer Universität oder Theologischen Facultät bringe das er *sententiam libri concordiae* über obbemelte 8 artickul recht innen, oder auch in *exercitiis et Disputationibus Academicis*, wo nicht publice, doch privatim verthädigte und bekennet habe, und hernach das *solenne juramentum religionis* darauff abege." See LHA 1909, 93ff, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 60.

against them with support from other theologians, "particularly from universities that were also outside of Germany" (*sonderlich auf Universitäten auch außerhalb Teutschlandes*).<sup>172</sup>

As already alluded to by Dorsche's remarks, the differences between the Ducal Saxons and the Electoral Saxons, their respective interpretations of Calixtine theology, and their church-political policies toward Helmstedt now began to really come to the fore in August of 1648. This breach would only widen during the remainder of the Syncretistic Controversy. Rooted in a deep-seated theological and political distrust despite their common faith and lineage, the divisions about Helmstedt developed after the 1621 Saxon conference at Jena, where the Jena Johannine Triad was very critical of Helmstedt theology. This divergence can be seen for the first time in Duke Ernst the Pious of Saxony-Gotha's interaction with Calixt if not in his disagreement with Johann Kromayer. It can also be seen in the disposition of the Salana theology faculty as evident in their reticent reactions to Königsberg syncretism and Helmstedt syncretism. This new disposition has been attributed to the Jena theology professor, Johannes Musaeus, so much so that his tenure has been called the "Era of Musaeus" (*Ära Musäus*).<sup>173</sup> At that time, the Jena ordinary theological faculty consisted of the eighty-four-year-old Johann Major the Elder, the former friend of Calixt and the probable author of the mild Jena *Gutachten* on Königsberg syncretism, Gottfried Cundisius (1599–1651), and Johannes Musaeus. Musaeus' influence over the faculty would only increase as he became *professor primarius* in 1654 and the current extraordinary theology professor, Johann T. Major the Younger (1615–55), became the second ordinary theology professor after his father's death in 1654. Major the Younger, in turn, was

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<sup>171</sup> LHA 1909, 123ff, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 61.

<sup>172</sup> For the titles of these archival sources, see Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 62. Noting the two universities' respective preferences for a conference or another official statement, Staemmler concludes, "Daß nicht in Wittenberg die Vorstufen des Cons. Rep. entstanden sind, sondern in Leipzig." See Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 63.

succeeded by Johann Gerhard's son, Calixt admirer, and contributor to Dedeken's (1564–1628) *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum*, Johann Ernst Gerhard the Younger (1621–68), who was followed by Friedemann Bechmann (1628–1703).<sup>174</sup> In 1662 the grandnephew of Martin Chemnitz, Christian Chemnitz (1615–66), became the third ordinary professor. He, in turn, was succeeded by the first Jena theologian to lecture on church history, Sebastian Niemann (1625–84), who was followed by Johann Baier (1647–95), the son-in-law of Musaeus, the great communicator of Musaeus' theology, and the first rector of the Hohenzollern University of Halle.<sup>175</sup>

The great-grandson of the Gnesio-Lutheran, Simon Musaeus (1521–76), Johannes Musaeus (1613–81), was privately instructed by his father, until he was sent to the Latin school in Arnstadt.<sup>176</sup> In 1633 he joined its rector and the now Erfurt theology professor, Georg Großhain, at the reopened University of Erfurt.<sup>177</sup> There Musaeus encountered the piety of Johann Meyfart (1590–1642), whose 1636 *Dissertatio Academica de concilianda Pace inter Ecclesias per Germaniam Evangelicas* called for church peace under orthodox terms. He received a sound formation under the philologist and 1622-crowned *poeta laureatus*, Paul Slevogt (1625–55), and the Aristotelian, Daniel Strahl (1596–1655), earning his master's degree in 1635. Musaeus then

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<sup>173</sup> Heussi, *Geschichte*, 135. See also Patze, *Das Zeitalter*, 3:17–25.

<sup>174</sup> Heussi, *Geschichte*, 135–41; Frank, *Die Jenaische*, 37–56; Tholuck, *Vorgeschichte*, 2:32–34. Georg Dedeken, Johann Ernst Gerhard, and Christian Grübel, *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum* (Jena: Hertel, 1671).

<sup>175</sup> Heussi, *Geschichte*, 141–51.

<sup>176</sup> Theophil Colerus, *Abbildung Eines rechtschaffenen Lehrers / In unsträflich geführtem Wandel und dapperer Bekänntniß der Christlichen Lehre aus der Epist. Pauli an die Philipp. am 3. v. 20. 21. bey Christ-gewöhnlich- und Volckreichen Leichbegängniß des weiland Hoch Ehrwürdigen / Hochachibahren und Hochgelahrten Herrn D. Johannis Musaei, Hochberühmten und üm die gesammte Christ-evangelische Kirche fürtrefflich-verdienten Theologi, bey der Fürstl. Sächs. gesammten Universität zu Jena hochansehnlich Professoris Publici Primarii, und der wohlöbe. Theol. Facultät Senioris. Als derselbe den 4. Maji A. 1681 in Christo sanfft und seelig entschlaffen / den folgenden 8 Maji zu seiner Ruhestätte gebracht worden / Wohlerbaulich gezeiget* (Jena: Gollner, 1681); Albrecht, *Wesen*, 85–97.

<sup>177</sup> Colerus, *Abbildung*, 33–34.

lectured until 1642 and even had Johann Christian von Boineburg as one of his students. He replaced Johann Dillherr (1604–69) in 1643 as the Jena professor of history and poetics.<sup>178</sup> In 1645 Johannes Musaeus joined the Jena theological faculty and received his doctorate the next year. He served at Jena until his death in 1681. He remains one of the earliest Lutherans to engage Rationalism in a critical fashion. His younger brother and Rinteln theology professor (1648–65), Peter Musaeus (1620–74), studied at Helmstedt and lived with Calixt from 1646 to 1648.<sup>179</sup>

Past interpretations of Johannes Musaeus have deemed him to be the "patron and mediator of syncretism," a "middle road," a proponent of "liberal orthodoxy," a proponent of mild orthodoxy, a proto-rationalist, "the greatest theologian of the century next to Georg Calixt and Johann Gerhard," a mediating theologian, "one of the most important theologians of the whole 17th Century," as well as "clearly [belonging] to the early enlightenment of the 17th Century." Harry Albrecht, conversely, insists that Musaeus represents a distinct third Lutheran way.<sup>180</sup> Even though Albrecht rightly demonstrates that Musaeus rejects Roman Catholic and Marco Antonio De Dominis' irenic conceptions of authority and ecclesiology,<sup>181</sup> one still cannot deny that there is a certain affinity between Musaeus and Helmstedt on certain doctrinal positions, or at the very least a breach between Musaeus and other Orthodox theologians including Johann Gerhard himself. Musaeus published no dogmatics as such, but he did leave behind a 1666 manuscript of his *Collegium theologicum super omnes Locos Theologicos habitum apud Maxime Reverendum*. However, Johann Baier's highly-popular and oft-reprinted *Compendium theologiae positivae* was

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<sup>178</sup> For an overview of Musaeus' historical acumen see Hermann Kappner, *Die Geschichtswissenschaft an der Universität Jena vom Humanismus bis zur Aufklärung* (Jena: Fischer, 1931), 49–51.

<sup>179</sup> On June 24, 1646, Musaeus wrote a friendly letter to his brother's mentor. See Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 100–101.

<sup>180</sup> These characterizations come from Calov, Walch, Frank, Schmid, Gass, Dorner (Weber, Baur & Wallmann), Heussi, and Sparr respectively. See Albrecht, *Wesen*, 21–25, 89, 284, 298–309.

<sup>181</sup> Albrecht, *Wesen*, 102–255; Albrecht, "Das ekklesiologische," 35–59.

largely penned to be a summation of his father-in-law's theology just as its subtitle states.<sup>182</sup> In his deconstruction of Roman Catholicism and De Dominis' irenicism, Musaeus developed a conception of authority and ecclesiology from *Augsburg Confession* VII and the *Book of Concord* which seems similar to that of the Electoral Saxons. In his 1655–56 ecclesiological disputations, he distinguishes the church properly speaking (*proprie dicta*) from the church improperly speaking (*improprie dicta*). Whereas the church improperly speaking consists of all those making an outward profession of faith, justifying faith is the mark of the church properly speaking. He adds that the church properly speaking and improperly speaking can be examined from the perspective of either the particular or the universal church.<sup>183</sup> He posits that a church whose ministerium is impure is false church, but a church with a pure ministerium is true church. That said, even false church (i.e., heterodox church), is still church.<sup>184</sup> In addition, he points out that the ecumenical creeds do not contain all the fundamental articles of the faith.<sup>185</sup> In his 1654 *Vertheidigung des Unbeweglichen Grundes*, Musaeus rejects the notion that Lutheranism or any other particular church can claim to be "the true church" (*die wahre Kirche*), but affirms that the Church of the *Augsburg Confession* is "a true church of Christ" (*ein wahre Kirche Christi*)

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<sup>182</sup> "Adjectis Notis Amplioribus Quibus Doctrina Orthodoxa Ad PAIDEIAN Academicam Explicatur Atque Ex Scriptura Sacra Eique Innicis Rationibus Theologicis Confirmatur Allegatis Subinde Scriptis Dictisque B. Johannis Musaei Et Plurium Theologorum Orthodoxorum Consentientium." See Johann Baier, *Compendium Theologiae Postitivae Secundum Editionem Anni 1694*, ed. Ed. Preuss (Berlin: Schlawitz, 1864); XV; Albrecht, *Wesen*, 4.

<sup>183</sup> Johannes Musaeus, *Disputationum De Ecclesia Secundae, Quae Est De Distinctione Ecclesiae In Universalem Et Particulares, pars prior* (Jena: Freyschmidt, 1656); Johannes Musaeus, *Disputationis secundae de distinctione ecclesiae in universalem et particulares, pars altera* (Jena: Freyschmidt, 1657), referenced and summarized in Albrecht, "Das ekklesiologische," 43–49.

<sup>184</sup> Musaeus' ecclesiological disputations in Albrecht, *Wesen*, 179.

<sup>185</sup> "Illud vero existimamus esse certem, & extra dubietatis aleam positum, quod integri articuli fundamentales non exprimantur omnes in symbolis oecumenicis, sed nonnulli saltim titulotenus indicentur, vel sub aliis implicite contineantur, quorum declaratio tum vel ex Scripturis petenda relinquebatur, vel ex publica eaque ubique locorum sonante Verbi praedicatione inter fidelis nota esse praesupponebatur." See Musaeus' ecclesiological disputations in Albrecht, *Wesen*, 229. For an overview of Musaeus on Scripture see Baier, *Compendium*, 70–112.

because it properly preaches the gospel and administers the sacraments.<sup>186</sup> Working within the framework of Nicolaus Hunnius' distinction between articles of the faith (fundamental [primary and secondary] and non-fundamental), Musaeus insisted in his 1679 *Questiones theologiae* that agreement in all the articles of the faith, not just the fundamental articles of the faith, is necessary for real church union—a position that he would even restate in his 1680 *Der Theologischen Facultät zu Jehn Bedencken*.<sup>187</sup> In light of all this Albrecht can say that purity of doctrine does not belong to the essence of the church for Musaeus, because the necessary articles of faith determine the essence of the church. But all the articles are necessary for authentic church unity

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<sup>186</sup> "Woraus denn erhellet / daß von keiner sichtbaren und an gewissen Ort und Erden ümschriebenen Kirche könne recht gesagt werden / daß sie sey die wahre Kirche / da von wir in unserm Glauben sagen: Credo unam sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam." See Johannes Musaeus, *Vertheidigung Des Unbeweglichen Grundes / Dessen der Augspurgischen Confession verwante Lehrer zum Beweis ihrer Kirchen sich gebrauchen / zu förderst Jodoci Kedden / Jesuitens Sophistereyen entgegen gesetzt / Worin auch Von der allgemeinen Kirche / derselben wahren Gliedmassen und dero Vereinigung / auf gegebene Anlaß gehandelt wird* (Jena: Sengenwalden, 1654), cited in Albrecht, "Das ekklesiologische," 51–52. "Denn so kan bewiesen werden / dass die Lutherische Kirche die Natur und Wesen einer Kirche Christi in sich habe / oder dass ihr die definitio derselben recht zugeeignet werde / so muß unümgänglich zugelassen werden / dass sie in Warheit eine Kirche Christ sey." See Musaeus, *Vertheidigung*, cited in Albrecht, *Wesen*, 142–44.

<sup>187</sup> "In pace igitur Ecclesiae ineunda non tantum spectandum est, quaenam doctrinae Christianae capita omnibus simpliciter creditu necessaria sint, ita ut ne ignorare quidem possint, fide & salute salva, sed & quae doctrina Ecclesiae concredita sit ad generandos Deo & in fide educandos alendosque filios spiritualis, & ad quam tuendam atque ab erroribus & corruptelis puram servandam eadem obligetur. Obligatur autem, ut supra dictum, ad tuendam & sartem tectamque doctrinam Christianam totam, ut supra in quaest. 3. ostendimus." See Johannes Musaeus, *Quaestiones Theologicae inter Nostrates hactenus agitatae De Syncretismo Et Scriptura Sacra ante hos annos octo, & quod excurrit, in Collegio privato propositae, & nunc cum Vindiciis necessariis publicae luci comissae, Præmittitur Ad Serenissimos Duces Saxoniae, & c. Nutritores Academiae Jenensis, Epistola Facultatis Theologicae in eadem Academia* (Jena: Bielcke, 1679), 37. To explain why agreement in all articles of the faith is necessary, Musaeus writes, "Es hat Gott seiner Kirchen als einer Geistl. Mutter aller gläubigen Kinder Gottess / nicht nur diejenigen Haupt-Articul der Christl. wahren Lehre / die einem jeden Einfältigen für sich zu glauben nöthig sind / und ohne deren Wissenschaft und Beyfall der wahre Glaube nicht kan in ihren entzündet oder erhalten werden / sondern die gantze Christl. Glaubens- und Lebens-Lehre / wie auch die heilige Sacramenta anvertrauet / dieselbe rein und unverfälscht zuerhalten / zubewahren / wieder alle verführische Geister zuvertheidigen / derselben sich zugebrauchen / Gott geistl. Kinder zu zeugen / und erziehen / das sie in seligem Erkänntuß von Tag zu Tag wachsen und zunehmen...." See *Der Theologischen Facultät zu Jehn Bedencken An Ihre Hoch-Fürstl. Durchläuchtigkeiten / Herrn Johann Ernsten und Herrn Friedrich Hertzogen zu Sachsen / Jülich / Cleven und Berg u. Und derer Hoch-Fürstl. Herrn Brüder. Vom Consensu repetito Und Von dem Calixtischen Syncretismo* is reprinted in Calov, *Historia*, 1073–74. See also Musaeus in Baier, *Compendium*, 617–18, 30–39; Albrecht, "Das ekklesiologische," 56–58.

and peace.<sup>188</sup> Still it is interesting to note at this juncture that he had limited polemics in his 1666 *Collegium theologicum* to the fundamental articles of the faith.<sup>189</sup>

Developing a historicizing reading of the *Book of Concord*, Musaeus would come to deviate from Orthodox Lutheranism in a number of doctrinal positions as well. Some of the clearest examples concern anthropology and soteriology. In his 1678 *Introductio In Theologiam, Qva De Natura Theologiae Naturalis, Et Revelatae*, he helped introduce the concept of "natural theology" (*theologia naturalis*) into Lutheranism, proposing a sort of theology of the unregenerate. With respect to revealed theology, he took a mediating position between Gerhard and Calixt by defining theology both as a "God-given habit" (*geosdo, toj habitus*) and a practical science (*scientia practica*).<sup>190</sup> In his *Der Jenischen Theologen Ausführliche Erklärung*, Musaeus will only go as far as saying that a plurality in God and the deity of the Messiah can be discerned on the basis of the Old Testament alone.<sup>191</sup> In that same text, Musaeus disputes the charge that he

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<sup>188</sup> Albrecht, *Wesen*, 145.

<sup>189</sup> "Quodsi haeretici ad poenitentiam redire nolint et contra ecclesiae iudicium errores fidei fundamento repugnantes propugnare, magistratus politici est, vi eos coërcere vel e finibus ecclesiae proscribere, ne quid detrimenti capiat ecclesia," cited in Frank, *Die Jenaische*, 50.

<sup>190</sup> Musaeus' citations in Baier, *Compendium*, 4–21. The Wittenberg professor, Jakob Martini, was one of the few other Lutherans to think along these lines as Baier notes. Abraham Calov also explored the concept of natural theology in his *Theologia Naturalis Et Revelata secundum tenorem Augustanae Confessionis* (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1646). See also Wallmann, *Der Theologiebegriff*, 1–4; Preus, *The Theology*, 1:154–57; Elert, *Structure*, 56.

<sup>191</sup> "Fatendum omnino est, nobis imprimis, quibus Scripturae N.T. ad V.T. uberiores intelligentiam facem quasi praeferunt, contineri in Scripturis V.T. testimonia, alia quidem, ex quibus in Deo uno quaedam dari pluralitatem; alia ex, quibus Messia aeterna Deitas solide probari possit." See Musaeus, *Der Jenischen Theologen Ausführliche Erklärung Über drey und neunzig vermeinete Religions-Fragen oder Controversien / Wie / was / und aus was Motiven und Gründen sie / oder auch / nach Beschaffenheit der Sache / ihre Vorfahren bey der Fürstl. Sächsischen gesammten Universität Jena / von einer ieden / privatim oder publice, gelehret oder nicht gelehret haben / Auf Veranlassung Einer verleumbderischen Chartecke / Die zwar nur in zweyen geschriebenen / aber gedachte Fragen alle in sich haltenden / Bogen besteht / und durch vielfältiges Abschreiben / unterm Titul: Theologorum Jenensium Errores, ex variis eorundum Scriptis dilucide monstrati; An nahen und fern gelegenen Orten / weit ausbreitet worden / und noch von Tage zu Tage weiter ausgebreitet wird / (welche am Ende beygefüget) Zu Steuer der Warheit / und Rettung besagter Theologorum, und folgig Der Fürstlichen Gesambten Universität Jena / Ehre / und guten Leumund wider dero boshafftige obtreectores, Låsterer und Verleumbder / Auf der Theologischen Facultät da selbst einhelligen Schluß* (Jena: Bielcke, 1704), 166–67, 519–21. It should also be noted that he stands in the Christological tradition of a modified omnipresence of Christ: "Omnipraesentia autem carnis Christi, quae in libris nostris Symbolicis docetur, & quae a plerisque Ecclesiis, Aug. Conf. Addictis, recipitur, non est omnipraesentia absolute, sed modificata, per quam Christus carne sua jam in statu exultationis praesens esse



had taught that original sin is a mere privation of original righteousness.<sup>192</sup> He leaves open the possibility of a creationist explanation of the origin of the soul in his *Der Jenischen Theologen Ausführliche Erklärung*, but stresses the difficulties of this position (i.e., how to avoid making God the cause of original sin).<sup>193</sup> In his 1658 *Tractatus Theologicus De Conversione*, Musaeus departed from the notion that conversion is instantaneous. In contrast to renovation, he adds that man is purely passive at the beginning of his conversion, but becomes active in the progress of his conversion.<sup>194</sup> Kromayer, conversely, suggests that such cooperation in the progress of conversion was "not collateral but subordinate" (*non collateraliter sed subordinate*). In his *Loci Communes* (1666 *Collegium theologicum?*), Musaeus makes faith in Christ an impelling cause or at least a lesser impelling principle cause of election and justification (*causa impulsiva minus principalis*).<sup>195</sup> In his *Der Jenischen Theologen Ausführliche Erklärung*, Musaeus made a distinction in the doctrine of justification between the imputation of Christ's righteousness (or righteousness grasped by faith) and remission of sins (or nonimputation of sins), suggesting that the former was both the essence of justification and the cause of the latter.<sup>196</sup> The best example of

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statuiter, non in omnibus rebus aut creaturis, sed pro exigentia domini illius universalis, quod ad dextram Patris exaltatus secundum utramque naturam praesentis exercet." See Musaeus, *Der Jenischen*, 544.

<sup>192</sup> Musaeus, *Der Jenischen*, 299–301. In a similar vein, Musaeus will posit that pre-lapse man's knowledge of the Trinity was a supernatural revelation. See Musaeus, *Der Jenischen*, 223.

<sup>193</sup> Musaeus, *Der Jenischen*, 208.

<sup>194</sup> "Ex historiis Ecclesiasticis constat, quod multi, qui ad Christianismum conversi sunt, non per unum vel alterum diem, sed saepe per aliquot menses vel annos dubii haeserint, & luctam carnis ac Spiritus in se ipsis experti, modo in hanc, modo in illam partem propenderint, docec tandem gratia Spiritus S. praevalente, plenus fidei assensus fuerit subsecutus.... Et primum quidem, cum conversio inchoatur, in mente excitatur sancta quaedam de rebus Divinis cogitatio, conjuncta cum voluntatis pio quodam desiderio, vel conatu saltem, tendente in illa ut acquirenda." See Johannes Musaeus, *Tractatus Theologicus De Conversione &c. VI. Disputationibus Jenae* (Halle, Oselschlegel, 1658), O 3. "In homine, jam sub gratia convertente constituto, in quo conversio ejus prima a Spiritus S. per auditum Verbi inchoata, nondum vero complete est, dari bonos motus, pium desiderium, sanctus cogitationes, sarkopneuma zmacian & initus fidei." See Musaeus, *Der Jenischen*, 429; Baier, *Compendium*, 436–38; Calov, *Systema*, 10:146–51. The Leipzig theology professor and co-drafter of the *Consensus Repetitus*, Hieronymus Kromayer (1610–70), later departed from the notion that conversion is instantaneous as well. But he would do so with more caveats than Musaeus.

<sup>195</sup> Musaeus in Baier, *Compendium*, 572, 453–55; Calov, *Systema*, 10:629–40.

Musaeus' historicizing reading of the *Book of Concord* and departure from Orthodox Lutheranism takes place his 1650 *Bedencken Uber der unlängst entstandenen Controvers: Ob Gute Wercke nötig sein zur Seligkeit*, which was published without his consent for the purpose of "Christian moderation and the preservation of peace."<sup>197</sup> The document examined Conrad Horneius' theology of good works to ascertain if there was a sense in which one could rightly say that good works are necessary for salvation. The *Bedencken* focuses first on the matter itself and second on the terminology used. With respect to the former, Musaeus writes,

I set outside all doubt that as far as concerns the main controversy (from the other points I will not now speak) Mr. D. Horneius' opinion as it has been conducted and explained up to now by him in his writings thoroughly conforms to Holy Scripture and our *libris Symbolicis* and, therefore, is unrejectable. I also do not hope that someone is found among those adhering to the *Augsburg Confession*, who teaches and believes different than that it is of the utmost necessity for everyone who desires to be saved that after he has been justified through faith in Christ, has received the forgiveness of sins from God the heavenly Father, and has been received as a child of God that he also henceforth crucify his flesh together with the evil desires, guard himself against willful sin, and show through works of love his faith, as far as it can happen in this weakness of our flesh through the grace and the work of the Holy Spirit.<sup>198</sup>

Musaeus proceeds to address Horneius' terminology. He clearly asserts that Horneius does not teach good works are necessary for salvation in a papistic sense. To explain that good works can be necessary without being necessary in the sense of meriting salvation, Musaeus' used the

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<sup>196</sup> Musaeus, *Der Jenischen*, 588–89; Baier, *Compendium*, 457–58; Calov, *Systema*, 10:204–18.

<sup>197</sup> Johannes Musaeus, *Bedencken Uber der unlängst entstandenen Controvers: Ob Gute Wercke nötig sein zur Seligkeit* (n.p.: n.p., 1650), Reader. See also Albrecht, *Wesen*, 164–67.

<sup>198</sup> "Setze ich ausser allen Zweifel / daß / so viel den Haupt-Streitbetriff (denn von andern Puncten wil ich jetzo nicht reden) Herrn D. Hornei Meinung / wie sie bißhero von ihme in seinen Schrifften geführet vnd erkläret worden / der heiligen Schrifft vnd vnsern libris Symbolicis durchaus gleichförmig / vnd dahero vnverwerfflich sey / hoffe auch nicht / daß jamand vnter denen der Augpurgischen Confession Verwandten gefunden werde / der anders lehre vnd gläube / als daß einem jeden der begehret selig zu werden / höchst nöthig sey / daß / nachdem er durch den Glauben an Christum gerecht worden / vnd bey Gott den Himmlischen Vater Vergebung der Sünden erlanget / vnd zu einen Kinde der Gnaden auff vnd und angenommen worden / Er auch hinfüro sein Fleisch sammt den bösen Lüsten creutzige / für muthwilligen Sünden sich hüte / vnd durch die Werke der Liebe seinen Glauben erweise / so viel in dieser vnseres Fleisches schwachheit durch die Gnade vnd Wirkung des heiligen Geistes geschehen kan...." See Musaeus, *Bedencken*, A iii.

following analogy: "To illuminate a room it is necessary to open the shutter." The opening of a shutter was necessary to illuminate the room, but the opening of a shutter is only a condition or *causa sine qua non* of illumination. The sun and not the opening a shutter was the cause of illumination. "It is not vexing," Musaeus continues, "but edifying if one teaches that good works are necessary for salvation." Musaeus, furthermore, felt compelled to defend the statement that good works are necessary for salvation because of the state of the church in his day as opposed to the sixteenth-century state of the church in which the *Formula of Concord* was written. He writes, "There is no one in our Christian congregations, who was raised from youth on another truth than that we are saved alone through faith in Christ without the merit of works." What is more, Musaeus asks in light of the current lack of the piety and good works in the church, "Whether it is not on the contrary highly vexing, if one ... wants to teach that good works are in no way or no manner necessary for salvation."<sup>199</sup>

Sometime the same year that Musaeus' *Bedencken* was published, the Gotha court-preacher, Salomo Glassius, finished his *Gründliche Bedencken*. Ernst the Pious requested this theological opinion of the controversy between Helmstedt and Electoral Saxony. It was first published posthumously in 1662. Further, it omitted the author, date, and place of publication, all of which helped the Electoral Saxons later dismiss it.<sup>200</sup> Glassius' work revolved around four questions: Can the accusations be found formally in the writings of the Helmstedt theologians? Are the accusations "fundamental or only side-questions" (*Haupt- und Fundamental- oder nur*

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<sup>199</sup> Musaeus, *Bedencken*, A iv, B, B ii–B iv.

<sup>200</sup> Salomo Glassius, *Bescheidenes, Unvorgreiffliches und gründliches Bedenken über die Unter etlichen fürnehmen Chur-Sächsischen und Helmstädtischen Theologen Entstandene Strittigkeiten Welches / Weil es sehr rar, und denen Liebhabern historiae polemices und litterariae durchzulesen unentbehrlich*, ed. Adam Lebrecht Müller (Jena: Ritter, 1731), XVII–XVIII. The book appears to be finished about 1650 because it does not treat publications or events of the Syncretistic Controversy after this point. In addition, Johann Hülsemann knows of its existence by 1650. It was first published anonymously in 1662. See Walch, *Historische*, 1:371–405, 4:890–94; Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:188; Heussi, *Geschichte*, 132.

*Neben-Fragen*)? If the accusations concern fundamental doctrine, are the points of controversy correctly stated? What needs to be maintained and how can the controversy be properly set aside? The book then focuses on seven topics in thirty-nine points. These topics include: the Trinity and the person of Christ; creation and the angels; sin and free will; justification, the Christian life, union with God; the sacraments; the church; and the last things.<sup>201</sup> To address these questions, he largely limited himself to the writings of Calixt and Hülsemann. On the topic of the Trinity and the deity of Christ in the Old Testament, Glassius believes Calixt has gone too far because Christ and the apostles have asserted his deity on the basis of the Old Testament.<sup>202</sup> He suggests, "It seems most suitable that both parties be induced not to dispute formally any further concerning this question in public."<sup>203</sup> Glassius states that the question of the visible revelation of the Son of God in the Old Testament does not concern an article of the faith, but only the interpretation of several Old Testament texts.<sup>204</sup> He traces the denial of the omnipresence of Christ according to the human nature back to the Helmstedt professor, Tilemann Heshusius. Against Helmstedt, Glassius retorts that this teaching is contained in the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* as Johann Hülsemann has demonstrated.<sup>205</sup> Glassius does not think the creationism of the Helmstedt theologians and the traducianism of the Electoral Saxons is a problem because both agree that original sin is innate and afflicts all men.<sup>206</sup> Whether God is the cause of sin *per accidens* is a question of philosophical terminology and Calixt only used it once in his *Epitome*

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<sup>201</sup> Glass, *Bescheidenes*, A–A 2, First Register.

<sup>202</sup> Glass, *Bescheidenes*, 22–23, 28–29.

<sup>203</sup> Glass, *Bescheidenes*, 34.

<sup>204</sup> Glass, *Bescheidenes*, 37.

<sup>205</sup> Glass, *Bescheidenes*, 51–52; Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 338, 340. See also the *Wohlgegründter Bericht* in the *Corpus Doctrinae*, 56–57.

<sup>206</sup> Glass, *Bescheidenes*, 59–60.

*Theologiae*.<sup>207</sup> The controversy over the description of original sin was also a matter of philosophical terminology. According to Glassius, Calixt's terminology is in harmony with the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*.<sup>208</sup> Calixt claimed that he never used the language that good works are necessary for salvation. Instead he preferred language such as the "zealous pursuit of piety" (*studium pietatis*), the "avoidance of evil" (*declinare a malo*), or "doing good" (*facere bonum*) is necessary for salvation. "The condition and factor without which there is not" (*conditio & causa sine qua non*) does not imply causality. Even though "good works are necessary for salvation" could be understood properly, it should not be used publicly because the *Book of Concord* and *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* forbid it on account of its ambiguity.<sup>209</sup> Calixt, conversely, had charged Hülsemann of Schwenkfeldism and Weigelism because of his doctrine of the mystical union (i.e., the substance of the Trinity dwells in the substance of a believer in a manner distinct from God's general presence [Acts 17:28]). Glassius responds that the teachers of the church are of different opinions on this subject. Some teach the presence of God according to his substance and essence, whereas others according to his grace and gifts.<sup>210</sup>

It is not surprising then that Saxon dukes, Wilhelm IV of Saxony-Weimar and Ernst the Pious of Saxony-Gotha, ordered the theological faculty of Jena on August 27, 1648 to desist with all polemic against Conrad Horneius, so that through "*Silentium* both sides of this controversy would be snuffed out and stamped out by themselves" (*Silentium beider Theile dieser Streit in sich selber gedempffet und niedergedruckt werde*).<sup>211</sup> This order was intended especially against the polemics of the last living member of Jena's Johannine Triad, Johann Major the Elder (d.

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<sup>207</sup> Glass, *Bescheidenes*, 61–64.

<sup>208</sup> Glass, *Bescheidenes*, 68–69, 72. See also the *Wohlgegründter Bericht* in the *Corpus Doctrinae*, 69, 79.

<sup>209</sup> Glass, *Bescheidenes*, 107, 112, 115–16. See also the *Wohlgegründter Bericht* in the *Corpus Doctrinae*, 98.

<sup>210</sup> Glass, *Bescheidenes*, 114–15, 117–18.

1654). He incidentally had also begun complaining to Abraham Calov about the philosophizing of Johannes Musaeus.<sup>212</sup> Now since the two Saxon dukes felt the controversy with Horneius was largely semantic as they confessed to the Braunschweig dukes in an August 29, 1648 letter, they further requested that the Braunschweig dukes and the Saxon elector should silence their theologians as well.<sup>213</sup> But Elector Johann Georg I was furious with this proposal. He warned the Saxon dukes on November 16, 1648, that "the reservations permitted by your beloved excellencies may draw upon yourselves all kinds of different insinuations" (*die bey Euren LLbden beschehene Inhibition allerhandt ungleiche ausdeutung nach sich ziehen dörrfte*).<sup>214</sup> On December 15, 1648, Duke Ernst the Pious, consequently, proposed to his brother, Duke Wilhelm IV, a *Collegium hunnianum* (*Collegium irenicum sive pacificatorium*) as a solution to the controversy. Despite his efforts to float the idea in Braunschweig, Holstein, and Denmark, nothing came of it,

In order to prevent evil, a conference of theologians should be organized, which should take on the matter and seek to prevent the further spread of the controversy

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<sup>211</sup> The Saxon dukes' August 27, 1648 Rescript cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 64.

<sup>212</sup> Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:234. Against a *Programma*, Horneius had issued a defense of his teaching on good works that appended extensive selections from Johann Arndt and Johann Gerhard in support of his position. Conrad Hornius, *Per Brevis Defensio Disputationis Svae De Summa Fidei Non Qvalislibet Sed Qvae Per Caritatem Operatvr Necessitate Ad Salvtem, Adversvs Programma Sypriori Anno Hac De Reeditvm* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1647), par. 71ff. Major's cause was also taken up by a former student as well as another supposed student. See Calov, *Historia*, 577–78. See also Horneius *Iterata Adsertio Qva Fidem Non Qvalemlibet Sev Otiosam Avt Mortvam, Sed Vivam Ac Per Caritatem Operantem Ad Salvtem Necessariam esse Ostenditvr, Adversvs D. Ioan. Rothmalervm, Mortvam Et Otiosam Ad eam Sveficere Dispvntem* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1648); *Wiederlegung Eines Passquills / kürztzer Außzug etlicher Sprüche Herrn Lutheri Sel. wie auch des Corporis Iulii &c. intitult, vnd vntern falschen Nahmen M. Johannis Löschmans SS. Theol. Stud. mit verschweigung des Orts vnd Truckers außgesprenget / Von Nothwendigkeit eines Christlichen Gottseligen Wandels zur ewigen Seligkeit* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1648).

<sup>213</sup> The Saxon dukes wrote the Braunschweig dukes, "Dass er [Horneius] in der Sache an sich selbst mit andern Theologen nicht Streitig sei, und dass das unnöthige Gezänk nur in Phrasiologia bestehe." See Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:147. On May 13, 1647, Ernst the Pious' court-preacher, Salomo Glassius, wrote Calixt a very friendly letter. See Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 123–24. On April 13, 1649, Ernst the Pious' chancellor, Franzke, likewise wrote a favorable letter to Calixt. See Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 182–83.

<sup>214</sup> LHA 1909, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 64.

and bitterness through a friendly negotiation. In particular nothing in such matters should be permitted to be taken up without the public knowledge of the authorities.<sup>215</sup>

The idea of a *Collegium hunnianum* was developed by Nicolaus Hunnius (1585–1643), one of the authors of the 1620 Wittenberg *Gutachten* against actively supporting the emperor against the Bohemians, a political position opposed by Hoë von Hoënegg. It was to be sort of a Lutheran magisterium, consisting of ten to twelve theologians along with adjuncts. It would inspect the Lutheran state churches, universities, and schools as well as serve as final theological tribunal for resolving inner-Lutheran theological disputes. Ernst the Pious, moreover, proposed that it could be located in his lands at Friedrichroda's Cloister Richardsbrunn.<sup>216</sup> At any rate, the Braunschweig dukes agreed with the Ducal Saxons on February 4, 1649, imposed a silence on their theologians, and requested the Saxon elector to do the same.<sup>217</sup>

But before the Braunschweig dukes accepted the Ducal Saxons' terms, they had already commanded their theologians on November 20, 1648 to draft a defense of the university centering on five points: the authority and use of church antiquity, the pursuit of good works, the provability of the mystery of the Holy Trinity in the Old Testament, the appearance of God in the Old Testament, and the pursuit of concord or tolerance among dissidents in the church.<sup>218</sup> Conrad

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<sup>215</sup> On December 15, 1648, Ernst the Pious proposed, "Um dem Uebel vorzubeugen einen Convent von Theologen zu veranstalten, die sich der Sache gemeinschaftlich annähmen und dem weitern Ausbrücke dieser Streitigkeiten und Erbitterungen durch freundschaftliche Unterhandlungen zuvorzukommen suchten. Insonderheit sollte in solchen Dingen nichts ohne Vorbewußt der Obern öffentlich vorzunehmen erlaubt werden." See Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:30; Beck, *Ernst*, 1:618–19.

<sup>216</sup> Nicolaus Hunnius, *Consultatio, Oder Wolmeinendes Bedencken: Ob vnd wie die Evangelische Lutherische Kirchen die jetztschwebende Religionstreigkeiten entweder friedlich beylegen / oder durch Christliche vnd bequeme Mittel fortstellen vnd eindigen mögen. Allen Liebhabern der Warheit vnd des Friedens / zu fernerer consideration, Verbesserung / vnd wirklicher Fortsetzung* (n.p.: Embs, 1632). See also Albrecht-Birkner, *Reformation*, 69–70; Beck, *Ernst*, 1:615–21; Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:3–5. Johann Gerhard expressed interest in such a collegium, but was not sure it could be achieved at this time. See Gerhard's May 29, 1628 letter to Hoë von Hoënegg reprinted in Fischer, *Vita*, 535–38.

<sup>217</sup> The Braunschweig duke's response is cited in Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 5.

<sup>218</sup> Duke August's order is reprinted in Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Y 4, U u 3; Calov, *Historia*, 580. See also Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 158.

Horneius assumed the first, second, and fifth point, but would only be able to give an explanation of the second because of his death on September 26, 1649.<sup>219</sup> Calixt responded to the third and fourth points of the controversy.<sup>220</sup> In his apology's preface dedicated to Duke Christian Ludwig, Calixt reasserted his aforementioned reasons for the hatred of Helmstedt (i.e., its stress on humanism, Aristotle, ecclesial antiquity, concord, and the pursuit of piety). Noting that the symbols do not speak to the questions at hand, he indicates that the provability of the Trinity in the Old Testament is not an important question. He then goes on to imply that it was not necessary for salvation in the Old Testament to believe in the Trinity, because it is not clearly taught therein.<sup>221</sup> He, likewise, maintains that Christ did not appear as an angel in the Old Testament.<sup>222</sup>

The new Wittenberg theology professor, Johann Scharf (1595–1660), took umbrage with this capitulation to the Jews and the Socinians. He penned a *Programma* on April 8, 1649, arguing that the Trinity was clearly taught by the Old Testament, and, therefore, the Old Testament believers were obliged to believe it. Georg Calixt responded with his *Ad Svam De Questionibus* and his *Programma Programmati Scharfiano Oppositum Cvm Notis*, which charged Hülsemann's mystical union was Schwankfeldian and Weigelian. It further claimed that Scharf had exchanged the ancient catholic faith for an uncatholic Wittenberg faith (*fides Scharfiana & nonnullorum VVittebergensium*) that was hardly 60 years old.<sup>223</sup> Scharf countered

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<sup>219</sup> Conrad Horneius, *Repetitio Doctrinae Verae De Necessitate B. O. Sev Stvdii Pietatis, Si Qvis, Salvvs Per Christvm Esse Velit, Et Novae, Eivs, Vindiciae* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1649).

<sup>220</sup> Georg Calixt, *De Qvaestionibus Nvm Mysterivm Sanctissimae Trinitatis E Solivs Veteris Testamenti Libros Possit Demonstrari Et Nvm Eivs Temporis Patribvs Filivs Dei In Propria Sva Hypostasi Apparverit Dissertatio* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1649), A.

<sup>221</sup> Calixt, *De Qvaestionibus*, Preface, C2, A–A 2.

<sup>222</sup> Calixt, *De Qvaestionibus*, C 2–D2.

<sup>223</sup> See Calixt, *Ad Svam*, B 2, B 4, C. Calixt's May 6, 1648 *Programma* is found in Calixt, *Ad Svam*, G–I 2. See also Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, Lll iiiiff.



again to which Calixt responded in his August 13, 1649 *Epistola Ad academiam Wittebergensem*. Here Calixt still expressed hopes for peace, but intentionally excludes the theological faculty from the addressees, which only consisted of Johann Scharf at this juncture.<sup>224</sup>

In this situation Johann Hülsemann and Jakob Weller came to Scharf's aid in their *Dialysis Apologetica* and *Wegweiser Der Gottheit Jesu Christi* respectively.<sup>225</sup> In a massive preface dedicated to Duke Christian Ludwig, Hülsemann refutes Calixt's five aforementioned reasons for the controversy. He gives a defense of Electoral Saxony's much older and respected tradition of Aristotelianism (including its opposition to Ramism) and humanist studies (*litteraturae politoris*). Making a good humanist jab, Hülsemann compares Calixt to the likes of Bavius, Maeuius, and Zoilos (400–320 BC), who were classical authors largely remembered for attacking the talents of superior writers.<sup>226</sup> The catholicity of Electoral Saxon theology and the provability of the Trinity in the Old Testament are maintained first of all with an appeal to the Chalcedonian and Athanasian Creeds.<sup>227</sup> On the basis of church tradition, Martin Luther, and their respective *corpra doctrinae*, he further illustrates that the Helmstedt faculty is only after a false concord.<sup>228</sup> In this connection, Hülsemann points out that Conrad Horneius refuses to make an unconditional subscription to the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*, but only a hypothetical (or *quatenus*) one, subordinate to Scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity, which only results as

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<sup>224</sup> The *Epistola Ad academiam Wittebergensem* is found in Calixt, *Ad Svam*, I 2ff.

<sup>225</sup> Hülsemann, *Dialysis*; Jakob Weller, *Wegweiser Der Gottheit Jesu Christi / Wie dieselbe klar offenbaret / und daß man im Alten Testament bey Verlust der Seligkeit habe glauben müssen / Christus sey Gott / gezeiget Aus Gottes Wort / den alten Kirchenlehren / und Luthero sel.; Nebenst dem Anhang / Wider D. Georgium Calixtum / Darinnen sein unchristliches Beginnen ausgeführet und widerlegt wird* (Dresden: Bergen, 1649).

<sup>226</sup> Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, Preface, 1–18. See also Baur, "Die Helmstedter," 92.

<sup>227</sup> Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, Preface, 18–23. "Quamadmodum olim *prophetæ* et de se ipso Christus ipse nos docuit...." See BSLK [1031], 1105. "Quicumque vult salvus esse ... " See BSLK, 29; *Corpus Doctrinae*, 41.

<sup>228</sup> Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, Preface, 23–63, 106–60.

Staemmler states in subjectivism.<sup>229</sup> He then demonstrates that Helmstedt's piety pales in comparison with that of Leipzig.<sup>230</sup> In the main body of the text, Hülsemann reaffirms that both the deity of Christ and the Trinity were clearly revealed in the Old Testament and that belief in them was necessary for salvation in the Old Testament. Lastly, he provides a forty-point list of Helmstedt errors in his appendix. Many of its points begin with a Helmstedt error posed as a question. This is sometimes followed by a Lutheran confession (the *Book of Concord* and *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*) quotation and/or a reference. Finally, the name of a Helmstedt theologian along with a quotation and/or reference from the offending work is presented. Note also that often the structure is reversed or lacking. Hülsemann concludes by continuing his discussion of Calixtine errors and includes primary sources relevant to the controversy.<sup>231</sup> The Electoral Saxon *Oberhofprediger*, Jakob Weller, took a more focused approach and dedicated his work to the Duke Christian Ludwig's councilors. The former Wittenberg orientalist centered on refuting Calixt's Old Testament theology on the basis of Scripture, the church fathers, and Luther. According to Weller, he was not disputing that this teaching is clearer in the New Testament than the Old Testament, that some might not recognize this teaching right away, or whether the ecclesiological terminology for these subjects could be found in the Old Testament. Rather the issue revolved around the clarity of the Old Testament passages. If one denies their clarity, how could Christ and the Apostles make their case for the Triune God and the person of

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<sup>229</sup> Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, Preface, 109ff; *Corpus Doctrinae*, 3; Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 88. Horneius explains that the intention of the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*'s own definition of a proper subscription, "*Non tantum quod ad res ipsas attinet: verum etiam quod attinet ad formam sanorum verborum*," should not be understood in the Electoral Saxon sense, because the sovereign does not have greater authority than Scripture. Rather, Horneius states, "*Corporis Iulij summam auctoritatem tribuit, ut debet, & post eam antiquis ecclesiae symbolis & consensui: nam illa symbola & consensum succum & sanguine esse Scripturae ait, & juxta S. Script. & ejus verum & antiquitus receptum sensum Corpus doctrinae constituit. Cum itaque quis illam normam ita habet, ut eam juxta S. Scripturae & antiquitatis consensum exponat, recte eam intelligit, & ut Principes Iulii vult.*" See Horneius, *Repetito*, 193.

<sup>230</sup> Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, Preface, 63–106.

<sup>231</sup> Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 325–57, 357–439.

Christ on the basis of the Old Testament alone?<sup>232</sup> Both men followed these works up with additional polemics.<sup>233</sup>

### **Ecclesial-Political Attempts to Resolve the Controversy Lead to the Development of the *Consensus Repetitus***

In the spring of 1649 Helmstedt had printed a *Programma* which defended the university from the charges of the Königsberg Ministerium's *Anti-Crisis* and sent it along with a letter dated April 1649 to the other Lutheran universities. It maintained that the theological faculty had not deviated from the catholic faith, the *Augsburg Confession*, or the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* as Coelestin Myslenta had repeatedly charged.<sup>234</sup> The Leipzig theologians responded to this *Programma* on April 29, 1649. Herein they asserted the Saxon elector's office of oversight over the Lutheran states and threatened that measures would be taken against Helmstedt to prevent the ruin of these states. In anticipation of the Saxon elector's June 16, 1649 action, they wrote the following:

We do not doubt that the most Serene Duke of Saxony will see to it, with seriousness as the head and director of the princes (*senorum*) in public matters for the defense of

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<sup>232</sup> Weller, *Wegweiser*, 1–8.

<sup>233</sup> Johann Hülsemann, *Repetitio Articvl IV. Libri Concordiae ejusque partis Essentialis: An Bona Opera discenda sint, aut sint Ad Salutem Necessaria? Cum Deo Et Consensu admod. Rev. Facultatis Theologica in Alma Lipsiensi ad Publicam Disputationem* (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1649); Johann Hülsemann, *Muster und Außbund Calixinischer guten Wercke / Welche D. Georg Calixtus zu Helmstädt in der so genandten newlich durch den Druck außgesprengten Verantwortung / Zu Bezeugung seiner Gottseligkeit had sehen lassen. Zur vnvermeidlichen Ehrenrettung ans Liecht gestellet* (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1650); Johann Hülsemann, *Brevis Instructio Studiosorum in Universitate Lipsiensi, Quid de resuscitatione & excusatione Phraseos Majoristicae: Bona Opera Sunt Necessaria Ad Adipiscendam Vitam Aeternam statuere habeant?* (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1650); Johann Hülsemann, *Judicium De Calixtino Desiderio Et Studio Sarciendae Concordiae Ecclesiasticae, Bono, Animo, Publicae, Luci Expositim* (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1651); Jakob Weller, *Erste Prob Calixtinischer im Druck ohne benennung des Orths und des Buchdruckers ausgesprengter Vnchristlicher Verantwortung und Unwarheiten* (Dresden: Bergen, 1650); Jakob Weller, *Abwischung der Vnchristlichen Lästerung / Damit D. Georgius Calixtus P. P. zu Helmstedt / In seiner / so genanter / Widerlegung und Verantwortung / Die Ehre Jesu Christi / beschmützet* (Dresden: Berg, 1652); Jakob Weller, *Andere Prob / Calixtinischer / erst ohne Benennung des Orths und des Buchdruckers öffentlich ausgesprengter / nunmehr aber / in seiner / so genanter / Widerlegung / Wiederholter Verantwortung* (Dresden, 1652).

<sup>234</sup> "Catholici mansimus. Quae Augustae exhibita est Confessionem incorruptam usque huc amplectimur. Iulium doctrinae Corpus sacramenti memores veneramur." See the *Programma* and letter reprinted in Calixt, *Widerlegung*, T t t 2–V v v.

the faith, that no destruction is imparted on these great provinces by innovations or errors. He will do this partly by the constancy of soul with which he has defended the purity of doctrine restored by the Blessed Luther and established in the Christian *Book of Concord*, and partly by the authority out of which he moves the princes and states of the Roman empire, especially those who have once bound their faith and the faith of their subjects to the genuine *Augsburg Confession* and *Book of Concord*.<sup>235</sup>

The University of Helmstedt, in turn, provided a response on May 30, 1649 that no doubt helped christen the *Consensus Repetitus*. The Helmstedt theologians rejected the *Book of Concord's* authority over them. In fact, they would only commit themselves to the consensus of the Lutheran church. Last but not least, they accused the Electoral Saxons of making a power grab:

But why (*Eccur*) do you, illustrious men, force the *Book of Concord* upon us so many times? Do you wish this book also to be regarded like a common symbol, no less than the *Augsburg Confession* to which we are bound? What [*Book of Concord*] none of our most serene princes have commanded, what was never a part of our solemn professorial oath, how should we be willing that you proscribe and we submit. We have voluntarily obliged ourselves to the divine oracles of sacred letters, to the symbols of the holy universal church, to the unaltered *Augsburg Confession*, and if something beyond this has been received by the consensus of all the evangelical ranks.... Envy, perverse suspicions, irritation, and lust for power be far away.<sup>236</sup>

Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony reentered the fray on June 16, 1649, responding to the Braunschweig dukes' February 4, 1649 request that the Electoral Saxon theologians be silenced. The Saxon elector herein accused the Helmstedt faculty of "forging together a completely new religion out of all the others and thus wanting to introduce a powerful *Schisma*" (*ein gantz Span-*

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<sup>235</sup> "Neque dubitamus, Serenissimum Ducem Saxoniae, qua est animi constantia in asserenda sinceritate doctrinae, a B. Lutero instauratae, et Christianae Concordiae libro stabilitae, qua etiam pollet auctoritate apud Principes et Status Rom. Imp., Eos cumprimis, qui genuinae Confessioni Augustanae et Concordiae libro suam et subditorum fidem semel adstrinverunt, tanquam Caput et Directorem seniorum in publicis pro fide tuenda negotiis, iusta severitate provisurum, ne qua novitatis aut erroris labes amplissimis hisce provinciis affricetur." See Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 185–89.

<sup>236</sup> "Eccur autem, Clarissimi Viri, toties nobis librum Concordiae inculcatis? An communis symbolis instar et hunc librum esse, nec minus tanquam ad Augustanam Confessionem huc nos adstrictos cupitis? Quod Serenissimorum Principum nostrorum nemo imperat, quod a solemnibus nostris iuramento professorio semper abfuit, qui vos praescribere, aut nos subire velimus. Divinis sacrarum litterarum oraculis, sanctae universalis ecclesiae symbolis, genuinae Augustanae Confessioni, et si quid praeterea omnium Evangelicorum ordinum consensu receptum est, nos ulro obligavimus.... Invidia, pravae suspiciones, irritatio, libido dominandi sunt procul." Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 188–90.

*Neue Religion aus allen andern zusammen schmieden / und also ein gewaltiges Schisma einführen wollen*). He then lists seven charges against Calixt and Horneius: they have raised and fomented the controversy, are still advancing it, are guilty of causing great offense in the church, helped cause the uproar in Königsberg, have undermined the unity of the church with new doctrine under the pretext of antiquity, have facilitated the increase of innovations, and have educated students from electoral lands so that several will no longer sign the *Formula of Concord*. The Saxon elector then petitioned the Braunschweig dukes to prohibit earnestly their theologians from publishing any more public writings against the Electoral Saxon theologians.<sup>237</sup> He concludes, "They, the Electoral Illumination, are not to be blamed that they strive therein as the Director of the Evangelicals in the Roman Empire, if they are already requested by their other Evangelical princes and estates, to protect the land and people from such a division, etc."<sup>238</sup> This prompted Calixt to pen his 1651 *Wiederlegung Der unchristlichen und unbilligen Verleumdungen*, his ultimate apology against Electoral Saxony, filled with primary sources on the controversy. It was a refutation of Jakob Weller and Johann Hülsemann, coupled with Calixt's exposition of the history of Joseph and his *Desiderium & studium concordiae ecclesiasticae*. In response to Weller's charge that he had departed from Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel's subscription to the *Formula of Concord*, Calixt recognized that Duke Julius and his theologians had signed an exemplar of it, but is either ignorant or denies the symbol's tradition in the land up to 1614.<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> The Saxon elector's June 16, 1649 response is found in Calov, *Historia*, 585–86, 1094–95. See also Hülsemann, *Calixtinischer Gewissens-Wurm*, Dedication A 4; Weller's June 3, 1649 letter found in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 191–95.

<sup>238</sup> "Im übringen würden Sie Chur-Fürstliche Durchleuchtigkeit nicht verdencken / daß sie als Director der Evangelischen in Römischen Reich dahin trachten / wie ihre / auch anderer Evangelische Fürsten und stände / von denen sie schon hierinnen ersuchet / Land und Leute für solcher Spaltung können behüten u." See Calov, *Historia*, 586.

<sup>239</sup> "Wie ich nun fast für 48 jahren auff hiesige Vniversitet gekommen / habe ich verstanden daß auch hieselbst

Not surprisingly, the Electoral Saxon faculties complained to Dresden on September 10, 1649 that since their last report things had only gotten worse, especially among the students. Instead of remaining silent, the Helmstedt theologians had only attacked Myslenta, Scharf, Weller, Röber, Leyser, Hülsemann, and Dorsche. Therefore, the Electoral Saxon theologians petitioned their elector, as the Director of the Evangelicals, that he confiscate their writings throughout the empire, that they be forbidden to do the same "by serious corporal punishment" (*bey Ernster liebesstraff*), and that he threaten them "with removal from office" (*bey verlust ihrer Dienste*) if they did not subscribe to the *Book of Concord*.<sup>240</sup>

Disturbed by the Saxon elector's June 16, 1649 letter, the Braunschweig dukes, August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Georg Wilhelm of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, and Christian Ludwig of Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen, proposed on April 29, 1650 a political solution to the controversy. They regarded the whole matter to be a great misunderstanding. Therefore, the dukes proposed that a conference of their political councilors be convened (at Quedlinburg or Magdeburg) as the best means to extinguish the controversy and avoid schism. They stressed that it would not be helpful to use theologians at this deliberation. But if the Electoral Saxon councilors had a theologian at hand with whom they could confer, the Braunschweig dukes were willing to accept that. Naturally, the dukes also requested that polemics cease.<sup>241</sup> Concluding they

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die Professores an die Formulam nicht verbunden weren / vnd daß die algemeine Vbiquitet improbiret würde. Ich habe aber wahr genommen / daß dennoch die Formula von Hertzogen Julii Fr. Gn. imgleichen den domahligen hiesigen Theologiae Professoribus vnterschrieben. Darauff is mir zur Antwort geworden / daß zwar ein geschriebenes exemplar were vnterschrieben: Wie es aber hernach in Truck außgangen / hette die Vbiquitet sich darin befunden / dero man dieses orts nimmer beygepflichtet: Were also das vorige jurament der Professorum, wie es allezeit gewesen, gebliegen, vnd darin die Formula nicht eingerücket / oder an disselbe jemand verbunden wordt." See Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, T ii–T iii. See also Calixt, *Wiederlegung*, C c 4; Weller, *Andere Prob*, 18; Mager, *Die Konkordienformel*, 482–83, 500.

<sup>240</sup> UA Halle XXXXII, 30, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 70.

<sup>241</sup> "Unserer seits befinden wir in reiffer erwegung aller vnd jeder vmbstände keinen bessern weg /denn das vermittelst zusammenschickung etzlicher vnser allerseits Friedfertiger vnd der sachen kündiger politischer Rätthe in sorgfeltige Berathsclagunge gezogen werde / auff was masse ferneren Vnwesen fürgebawet / daß albereit angangene Fewr vnnachlessig gedempffet / Schismata verhütet / vnd durch zeitige fürwendung unsers allerseits

recognized the elector's office as Director of the Evangelicals, but protested the idea that this office gave him power, superiority, etc. over them as suggested by the elector and Hülsemann:

But since we, nevertheless, have perceived from the letter drawn up by your highness and released to us, but mostly from your highness' *Professoris D. Hulsemanni* recent writing released in December against our *Professoreum D. Calixtus*, that your highness has not taken into consideration the purpose of the *Directorium Ordinis* touched on above, but such a one which should carry with it certain pending power, superiority, notions, and whatever more; and that your theologians may be understood as supposing the same over ours; we, nevertheless, would not expect that your highness intended to give real approval in that actual opinion taken or enlist Hülsemann therein even if the same perhaps would have to be understood from his words thus far. Nevertheless, we seek your highness' friendly trust that he will not take it amiss in us, that we must necessarily protest against such an undesired outcome, but rather we will hold ourselves assured that along with your highness and the other princes and states pledged to the unaltered Augsburg Confession, we will zealously apply ourselves with the highest care to the further preservation of the true pure religion, all dangers and oppositions notwithstanding.<sup>242</sup>

This proposal was also sent to the Saxon dukes, Wilhelm IV of Saxony-Weimar, Friedrich Wilhelm II of Saxony-Altenburg, and Ernst the Pious of Saxony-Gotha. On July 17, 1650, the Saxon elector sought the counsel of his theologians. The Wittenberg faculty responded on

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tragenden hohen LandesFürstlichen Ampts hierinnen der Christlichen ohne das gnugsamb affligirten Kirchen / ruhe geschaffet werden müge.... Vnd ob wir zwar nicht für dienlich befinden / daß jemand von Theologis zu dieser deliberation zugebrauchen / oder die Sache zu einem Colloquio oder disputat zuveranlassen. So stellen dennoch E.Ld. hochvernünftigen Bedencken wir anheim / ob nicht allerhand considerationem halber nöthig / daß die allerseits abgeordnete politische Rhäte jemandt von den Theologen bey der Hand haben möchten / mit denen sie auff befundenen Nohtfal sich bereden, vnd desto sicherer zu beschliessung eines dienlichen remedii gelangen möchten." See the April 29, 1650 letter printed in Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Z 3. The conclusion is found in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 207–09.

<sup>242</sup> "Als wir dennoch aus obangezogenen von Ew. Lbd. an uns abgelassenen Schreiben, allermeist aber aus Ew. Lbd. Professoris D. Hulsemanni im December jüngst wider Unsern Professoreum D. Calixtum ausgelassenen Schrift wahrgenommen, dass Ew. Lbd. ihr Absehen nicht auf vorberührtes Directorium Ordinis, sondern ein solches, welches einige Potestät, Superiorität, Cognition, und was dem mehr, anhängig mit sich führen sollte, in Reflexion genommen haben, auch Dero Theologi sich dergleichen über die Unsrigen anzunehmen gemeinet sein möchten; so wollen wir dennoch nicht hoffen, dass Ew. Lbd. in solcher eigenlichen Meinung begriffen, oder darin gemeldetem D. Hülsemann, wenn derselbige seine Wörte etwan dahin verstanden haben wollte, Beifall zu geben gemeinet, und ersuchen demnach Ew. Lbd. hiemit freundöhlich, Sie Uns, dass wir auf solchen unverhofften Fall Uns dagegen bedinglich verwahren müssen, ungütlich nicht verdenken, vielmehr aber Sich versichert halten wollen, dass nebst Ew. Lbd. auch andere der ungeänderten. Augsb. Confession zugethanen Fürsten und Ständen, die Erhaltung der wahren reinen Religion Uns ferner mit höchster Sorgfalt, hintangesetzt aller Gefahr und Widerwärtigkeit, Wir Uns eifrig angelegen sein lassen werden." See Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 207–9. See also the remarks of Hülsemann in his *Dialysis*, 129, 150.

August 12, 1650 to the Braunschweig proposal. The Wittenberg theologians rejected the proposal on three grounds. First, Helmstedt errors were even affecting Electoral Saxon students:

We daily hear with great distress and much experience, about how the students duel with each other with Helmstedt books, *pasquillen*, opinions in secret and in public meetings, dispute on the basis of them, and so completely fall into them that they may unwisely allege, one religion is as good as the other, and one can just as well be saved by the Calvinists, the Papists, and Lutherans, because they are all fundamentally the same (*im grunde einig*).<sup>243</sup>

Second, "pious, learned, and men esteemed by all Christendom had been attacked with all sorts of *pasquillen*, as well as disgraceful and defamatory words." Third, they argued from Scripture, *Augsburg Confession XIV*, and the development of the *Formula of Concord* that political councilors are not "the proper judges of theological controversies" (*idonei iudices controversiarum Theologicarum*).<sup>244</sup>

The most definitive answer to the Braunschweig dukes' request for a political solution was Jakob Weller's facilitation of the July of 1650 call of Abraham Calov to serve as third Wittenberg theology professor (after Röber and Scharf). He arrived in Wittenberg on October 19, 1650, gave his inaugural oration (the *Desiderium Studiumque Concordiae*), and was serving as pastor of St. Mary's Church by Advent.<sup>245</sup> Upon the March 15, 1651 death of Röber, Calov became second ordinary theology professor. With a sermon based on Ezekiel 3:17, he was solemnly invested as General-superintendent on February 14, 1654 in the presence of Prince

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<sup>243</sup> LHA Dresden 1909, 249ff, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 72–74.

<sup>244</sup> LHA Dresden 1909, 249ff, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 72–74.

<sup>245</sup> Eulenburg, *Die Frequenz*, 100–103; Weissenborn, *Album*, 1:492. Calov's November 7, 1650 inaugural oration is reprinted in *Historia*, 836–55. Since the reorganization of the university after Christian I, Appold notes that this was the second major generational change (1650) of the Wittenberg theology faculty. The first took place around 1626 when Meisner, Balduin, and Franz were replaced by Leyser, Röber, Hülsemann, and Martini. He further shows that Syncretism did not dominate Wittenberg disputations at this time and that the Wittenberg theologians used the CA as boundary limits in their disputations for the purpose of conducting theological exploration. See Appold, *Orthodoxie*, 99. As an aside, Sommer adds, "Der Predigtstil Calovs ist ein völlig anderer als der Wellers. Die Leichenpredigt Calovs hat mit ihren Zitaten eine für unsere heutigen Begriffe sehr höreunfreundliche Gestalt." See Sommer, *Die lutherischen*, 181.



Johann Georg II (1613–80). His lectures were so popular that up to five hundred would attend. He was much beloved by Elector Johann Georg I and enjoyed a close friendship with Weller, whom he admired.<sup>246</sup> Eventually the third ordinary theological professorship, the fourth ordinary theological professorship, and an extraordinary theological professorship were filled by Johann Meisner (1615–81), Andreas Kunad (1602–62), and Johann Andreas Quenstedt (1617–88) respectively. Meisner was a well-traveled Saxon, whose power struggle with Calov and irenic attitude brought him into loggerheads with Calov.<sup>247</sup> Kunad worked with Calov until his death in 1662. Then Calov's son-in-law, Johann Deutschmann (1625–1706), assumed the fourth theological professorship.<sup>248</sup> Quenstedt was Johann Gerhard's nephew and one of Calov's later fathers-in-law, who had been rehabilitated of any Calixtinism by Wilhelm Leyser after studying at Helmstedt and living with Conrad Horneius. Although faithful and subordinate to Calov, he is remembered for his moderation and the most important Lutheran systematics after Calov's own.<sup>249</sup>

Long before arriving at the Leucorea, Calov had been polemicizing against the advance of Hohenzollern Calvinism and Calixt's irenic theology from the eastern front. His Danzig and Wittenberg polemics against Hohenzollern-backed syncretism also reveal that Calov would make a significant intellectual contribution to the formulation of the *Consensus Repetitus*. Thus

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<sup>246</sup> Weissenborn, *Album*, 1:532; Mayer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 10–12; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 418–22; Sommer, *Die lutherischen*, 174–75, 181–82.

<sup>247</sup> Weissenborn, *Album*, 1:385, 1:487, 1:492–93; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 419–20; Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 203–4, 225–34.

<sup>248</sup> Weissenborn, *Album*, 1:412, 1:437, 1:563; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 428; Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 221–24.

<sup>249</sup> Weissenborn, *Album*, 1:432, 1:492; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 427–28; Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 214–20. Quenstedt's letter to Horneius about his cold arrival at Wittenberg is cited in Calixt, *Widerlegung*, C. Johann Andreas Quenstedt, *Theologia Didactico-Polemica, Sive Systema Theologicum, in Duas Sectiones, Didacticam Et Polemicam, Divisum* (Wittenberg: Schumacher, 1685). See also Jörg Baur, *Die Vernunft zwischen Ontologie und Evangelium: Eine Untersuchung zur Theologie Johann Andreas Quenstedts* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1962); Michael Coors, *Scriptura efficax Die biblisch-dogmatische Grundlegung des theologischen Systems bey Johann Andreas Quenstedt: Ein dogmatische Beitrag zu Theorie und Auslegung des biblischen Kanons als Heiliger*

whatever the truth may be, Calov had to defend himself publicly in his 1646 *Criticus Sacer* against the charge that he had tried to get the Swedish court to ensure the confessional status of Ducal Prussia and block the recognition of the Calvinists as adherents of the *Augsburg Confession* at the Peace of Westphalia. To be sure such was an ecclesial-political stance very similar to the Saxon elector's own.<sup>250</sup> As Wallmann rightly observes, Calov capitalized on this confessional political kinship with the Saxon elector, just like he seems to have tried to use the Polish and Swedish crowns. But it only proved successful as long as he had the backing of the Saxon elector and the *Oberhofprediger's* ear.<sup>251</sup>

Later on Calov served as the chief author of two reaffirmations of the *Augsburg Confession*, which became symbolic in Danzig: the 1646 *Brevis declaratio fidei Ecclesiarum nostrarum invariatae Augustanae confessioni sincere addictarum adversus errores Reformatorum tum veterum tum imprimis recentiorum* and the 1647/8 *Repetito invariatae August. Confessionis causas potiores complectens, ob quas Ecclesiae nostrae ad Romano-Pontificiam Ecclesiam*.<sup>252</sup> These two confessions ordered their articles (and accompanying

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*Schrift* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009).

<sup>250</sup> Mayer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 9–10; Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 828–29; Leube, *Kalvinismus*, 334. Abraham Calov had dedicated the following tome to the Swedish court, *Criticus Sacer, vel Commentarii Apodictico-Elenchtici super Augustanam Confessionem Ecclesiarum Evangelicarum novissimi temporis Symbolum vere Augustum PROQURON In quo invariata pariter & variata Confessio ita edisseritur, ut plurimis Pontificiorum & Calvinianorum contrariis scriptis ex ipso fundamento satisfiat: nec non de Scriptura Sacra, Qua fontes, Qua versionis celebratissimas, adversus Papisquarum recentiorum, & aliorum plurium insidiosas machinationes cum primis deligenter agitur, simulq; ultra Octingenta Scripturae loca aut illustrantur vindicantur: Subjuncta dihgnsi De Conciliis, Praeviaq, consideratione Pacis, & Syncretistimi Calvinianis, & consensus eorundem cum Aug. Confess. adversus Joh. Crocium Ad Potentiss, Regim, Sveciae & Illustriss. Procer.* (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1646).

<sup>251</sup> Wallmann, "Abraham Calov—theologischer," 310.

<sup>252</sup> "Brevis declaratio fidei Ecclesiarum nostrarum invariatae Augustanae confessioni sincere addictarum adversus errores Reformatorum tum veterum tum imprimis recentiorum," in *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Danzigs*, ed. Eduard Schnaase (Danzig: Theodor Bertling, 1863), 687–735; "Repetito invariatae August. Confessionis causas potiores complectens, ob quas Ecclesiae nostrae ad Romano-Pontificiam Ecclesiam," in *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Danzigs*, ed. Eduard Schnaase (Danzig: Theodor Bertling, 1863), 736–63. Even though the originals were not penned in his own hand, Abraham Calov is no doubt their chief author in light of their thought and style. Their dates have been determined on the basis of the biographies of the subscribers. See Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 214–20. See also Hans-Joachim Müller, "Konfession, Kommunikation und Öffentlichkeiten:

points) in the same manner as the *Consensus Repetitus* (i.e., according to outline of the *Augsburg Confession*), long before the Leipzig theological faculty drafted its August 16, 1648 list of Calixtine errors. What is more, they are the only Calov or Hülsemann text to employ both the *Consensus Repetitus'* distinctive threefold-point structure as well as nearly the same unique symbolic verbiage as the *Consensus Repetitus* for its points.<sup>253</sup> Like the *Consensus Repetitus*, they finally are the only text to compose each "we believe and teach" (*Credimus et docemus*) in the language of the *Book of Concord*, the first text to lead each point with the Lutheran Confessions, and the first text to include not just the names of errorists and references to their works, but full quotations from the offenders in the manner of the *Consensus Repetitus*.

Before the Leipzig theological faculty had drafted its August 16, 1648 list of Calixtine errors, Calov and the Danzig Ministerium had a prospective Helmstedt-trained clergyman subscribe to twenty-four articles against Helmstedt theology on March 8, 1647.<sup>254</sup> On May 7,

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Der Streit um die Irenik in Danzig 1645–1647," in *Interkonfessionalität—Transkonfessionalität—binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität: New Forschung zur Konfessionalisierungstheorie*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz et al. (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 2003), 151–78.

<sup>253</sup> The points of Calov's confessions read as follows *Credimus et docemus [cum Aug. Confessione]... , Reprobamus [eos, qui docent]... ,* the names of and quotations from the works of the offenders. The *Consensus Reptitus* will use a slightly modified formulation: *Profitemur, & docemus... , Rejicimus... , Ita docet...* Note there are instances where Calov abridges the *Reprobamus* and simply spells it out with the names and quotations.

<sup>254</sup> The articles treat the following points: Scripture is the only source of theology, as opposed to Scripture plus the consensus of the church (1). Belief in the Trinity is necessary in the Old Testament for salvation (2). Christ appeared as an angel in the Old Testament (3). Created angels never present themselves as God in the Old Testament (4). The first man was created with original righteousness (5). Traducianism is affirmed and creationism is rejected (6). Original sin is not mere a deprivation of the good (7). Christ is present with his human nature everywhere (8). Paul does not teach a Calvinist view of election (9). The Holy Spirit via grace is the sole effecting cause of conversion and rebirth (10). The Holy Spirit does not merely initiate conversion, so that man can cooperate in his conversion (11). Man cannot say that he merited his salvation via good works (12). Good works are not necessary for salvation, nor do they preserve one in the faith (13). Christ died for all men and wants all to be saved (14). It is enough that one believes God is gracious because Christ died for him (15). Believers can and must be certain on account of their justification and the truth of God's grace through the confidence of faith that their sins are remitted and they enjoy God's grace (16). Believers are certain that nothing can separate them from the love of God and must believe that they will be preserved through God's power in faith to eternal life (17). The baptism of John the Baptist is essentially the same as Christian baptism (18). It must be believed that the body of Christ is truly present in the Lord's Supper and received by all (19). The *Apostles' Creed* does not contain all necessary articles of the faith (20). Lutherans are not in fundamental agreement with even contemporary Calvinists (21). Those who genuinely adhere to the CA cannot reject the FC (22). The rejection of false doctrine and those who propagate it is required by God and the office of the ministry (23). A true servant of Christ must avoid the appearance of fellowship

1649, sixty-eight articles under sixteen headings were drawn up by Calov in the name of the ministerium. They were drafted because of a controversy over the Lutheran irenicism of the Danzig Gymnasium philosophy professor, Heinrich Nicolai (1605–66), who favored a reconciliation of the confessions at the Colloquy of Thorn.<sup>255</sup> Twenty-three more soteriologically focused anti-syncretistic articles were penned by Calov and the Danzig ministerium for a theological candidate to sign on June 18, 1649.<sup>256</sup>

That same year Calov penned the first part of his 1649–50 *Institutionem Theologicarum*, which is the first printing of the first two volumes of Calov's 1655–1677 *Systema Locorum Theologicorum*. This first part discussed the nature of theology, the general object of theology (i.e., religion), divine revelation, Scripture, the articles of the faith, as well as provided the first comprehensive examination of both Helmstedt and Königsberg syncretism, namely, the *Digressio De Nova Theologia Helmstadio-Regiomontanorum Syncretistarum*.<sup>257</sup> In contradistinction to the Lutheran Syncretists, Calov argued already in his *Institutionem Theologicarum* that Lutheranism, which is defined by the ancient symbols and the *Book of*

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or friendship with opponents under all circumstances (24). See Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 286–89.

<sup>255</sup> Heinrich Nicolai, *D.O.M.A. Irenicum. Sive De differentijs Religionum conciliandis, Succincta Commentatio. Cui subjuncta Delineatio pij & fructuosi in Theologicis Colloquij. Brevis etiam adjecta Declaratio, Cur Colloquijs & Conventibus de Religione in Germania parum interdum profectum sit* (Danzig: Rhete, 1645); Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 835–48. For a discussion of these articles, see Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 293–306.

<sup>256</sup> For a summary of all 23 articles, see Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 289–92.

<sup>257</sup> Calov, *Systema*, 1: Preface. Calov's *Institutionum Theologicarvm Ta. prolegomena Et ea, quae ad Partem Generalem revocari solent; De Natura Theologiae; Objecto, Religione: Principio, Revelatione, vel Scriptura S. ut & Articulis Fidei in genere. Cum Examine Novae Theologiae Calixtinae: Quo refelluntur Hypotheses Ejus palmariae, ac imprimis Scopus Syncretisticus; simulq; liquido demonstratur, D. Calixtum, Ejusq; Complices Regiomont: D. Michael Behm, D. Drejerum, & D. Latermannum non nisi falso sese Catholicos, & Lutheranos jactitare, reapse autem a Fide Catholica Lutherana, ab Aug. Confess. apologia, Artic. Smalcald, Formula Concordiae, & maxime a Corpore Prutenico, Julioq; defecisse. Producto unanimi praecipuorum Theologorum contra Hetrodoxias istas Consensu, proprioque Novatorum de Apostasia sua testimonio* (Danzig: Rhete, 1649), has the same table of contents as first volume of the *Systema*. The "Digressio De Nova" is most accessibly found in Calov's *Systema*, 1:881–1216. Even though Staemmler recognizes, "Der Feldherr, der ihnen Kampf dann kam und auch eine genaue Vorstellung der Macht des Gegners und auch einen Schlachtplan mitbrachte, war Abraham Calov aus Danzig," he seems to have underestimated importance of the *Institutionum Theologicarvm*. See Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 96.

*Concord*, is “the one true and saving Christian religion” in contrast to false religions, both those outside the church (Pagans, Muslims, and Jews) and those inside the church (ancient heretics, Roman Catholics, Zwinglian-Calvinists, Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptists).<sup>258</sup> He argues that the religion of the Old Testament was substantively the same as the New Testament on the basis of passages such as John 5:39, 14:6, 17:3, Acts 4:12, 10:43, 15:11, and Ephesians 4:5.<sup>259</sup> Calov maintains that the *Apostles' Creed* does not explicitly contain all the articles of the faith (*credenda*), because it does not explicitly have articles on redemption, the satisfaction and merits of Christ, justification, and Christ's imputed righteousness, much less the Trinity, the personal union, God's universal grace, Christ's universal merits, divine attributes, sin, law, conversion, regeneration, repentance, good works, predestination, divine providence, Scripture, and the sacraments, etc.<sup>260</sup> The creed was not passed down from the apostles to the church, because Scripture omits any mention of such a thing. The *Apostles' Creed* is not found in the Greek church, there are different recensions of the creed, and other baptismal creeds have also been used.<sup>261</sup> The symbols of the ancient councils do not contain all the articles of the faith. Neither Scripture nor the doctors of the church claim that the symbols contain all the articles of the faith. The councils did not pen their symbols to explain the *Apostles' Creed* or summarize the articles

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<sup>258</sup> "Religionem vero nostram Lutheranam esse unice veram ac salvificam Christianam religionem.... Symbola Religionis alia sunt antiquiora & oecumenica, in toto Christiano orbe recepta, utpote Symbolum Apostolicum, Nicenum, Constantinopolitanum, Ephesinum, Chalcedonense, ut & Athanasianum: alia recentiora, minusque universalialia, Ecclesiae Lutheranae Augustana Confessio, Apologia eiusdem, Articuli Smalcaldi, Catechismus uterque B. Lutheri, & Formula Concordiae. In hisce Confessionibus fidei Religionis Christianae summa continetur, iisque vera Christiana religion discriminata fuit, & adhuc discernitur ab alia quavis: ideoque symbola dicuntur, quod sint tesserae verae Ecclesiae, quibus Orthodoxi agnosci, & ab heterodoxis dignosci queunt." See Calov, *Systema*, 1:99–102, 104–25. See also Calov's extensive review of the fundamental errors of the aforementioned groups. See Calov, *Systema*, 1:126–268. See also his later review of church history from the flood to the end times, which includes his criticism of Eastern Orthodoxy. See Calov, *Systema*, 8:1–250. Finally, note that the *Systema's* dedication to the Saxon elector regards Wittenberg to be the "Zion Saxonica." See Calov, *Systema*, 1:26.

<sup>259</sup> Calov, *Systema*, 1:161–72.

<sup>260</sup> Calov, *Systema*, 1:236–44.

<sup>261</sup> Calov, *Systema*, 1:244–51.

of the faith, but rather to correct heresies as they arose. These symbols do not address the satisfaction and merits of Christ, the universal grace of God, justification by faith alone, the Eucharist, etc. Other councils and catalogues of heresies damn many more errors than those found in the symbols of the ecumenical councils.<sup>262</sup> Heretics are not just those who directly deny a proposition of the creed. Neither Scripture (Galatians 1:8 and Matthew 5:19) nor the ancient church limited its condemnation to errors pertaining to doctrine necessary for salvation or the creed.<sup>263</sup> While Calov was willing to call tradition a testimony of the faith (*testimonium fidei*), he insists that the *consensus antiquitatis* cannot serve as a principal of the faith. The reason is that Scripture is a sufficient, more sure, and prophetic work (I Peter 1:19). What is led, measured, and tested by a principal of faith is not a principal of faith. Councils (and fathers) have erred and contradicted themselves. Councils (fathers) appeal to Scripture as the norm of the faith.<sup>264</sup> Like Musaeus, Calov recognizes Hunnius' distinction between (primary and secondary) fundamental doctrine and non-fundamental doctrine, including the sorts of doctrine that fall into each category, but Calov also uses the metaphor of a human body to affirm the unitive nature and inter-connectivity of the articles of the faith.<sup>265</sup>

Once again, Calov's *Digressio De Nova Theologia Helmstadio-Regiomontanorum Syncretistarum* is also found within his 1649–50 *Institutionem Theologicarum*. Its preface claimed solidarity with the "Supreme Director of the Evangelicals," interpreting the controversy

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<sup>262</sup> Calov, *Systema*, 1:251–54.

<sup>263</sup> Calov, *Systema*, 1:254–57.

<sup>264</sup> Calov, *Systema*, 1:409–40. Quenstedt later wrote that tradition is not a principium quoad rem, but a principium quoad hominem. See Quenstedt, *Theologia*, 1:44ff.

<sup>265</sup> "Cohaerent inter sese mutuo fidei dogmata, ut fidei dogmata, ut articuli in humano corpore; quo nomine fides dici solet una copulativa. Nullus ergo articulus e catena fidei tollatur, alioquin soluta unica fidei ansula integra caterna facile rumpitur." See Calov, *Systema*, 1:774.

in terms of a defense of Orthodox Gnesio-(gnhsi,wj) Lutheranism against a new Samaritanism.<sup>266</sup> The *Digressio De Nova Theologia Helmstadio-Regiomontanorum Syncretistarum* then provides the first penetrating historical-dialectical deconstruction of the fifteen supporting "hypotheses" behind Helmstedt-Königsberg Lutheran irenicism's central presupposition. This presupposition is that all who believe in the contents of the *Apostles' Creed* believe in the fundamental articles of the faith and are, therefore, brothers in Christ. The critical acumen of this text would only be surpassed by Calov's 1653 *Syncretismus Calixtinus*. In fact, the *Consensus Repetitus* would draw some of its *rejjicimus* from its hypotheses.<sup>267</sup> More importantly the *Digressio De Nova Theologia Helmstadio-Regiomontanorum Syncretistarum*, which has a dedication dated February 18 (*die memoriae B. Lutheri Sacro*), provides a list of forty-five Helmstedt errors against the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* as well as the first list of forty-nine Helmstedt-Königsberg errors against the *Corpus Doctrinae Prutenicum*, etc. This occurred a couple of months before Hülsemann's 1649 *Dialysis* provided its list of forty errors, which has a dedication dated October 15, 1649 (*III idus*).<sup>268</sup> It begins each point with the substance of or a quotation from the *Corpus Doctrinae*

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<sup>266</sup> Calov, "Digressio De Nova," 892.

<sup>267</sup> Herein Calov refutes the following: 1. The *Apostles' Creed* explicitly contains all what ought to be believed. 2. The only articles of faith that are required are the ones supported by the church tradition. 3. The old confessions also proscribe what should be taught. 4. The ancient councils interpret for the learned the contents of the *Apostles' Creed*. 5. *Antecedentia*, the *constituentia*, and the *consequentia* must be distinguished from one another. 6. The latter is necessary for teachers, but not for salvation. 7. A heretic is only someone claiming to be a Christian, but intentionally denies a fundamental article. 8. Almost the same is true for a Christian, who denies a *consequentia*. 9. There can be a difference of opinion concerning the latter. 10. One does not need to know how God operates. 11. The differences concerning the forgiveness of sins, justification, and eternal life can be set aside if they are not put into scholastic terminology. 12. The doctrine concerning the essence and effect of the sacrament is not necessary. 13. All should believe and content themselves merely with knowing that the true body of Christ is given in the Lord's Supper. 14. The Trinity and incarnation first became articles of faith in the New Testament. 15. Good works are necessary for salvation. See Calov "Digressio De Nova," 1:898–95. As Staemmler has already pointed out at least Hypothesis XI = CR1664 IV, VI, & XX:1; CR1846 42 and Hypothesis XIII = CR1664 X, XXII, & XXIV:2; CR1846 68. Merkt see an even stronger relationship between the *Systema* and CR1664. See Merkt, *Das Patristische*, 149.

<sup>268</sup> Calov "Digressio De Nova," 1:897, 1:1073–1104, 1:1043–72; Hülsemann, *Dialysis*, 160, 328–58. The *Digressio* further demonstrated under different *membrum* Helmstedt-Königsberg syncretism's breach with Scripture, church antiquity, Martin Luther, the CA & its Ap, and fundamental Lutheran theology. It sought to show its anti-

*Julium* (or *Corpus Doctrinae Prutenicum*) and then provides the name and quotation and/or reference from the offender's writings.

As a Wittenberg theology professor, Calov continued his polemics against both the Helmstedt and Königsberg syncretists, providing even more intellectual fodder for the formulation of the *Consensus Repetitus*. He authored at the Leucorea the 1651 *Nöthige Ablehnung*, the 1651 *Erbärmliche Verstockung*, the 1651 *Apologia D. Abraham Calovi*, the 1652 *Synopsis Controversiarum Potiorum*, and the 1653 *Syncretismus Calixtinus*.<sup>269</sup> The 1651 *Nöthige*

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Christian character, its roots in ancient heresies, and its censure by other theologians. The editor of the only modern edition of the CR1664, Henke, moreover, states that Calov's lists, like Hülsemann's list, are proto-texts for the CR1664, but not everything in them made it into the CR1664. See Henke, *Georg*, 2/2: 186. Finally, a list of 64 Latermann errors against the CA, organized according to the CA, and which appears to be penned in 1651, is found in the "Kurtzer / jedoch gründlicher Beweis / daß Doctor Johann Latermann von der ungeänderten Augspurgischen Confession und deroselben Glaubens-Articuln vielfältig abgetreten / ja fast in keinem einigen Articul da bey richtig verblieben," in *Consilia Theologica Witebergensia, Das ist / Wittenbergische Geistliche Rathschläge Deß theuren Mannes Gottes / D. Martini Lutheri, seiner Collegen, und treuen Nachfolger / von dem heiligen Reformations-Anfang / biß auff jetzige Zeit / in dem Namen der gesampten Theologischen Facultät außgestellte Urteil / Bedencken / und offentliche Schrifftten in Vier Theilen / von Religion-Lehr-und Glaubens-Ministerial und Kirchen-Moral-und Polickey-Matrimonal-und Ehe-sachen / Und allerhand dabey vorfallenden Casibus Ordentlich zusammengebracht und zur Ehre Gottes / Erhaltung der reinen Lehre / und Nutz der Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirchen / auf vielfältiges Begehren abgefertigt von Der Theologischen Facultät daselbsten* (Frankfurt: Wust, 1664), 1:904–11. This is surrounded by other discussions of the heterodoxy of Latermann and Dreier, which all predate the CR1664.

<sup>269</sup> Abraham Calov, *Erbärmliche Verstockung Der neuen Calixtinischen Schwärmer / Johann Latermans / und seines Beystands D. Dreyers In ihrer Bapst-Calvinischer Brüderschafft und Syncretisterey Aus dem von Laterman jüngst edirten Judicio Cassandri de Officio pii Viri, und begefügtten Notis; Sampt gebührender Abfertigung dessen / was darinnen wieder D. Calovii Institutiones Theologicas ausgestürtzet / mit Consens und approbation der Theologischen Facultet in der Chur-Sächsischen Universitet Wittenberg / Zur nöthigen Verwarnung der Christlichen Kirchen / dargethan* (Wittenberg: Fincel, 1651); Abraham Calov, *Apologia D. Abraham Calovi, jetziger zeit bey der löblichen Universitet Wittenberg Prof. Publ wie auch des Geistlichen Consistorii im Churkreiß Assessoris: Einem Edlen Hochweisen Rath der königlichen Stadt Dantzig übergeben / sampt beygefügttem Schreiben An die HochEdle Herrn Regiments-Rhäte des Hertzogthums Preussen, zu nötiger Rettung Seiner Unschuld / wegen schwerer Bezüchtigung undgefehlicher Nachstellung D. Calixti, und seines Königsbergischen Anhangs / D. Drejers und Joh. Latermans / Darin zugleich ihr höchst schädlicher / Samaritisches Schwarmentdecket; Mit Consens und approbation. E. Ehrw. Theologischen Facultet in Wittenberg ausgefertiget* (Wittenberg: Hartmann, 1651); Abraham Calov, *In Nomine Jesu! Synopsis Controversiarum Potiorum, Quae Ecclesiae Christi cum Haereticis & Schismaticis modernis, Socinianis, Anabaptistis, VVeigelianis, Remonstrantibus, Pontificijs, Calvinianis, Calixtinis, aliisque intercedunt, Secundum seriem articulorum August. Confessionis ita propositarum, ut tum materia disputationum, tum idea Locorum Communium Elencticorum exhibeatur, XLIII. Disputationibus publico privatis in Electorali Universitate Wittebergensi expedita, Praeside Abraham Calovio, D. Prof. Publicio, Consist. Eccles Adsess. & Circuli Elect. Saxon. Superintendente Generali. Praemissa est praefatio Apologetica ea, quibus Autorem D. Georgius Calixtus in der Wiederlegung vellicat, expendens*, 2nd ed. (Wittenberg: Wendt, 1653); Abraham Calov, *I. N. J. Syncretismus Calixtinus a modernis Ecclesiae turbatoribus D. Georgio Calixto, Ejusque; Discipulo D. Johann. Latermanno, & utriusque Complice, ac hyperaspista D. Christian Drejero, In Nupero Papistico Calvinistico-Arminiano Tractatu Der ungründlichen Erörterung etlicher schwerer Theologischen Fragen nimis*



*Ablehnung* and 1651 *Apologia D. Abraham Calovi* were penned as defenses of Calov's character over against the syncretists. The 1651 *Erbärmliche Verstockung* focused mainly on fleshing out Königsberg syncretism. The 1652 *Synopsis Controversiarum Potiorum*, dedicated on April 16, 1652 to the *Oberhofprediger* Weller and councilors of the Dresden privy council, was largely penned against Calixt.<sup>270</sup> The 1652 *Synopsis Controversiarum Potiorum* looks remarkably similar to both the 1652 *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* and the *Consensus Repetitus*. Its articles (and accompanying points) were arranged according to the *Augsburg Confession*. It structures its points similar to the *Consensus Repetitus*. In addition to the errors of Roman Catholics, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Arminians, etc., it provided one of the most comprehensive lists of Lutheran syncretistic errors to date, demonstrating Lutheran syncretism's affinity with other heretics. Calov's 1653 *Syncretismus Calixtinus* made a more penetrating and comprehensive historical-dialectic analysis of the central syncretistic theses expressed in the *Digressio De Nova Theologia Helmstadio-Regiomontanorum Syncretistarum*. It was divided into two parts. The first part focused on three postulations (the fundamental sufficiency of the *Apostles' Creed*, the fundamental sufficiency of the symbols of the first six centuries, and the definition of heresy). The second part focused on the syncretism of the Reformed under four postulations (two on predestination, Christology, and the Lord's Supper) and the syncretism of the Roman Catholics under four postulations (tradition, justification, the sacraments, and the papacy & cultus). Herein he shows how many of the statements of the ancient, medieval, and Lutheran fathers used by

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*infeliciter Cum Reformatis & Pontificiis Tentatus Quoad Postlata Praecipua Cum Generalia, Tum Specialia, Solemni, aliisque; Publicis Disputationibus In Illustri Elector. Qvae Witteberg, Est, Universitatead lancem veritatis exactus & discussus. Adjectum est Epimetron in gratiam D. Calixti advocate, ac Patroni Judaeorum & Muhammedanorum in Puncto Idololatriae adversus Apologiam August. Confeß. & Megalandrum Lutherum, 2nd ed. (Wittenberg: Wendt, 1655).*

<sup>270</sup> Calov, *Synopsis*, A 3.

Calixt cannot be used to support Calixtine irenicism. Even Calov's 1652 manual for theological study was in part intended to remedy the effects of Calixt's own, not to mention the fact that it spells out a rather ambitious and well-rounded theological education.<sup>271</sup>

On January 28, 1651, the Wittenberg theological faculty, now consisting of Johann Scharf, Abraham Calov, and Johann Meisner wrote the Saxon elector. They complained to the elector that Helmstedt and its adherents were conspiring against Orthodox Lutheranism and using its authorities to introduce its new religion. So the Leucorea theologians requested a theological conference, consisting of the clerical councilors of the superior consistory, theologians from both Electoral Saxon universities, and some top-graduating (*hochgraduirte*) superintendents. From the controversial material so far, they were exhaustively to draw "everything together in thesis and antithesis, out of God's Word and the symbolic books, as well as the writings of the Blessed Luther" (*ingesampt gründlich alles in thesi und antithesi aus Gottes Wortt und denen libeliis Symbolicis, wie auch Sel. H. Lutheri Schriften*).<sup>272</sup> Now for the first time Jena was excluded, because Wittenberg believed it was sympathetic to Helmstedt.<sup>273</sup>

Despite Wittenberg's attempt to exclude Jena from the conference, the Saxon elector was not ready to give up on the Ducal Saxons. On December 1, 1651, the Saxon elector ordered his theological faculties to join the Jena theological faculty along with one or two of their political councilors at a conference in Leipzig scheduled for January 19, 1652. In addition, the electoral

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<sup>271</sup> Abraham Calov, *I. N. J. Isagoges Ad SS. Theologiam Libri Duo, De Natura Theologiae, Et Methodo Studii Theologici, Pie, Dextre, Ac Feliciter Tractandi, Cum examine Methodi Calixtinae* (Wittenberg: Hartmann, 1666); Nieden, *Die Erfinden*, 225–36.

<sup>272</sup> UA Halle XXXXII, 30 and LHA Dresden Loc 1909, 276ff., cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 75–76; Calov, *Historia*, 588.

<sup>273</sup> LHA Dresden 1909, 271ff., cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 76. The son of Johann Major and Jena theology professor, Johann T. Major, was accused of "nicht allein viel noviteten, heterodoxa und andere unrichtige Sachen proponiret, sondern auch unsern geliebten Collegam D. Abraham Calovium [...] ohn alle gegebene Ursache, publice zu refutiren sich unterstanden." See Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 77; Calov, *Historia*, 588, 1095.

faculties were ordered to assemble "a correct thoroughly-grounded declaration of contested articles of the faith according to the Word of God and the *Formula of Concord*" (*nach Anleitung des Worts Gottes / und der Formulae Concordiae eine richtige wohlgegründete declaration der streitigen Punckten abzufassen*).<sup>274</sup> By December 3, 1651, Hülsemann reports that the Leipzig theological faculty already had a *Bedencken* which they disseminated.<sup>275</sup> Duke Wilhelm IV and Duke Ernst the Pious, conversely, responded on December 16, 1651. They requested an index of the controversies, information about the methodological procedure of the meeting, as well as the form and goal of the meeting's *Declaration*. The Saxon dukes also asked "if not also other theologians adhering to the *Augsburg Confession* outside their electoral and ducal houses, who had not taken part in this matter, might be sought."<sup>276</sup>

On January 2, 1652, the Wittenberg theologians submitted a threefold proposal for the conference. The first point was to define the purpose of the meeting as the defense of the symbols binding on Electoral Saxony. The second point was to establish the Word of God as the means of deliberation. The third point was to spell out the chief points of the controversy from which the meeting's *Declaration* would be produced. Illustrating how the Electoral Saxons read the *Book of Concord* differently from the other parties, the Wittenberg theologians then attached a no longer extant list of doctrinal points "that either ran *contra literam librorum Symbolicorum* or still otherwise fought against the same *per necessariam consequentiam*." In addition, they noted the Helmstedt theologians' books which contained these errors.<sup>277</sup> Both Electoral Saxon

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<sup>274</sup> The order is cited in Calov, *Historia*, 588–89, 1091, 1095. Musaeus claims that the order was given on December 16, 1651. See Calov, *Historia*, 1000.

<sup>275</sup> Hülsemann, *Calixtinischer*, Dedication A iii.

<sup>276</sup> The Saxon duke's December 16, 16[5]1 request is reprinted in Calov, *Historia*, 1091–92.

<sup>277</sup> UA Halle XXXXII, 30 cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 79; Calov, *Historia*, 589, 1096. According to Staemmler, this list no longer seems to exist, but the descriptions seems quite reminiscent of Calov's previous writing as well as the structure if not content of the *Consensus Repetitus*.

theological faculties, furthermore, penned another document on March 1652 impressing on Dresden that Calixt's ideas implied that the Lutheran sovereigns had caused "public irresponsible rebellions and disturbances" (*öffentlichen unverantwortlichen Rebellen und Auffrühren*) because they separated themselves from the emperor by means of their subscription to the Lutheran Confessions.<sup>278</sup>

Nevertheless, the Saxon elector still hoped to bring Jena on board. On June 29, 1652, the superior consistory sent the Ducal Saxons a draft of the *Ungefährlicher Entwurff*, so that the Salana theologians could help the Electoral Saxon theologians develop it into the declaration, which the Saxon elector had requested on December 1, 1652.<sup>279</sup> This text was a work of the Dresden superior consistory, which Staemmler has shown used the Leipzig theological faculty's August 16, 1648 list of Calixtine errors as a source.<sup>280</sup> However, the Wittenberg theologians received the *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* from the Dresden superior consistory on August 6, 1652, with the command to make improvements on it in ten days for the sake of the fast approaching rescheduled theological conference on August 22. On August 12, 1652, Wittenberg did as instructed, sent "a short index" (*ein kurtzes verzeichniß*), and added the following:

Therein we, according to the *entwurf* sent by the Dresden superior consistory, first drafted theses and based them truly on God's Word and also on the *Augsburg Confession*. Hereafter the antitheses [were drafted] and the Helmstedt theologians'

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<sup>278</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 589, 1096; UA Halle XXXXII, 30 and LHA Dresden 1909, 304ff, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 79–81.

<sup>279</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 1091–92, 1096, 1001–2.

<sup>280</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 1096. In an April 6, 1654 Leipzig letter to Wittenberg, Staemmler points out that the Leipzig theologians mention a list of Calixt's errors compiled according to the CA and that they sent to Wittenberg. He further notes that this same source reads, "Nonullis abhinc annis ad mandatam Electorale in Aulan transmisimus, eosque suceßu temporis adauctos [offensichtlich doch von den Dresdener Theologen!] Ego D. Hülsemann, Scripto meo apologetico [= Calixtinischer Gewissenswurm] praemisi." See UA Halle XXXXII, 33, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 82.

false and erring doctrine was set against them, also the *allegata*, as much as this short time in fact would allow and deliberated everything with diligence."<sup>281</sup>

Since the theological conference with Jena never materialized, the further development of the 1652 *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* would have to wait until later. But Hülsemann incorporated it into his 1653 *Calixtinischer Gewissens-Wurm*.<sup>282</sup> The 1652 *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* is essentially a German text that followed the outline of the *Augsburg Confession*. It does not employ the *Consensus Repetitus*' distinctive threefold structure for each of its article's points, nor does it use its symbolic verbiage for each of its points. Rather an *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* article often lists a number of points, each of which spells out a syncretistic error. Following an article's list of points is usually a second list, consisting of errorists (Helmstedt and Königsberg) and references (without full quotations), which are keyed to the article's first list of points, so that each error can be proved. However, sometimes a point is immediately followed up by its corresponding offender and reference. Certain references are accompanied with Scripture passages and

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<sup>281</sup> Calov states, "Wie dann von denen Churf. Sächs. Herren Ober-Consistorial-Theologen / ein ungefährlicher Entwurff Helmstädtischer und anderer / als Doct. Drejers und Latermans Neurungen / auff Churf. gnädig. Befehl / aufgesetzt / und uns den 6 Aug. 1652 zugeschicket / auch gnädigst anbefohlen / weil der zum Convent benahmte Tag herbey nahet / wir solten solche aufgesetzte Religions Puncta mit Fleiß erwegen / die darinn befindliche Acta aufschlagen die Puncta vermehren, und verbeßern, die Thesin, und Antithesin kürzlich verfassen / und so dann dieselben binnen 10. Tagen unterthänigst wieder einschicken / welches auch von uns geschehen ist." See Calov, *Historia*, 589, 1096. Already on August 12, 1652, Wittenberg theologians responded with "ein kurzes verzeichniß," "Darinnen wir nach dero herrn Dresdenischen Oberconsistorial Theologorum übersendeten entwurf, erstlich die thesin, und unsere warhafftige in gottes wordt gegründete auch in der Augspurischen Conf. verfassete, hernach aber die Antithesin undt der helmstätter falsche und irrige lehre entgegen gesetzt, auch die allegata, so viel zwar die Kürtze der Zeit leiden wollen, aufgeschlagen, und alles mit fleiß erwogen." See UA Halle XXXXII, 30–33, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 81–82. Given the timeframe Staemmler maintains, "Was oder ob überhaupt die Wittenberger an diesem Entwurf Wesentlich geändert haben, ist ungewiß wenn nicht gar zweifelhaft." See Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 81–82.

<sup>282</sup> "Ungefährlicher Entwurff / Helmstädtischer und anderer / als D. Christiani Dreyers zu Königsberg / und D. Latermanni zu Halberstadt / Neuerungen," in *Calixtinischer Gewissens-Wurm / Aus Seinen wider die Evangelische / von Ihm selbst Eydlich beschworne / Aber Schändlich verlassene und Verlästerte Warheit / in Teutsch- und Lateinischer Sprach ausgelassenen Schrifften / Sonderlich aus der Dedication-Schrift an Seine genannte Widerlegung / Verantwortung und Antwort Entdeckt und Erwiesen*, ed. Johann Hülsemann (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1654), A–D. Calov indicates that the Wittenberg revised *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* was incorporated into Hülsemann's *Calixtinischer Gewissens-wurm*. See Calov, *Historia*, 1091–92, 1096. But Musaeus suggests that the June 29, 1652 draft of the *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* was incorporated in it. See Calov, *Historia*, 1001–2. As suggested by the footnotes above, Staemmler agrees with Musaeus.

quotations from the *Book of Concord* to refute them further. The *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* covered the same topics as the *Consensus Repetitus'* four preliminary and eighty-four special points, but it does so in five preliminary points and ninety-four special points. The articles on baptism, the Lord's Supper, repentance, the political magistrate, and free will were used to help form their corresponding *Consensus Repetitus* article's *rejecimus* and *ita docet*. The citations from Helmstedt writings on the articles of Christ, justification, and good works were altered in the *Consensus Repetitus*.<sup>283</sup>

As already indicated to the Wittenberg theologians, the Saxon elector had rescheduled the proposed Leipzig conference for August 22, 1652.<sup>284</sup> The Jena faculty now issued a *Gutachten* spelling out their position on Helmstedt for the Saxon elector, but it does not appear to be extant.<sup>285</sup> At this point, Calov writes, "But nothing became of the conference on account of the Jena theologians, who favored Calixt."<sup>286</sup> The Leipzig theological faculty, likewise, asked their elector that only those promoted to doctor in Electoral Saxony serve in high church offices.<sup>287</sup> To be sure, the 1652 Jena professor's oath still professed its allegiance to the *Book of Concord* in uncompromising terms, but over the course of the seventeenth century Jena replaced its oath with a handshake and by the eighteenth century the number of theology students was on the decline.<sup>288</sup> The Wittenberg theologians now received reports that Helmstedt theology had spread

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<sup>283</sup> See Calov, *Historia*, 593, 1096; Staemmler, *Der Auseinandersetzung*, 95–96.

<sup>284</sup> LHA Dresden Loc 10, 327, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 82–83.

<sup>285</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 1092, 1001; Henke, Georg, 2/2: 233. The Superintendent of Eisenach, Rebhan, considered the Helmstedt matter to be one of *Nebenfragen*. See Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 82.

<sup>286</sup> "Es ist aber aus dem Conventu, wegen der Jenensium, die Calixto favorisireten / nichts worden." See Calov, *Historia*, 589, 1096.

<sup>287</sup> L. D. I. 1649/50; 1650/51, cited in Kirn, *Die Leipziger*, 93.

<sup>288</sup> Heussi, *Geschichte*, 94–95. "Ihr sollt geloben und schwören, daß ihr wollt bei der reinen Lehre und christlichen Bekenntniß dieser Lande, wie dieselben in der ersten ungeänderten Augsb. Confession und deren Apologie begriffen, in den Schmalkaldischen Artikeln, beiden Katechismen und dem Christlichen Concordienbuch wiederholt ist, beständig ohne einigen Falsch verbleiben und verharren, dawider nicht heimlich oder öffentlich

to the theological faculty of the University of Rinteln. In 1652 the Rinteln theology professor, Johannes Gisenius (1577-1658), referred to his university as a "Calvinizing Academy" (*Academia Calvinizans*). He does this because the students of the Helmstedt theologians, not to mention the Calixtine brother of Johannes Musaeus, were now teaching there and because they regarded the Calvinists to be brothers in Christ. His criticism of Helmstedt in his lectures caused him to be denounced by the *Kommissaren* of the Hesse-Kassel court as "a politician and not a theologian" (*non Theologi, sed Politici*).<sup>289</sup>

Up to this time Helmstedt theology had been used to help advance Hohenzollern religious policy in Ducal Prussia. It had taken over the theological faculties of Helmstedt, Königsberg, and Rinteln. It was the hot topic among the Straßburg, Leipzig, Wittenberg, etc. student bodies. In the Wittenberg mind, Helmstedt theology had even found a sympathetic ear at Jena. A number of high profile conversions to Roman Catholicism by known associates of Georg Calixt would take place, further destabilizing Lutheran society as referenced in chapter two. To be sure, Calixt's former student and short-while instructor of the current Saxon dukes (Saxony-Altenburg excluded), Berthold Nihus, had already converted in 1622. But now the Holsteiner, Christoph of Rantzau, would convert in 1650. In 1651 Duke Johann Friedrich Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen Poped. That same year the Helmstedt professor and soon-to-be Electoral Mainz politician, Heinrich Blume (1624–99), converted. In 1652 the Landgrave Ernst of Hesse-Rheinfels (1623–1693) converted. The former student of Calixt, Hessian ambassador to the Swedish court, and Electoral Mainz politician, Johann Christian von Boineburg, swam the Tiber

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practiciren, auch wo ihr vermerkt, daß andere solches thun, dasselbe nicht verhalten, sondern gebürlich ohne Scheu offenbaren, wo auch Gott verhängen möchte (das er doch gnädiglich abwenden wolle), daß ihr euch selbst durch Menschenwitz und Wahn von solcher reiner Confession widrigen Secten abwenden würdet, solches IHRO Fürstlichen Gnaden ungescheut anmelden und Ihre resolution hierin erwarten." See Frank, *Die Jenaische*, 45.

<sup>289</sup> UA Halle XXXXII, 30, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 83–84. See also Calixtine Rinteln professor, J. Heinichen's, letter to Calixt about Gisenius in Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:18.

in 1656. Finally, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, Christina of Sweden (1626–89), abdicated her throne in 1654 and confessed the Roman Catholic faith 1655 in Innsbruck. Calixt predicted such conversions would occur in 1650, but he attributed them to the Electoral Saxon papacy and its oppressive religion.<sup>290</sup>

By now Electoral Saxony's claim of theological oversight in Lutheranism had become a real stumbling block for making its case against syncretism.<sup>291</sup> Recognizing this problem, Johann Dorsche proposed a *Collegium hunnianum* in 1645 and 1650 to both Sweden and Electoral Saxony as a means for resolving the controversy. Ernst the Pious proposed the same thing in 1648, but more likely also to check Electoral Saxony's authority claims. At the opening of the 1653–54 Regensburg Diet,<sup>292</sup> Ernst the Pious recommend that the controversy be set aside at a council under the leadership of the King of Denmark. In response, the Helmstedt-friendly Swedish delegate, Mattias Biörenklou (1607–71), won the Braunschweigers over to a proposal that would charge Sweden with resolving the controversy. But Sweden's bifurcated ecclesial-political goals in the 1648 Peace of Westphalia and 1653–54 Regensburg Diet resulted in the neutralization of Sweden's effective role in the Syncretistic Controversy. Theologically, Queen Christina of Sweden, her politicians, and clerics were pro-Helmstedt theology. The Swedish Chancellor Axel Oxerstierna, conversely, his son and Swedish Privy council member, Johan Oxenstierna (1611–67), the Uppsala theologian, Carolus Lithman, and the Dorpat General-superintendent, Zacharias Klingius, favored Wittenberg. Politically, Sweden also needed the

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<sup>290</sup> Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 206. See also Hülsemann, *Calixtinischer*, Dedication A iii; Calov, *Historia*, 592.

<sup>291</sup> "Sächsischen Kurfürst ... als caput visibile der lutherischen Kirche," Göransson adds, "So polemisiert Hülsemann 1651 in einer Streitschrift gegen die territoriale Abgrenzung in sacris und erbringt den Beweis für die Superiorität des Kurfürsten von Sachsen und die Berechtigung seines Einschreitens gegen die Theologen anderer Länder." See "Schweden," 237.

<sup>292</sup> Johann Gottfried von Meiern, ed., *Acta Comititalia Ratisbonensia Pvbica Oder Regenspurgische Reichstags-Handlung und Geschichte von den Jahren 1653. und 1655* (Leipzig and Göttingen: Türpe and Königlichen Universität Buchlandlung, 1738–40).



Reformed to advance its claim as Director of the Evangelicals, but Sweden was at odds with the Great Elector over Pomerania and East Prussia. Last but not least both Johannes Matthiae Gothus and Johannes Elai Terserus would be deposed by 1664 and the *Formula of Concord* would be cemented into Sweden's ecclesial law.<sup>293</sup> In the end Concordial Lutheranism would eventually win a small victory in Sweden.

Still the Regensburg Diet would not only impress upon the Electoral Saxons the need for definitive action against Helmstedt theology, but it also marked the abandonment of a synodical strategy in favor of a symbolic solution to the controversy. To be sure, the diet officially awarded the Saxon elector the *Directorium Evangelicorum* in the empire on August 14, 1653, which was a political designation, not an ecclesiastical one.<sup>294</sup> But the rumor that the irenic Elector of Mainz, Johann Philipp von Schönborn (1605–73), and the emperor had contemplated prior to the diet about bringing Calixt to Regensburg to help mollify the tensions between the confessions signaled that it would not prove auspicious for the Electoral Saxons.<sup>295</sup> The Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel chancellor, Johann Schwartzkopf, was in attendance and worked there to advance the cause of his brother-in-law, Georg Calixt.

While away, Schwartzkopf wrote Calixt a series of letters from February 1653 to March 1654 describing the diet. The major theme of these letters was that Calixt and his writings were greatly respected by the diet's participants, their wives, and especially the Roman Catholics. Johann Hülsemann, conversely, was not highly regarded by them at all. In fact, Johann Christian

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<sup>293</sup> Göransson, "Sverige," 43–100; Göransson, "Schweden," 220–43; Göransson, *Ortodoxi*; Robert Murray, *A Brief History of the Church of Sweden: Origins and Modern Structure* (Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1961), 38–47.

<sup>294</sup> Meiern, *Acta Comititalia*, 1:232–33.

<sup>295</sup> The Electoral Mainz politician, Heinrich Blume, wrote Titus on March 2, 1653, "Calixtum multi magni viri magni faciunt; aiunt, et fortassis non est vanus rumor, deliberatum aliquities ab Imperatore et Moguntino Electore' (Boyneburg?)' de vocando Ratisbonam Calixto, ut cum moderatioribus nonnullis adversae partis coram amice conferret." See Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 270. See also Peterse, "Johann Christian," 114–18.

von Boineburg had an Augustinian friar preach, who praised Calixtine concessions and thereby criticized Electoral Saxon theology. Thus Schwartzkopf told Calixt to keep ignoring Hülsemann, whose 1653 *Calixtinischer Gewissens-Wurm*, which charged Calixt with relativising the Lutheran Confessions, appeared during the diet. At one point, his brother-in-law even suggests that the Electoral Saxon privy council director and ambassador, Heinrich Freiherr von Friesen the Younger (1578–1659), whose two politician sons accompanied him, was no friend of Hülsemann. At the same time, Friesen did not have an exact knowledge of the works of Calixt. He adds that Friesen was very interested in Calixt's 1629 edition of Vincent of Lerins' *Commonitorium*. He added that if there is not one available to send, he should immediately reprint it. Many others were interested in Calixt's writings. Schwartzkopf further notes that since the emperor had been given a copy of Hülsemann's tome, he supplied the emperor with Calixt's 1651 *Wiederlegung Der unchristlichen und unbilligen Verleumdungen*. The emperor was reported to have read in it diligently and forbade the Augustinians in February of 1654 from publicly polemicizing against Calixt. Finally, Schwartzkopf says that he was invited with the Swedes, Mecklenbergers, and Altenburgers to dine with the Brandenburgers in January of 1654, where they discussed the controversy, disapproved of Hülsemann, praised Calixt, and drank twice to Calixt's health with great applause.<sup>296</sup>

Schwartzkopf's church-politicking paid off. Twenty-four evangelical ambassadors addressed a letter on January 9, 1654 to Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony requesting the controversy now be set aside. This was not to be done through a theological conference, but rather accomplished through a meeting of theologians and

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<sup>296</sup> The Schwartzkopf's February 1653 to March 1654 correspondence is found in Calixt, *Briefwechsel*, 269–89. See also Hülsemann, *Calixtinischer Gewissens-Wurm*, Dedication.

politicians as well as the imposition of silence upon the theologians on both sides.<sup>297</sup> The Saxon elector rejected both requests after consulting with his theologians. The elector's son-in-law, Landgrave Georg II of Hesse-Darmstadt, and the majority of the remaining evangelical states agreed.<sup>298</sup>

Seeing the tide begin to shift away from them, Johann Hülsemann and the Leipzig faculty sent a letter on April 6, 1654 to the Wittenberg theologians, suggesting that they reassume compiling a list of Calixtine errors against the *Book of Concord* that the churches and schools of the kings, princes, and free cities could confess, reject, and condemn. The ordering of the articles was to be according to the *Augsburg Confession*, "because our opponent's protectors would not be able to legally avoid the authority of it" (*cum partis adversae patroni auctoritatem illius jure non possint defugere*). They further chose to name names, so as not to cause a schism in Lutheranism (*e re et pace Ecclesiae, adque refellendas communium hostium exprobrationes de domestico Lutheranorum Schismate*).<sup>299</sup>

The *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* was used as a starting point.<sup>300</sup> However, the Wittenberg theologians made some demands on May 2, 1654. First, every point must be made with clear words from the *Book of Concord*. Second, the antithesis must be formed from clear words of the Helmstedt theologians that contradict the *Book of Concord*. Third, certain changes, cuts, and additions needed to be made to the *Ungefährlicher Entwurff*. The Wittenberg theologians then offered their own inventory of Helmstedt errors. Lastly, they said that the final list should be

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<sup>297</sup> The Schwartzkopf's work at the conference and the order of the twenty-four is cited in Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:271–76; Calov, *Historia*, 593, 1097.

<sup>298</sup> Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:276; Tholuck, *Lebenszeugen*, 78–99. The Wittenberg theologians answered on February 24, 1654 and the Leipzig theologians agreed, "Denen die von der Wahrheit unserer Kirchenbücher weichen, könne und solle man wohl zu schreiben verbieten, aber dem h. Geiste könne man nicht das Maul stopfen noch dessen Dienern wehren, die Wahrheit wider ausgesprengte Irrthümer zu vertreten." See Calov, *Historia*, 593–94, 1097.

<sup>299</sup> UA Halle XXXXII, 30, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 111–13.

approved by both faculties and the Saxon elector.<sup>301</sup> By July 29, 1654, the Leipzig theologians reported back to the Wittenberg faculty that these changes had now been made.<sup>302</sup> The Wittenberg faculty further thought a cover letter (*Epistola Paraenetica*) should accompany the document for domestic and foreign rulers.<sup>303</sup>

In the summer of 1654, the Wittenberg faculty received the document, examined it, and returned it to Leipzig in September of 1654 with only a few changes (*pauculis saltem mutatis, additis demptisve*). They addressed three points of clarification. First, the formula "we believe, confess, and teach" (*credimus, confitemur et docemus*) was to be discouraged, because it could imply the document produced new articles of faith. The formula "we profess and teach" (*profitemur et docemus*) was suggested instead. Second, the theses needed to be lay-friendly. Third, Helmstedt citations need to be translated into German.<sup>304</sup>

In the winter of 1654/55 the last changes were made to the document by the Leipzig theologians in accordance with Wittenberg's recommendations. The Leipzig theology professors, Daniel Heinrici and Hieronymus Kromayer, redacted the Latin and German texts respectively.<sup>305</sup> This was completed on February 9/11, 1655.<sup>306</sup> It was then sent to Wittenberg, which in turn sent

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<sup>300</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 1092.

<sup>301</sup> UA Halle XXXXII, 30, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 113. There is some confusion about what list the Wittenberg theologians sent.

<sup>302</sup> UA Halle XXXXII, 30, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 114.

<sup>303</sup> In light of this correspondence, Staemmler asserts that Wittenberg focused on the tactical questions, while Leipzig played the leading role assembling the document. See Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 115.

<sup>304</sup> September 12, 1654, UA Halle XXXXII, 30, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 115–116.

<sup>305</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 1111; Kirn, *Die Leipziger*, 82.

<sup>306</sup> Henke intimates that the Leipzig text at this point is the so-called Leipzig and Wittenberg 1671 *Kurtze Verfassung*, which Musaeus would later claim was the 1655 Electoral Saxon produced confession, while the CR1664 was merely a private work of Calov. Leube is of a similar disposition. See Henke, *Georg*, 2/2:289; Leube, *Der Kampf*, 336; "Kurtze Verfassung der reinen Lehre nach dem heiligen Worte Gottes / der Christlichen Kirchen Augsp. Confession, so fern dieselbe von denen Helmstädtern / und dero Anhängern D. Christian Dreiern in Königsburg / und D. Johann Latermann zu Halberstadt / angefochten und verkehret wird / samt richtigem Gegensatz ihrer abweichenden gefährlichen Neurungen / und deroselben Summarischen Wiederlegung aufgesetzt von der

it with Calov's emendations to the Saxon elector on March 7, 1655. The document came to the Saxon elector with a cover letter, reminding the elector of the eight years that the Helmstedt faculty had been allowed to prosper and of the increasing number of Lutherans leaving the church.<sup>307</sup> The text was approved by the superior consistory with the elector's command on May 14, 1655 that it be sent back and that all members of both Electoral Saxon theological faculties subscribe to it (*wir alle nahmentlich dieselbige subscribiren sollen, welches auch von allen membris der beyden Theologischen Facultäten in Leipzig und allhier geschehen ist*).<sup>308</sup> According to Calov, the authorship of the *Consensus Repetitus* was assigned to all the Electoral Saxon theologians.<sup>309</sup> It was to be published by the court printer to avoid corrupt copies.<sup>310</sup>

### Conclusion

The different trajectories of Electoral Saxon and Ducal Saxon confessionalization can be traced back to the deep-seated tensions that emerged from their entangled theological and socio-political development. By the beginnings of the controversy a pan-Protestant confessional politics had taken root in the children of Johann of Saxony-Weimar, who would eventually assume control of all Ducal Saxony. This political stance was balanced with a theological disposition manifested above all in Ernst the Pious and Johann Musaeus, which was distinct from Helmstedt, but open to some of the ideas of Helmstedt. In contradistinction, the attempted Calvinization of Electoral Saxony, Calvinization of the Palatinate and Brandenburg, and the

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Theologischen Facult. zu Leipzig und Wittenberg," in *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum*, ed. Georg Dedeken, Johann Ernst Gerhard, and Christian Grübel (Jena: Hertel, 1671), New Appendix: 10–25.

<sup>307</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 594; Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 117.

<sup>308</sup> The order is cited in Calov, *Historia*, 594, 603, 607, 1098.

<sup>309</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 1091. See also CRG1666 Preface.

<sup>310</sup> The symbol can be found in manuscript form in both Leipzig and Dresden. There are two Latin exemplars and two German exemplars in the archive of the theological faculty in Leipzig. The Dresden state archive has an exemplar with a parallel Latin and German text. See Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 118.

challenge of the latter two to Electoral Saxony's role as the leading Protestant state cemented a fierce anti-Calvinism onto Albertine Saxony's traditional pro-imperial politics. The Saxon elector, his *Oberhofpredigern*, and his faculties, furthermore, strove to strengthen Electoral Saxon ecclesial-political oversight over Lutheranism via the mythology of the professorial chair of Luther and the Saxon elector's role in the Concordial project. By the end of the Thirty Years' War, Elector Johann Georg I's confessional politics had checked the advances of the Palatinate, acquired for him new lands, and ensured that he would become the Director of the Evangelicals. But not even the Director of the Evangelicals could prevent the Reformed from being recognized as one of two species of adherents of the *Augsburg Confession* or the rise of Electoral Saxony's long rival, the burgeoning powerhouse of Brandenburg-Prussia.

The 1645 Colloquy of Thorn, the Latermann Controversy, and Horneius' 1646 disputation on good works were not the beginning of the Syncretistic Controversy, but rather the catalyst for an ecclesial and socio-political controversy long in the making. The Calvinist Great Elector of Brandenburg sent Calixt to the Thorn Colloquy as part of his strategy to destabilize the long belligerent Ducal Prussian form of Lutheranism and promote mutual Protestant toleration in Poland, so that he could legally advance Calvinism in his largely Lutheran lands if not a new Hohenzollern church. At the Colloquy of Thorn, Calixt met his intellectual match in the uncompromising Abraham Calov, who had already prevented Calixt from leading the Danzigers by first equating his Lutheran irenicism with an illegal Samaritanism and syncretism. By no means a narrow-minded scholastic, much less an opponent of Arndtian piety, this Prussian theologian, who was just as skilled in humanist studies, Aristotelianism, and ecclesiastical antiquity as Calixt, took the lead here in sidelining Calixt for his irenic attitudes toward the Reformed. Calov was supported by Johann Hülsemann, who firmed up his position on Helmstedt theology under the influence of Weller and Calov. The Frisian theologian was a leading Lutheran

scholastic thinker of the day, albeit not the equal of Calixt or Calov. At Thorn the Lutherans not only confessed their catholic faith and fundamental disagreement with the other confessions via an *Augsburg Confession*-ordered symbol, but also by not participating with them in joint prayers or hymn singing. The non-clerically attired Calixt, conversely, earned the Lutherans' further ire by daring to assist the Reformed in drafting a symbol that expressed the presuppositions of Calixtine irenicism and became symbolic among Brandenburg-Prussian Calvinists.

After the failure of the Colloquy of Thorn many Lutherans came to see Calixtine theology as an existential threat to Lutheranism, while the Great Elector made the most of his new asset. He appointed Johann Latermann to his University of Königsberg, which was already unsettled by the Lutheran syncretism of Christian Dreier. But when the Königsberg theology faculty defended Latermann's 1646 disputation on election, the battled-tested Coelestin Myslenta, the city's ministerium, the university (including its students), and even the estates were galvanized into a confessionalized resistance against it. Despite strong *Gutachten* against Latermann, the call for trans-territorial theological opinions also brought forth conciliatory and mild theological opinions that help explain why the *Consensus Repetitus* would fail to become a universal Lutheran symbol. Ultimately, the Great Elector's continued support for Königsberg Lutheran syncretism, which would bring about Crypto-Roman Catholic controversies and conversions to Roman Catholicism, would only fuel the fire against Helmstedt theology. This is above all true for Abraham Calov, who was fighting former friends for the soul of his fatherland.

Meanwhile Conrad Horneius' 1646 disputation on good works as the *sine qua non* of salvation proved to be the last straw for Jakob Weller. He capitalized upon the fact that Calixtine theology commandeered the Saxon elector's office by promoting a syncretistic alterative to Lutheran identity, not to mention the fact it undermined the validity of the Lutheran states' legal existence in the empire, and facilitated the Hohenzollern's legal advance of Calvinism as an

adherent of the *Augsburg Confession*. Thus Weller's call for the Saxon elector to commence the trans-territorial discipline of the University of Helmstedt was pitched as the ecclesial, social, and political duty of the Director of the Evangelicals. The Saxon elector's subsequent order for a private admonishment of Helmstedt by his two theological faculties prompted the Leipzig faculty to enlist the Ducal Saxon University of Jena in order to foster a united front. The Straßburg theology professor, Johann Dorsche, even joined forces by helping the Leipzig theologians recruit Jena for the 1646 Saxon *Admonitio Fraterna* so as to prevent the Calixtinization of all Germany. Having been goaded into action, Jena theologians would consent, but they had scruples about the validity of the charges and preferred joint territorial church action to a rebuke backed up by the Saxon elector's authority. Still a Straßburg law professor's report about Calixtising Alsatian students revealed that Helmstedt theology was becoming contagious and beginning to disrupt the Orthodox Lutheran society at large. Claiming that even the common man could see that Helmstedt deviated from the basic articles of the faith, the 1646 *Admonitio Fraterna* focused on Helmstedt's own brand of Majorism. It reminded them of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel's own long *Formula of Concord* tradition, an argument that had more force and relevance than previously recognized. The Saxons closed declaring their oversight of Lutheranism and telling the theologians of Helmstedt to amend their ways. In the face of the 1646 *Admonitio Fraterna*, the 1648 *Censurae Theologorum Orthodoxorum*, and the 1648 *Mysterium Syncretismi Detecti*, Calixt continually insisted that Helmstedt was despised for its stress on humanism, Aristotle, ecclesial antiquity, concord, and the pursuit of piety. In addition, he suggested that the Electoral Saxons were not united, proposed a conference be convened to resolve the matter, encouraged the reigning in of dissenters in the Braunschweig duchies, and began to raise the charge that Electoral Saxony was trying to establish a Lutheran papacy, a charge that would help undermine the acceptance of the *Consensus Repetitus*.



At this point the Electoral Saxons began an internal Lutheran theological-driven trans-territorial process of confessionalization that had four major objectives. First, this process sought to complete the work of the *Formula of Concord*, but in fact was attempting to build trans-territorial adherence to the Electoral Saxon conception of Lutheran identity as interpreted by an Electoral Saxon dogmatic reading of the *Book of Concord*. Second, it attempted to reinforce this Electoral Saxon identity at home. Third, it endeavored to theologially and legally exclude Helmstedt theology from Lutheranism via *Augsburg Confession*-driven polemics. Finally, it hoped to expand the theological-political leadership of the Director of the *Corpus Evangelicorum* and to further undermine the efforts of Calvinist or Lutheran rivals. The Electoral Saxon theologians compelled the Saxon elector to initiate this process, because of Helmstedt's recalcitrance, its error on the majority of the *Book of Concord*'s articles, the spread of its errors to other churches, the enticing novelty of its errors among the students, the growing perception that Electoral Saxon silence meant victory for Helmstedt, and the facilitation of the legal advance of Calvinism in the empire via Calixtine irenicism. The first external and internal identity-building and disciplining steps of this new process happened when the Saxon elector ordered his faculties on June 21, 1648 to draw up lists of Helmstedt errors against Scripture and the symbols. The Leipzig faculty responded on August 16, 1648 with an *Augsburg Confession*-ordered list, advised a Gnesio-Lutheran-like conference be held to deal with the matter, and asked that no one be ordained until they had been examined in the first eight articles of the *Book of Concord*. The Wittenberg faculty, conversely, struggled to come up with a list that they were content with and suggested that the Saxon elector issue something like the *Solida Deciso* to resolve the matter.

For the Electoral Saxons the Syncretistic Controversy was all about the *Book of Concord* and how it was to be understood. Calov, like Hülsemann, took a dogmatic approach to it. Defining Lutheranism by the ancient symbols and the *Book of Concord*, Calov maintained that

Lutheranism was also the one true and saving religion as opposed to false religions, both those outside the church and those inside it. Calov recognized Hunnius' categorization of fundamental doctrine and non-fundamental doctrine, but he understood the articles of the faith to be unitive and interconnected just like a human body. This holistic understanding of doctrine shaped his ecclesiology because it made the maintenance of non-fundamental doctrine important and vital to the overall health of the body of doctrine. This approach further explains why Calov insisted that not only the letter of the *Book of Concord* was binding, but also the dogmatic consequences of its articles or at least what the Electoral Saxons concluded were necessary dogmatic consequences. This should not be construed to mean the Electoral Saxons were pedantic hairsplitters. They had a tradition of employing the *Augustana* as boundary limits in which theological exploration could be conducted via disputation. It might be tempting to suggest that they represented an ahistorical reading of the symbols. It was Calov who most comprehensively demonstrates that the presuppositions behind Calixtine irenicism are too historically problematic to deliver on their promises. While all parties involved in the controversy maintained that Scripture's articles of faith themselves cannot develop, it was Calov again who showed the historical necessity of the *Augsburg Confession* as well as new affirmations of it. The explanation of Scripture's articles of faith develop or rather reach greater precision as new controversies arise to challenge them in the life of the church militant.

Despite the warnings of the Saxon elector, the dissonance between the two Saxon visions of Lutheranism induced the Saxon dukes on August 27, 1648 to try to defuse the controversy through the imposition of silence on the theologians. They also requested that the Lower Saxons do the same under the pretext that the controversy was essentially semantic. The Saxon dukes had been steeped in the belief that they were the true defenders of the Reformation. They had intermarried with Calvinist houses and participated in battle with them to promote pan-Protestant

causes. Ernst the Pious used Calixt to attempt the bi-confessional reorganization of Franconia. He supported a more optimistic theological anthropology under the banner of an Arndtian reform of his lands, although he had to endure the Weimar court-preacher, Johann Kromayer's, charge that some of these reforms were "Interimistic, Majoristic, Schwenckfeldian, und Anabaptist." The Saxon duke proposed a *Collegium hunnianum*, a sort of Lutheran magisterium located in his own lands, to bring about a resolution to the controversy without an Electoral Saxon *fiat*. Furthermore, the University of Jena's mild *Gutachten* on the Latermann Controversy signified the end of the Jena Triad's influence at Jena and the rise of the School of Johannes Musaeus. Over the course of the seventeenth century clerical oaths would be replaced by handshakes at the University of Jena and theology students would be in the decline by the eighteenth century. Finally, a foreshadowing of the Ducal Saxon's position on *Consensus Repetitus* is evident in 1650 *Bedencken* of Salomo Glassius.

The Ducal Saxons were no less bound to the *Book of Concord* than the Electoral Saxons, but they came to represent a historicizing reading of it. Musaeus' conception of authority and ecclesiology reveals that he was not a proto-rationalist or Calixtine irenicist, but rather suggests that he seriously engaged the ideas of the *Book of Concord* and systematically developed them to articulate his own conceptions of authority and ecclesiology. While he affirmed Hunnius' categories of fundamental and non-fundamental doctrine like the Electoral Saxons, he did not share their unitive understanding of doctrine. Moreover Musaeus limited the *Book of Concord's* disciplinary relevancy to the letter of the text or to the specific sixteenth-century controversies and their contextual situation. For instance, his theology shares some striking similarities with Helmstedt theology, particularly in the realm of anthropology and soteriology. He would even go so far as to defend Conrad Horneius' interpretation of the necessity of good works on the grounds that *Formula of Concord IV* was necessary for the work-righteous audience of the

sixteenth century, but no longer necessary, if not misleading, for the spiritually negligent audience of the seventeenth century.

The Braunschweig dukes had consented to the Ducal Saxon's offer of mutual self-imposed silence upon their theologians. But they had also requested a defense of Helmstedt theology from Calixt and Horneius. The apology they produced brought forth a number of new Latin and even German polemics against Helmstedt theology, which gave more clarity to the *status controversiae* and attempted to galvanize the public at large against Lutheran Syncretism. Whereas Johann Scharf, Johann Hülsemann, and Jakob Weller all zeroed in on Calixt's Old Testament Trinitarian and Christological theology, Abraham Calov penned the first comprehensive critique of the underpinning of Calixtine irenicism, authored the first list of Helmstedt-Königsberg errors, and would continue to bring the most clarity to the controversy through his polemics. To be sure, Hülsemann provided his own new list of Helmstedt errors. He, more importantly, defended Electoral Saxony's own traditions of Aristotelianism, humanism, ecclesiastical antiquity, and piety to refute Calixt's claim that Helmstedt was being persecuted for cultivating them. In this effort, Hülsemann also illustrated the inherent subjectivity of Helmstedt's hypothetical superscription to the Lutheran Confessions, subordinate to Scripture and antiquity.

The University of Helmstedt's next attempt to defend itself forced the Braunschweig dukes to seek a political solution to the controversy. In a 1649 attempt to garner support from other Lutheran faculties, the University of Helmstedt maintained that the theological faculty had not deviated from the catholic faith, the *Augsburg Confession*, or the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*. However, the University of Leipzig's intimidation of them pushed the Helmstedt theologians to reject the *Book of Concord's* authority over them, to commit themselves only to the consensus of the Lutheran church, and to accuse the Electoral Saxons of making a power grab. In an

unprecedented response, the Saxon elector accused Helmstedt on June 16, 1649 of creating a new religion, starting a schism in the church, and seven additional charges, including the leading astray of Electoral Saxon students. He then called on the Braunschweig dukes to silence their theologians and threatened that he had already been petitioned by other Lutheran princes and estates to take action against them as the Director of the Evangelicals. By the fall of 1649 his theological faculties had claimed that things had gotten so bad that they petitioned the Director of the Evangelicals to confiscate their writings, threaten corporal punishment, and threaten removal from office if they did not sign the *Book of Concord*. The gravitas of the situation caused the Braunschweig dukes to propose to the Saxon elector on April 29, 1650 a political solution for the controversy, although they still maintained that his office of Director of the Evangelicals did not give him authority over them. The Wittenberg theologians, conversely, advised against a political solution, given the effect of Helmstedt theology on Electoral Saxony's students, the public maligning of its theologians, and political councilors' inability to judge theological controversies. The call of Abraham Calov to the University of Wittenberg only signaled the Saxon elector's resolve to put an end to Helmstedt theology.

Although not immune to using political means to check the advance of Calvinism, Abraham Calov and the Wittenberg theologians proposed on January 28, 1651 a theological conference in Gnesio-Lutheran fashion to resolve the controversy under the pretext that Helmstedt and its adherents were conspiring against Orthodox Lutheranism and using its authorities to introduce its new religion. Now for the first time the Jena theologians were excluded, because the Wittenberg faculty maintained they were sympathetic to Helmstedt. The Saxon elector conversely ordered his theological faculties to join the Jena faculty at a conference in Leipzig and to assemble a declaration of the contested articles of the faith. The Saxon dukes responded with a request for an index of the controversies, information about the methodological

procedure of the meeting, the form and goal of the meeting's declaration, and the participation of non-Saxon theologians in the conference. The Electoral Saxon faculties next impressed upon the Saxon elector that Calixtine irenicism would ultimately turn the Lutheran princes into disturbers of the religious peace in the empire. Still the Saxon elector hoped to bring Jena on board. On June 29, 1652, the superior consistory sent the Ducal Saxons a draft of the *Ungefährlicher Entwurff*, so that the Jena theologians could help the Electoral Saxon theologians develop it into the declaration. The Jena faculty apparently next authored a no longer extant *Gutachten* on the controversy, while Wittenberg learned that Helmstedt theology had spread to the University of Rinteln. Since the theological conference with Jena never materialized, the further development of the 1652 *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* would have to wait until later.

In the aftermath of the 1653–54 Regensburg Diet, the Electoral Saxon theologians abandoned a Gnesio-Lutheran-like synodical strategy to the Syncretistic Controversy for a Concordial-like symbolic solution. Despite the growing number of prominent Calixtine-influenced conversions to Roman Catholicism, Electoral Saxony's claims of theological oversight and its wartime politics had become problematic in some evangelical quarters. Ernst the Pious recommended there that the controversy be set aside at a council under the leadership of the King of Denmark. In response, the Swedish delegate won the Braunschweigers over to a proposal that would charge Sweden with resolving the controversy. Fortunately for Electoral Saxony, Sweden's diverging church-political goals neutralized its attempt to assume the role of the Director of the Evangelicals or its attempt to resolve the controversy. At the diet, the Saxon elector was officially recognized as the *Directorium Evangelicorum*, a political designation, not an ecclesiastical one. This is insofar as territorial churches could be separated from matters of state. Still the controversy had become so divisive in Lutheranism and Lower Saxon church-politicking had become effective enough that a political solution was presented at the diet for a

resolution of the controversy. The Saxon elector refused, supported by the majority of the evangelical states. So Hülsemann rallied the Electoral Saxon theologians to formulate the 1655/64 *Consensus Repetitus* upon the foundation laid by the *Ungefährlicher Entwurff*.

While no real attempt had been made before Staemmler to prove the authorship of the *Consensus Repetitus*, Abraham Calov has traditionally been regarded to be its author. In his 1963 dissertation, Heinz Staemmler made the case that Johann Hülsemann should be regarded as its chief author. He did this on the basis of the Leipzig theological faculty's *Augsburg Confession* ordered August 16, 1648 list of errors, the list of forty errors in the 1649 *Dialysis Apologetica*, Dresden's use of the Leipzig faculty's August 16, 1648 list as a source for the 1652 *Ungefährlicher Entwurff*, the Wittenberg faculty's limited time to work on the *Ungefährlicher Entwurff*, and the Leipzig faculty's hand in the development of the *Consensus Repetitus* from the *Ungefährlicher Entwurff*.<sup>311</sup> This dissertation, conversely, demonstrates that, even though Johann Hülsemann is the chief-drafter of the *Consensus Repetitus*, Calov should be regarded as a co-author, because his extensive intellectual contribution to the symbol cannot be denied.<sup>312</sup> Their

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<sup>311</sup> Staemmler, *Der Auseinandersetzung*, 59, 81–82, 89, 94–96, 113.

<sup>312</sup> First, the 1645 Thorn Lutheran confession (which, Hülsemann and Calov were both involved in), Calov's 1646 *Brevis declaratio fidei*, Calov's 1647/8 *Repetito invariatae August. Confessionis*, and the Danzig Ministerium's March 8, 1647 twenty-four articles against Helmstedt theology all ordered their articles (and accompanying points) according to the outline of the *Augsburg Confession* like the 1652 *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* and the 1655/64 *Consensus Repetitus* before Hülsemann's Leipzig theological faculty drafted its August 16, 1648 list of Calixtine errors. Second, Calov's two aforementioned confessions are the only Calov or Hülsemann texts prior to the *Consensus Repetitus* to employ both the *Consensus Repetitus*' distinctive threefold point structure as well as nearly the same unique symbolic verbiage as the *Consensus Repetitus* for its points. They are also the only list of errors prior to the *Consensus Repetitus* to craft each "we believe and teach" (*credimus et docemus*) in the language of the *Book of Concord*. That said, Calov's 1649 *Digressio De Nova Theologia Helmstadio-Regiomontanorum Syncretistarum* begins each point with the substance of or a quotation from the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* (or *Corpus Doctrinae Prutenicum*), while Hülsemann's 1649 *Dialysis Apologetica* typically begins a quotation and/or reference from the *Book of Concord* (or *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*). In this respect, Calov's *Digressio De Nova Theologia Helmstadio-Regiomontanorum Syncretistarum* more clearly anticipates the *Consensus Repetitus*' *profitemur, & docemus*, but Hülsemann's *Dialysis Apologetica* may have inspired the *Consensus Repetitus*' marginal glosses to the *Book of Concord*, etc. Calov's two confessions, furthermore, are not only the first list of errors to include not just the names of errorists and references to their works, but full quotations from the offenders until Calov's *Digressio De Nova Theologia Helmstadio-Regiomontanorum Syncretistarum* and Hülsemann's 1649 *Dialysis Apologetica* began to provide quotation and references from syncretistic authors. Third, the Danzig Ministerium's March 8, 1647

relationship in the development of the *Consensus Repetitus* has some similarities with the relationship of Luther and Melancthon in the *Augsburg Confession*. That said, Calov was actually involved in the text of both the *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* and the *Consensus Repetitus*, whereas Luther was not directly involved in text of the *Augsburg Confession*. This fact also explains why Calov would continually insist the 1655 *Consensus Repetitus* was the work

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twenty-four articles against Helmstedt theology more thoroughly cover the subject matter of the *Consensus Repetitus'* points than the Leipzig theological faculty's August 16, 1648 list of Calixtine errors, save for the topics of the attributes of God, New Testament Christology, and God as the accidental cause of evil. Fourth, Calov's 1649 *Digressio De Nova Theologia Helmstadio-Regiomontanorum Syncretistarum* provides the first penetrating historical-dialectical deconstruction of the fifteen supporting "hypotheses" behind Helmstedt-Königsberg Lutheran irenicism's central presupposition (i.e., all who believe in the contents of the *Apostles' Creed* believe in the fundamental articles of the faith and are, therefore, brothers in Christ, not to mention the fact that the *Consensus Repetitus* would draw some of its *rejecimus* from these hypotheses). In addition, the *Digressio De Nova Theologia Helmstadio-Regiomontanorum Syncretistarum*, which has a dedication dated February 18, 1649 (*die memoriae B. Lutheri Sacro*), provides a list of forty-five Helmstedt errors against the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* as well as the first list of forty-nine Helmstedt-Königsberg errors against the *Corpus Doctrinae Prutenicum*, etc. Hülsemann's 1649 *Dialysis*, which has a dedication dated October 15, 1649 (*III idus*), provided its list of forty Helmstedt only errors a couple of months after Calov's tome was published. Fifth, the main source for the 1652 *Ungefährlicher Entwurff's* remarks on Königsberg Syncretism, especially Christian Dreier, are Calov's 1649 *Digressio De Nova Theologia Helmstadio-Regiomontanorum Syncretistarum*, his 1651 *Erbärmliche Verstockung*, and his 1652 *Synopsis Controversiarum Potiorum*. It should be noted that the latter was also dedicated on April 16, 1652 to Weller and the councilors of the Dresden privy council. What is more, Calov's 1653 *Syncretismus Calixtinus* and perhaps the 1654 Roman Catholic segment of the 1655 *Harmonia Calixtino-Haeretica* provide extensive additional resources to construct the *Consensus Repetitus'* points, not to mention the only complete discussions of Königsberg Syncretism. Johann Hülsemann's works are limited to Helmstedt syncretism. Sixth, Calov's 1652 *Synopsis Controversiarum Potiorum* was largely penned against Calixt. It looks remarkably similar to both the 1652 *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* and the 1655/64 *Consensus Repetitus*. Its articles (and accompanying points) were arranged according to the *Augsburg Confession*, it structures its points similar to the *Consensus Repetitus* (the confessional position followed by the names of the offenders with references to their writings), and it provides one of the most comprehensive lists of Lutheran syncretist errors to date. Seventh, the Dresden superior consistory not only developed the German 1652 *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* from the Leipzig theological faculty's August 16, 1648 list of Calixtine errors and the Leipzig theological faculty's December 3, 1651 *Bedencken*, but also Calov's Wittenberg theological faculty's January 2, 1652 list of errors as well as the writings of Abraham Calov. The *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* resembles Calov's two confessions and *Synopsis Controversiarum Potiorum*. It also discusses topics treated first, only, or more extensively by Calov. This is especially the case with respect to Königsberg Syncretism. Eighth, the *Consensus Repetitus' Augsburg Confession*-order, point structure, confessional verbiage, and some of the points were first found if not only found in Calov's writings. Even though Hülsemann was largely responsible for drafting the *Consensus Repetitus* from *Ungefährlicher Entwurff*, Calov still made a few changes to it in the summer of 1654 as well as made final emendations. Ninth, Calov most likely does not stress his contribution to the confession, because after it was first published in 1664 both the Helmstedt theologians and Jena theologians tried to discredit it by dismissing it as a private work of Calov, rather than a state-sanctioned and state-approved document, drawn up by both Electoral Saxon theological faculties.



sanctioned by Elector Johann Georg I and completed by both faculties, but still felt free to augment it on his own in 1666.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE BREAKDOWN OF THE ELECTORAL SAXON MACHINERY AGAINST HELMSTEDT THEOLOGY

Chapter four charts the breakdown of Electoral Saxony's ecclesial-political machinery against Helmstedt theology. It will contextualize the regeneration of this machinery within the new situation in the electorate following the Kassel and Berlin Colloquies. The chapter will describe the publication of the *Consensus Repetitus* and discuss the Braunschweig response to the new Lutheran symbol. It will discern how the Ducal Saxons broke down the Electoral Saxon machinery against Helmstedt theology. It will point out how Abraham Calov and his circle attempted to perpetuate an increasingly prohibited war on syncretism. Finally, it will illuminate the solidification of Ducal Saxon Lutheran identity and the fall of Calixtine Lutheranism.

#### **The Impeded Propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus*, the Kassel Colloquy, and the Berlin Colloquy**

Already in 1651 the Electoral Saxon theologians had broached the question of how they might propagate the *Consensus Repetitus* against Lutheran Syncretism. Abraham Calov reports that a difference of opinion arose between Leipzig and Wittenberg concerning this matter. The former thought the Saxon elector should propagate the confession through the courts and the republics (*Republiquen*). The latter thought the theologians should propagate it via the German theological faculties of "Giessen, Straßburg, Tübingen, Rostock, Greifswald, etc.;" the foreign theological faculties of "Copenhagen, Uppsala, Dorpat;" and the renowned ministeriums of "Lübeck, Frankfurt, Hamburg, etc." If all the aforementioned were united, then it should be

disseminated "not only in the Holy Roman Empire, but also in the Evangelical northern kingdoms."<sup>1</sup> When the *Consensus Repetitus* was completed and sent to the Saxon elector, "They left it to the elector if and how," according to Staemmler, "this writing 'would be commended to the consideration of foreign royal magistrates and the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden as also the chief Lutheran princes and estates, imperial estates, and their consistories.'"<sup>2</sup>

It appears that the Electoral Saxon theologians decided that it would be best if they circulated the new symbol through theological faculties and ministeriums. After the text of the *Consensus Repetitus* was approved and subscribed to by the Electoral Saxon theological faculties, it was sent to the three Saxon dukes.<sup>3</sup> The next logical move would have been to send the *Consensus Repetitus* to the universities of Straßburg and Giessen, along with the ministeriums of Danzig, Königsberg, Hamburg, and Ulm, who had already showed solidarity with the Electoral Saxons against the Helmstedt theologians. By 1655 Johann Dorsche, who was now a professor in Rostock, had issued his *Latro Theologus* against Helmstedt theology. It only enumerated forty errors of Calixt, but it followed the order of the *Augsburg Confession* and made a case for why Denmark, Sweden, and Braunschweig were obliged to the *Formula of Concord*.<sup>4</sup> Likewise Calov published his 1655 *Harmonia Calixtino-Haeretica*, the first two volumes of his 1655–1677 *Systema Locorum Theologicorum*, his 1655 *Fides Veterum Et Imprimis Fidelium Mundi Ante-Diluviani*, and an expanded 1655 edition of his Rostock disputations on the

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<sup>1</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 1106.

<sup>2</sup> According to Staemmler, "Dem Kurfürsten stellen sie es anheim, ob und wie diese Schrift, 'denen außwartigen Königl. Majestäten unnd Königsreichen in Dennemark, und Schweden wie auch denen vornembsten Lutherischen Fursten und Standen, Reichsständten und ihren Consistorij und Räthen, zu betrachten [...] commendirt werde.'" See Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 118.

<sup>3</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 594, 1102.

<sup>4</sup> Dorsch, *Latro*, 280–318, 269–80.

*Augsburg Confession (Exegema Augustanae Confessionis)* to foster subscriptions to the *Consensus Repetitus*. To help achieve this same end, Hülsemann issued a third edition of his *Extensio Breviarii Theologici* as well.<sup>5</sup>

In 1654 a new Jena printing of the 1602 Leipzig edition of the *Book of Concord* appeared. Johann Ernst Gerhard would profess allegiance to the *Formula of Concord* in a 1658 oration for the hundredth anniversary of the University of Jena. That same year, the Jena theological faculty issued a *Gutachten* opposing religious discussions with the Reformed as well.<sup>6</sup> Still the Jena theological faculty remained opposed to the *Consensus Repetitus* project. On the same day (May 14, 1655) that the Saxon elector ordered his faculties to subscribe to the *Consensus Repetitus*, the Jena theologians wrote to the Great Elector, making suggestions about how he could help put an end to the controversy in Königsberg.<sup>7</sup> The propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus* was not only stymied by the Jena theologians' efforts to undermine the Electoral Saxons. Calov explains that

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<sup>5</sup> Tschackert, "Synkretistische," 19:249; Abraham Calov, *I. N. J. Harmonia Calixtino-Haeretica, Novatores Modernos, Maxime D. Georg. Calixtum, Nec Non D. Christian. Drejerum, pernitiōsa et plerisque fidei Articulis Cum Calvinianis, Pontificiis, Arminianis, et Socinistis adversus Scripturam S. et Ecclesiam Catholicam collusionis ac conspirationis, adeoque pessimae defectionis a vera fide, luculenter convincens: Profligatis simul ipsorum Erroribus, & argumentis, ac testimonijs Patrum, quae imprimis D. Drejerus in der gründlichen Erörterung / ut vocat, undecunq̄ue consarcinavit, solide discufbis; ut omni Antiquitate, et consensu Ecclesiae denudati jam quales sunt, compareant, hoc est, Novatores, et Apostatae. XIII. Disputationibus publicis in incluta Elector. Witeberg. Universitate proposita* (Wittenberg: Wendt, 1655); Abraham Calov, *I. N. J. Fides Veterum Et Imprimis Fidelium Mundi Ante-Diluviani In Christum Verum Deum Et Hominem, Ejusq̄ue Passionem Meritoriam Adversus Pestilentem Novatorum, maxime D. Georgii Calixti haeresin, e Scripturae testimonijs, & Ecclesiae consensu asserta* (Wittenberg: Röhnerus, 1655); Johann Hülsemann, *Extensio Breviarii Theologici, Exhibentis Praecipuas Et Recentiores Christianae Fidei Controversias. Addita Paraphrasi & Vindicatione Testimoniourum Sacrae Scripturae. Quae Pro Abstruenda Veritate Et Destruenda Falsitate Affereuntur Suscepta & proposita*, 3d. ed. (Leipzig: Riesen, 1655).

<sup>6</sup> Frank, *Die Jenaische*, 43, 45. See also "Judicium Facultatis Theologicae Jenensis: Ob es rathsam / daß man die von Heidelbergischen Theologen angetragene Handlung antrete / und ob aus deren Erklärung eine nähere Herbeytretung und gänzliche Bequemung der Reformirten zu hoffen sey?," in *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum*, ed. Georg Dedeken, Johann Ernst Gerhard, and Christian Grübel (Jena: Hertel, 1671), New Appendix: 106–12.

<sup>7</sup> "Was massen die von D. Joh. Laterman, und D. Joh. Behmen erregte und nun weit-ausgebreitete Streitigkeiten am füglichen beygelegt werden können," in *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum*, ed. Georg Dedeken, Johann Ernst Gerhard, and Christian Grübel (Jena: Hertel, 1671), New Appendix: 654–55.

the death of Georg Calixt and the Saxon elector (October 18, 1656) also bogged down the new symbol's advance:

It [*Consensus Repetitus*] was communicated to the Ducal Saxon houses, but on account of all sorts of difficulties, the great and highly necessary work was brought *ins Stecken* by those who probably secretly adhered to Calixt in one or another place, in particular also by the most blessed and also highly painful death of the elector, and the great lamentation of the land that soon followed that same year. But when Calixt died on March 19, 1656, many in fact hoped that the Calixtine enthusiasm would die with him....<sup>8</sup>

But since the Electoral Saxon theologians had continually complained about the advance of Helmstedt theology beyond the borders of Braunschweig, it was naive at best to hope that Lutheran Syncretism would die with Calixt. To be sure, there was a certain lull in polemics against Helmstedt theology at this time, but there was no cease fire as is sometimes suggested.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> "Darauff mit den Fürstlichen Sächsischen Häusern hierüber communiciret, wegen allerhand Schwürigkeiten aber / die vermuthlich von denen / so / heimlich Calixto an einem und andern Ort anhiengen / das hohe und hochnöthige Werck ins Stecken gebracht / in dem sonderlich auch der Chur-Fürstliche zwar höchstselige / aber auch hochschmerzliche Todes-Fall und das hohe Trauren des Landes bald selbigen Jahres erfolget. Als aber Calixtus drauff Anno 1656. am 19 Martij Todes verfahren / hatten zwar viel verhoffet / es würde damit auch der Calixtinische Schwarm abgestorben seyn...." See Calov, *Historia*, 594–95, 1098. Staemmler writes, "Die Werbung für den Cons. Rep. wird in jenen Jahren nur in Privatbriefen der Theologen zum Ausdruck gekommen sein, jedenfalls ist von einem offiziellen Anschreiben der kursächsischen Fakultäten an Ministerien oder Reichsstände keine Spur zu finden." See Stammler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 137–39.

<sup>9</sup> First, the Eisleben pastor, Gottfried Reiss (1615–81), published a German translation of Johann Hülsemann's 1651 *Judicium De Calixtino Desiderio Et Studio Sarciendae Concordiae Ecclesiasticae, Bono, Animo, Publicae, Luci Expositum* in order to help guard the common man from the errors of Georg Calixt in 1657. See his *Bedencken Eines Vornehmen Lutherischen Theologi, Vber D. Georg Calixt Verlangen und Bemühung / unter Evangelischen / Papisten / und Calvinisten die Kirchen-Einigheit zu stiffen. Einfältigen Christlichen Hertzen zu Nutz / Vnd Verhütung aller Glaubens Mengerey bey dem gemein Mann. Aus dem Lateinischen Exemplar / Anno 1651 gedruckt / ins Deutsch versetzt* (Leipzig: Wittigau, 1657). Second, the Superintendent of Herzberg, Andreas Kühn (1624–1702), challenged Helmstedt professor, Gerhard Titius, who authored a German defense of Calixt from the charge that he died a Roman Catholic. See his *Eröffnung Des übertünchten Calixtinischen Grabes / oder Beylage / Zur Helmstädtischen Abfertigung der Eingenlauffenen Relation Welcher Religion D. Georgius Calixtus Professor zu Helmstädt gestoben sey?* (Wittenberg: Hake, 1657). Third, Abraham Calov held a series of disputations, *Discussio Controversiarum Hodierno Tempore Inter Ecclesias Orthodoxas Et Reformatos Coetus* (1655–59), which touched on Calixtine topics. He also presided over his *Qvadrige Qvaestionvm Theologicarum De Syncretismo Non-Neminis Variarum Religionem Confusioni longe exitiosißimae dicato. Quam in Illustri Electorali, que Wittebergae est, Universitate, Ad diem XVI Aprilis publica sentiarum collationi subjicit* (Wittenberg: Hake, 1657), which appeared in a German translation that same year. The Prussian Wittenberg professor issued a polemic against Heinrich Nicolai, a Danzig irenicist and Tritheist, now serving at the Elbing Gymnasium. See his *I. N. J. Vindiciae Considerationis Arminianismi Exercitationi Apologeticae Henrici Nicolai oppositae: Quibus scripta partier caetera Autoris cum Philosophica, tum Theologica defendunter, hominisq; illius desperati in novella haeresi, pertinacia luculenter demonstrator* (Wittenberg: Hake, 1658). Calov addressed syncretistic themes in his *I. N. J. Judicium Theologicum*

The most important internal impediment to the propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus* was Johann Georg II (1613–80), the new Saxon elector. He is remembered for initiating a financially extravagant period of cultural achievement and court culture in a war-torn Electoral Saxony. At the same time, the electorate was also recovering faster than most due to increased tax revenue, population growth, compulsory labor, and economic development.<sup>10</sup> Not unlike his Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel or Saxony-Gotha counterparts, Johann Georg II's reign was marked by confessional tolerance, which should not be attributed to some sort of Arndtian *Reformorthodoxie*. It should instead be grounded in his love for Baroque Italian music, his super-confessional “vacillating foreign policy,” if not a genuine contemplation of conversion to Roman Catholicism.<sup>11</sup>

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*repetitum De Quaestionibus IV. Practicus 1. de dignoscendis haereticis a Catholicis 2. Sectariis & Nominibus discretivis. 3. Admissione Reformatorum ad S. Synaxin Lutheranorum. 4. Usu Eucharistiae apud Papistas; adversus Syncretistarum novissimum, eundemque omnium, quos Solunquam inter Christianos vidi, Facile pessimur; M. Henricum Nicolai, Ex-Professorem Gedenensem, & Elbingensem* (Wittenberg: Hake, 1658), along with the third (1659) and fourth (1661) volumes of his *Systema Locorum theologicorum*. See also Calov, *Historia*, 809–35. That said, it remains hard to explain why his 1658 *Der H. Catechismus Lutheri*, which had no qualms about warning the Electoral Saxon catechumens about the errors of the Roman Catholics, Calvinists, Socinians, Schwenkfelders, Weigelians, Mennonites, etc. by name, failed to mention the syncretists by name. See his *Der H. Catechismus Lutheri, Von Frag zu Frag / Nach seinem Geistreichen Verstandt erkläret/ und Auß Heiliger Göttlicher Schrift bestettiget* (Wittenberg: Fincelius, 1658). Like Calov, Weller's catechism for the daughter of Johann Georg II, Erdmuth Sophie of Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1644–70), does not mention Lutheran syncretists by name, but treats some of their positions and stresses the differences between Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism. See his *Fräulein Erdmuth-Sophien Hertzogin zu Sachsen / Jülich / Cleve und Berg / u. Christliches Hertz-Schreinlein / Das ist / Kurtze Anweisung zur Erkänntniß der Artickel des Christlichen Glaubens auß Gottes Wort* (Dresden: Bergen, 1655).

<sup>10</sup> Uta Deppe, *Die Festkultur am Dresdner Hofe Johann Georg II. von Sachsen (1660–79)* (Kiel: Verlag Ludwig, 2006); *Johann Georg II. und sein Hof: Sachsen nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Dresden: Dresdner Geschichtsverein, 1993); Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court*, 130–92; Gross, *Geschichte*, 102–5.

<sup>11</sup> See Mary Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in 17th Century Dresden* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3–5, 76–100; Karlheinz Blaschke, "Johann Georg II," in *Neue deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953–), 10:526–7; Seifert, *Niedergang*, 105–19. While Frandsen provides one of the most comprehensive explanations for why many on both sides of the aisle thought that Johann Georg II would convert to Roman Catholicism, she also maintains that one cannot conclusively determine if he planned to convert. See Frandsen, *Crossing*, 76–100. It should also be noted that the future Saxon elector, Friedrich August I the Strong (1670–1733), would convert to Roman Catholicism in 1697 in order to acquire the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In addition, Christian August of Saxony-Zeitz would convert in 1689 and Moritz Wilhelm of Saxony-Zeitz (1664–1718) would convert in 1715. See Seifert, *Niedergang*, 83–104, 119–85.

The Saxon elector's confessionally tolerant disposition created distrust among fellow Saxons and undermined his consolidation efforts. He was not the first Saxon elector or Lutheran ruler to recruit Italian musicians and castrati for his court, but he remains unique among them "in maintaining an Italian-dominated musical ensemble for three decades, and in entrusting Catholics exclusively with the musical leadership in his chapel."<sup>12</sup> It has been suggested that perhaps the reason his father's politically disastrous July 30, 1652 testament broke the principle of primogenitor and created three principalities (*Sekundogeniturfürstentum*) for his three other sons to rule was because he feared his successor might convert to Roman Catholicism.<sup>13</sup> Before Johann Georg II's ascendancy, rumors of his conversion both at home and abroad had become problematic enough that he used the dinner for Abraham Calov's February 1654 investiture as General-Superintendent to publically assuage the concerns of his populace.<sup>14</sup>

While still a prince Johann Georg II had already expressed his disagreement with his father's politics to the French court and looked to this court to help him chart his own political future. As the new most powerful state in Europe and Sweden's co-guarantor of the Peace of

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<sup>12</sup> Frandsen, *Crossing*, 6–75. The Saxon elector's court cultus was certainly liturgically rich. Textually, it began to draw on common themes of Lutheran/Roman Catholic devotional piety. Musically speaking, it was even more Italian Baroque than under Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672), whom the new elector replaced with Roman Catholics. Still Johann Georg II's court cultus was within the norms of the Albertine Saxon Lutheran tradition and other Lutheran courts. See Frandsen, *Crossing*, 101–71, 341–437. See also Eberhard Schmidt, *Der Gottesdienst am kurfürstlichen Hofe zu Dresden: ein Beitrag zur liturgischen Traditionsgeschichte von Johann Walter bis zu Heinrich Schütz* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961).

<sup>13</sup> Frandsen, *Crossing*, 77; Martin Schattkowsky and Manfred Wilde, eds., *Sachsen und seine Sekundogenituren: die Nebenlinien Weissenfels, Merseburg und Zeit (1657–1746)* (Leipzig: Leipzig Universitätsverlag, 2010); Vinzenz Czech, ed., *Fürsten ohne Land: Höfische Pracht in den sächsischen Sekundogenituren Weissenfels, Merseburg und Zeit* (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2009).

<sup>14</sup> "Herr D. Weller, ihr habt heute auf des neuen Superintendenten Seele die Seelen der Zuhörer gebunden, höret nun, ich binde auch die Seele meines jungen Prinzen auf euren Seele, und weil der Herr Vater nun mehro durch göttliche Gnade ein hohes Alter erlebet, ich auch nicht wissen kann, wenn mich Gott abfordern wird, daß ihr nach meinem Tode den jungen Herrn in keiner andern Lehre wollt er ziehen lassen, als darinnen ich geboren, itzo lebe, auch durch göttlichen Beistand und Hülfe bis an mein seliges Ende beständig verharren, darauf leben und sterben will, nemlich in der allein wahren Lutherischen Religion der ungeänderten Augsburgischen Confession," cited in Frandsen, *Crossing*, 77–78.

Westphalia, France began to draw Johann Georg II into its foreign policy. The future elector needed subsidies for the development of his court and France sought the allegiance or at least the neutrality of the German princes, so that it could crush Habsburg power. In an attempt to unseat their Habsburg rivals, King Louis XIV of France (1638–1715) and Cardinal Mazarin (1606–61) sent the Count of Wagnée in November of 1656 to capitalize on Johann Georg II's disposition and situation, suggesting that France would do everything possible to facilitate his rise to the imperial throne, if only he converted to Roman Catholicism.<sup>15</sup> Instead Johann Georg II appealed in 1656/57 to the emperor and pope to annul his father's will, fanning their hopes for his conversion.<sup>16</sup>

The Saxon Territorial Diet was no less concerned than Johann Georg II about Johann Georg I's nullification of Saxon power in the empire via his testament. In the April 22, 1657 Territorial Diet's *Freundbrüderliche Hauptvergleich*, the diet granted Johann Georg II ultimate authority over his brothers' principalities. But to forestall where his confessional, political, and economic predilections might lead, his Lutheran estates also used this diet and the subsequent 1660/61 meeting to increase their power and bind their financial support to his continued commitment to Lutheranism.<sup>17</sup> They even went so far as to assert the right of insurrection if he abjured the Evangelical faith:

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<sup>15</sup> Bertrand Auerbach, *La Diplomatie française et la cour de Saxe (1648–1680)* (Paris: Hachette, 1887), 42–116; Paul Hassel, "Zur Politik Sachsens in der Zeit vom westfälischen Frieden bis zum Tode Johann Georg II," *Neuen Archivs für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 11 (1890): 122–24.

<sup>16</sup> Seifert, *Niedergang*, 107–11.

<sup>17</sup> Fritz Kaphahn, "Kurfürst und kursächsische Stände im 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhundert," *Neuen Archivs für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 43 (1922): 62–79; Carl Böttiger, *Geschichte des Kurstaates und Königreiches Sachsen* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1830–31), 2:161–62, 167–68; Gross, *Geschichte*, 108–12. This same confessional commitment was reaffirmed at the 1661, 1663, 1666, and 1672 territorial diets. See Georg Müller, "Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsgeschichte der sächsischen Landeskirche," *Beiträge zur sächsischen Kirchengeschichte* 9 (1894): 76.



If the elector or his heirs should, through the destiny of God, allow themselves to be led astray from the recognized Evangelical religion to the Papist, Calvinist, or another false religion, they shall forfeit the *ius reformandi*. If in spite of this, the attempt should be made to force another religion upon the land, the estates shall be authorized to oppose it, if an amicable settlement cannot be reached, and in so doing shall not have acted against their duty and conscience.<sup>18</sup>

When the 1661 Territorial Diet complained about the expansion of Roman Catholic masses in the private Dresden homes of foreign court appointees, the Saxon elector was consequently forced for the first time to crack down on Roman masses. The estates also called the elector to mind his 1657 pledge that appointees were obliged to make the customary vows to the *Book of Concord* and suggested that there were suitable Lutheran replacements for these foreigners.<sup>19</sup>

The Electoral Saxon theologians' alliance with the Director of the *Corpus Evangelicorum* against syncretism not only faded away under Johann Georg II, the new Saxon elector also complicated matters by fostering confessional indifference in the electorate itself. Like other Protestant courts at this time, the role of the *Oberhofprediger* began to diminish under Johann Georg II.<sup>20</sup> Jacob Weller (d. 1664) had served as an effective ecclesial-political councilor and anti-syncretistic polemist under Johann Georg I, not to mention as a skilled preacher and man of

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<sup>18</sup> "Wenn der Kurfürst oder seine Erben durch Gottes Verhängnis von der erkannten evangelischen Religion zu den papistischen, calvini[sti]schen oder andern Irrtümern sich verleiten ließen, sollten sie des *Ius reformandi* verlustig gehen. Würde trotzdem der Versuch gemacht, dem Lande eine andere Religion aufzudrängen, so sollten die Stände sich dem, in Entstehung gütlicher Mittel, zuwiderzusetzen befugt sein und hierdurch wider ihre Pflicht und Gewissen nicht gehandelt haben." See Carl Gretschel, *Geschichte des sächsischen Volkes und Staates* (Leipzig: Reinhold Beyer, 1843–53), 2:411, translated in Frandsen, *Crossing*, 79–80.

<sup>19</sup> Martin Lindau, *Geschichte der königliche Haupt- und Residenzstadt Dresden*, 2d ed. (Dresden: Grumbkow, 1885), 492; Frandsen, *Crossing*, 81–84, Appendix I (no. 10). Frandsen points out that a 1597 Wittenberg theological faculty *Gutachten* had counseled court-preachers to be patient with "irresolute" papists working in the court. But if the papist becomes "obdurate" over time, they should not be tolerated. See Frandsen, *Crossing*, Appendix I (no. 11).

<sup>20</sup> Luise Schorn-Schütte observed, "Die Überwindung der konfessionellen Verengungen seit dem ausgehenden 17. Jahrhunderts allerdings führte zum Verlust der politischen, der moralischen und tendentiell eben auch der sozialen Funktion des Hofpredigeramtes." See "Prediger an Protestantischen Höfen der Frühneuzeit: Zur politischen und sozialen Stellung einer neuen bürgerlichen Führungsgruppe in der höfliche Gesellschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts, dargestellt am Beispiel von Hessen-Kassel, Hessen-Darmstadt und Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel," in *Bürgerliche Eliten in den Niederlanden und in Nordwestdeutschland: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des europäischen Bürgertums im Mittelalter in der Neuzeit*, ed. Heinz Schilling und Herman Diederiks (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1985), 326–27.

piety. He also recognized the disposition of the new elector and tried to use discipline and pastoral judgment to direct Johann Georg II.<sup>21</sup> Weller's successor and former boarding student, Martin Geier (1614–80), remained the elector's confessor (unlike his friend and later Dresden *Oberhofprediger*, Philipp Jakob Spener [1635–1705]), but he and his successors no longer appear to serve as members of the privy council. Scholars have observed that there was a greater emphasis on piety in Geier and his successors, concomitant with the new postbellum situation.<sup>22</sup> Despite his initial hesitation, Geier worked through sermons and letters to correct the Saxon elector's confessional tolerance. Still he was often ignored, exasperating tensions between throne and altar/estates.<sup>23</sup> In the same year (1667) that Johann Georg II had instituted October 31 as an

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<sup>21</sup> Sommer, *Die lutherischen*, 176, 182–84; Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 174–84. In his 1657 sermon for the territorial diet, Weller cautioned against an exclusively goal-instrumental action-orientated (*zweckrational*) political philosophy, warns about the danger of a new war, and denounced all rumors that Johann Georg II would convert as lies. See Sommer, *Die lutherischen*, 179–80. In 1647 Johann Georg II had asked Emperor Ferdinand III (1608–57) to serve as the godfather for his son and future elector, Johann Georg III (1647–91). Ironically, Weller did not oppose a Roman Catholic sponsor for this baptism because both confessions were in agreement "quoad substantialia Baptismi." See Müller, *Kurfürst*, 144–4. Calov even dared to refer to Weller as Johann Georg II's "Jojada or Nathan" in his funeral sermon for his friend. See Sommer, *Die lutherischen*, 181–82.

<sup>22</sup> Wolfgang Sommer, "Frömmigkeit am Dresdner Hof. Martin Geier als Oberhofprediger (1665–1680) und sein Nachfolger Johann Andreas Lucius (1681–1686)," in *Die lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden: Grundzüge ihre Geschichte und Verkündigung im Kurfürstentum Sachsen* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 187–208; Joachim Hahn, *Zeitgeschehen im Spiegel der lutherischen Predigt nach dem Dreissigjährigen Krieg: Das Beispiel des kursächsischen Oberhofpredigers Martin Geier (1614–1680)* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2005), 30–42.

<sup>23</sup> In Geier's August 10, 1667 letter to the Saxon elector concerning the Roman Catholic mass in foreign diplomat homes, Hahn shows that Geier confessed that he had been too quiet on the matter. In fact, Geier, subsequently, turned up his critique of confessional tolerance in his sermons and letters. See Hahn, *Zeitgeschehen*, 40, 135–38. During his days in the Leipzig theological faculty, Geier had already preached against syncretism and *raison d'État*. See Hahn, *Zeitgeschehen*, 135. With the loss of a two kingdom theology and the Arndtian/Gerhardian three estates doctrine, Sommer points out that Geier's disciplinary power over the elector was weakened, as evident in the 1666 sermon for the territorial diet. See Sommer, "Die Stellung," 85–90; Sommer, *Die lutherischen*, 198–99; Hahn, *Zeitgeschehen*, 124–30. The *Oberhofprediger* failed to prevent the secret marriage of the Castrato Sorlisi, which was under the protection of the elector. See Hahn, *Zeitgeschehen*, 39–40. In a 1672 funeral sermon for Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672), he not only contrasted Lutheran worship style with that of Roman Catholicism and Calvinism, but also publicly condemned Italian musical style (with the writings of Roman churchmen!) as theatrical and dancelike. See Frandsen, *Crossing*, 64–68. In his testament to his son, he recommended the theological lectures of Balduin, Mentzer I, Gerhard, Hülsemann, and Calov. See Hahn, *Zeitgeschehen*, 42. In the end, Sommer and Hahn are too strong when they include Geier in the following, "In der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts wurden in Dresden ausnahmslos nur noch solche Hoftheologen eingestellt, 'bei denen sich eine am praktischen Christentum Johann Arndts orientierte Frömmigkeit mit deutlich irenischen Zügen verband.' Der Oberhofprediger Martin Geier ist dafür ein Charakterisches Beispiel..." See "Die Stellung lutherischer Hofprediger in Herausbildungsprozess

annual celebration of the Reformation, his politics of vacillation brought a French diplomat, Henri de Chassan, to take up residence in Dresden. Like his Austrian counterpart, the Frenchman used his tenure (1667–73), protected status, and private home to make the Roman mass more accessible than ever before. The situation got so out of hand at both ambassadors' residences that the Dresden clergy, Martin Geier, the supreme consistory, and Dresden city council all called on the elector to act against the Roman mass. Tensions became so unbearable that Johann Georg II issued a largely ineffective public decree in 1670 against the "exercise of Catholicism." After the Electoral Saxon theological faculties petitioned him on February 1, 1673 to forbid the celebration of the Roman mass, a slightly more successful and stronger decree forbidding attendance of the Roman Mass at the ambassador residences was issued on February 27. In February of 1676, the territorial diet finally compelled the elector to make an even stronger decree. This one even made no provision for court appointees, but also appeared to be as ineffective as the previous attempts.<sup>24</sup> No wonder Geier complained to Spener, after receiving the 1675 *Pia Desideria* that the clergy's power was decreasing under Johann Georg II.<sup>25</sup>

As Saxony was being overshadowed by Brandenburg-Prussia on the European political stage, Johann Georg II ran a subsidy-driven, oscillating foreign policy. It not only undermined the trans-territorial cause of the *Consensus Repetitus*, it monopolized his reign and irritated his estates. Following the 1658 election of Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705), which had been facilitated by both the House of Wettin and Hohenzollern, France brought Sweden and many German territories into the League of the Rhine (1658–68). It served to free up the German

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frühmoderner Staatlichkeit und Gesellschaft," in *Politik, Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Luthertum der Frühen Neuzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 80.

<sup>24</sup> Auerbach, *La Diplomatie*, 403–6; Frandsen, *Crossing*, 88–97, Appendix I (no. 12–15); Seifert, *Niedergang*, 117.

princes from imperial control and created German client states to block the Austrian Habsburg army from marching into the Spanish Netherlands. The Saxon elector abstained from joining the league, despite a number of overtures, because he sought to marry his daughter to the new emperor, the wishes of his mother and others notwithstanding.<sup>26</sup> Eventually Johann Georg II would begin to distance himself from Austria and further irritated his citizenry when he gave up his hereditary claims to Erfurt on November 30, 1663 to the Elector of Mainz. During these negotiations, his ministers (likely Johann Friedrich Freiherr von Burkersroda, the Saxon imperial ambassador, who converted to Roman Catholicism in 1666) played up his potential conversion.<sup>27</sup> Yet neither the Great Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia nor the Saxon elector would act on the Elector of Mainz' proposition the following year to permit a church of each other's confession in their respective capitals. Still the Saxon elector did permit Roman Catholics to worship in the Franciscan Church in Leipzig.<sup>28</sup> Finally, a month after Elector Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Prussia formed his alliance with France, the Saxon elector agreed on April 13, 1664 at Regensburg to a secret alliance with France in exchange for subsidies and the hope of gaining Jülich-Cleves. In contradistinction to the Great Elector, the Saxon elector's deal disadvantageously bound him to Louis XIV's interests in the Imperial Diet and permitted France to recruit troops from his lands. The unpopularity of such a shift from the electorate's traditional pro-imperial politics led the Saxon elector, whom Vienna had made concerted efforts to convert in 1657, 1666, and 1668, to use his Roman ministers to float the imminence of his own

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<sup>25</sup> Sommer, "Die Stellung," 85.

<sup>26</sup> Auerbach, *La Diplomatie*, 110–11, 117–33; Paul Hassel, "Zur Politik," 124–26.

<sup>27</sup> Auerbach, *La Diplomatie*, 149–88; Paul Hassel, "Zur Politik," 126–27; Seifert, *Niedergang*, 112, Frandsen, *Crossing*, 84.

<sup>28</sup> Karl Lundqvist, "Sveriges Förbund med Kur-Sachsen år 1666," in *Historiska Studier tillägnade Professor*

conversion in 1666 as a bargaining chip to gain imperial troops and money.<sup>29</sup> In the end it was not until the Saxon Mars, Johann Georg III (1647–91), came to power that the electorate would free itself of its new entanglements and return to an imperial policy.<sup>30</sup>

After Georg Calixt's death, his friends, students, and son carried on the Calixtine heritage in the churches, publications, and ecumenical exchanges well into the beginning of next century. As the Hannover, Wolfenbüttel, and Celle court-preachers respectively, Justus Gesenius, Brandan Dättrius, and Joachim Hildebrand, advanced Calixtine theology at the parish level.<sup>31</sup>

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*Harald Hjærne* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1908), 356; Frandsen, *Crossing*, 84–85.

<sup>29</sup> Auerbach, *La Diplomatie*, 133–48, 188–99, 200–224; Paul Hassel, “Zur Politik,” 127–29; Seifert, *Niedergang*, 111–15. For reports about imperial efforts to convert the Saxon elector and other Saxons, see *Archiv für österreichischer Geschichte* (Wien: kaiserlich-königlichen Hof-und Staatsdruckeri and Universitäts-Buchhändler, 1848–1922), 103:615–26, 678–81, 778–98. Hassel also notes that Johann Georg II, like the Great Elector, maintained that he was a faithful elector and never opposed the emperor in his April 13, 1678 political testament.

<sup>30</sup> When Louis XIV of France began the War of Devolution (1667–68) by invading the Spanish Netherlands under the pretext of his wife's claim, the Great Elector had come to recognize France as the greatest threat to the empire. He met with a not unsympathetic Johann Georg II and other princes to form a response, but Emperor Leopold I would enter into a secret treaty with France. To restore the balance of power, the Netherlands turned to Sweden and England instead of the perpetually shifting Great Elector to form the Triple Alliance. Seeing Brandenburg-Prussia as the new power among the German princes, France agreed to back the Pfalz-Neuberg candidate as King of Poland in exchange for the Great Elector's neutrality. Nevertheless, the Triple Alliance compelled Louis XIV to return most of his new acquisitions in the 1668 Peace of Aachen. See Auerbach, *La Diplomatie*, 264–360; Paul Hassel, “Zur Politik,” 129–132; McKay, *The Great*, 197–206. Infuriated by what he regarded to be a Dutch betrayal, Louis XIV made neutrality pacts with the emperor, Johann Georg II, and the Great Elector. He likewise gathered England and Sweden into a coalition for the Franco-Dutch or Dutch War (1672–78). Regarding this to be a war on Protestantism, the Great Elector got the emperor to half-heartedly join in a disastrous 1672–73 campaign against France. Johann Georg II even agreed to support this campaign on March 1, 1673, if peace had not been achieved by the end of May. In 1674 the Great Elector joined the emperor and a much more resolute Johann Georg II in a second disastrous campaign. At this point, France called on Sweden to invade Brandenburg, much to the chagrin of Saxony. Allied with the Dutch, the emperor, Spain, and the Welf dukes, the Great Elector earned his title and elevated his status by defeating a superior (perceived second only to France) Swedish force at the Battle of Fehrbellin on June 18, 1675. He then proceeded to take control of Swedish Pomerania, while the emperor continued the campaign in the Rhine. The Great Elector even drove the Swedes out of Ducal Prussia. See Auerbach, *La Diplomatie*, 361–416; Paul Hassel, “Zur Politik,” 132–36; McKay, *The Great*, 206–27. So the Saxon cabinet decided to form a neutral mediating party on May 1, 1678. This position was shared by Elector Ferdinand Maria of Bavaria (1636–79). France desired to fund it. Other princes, like the Elector of the Palatinate and the Welf dukes, adopted it. The emperor then signed a separate peace contrary to the Saxon goal of a general peace. On the other hand, it stripped Brandenburg-Prussia of its new acquisitions, which the Saxons favored. On June 14, 1679 Johann Georg II sent an envoy to Paris hoping to wrestle away Jülich and Magdeburg from Brandenburg-Prussia, but the Great Elector finally made a treaty with Paris. See Auerbach, *La Diplomatie*, 417–87; Paul Hassel, “Zur Politik,” 136–44; McKay, *The Great*, 227–28.

<sup>31</sup> Duke August had the ordination condemnations of the Roman Catholics and Reformed omitted as well as the

Helmstedt theology professor, Gerhard Titius (1620–81), issued a defense of the *Augsburg Confession* following Calixt's death against Robert Bellarmine's 1585 *Iudicium ... De Libro, quem Lutherani vocant Concordiae*. This was followed by a 1657 refutation of an anonymous publication, alleging that Calixt died a Roman Catholic.<sup>32</sup> In 1658 a collection of eulogies and accolades for Calixt was published, which were largely by Braunschweigers and Nurembergers (including a twelve-verse German hymn by Nuremberg pastor, Johann Arnschwanger [1625–96]).<sup>33</sup> The Helmstedt theology professor, Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, began issuing publications of his father's writings and a ten-volume plan for an edition of his collected works.<sup>34</sup> By 1657 Christian Dreier became the *ordinarius primarius* at the University of Königsberg. His writings took syncretism into a largely Crypto-Roman Catholic direction,<sup>35</sup> which openly attacked the

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baptismal exorcism. See Bratke, *Justus*, Beilage 221.

<sup>32</sup> Gerhard Titius, *Vindicatio Avgvstanae Confessionis Ab impactis ipsi, a Roberto Cardinale Bellarmino, per summam injuriam, Libello cui Iudicii de Formula Concordie titulum fecit, viginti duobus mendaciis* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1656); Gerhard Titius, *Abfertigung Einer Papistischen Verläumbderischen Schrift so Intituliret Gewisse Relation, Welcher gestalt Georgius Calixtus Professor zu Helmstädt im Todtbett sich verhalten / und in welcher Confession Er verschieden sey* (Helmstedt: Heitmüller, 1657). See also Kelly, *The Theological*, 14–18.

<sup>33</sup> Besides the 1656 funeral sermons and orations, see also *In Beatam D. Georgii Calixti ANALUSIN Epicedia* (Helmstedt: Typis Calixtinis, 1658). See also Joachim Hildebrand, *Institutiones Sacrae, Disputationibus XX in Academia Jvliä, Theologiam Breviter* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1660), Ad Benevolum Lectorem.

<sup>34</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 595; Calixt's Bibliography in Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:194–210; Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, *Georgii Calixti S. Theol. D. & in Acad. Julia Prof. Prim. Abbatis Regio-Lothar Scriporum in Typographeo Calixtino Edendorum Catalogus* (Helmstedt: Träger, 1658). Titius, moreover, republish the Calixt's *Epitome theologiae* in 1661.

<sup>35</sup> Christian Dreier, *Gründliche Erörterung Eetzlicher schwerer Theologischer Fragen Bey unterschiedenen Stücken Der Christlichen Lehre / Als von der H. Schrift / von Gott und der H. Dreyfaltigkeit / von der Person Christi / vom Ebenbild Gottes im ersten Menschen / von der Erbsünde / von der Bekehrung des menschen zu Gott / von der Rechtfertigung und guten Wercken / vom Abendmahl / und vom Symbolo Apostolico, Darin etzliche die Theologos zu Königsberg in Preussen gar grosser Irthümer / wie sie vermeinen / beschuldigen dürffen / Der Wahrheit zu stewr / aus Göttlicher Schrift / der Antiquitet und Kirchen Historia, wie auch unser Theologorum Schriften und Kirchen- Büchern außgeführt und befästiget* (Königsberg: Reusner, 1651); Christian Dreier, *Oratio de Syncretismo, Quem Vocant* (Königsburg: Mensenius, 1661); Christian Dreier, *Necessaria Theologorum Rintelensium Colloquii Cassellani Anno MDLXI. Habiti Declaratio Bono Publico delibata. Accesserunt huic Editioni velut in vicem, Pacis amore, Omissorum-omittendorum, D. Dreieri, de vocabulo Syncretismi, Discursus, & tres Indices*. (Königsberg: n.p., 1663). See also Reimund Szuj, "Zwischen Irenik, Synkretismus und Apostasie: Konversionen Königsberger Gelehrter im konfessionellen Zeitalter," in *Die Universität Königsberg in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Hanspeter Marti and Manfred Komorowski (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2008), 186–225.

Lutheran Confessions as sectarian, prompting the Danzig ministerium to request Calov's 1663 *Theologisches Judicium*.<sup>36</sup> The situation there had deteriorated so much that Chancellor Kospoth reports on July 10, 1661, "They [Lutherans] all say they would rather go to the Lord's Supper with the Reformed than with him [Dreier]."<sup>37</sup> The syncretization of Hohenzollern controlled Lutheran lands was clearly a powerful motive behind the *Consensus Repetitus* that cannot be overlooked.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Dreier writes, "Ubi sunt isti libri symbolici recepti? Num apud Graecos? Num apud Armenos? Num apud Aethiopes? Num apud Judos? Num apud Russos et Moscos? Num apud Pontificios? Num apud Reformatos? Quod si ergo omnia, quae in libris istis continentur, ad conservandem ecclesiam sunt necessaria, ut sine iis ecclesia consistere non possit, sequitur, quod, ecclesia in toto terrarum orbe interirit et in parte Lutherana sola manserit. Savete Novatiani, salvete Donastistae, salvete Luciferiani, salvete Schismatici, salvete haeretici!" See his *Oratio*, b 2; See also Abraham Calov, *Theologisches Judicium / Vff Begehren / Vber D. Christiani Dreieri, Zu Königsberg in Preussen / In verwichenem Jahre gehaltenen / auch daselbst öffentlich publicirten Oration, De Syncretismo, und Predigt / unterm Titul / Die Einige sichtbahre und bedrängte Kirche Christi aus dem Evangelio am Sontage Matth. 20. Zu Erklärung des hochnötigen Articul unsers Glaubens von der allgemeinen Kirchen / wie auch zu Vermeidung der Syncretistischen Schreyer / und Feind der Einigkeit / gestellet / Vnd vormahls ohne des Autoris wissen / Willen / oder Begehren / darzu ohne seinen Namen zu Königsberg / wiewol in guter Meynung / gedruckt/ jetzo aber aus erheischender Nothdurfft / und zu Rettung seiner Vnschuld /Nebst einem Extract aus der gnädigst erforderten Apologia, Mit Gutbefindung / und Consens der Theologischen Facultät zu Wittenberg Sambt D. Leonhardi Hutteri, und D. Bartholdi Krackeviz Sel. Theologischen Bedencken / Ob ein Theologus in ein frembdes Ampt greiffe / und derer Sachsen und Religions-Händel sich annehme / die ihn nicht angehen / wann er sein Judicium schriftt – oder mündlich von falschen Lehrern / ausser seinem Gezirck / ertheilet / und andere dafür warnet!* (Wittenberg: Mevius, 1663).

<sup>37</sup> Erdmannsdörfer, *Urkunden*, 15:515–20; 15:510–13.

<sup>38</sup> With the support of the new Königsberg theology professor, Melchoir Zeidler (1630–86), Dreier caused a controversy over the recommendation of fasting in 1668 and another over the alteration of the baptismal formula in 1670. When the Great Elector told the parties to discuss their issues at a new conference, the Königsberg ministerium drew up theses and antitheses against the syncretists under five headings. The points of controversy were what constitute the unity of the faith, fasting, the intercession of the saints, exorcism, and monastic vows. The theses and antitheses are reprinted in Calov, *Historia*, 884–918. See also Dreier's rite for communing the sick, complete with a Eucharistic prayer reprinted in Calov, *Historia*, 929–32. In 1685 a program arose at the university, which suggested that the papal primacy could be recognized in the church under certain conditions. See Hartknoch, *Preussische*, 630–38; Lackner, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 178–82. Following the death of Dreier and Zeidler, one theology professor, three pastors, five lawyers and physicians, two masters and twenty-six students converted to Roman Catholicism. See Franz Dittrich, *Catalogus eorum, qui exeunte saeculo XVII. e syncretistarum Regiomontanorum numero ad catholicam ecclesiam transierunt* (Braunschweig, 1901). Finally, the Crypto-Roman Catholic threat became so bad that the Elector Friedrich III (1657–1713), who became King Friedrich I of Brandenburg-Prussia in 1701, tried to turn the tide on Lutheran syncretism by mandating that the Lutherans sign the 1694 *Thesi verae Evangelico-Lutheranae Fidei*. See Hubatsch, *Geschichte*, 1:149–53. See also Christian Fittbogen, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Synkretismus in Pommern in der Zeit von 1653 bis 1665." *Baltische Studien* 34 (1884): 1–65.

Were the aforementioned not enough to show that Calixtine theology survived his death, the Kassel and Berlin Colloquies reveal that it was continuing to take root in Lutheran lands and was being retasked for Calvinizing agendas. In the 1647 division of Schaumburg, the Great Elector's brother-in-law, the Calvinist Landgrave Wilhelm VI of Hesse-Kassel (1629–63), received the eastern part of Lutheran Schaumburg (including Rinteln). Count Philipp I of Schaumberg-Lippe (1601–81) received the western portion (Bückeberg and Stadthagen). Both controlled the Lutheran University of Rinteln (*Academia Holsato-Schaumburgica*) until Count Philipp gave up his rights to it in 1665. It is important to remember that Hesse had been entirely Lutheran until Landgrave Wilhelm VI's father, Moritz the Learned (1572–1632), first Calvinized (*fernere Verbesserung*) his lands in 1605. He even attempted to annex and Calvinize Lutheran Hesse-Marburg. After years of Inter-Hessian confessional feuding, Wilhelm VI endeavored to found a more Lutheran-sensitive Reformed church (if not a mediating church) in his lands, including in a reacquired part of Hesse-Marburg (*Oberhessen*) and Schaumburg.<sup>39</sup> To promote this endeavor, he issued a mediating church order in 1657 to be used by both confessions in his lands. Since this church order was even opposed by a number of his foreign-trained Calvinist clergy (save the Marburg Reformed Irenicist, Johann Crocius [d. 1659]),<sup>40</sup> the landgrave held a

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<sup>39</sup> Manfred Rudersdorf, "Hessen," in *Mittleres Deutschland*, vol. 4 of *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, eds. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Münster: Aschendorff, 1992), 257, 254–88; Karl Dienst, "Hessen," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–2004), 15:263–279; Gerhard Menk, "Die 'Zweite Reformation' in Gebiet Hessen-Kassel, Landgraf Moritz und die Einführung der Verbesserungspunkte," in *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland—Das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation, Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1985*, ed. Heinz Schilling (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1986), 154–83; Hans Philippi, *Die Landgrafschaft Hessen-Kasse 1648–1806* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 2007), 1–9; Leube, *Kalvinismus*, 305–12; Ernst Ludwig Theodor Henke, *Das Unionscolloquium zu Cassel im Juli 1661* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1862).

<sup>40</sup> *Agenda, Das ist: KirchenOrdnung / Wie es im Fürstenthumb Hessen mit Verkündigung Göttlichen Worts / Reichung der heiligen Sacramenten Worts / Reichung der heiligen Sacramenten und andern Christlichen handlungen und Ceremonien gehalten warden soll* (Kassel: Köhler, 1657). For the Kassel clergy's January 15, 1657 protest, see Heinrich Heppe, *Die Einführung der Verbeßerungspunkte in Hessen von 1604–1610 und die Entstehung*



colloquy at Kassel (July 1–9, 1661) between the Lutheran faculty of the University of Rinteln and the Reformed faculty of the University of Marburg. The latter had reopened in 1653 and had now become a Reformed university for the second time.

Rinteln had been served by Electoral Saxon friendly theologians like Johann Gisenius and Balthasar Mentzer II (1614–79), who had ties to Lutheran Hesse-Darmstadt. But by 1643 the university was being staffed with students of Calixt. Under the influence of Count Philipp I's sister, Countess Elisabeth of Schaumberg (1592–1646), Johannes Henichius (1616–71), Heinrich Eckard (1615–69), Peter Musaeus (1620–74), Gerhard Molanus (1633–1722), and Hermann Barckhausen (1629–94) were called.<sup>41</sup> The significance of these men is not limited to the Kassel Colloquy. A godchild of Johann Arndt and one-time Helmstedt professor, Henichius, penned the 1657 *Compendium S. Theologiae*. Much like Gesenius' catechism, it helped advance Calixtine theology in Welf lands and was used by the consistory for examinations.<sup>42</sup> The brother of Johannes Musaeus and boarding student of Calixt, Peter Musaeus, joined the Helmstedt theology faculty in 1663. In 1665 he became the first *professor primarius* of the theological faculty at the newly founded University of Kiel (*Christiana Albertina*).<sup>43</sup> As the Lutheran Abbot of Loccum

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*der hessischen Kirchenordnung von 1657 als Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutsch-reformirten Kirche* (Kassel: J. C. Krieger'schen Buchhandlung, 1849), 226–40.

<sup>41</sup> Bernhart Jähmig, "Johannes Gisenius als akademischer Lehrer," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 100 (2002): 43–59; Willy Hänsel, ed. *Catalogus Professorum Rinteliensium, Die Professoren der Universität Rinteln und das Akademischen Gymnasiums zu Stadthagen 1610–1810* (Rinteln: C. Bösendahl, 1971), XI–XIII, 4–9. Hänsel also reveals that many members of all four faculties had been Helmstedt trained from the beginning.

<sup>42</sup> Johannes Henichius, *Compendium S. Theologiae: Antehac In eorum gratiam concinnatum, qui primum gratiam imbuunter sacris studiis, nunc vero ita auctum ut etiam provectoribus & iis cum primis, qui in studio homiletico se exercent* (Rinteln: Lucius, 1657); Leube, *Kalvinismus*, 312; Uhlhorn, *Die Bedeutung*, 213.

<sup>43</sup> By 1670 Duke Christian Albrecht of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf (1641–95) felt the growing charges of syncretism were becoming a problem for his fledgling university. He had Musaeus at least formally distance himself from syncretism via his *Fugiendo Syncretismo Liber unus, Cujus capita & theses In Academia Kiloniensi veritatis confirmandae ergo ad disputandum publice proposita sunt* (Kiel: Reumann, 1670). See also Jendris Alwast, *Geschichte der Theologischen Fakultät an der Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel 1665–1865* (Norderstedt: Books

and Hannoverian Church Director, Molanus would eventually come to lead ecumenical exchanges with prominent Roman Catholic prelates at the behest of his Welf sovereigns.

While the 1661 Kassel Colloquy protocol is no longer extant, its conclusions were published that same year in both Latin and German.<sup>44</sup> The Marburg theological professors, Sebastian Curtius (1620–84) and Johannes Heinius (1642–91), served as the spokesmen for the Reformed. The Rinteln theological professors, Johannes Heinichius and Peter Musaeus, represented the Lutherans. Three secular Hesse-Kassel councilors all took part: Johann Casper I von Dörnberg (1616–80), Casper Friedrich von Dalwigk (1619–75), and Johann Heinrich von Dauber (1610–72). The stated purpose of the colloquy was that “if they could not agree in all things, at least to establish peace, concord, and mutual tolerance among themselves.”<sup>45</sup> The topics under discussion were the Lord’s Supper, election, the person of Christ, and baptism. With respect to the Lord’s Supper, both agreed on the following: first, the spiritual eating of the body of Christ, which is an act of true faith, is necessary for salvation and no one can be saved without it. Second, the *fractio panis* is a useful and pious rite that may be introduced, provided there is a consensus to do so. The Marburgers added that they preferred leavened (*orbiculatus*) bread, but did not deny that hosts are true bread. The following remained points of controversy: first, the Marburgers did not consider the breaking of the bread essential for the sacrament, but nevertheless considered it necessary for its integrity on account of the command and example of Christ, which the Rintelners rejected. Second, the Marburgers also denied that unbelievers orally

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on Demand GmbH, 2008), 40–41, 88–92; Leube, *Kalvinismus*, 371–75.

<sup>44</sup> *Brevis Relatio Colloquii Inter Theologos quosdam Marpurgenses & Rintelenses, Anno M. DC. LXI. Die. I. Julij & aliquot seqq: Cassellis habiti. Una cum concluso eorundem Theologorum* (N.p.: n.p., n.d.). The official 1661 German text is reprinted in Calov, *Historia*, 634–47. See also Dingel, “Religionsgespräche,” 28:667.

<sup>45</sup> “Dispiceretur, denique de re ipsa placida collatio in timore Dei institueretur, ac si convenire in omnibus non possent, saltem fraterna inter ipsos pax & concordia mutuaque tolerantia sanciretur.” See *Brevis*, 4–5, 14.

received the body of Christ with the bread, which the Rintelners affirmed.<sup>46</sup> Concerning election, both agreed that after the fall nothing remains in man that could begin or continue anything good in spiritual matters and that man's whole salvation depends entirely on divine will, pleasure, and grace. That said, the Rintelners affirmed the following points, which the Marburgers rejected: first, God is prepared to confer his grace to all through the ordinary means, if God's contingent will, not absolute will, is meant. The Marburgers denied both possibilities. Second, man can resist the grace of conversion. Third, election occurred according to "the foreknowledge of persevering faith" (*secundum praescientiam perseverantis fidei*). Fourth, God's reprobation occurred according to the foreknowledge of final unrepentance and unbelief. Fifth, Christ died even for the reprobate and has merited for them the forgiveness of sins. Sixth, one who was foreseen to have justifying faith and to be in a state of grace could still fall from grace. Nevertheless, those elected according to foreseen faith could not ultimately fall, not because this was absolutely impossible, but on the basis of divine foresight. The Marburgers affirmed the latter on the basis of divine grace.<sup>47</sup> Still these differences were not deemed to be fundamentally irreconcilable differences: first, both sides were agreed that man could initiate nothing good in spiritual matters. Second, Pelagianism and Semi-pelagianism were rejected. Third, both sides continued to attribute salvation and justification to true faith. Fourth, the remaining points of controversy belonged to the realm of the great mysteries of God's will, etc.<sup>48</sup> With respect to the person of Christ, both affirmed the teaching of the Creed of Chalcedon: first, the names of both natures are, truly and according to the proper meaning of the words, predicated of each other, so

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<sup>46</sup> *Brevis*, 5–6. See also Nischan, "The 'Fractio,'" IV:17–29.

<sup>47</sup> *Brevis*, 6–7.

<sup>48</sup> *Brevis*, 7–8.

that God is man and man is God. Second, the properties of both natures are truly and really predicated of the whole person *in concreto*. The Rintelners, conversely, affirmed the following about the predication of the divine attributes from the human nature *in abstracto*, which the Marburgers denied: first, “the divine majesty is abstractly communicated to the human nature” (*humanae naturae in abstracto communicatam esse Majestatem divinam*) (Matthew 28:18). All power in heaven and on earth is a “moral power” (*potestas moralis*) not a “physical potency” (*potentia physica*). The human nature exercises this dominion through omnipotence (not that it is present everywhere, but it exercises this dominion through the omnipotence present everywhere) according to the *principium* joined hypostatically to itself. Second, all divine attributes are shared with the human nature of Christ, but all the divine attributes cannot be predicated from the human nature. Only those are predicated which have *actum secundum* (or those appointed for an effect) with the result that the human nature is omnipotent only *per denominationem extrinsecam* (i.e., Marburgers’ word for *in concreto*). Third, as far as the work of omnipotence, Christ as a person is the passive principle (*principium quod*), both natures are the causative principle (*principium quo*) in general of the *causae efficientis physicae*, but in distinct ways. The divine nature is the *principale* and the human nature is the *minus principale*.<sup>49</sup> Regarding baptism, both sides were agreed: First, infants should be baptized, so that they are incorporated into Christ and are spiritually reborn. Second, baptism is necessary. Third, it is not the privation, but the despising of baptism that is damned. Nevertheless, they disagreed about whether infants can be holy before baptism, and whether a parent’s failure to baptize out of neglect harmed the child’s salvation. The Marburgers stressed the faith of the parents gave the child a covenantal holiness. The Rintelners, on the other hand, stressed the importance of emergency baptism by the laity.

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<sup>49</sup> *Brevis*, 8–9.

Finally, the Rintelners maintained that the Lutheran baptismal exorcism did not assume a child was bodily possessed. Instead it was regarded to be a rite, in the place of a prayer against the devil, which could be changed into a prayer, as well as a ritual recognition of original sin.<sup>50</sup>

Despite these significant doctrinal differences, the colloquy participants concluded that “there was a full consensus concerning those things which constitute the foundation of faith and salvation” (*circa ea quae fundamentum fidei & salutis constituunt, plenum esse consensum*) and that they should “recognize each other as members of the same true catholic church of Christ, sharers in the true and saving faith of Christ, and coheirs of eternal life” (*quose invicem pro ejusdem verae Christi Ecclesiae Catholicae membris, veraeque & salvificae in Christum fidei consortibus atque vitae aeternae conhaeredibus agnoscant*). The colloquy discouraged polemics, except when a sermon text demanded it, and then only with moderation. It promoted edifying sermons and promoted moderation in the schools. It further suggested that neighboring universities and churches, especially Braunschweig and Brandenburg, be brought into this bond of peace. Calov insisted via a creditable source that Denmark and Sweden were also intended candidates of such a bond.<sup>51</sup> As fate would have it, the Rintelner’s Calixtine irenicism came to be used during the regency of the dead landgrave’s (d. 1663) Hohenzollern wife, Hedwig Sophie (1623–83), to facilitate the introduction of Calvinism into her newly-acquired Lutheran lands and the University of Rinteln. Consequently, the Rinteln Lutherans were sent packing and Lutheran

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<sup>50</sup> *Brevis*, 10–12. See also August Vilmar’s summary of the colloquy in his *Geschichte des Confessionsstandes der evangelischen Kirche in Hessen besonders im Kurfürstentum* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert’sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1860), 264–71.

<sup>51</sup> *Brevis*, 12–13, Calov, *Historia*, 612. In truth, the Kassel Colloquy actually reveals a further sharpening of the positions expressed at the 1631 Leipzig Colloquy. See Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte*, 4:459; Leube, *Kalvinismus*, 315–19.

suspensions that both Reformed and Calixtine irenicism were merely a smokescreen for Calvinization were hardened.<sup>52</sup>

As the greatest triumph of Calixtine irenicism, the Kassel Colloquy gave rise to manifold new monographs on the fundamental doctrines as well as reignited the confession-building process behind the *Consensus Repetitus*.<sup>53</sup> Despite the recognition of doctrinal differences and need for further work to be done, even the Orthodox Calvinists quickly capitalized on this Lutheran recognition of mutual tolerance, further exasperating tensions with Orthodox Lutherans.<sup>54</sup> In fact, this first successful Lutheran-Reformed irenic venture in Germany was such a great threat to the integrity of Lutheranism that the Jena theologians were momentarily persuaded to realign themselves with the Electoral Saxons. In consultation with their superiors and neighboring brothers (*cum superioribus nostris, & fratribus vicinis*), the Wittenberg theologians produced the 1662 *Epicrisis De Colloquio Cassellano Rintelio-Marpurgensium*. Between March 12, 1662 and May 1, 1663 they won approval for it from several members of

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<sup>52</sup> Philippi, *Die Landgrafschaft*, 11–14; Leube, *Kalvinismus*, 371–75; Vilmar, *Geschichte*, 271–74.

<sup>53</sup> Leube, *Kalvinismus*, 322; Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte*, 4:346, 4:460.

<sup>54</sup> To be sure, this had been the hope of Calvinists for many years, but they did this despite the fact that the Saumur theology professor, Moïse Amyraut (1596–64), whose role in Calvinism would have parallels with Georg Calixt's own in Lutheranism, dedicated his last writing, the *Eirenikon*, to the theologians of the Kassel Colloquy. Moïse Amyraut, *Eirenikon, Sive, De Ratione Pacis, In Religionis Negotio, Inter Evangelicos constituendae consilium* (Saumur: Desbordes, 1662). See the Leiden theology professor, Johann Hoornbeeck's (1617–66), *Dissertatio De Consociatione Euangelica Reformatorum & Augustanae Confessionis: Sive De Colloquio Cassellano Pridem habito d. v. Iulii, a. MDCLXI* (Amsterdam: Commelinus, 1663), th. 3; the Groningen theology professor, Samuel Maresius' (1599–1673), *Brevis Relatio Colloqvii Avthoritate Serenissimi, Celsissimique Principis Ac Domini, Domini Wilhelmi Hassiae Landgravii, Principis Hersfeldiae, Comitum Cattimeliboci, Deciae, Ziegenhainae, Niddae & Schamburgi, &c.: Inter Theologos Qvosdam Marpurgenses & Rintelenses ... Cassellis die 1. Iulii 1661 & aliquot seq. habiti. Vna cum Conclvso eorundem Theologorum / Cum Observationibus Samvelis Maresii Irenico-Theologicis* (Geneva: De Tournes, 1663). Abraham Calov quickly countered the Calvinists' spin of the Kassel Colloquy. See his *In Nomine Jesu! Ad Observationum Irenicarum D. Samuelis Maresii, Colloquio Cassellano, Praeloqvium, & Conclusionem Hypomnemata, Quae Disputatione Publica In Academia Electorali Saxonica* (Wittenberg: Henckel, 1666); *I. N. J. DOKIMASIA Spiritus Syncretistici Nuperae Dissertationis Lugdunensis D. Joh. Hoenbecki, P. P. De Consociatione Reformatorum, Et August. Confessionis, Praelectionibus publicis, In Academia VVitebergensi, institute, & ob praesentem Ecclesiae necessitate, veritatis, & pacis amore, divulgata* (Wittenberg: Meyer, 1667).

German and foreign Lutheran theological faculties and ministeriums, including ones from Germany, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden (together with the province of Finland [*Fin-Land*]), Livonia (*Lieff-Land*), and both Prussias.<sup>55</sup> Abraham Calov adds “that of all the universities and a great many ministeriums, which we sought to give *suffragia* against such syncretism, also all the duchies assured their *consensus* to us, including Württemberg through the University of Tübingen and the Consistory of Stuttgart.”<sup>56</sup> Still, the *Epicrisis*’ preface maintains that they did this to brotherly admonish the Rinteln theologians through a consensus of the chief Lutheran theologians, rather than holding a synod. In 1663 a popular German translation was published, which included a reprint of six prominent Swedish noblemen’s July 15, 1662 indictment of several syncretistic writings of the Bishop of Strängnäs, Johannes Matthiae Gothus. It was addressed to the King of Sweden and all the Swedish clergy.<sup>57</sup> Working from the now politically-charged thesis that the Calvinists cannot rightly be called evangelicals or adherents of the *Augsburg Confession*, because they denied the articles of the faith contained in the *Augsburg Confession*, etc., the *Epicrisis* deconstructed the Kassel Colloquy’s agreement on the Lord’s

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<sup>55</sup> The 1662 Latin *Epicrisis* appears to consist only of the Kassel Colloquy’s Acts with a Wittenberg preface and the *Epicrisis* proper. The 1663 Latin edition, which added the May 1, 1663 introductory preface and the March 12, 1662 letter of solicitation, was reprinted in “I. N. J. Epicrisis Faculatatis Theologiae in Academia Electorali Wittebergense De Colloquio Cassellano Rintelio-Marpurgensium Anno M. DC. LXI. Mense Julio instituto & Syncretismum ibidem sancito, Superiori Anno Cum Collegiis Facultatatum Theologicarum, & Ministeriorum Ecclesiasticorum in Germania, & extra eandem fraterne communicata, & ab iisdem approbata,” in *Consilia Theologica Witebergensia, Das ist / Wittenbergische Geistliche Rathsschläge Deß theuren Mannes GOTTES / D. Martini Lutheri, seiner Collegen, und treuen Nachfolger / von dem heiligen Reformation-Anfang / biß auff jetzige Zeit / in dem Namen der gesampten Theologischen Facultät außgestellte Urteil / Bedencken / und öffentliche Schrifften in Vier Theilen / von Religion-Lehr-und Glaubens-Ministerial und Kirchen-Moral-und Policey-Matrimonial-und Ehe-sachen / Und allerhand dabey vorfallenden Casibus Ordentlich zusammengebracht und zur Ehre Gottes / Erhaltung der reinen Lehre / und Nutz der Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirchen / auf vielfältiges Begehren abgefertigt von Der Theologischen Facultät daselbsten* (Frankfurt: Wust, 1664), 1:995–1028. The 1663 German translation was reprinted in Calov, *Historia*, 611–731.

<sup>56</sup> Calov explains further, “Daß aus allen Universitäten / und sehr vielen Ministeriis, die wir ersuchet / suffragia wider solche Syncretisterey ertheilet / auch gantze Hertzogthümer / als da Würtenberische durch die Universität Tübingen / und das Consistorium zu Stuckhart / ihres consensus uns versicherten.” See Calov, *Historia*, 596–97.

<sup>57</sup> Calov’s 1663 German text omits the indictment.

Supper, election, the person of Christ, and baptism. It concluded that there was no fundamental agreement between Calvinists and Lutherans. In light of their limited concessions, omissions, silence, etc., the Marburgers still erred in doctrines treated in *Augsburg Confession* II, III, IV, V, IX, X, XII, XIII, XIX, XX, the *Smalcald Articles*, and the *Formula of Concord*. The *Epicrisis* pointed out that the Hessian Landgrave, Philipp of Hesse, said that those who defend errors cannot be regarded as brothers, as well as cites Reformed theologians, who acknowledged the necessity of doctrinal unity. It insisted that Lutheran preachers and teachers are duty bound to reveal Calvinist errors. Finally, it states that the points of controversy have been properly formulated and are irreconcilable, so long as the Reformed persisted in false doctrine.<sup>58</sup> If this were not enough, the Jena theological faculty joined the two Electoral Saxon theological faculties by November 27, 1662 in a more moderate letter of admonition and a call to amend their reduction of the fundament doctrines:

Is there any corner in Germany that does not know that many weak ones have been scandalized by this agreement [Kassel Colloquy] to doubt the certainty of our religion, to lift up the antagonists' crest, to begin to thoroughly suppress the council of orthodoxy, by many polutro,poj, and other kinds of poor reasoning, especially for instant small gains of this world, to draw distinction and honor devised by a separation from the true Lutheran religion, to conform themselves to another example, to reduce the borders of the Lutheran church, and for that reason to allow and bring to a standstill the faith of their brothers in a most cruel fashion?<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> "Epicrisis," 1:1005–6, 1017–18.

<sup>59</sup> "Infirmos multos super hac pactione scandalum passos, de certitudine religionis nostrae dubitare, Antagonistas cristas erigere, de subigendis penitus orthodoxis consilia inire, polutro,poj multos, ratiunculis aliis, praesertim lucellis hujus mundi momentaneis, dignitatibus, honoribus allectos, a vera Lutherana religion divortium meditari, ad hoc exemplum alios sese conformare, fimbrias Ecclesiae Lutheranae contrahi, fidei consanguineos alios durissima quaeque; propterea pati, & tantum non ad incitas redigi, ecquis angulus Germaniae est, quem praetereat?" See the admonition found in "Literae Paraeneticae trium Collegiorum Theologicorum, Lipsinsis, VVitte.bergensis & Jenensis, ad Theologos Rintelenses de Concordiae & Fraternitate cum Marpurgensibus A. 1661 inita," in *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum*, ed. Georg Dedeken, Johann Ernst Gerhard, and Christian Grübel (Jena: Hertel, 1671), New Appendix: 102–3; *I. N. J. Der Theologischen Facultät Bey der Fürst: Hässisch: Universität Rinteln Sendscreiben An die / Der unveränderten Augspurg, Confession zugethane Hn. Theologen abgelassen / Worinne Sie die Handlung Ihres mit den Hn. Marpurgischen Theologen Im Jahr 1661 im Mon. Julii zu Cassel gehalten Gesprächs Wider der Hn Wittenbergischen Theologen ungütige Epicrisin Erklären* (Rinteln: Wächter, 1666), d 2–e



This stand was softened by Salomo Glassius' ca. 1650 *Gründliche Bedencken*. This tome which was already discussed in chapter three was first published posthumously sometime in 1662.

The Rinteln theological faculty responded with the 1662 Latin-German *Epistola Decani & reliquorum Doctorum & Professorum Collegii in Academia Rintelensi Theologici* and the 1663 *Vinciarum Rintelensium*. The former Calov claims received no support from any university or ministrium, despite its solicitation of such.<sup>60</sup> Heinrich Eckard authored a German defense of the Rinteln theological faculty as well.<sup>61</sup> Leube boils down the Rintelers' apology to two basic points. First, no Lutheran doctrine was relinquished. Second, the proposed mutual tolerance does not apply to all Calvinists, but only to the Marburgers, who distanced themselves from superlapsarian predestination and the idea that God was the original cause of evil.<sup>62</sup> The Greußen superintendent, Jacob Tentzel (1630–85), countered Eckard in a lay-friendly 1663 German text, approved by the Wittenberg faculty.<sup>63</sup> More importantly, the Jena theology professor, Christian Chemnitz, and Superintendent of Coburg, Johann Seld (1612–76), penned at the behest of Duke Friedrich Wilhelm II of Saxony-Altenburg an over 276-page German rebuttal of Eckard's

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1. See also Calov, *Historia*, 789–90; Albrecht, *Wesen*, 261–68; Frank, *Die Jenaische*, 43.

<sup>60</sup> *Epistola Decani & reliquorum Doctorum & Professorum Collegii in Academia Rintelensi Theologici, Ad Invariate Augustanae Confessionis addictos Theologos expedita, In qua Acta Sui Marburgensibus Theologis Anno 1661. Mense Julio Cassellis habiti Colloquii, adversus Theologorum Wittebergensium infestam Epicrisin declarant* (N.p.: n.p., 1662), which includes a parallel German text; *Vinciarum Rintelensium, Adversus Epicrisin Wittebergensem super Colloquio Cassellensi Epitome* (N.p.: n.p., 1663); Calov, *Historia*, 596.

<sup>61</sup> Heinrich Eckard, *Weniges / kurtzes und wolmeinendliches Bedencken über Das Theologische Gespräch / welches vor anderthalb Jahren zu Cassel gehalten worden darneben auch zuförderst von den Trennungen der Christlichen Kirchen / und wie etwa solchen fürzukommen und abzuheffen / gehandelt wird* (Rinteln: Lucius, 1662).

<sup>62</sup> Leube, *Kalvinismus*, 319.

<sup>63</sup> Jacob Tentzel, *Kurtzer Bericht Von Dem Kirchen-Frieden der Lutherischen mit den Calvinischen Irrthümern und derselben fürsetzlichen Verthädigern / Denen Einfältigen zu Nuß gestellt Und Mit approbation der hochlöblichen Theologischen Facultät zu Wittenberg zum Druck gegeben* (Wittenberg: Wendt, 1663).

apology in 1664 and an almost 400-page German critique of the colloquy respectively.<sup>64</sup> All of this, it should be remembered, was against their own colleague's brother. By 1663 non-Saxon theologians like the Strasburg theology professor, Isaak Faust (1631–1704), the Giessen theology professor, Peter Haberkorn (1604–76), and the Tübingen theology professor, Tobias Wagner (1598–1680), also began to issue polemics.<sup>65</sup> In 1664 the Electoral Saxon clergymen, Andreas Kühn, and Abraham Calov, along with the Wittenberg theological faculty, added three more texts against the University of Rinteln. Calov's text had the added purpose of helping shore up Swedish orthodoxy and clearing his name of the charge that he had tried to get the Swedish King to prevent the legal status of Calvinism in the Peace of Westphalia.<sup>66</sup> Finally, the Rinteln

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<sup>64</sup> Christian Chemnitz, *Vertheidigter Grund des Glaubens und der Seligkeit / Oder Bericht und Antwort / Auff Henrici Martini Eccarti, Theologiae Doctoris und Professoris zu Rinteln / Weiniges / kurtzer und wohlmeinentliches Bedencken / über das Theologische Gespräch / Anno M.D.C.LXI. zu Cassel gehalten. Darinnen erwiesen und dargethan: Daß der Calvinisten Lehre neben demselbigen nicht bestehen / noch zwischen der Lutheraner und ihrer Lehre / unverletzt der Göttlichen Wahrheit / ein Religions-Syncretismus geschlossen werden könne: Auch was zu dessen Behauptung angeführet / beantwortet wird; Auff sonderbaren fürstlichen Gnädigsten Befehl / Zur wahren Nachricht und Vertheidigung der Seligmachenden / in Gottes Wort gegründeten / und in denen Libris Symbolicis wiederholten / reine Lehre* (Jena: Nisio, 1664); Johann Seld, *Wohlgemeinte Entdeckung des Syncretistischen Abgotts und Greüels oder der Hochschädlichen Religions-Vermischung / So im verwichenen 1661. Jahr zween Rinthelische und zween Marpurgische Theologi in die H. Stätte der Evangelischen Kirchen zu setzen / sich unterstanden bestehend Theils in Anführung und Überführung der Mängel / so sich bey derer Collocutoren Zweck / Personen und andern Umständen ereignen / Theils in Widerlegung des erdichteten und eingebildeten Fundamental-Consens oder Ubereinstimmung in den Grund-Articuln des Glaubens / Theils in Behäuptung der Conviction oder AusDisputirung derer Reformirten / als einen Schrifftmäßigen und wohlbewährten Mittels die Religions-Strittigkeiten zu enden / Aus Fürstl. Gnädigsten Befehl* (Altenburg: Bauerfinck, 1664). See also Johannes Musaeus in Baier, *Compendium*, 620.

<sup>65</sup> Issak Faust, *Irene Siren, Sive, Exercitatio Ad Colloquium Cassellanum, Ostendens Periculosam Pacem esse, & perniciosam, cuius illecebris praesens mundus capitur* (Strasburg: Pastorius, 1663); Peter Haberkorn, *I. N. J. Fidelis Et Solida Contra Syncretismum Quem Hodie Quidam Cum Calvinianis, erroneo plane ausu inire fatagunt, aliosq; ad eum inducere laborant, Institvta Admonitio; In solius Dei Gloriam, Veritatis Vindicationem, Et Ecclesiae Christi Informationem, Ex Svffragio Theologorum Hasso-Darmstadinorvm* (Giessen: Hampel, 1665); Tobias Wagner, *Inquisitio Theologica in Acta Henotica Nostro Potissimum Tempore Inter Theologos Augustanae Confessionis Et Reformatae Ecclesiae a Reformatis Resuscitata, Cum Approbatione & Consensu Facultatis Theologicae Universitatis Tubingensis* (Tübingen: Cotta, 1666). See also Calov, *Historia*, 596.

<sup>66</sup> Andreas Kühn, *De Puncto Atqve Momento Discrepantiae Inter Lutheran: Et Calvinian: Ad Relationem Cassellani Colloquii Eiusque Necessariam Ex Apologetica Epistola Excerptam, Et Nuperrime Editam Declarationem* (Bautzen: Baumann, 1664); Abraham Calov, *I. N. J. Cassellana De Unione Reformatorum cum Lutheranis, Consultatio ad inclutum Sueciae regnum instituta, iusta Veritatis lance expensa, Post nuperam infelicem coitionem Cassellanam* (Wittenberg: Borckard, 1664); *In Namen Jesu / Der Theologischen Facultät zu Wittenberg Gründtlicher Beweis / Dasz die Calvinische Irthumb den Grund des Glaubens betreffen / und der Seligkeit*

theological faculty issued a 1666 German apology,<sup>67</sup> to which the Wittenberg theologians responded with the almost 700-page *Antapologia*, which was dedicated to all Augustana clergy.<sup>68</sup>

The success of his brother-in-law's Kassel Colloquy and the Electoral Saxons' potentially politically-charged response emboldened the Great Elector, Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Prussia, to take even more decisive unionistic steps against his Lutheran populace. That said, Elector Friedrich Wilhelm had been taking calculated measures for some time both to advance a unique form of Hohenzollern Calvinism in his largely Lutheran lands as well as to weaken the hold of Concordial Lutheranism on his subjects.<sup>69</sup> Ever since the Colloquy of Thorn, Calixtine Lutheranism had served as his chief tool for compelling the Lutherans to theologially legitimize what the Peace of Westphalia had legally accomplished. That is Lutheran toleration of his minority Reformed confession as fellow adherents of the *Augsburg Confession* in fundamental agreement with Lutheranism. But unlike the Calixtine irenicism of the Rinteln or Königsberg theological faculties, the Brandenburg Lutherans, like the Prussian Lutheran clergy, were historically non-docile, entrenched, Wittenberg-allied Orthodox Lutherans. They were politically

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*nachtheilig seyn / Dabey auch angeführet / Welcher Gestalt Christliche Einigkeit zu stifften / Und Der Rinteler Syncretistischer Neuerung zugleich begegnet wird. Nebenst Einem Anhang der Zeugnüssen / und einhelliger Beystimmung unserer Evangelischen Kirchen* (Wittenberg: Mevius and Schumacher, 1664).

<sup>67</sup> *Der Theologischen Facultät Bey der Fürst: Hässisch,*

<sup>68</sup> *I. N. J. Collegii Theologici Wittebergensis Ad Rintelensem Epistolam Apologeticam Justa Et Necessaria Antapologia : Qua Syncretismi Cassellani Foeditas, Et Dnn. Anticriticorum Avtocatacrisis, Erroresqve Gravissimi Deteguntur, Orthodoxia S. Augustini, B. Lutheri, Et Aliorum Ecclesiae Doctorum Adseritur, Calviniani Haereseos, In Praecipuis Fidei Articulis, Convincuntur, Adeoque Literae Communicatoriae, Cum Epicrisi, Luculenter Vindicantur, Ad Divinae veritatis propagationem, Ecclesiae a Syncretismi lue praeservationem, Accusationum iniquarum propulsationem, Errantium in viam veritatis revocationem, Pio, Debitoqve Erga Sincerioris Doctrinae Depositum Zelo, Suscepta, Et In Facie Ecclesiae Anno O. R. MDCLXVI Ad Sacra Invariatae August. Confessionis Cum Academica Tum Ecclesiastica Collegia* (Wittenberg: Mevius, 1666). See also Calov, *Historia*, 731–76.

<sup>69</sup> The Great Elector took great offence to the FC's condemnation of Calvinism. See FC Ep VII 25–37; FC Ep VIII, 1. See also Calov, *Historia*, 596–97, 610; BC, Preface (BSLK [15] 762) and BC, Names of Clerical Signatures, which lists the signatures of Elector Johann Georg (1525–98), along with the Frankfurt (Oder) theological faculty, superintendents, pastors, and schoolmasters. See *Concordia*.

engaged, advocated constitutionalism, and cultivated a very conservative Lutheran cultus as a confessional mark against the Calvinism they so feared.<sup>70</sup>

After the Great Elector had requested money for a standing army from his Lutheran estates, an opportunity presented itself for him to enact his church-political vision. In exchange his estates demanded in their April 1652 *Gravamina* that he recognize all their symbolic books as the theological norm for the territory, affirm their patronage rights, and call Lutheran theologians to the Joachimsthal Prince School and the University of Frankfurt (Oder) (*Alma Mater Viadrina*).<sup>71</sup> Like his grandfather, Johann Sigismund, the Elector Friedrich Wilhelm grudgingly recognized the *Book of Concord* in his July 26, 1653 Territorial Recess, although he did so indirectly by affirming his grandfather's 1615 *Revers* (legal declaration), and added that he neither claimed dominion over consciences nor would use coercion in such matters.<sup>72</sup> But when the elector made a theological conference (to peacefully assess if there were any real fundamental differences between the confessions) a prerequisite for calling a new Lutheran professor, the estates declined on April 23, 1654. Such a conference could lead to new

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<sup>70</sup> Manfred Rudersdorf and Anton Schindling, "Kurbrandenburg," in *Nordosten*, vol. 2 of *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, eds. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Münster: Aschendorff, 1992), 34–66; Gerd Heinrich, "Brandenburg II," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–2004), 7:111–28; Friedrich, *Brandenburg*, 36–42; McKay, *The Great*, 1–12, 147–48; Nischan, *The Prince*.

<sup>71</sup> The estates' April 1652 *Gravamina* reprinted in Erdmannsdorfer, *Urkunden*, 10:233–46, 270.

<sup>72</sup> "Wir wollen ferner die vorigen Lands-Reversen dergestaltt confirmiret haben, daß ein ieder im Lande, der da will, bey des Herrn Lutheri Lehre undt Augspurgischen Confession, wie dieselbige den 25. Junii ao. 1530 Kayser Carolo dem V. auff dem grossen Reichstage zu Augspurg ... und welche ins gemein von den Lutherischen Kirchen, ungeändert, genandt wirdt, verharren möge, undt alle und iede ihre Symbolici Libri ungekränket verbleiben, und es in allen gelaßen warden soll, wie die Landes Recesse von Ao. 1611, und 1615 darvon disponiren. Es soll Ihnen auch davon abzustehen, kein Zwang noch Trang angethan werden, sintemahl Wir Uns der Herrschafft über die Gewissen anzumaßen, niemahles gemeinet gewesen." See "Landtages-Recess, de dato den 26 Jul. 1653" reprinted in Christian Mylius, *Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum, Oder Königl. Preußis. und Churfürstl. Brandenburgische in der Chur- und Marck Brandenburg, auch incorporirten Landen publicirte und ergangene Ordnungen, Edicta, Mandata, Rescripta u. Von Zeiten Friedrichs I. Churfürstens zu Brandenburg, u. biß ietzo unter der Regierung Friderich Wilhelms Königs in Preußen u. ad annum 1736. inclusive* (Berlin und Halle, Buchladen des Waysenhauses, 1737–55), 6/1:427–28 (no. 118); Erdmannsdorfer, *Urkunden*, 10:275. Johann Sigismund's February 5, 1615 *Revers* can be

controversies and compromised consciences.<sup>73</sup> But so as not to offend the elector any more, they mistakenly permitted the Great Elector the right “to make, order, and publish certain *leges* and *statuta* with the counsel and will of the estates against untimely debates and condemnations from the pulpits of the theologians of both sides.” On July 12, 1654, they even permitted him to call a theological conference in his own name.<sup>74</sup> Next Elector Friedrich Wilhelm sought Helmstedt theologians for his university, subordinated the consistory to his Reformed-dominated privy council, and on May 11, 1654 renewed the consistory’s right of censure. In addition, he replaced the Lutheran consistorial president, Joachim Kemnitz (1600–1663), with the Reformed vice-chancellor, Lucius von Rhaden, and the Lutheran Provost, Koch, with the Helmstedt-sympathizing Lutheran, Provost Andreas Fromm (1621–83).<sup>75</sup> In contradistinction to the Peace of Westphalia and the 1653 Territorial Diet Recess, the Great Elector then issued a new ordination order on December 3, 1656, which stipulated that those being ordained into the office of the ministry were no longer to subscribe to the *Formula of Concord*, but only to Scripture, the ancient creeds, and a non-qualified *Augsburg Confession*. Ordinations outside the land (e.g. Electoral Saxony) were also prohibited.<sup>76</sup> Sounding the alarm against an anticipated

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found in Mylius, *Corpus*, 6/1:257–64 (no. 79).

<sup>73</sup> The elector’s July 26, 1653 *Neben-Recess* reprinted in Mylius, *Corpus*, 6/1:463–66 (no. 118); Erdmannsdörfer, *Urkunden*, 10:280.

<sup>74</sup> “Dass aber E. Ch. D. Gewisse *leges* und *statuta* wider das unzeitige debachiren und calumniiren auf den Kanzeln von beiderseits Theologen mit Einrathen und Einwilligung der Stände setzen ordern und publiciren.” See the estates’ April 23, 1654 response found in Erdmannsdörfer, *Urkunden*, 10:287–88. See also the estates’ July 12, 1654 petition in Erdmannsdörfer, *Urkunden*, 10:298 concerning the conference.

<sup>75</sup> Deppermann, “Die Kirchenpolitik,” 105–7; Lackner, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 115–16; the May 11, 1654 *Rescript* found in Mylius, *Corpus*, 1/1:361–64 (no. 19). Andreas Fromm agreed to the 1662 edict of tolerance. He had a cordial relationship with the Reformed preachers. Finally, he ended up a Roman Catholic on the basis of Calixtine thought. See Calov, *Historia*, 597; Landwehr, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 194–95, 203.

<sup>76</sup> “Daneben, daß keinen Ordinandum auf die *Formula Concordiae*, sondern bloß allein auf die Heilige Schrift, altes und neues Testament und mit derselbigen einstimmige uhralte Symbola und Augspurgische Confession

Calixtinization of Brandenburg Lutheranism, the Berlin St. Nicholas Church deacon, Johannes Heintzelmann (1626–87), responded in a sermon, “Thus we now damn the Papists, the Calvinists, and also the Helmstedt theologians: with a word, whoever is not a Lutheran is cursed.”<sup>77</sup>

Lutheran resistance to the Great Elector’s efforts soon manifested itself in the Samuel Pomarius (1624–83) Affair and Joachim Kemnitz’ binding of Pomarius’ successor, Christian Nicolai (1627–74), to the *Formula of Concord*.<sup>78</sup> Likewise the Stendal pastor, Jakob Schilling, was dismissed from office for publishing his 1660 *Brevis historia syncretismi* in Wittenberg without getting the approval of the censure.<sup>79</sup>

Electoral Saxon interference in Brandenburg-Prussian Lutheranism had long been a source of Hohenzollern irritation to be sure. The attempted Calvinization of Brandenburg by his grandfather now looked like it just might materialize under the Great Elector. He was all the more determined to act against the Lutherans when the Wittenberg theologians denied that the Reformed were evangelicals and fellow adherents of the *Augsburg Confession* in their 1662 *Epicrisis* against the Kassel Colloquy, not to mention the fact that it had been sent to the

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obligieren solle.” See “Verordnung, wie es mit der Ordination der Prediger gehalten werden solle; vom 3ten Dec. 1656” reprinted in Mylius, *Corpus*, 1/1:365 (no. 21). Lackner explains, “Wenn er streng rechtlich verfahren wäre, hätte er unter Berufung auf Art. V. § 50, I.P.O. von den Predigern einen Revers verlangen können, der die Verdammungsformel der reformirten Lehre durch die FC außern Kraft setze, weil die Reformirten als CA Verwandte anerkannt waren. Mit der Außerrachlassung der FC verfuhr er nicht mehr legalistisch, sondern im Sinne des Territorialismus, der sich über frühere Rechtsbestimmungen hinwegsetzte.” See his *Kirchenpolitik*, 118; Mager, “Aufnahme,” 277–78.

<sup>77</sup> “So verdammen wir nun Papisten, Calvinisten und auch die Helmstedter: mit einem Wort, wer nicht lutherisch ist, der ist verflucht,” cited in Landwehr, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 198.

<sup>78</sup> Lackner, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 121–24. Samuel Pomarius, who had been recommended by Calov and Hülsemann to serve as pastor of St. Peter’s Church in Cölln, was summoned before the consistory for disturbing the political peace after he sided with the Swedish Lutherans, who had been defeated by the Dutch Calvinists in a naval battle.

<sup>79</sup> Jacob Schilling, *Brevis historia syncretismi ex bello evangelico oder eine kleine Defensio wider der vermeinten Liebessuccurs so angekommen wider der Person Freund und der Sachen Feind* (Wittenberg: Borckard, 1660); Landwehr, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 200.

Brandenburg-Prussian Lutherans for their approval.<sup>80</sup> First of all, he had his new less irenic Reformed court-preacher, Bartholomäus Stosch (1604–86), draft an essentially one-sided edict of tolerance on June 2, 1662. It was based on his grandfather's 1614 edict of tolerance. In fact, his grandfather was described therein as “enlightened by God through his Word and Spirit to the true Evangelical Reformed religion” (*Ihn Gott zu der wahren Evangelischen Reformirten Religion durch sein Wort und Geist erleuchtet hat*). Affirming only the unaltered *Augsburg Confession* and its *Apology*, the edict ordered the Lutherans to focus on mutual Protestant fundamental doctrine and godliness in preaching; to limit discussions of Reformed doctrines to the symbols of Brandenburg;<sup>81</sup> and to refrain from polemics against the Reformed based on private writings, logical deductions, the discovery of new heresies, or unchristian condemnations. To add insult to injury, it suggested that the Lutherans founded their distinct beliefs more on philosophy than Scripture.<sup>82</sup> In retaliation for the *Epicrisis*, which was interpreted as stirring up political insurrection and countermanding the Peace of Westphalia, he issued an edict on August 21, 1662, which forbade all his subjects from philosophical or theological study at the University of Wittenberg, greatly reducing the Leucorea's matriculations.<sup>83</sup> Elector Johann Georg II, it should

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<sup>80</sup> “Epicrisis,” 1:1005–6; Landwehr, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 206.

<sup>81</sup> The three Reformed symbols of Brandenburg are the 1614 *Confessio Sigismundi*, 1631 *Colloquium Lipsiense*, and 1645 *Generalis Professio Declaratio Ecclesiarum Reformatarum in Regno Poloniae*. To complicate matters, it was already well-known that Calov had called the 1645 *Generalis Professio*, which Georg Calixt had contributed to, a “*Calixtinische Professio*.” See Calixt, *Widerlegung*, Pp iii.

<sup>82</sup> The “Mandatum, wie sowohl zwischen Reformirten und Lutherischen Predigern als Unterthanen die Einträchtigkeit zu erhalten; vom 2 Jun. 1662” is reprinted in Mylius, *Corpus*, 1/1:375–82 (no. 29); Landwehr, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 202, 205. It should be noted that the Great Elector complained about Philipp Nicolai and other Lutherans, who had deduced from the Calvinist doctrine of election that the Calvinist God was the devil. See Erdmannsdörfer, *Urkunden*, 10:293.

<sup>83</sup> “Edict, daß von den Landes-Kindern keiner, so Theologiam & Philosophiam studiret, und nach Wittenberg ziehet, Beförderung zu hoffen haben soll vom 21 Aug. 1662” is reprinted in Mylius, *Corpus*, 1/2:79–82 (no. 20). This edict was particularly against Abraham Calov, who was drawing up to 500 students to his lectures and was helping drive this charge against Calvinism. See Lück, “Wittenberg,” 36:235; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 423–24. Eulenburg shows that Wittenberg matriculations climbed after the war when Calov first came to 2499 (1651/55).

be noted, came to the Wittenberg theologians' defense, arguing that the *Epicrisis* was making a theological point, not a legal judgment contradicting the Peace of Westphalia.<sup>84</sup> Then on the very same day that the Great Elector forbade study at Wittenberg, he called the Berlin Colloquy, which only convinced the Lutherans of his syncretistic designs.<sup>85</sup>

The colloquy consisted of seventeen sessions held from September 8, 1662–May 29, 1663, at first with weekly gaps and then with longer intervals. The Great Elector limited the colloquy to the Berlin/Cölln clergy, rather than opening it up to the Braunschweigers and Hessians as the Kassel Colloquy requested. The Lutheran participants included the Berlin ministerium at the St. Nicolai Church: Provost Georg Lilius (1597–1666), Archdeacon Elias Reinhardt (1625–69), Deacon Paul Gerhardt (1607–76), and Deacon Martin Lubath (1621–90), as well as the clergymen at St. Mary's Church: Deacon Samuel Lorentz (1623–75) and Deacon Jakob Helwig (1631–84). The Cölln ministerium at St. Peter's Church: Provost Andreas Fromm, Preacher Johann Buntebart (1629–74), and Preacher Christian Nicolai, also took part. All but Lorentz, Helwig, and Nicolai had been educated at Wittenberg. The Reformed representatives were the court-preachers, Bartholomäus Stosch and Johann Kunsch (1620–81), along with the rector of the Joachimsthal Gymnasium, Adam Gierck (d. 1673). The Lutheran secular participants were the Privy councilors, Johann Friedrich von Löben (1595–1667) and Hans Ludwig von der Gröben (d. 1669), as well as the Consistory councilor, Johann Georg Reinhardt, and Superior

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They dropped to 1831 in 1661/65, to 1626 in 1666/70, and to 1307 in 1671/75. See his *Die Frequenz*, 100.

<sup>84</sup> Landwehr, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 207–8; Lackner, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 128.

<sup>85</sup> "Schreiben des großen Churfürsten d. d. Cöln an der Spree vom 21 August 1662, an das Churfürstl. Consistorium zu Cöln an der Spree, das in Berlin zu haltende Religionsgespräch betreffend" is reprinted in Paul Gerhardt, *Paul Gerhardts Geistliche Andachten in hundert und zwanzig Liedern. Nach der ersten durch Johann Georg Ebeling besorten Ausgabe mit Anmerkungen, einer geschichtlichen Einleitung und Urkunden*, ed. Otto Schulz (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1869), 335–36; Emanuel Langbecker, *Leben und Lieder von Paulus Gerhardt* (Berlin: Sander'schen Buchhandlung, 1841), 21–22.



court justice, Martin Friedrich Seidel. The Reformed secular participants were the Pomeranian chancellor, Lorenz Christoph von Somnitz (1612–78), Brandenburg vice-chancellor, Lucius von Rhaden, Havelberger cathedral dean, Otto von Grote (1620–87), and Consistory councilor, Gottfried von Schardius (1621–67). Governor Otto von Schwerin (1616–79) presided.<sup>86</sup>

Whereas the Kassel Colloquy proceeded by affirming the common ground with respect to four *loci communes*, the Berlin Colloquy fatefully focused on the doctrinal divide. More specifically, it focused on whether or not a real division existed between the two confessions at all. The Great Elector or perhaps Otto von Schwerin drew up two questions for the colloquy to address. There were designed so that the Lutherans would confess that there was no fundamental doctrinal difference between the two confessions:

If then in the Reformed *Confessionibus publicis*, and particularly the ones named in our last edict, something is taught and affirmed, which is damned by *judicio divino*: Or if something is denied or concealed, without which knowledge and practice, the Almighty God would deny salvation?<sup>87</sup>

While the irenic Provost Fromm-led Cölln ministerium was content to tolerate the Reformed once agreement had been reached on election, the orthodox Berlin ministerium could not be so confessionally accommodating. Paul Gerhardt's *Rationes pro colloquio* shows that they very much feared a gradual Calvinization of Brandenburg would take place through an imposed

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<sup>86</sup> Hans-Joachim Beeskow, "Brandenburgische Kirchenpolitik und -geschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts—Ein Beitrag zur Paul-Gerhardt-Forschung," (Diss., Humboldt- Universität zu Berlin, 1985); Klaus Wappler, "Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg, das Berliner Religionsgespräch von 1662–63 und das Steitverbot von 1664," in *Irenik und Antikonfessionalismus im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Harm Klueting (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2003), 141–51; Dingel, "Religionsgespräche," 28:667.

<sup>87</sup> "Ob dan in derer Reformirte Confessionibus publicis, und sonderlich welche in Unserm jüngsten Edictio fürnemlich benennet seind, etwas gelehret und bejahet werde, warumb der, so es lehret, oder glaubet und bejahet, *judicio divino* verdammet sey: oder ob etwas darinnen verneinet oder verschwiegen sey, ohne dessen Wißenschafft und übung der höchste Gott niemand seelig machen wolle." See the August 21, 1662 "Schreiben" reprinted in Gerhardt, *Paul*, 335–36; Langbecker, *Leben*, 21–22.

Rinteln-like syncretism at the Berlin Colloquy.<sup>88</sup> Provost Lilius served as the Lutheran spokesman for the first six sessions, but Hülsemann's former boarding student, Archdeacon Reinhardt, quickly emerged as the chief spokesman.<sup>89</sup> The already beloved hymnist, Paul Gerhardt, was in consultation with his friend, Calov, during the colloquy. Thus Gerhardt supplied Reinhardt with written arguments against syncretism.<sup>90</sup>

After the first four sessions, the Lutherans concluded among other things, "Therefore quite a few Reformed teachers, who conduct their teaching according to these three confessions [the symbols of Brandenburg], God will not save on account of such a deliberate persistent denial [of true doctrine] (which we again do not wish)."<sup>91</sup> On January 3, 1663, the Rinteln theological faculty wrote the Great Elector disparaging the Wittenberg theologians and expressing their solidarity with the Reformed, who are fellow "Christians" and "children of God." The Great Elector, in turn, shared this on March 12, 1663 with the Berlin ministerium and Königsberg ministerium, encouraging them to follow the Rintelners' example after eight sessions of no progress. In response, Gerhardt drew up a number of points explaining why the Lutherans could

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<sup>88</sup> "Erstlich hat das Wort an Seiten der Reformirten Lehrer keine gute Intention und Absehen, sie wollen 1) einen Syncretismus von uns haben, wie die Marpurger von den Rintelnern zu Cassel erlangert, und das simuliren sie selber nicht, tragen ihrer Sache keine Scheu. 2) Hoc ipso wollen sie unsere Leute allmehlig disponiren, daß sie hernachmals die völlige Einführung der reformirten Religion desto leichter admittiren mögen." See Gerhardt's *Rationes pro colloquio* are reprinted in Langbecker, *Leben*, 23–27. See also Langbecker, *Leben*, 29–34; Leube, *Kalvinismus*, 394–95; Gerhardt, *Paul*, 336–37.

<sup>89</sup> Schwerin's June of 1663 report about the colloquy to the elector is reprinted in Gerhardt, *Paul*, 357–60.

<sup>90</sup> Christian Bunnens, *Paul Gerhardt: Weg—Werk—Wirkung*, 3<sup>th</sup> ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 91; Gerhard Rödding, *Warum sollt ich mich den gräumen: Paul Gerhardt—Leben und Dichten in dunckler Zeit* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: AUSAAT Verlag, 2006), 212, 215. Ironically, he never used his hymns as a polemic against Calvinism or Syncretism.

<sup>91</sup> "Darum sind etliche reformirte Lehrer, so nach diesen dreien Confessionen ihre Lehre führen, solche Lehrer, welche Gott solcher vorsetzlichen beharrlichen Verleugnung halber (welches wir abermal nicht wünschen) nicht will selig machen." See Langbecker, *Leben*, 37.

not accept the Rintelners' syncretistic arguments.<sup>92</sup> In hopes of salvaging the debate, Schwerin then refocused it on the Lord's Supper, particularly the *manducatio oralis*. In answer to the Reformed theologians' question, whether the *manducatio oralis* of the flesh and blood of Christ was necessary for salvation, Paul Gerhardt responded on March 16, 1663 using the distinction between primary and secondary fundamental articles:

If we describe the *articulum de orali manducatione* in fact as an *articulum fidei fundamentalem*, although not a *constituentem*, but as a *conservantem*, then we would also not dare to prove that without this doctrine no one can receive faith, love, and hope, and thus eternal salvation.<sup>93</sup>

As the polemic against the Kassel Colloquy raged around them, the Great Elector promised to promote those students who studied at Rinteln. Thereafter the Lutheran responses were moderate enough according to Schwerin that he wrote the elector on April 20, 1663, "One hears no chastisements and hereticizing. They very gladly offer to continue."<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, the divide persisted. In the end, the Berlin ministerium just like the *Consensus Repetitus* acknowledged a Roman Catholic or Calvinist could be saved, provided he did not persistently adhere to the doctrinal system of Roman Catholicism or Calvinism. On May 19, 1663 Paul Gerhardt wrote the following:

A Christian is either one, who is baptized into Jesus, and confesses Jesus of Nazareth as the messiah and savior of the world. Thus not only a Calvinist can perhaps be called a Christian, but also a papist. Or a Christian is one who has the true saving faith, pure and unadulterated, as well as allows the fruits of the same to be seen in his

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<sup>92</sup> The Rintelners' January 3, 1663 letter and the elector's March 12, 1663 letter to the Berliners and Königsbergers are reprinted in Gerhardt, *Paul*, 341–43. Gerhardt's points against the Kassel Colloquy are reprinted in Langbecker, *Leben*, 56–57.

<sup>93</sup> "Geben wir den articulum de orali manducatione zwar vor einem articulum fidei fundamentalem aus, aber nicht vor einem constituentem, sed conservatem und also dürfen wir auch nicht erweisen, daß ohne dieser Lehre Niemand den Glauben, Liebe und Hoffnung, und also die ewige Seligkeit erlangen könne." See Gerhardt's March 16, 1663 response reprinted in Langbecker, *Leben*, 79–80.

<sup>94</sup> "Von Schelten und Verkezzern vernimbt man sonst itzo nichts; sie erbieten sich auch gar gern, darin also zu continuiren." See Schwerin's April 20, 1663 letter to elector cited in Lackner, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 131.

life and conduct. For this reason, I cannot regard the Calvinist *qua tales* to be a Christian.<sup>95</sup>

At the sixteenth session on May 20, 1663, the Berlin ministerium insisted that they could sign no recess without the consensus of entire Lutheran Church. The colloquy came to a dramatic end in the May 29, 1663 final session when Reinhardt refused to debate with the newly appointed Joachimsthal Gymnasium rector, Adam Gierck. When the Great Elector removed Reinhardt from the colloquy and ordered it on July 30, 1663 to continue, the Berlin theologians refused on August 13, 1663 to continue without him.<sup>96</sup> In response, the Great Elector eventually had Stosch write a second edict of tolerance on September 16, 1664 with additions from Schwerin that posited fundamental doctrinal agreement in actuality did exist, forbade both confessions from making condemnations of each other, and enforced it like a symbol of the land:

[Its purpose was that] a Christian ecclesial peace, nevertheless, be instituted among the evangelical subjects, who dissent in several points; and that brotherly love and concord or at least a *mutua tolerantia* and agreeability be cultivated; that unchristian judgments, defamations, hereticising, and condemnations be lifted on all sides and be completely stopped. Since we are focused to achieve such an end, we permit the June 2, 1662 edict still to be newly published.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> “Ein Christ ist entweder, der auf Jesum getauft ist, und Jesum von Nazareth für Messiam und Heiland der Welt bekennt. Also können vielleicht nicht allein Calvinisten, sondern auch Papisten Christen genent werden, oder ein Christ ist derjenige, welcher den wahren seligmachenden Glauben rein und unverfälscht hat, auch die Früchte desselben in seinem Leben und Wandel sehen läßt, also kann ich die Calvinisten *qua tales* nicht für Christen halten.” See Gerhardt’s May 19, 1663 report in Langbecker, *Leben*, 88–90.

<sup>96</sup> The May 29, 1663 protocol and report, Schwerin’s June 28, 1663 report, the July 30, 1663 electoral order, and the Berlin ministerium’s August 13, 1663 letter can be found in Gerhardt, *Paul*, 355–63. See also Langbecker, *Leben*, 90–91; Landwehr, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 211–15.

<sup>97</sup> “Auch unter unsern in etlichen puncten dissentirenden Evangelischen Unterthanen, dennoch ein Christlicher Kirchen-Friede gestiftet, und die Brüderliche Liebe und Eintracht, oder zum wenigsten eine *mutua tolerantia* und Verträglichkeit gepflanzet, das bisherige unchristliche richten, verläster, verketzern und verdammen, aber allerseits aufgehoben, und gänzlich eingestellt werden möchte, gestalt Wir denn zu solchem Ende noch neulich am 2 Junii 1662 ein Edictum publiciren lassen.” See “Edict, daß die Evangelischen Religions-Verwandte Reformirte und Lutheraner weder mit Schmähen und Lästerungs-Nahmen noch mit denen aus der Lehre gemachten Consequenzen einander angreiffen sollen, und daß freystehen solle den Exorcismum auslassen vom 16, Septembr, 1664” reprinted in Mylius, *Corpus*, 1/1:381–86 (no. 31). See also Lackner, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 131.

This edict, furthermore, provided both confessions with a list of pejorative names and charges that they were forbidden to make against each other, allowed the Lutheran baptismal exorcism to be omitted, and insisted that the peace-loving theologians should not be called "hypocrites, Calixtiner, and syncretists" (*Heuchler, Calixtiner und Syncretisten*).<sup>98</sup>

The second edict of tolerance brought forth such consternation because it attempted to further separate the Lutherans from their confessional moorings. On October 29, 1664, the Berlin ministerium protested that the edict (doctrinally/liturgically) threatened the integrity of their Lutheranism as well as their freedom of conscience. An irritated Great Elector responded on November 2, 1664 that he was doing nothing of the sort, but only wanted to end Lutheran condemnations of the Reformed. He added that other Lutherans had approved his edict and promised to punish those who disobeyed it.<sup>99</sup> The *Reverse* that followed appeared to spell the end for Brandenburg Lutheranism. The one version obliged Lutherans to only the four ancient creeds and both edicts of toleration, while another added a non-qualified *Augsburg Confession*.<sup>100</sup> The Berlin ministerium then appealed to the universities of Helmstedt, Jena, Wittenberg, Leipzig, as well as to the ministeriums of Hamburg and Nuremberg. Helmstedt recused itself. The Nurembergers advised them to accept the edict. Wittenberg, Leipzig, and Hamburg strongly opposed accepting the edict. The Jena theologians also disapproved and suggested involving the Brandenburg estates in order to deter the Great Elector through political and legal means.<sup>101</sup> The

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<sup>98</sup> Mylius, *Corpus*, 1/1:384 (no. 31).

<sup>99</sup> The Berlin ministerium's October 29, 1664 protest and the elector's November 2, 1664 response are reprinted in Gerhard, *Paul*, 370–72.

<sup>100</sup> Examples of *Reverse* are reprinted in Mylius, *Corpus*, 1/1:391–94 (no. 33); Gerhard, *Paul*, 384–85. See also Langbecker, *Leben*, 100–103.

<sup>101</sup> Landwehr, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 216–17; Lackner, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 132–33; Albrecht, *Wesen*, 271–73. The Berlin Ministerium's plea to Wittenberg is reprinted in Gerhard, *Paul*, 372–73.

edict caused a literary feud when the Magdeburg cleric, Johann Böttinger (1613–72), published a *Gutachten* at a Helmstedt publishing house, favoring the acceptance of the edict.<sup>102</sup> To put an end to this, an exasperated Great Elector instructed his privy council on April 27, 1665 that the clergy will sign a *Revers* that bound them to the edict or they will no longer be tolerated in the land.<sup>103</sup> Almost all signed out of fear, save the likes of Lilius, Reinhardt, and Gerhardt. To make an example for those who refused to sign, Lilius and Reinhardt were dismissed from office on April 28, 1665.<sup>104</sup> Court-preacher Stosch's 1666 *Summarischer Bericht* then began arguing that the edict of tolerance should be accepted as a new symbol of the land, bringing forth new polemics from Danzig, Leipzig, and Wittenberg.<sup>105</sup> Despite the efforts of the Berlin ministerium through

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<sup>102</sup> Johann Böttinger, *Vnvorgreifliches Bedencken über diese Frage: Ob die Herren Prediger zu Ständel in der alten Marck dem Churfürstl. Brandenburgischen Edicto de dat. 16 Septemb. An 1664 mit gutem Gewissen unterschreiben / oder sich removiren lassen können? An Herrn M. Christianvm Scriverivm Predigern zu S. Jacob in Ständel auff inständiges bitten Den 22 Maij anno 1665 außgefertiget und auß hochdringenden ursachen durch den Druck heraußgegeben* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1666); *Discvrsvs Wittebergensis Contra Jvdicivm, Vt Vocatum Est, Magdebvrgense. Witteberga Anno 1665. D. 13. Octobris Magdeburgum transmissus* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1666); Johann Böttinger, *Animadversiones Apologeticae In Discursum VVittebergensem Contra Judicium, Ut Vocatum Fuit. Magdeburgense* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1666).

<sup>103</sup> “Daß sie diesem Unsern obbesagten wie auch den vom 22 Juni 1662 und am 24 Februar 1614 publicirten Mandatis und Edictis gehorsamst nachkommen und zu bezeugung solches ihres schuldigsten gehorsams alsofort in eurer praesentz, sich deshalb reversiren sollen, alldieweil Wir gänzlich entschlossen, Keinen in Unsern Landen zu dulden, der sich diesen Unsern christlichen Verorderung widersetzet.” See the elector's April 27, 1665 *Rescript* reprinted in Gerhardt, *Paul*, 374–75.

<sup>104</sup> Deppermann, “Die Kirchenpolitik,” 112; Leube, *Kalvinismus*, 397. The *Pubicierte Declaration* is reprinted in Mylius, *Corpus*, 1/1:385–90 (no. 32). Lilius responded with a strongly worded Flugschrift. Georg Lilius, *M. Georg Liliij etc. etc. zu Berlin An- und Umfrag An etliche der Herrn Inspectoren und Prediger auffm Lande Mit Bitt und Anwartungk Ihrer zurück kommenden Aussag* (n.p., n.p., 1665).

<sup>105</sup> Bartholomäus Stosch, *Summarischer Bericht Von der Märckischen Reformirten Kirchen Einträchtigkeit / mit andern in und ausser Deutschland Reformirten Gemeinen. Mit Sr. Churst. Durchl. Wissen und Genehmhabung auffß kürztzeste abgefaßt / und in Druck gegeben* (Cölln: Schultze, 1666); *Kurtze Anmerckungen / auff den / newlich zu Cölln an der Spree gedruckten / Summarischen Bericht B. S. Von der Mäckischen Reformirten Kirchen Einträchtigkeit / mit andern / in und ausser Deutsch-Land / Reformirten Gemeinen* (Danzig: n.p., 1666); *Auffführlicher Gegen-Bericht einem Summarischen Bericht / B. S. Von der Märckischen Reformirten Kirchen Einträchtigkeit mit andern in und ausser Deutschland Reformirten Gemeinen / Zu diesen mal in dem einigen Articul von dem Leiden und Sterben unsers Herrn Jesu Christi entegen gesetzt von P. S.* (Leipzig: Kirchner, 1666); *Examen Examines Corruptae Rationis: Demonstrans, Lapidio Lydio Sacrarum Scripturarum Congruum Esse Judicium Pl. Rever. Et Ampliss. Collegii Theolog. In Acad. VVitebergensi, Latum Super Subscriptionem Reversus in Marchi Brandenburgensi Institutim A Cive Qvodam Marchio* (Wittenberg: Borchard, 1666).

the magistrate, their April of 1665 petitions to reinstate Lilius and Reinhardt fell on deaf ears.<sup>106</sup> Since rumors now began to widely circulate that the Great Elector was going to Calvinize his subjects, the Great Elector insisted in a May 4, 1665 *Deklaration* that he had no desire “to introduce a mixing of religions, much less compel anyone against his conscience to believe something, or to hinder or change the common divine service and religious practices of the Lutherans in this land.” Indicating that 200 pastors had already signed the *Revers*, he added “that either the promulgated electoral edict should be thoroughly expunged and abolished or the disobedient [Berlin clergy] should be released from office. Thus it was necessary to choose the latter and make an example of these two [Lilius and Reinhardt] because they could in no way appear to do something against their conscience.”<sup>107</sup> In May of 1665, the Berlin magistrate, citizens, and ministerium pleaded for Lilius and Reinhardt again.<sup>108</sup> Despite his *Flugschrift*, Lilius was reinstated on January 31, 1666, although he ultimately signed a milder statement before he died. Paul Gerhardt was now ordered to sign the *Revers*. In addition, Reinhardt remained dismissed for his vocal opposition to Calvinism and syncretism. But he would become pastor of the St. Nicholas Church in Leipzig and soon a member of the city’s theological

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<sup>106</sup> The correspondance is reprinted in Gerhard, *Paul*, 375–79.

<sup>107</sup> “Nicht aber eine Religions-Mengerey einzuführen, viellweniger jemanden wider sein Gewissen etwas zu glauben aufzudringen, oder die in diesen Landen übliche Gottesdienste und der Lutherischen Religions-Exercitia zu verhindern oder zu verändern:” ... “Daß entweder das Churfürstliche promulgirte Edict durchlöchert und vernichtet, oder die Ungehorsamen ihres Dienstes erlassen werden solten. So hat nothwendig, weil ihnen etwas wieder ihr gewissen zu thun, gar nicht angemuthet worden, das letztere erwehlet und an Zweyen ein Exempel statuirt werden müssen.” See the 1665 *Deklaration* reprinted in Mylius, *Corpus*, 1/1:385–90 (no. 32).

<sup>108</sup> The correspondence is reprinted in Gerhardt, *Paul*, 385–87.

faculty.<sup>109</sup> On February 6, 1666, Gerhardt refused to sign the *Revers* before the consistory because of his ordination vows to the *Formula of Concord*.<sup>110</sup>

The famed hymnist, Paul Gerhardt, had already become so beloved that the townspeople, the Berlin magistrate, and even the estates were all in an uproar. The first two petitioned on his behalf from February to March of 1666, but the Great Elector, writing from Cleves, denied their requests.<sup>111</sup> In July 17, 1666, the estates threw their political weight behind their Berlin ministerium. They asked that the Great Elector discontinue mandatory subscription to the *Revers* and reinstate the deposed Berlin clergymen. In addition, they reasserted the rights of the estates spelled out in the 1653 Territorial Diet Recess and called for an end to his toleration of sects. They further pointed out that both confessions recognized Gerhardt was a peace-loving devotional hymnist of the land, who had never done anything to contradict the edict, and requested that he be reinstated.<sup>112</sup> Considering the gains that he had already made, the Great Elector chose not to turn the controversy into a confessional civil war when he returned from Cleves. On January 9, 1667, Paul Gerhardt was reinstated.<sup>113</sup> The January 12, 1667 edition of the *Sonntagischer Mercurius* captured Berlin's excitement.<sup>114</sup> However, Gerhardt would write the

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<sup>109</sup> Lilius' January 3, 1666 *Revers* and the January 31, 1666 order are reprinted in Gerhardt, *Paul*, 388–89.

<sup>110</sup> Gerhardt's November 18, 1651 ordination oath is reprinted in Langbecker, *Leben*, 7.

<sup>111</sup> The February–July 1666 correspondence with the elector is reprinted in Gerhardt, *Paul*, 390–99.

<sup>112</sup> The estates' July 17, 1665 letter is reprinted in Gerhardt, *Paul*, 400–404.

<sup>113</sup> The Great Elector via Schwerin addressed an audience on January 9, 1667, "Daß weil er von Paul Gerhardt's Person keine Klage, außer der vernommen daß er den Edicten zu subscribiren sich entzogen, Seine Churfürstl. Durchlaucht aber davor halten müßten, daß er die Meinung der Edicten nicht recht begriffen hätte: so wollten Sie ihn hiermit plene restituirt und ihm sein Predigtamt nach wie vor zu treiben, verstattet haben," cited in Langbecker, *Leben*, 186. David Gigas became a St. Nicholas deacon in March 1666 by initially signing the *Revers*, but later renounced his signature and called the previous year his "Angstjahr" in his 1667 New Year's sermon. He was imprisoned for 23 weeks and then went to Stresno in Pomerania.

<sup>114</sup> "Wie S. Churf. Dchl. Des bishero ab officio suspendierten Predigers Paulus Gerhardt Unschuld und Moderation gerühmt worden, haben Sie alsofort anbefohlen, denselben wieder in sein Amt einzusetzen," cited in



magistrate on January 19, 1667 that he could not continue, because of his ordination vow to the *Formula of Concord* and the Gigas Affair.<sup>115</sup> To everyone's surprise, he took up a pastorate in Lübben, Saxony, and the Helmstedt trained Johann Schrader (1638–89), assumed his post. Following the colloquy, Paul Gerhardt penned few hymns. In his last will and testament to his son, he wrote, "study holy theology in pure schools and at unfalsified universities and beware of the syncretists, for they seek what is temporal and are faithful to neither God nor men."<sup>116</sup> It should finally be noted that the Great Elector did remove the mandatory subscription to the *Revers* on June 6, 1667, but the edict of tolerance would remain in effect and Wittenberg-trained theologians were not permitted into the land.<sup>117</sup> Ultimately, the Great Elector succeeded in at least officially removing Brandenburg Lutheranism from the Concordial consensus and laid the foundation for Hohenzollern confessional tolerance. Still the Berlin ministerium, people, magistrate, and estates prevented the Calvinization or full syncretization of Brandenburg Lutheranism.

### **The Renewed Propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus* and the Braunschweig Response**

For the Electoral Saxons, the Helmstedt theologians' continued promotion of Calixtine Lutheranism, the Kassel Colloquy, the Berlin Colloquy, the crisis in Königsberg, the advance of Calixtine ideas in other Lutheran territories, the apostasies from Lutheranism, as well as Roman Catholic and Calvinist appeals to the writings of Calixt all reignited the confession-building

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Landwehr, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, 226.

<sup>115</sup> Gerhardt's January 19, 1667 letter is reprinted in Gerhardt, *Paul*, 405–6.

<sup>116</sup> "Die heilige Theologiam studire in reinen Schulen und auf unverfälschten Universitäten, und hüte Dich ja vor Syncretisten, denn die suchen das Zeitliche und sind weder Gott noch Menschen treu." See Gerhardt's Testament reprinted in Langbecker, *Leben*, 227–28.

<sup>117</sup> Elector's June 6, 1667 Rescript is reprinted in Mylius, *Corpus*, 1/1:393–96 (no. 35).

process behind the *Consensus Repetitus*.<sup>118</sup> These factors all proved that Calixtine theology was not just a theoretical problem, but a real existential danger for Lutheranism that required decisive action. In the wake of the Kassel Colloquy, the Wittenberg theologians began to look to Mecklenburg for support for the *Consensus Repetitus*. In a June 12, 1662 letter, the Güstrower Superintendent Daniel Janus (1611–69), the majority of the Güstrower clergy, and 125 clergymen from the Güstrow and Mecklenburg parishes declared their agreement with the Electoral Saxons, although their authorities did not appear to share this opinion according to Staemmler.<sup>119</sup> In Leipzig, an anti-syncretistic licentiate and doctoral promotion oath were instituted. The short-lived Dresden court-preacher (1686–91) and father of Lutheran pietism, Philipp Jakob Spener, later insisted that the oath was not authorized by Dresden and pointed out that it opposed syncretism, not specific syncretistic theologians by name.<sup>120</sup> Finally, the Latin-German 1655 *Consensus Repetitus*, which had up until now only been disseminated in unpublished form, was published for the first time from pages 928 to 995 in the 1664 *Consilia*

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<sup>118</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 597.

<sup>119</sup> David Franck, *Alt- und Neuen Mecklenburg* (Güstrow und Leipzig: Johann Gotthelf Fritze, 1753–58), 14:164–65; Julius Wiggers, *Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburgs* (Parchim und Ludwigslust: Hinstorff'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1840), 205–7; Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 138.

<sup>120</sup> The former Wittenberg theology professor, Mayer, reproduced this oath against the Dresden Court-preacher, Spener, to justify the Hamburg ministerium's new oath against pietism. "Ego N. juro vobis, Decano & Facultati Theologicae, me sanctam Christi doctrinam in scriptis Prophetarum & Apostolorum traditam inque receps Symbolicis & Aug. Conf. Ao. 1530. Imperatori Carolo V. exhibita, nec non ejusdem Apologia, Smalcalticis articulis, utroq; Catechismo Lutheri, & in Libro Christianae Concordiae explicatam, integre secuturum & omnia prava, obscura, haeretica, & NB. NB. Syncretistica dogmata pro viribus impugnaturum esse, & servarum statuta Facultatis bona fide, sic me Deus adjuvet per sanctum suum Evangelium." See Johann Mayer, *Abgenöthigte Schutz-Schrift / Worinnen Wider die harte und ungegründete Beschuldigungen Herrn D. Philipp Jacob Speners / &c. &c, Ihren Revers und Religions-Eiffer verthädiget Das Ministerium in Hamburg* (Hamburg: n.p., 1691), 40; Philipp Jakob Spener, *Die Freyheit Der Gläubigen / Von dem Ansehen der Menschen In Glaubens-Sachen / In gründlicher Beantwortung der so genandten Abgenöthigten Schutz-Schrift / Welche im Namen Deß Evangelischen Hamburgischen Ministerii Von Herrn D. Johann Friedrich Meyern* (Frankfurt: Zunner, 1691), 66; Philipp Jakob Spener, *Sieg Der Wahrheit und der Unschuld / Gezeiget In Gründlicher Beantwortung Hn. Joh. Friderich Mayers / D. Letztren Schrift Unter dem Titul: Mißbrauch der Freyheit der Gläubigen zum Deckel der Boßheit* (Cölln: Schrey and Meyer, 1692), 36–37.

*Theologica Witebergensia*.<sup>121</sup> This extensive collection of exclusively Wittenberg theological faculty *Gutachten* was a practical Lutheran casuistry to supplement the more source-diverse collection of Georg Dedeken's *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum*. But it was also clearly designed to reassert the "Wittenbergian Zion's" (*Witembergische Zion*) function as "the cathedral of Luther, the man of God" (*Cathedra Megalandri Lutheri*) and its role as the theological overseer of Lutheranism. Signed by Abraham Calov, Johann Meisner, Johann Andreas Quenstedt, and Johann Deutschmann, the *Consilia Theologica Witebergensia* was dedicated on Laetare of 1664 to King Friedrich III of Denmark (1609–70) and to Prince Johann Georg III of the Saxon Electorate rather than to his currently reigning father. Stressing their role as custodians of the two tables of the law, it called to mind their pivotal role in Lutheranism and their predecessors' defense of the Reformation. While the reader's guide and catalog of professors preemptively acknowledged the problematic figures in the Wittenberg tradition, the tome asserts the quality of its collection and provides an authentic succession of Wittenberg theology professors "from the beginning of the holy Reformation" to the present.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> *Consilia Theologica Witebergensia, Das ist / Witembergische Geistliche Rathschläge Deß theuren Mannes Gottes / D. Martini Lutheri, seiner Collegen, und treuen Nachfolger / von dem heiligen Reformations-Anfang / biß auff jetzige Zeit / in dem Namen der gesampten Theologischen Facultät außgestellte Urteil / Bedencken / und öffentliche Schrifften in Vier Theilen / von Religion-Lehr-und Glaubens-Ministerial und Kirchen-Moral-und Policey-Matrimonial-und Ehe-sachen / Und allerhand dabey vorfallenden Casibus Ordentlich zusammengebracht und zur Ehre Gottes / Erhaltung der reinen Lehre / und Nutz der Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirchen / auf vielfältiges Begehren abgefertigt von Der Theologischen Facultät daselbsten* (Frankfurt: Wust, 1664).

<sup>122</sup> Martin Brecht, "Die Consilien der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Wittenberg: Dokument ihrer Eigenart und ihrer spezifischen Geschichte," in *Die Theologische Fakultät Wittenberg 1502 bis 1602. Beiträge zur 500. Wiederkehr der Gründungsjahr der Leucorea*, eds. Dingel Irene and Günther Wartenberg (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2002), 201–21; Udo Sträter, "Wittenberger Responen zur Zeit der Orthodoxie: eine Quelle zur Fakultätsgeschichte," in *700 Jahre Wittenberg Stadt Universität Reformation*, ed. Stefan Oehmig (Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1995), 289–302; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 421, 429–30. See also Gottlieb Wernsdorf I's (1668–1729) stress on Wittenberg as the *Cathedra Lutheri* in his *Decanus Ordinis Theologici in Academia Witembergensi* (n.p.: n.p., n.d.). It should be noted that Elector Georg I once said in 1622 that Leipzig had "'primum locum' unter den universitäten der protestantischen Reichsstände." See Andreas Gößner, "Personelle Struktur und Nachwuchsrekrutierung an der Theologischen Fakultät Leipzig in 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Theologische Fakultät der Universität Leipzig: Personen, Profile und Perspektiven aus sechs Jahrhunderten Fakultätsgeschichte*, ed. Andreas Gößner (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2005), 74.

Henke identifies three early modern print editions of the *Consensus Repetitus*.<sup>123</sup> The first folio Latin and German edition appeared in the 1664 *Consilia theologica Witebergensia*.<sup>124</sup> Its popular German text is an elaboration of the more cursory Latin text to facilitate the subscriptions of the magistrates and parish clergy. Hereafter the *Consensus Repetitus* is published in stand-alone editions. In accordance with the wishes of his superiors, Abraham Calov published the 1666 second octavo edition, which was printed at Wittenberg in both Latin and German versions to help disseminate a more affordable and useable text. The 1666 edition made certain changes in the Latin text, such as typographical and grammatical corrections. It also expanded the title to accuse the University of Rinteln of syncretism, included a table of contents, and added a preface explaining the reasons for the symbol.<sup>125</sup> The history professor and assessor of the theological faculty, Aegidius Strauch II (1632–82), was commissioned to refute Friedrich Ulrich Calixt in what is called the 1668 third edition of the *Consensus Repetitus*. This edition expands the title yet again and made some alterations to the text.<sup>126</sup> The only modern edition of the confession was published by Henke at Marburg in 1846.

The title of the *Consensus Repetitus* both echoes the thought process behind the *Formula of Concord* and formed part of the official title of all Latin editions of the *Book of Concord*:<sup>127</sup>

The Repeated Consensus of the True Lutheran Faith in these Chapters of Doctrine, which Dr. Georg Calixt, Helmstedt Professor, and his Adherents Oppose Against the Pure and Unaltered Augsburg Confession, and Other Symbolic Books Gathered Together in the Formula of Concord, and Public Writings of Today.

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<sup>123</sup> CR1846, v-vi.

<sup>124</sup> CR1664.

<sup>125</sup> CRL1666, Preface; CRG1666, Preface; Calov, *Historia*, 597.

<sup>126</sup> CR1668. See also Weissenborn, *Album*, 1:568; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 444.

<sup>127</sup> BSLK, XLVII; Preface to the Book of Concord.

Abraham Calov's preface, first added to the 1666 *Consensus Repetitus*, regards the advance of Calixtine theology among the Rinteln and Königsberg theologians to be the immediate impetus for the publication of the confession. At the behest of their authorities, he states, the authors were to compose not just a short Latin, but also a German summation of the differences between syncretistic theology and Concordial Lutheranism for those not yet sufficiently aware of the differences. Finally, he trusts that the *Consensus Repetitus* will come to serve as the confessional instrument that will finally put syncretism down.<sup>128</sup> The symbol proper is composed of two preliminary articles, thirteen articles or topics, and a conclusion. The articles of the 1664 and 1666 editions are subdivided into eighty-eight points that delineate the subject matter of each article, but at each new article the count restarts. The 1668 and 1846 editions, conversely, number their points consecutively. This feature makes these editions more user-friendly, but undermines the intended structure of the confession.

It is quite clear that the structure of the *Consensus Repetitus* down to the construction of its very points is intentionally modeled after the *Augsburg Confession*. A horizontal line introduces each new *Consensus Repetitus* article, which is actually listed as an *Augsburg Confession* article, even retaining the numbering of the *Augsburg Confession*. For example, the heading of the article on free will reads, "Article XVIII of the Augsburg Confession Concerning Free Will" (*Articulus XVIII. Augustanae Confessionis De Libero Arbitrio*). There are four major deviations from the *Augsburg Confession's* structure. First, the *Consensus Repetitus* has nonconsecutive numbering of its articles, despite generally retaining the *Augsburg Confession's* ordering of its topics. The reason for this will become clearer in the following points. Second, the *Consensus*

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<sup>128</sup> "Confide in Domino, piae mentes a Secta novella, eiusq; molitionibus, ubi consensum hunc repetitum in timore Domini legerint, multi tacite fatebuntur, se non credidisse, tantam intercedere distantiam Augustanae Confessionis cum exegesi eius dem, in Formula Concordiae tradita, et erroribus novatorum." CRL1666 Preface.

*Repetitus* has two preliminary articles not treated in the *Augsburg Confession*. Third, the articles of the *Augsburg Confession*, not in dispute with the syncretists, are omitted in the topics or the articles of the *Consensus Repetitus*. Fourth, when possible, articles that come later in the *Augsburg Confession*, which could be assumed under earlier articles, are combined with those earlier articles in the *Consensus Repetitus*. A similar practice is already evident in the *Apology to the Augsburg Confession*. In other words, the *Consensus Repetitus* articles follow the topical arrangement of the *Augsburg Confession* more rigidly at the beginning than at the end because it combines later articles with earlier articles. For example, the *Consensus Repetitus*' "Article XII of the Augsburg Confession Concerning Repentance" (*Articulus XII. Augustanae Confessionis De Poenitentia*) and its subsequent points are immediately followed by "Article XVI of the Augsburg Confession Concerning the Political Magistrate" (*Articulus XVI. Augustanae Confessionis De Magistratu Politico*). This is the reason why *Augsburg Confession* XIII was combined with *Augsburg Confession* IX in the *Consensus Repetitus*. In addition, there was no dispute with the syncretists over the content of *Augsburg Confession* XIV or XV. In another example, the *Consensus Repetitus*' second non-preliminary topic reads "Article II and XIX of the Augsburg Confession Concerning Sin and its Cause, and Concerning the Divine Image which Sin Opposes" (*Articulus II. Et XIX. Augustanae Confessionis De Peccato Eiusdemque Cavsa, Et Qvae Ei Fvit Oppositia Imagine Divina*). Since more than one *Augsburg Confession* article is often assumed in one *Consensus Repetitus* article, it should come as no surprise to see the *Consensus Repetitus*' heading for the article on the Lord's Supper reads "Article X. XXII. & XXIV of the Augsburg Confession Concerning the Lord's Supper and its Abuse, namely the Papal Mass" (*Articulus X. XXII. & XXIV. Augustanae Confessionis De Coena Domini Et Abusu Circa Eandem Scil. Missa Papistica*). Hereafter in the body of this text, the articles will simply be referred to as *Consensus Repetitus* articles, referenced by their Roman numerals and Arabic

numerated points if necessary. For instance, the last mentioned article will now be identified as *Consensus Repetitus* X, XXII, & XXIV.

To further support the contention that the structure of the *Consensus Repetitus* was intentionally modeled after the *Augsburg Confession*, one need only see the actual topical order of the *Consensus Repetitus*, keeping in mind that the numbering of its articles corresponds with the *Augsburg Confession*. The following is the topical order of the *Consensus Repetitus* with the corresponding *Augsburg Confession* articles in parentheses: a preliminary article containing the basis of the whole discussion, a preliminary article on Scripture, God (I), sin and its cause as well as the image of God (II, XIX), Christ (III), justification and good works (IV, VI, XX), the Word of God and law and gospel (V), the church (VII, VIII, XXVIII), the sacraments in general and particularly Baptism (IX, XIII), the Lord's Supper and its abuses particularly the papal mass (X, XIII, XXIV), repentance (XII), the political magistrate (XVI), the last judgment (XVII), free will (XVIII), and the cult of saints (XXI).

Every point under each article of the *Consensus Repetitus* has a definite structure similar to some of the articles of the *Augsburg Confession* and the *Formula of Concord*, but still a structure all its own. For instance, the *Augsburg Confession* article on God runs as follows: first, it presents a positive affirmation of the true doctrine in question. Second, it condemns a specific heretic or heretical group. Lastly, it rejects the specific false teaching of that heretic or heretical group in question with "they condemn ..." (*damnant ...*).<sup>129</sup> The *Consensus Repetitus* takes a similar approach, but the pattern for each of its points generally does not vary and it consistently adds a third part. This third part lists the name or names of the individuals being refuted and proves their culpability from extensive citations from their writings along with references.

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<sup>129</sup> CA I.

*Consensus Repetitus* I:1 illustrates the standard pattern by beginning with “We profess and teach ...” (*profitemur & docemus ...*), which precedes a positive statement of doctrine. Note this is modeled after the *Formula of Concord’s* “We believe, teach, and confess ...” (*credimus, docemus et confitemur ...*), but still remains distinct from it. Then comes “We reject those, who teach ...” (*reijicimus eos, qui docent ...*), followed by the false doctrine in question. Likewise, this language is similar to the *Formula of Concord’s* “We reject therefore and damn ...” (*reiicimus ergo et damnamus ...*), although the *Formula* rejected false doctrines and erring groups, not contemporary errorists themselves. The point concludes with, “Dr. Georg Calixt teaches such in ...” (*ita docet D. Georgius Calixtus in ...*), preceding in this case a citation from Calixt’s 1634 *Epitome Theologiae* found on pages 69–70 and from Conrad Horneius’ 1637 *Dissertationvm Theologicarvm Tertia*.<sup>130</sup>

The marginal glosses are another unique characteristic of the *Consensus Repetitus*. The first point of the first preliminary article lists the following on its margin: “*Liber Concord, pag. 633. Edit. Lat. Lips. In 8vo publicatae Anno 1612. 1626. & Jenae 1654. Edit Germanae in folio Dresdae 1580. pag 256. August. Conf. art. 7. pag. 12. Edit Lips.*”<sup>131</sup> This particular marginal gloss directs the reader to *Augsburg Confession* VII and *Formula of Concord*, Solid Declaration, Rule and Norm in the editions of the *Book of Concord* available in the day, namely, the 1580 Dresden German folio edition and especially the oft-reprinted 1602 Leipzig Latin octavo edition. These marginal references not only point the reader to the ecumenical creeds, *Augsburg Confession*, *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, *Smalcald Articles*, and catechisms, but also to the *Formula of Concord*, the *Catalogue of Testimonies*, and the *Preface to the Book of Concord*.

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<sup>130</sup> CR1664 I:1; CR1846 10. See also FC, Ep I, 1 and 11.

<sup>131</sup> CR1664 Articulus proemialis prior:1; CR1846 1.



These latter three texts, moreover, were not enforced in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, nor were they part of the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*. No mention is made of the *Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope* in these references. In a few cases, the marginal glosses also draw the reader's attention to other texts such as Calixt's *Epitome Theologia*, the Council of Antioch, and the Council of Ephesus.<sup>132</sup>

The contents of this new symbol are no less significant than its structure. The symbol generally makes use of Scripture to affirm its positions, although in a few instances it lists Scripture passages in its condemnations. Scriptural citations seem more frequent in the *Consensus Repetitus*, than in the *Augsburg Confession*. The cited passages generally originate from the New Testament. The *Consensus Repetitus* may have more references to the Old Testament than any other Lutheran symbol. This is not that surprising given the fact that this confession treats the Trinity and deity of Christ in the Old Testament. Its Old Testament citations are also not limited to the discussion of the Trinity and deity of Christ. Genesis, Psalms, and Isaiah are cited most frequently, but Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, II Samuel, Job, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, and Micah are all represented. The *Consensus Repetitus* employs the Lutheran Confessions in the text of the points themselves. More specifically, the texts quoted are Helmstedt-binding symbols, such as the *Athanasian Creed*, *Augsburg Confession*, *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, catechisms, and the *Smalcald Articles*. The confession cites positively Luther, Melancthon, Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, and Justin in support of itself. However, it condemns Vincent of Lerins as a pelagian heretic to undermine Calixt's *consensus antiquitatis*, which is ultimately grounded in Vincent's definition of

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<sup>132</sup> CR 1664 II & XIX:2; CR1846 18; CR1664 III:3; CR1846 32; CR1664 III:7; CR1846 36; CR1664 III:10; CR1846 39.

catholicity.<sup>133</sup> It even references the *Heidelberg Catechism* to show that Lutherans and the Reformed are not in agreement over baptism.<sup>134</sup> Sixth, the *Consensus Repetitus'* articles do not cover all the topics of the *Augsburg Confession*. Articles XI, XIV, XV, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, and XXVII are omitted. The reason for this omission was that these topics were not in contention or at least were not crucial to the argument being posed against Calixt and his adherents.

The complete contents of the document cannot be fully presented given its sheer length. To maximize comprehension of the symbol, each *Consensus Repetitus* article or topic will first be set forth. Then the specific condemnation for each of the article's points will be listed in a series, distinguishing the substance of each point with a semicolon. The first preliminary article will be given more attention due to its importance. In the four points of the first preliminary article, the *Consensus Repetitus* defines the "fundamental issue of the whole affair" (*totius negotii fundamentum*) or the underlying presuppositional points of controversy between the Electoral Saxons and syncretists. First, the *Consensus Repetitus* asserts that the Lutheran church is "the true church of God" (*veram Dei ecclesiam* or *die wahre Kirche Gottes*) wherein the gospel is rightly taught and the sacraments are rightly administered. Those that teach that the Lutheran church is only slightly less polluted with errors than the Roman Catholics and Calvinists are to be rejected. Second, only false doctrines and false teachers are condemned. The "we reject" (*rejjicimus*) of this confession are not directed against whole churches or people that err out of simplicity and do not blaspheme the truth of the Word of God. The *Consensus Repetitus* rejects

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<sup>133</sup> CR1664 Articulus proemialis posterior:4; CR1846 8. The German not Latin text adds, "Eben diese Nothwendigkeit der alten Kirchen Zeugniß / hat Calixtus schon vorlängst verfochten auß dem Vincentio Lerinensi / (welcher ein Pelagianischer Mönch / unnd S. Augustini Widersacher gewesen / in seinem Epitome Theol. Moralis, in Helmstädt gedruckt / 1634 pag. 256."

<sup>134</sup> CR1664 IX & XIII:5; CR1846 66.

those that teach that Roman Catholicism and Calvinism maintain all the fundamental doctrines. Third, all that is necessary to know and believe for salvation cannot be found in the *Apostles' Creed*. The notion that all who believe in only the creed's articles are to be deemed brothers and heirs of heaven is rejected. Fourth, new confessions are necessary as new controversies arise. Those who teach that heretics are only those who expressly deny an article of the *Apostles' Creed*, so that other doctrinal matters are reduced to secondary matters (*Nebenfragen*), are rejected.<sup>135</sup> The second preliminary article treats Scripture. It rejects that the witness of the church is necessary to recognize Scripture; that not everything contained in Scripture is divine revelation; that a clearer church tradition is needed in addition to Scripture; that Scripture requires interpretation according to the norm of the catholic church (*secundum ecclesiastici et catholici sensus normam*) to avoid dangerous errors in interpretation; and that tradition serves as a secondary principle to Scripture.<sup>136</sup>

*Consensus Repetitus* I begins the regular topics by addressing the subject of God. It rejects those that teach that the existence of God and his attributes are not an article of faith; that it is enough to believe there is one God in three persons, while unnecessary to believe in the “distinguishing marks of the divinity, attributes, and relations” (*notiones divinae, proprietates & relations*); that the mystery of the Trinity was only made known to the patriarchs and prophets via a special revelation from God and cannot be known by the Old Testament alone; that only vestiges of the doctrine of the Trinity can be found in the Old Testament; that only the gifts of the Spirit not the Spirit himself exist in the believer; that the deity of Christ and the Spirit is unable to be proved from passages that say God appears as an angel in the Old Testament; and

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<sup>135</sup> CR1664 Articulus proemialis prior:1–4; CR1846 1–4.

<sup>136</sup> CR1664 Articulus proemialis posterior:1–5; CR1846 5–9.

that the Jew and the Turk are not guilty of idolatry.<sup>137</sup> *Consensus Repetitus* II & XIX examines original sin, its cause, and the image of God. Herein the *Consensus Repetitus* rejects the notion that the image of God does not belong to the natural state of man; that the *iustitia originalis* of our first parents is supernatural not innate; that human nature was created rebellious; that the body of our first parents was only made incapable of dying via a supernatural gift; that God is the indirect cause of sin; that souls arise not from propagation, but are created from nothing (creationism); that one should not seek the cause of original sin, but attribute it to a “moral cause” (*causa moralis*); that infants have no “positive corrupt quality” (*qualitas vitiosa positiva*) and original sin is merely a “lack of righteousness” (*causam iustitiae*); that only the privation of what is necessary to please God is sin and that this privation is not the essence of sin; that original sin means after the fall the natural powers remain uncorrupted so that only supernatural powers are lost; that concupiscence is not sin; that it is sufficient to know for salvation that original sin means man was born excluded from heaven and subject to eternal damnation; and that original sin does not bring death unless actual sins are committed.<sup>138</sup> Christ is the focus of *Consensus Repetitus* III. It rejects those that teach that Old Testament believers neither had to know nor believe the doctrine of Christ and his work as the God-man to be saved; that Old Testament believers did not have to believe in his divinity to be saved and were unsure if the messiah would be God, an angel, or man; that Christ never appeared in His own person before His incarnation and is only called an angel in two places (Isaiah 9:6 and Malachi 3:1); that the Son born “by the ever pure holy Virgin Mary” (*ex Maria pura sancta semper virgine*) subordinated Himself to sickness, suffering, and death by becoming man; that the

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<sup>137</sup> CR1664 I:1–7; CR1846 10–16.

<sup>138</sup> CR1664 II & XIX:1–13; CR1846 17–29.

communication of omnipresence to the human nature of Christ is false or uncertain; that the substance of the believer is graciously and mystically united with the substance of the whole Holy Trinity (as well as two natures of Christ); that the power to raise the dead with one word does not occur through the human nature, but only through the divine nature; that the work of salvation only occurs through the divine nature; that divine attributes are not communicated to the human nature of Christ; that divine attributes are not communicated to the human nature through the personal union, but are only united with the person (*tantum personaliter unita*), so that Christ's human nature is not present on this earth after the ascension; that the universal merits of Christ are not the first and principal article of the faith; and that Christ did not descend into hell with His body.<sup>139</sup>

*Consensus Repetitus* IV, VI, & XX discusses justification and good works. The *Consensus Repetitus* rejects that controversies concerning salvation between Lutherans and Catholics can be easily distinguished and settled; that *justificari* is not used in a forensic sense in I Corinthians 6:2 and Titus 3:7, but in a moral sense; that the confession of sins and the petition of forgiveness belong to justification itself; that good works, the intention to avoid sin, and obedience to the commandments are the necessary result of justification; that only works done before justification are excluded from one's justification; that faith is necessary for justification insofar as it is active; that justification consists of the remission of sins and sanctification of the Spirit; that attending to righteousness and love for one's brother are necessary to be a saved child of God; that love is a requirement for God to decree salvation; that the active love of God, love of neighbor, and the obedience to the commandments are the *causa sine qua non* for receiving the inheritance of eternal salvation; that there are not three grades of faith; that via devoting oneself

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<sup>139</sup> CR1664 III:1–12; CR1846 30–41.

to sanctification one acquires the right of eternal life; that man must doubt his steadfastness in the faith until the end; that the intention of loving God and obeying the commandments is required for justification; that one can trust in God's mercy as well as the merits of Christ and can still live against conscience in unrighteousness; and that Lutheran doctrine prohibits good works and opens the door to impiety if it says: good works and the practice of piety are not necessary for justification or salvation.<sup>140</sup> *Consensus Repetitus* V focuses on the Word of God, law, and gospel. In this article, the notion that both law and gospel compel works, but in different ways, is rejected.<sup>141</sup> *Consensus Repetitus* VII, VIII, & XXVIII pursues the topic of the church. The confession rejects those that teach that not only Lutherans and Greeks, but also Catholics and the Reformed belong to the Christian church, so that what Lutherans, Greeks, Catholics, and the Reformed do not agree upon ought to be abandoned; that catholic is that on which all Christians everywhere can agree upon; and that several articles of the Council of Trent that conflict with the Lutheran symbols can be tolerated, softened, or excused.<sup>142</sup>

The sacraments in general and Baptism in particular are considered in *Consensus Repetitus* IX & XIII. It rejects that Scripture is unclear about the nature and number of the sacraments; that sacraments justify *ex opera operato*; the Franciscan idea that the forgiveness bestowed in baptism happens merely by the will of God and in no way via water and the word or that baptism is a mere confirmation of the forgiveness of sins; that infants have no faith of their own, but are saved through the faith of the church, their parents, or those who bring them to baptism; and that

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<sup>140</sup> CR1664 IV, VI, & XX:1–16; CR1846 42–57.

<sup>141</sup> CR1664 V:1; CR1846 58.

<sup>142</sup> CR1664 VII, VIII, & XXVIII:1–3; CR1846 59–61.

Calvinists teach nothing that deviates from the *Augsburg Confession* on Baptism.<sup>143</sup> *Consensus Repetitus* X, XXII, & XXIV treats the Lord's Supper and its abuse, namely, the papal mass. It rejects those that teach that John 6 applies to the Lord's Supper; that Lutherans, Roman Catholics, and Calvinists agree that the "true and real" (*verum ac reale*) body of Christ "is truly and really exhibited" (*vere & realiter exhibeatur*), so that the disagreement between them is only over the mode of presence; that one can receive the Lord's Supper in the Roman manner if among Roman Catholics or in the Calvinist manner if among the Calvinists; that the fundamental "dogma concerning the ubiquity of Christ's flesh" (*dogma de ubiuitate carnis Christi*) is more absurd than the Roman Catholic and Reformed teachings; that the body of Christ is present in the Lord's Supper via a particular divine power and not through the power that Christ has received according to the human nature through the personal union; that the *fractio panis* and pouring out of the wine into the mouth of the believer were intended by Christ as signs of His passion; that a third species is offered in the Lord's Supper and for this reason it can be called a "memorial sacrifice" (*sacrificium memorativum*); that Roman Catholics hold to the fundamentals of salvation, are members of Christ, and have become citizens of the kingdom of heaven, although they have many errors particularly on the mass.<sup>144</sup> Repentance is the subject of *Consensus Repetitus* XII. It rejects those who do not speak properly of the two parts of repentance (i.e., "contrition and faith" [*contritionem et fidem*]); that man who is not yet converted should cooperate in his conversion from the beginning of his conversion if he is to be converted; and those who say that the regenerate man, who commits a (mortal) sin against his conscience that

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<sup>143</sup> CR1664 IX & XIII:1–5; CR1846 62–66.

<sup>144</sup> CR1664 X, XXII, & XXIV:1–8; CR1846 67–74.

removes faith and the Holy Spirit, can still be a member of Christ and a citizen of the kingdom of heaven.<sup>145</sup>

*Consensus Repetitus XVI* concerns political magistrates. The *Consensus Repetitus* rejects those that teach that categorical subscription to the symbols, required by a magistrate, can be transformed into a hypothetical or *quatenus* subscription; or that the authors of the Lutheran Confessions make things necessary for salvation which God Himself has never proposed as necessary for salvation.<sup>146</sup> *Consensus Repetitus XVII* presents the last judgment. The confession rejects that none receive beatitude or damnation before the last day; that unbaptized damned infants who have died suffer only the lack of the beatific vision; and that eternal life and grades of glory or rewards are not distinct, so that good works not only effect one's grade of glory or rewards, but also eternal life.<sup>147</sup> *Consensus Repetitus XVIII* speaks about free will. It rejects those that teach that there is synergy (three causes of conversion) from the beginning of conversion and that the Reformers defended divine grace over against free will too vehemently; that natural man has natural capabilities in some things to raise and save himself; that man does more in a negative way to inhibit his conversion than actively resisting conversion; and that one can only do morally good works on the basis of natural powers alone and that all works of the heathen are generally not to be equated with sin.<sup>148</sup> Finally, the cult of the saints is addressed in *Consensus Repetitus XXI*. It rejects the notion that if the dead saints can hear one's invocation as the living do, then one may invoke them to pray for us; or that the Roman Catholics ought to be deemed

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<sup>145</sup> CR1664 XII:1–3; CR1846 75–77.

<sup>146</sup> CR1664 XVI:1–2; CR1846 78–79.

<sup>147</sup> CR1664 XVII:1–3; CR1846 80–82.

<sup>148</sup> CR1664 XVIII:1–4; CR1846 83–86.



children of God, for they are far from idolaters.<sup>149</sup> After reiterating the gravity of the syncretists' errors against the Lutheran Confessions, the symbol closes with a prayer for the Orthodox Church (i.e., Lutheran Church), "We pray, the thrice all-good and all-powerful one, that he would drive very far away all innovations and corruptions from his Orthodox Church and preserve us all together in this repeated consensus all the way until the end."<sup>150</sup>

The syncretists specifically mentioned by name in the 1664 edition are Georg Calixt, Conrad Horneius, Christian Dreier, Johann Latermann, as well as one mention of Friedrich Ulrich Calixt. The works referenced include Georg Calixt's 1617 *Disputatio Theologica De Peccato*, 1624 *Quatuor Evangelicorum Scriptorum Concordia Et Locorum*, 1634 *Epitome theologiae*, 1634 *Epitomes Theologiae Moralis*, 1635 *Theses De Providentia Dei*, 1638 *De Sacrificio Christi Semel in Cruce oblato*, 1639 *Disputatio Theologica De Autoritate Antiquitatis Ecclesiasticae*, 1641 *Historia Iosephi*, 1641 *Gründliche Widerlegung*, 1642 edition of Georgi Cassandri *De Commvnone Svb Vtraqve Specie Dialogus*, 1643 *Dissertatio Theologica De Igne Purgatorio*, 1643 *Disputatio Theologica De Baptismo*, 1644 *Responsvm Maledicis Theologorum Moguntinorum Pro Romani Pontificis Infallibilitate Praeceptoqve Commvnonis Svb Vna Vindiciis Oppositvm*, 1645 *Responsi Maledicis Theologorum Moguntinorum Vindiciis oppositi Pars Altera Infallibilitatem Romani Pontificis Seorsim Excvtiens*, 1645 *De Sanctissimo Trinitatis Mysterio Contra Socinianos Exercitatio* (with Latermann responding), 1645 *Scripta Facientia Ad Colloqvium*, 1648 *De Auctoritate Sacrae Scripturae*, 1649 *De Peccato Originali Exercitatio*, 1649 *Ad Svam De Questionibvs Nvm Mysterivm S. Trinitatis E Solo Vetere Testam. Possit*

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<sup>149</sup> CR1664 XXI:1-2; CR1846 87-88.

<sup>150</sup> "Deum ter Optimum Maximum precamur, ut omnes novitates ac corruptelas ab Ecclesia Orthodoxa, quam longissime jubeat abesse, nosque singulos in consensu hocce repetito conservet ad ultimos usque Spiritus, Amen." CR1664:Conclusion.

*Evinci*, 1649 *De Qvaestionibvs Nvm Mysterivm Sanctissimae Trinitatis E Solivv Veteris Testamenti Libros Possit Demonstrari*, 1650 *Desiderium Et Studium Concordiae Ecclesiasticae*, 1650 *Iudicium Georgii Calixti, SS. Theologiae Doctoris Et Professoris Celeberrimi. In Academia Iulia De Controversiis Theologicis, Quae inter Lutheranos Et Reformatos Agitantur*, 1651 *Wiederlegung Der unchristlichen und unbilligen Verleumbdungen* (including concomittant texts), 1651 *Ad Illvstrissimvm Et Celsissimvm Principem Et Dominvm, Dominvm Ernestvm*, 1652 *Iucundus Congressus seu Epistolae Anno M.DC.L. Iubileo Scriptae Et Ad Autographum Romanum Recusae*, 1654 *De Pactis*, 1659 *Consideratio Doctrinae Pontificiae Iuxta Ductum Concilii Tridentini Et Reformatae Iuxta Ductum Confessionis*; Conrad Horneius' 1632 *De Sacris Et Divinis Scripturis Tractatus Theologicus*, 1637–40 *Dissertationum Theologicarum*, 1643–44 *Disputationum Theologicarum*, 1648 *Disputatio Theologica De Vera Praesentia Corporis Et Sanguinis D. N. Jesu Christi Cum Pane Et Vino In SS.*, 1648 *De Summa Fidei Non Qualislibet Sed Quae per caritatem operator necessitate ad salutem*, 1648 *Iterata Adsertio Qva Fidem Non Qvalemlibet Sev Otiosam Avt Mortvam*, 1649 *Repetitio Doctrinae Verae De Necessitate B. O. Sev Stvdii Pietatis*; Christian Dreier's 1651 *Gründliche Erörterung*; Johann Latermann's 1646 *De Aeterna Dei Praedestinatione*, 1648 *Declaratio Apologetica*, 1650 edition of Cassander's *Tractatus De officio pii viri, in hoc Ecclesiae universae, Occidentalis imprimis, dissidio*; and Friedrich Ulrich Calixt's 1653 *De Deo Divinisque Attributis Exercitatio*.<sup>151</sup> In the expanded title and preface of the 1666 edition, however, the Lutheran University of Rinteln is included among the condemned syncretists. Friedrich Ulrich Calixt receives further attention in the 1668 *Consensus Repetitus*, whose expanded title now includes his name and reference to the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*.

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<sup>151</sup> See also Appendix Three.

How did the *Consensus Repetitus*' ecclesial-political polemic function? If Georg Calixt and his adherents were proved to be in violation of the *Augsburg Confession*, then they were no longer Lutheran and needed to be excluded from Lutheranism. Even though the *Consensus Repetitus* has no desire to condemn whole churches or the simple misguided layman, protectors of Calixtine Lutheranism, like the Braunschweig dukes, did risk forfeiting legal status and protection under the Peace of Westphalia. But that was only if Calixtine theology was proven to be contrary to the *Augsburg Confession* as well as syncretistic (i.e., neither Lutheran, Roman Catholic, or Reformed). In light of some imperial states' acts of toleration after the Peace of Westphalia, such a charge may not have been as dangerous as before 1648, but this is hindsight at best. Nevertheless, it certainly proved threatening enough that Braunschweig dukes took action to defend their church.

During his time as the Hohenzollen-appointed Provost and St. Nicolai Church pastor, Philipp Jakob Spener sheds some light on the *Consensus Repetitus*' promulgation, its failure to garner subscriptions, and where most Lutherans lined up in relation to the controversy. In 1692 Spener suggested that Calov was driven to continue to promulgate the *Consensus Repetitus* for many years in all of Upper Evangelical Germany. The reason for this was he had been persuaded that "all or at least the majority of such churches ... agreed with the *Consensus Repetitus* in thesis and antithesis," but "because its antitheses were directed against certain teachers," they could not sign it lest "schism" or "dissensus may emerge from a consensus."<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> "Dabey mich entsinne / daß vor mehrern jahren ein vornehmer Theologus willens gewesen / denselben an alle oberteutsche Evangelische kirchen zu senden / und dieselbe zu dessen auffnehmung zu bewegen / als ihm aber von einen obwol jungen Theologo, mit dem er davon communicirte / zu verstehen gegeben worden / wie nicht zu zweiffeln / daß alle oder doch die meiste solcher kirchen / ob sie wol in thesi und antithesi mit dem consensu repetito es hielten / gleichwol wegen der hipotheseos, darinn die antithesis gegen gewisse Lehrer gerichtet würde / solchen zu vermeidung der folgenden trennung nicht annehmen / und also aus dem consensu eher ein dissensus werden möchte / unterließe er solches selbs." See Spener, *Die Freyheit*, 66.

The publication of the *Consensus Repetitus* certainly caused a crisis for the Braunschweig Churches and a degeneration of polemics between the parties involved. Personal attacks and invective began to overshadow the doctrinal issues.<sup>153</sup> Heinz Staemmler summarizes the initial reaction to the *Consensus Repetitus* drawing on the Lower Saxon State Archives:

In addition, to the judgment obtained from Helmstedt concerning the *Consensus Repetitus*, one namely from Jena, Altdorf, and Rinteln were obtained, which were completely dismissive. From Sweden, they had, the Helmstedt theologians reported at a meeting, news through an important man, "that the royal council disapproved of the book, and Count Brahe particularly said, that the Wittenberg theologians wanted to be Dictators of the *Augsburg Confession*."<sup>154</sup>

Even so the Braunschweig dukes were constrained to defend their church because of the accessibility of 1666 *Consensus Repetitus* and its ecclesial-political implications. The son of Georg Calixt, Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, who was already involved in a dispute with Johann Deutschmann,<sup>155</sup> was commissioned by the dukes and Helmstedt to make a "refutation of Calov's little book" (*Refutationem Caloviani Libelli*). Insisting that the *Consensus Repetitus* was merely a private writing of Abraham Calov, Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, who never seems to have won the respect of his father that he so desired, arduously performed this task by means of his 371-page *Demonstratio Liquidissima*, which provided a point-by-point commentary on the 1666 Latin

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<sup>153</sup> Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 146–48. Staemmler locates much of the neglect of the *Consensus Repetitus* to its post-publication polemics, centered in the face-off between Friedrich Ulrich Calixt and Aegidius Strauch.

<sup>154</sup> "Man auch von Helmstedt Urteile über den Cons. Rep. eingeholt hat, nämlich aus Jena, Altdorf and Rinteln, die sich durchweg ablehnend geäußert hätten. Von Schweden hätten sie, berichten die Helmstedter auf einer Sitzung, die Nachricht durch einen vornehmen Mann, 'dz die ReichßRäthe solch Buch improbirten, und Graff Brahe absonderlich gesagt, daß Wittenbergenses wollten Dictatores A. C. seyn.'" See Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 141.

<sup>155</sup> Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, *Castigatio Absvrdae Novitatis Qvod Esse Devm eundemque esse Vnvm sint Verißimi Fidei articuli imo Mysteria Fidei, Assertae D. Johanne Deutschmann Theologo & Professore Wittebergense Dispvatione De Deo Vno Habita Wittebergae Mense Iunio proxime elapso* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1667).

*Consensus Repetitus*.<sup>156</sup> Insisting Helmstedt was never bound to the *Formula of Concord*, Friedrich Ulrich Calixt showed how the *Consensus Repetitus* interpolated and misinterpreted their writings, thereby affirming the Lutheran identity of his father and the University of Helmstedt. He also sought to prove that Helmstedt writings were really in harmony with the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* or were simply not prohibited by them. The preface charged, “Certainly if it (what is confessed and rejected by the Church of the *Augsburg Confession*) is conceded to this one Calov, we will hereafter have the papacy redivivus rising within our flesh” (*Certe si hoc uni Calovio concedatur, habebimus deinceps redivivum Papatum intra viscera nostra enatum*).<sup>157</sup>

Such a rebuttal provoked the Dresden consistory and the University of Wittenberg to defend its honor and ordered its own bellicose Aegidius Strauch II to refute Friedrich Ulrich Calixt’s deconstruction of the *Consensus Repetitus*. To achieve this end, Strauch issued his 551-page *Vindicatus* or third 1668 edition of the *Consensus Repetitus*, which included a point-by-point confutation of Friedrich Ulrich Calixt.<sup>158</sup> He introduces this work with Myslenta’s humanist analogy between syncretism’s mixing of religions and the mythological Chimera. The book’s real impact lies in the tactless quip Strauch made against Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, which only accelerated the bitterness and the polemics: “Is it, therefore, not a wonder that in the wine taverns

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<sup>156</sup> Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, *Demonstatio Liquidissima Quod Consensus Repetitus Fidei Vere Lutheranae quem Abrahamus Calovius S. Theol. D. & Prof. ac Superint. Eccles. Witteberg. Superiore anno in vulgus sparsit Nec Consensus fidei vere Lutheranae censi mereatur Nec Vero fidei vere Lutheranae Consensvi DD. Georgivs Calixtvs & Conradvs Horneivs contraria docuerint. Defendendae Innocentiae & Calumniae retundendae Avtoritate Pvblica Conscripta* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1667), Dedication and Preface.

<sup>157</sup> Calixt, *Demonstatio*, 21.

<sup>158</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 597–98; CR1668 Preface.

and brothels (*Fornicibus*) of France and Italy, the dissenter [Calixt] was not able to find adherents of the Lutheran symbols?"<sup>159</sup>

During the rest of 1668, the polemical bouts snowballed into a family feud with all the concomitant hostilities. In defense of his honor, Friedrich Ulrich Calixt rejoined the University of Wittenberg on May 15, 1668 with a retorsion or legal charge of slander, particularly concerning the word *Fornicibus*, which Calov deemed an ambiguous word. Strauch first received the retorsion on June 10. After seeking counsel from the three Saxon law faculties (Wittenberg, Leipzig, and Jena) that it was not a regular retorsion, he made his own retorsion against the University of Helmstedt a day later. On July 6, Friedrich Ulrich Calixt forwarded it to the Duke of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and gathered *Gutachten* from the philosophical faculties of Utrecht, Helmstedt, and Leiden concerning the word in question. Helmstedt, Frankfurt, and Rinteln proposed a new *Retorsion* against Strauch on August 28, 1668, but recommended that Friedrich Ulrich Calixt be more moderate if he desired to persuade Strauch's superiors.<sup>160</sup> The exchange of polemics continued as follows. Friedrich Ulrich Calixt published his *Abgenötigte Retorsion-Schrift*.<sup>161</sup> Aegidius Strauch responded with the *Abgenöthigte / nach eingeholten Vrtheil der Rechts-Gelehrten*, which attempts to get back on subject, illustrates why *Fornicibus* ought to be translated with the German word for an "inn" (*Cabaret*), and includes the three legal *Gutachten*.<sup>162</sup> Calixt countered with the *Justificatio Retorsionis*.<sup>163</sup> Strauch answered with the

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<sup>159</sup> "Mirum igitur non est, quod in Gallorum et Italarum Tabernis Vinariis, vel Fornicibus etiam, invenire eosdem non potuerit Dissentiens." CR1668 60.

<sup>160</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 598; Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 144–45.

<sup>161</sup> Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, *Abgenötigte Retorsion-Schrift entgegen gesetzt Derer durch D. Aegidivm Strauch in seinen neuligstedirten Buch wieder Ihn außgegossen calumnien und injurien* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1668).

<sup>162</sup> Aegidius Strauch, *Abgenöthigte / nach eingeholten Vrtheil der Rechts-Gelehrten / richtig / in öffentlichen Judicio, gethane Retorsion / Auff die Schändliche Injurien / Welche D. Friedrich Vlrich Calixtus / Prof. Publ. in*

*Kurtze / Vnd nochmahls Abgenöthigte Erinnerung und Bericht.*<sup>164</sup> The son of Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, Georg Christoph Calixt (d. 1672), now joined in with his *D. Aegidii Strauchs / Der Theologischen Facultät bey der Universität zu Wittenberg Assessoris und Historiarum Professoris Läster und Lügen-Kunst.*<sup>165</sup> An anonymous Calixt defender published the *Gründliche Wiederlegung Deß von D. Aegidio Strauchen* at the Helmstedt's own Henning Müller publishing house.<sup>166</sup> With the consensus of the Wittenberg theological faculty, the adjunct Wittenberg philosophy professor, Johann Zentgraff (1643–1707), refuted the latter with the *Abfertigung Eines Ungenanten Calixtiners.*<sup>167</sup> Abraham Calov now officially entered the fray. He issued his *I. N. J. Controversiarum, Quae In gratiam Syncretismi, Ab Arminianis, Pontificiis, Calvinianis, & Novatoribus, Syncretistis, Orthodoxae Ecclesiae hactenus motae*. At the request of his students,

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*Helmstädt / wider Ihn ausgegossen hat; Wobey Eine kurtze / deutliche und warhafftige Beschreibung des Calixtinischen Greuels / Welchen Vater und Sohn / mit Ihrem Schwärmerischen Anhang / An die Heilige Städte Der Evangelische- Lutherischen Kirchen und Schulen zu setzen / sich unterstanden haben / Zur Ehre Gottes und treuen Warnung ausgefertigt* (Wittenberg: Schmatz, 1668), 61–65.

<sup>163</sup> Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, *Justificatio Retorsionis Welche Auff unwiedertreiblichen Grund des Rechten gesezet D. Aegidio Strauchen Vnd dessen / in seinen alsogenanten Vindiciis Repetiti Consensus, wider ihn außgegossenen grausamen calumnien und injurien, Rechts-bündig opponiret, und den 2. Junii jetzt lauffenden 1668 Jahrs Legitime Insinuiret worden* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1668).

<sup>164</sup> Aegidius Strauch, *Kurtze / Vnd nochmahls Abgenöthigte Erinnerung und Bericht / Wie D. Fridrich Vlrich Calixtvs / Wegen seiner / zur höchsten Vngebühr / ausgestossenen Injurien / sey Justificiret worden* (Wittenberg: Mevius, 1668).

<sup>165</sup> Georg Christoph Calixt, *D. Aegidii Strauchs / Der Theologischen Facultät bey der Universität zu Wittenberg Assessoris und Historiarum Professoris Läster und Lügen-Kunst / Aus dessen Ehrvergessenen Verleumbderschen Schrifften außgezogen und vorgestellt* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1668).

<sup>166</sup> *Gründliche Wiederlegung Deß von D. Aegidio Strauchen / der Theologischen Facultät zu Wittenberg Assessorn Fälschlich erdichtcten Calixtinischer Greuels genant Am 37 / 38 / 38 / 40 etc. Blate Eingerücketen Calixtinischen Glaubens-Bekäntnis Zu aller unpartheilicher Leser unterrichtet auffgesetzt* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1668).

<sup>167</sup> Johann Zentgraff, *Abfertigung Eines Ungenanten Calixtiners / welcher eine Schrifft unter diesem falschen Titul: Gründliche Wiederlegung Des von D. Aegidio Strauchen fälschlich erdichteten / und seinem greulichen Büchlein / Calixtinischer Greuel genant / Eingerückten Calixtinischen Glaubens-Bekäntnis; In Helmstädt / Aus der Academischen Buchdruckerey daselbst herauszugeben sich nicht gescheuet. Wobey nochmals deutlich erwiesen / daß die Calixtiner / in Vertheidigung ihrer Syncretistischen Lehre / auch von der Fürstl. Braunschw. und Lüneburgischen Kirchenbüchern abgewichen. Mit Consens der Hochlöblichen Theologischen Facultät in Wittenberg* (Wittenberg: Schmatz, 1668).

he held disputations on 150 syncretistic theses, which were published as the *Syntagmatis Antisyncretistici Loci*.<sup>168</sup> The so-called Leipzig Calov, Johann Schertzer (1628–83), conducted a disputation according to the latter and then published it as a *Flugschrift*.<sup>169</sup> Friedrich Ulrich Calixt responded with *Responsiones ad D. Abrahami Calovii*.<sup>170</sup> With the consensus of the Wittenberg theology faculty, the Ulmer housemate of Calov, Karl Strohmeyer (1639–1704), subsequently, countered the latter with his *Dialysis Frivolarum D. Friderici Ulrici Calixti Responsionum*.<sup>171</sup>

The University of Helmstedt had now become very disturbed by this exchange. Unless the Lutheran courts and universities disavowed the *Consensus Repetitus*, the church-political implications of it still posed a threat, and this feud was certainly not helping matters. On September 29, 1668, it issued the *Pietas Academiae Jvliae* to more peacefully, tactfully, and eloquently defend Helmstedt's Lutheranism and discredit the *Consensus Repetitus*.<sup>172</sup> It proved to

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<sup>168</sup> Abraham Calov, *I. N. J. Controversiarum, Quae In gratiam Syncretismi, Ab Arminianis, Pontificiis, Calvinianis, & Novatoribus, Syncretistis, Orthodoxae Ecclesiae hactenus motae, Privato studio Methodice, Mensibus Proximis, Cum Deo, Exhibendae, Atque Ventilandae Sunt, Collegium Disputatorum Indicit Abraham Calovius* (n.p.: n.p., n.d.); Abraham Calov, *Syntagmatis Antisyncretistici Loci, Et Controversiae Ad E; LEGCON Errorum qui hactenus a Pontificiis, Calvinianis, Socinianis, Arminianis & Novatoribus, aliisque totj sunkrhizousi Iude ab Aug. Conf. exhibitae tempore, & hoc praecipue, quod nunc agimus, seculo disseminati & propugnati; non Ecclesiis in unitate Spiritus consociandus, sed per schismata varia turbandis, novisque sectis procreandis apti nati sunt* (Leipzig: Lanckisch, 1668).

<sup>169</sup> Johann Schertzer, *Theses Anti-Syncretisticas, Singulis diebus Sabbathi ab hora VI. Matutina in Lampade ventilandas, juxta ductum Syntagmatis Anti-Syncretistici Locorum Magnifici Dn. Calovii, exhibit, eosdemque, ut frequenter huic exercitio intersint peramanter invitat* (Leipzig: Michael, 1668).

<sup>170</sup> Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, *Responsiones ad D. Abrahami Calovii Theses Anti-syncretisticas Editas Wittebergae Anno MDCLXIX* (Helmstedt: Müller, n.d.).

<sup>171</sup> Karl Strohmeyer, *Dialysis Frivolarum D. Friderici Ulrici Calixti Responsionum novissime ad Theses Anti-Syncretisticas Viri Summe Reverendi, Magnifici atq. Amplissimi Dn. Abrahami Calovii, SS. Theol. D. & P.P. Prim. Eccles. Witteb. Past. Vigilantissimi, Circuli Elect. Saxon. Superintendententis Generalis longe meritissimi, Synedr Eccl. Adessoris gravissimi, datarum, In qua ostenditur adeo his ipsis D. Calixtum sese ab evidenter demonstratis hactenus, Orthodoxae, in verba Dei, Aug. Conf. & Form. Conc. contentae doctrinae contrariis erroribus non purgasse, ut potius magis, magisque seipsum involverit. Cum Consensu & Autoritate Facultatis Theologicae* (Wittenberg: Henkel, 1668).

<sup>172</sup> *Pietas Academiae Jvliae Programmata publico Protectoris Et Senatvs Academici Adversus improbas & iniquas calumnias cum aliorum quorundam tum D. Aegidii Stravchii asserta. Ad bones omnes & Christianos, cum primis eos qui Augustanae Confessione sunt addicti* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1668), 47, 69.



be of vital importance in making the case for Helmstedt, for it and its later translation were disseminated “to almost all evangelical courts, universities, cloisters, and synods” (*an fast alle Evangelischen Höffe / Communen, Klöster und Conventus*) to persuade them of their cause.<sup>173</sup> Calov attributes its authorship to the highly sought-after East Frisian polymath and father of German law history, Hermann Conring (1606–81), a fact that Friedrich Ulrich Calixt later confirmed.<sup>174</sup> No stranger to theological studies, Conring studied at Universities of Helmstedt and Leiden before he became a Helmstedt natural philosophy and medicine professor.<sup>175</sup> By no means a mere parrot of Calixt, this convinced Arminian developed Calixt’s irenicism in a different direction by approaching it from the basis of the state and a concept of religion grounded in nature and reason. He relativized Calixt’s stress on the fundamentals as the dogmatic criterion for mutual tolerance, resulting in confessional indifference.<sup>176</sup> Conring also sought to promote the idea that religious diversity could exist without undermining political unity.<sup>177</sup>

Hermann Conring begins by recounting the attacks on the University of Helmstedt by Statius Büscher, Abraham Calov, and Aegidius Strauch. He dismisses the *Consensus Repetitus* as the work of Abraham Calov along with its charge that Georg Calixt had departed from the

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<sup>173</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 599.

<sup>174</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 874–875; Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:357.

<sup>175</sup> Jori Alberto, *Hermann Conring (1606-1681): Der Begründer der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte* (Tübingen: MVK Medien-Verlag Köhler, 2006); Johannes Wallmann, “Helmstedter Theologie in Conrings Zeit,” in *Hermann Conring (1606-1681). Beiträge zu Leben und Werk*, ed. Michael Stolleis (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1983), 35–53; Zimmermann, *Album*, 419–422.

<sup>176</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 1099; Böttigheimer, *Zwischen*, 234; Van de Schoor, “Reprints,” 169, 180–84. See also Inge Mager, “Hermann Conring als theologischer Schriftsteller—insbesondere in seinem Verhältnis zu Georg Calixt,” in *Hermann Conring (1606-1681). Beiträge zu Leben und Werk*, ed. Michael Stolleis (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1983), 55–84.

<sup>177</sup> Fasolt, *The Limits*, 50–92; Constantin Fasolt, “Political Unity and Religious Diversity: Hermann Conring’s Confessional Writings and the Preface to Aristotle’s *Politics* of 1637,” in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor of Bodo Nischan*, eds. John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 319–45.

*Augsburg Confession*.<sup>178</sup> He unequivocally asserts, “There are no Helmstedt Calixtiner, nor is there a Calixtine school” at Helmstedt.<sup>179</sup> Hermann Conring goes on to affirm with Conrad Horneius that Scripture is normative. But drawing on the *Apology of the Book of Concord* and the writings of Wittenberg theology professor, Leonhard Hutter, he also asserts with Horneius and Friedrich Ulrich Calixt the validity of a conditional subscription to the Lutheran symbols (i.e., “in so far as” they agree with Scripture).<sup>180</sup>

*Pietas Academiae Jvliae* then asks its readers to consider the following points of Helmstedt's proposed program: first, the *Consensus Repetitus* has brought about a great crisis (*discrimen*) in the church and empire (*reipubl.*). It claims there is no church outside of Lutheranism and makes heretics out of any one who denies one of its eighty-eight points.<sup>181</sup> “If we follow the *Consensum*, all of our past Lutheran Church, certainly all of its ruling family, especially our most serene past dukes were infected by syncretistic heresies. Then all of them ought to be justly and deservedly rejected from the church.”<sup>182</sup> Calov and his adherents (*Consensuales*) cannot determine the consensus of the church. “If they desire to increase the articles of the faith, especially with a new symbol of the faith, it is necessary to involve our

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<sup>178</sup> “Sed cis paucos annos edito Consensu haud dubitavit author ille....” See *Pietas*, 8.

<sup>179</sup> “Nulli sunt Helmstadii Calixtini: nulla ibi est Calixtina Schola.” See *Pietas*, 18.

<sup>180</sup> *Pietas*, 30–32; Calixt, *Demonstratio*, 328–29. “Wie sie [andere Schrifften der alten oder newen Lehrer] dann auch nicht weiter angenommen werden können noch sollen dann als Zeugen der Warheit / vnd so fern / als sie mit der heiligen Schrifft vberein kommen.... Welches Bekentnus Sie aus der heiligen Schrifft klaren Zeugnüßen / vnd dann auch aus den vorigen Symbolis genommen / auch ferner nicht wöllen noch begeren angenommen haben / dann so fern vnd weit es mit Gottes unfehlbarem Worten fein vberein stimmet.” See *Apologia*, 162. The Hutter references are cited in Calixt, *Demonstratio*, 328–29. In truth the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* not only demanded its churches and schools conform their teaching to the substance of the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* (*non tantum quod ad res ipsas attinet*), but also to the language of it (*verumetiam quod attinet ad formam sanorum verborum*). See *Corpus Doctrinae*, 3.

<sup>181</sup> *Pietas*, 36–37.

<sup>182</sup> “Si Consensum igitur sequimur, omnis quondam Principes, Syncretistica haeresi infecti fuerunt, omnesque illi jur merito de Ecclesia rejici debuissent.” *Pietas*, 39.

church, so that it is truly confessed in the future: Whoever will be saved, it is necessary to hold above all things to the consensual faith."<sup>183</sup> Conring concludes by summarizing the three points of controversy, which Helmstedt rejected. *Consensus Repetitus* is a new profession of faith. It excludes from the church all who dissent from this profession. It claims that Calixt and Horneius taught against the faith.<sup>184</sup> Second, the authority claims of the *Consensus Repetitus* were not only deemed dubious, but of the highest hubris. In short, the Electoral Saxons, or just Calov himself in Conring's mind, had no right, much less tact or acumen to stand in judgment over the church catholic.<sup>185</sup> The Roman pope, who claimed to be the vicar of Christ as well as infallible in matters of faith and morals, has even been more cautious and prudent about making pronouncements outside of the ecumenical councils.<sup>186</sup> He then charges, "In one word, there is no consensus from the academy where it originated, nor is Dresden distinguished with infallible authority."<sup>187</sup> Third, Conring requested that the controversy be kept out the realm of the common man and left to those that have the ability and office to judge it.<sup>188</sup> Fourth, the controversy should not be decided

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<sup>183</sup> "Si fidei articulis sua velint accensita, novum utique Fidei Symbolum nostra Ecclesia neccesum est admittat; ut nempe inposterum profitendum fuerit: Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia Consensualem fidem teneat neccesum est." *Pietas*, 44.

<sup>184</sup> *Pietas*, 49–50.

<sup>185</sup> "At, quod citra cujusquam injuriam dictum sit; primo quantilla portio illorum est si universam spectes Ecclesiam! Quam illorum multi sunt rudes, & inepti ad talia judicanda, prae inscitia partim, partim prae zelo sapientia Christiana destitute! Quam pauci illorum utrisque partis dicta scriptaque legerent! Quam pauci expenderunt! Si ejusmodi clamoribus stat veritas, jampridem causa ejus conclamata. Num judicio Saxoniorum Electoralium Theologorum dixeris jam definite omnia?... Calovius ejusque Vindex autores ferunt Consensus solos Theologos Lipsiensi & Wittebergensis Academiae; nec obscure Calovius a se conscriptum fatetur libellum, alios recensuisse; ceu apparet ex iis, quae in Consensum praefatus est ad Lectorem. Fac vero omnes in scribendo symbolam contulisse." See *Pietas*, 50–51.

<sup>186</sup> *Pietas*, 51.

<sup>187</sup> "Vno verbo, Consensus neque ex Academiis ubi natus, neque Dresda autoritatem infallibilem conspectus est." See *Pietas*, 53.

<sup>188</sup> "Non omnibus promiscue facultatem illam concessam, haud fortassis a quoquam vocabitur in dubium; non etiam omnium in officio esse ferre de quibusque controversiis sententiam, manifestum est. Nec vero a fidelium

by a few theologians and clerics, but should be dealt with by a synod composed of clerics and laity like the ancient church once did.<sup>189</sup> The fifth and sixth parts of the program insisted that the hatred must end on both sides.<sup>190</sup> Seventh, the professions and rejections must be taken from the Bible itself and must be taken only from clear (*perspicua*) words, rather than obscure (*verba obscura*) passages.<sup>191</sup> Calov and his adherents misrepresented the symbols in the *Consensus Repetitus* by applying them in a patchwork fashion and quoting from those not universally accepted by all Lutherans.<sup>192</sup> The confessors, furthermore, did not intend everything in the symbols to be an article of faith.<sup>193</sup> The eighth and ninth parts of the program requested the Lutheran princes intervene in this disturbance of the peace, which was their God-given and legal duty.<sup>194</sup> The tenth and eleventh parts asked that Helmstedt University be treated with composure.<sup>195</sup>

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vulgo quidquam ultra simplicem fidem Deus postulat.” See *Pietas*, 55.

<sup>189</sup> “Quicquid vero illi egerint, nos cunctos, quamvis Laicos, vocamus ad hoc sacrum synedrium; exemplo omnis vetustae & sanctae Ecclesiae neminem arcetes, neminem adspernati.” See *Pietas*, 59.

<sup>190</sup> *Pietas*, 59–61.

<sup>191</sup> *Pietas*, 61.

<sup>192</sup> “At vero reperias primum sacras ejusmodi Professionis multas in Consensu, ne praetextu quidem Symbolicorum librorum munitas, sed mero unius Calovii aut paucorum Consensualium auctorum placito profectas. Invenias alias ex verbis quidem Symbolicorum librorum huic inde petitis congestas, sed, ceu jam tum diximus, in modum centonis. Quae ratio probandi quam sit inepta, neminem fugit paullo intelligentiorem. Aliae licet quadamtenus ex pressae ex libro quopiam quod alicubi vim habet; quoniam tamen liber ille ubivis non pari est existimantione, liquet sane, illas probationes valere quidem ad hominem, ceu loquunter Logici, hunc vel illum, reapse vero & universim momenti esse nullius.” See *Pietas*, 62.

<sup>193</sup> “Non enim vel ipsimet auctores libroru illorum volerunt, ut sine exceptione omnia libris istis comprehensa Articulu aut dogmatu Fidei vim habeant.” See *Pietas*, 62.

<sup>194</sup> *Pietas*, 65–67.

<sup>195</sup> *Pietas*, 67–69.

With the consent the Wittenberg theology faculty, Aegidius Strauch II refuted Conring with his *Schriftmässige Prüfung*,<sup>196</sup> a hundred copies of which were sent to Helmstedt. In the meantime, the Helmstedt rhetoric professor, Christoph Schrader, produced a free, expanded, and more argumentative German translation of the *Pietas Academiae Jvliae* (i.e., *Der Fürstl. Julius Universität zu Helmstedt Schutzrede*), which was dated November 14, 1668, rather than sometime around the end of January 1669.<sup>197</sup> With faculty approval once again, Strauch refuted Schrader with his *Gegen-Schutzrede*. This work attempts to illustrate Helmstedt's duplicitous character in part by showing that Schrader's work has been falsely dated, so that it would come out, according to Calov, before the Helmstedt theologians were silenced as part of the Ducal Saxon effort to end the controversy.<sup>198</sup>

### **The Ducal Saxons Break Down the Electoral Saxon Machinery Against Helmstedt Theology**

Hermann Conring's *Pietas Academiae Jvliae* succeeded. The Saxon dukes would now set out to broker a peace between the Braunschweigers and the Electoral Saxons.<sup>199</sup> On October 26,

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<sup>196</sup> Aegidius Strauch, *Schriftmässige Prüfung / Der also genanten Helmstädtischen Gottesfurcht. Mit Consens und Approbation der Theologischen Facultät / in der Chur-Sächsischen Vniversität zu Wittenberg Angestellet / und durch öffentlichen Anschlag iederman bekand gemacht* (Wittenberg: Mevius, 1668), 112.

<sup>197</sup> *Der Fürstl. Julius Universität zu Helmstedt Schutzrede Wider dero höchstunbillige Verleumbdere / Insonderheit D. Aegidium Strauchen Professorem zu Wittenberge* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1668), 92.

<sup>198</sup> Aegidius Strauch, *Gegen-Schutzrede / Wider seine höchst-unbilliche Verleumbdere / Von welchen Er / unter dem Nahmen der Fürstl. Julius Vniversität zu Helmstädt / nochmahls / ohne einzige gegebene Ursach / mit Verschweigung seiner schon im vorigen Jahr herausgegebenen Schriftmäßigen Prüfung / angegriffen worden / Mit Consens der Theologischen Facultät in Wittenberg herausgegeben* (Wittenberg: Henckel, 1669), 2–3; Calov, *Historia*, 599.

<sup>199</sup> In 1662 Wilhelm IV of Saxony-Weimar's lands had been divided between his sons, Johann Ernst II (1627–83) and Adolf Wilhelm (1632–68), into Saxony-Weimar and Saxony-Eisenach respectively. When the latter's sole heir died, the former retained Saxony-Weimar and divided the lands in 1672 between his surviving brothers, Johann Georg I (1634–86) and Bernard II (1638–78), into Saxony-Eisenach and Saxony-Jena respectively. In 1672 Friedrich Wilhelm II of Saxony-Altenburg's successor, Friedrich Wilhelm III of Saxony-Altenburg (1657–72), died childless and his lands were divided between Saxony-Weimar and Saxony-Coburg, the larger part going to Ernst the Pious of Saxony-Gotha. Following the 1675 death of Ernst the Pious, his seven sons would divide the Saxony-Gotha and Saxony-Altenburg into seven smaller duchies by 1681.

1668, Duke Friedrich Wilhelm II of Saxony-Altenburg petitioned his brother-in-law, Elector Johann Georg II of Electoral Saxony, to entertain a hold on all publications between Wittenberg and Helmstedt until otherwise ordered (*biß zu anderweiter Verordnung nicht in Druck kommen lassen*). After ascertaining the Braunschweig dukes' position on the matter via Duke Friedrich Wilhelm II, Elector Johann Georg II ordered the superior consistory to silence his theologians until the Braunschweigers responded. But the Welf dukes still wanted a conference for peace, which the Saxon duke deemed “impractical” (*unpracticable*).<sup>200</sup> At any rate, the Saxon elector ordered Wittenberg on February 8, 1669 and Leipzig on March 14, 1669 via the superior consistory to put a moratorium on polemics. He, furthermore, requested a report from his theologians as to how to resolve the controversy.<sup>201</sup>

In an entrenched response, the Leipzig theological faculty proposed on March 29, 1669 a twofold plan for peace. First, oaths against syncretism should be included in the religious oaths of the lands, which all policing, church, and school servants as well as those being promoted in the university customarily make. Second, the Saxon elector and “the remaining high evangelical sovereigns should petition the Kings of Sweden and Denmark” (*übrigen Evangelischen Hohen Potentaten, zu förderst K. Königl. M Majestät in Dennemark und Schweden*) to introduce anti-syncretistic oaths and “where possible subscription to the *Consensus Repetitus*, which is nothing more than a repeated confession of the Gnesio-Lutheran Church or a harmony of the same” (*womöglich, die Subscriptionem des Consensus Repetito, welcher nichts alß eine repetito confessionum Ecclesiarum gnhsi,wj Lutheranarum ist oder einer dergleichen Harmoni*). Kirn reports that Leipzig also requested the Saxon elector as “the Director of the Evangelicals in the

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<sup>200</sup> LHA Dresden, Loc. 10319, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 158.

<sup>201</sup> The mandate is cited in Calov, *Historia*, 563–64. See also Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 158, 145–

Roman Empire” work toward the Braunschweigers’ subscription to the *Formula of Concord*.<sup>202</sup> On the same day Friedrich Wilhelm II of Saxony-Altenburg passed away, the Wittenberg theological faculty sent its so-called April 22, 1669 *historische Relation* to the elector.<sup>203</sup> Calov’s 1682 preface explains that its purpose was to demonstrate that the Wittenberg theologians had not been carrying out a private war with Helmstedt as many (Helmstedt and now Jena theologians) had charged, but action sanctioned and required of them by the Elector Johann Georg I himself.<sup>204</sup> The *historische Relation* opens recounting Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel’s subscriptions to the *Formula of Concord* from Hutter’s *Concordia Concors*, but makes no mention of its authority before Georg Calixt completely removed it from the land. It next locates the roots of the controversy in the “pure blind ambition” (*lauter Ehr-Geitz*) of Tilemann Heßhusius and Daniel Hoffmann (i.e., their about-face on the 1580 *Book of Concord* between the exemplar of the *Bergen Book* that they had very exuberantly signed and the published 1580 text).<sup>205</sup> It then recounts the narrative of the controversy from the first criticisms of Georg Calixt’s writings to the *Pietas Academiae Jvliae*.<sup>206</sup> Appealing to the memory of Johann Georg II’s father, the *historische Relation* summarizes under eight points why Calixtine theology must be dealt with: first, Georg Calixt only compounded the situation at Helmstedt since the days of

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<sup>202</sup> LHA Dresden Loc. 1909, 508ff, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 158–59; R. E. II. 8. Febr. und 29. März 1669, cited in Kirm, *Die Leipziger*, 93.

<sup>203</sup> The April 22, 1669 *Unser pflichtmässiger / unterthänigster / Historischer / Theologischer Bericht an Churfürstl. Durchl. Zu Sachsen Joh. Georg. II von An und Fortgang der Helmstädtischen Streitigkeiten / und wie denselben durch Verbindung an die beschworne Kirchen-Bücher / mit Abthung aller vorbehaltenen Bedingung kräftiglich abzuhelfen* is reprinted in Calov, *Historia*, 563–608, 565; LHA Dresden Loc 1909, 514–548, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 158–59.

<sup>204</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 562–63.

<sup>205</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 565–72.

<sup>206</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 572–99.

Heßhusius and Hoffmann. Calixt opposed its church books as well as introduced highly harmful Arminian innovations. Second, Helmstedt theology has persisted for almost a hundred years, it contradicts the truth of our church books, and others must be protected from such harmful divisions. Third, it represents a mixing of religions. Fourth, it is nothing other than “a sure path to atheism” (*ein rechter Weg zum Atheismo*). Fifth, it accepts nothing of its own church’s confessions, unless they are deemed to agree with Scripture, which no civil authority should accept. One could accept all confessions, even the Talmud or Koran on this basis. Sixth, it is a new sect, which endangers the entire Christian faith. It is atheism or enthusiasm, which Luther prophesied would be the bride of the devil:

Because, seventh, such a brand new sect, which is expressly opposed to the *Instrumento Pacis* [Treaty of the Peace of Westphalia], can in no way be tolerated in the Roman Empire because it neither wants to be Papistic or Calvinistic, [and because] it has deviated from the Lutheran church books in so many points and in almost all articles as it is now brought into the clear light....<sup>207</sup>

Eighth, there will never be peace in the Holy Roman Empire, if such Arminian syncretism with its hypothetical religious oaths is tolerated. The examples of the Netherlands and England are called to mind.<sup>208</sup> The Wittenberg theological faculty closed insisting that it could see no other means of reconciliation than via satisfaction of the subsequent five points: first, a thorough refutation of syncretism from Scripture was needed to compliment the *Consensus Repetitus*. Second, a synod of evangelicals should take place, but not to reexamine Helmstedt errors on the basis of Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions because that had already been sufficiently accomplished. Since such a synod was not likely to occur based on the events leading up to the

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<sup>207</sup> “Denn 7. keines weges solch im Römischen Reich span neue Seil kan toleriret werden / welche außdrücklich dem Instrumento Pacis zu wieder / weil sie weder Päbstisch noch Calvinisch seyn wollen / von den Lutherischen Kirchen-Büchern aber in so vielen Puncten / und fast allen Artickeln / wie es nunmehr am hellen Tag lieget /...” See Calov, *Historia*, 599–601.

<sup>208</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 601.



*Consensus Repetitus*, “letters and encyclicals” (*litteras communcatorias und Encyclicas*) were sought to shore up the unity among the orthodox and limit further division. The *Consensus Repetitus* was then proposed as a means to achieving such an end, albeit not in a compulsory fashion, because that would be a “species of dictatorial power.” Improvements should also be solicited.<sup>209</sup> Third, if the Saxon elector and nobles cannot assist from the start, then one or both of the Electoral Saxon theological faculties should conduct fraternal communication with theologians at home and abroad to ensure unity and acquire their counsel as had already successfully occurred in the ratification of the 1662 Wittenberg *Epicrisis*. If Calixtinism has not been abated thereafter, the Saxon elector could with the other Christian dominions and authorities preserve evangelical truth and the common symbols through the introduction of votes (*Fürstellung der suffragiorum*) and the unanimity of their theologians. By such communication, the *Formula of Concord* might be introduced in lands that had not subscribed to it for political reasons. Fourth, several clauses should be added to the religious oaths of all political ministers, clergy, and professors, which oppose syncretism, the mixing of religions, church tolerance, and fellowship with Papists and Calvinists; or superintendents, licentiate, doctors, and professors could sign the *Consensus Repetitus* as the Electoral Saxon theological faculties had already done in 1655. Fifth, the Braunschweig theologians must sign the *Corpus Doctriae Julium*, which in the article of the person of Christ fully agrees with the *Formula of Concord*, “not only

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<sup>209</sup> “Da dann unsers Erachtens der Consensus Repetitus sehr dienlich darzu wäre nicht / daß er iemand obtrudiret werde / oder man darauff praecise dringen solte / denn das würde eine speciem dictatoriae potestastis haben / sondern daß eines iedweden judicium insonderheit vernommen würde / auff was Art und Weise sie vermeineten daß der Sachen zu rathen ware / die orthodoxiam forzupflanzen / und fernerer Trennung zu wehren / und also unmaßgeblich vorgeschlagen werde ob nicht durch eine solche Schrifft die Einigkeit bey der Rechtgläubigen können erhalten / und die neue Syncretistische Irrthümer könnte eliminiret / und außgeschlossen werden / jedoch / daß einem iedweden Collegio anheim gestellet würde / was bey thesi und antithesi in allen Punkten etwa noch zu erinnern / ob was ab-oder zugethan / wie und welcher gestalt eines und das andere verbessert / oder anders eingerichtet werden könnte weil es heisset: Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus curare debet.” See Calov, *Historia*, 604–6.

hypothetically, but simply without several reservations as the words state and in the actual sense of their authors and churches.”<sup>210</sup> These five points were drafted for the Wittenberg faculty by the theology professor, Johann Meisner, who interestingly enough objected to their content. But his objections were to no avail, because he was outvoted by Abraham Calov, Johann Deutschman, and Aegidius Strauch II. Johann Andreas Quenstedt and Michael Wendler (1610–71) were not present.<sup>211</sup>

With the death of Friedrich Wilhelm II of Saxony-Altenburg, Ernst the Pious of Saxony-Gotha assumed the role of peacemaker. As early as December 15, 1648, Ernst the Pious had proposed Nicolaus Hunnius’ concept of a *Collegium irenicum sive pacificatorium* as a solution to the controversy. It was to be sort of a Lutheran magisterium, consisting of ten to twelve theologians along with adjuncts, and located at the Friedrichroda’s Cloister Richardsbrunn in some of Saxony-Gotha’s most health-conducive lands. It would inspect the Lutheran state churches, universities, and schools, as well as serve as a final theological tribunal for resolving inner-Lutheran theological disputes. Now that many Lutherans feared the Saxon elector might convert to Roman Catholicism anyway and the Syncretistic Controversy had risen to new levels of hostilities, Ernst the Pious would try to set this *Collegium hunnianum* into motion. In April of 1670, he consulted with the Saxony-Gotha Consistory President Jacob Heydenreich (1623–74), *Oberhofprediger* Johann Gotter (1607–77), Church Councilor Wilhelm Verpoorten (1631–86), Court-preacher Ludwig, Court Councilor Ludolf, Court Councilor Prüschenk, and later on with

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<sup>210</sup> “Zu dem corpore doctrinae Julio, und dem in demselben angenommen Niedersächsischen gemeinen Glaubens-Bekänntniß / als welches in dem Artickel von der Person Christi mit Formula Concordiae überaus einstimmet: Daß sie nicht nur hypothetice, quatenus scripturae consentiunt, sondern simpliciter, ohne einige reservation, wie die Wort lauten / und in dem eigenlichen Verstande deren Autorum und Kirchen...” See Calov, *Historia*, 606–8.

<sup>211</sup> LHA Dresden Loc 1909, 604ff, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 162–163; Gelbke, *Herzog* 2:44–45.

Halle *Oberhofprediger* Johann Olearius (1611–84), Jena professor Johann Musaeus, and Greußen Superintendent Jacob Tentzel (1630–85) about the merits of a *Collegium hunnianum* and a resolution to the controversy. The group favored a *Collegium hunnianum*, but recognized its leadership and execution would prove quite problematic.<sup>212</sup> Undaunted, Ernst the Pious sent out emissaries on May 4, 1670 to the courts of Wolfenbüttel, Schleswig, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Güstrow to ascertain the viability of a *Collegium hunnianum*. But the responses received were generally unpromising, largely because of political and jurisdictional reasons as well as doubts about the likelihood of even developing it. For instance, the Royal Sweden Councilor, Mattias Biörenklou (1607–71), posed three basic problems. The emperor and pope might interpret such a confederation to be a new political threat. It could not occur without imperial approval. Sweden and Denmark could not allow Electoral Saxony to lead it.<sup>213</sup>

Meanwhile the Saxon duke had also received *Gutachten* from the Dresden *Oberhofprediger*, Martin Geier, Frankfurt (Main) ministerium Senior, Philipp Jakob Spener, and the Hesse-Darmstadt theologians. Martin Geier opposed the *Collegium hunnianum* insisting it would only exacerbate the controversy.<sup>214</sup> By no means favorable to Helmstedt theology, Spener addressed three questions about a resolution to the controversy on May 31, 1670. With respect to the first question, Spener thought one could hope for agreement between the Electoral Saxons and Braunschweigers without undermining divine truth for five reasons. No public schism or division has yet occurred, nor has Holy Communion been withheld. The evangelical churches

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<sup>212</sup> Beck, *Ernst*, 1:621–22, 643–44; Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:5–9, 32–34. Beck notes that the Weimar Superintendent Nicolaus Zapf (1601–72), who had been invited but had gotten sick, opposed the idea because this was the prerogative of the superior consistories and universities.

<sup>213</sup> Beck, *Ernst*, 1:624–34; Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:9, 12–27; Albrecht-Birkner, *Reformation*, 72–74.

<sup>214</sup> Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:10.

have not yet approved of the *Consensus Repetitus*. The points of controversy are over what Calixt and Horneius said (i.e., it is merely a “historical question” [*Historischen Frag*]). The authorities on both sides have oversight over their churches by divine right to accomplish peace, albeit not by compulsion of conscience. The example of the Crypto-Kenotic Controversy between Tübingen and Giessen provides hope for a peaceful resolution. With respect to the second question, the corruption of human emotions hinders peace on both sides. With respect to the third question, peace could be achieved through the subsequent means. The Christian authorities and preachers must make sure that true doctrine is not only contained in the symbolic books (or is preached from the pulpits), but they must also see to it that true doctrine is in hearts of the hearers. The Helmstedt theologians should make a declaration that contains a renewed confession to the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* and say there is no fundamental agreement with Roman Catholicism. The remaining points of disagreement should be able to be reduced via theologians zealous for the glory of God.<sup>215</sup> Whereas the Darmstadt court-preacher and son of one of Calixt’s earliest opponents, Balthasar Mentzer II, maintained that a *Collegium hunnianum* was possible in his June 8, 1670 *Gutachten*, the Giessen faculty’s June 26 opinion opposed it on eight grounds: first, such a *Collegium hunnianum* lacked infallibility. Second, theological faculties are the best equipped to deal with theological controversies. Third, previous controversies have been ended without such a *Collegium hunnianum*. Fourth, the enforcement of a common theological compendium inhibits the churches’ freedom. Fifth, it could cultivate the Romanizing notion that the church needs a visible head. Sixth, greater problems would arise if it

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<sup>215</sup> Philipp Jakob Spener’s May 31, 1670 *Das Ausführliches bedencken / von den streitigkeiten der Braunschweigischen und Sächsischen Theologen auf den universitäten Helmstädt und Wittenberg beyzulegen*” is reprinted in his *Letzte Theologische Bedencken und andere Briefliche Antworten 1711* (Halle: Waysenhaus, 1711), 3:11–29. For Spener’s assessment of Calixtine Lutheranism, see Schmid, *The History*, 62–69. See also Dietrich Blaufuß, “Concordia—Confessio—Conversio. Königsberger Synkretismus und Kryptokatholizismus im Urteil Philipp Jakob Speners,” in *Die Universität Königsberg in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Hanspeter Marti and Manfred

fell into error. Seventh, the reality is that it simply is not feasible. Eight, the Saxon elector as Director of the Evangelicals would probably not consent to it.<sup>216</sup>

At that point the Jena theologians took indirect action to help defuse the controversy. In 1671 the Jena philosophy adjunct, Christian Grübel, published an expanded edition of Georg Dedekens' *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum*, of which the Jena theology professor, Johann Ernst Gerhard, had served as chief editor until his death.<sup>217</sup> This expanded casuistry manual was published (March 28, 1671 dedication) by the Jena theologians in part to counter the Wittenberg authority claims expressed in 1664 *Consilia Theologica Witebergensia* and to intimate that the *Consensus Repetitus* was actually a private work of Abraham Calov. The collection contained the undated Leipzig and Wittenberg *Kurtze Verfassung*,<sup>218</sup> which appears to be a document that preceded the *Consensus Repetitus*. This seems to be the case because it is difficult to believe that the Wittenberg theologians would have contributed to what could be interpreted as a potentially alternative text to the *Consensus Repetitus*. It shares with the *Consensus Repetitus* an *Augsburg Confession* arrangement, articles with subsidiary points, a similar point structure with similar verbiage (“we teach ...” [*wir lehren ...*], “the Helmstedt theologians teach against this ...” [*hingegen lehren die Helmstädter ...*], “So teaches ... references” [*So lehret ...*], and “confutation” [*Widerlegung*]), similar language in its articles, and confessional references within the articles themselves. But the *Kurtze Verfassung* also differs with the *Consensus Repetitus* in that it lacks its symbolic claims, has only about 59 points, often includes references to

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Komorowski (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2008), 224–46.

<sup>216</sup> The Giessen theological faculty's July 26, 1670 response is reprinted in Gelbke, *Herzog*, 3:110–16; 2:10–11.

<sup>217</sup> See also Benjamin T. G. Mayes, *Counsel and Conscience: Lutheran Casuistry and Moral Reasoning after the Reformation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

<sup>218</sup> “Kurtze Verfassung,” New Appendix: 10–25. See also Mayes, *Counsel*, 51–54, 88, 96, 102, 150–52.

syncretistic writings under “the Helmstedt theologians teach against this ... ,” often replaces the “so teaches ... ” with a “confutation,” softens the language of its points (potentially leaving room for discussion), composes its articles with slightly different language, does not condemn persons, and makes some different references to the Lutheran Confessions and the works of the syncretists. Staemmler is of the opinion that the Leipzig theologians supplied the Jena theologians with this document, which had been approved by both Electoral Saxon faculties as an alternative basis for discussing the Helmstedt question because the *Consensus Repetitus* no longer seemed viable.<sup>219</sup>

Since the *Collegium hunnianum* stood dead in the water, Duke Ernst the Pious persuaded his son-in-law, Landgrave Ludwig VI of Hessen-Darmstadt (1630–78), at a November 13, 1671 meeting to join him in commissioning a peace delegation. Some of the theologians present cautioned against simply rejecting the *Consensus Repetitus* and creating a new third party in the controversy (*Lutherani rigidi, Calixtini et Intermedii*). The delegation itself consisted of Balthasar Mentzer II and Wilhelm Verpoorten. They began their travels to Jena, Altenburg, Dresden, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Celle, Wolfenbüttel, and Helmstedt on November 24, 1671.<sup>220</sup> The significance of this delegation should not be overlooked. The Gotha delegation would expose a breakdown in the Wittenberg faculty’s unity against Helmstedt theology. Its peace theses achieved one of the greatest moments of common ground in the entire controversy. But the Jena and Helmstedt theologians’ refusal to engage the Gotha delegation peace theses only hardened Calov’s and his adherents’ resolve against Calixtine theology.

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<sup>219</sup> Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 120. See also Musaeus in Calov, *Historia*, 1002.

<sup>220</sup> Johann Gelbke, *Kirchen- und Schulverfassung des Herzogtums Gotha* (Gotha: Ettinger, 1790–99), 1:314–17; Beck, *Ernst*, 1:645–47; Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:35–42.

During Ernst the Pious' April of 1671 preliminary meetings, Musaeus had already explained away a number of Calixtine positions. At Jena he maintained with the Helmstedt theologians that the Wittenberg theologians' "consensus was no consensus" (*Consensus pro Nonconsensu*).<sup>221</sup> By the first of December the delegation arrived in Dresden. There *Oberhofprediger* Martin Geier tried to defend the Wittenberg faculty, although he appears to think that the *Consensus Repetitus* was a mistake as well. He assured them that the Saxon elector would do whatever he could to facilitate the peace. Still he believed the controversy could be resolved if the Helmstedt theologians abjured syncretism, committed themselves to the symbols, and avoided doctrinal expressions that deviated from them.<sup>222</sup>

In Wittenberg on December 7, 1671, Mentzer spoke with Calov, while Verpoorten talked with Johann Meisner. There a crack quickly became apparent in the Wittenberg theological faculty's armor. The source of this crack was Johann Meisner, but Johann Andreas Quenstedt was tentatively expanding it. Meisner maintained that the regents could only put an end to the controversy. He insisted that he constantly opposed Calov's hope of sending the *Consensus Repetitus* to other faculties and ministeriums, so that if they approved it, it might be regarded "as a symbolic book" (*pro libro symbolico*). Meisner said that he had not even seen Aegidius Strauch's 1668 *Consensus Repetitus*, until it was printed, despite the fact that he was dean at this time and it was issued "by the order and authority of the theological college" (*iussi et auctoritate Collegii Theologici*). He even claimed that Strauch's German polemics following his retorsion against Friedrich Ulrich Calixt had actually been penned by Calov. Since Dresden had ordered all the Wittenberg theologians to sign the April 22, 1669 *historische Relation*, he subscribed to it

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<sup>221</sup> Beck, *Ernst*, 1:647–48.

<sup>222</sup> Beck, *Ernst*, 1:648–49; Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:42.

only in the following fashion: "I subscribe that I can neither materially nor formally agree with this report" (*Subscribo, me cum hac relatione neque in materialibus, neque in formalibus per omnia consentire*).<sup>223</sup> The Helmstedt-educated Johann Andreas Quenstedt agreed. He indicated that they both were unhappy that the *Consensus Repetitus* was published, but even more unhappy with Strauch's 1668 *Consensus Repetitus*. Quenstedt insists that he too hadn't seen it until it was published. He further pointed out that they both did not want to sign the *historische Relation*, because it praised Strauch's 1668 *Consensus Repetitus* "as a writing in harmony with all piety, moderation, and truth" (*per omnia pium, moderatum et veritati consonum scriptum*).<sup>224</sup>

In contradistinction, Abraham Calov responded that he was glad to hear that Mentzer and other theologians hoped to end the controversy "without the loss of truth or orthodoxy" (*sine iactura veritatis et orthodoxiae*). But he hoped that the Helmstedt theologians were on the same page and wanted them to provide some clarification to that effect. Mentzer even managed to get Calov to agree that if the Helmstedt theologians renounced syncretism and committed themselves to their symbolic books, it would be a good basis for peace, although Calov maintained that they would still not yet be one.<sup>225</sup> So Balthasar Mentzer authored three peace theses which were accepted by the Wittenberg theologians. First, Helmstedt should abandon syncretism. Second, they should stop opposing the doctrine of the *Book of Concord*. Third, Helmstedt should adhere to the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*, both to its content and its letter, just as their *corpus doctrinae* itself specifies. To these however, Calov unscrupulously appended two

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<sup>223</sup> Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:157; Beck, *Ernst*, 1:649; Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:43–44.

<sup>224</sup> Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:44–45. Even though Quenstedt was not happy with the *Consensus Repetitus* and Calov, he remained allied with Calov's theology and should not be interpreted a theologically sympathetic to his alma mater. See Quenstedt, *Theologia*, 1:3, 1:30, 1:44.

<sup>225</sup> Beck, *Ernst*, 1:650; Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:45.



further theses without the knowledge of Mentzer. Helmstedt should abandon “the errors of syncretism, majorism, and interimism” (*de erroribus Syncretistarum, Majoristarum et Interimistarum fugiendis*). It should regard “the mystery of the Trinity and the divinity of the messiah in the Old and New Testament as a sacred article of faith” (*de Mysterio Trinitatis et divinitatis Messiae in V. et N. Test. sancte credendo*).<sup>226</sup>

Mentzer and Verpoorten met with the Leipzig theological faculty on December 14, 1671. Johann Scherzer found it very poor that the Jena theologians had not once publicly disapproved of Calixtine notions. Concerning the “fundamental consensus” (*consensus fundamentalem*), he added it was necessary for the Jena theologians to indicate in writing that they were in agreement with these theses before approaching the Helmstedt theologians. Georg Lehmann (1616–99) had many issues with the whole affair and little positive to say about Jena. Since the Wittenberg theologians had signed Mentzer’s theses, the Leipzig theologians (Dean Georg Möbius [1616–97], Johann Scherzer, Friedrich Rappolt [1615–76], and Georg Lehmann) accepted them and subscribed on December 16, 1671.<sup>227</sup>

On December 27, 1671, the delegation arrived in Celle with the theses. There Chancellor Schütze would make no promise that the theses could be accepted. He also would not repudiate the hypothesis “concerning the fundamental consensus of Lutherans and Calvinists” (*de consensu fundamentali Lutheranorum et Calvinianorum*). He further reported that the Braunschweig dukes themselves could do nothing at the moment to facilitate the peace, because they were currently embroiled in the Reinstein (Regenstein) Affair with the Calvinist Great Elector and did not want to compound the situation by mixing a theological red herring into the

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<sup>226</sup> Beck, *Ernst*, 1:650; Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:45–46. See also the *Corpus Doctrinae*, 3.

<sup>227</sup> Beck, *Ernst*, 1:650–51; Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:46–47.

politics. When called out for teaching that the Calvinists were guilty “of fundamental heresies and errors” (*haeresium et errorum fundamentalium*), the Celle superintendent, Joachim Hildebrand, explained that he meant this in the broad sense (i.e., errors that oppose the fundamentals only as consequences). The Wolfenbüttel court-preacher, Brandan Dättrius, even though he desired a settlement, doubted the controversy could even be resolved.<sup>228</sup>

Mentzer and Verpooten reached Helmstedt on December 28, 1671 and presented the theses to Gerhard Titus, who recognized their significance. After a discussion, Titus doubted Calov could accept them, but committed himself to peace. Friedrich Ulrich Calixt only objected to the Majoristic thesis and the thesis concerning the fundamental errors of the Papists and the Reformed. The chief Helmstedt complaints against the Wittenberg theologians fall into five categories: first, the Helmstedt theologians have been unfairly treated and excluded from the other evangelical doctors. Second, they have been bitterly attacked in public writings. Third, the Wittenberg theologians equated the symbols and Scripture. Fourth, ordination oaths against syncretism, like the one in Saxony-Altenburg, are really an attack on Helmstedt. Fifth, the Helmstedt theology professor, Gebhardt Meier (1633–93), interpreted the theses as being tantamount to accepting the *Consensus Repetitus*. Nevertheless, the Helmstedt theologians’ authorities encouraged them to assume a positive disposition on reconciliation.<sup>229</sup>

On January 5, 1672, the delegation arrived in Gotha. Since Helmstedt had not committed themselves to the theses, Duke Ernst the Pious had them send the theses to Jena for evaluation. While Jena agreed with the main points of the Wittenberg and Leipzig responses, they also opposed many others that the Electoral Saxons maintained. For this reason the delegation

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<sup>228</sup> Beck, *Ernst*, 1:651–52; Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:47–49.

<sup>229</sup> Beck, *Ernst*, 1:652–54; Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:49–50.

initiated a correspondence with Dättrius and Titus between 1672 and 1673, but to no avail. The Reinstein (Regenstein) Affair and the Braunschweig duke's imposition of silence on Helmstedt were the reasons articulated for not engaging in reconciliation.<sup>230</sup>

### **Calovius Contra Mundum, the Solidification of Ducal Saxon Lutheran Identity, and the Fall of Calixtine Lutheranism**

While the Saxony-Gotha Peace Delegation had helped finally break down the Wittenberg theological faculty's united front against Calixtine theology, its failure only convinced Calov and his adherents of the intractability of Helmstedt and now Jena syncretism. It stirred them to keep promoting the *Consensus Repetitus* or oaths to it. In his 1673 *Lektionsverzeichnis*, Aegidius Strauch II, who was the Danzig Gymnasium rector and Trinity Church pastor since 1670, wrote, "The text for public discussion will be the *Consensus Repetitus Fidei Vere Lutheranae*, a really excellent book, which the evangelicals easily approved as symbolic. Would that many would read it today with the most careful diligence!"<sup>231</sup> On the Eleventh Sunday after Trinity in 1675, Abraham Calov posted a university program, which signaled his full assumption of the role that Johann Mayer later epitaphed, namely Calov as a Second Athanasius against the World.<sup>232</sup> That said, Calov also laced this work with a Luther-like invective, "From the newest excrement of the devil, just like an Ennian treasure, Calixtine filth is dug out" (*e Novissimo Diaboli Excremento velut Enniano thesauro, eruere, Calixtinas Sordas*), which broke the Saxon elector's 1669 imposed silence and forced Friedrich Ulrich Calixt to defend his father's theology.<sup>233</sup> The fact

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<sup>230</sup> Beck, *Ernst*, 1:654–55; Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:50–53.

<sup>231</sup> "Dissertationum publicarum Textus erit consensus repetitus fidei vere Lutheranae, libellus certe egregius, quem Evangelici pro symbolico facile agnoscent. Utinam plures cum accuratiori studio hodie evolverent," cited in Gelbke, *Herzog*, 2:32.

<sup>232</sup> Mayer, *Vitae Parallelae Athanasiorum*, no pagination.

<sup>233</sup> Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, *Pietatis Officium Quod Optime Merito Parenti Svo D. Georgio Calixto Theologo*

that Aegidius Strauch II was captured and imprisoned in Küstrin by the Great Elector for his anti-syncretism from October of 1675 to July 9, 1678, while in route to his new position at the Swedish Pomeranian University of Greifswald, only added fuel to Calov's fire.<sup>234</sup> After the April 5, 1676 death of the Giessen theology professor, Peter Haberkorn, Calov penned a funeral ode (*epicedium*) in hexameter that railed against Calixt. Friedrich Ulrich Calixt responded by belittling Calov's theological and poetical skills.<sup>235</sup> What is more Calixt himself started to initiate a fight against one of Calov's disputations.<sup>236</sup>

Scandal would now embroil the University of Wittenberg itself when the *Consensus Repetitus* was immortalized in theater. On October 18, 1676, Johann Deutschmann invited his Wittenberg colleagues and friends to his home for a meal to celebrate his appointment as rector of the university. Once most of his guests had left, the twenty-four year old Hungarian school teacher, Georg Grassitzius (1652–94) invited Calov; Calov's two son-in-laws, Deutschmann and Wilhelm Leyser (1628–89); their spouses; Master Johann Fabricius; and several students to a theatrical production in the lower room of the Deutschmann home.<sup>237</sup> There a number of the

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*Celeberrimo Praestitit Ejusdem Filius D. Fridericus Ulricus Calixtus Pii Viri Innocentiam a Novis D. Abrahami Calovii Injuriis Portentoso Programmate pridem vulgatis juste Vindicans : Accessit Viri cujusdam, in scriptis Paternis probe versati Plenior Repraesentatio Consilii ejusdem De Studio Concordiae Ecclesiasticae* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1675), A 3.

<sup>234</sup> Ferdinand Hirsch, "Der Große Kurfürst und Dr. Aegidius Strauch," *Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins* 47 (1904): 113–252; Hirsch, *Geschichte*, 29–35.

<sup>235</sup> The epicedium is reprinted in Friedrich Ulrich Calixt's *Epistola Ad Amicum Anonymum, Ad quam Lessus Calovianus & de eodem Rhadamanthus Poeticus accesserunt* (Helmstedt: Lüderwald, 1676), 14–15, which responds to it.

<sup>236</sup> Abraham Calov, *I. N. J. Disputatio Solemnis, De Officio Christi Cum Sacerdotali, Tum Regali. Quam Consensu Facultatis Theologicae* (Wittenberg: Wicke, 1676); Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, *Discussio Nebularum Quibus Iniquitatis Calovianae Mysteria Pietatis Officio pridem vulgate Revelata Disputatione nupera, conatu irritato, obumbratae tentavit D. Abraham Calovius Theologus & Prof. VVitteb* (Helmstedt: Lüderwald, 1676).

<sup>237</sup> Anselm Schubert, "Nachspiel auf dem Theater: Lutherische Orthodoxie und Synkretismus zwischen Theologie und Literatur," *Kerygma und Dogma* 45 (1999): 229–30. Leyser was a Wittenberg law professor and Consistory assessor.

professors' children performed a play titled, *Triumphus Concordiae Repetiti Consensus Dramaticus*,<sup>238</sup> which Grassitzius published in Wittenberg perhaps to address syncretism by another avenue.<sup>239</sup> The play was a dramatization of Strauch's introduction to the 1668 *Consensus Repetitus*, which equated the spirit of syncretism with the Chimera of Greek mythology. The play consisted of four allegorical acts. The first three acts narrated the three phases of syncretism via the three parts of the Chimera. The first act focuses on the 1548 Interim, represented by the lion. The second act centers on Philipp Melancthon, who is represented by the goat. The third act treats Calixtine syncretism, represented by the dragon. Hülsemann, Weller, and Carpzov are shown introducing the *Consensus Repetitus*.<sup>240</sup> At this point, the Danzig Lutheran heretic, Hermann Rahtmann, descends in the person of Calixt to condemn the confession, but is driven away by flames and a voice from heaven. Rahtmann is then revealed as the dragon of syncretism, who is none other than Calixt. The fourth act told the story of the triumph of the *Consensus Repetitus*. In the fourth act, concord (*Concordia*) sits in a wagon, pulled by religion and truth, holding the *Consensus Repetitus* in hand.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> The published Latin play is appended to Friedrich Ulrich Calixt's *Justa animadversio in Triumphum Concordiae Repetiti Consensus Dramaticum Wittebergae anno MDCLXXVI Die XVIII Octobr. Inaugurationi Acad. Rectoris consecratum. Iuncta Invitatione Ad Disputationes Academicas publico examini, Deo benigne adspirante, submittendas* (Helmstedt: Lüderwald, 1676), and reprinted in Schubert, "Nachspiel," 246–50.

<sup>239</sup> Schubert, "Nachspiel," 225–29, 241–45. Defending himself Grassitzius states, "Am andern tag hierauff zog ich auß einen kurtzen entwurff gehabtten actus, und dieweil ich nichts böses befürchtete, mich auch theils auff die bonitatem causae verließ, theils auch das scriptum unter Ihro Magnif. H. D. Calovs, alß ietzinger der Würdig Theologischen Facultät censur gehörte und aber von dem Herrn der gantze actus gehört, so ließ ich auch so fort denselben wolmeinend drucken, in willen da durch bey ihro Magnif. Meinem Herrn Hospite mich desto beharrlicher zu insinuierten," cited in Schubert, "Nachspiel," 230, 232.

<sup>240</sup> Schubert argues that the learned Saxon surname "Carpzov" was printed instead of "Calov" for legal protection and because it was so similar to Calov's own. See Schubert, "Nachspiel," 239–40.

<sup>241</sup> Schubert, "Nachspiel," 233–41, 246–49.

When the Dresden court learned of the play, they were infuriated and demanded answers in a November 20, 1676 letter.<sup>242</sup> The Wittenberg theological faculty immediately responded that it took place without their knowledge, attributed the play to Grassitzius, and set it in the context of a private family affair. In his own defense, Grassitzius suggested that he had asked the professors to be present and to encourage their children's performance, which they happily did. In the end the superior consistory ordered that Gassitzius be imprisoned for eight days, Publisher Matthäus Henckel be fined thirty talers, and the theological faculty warned never again to print anything without the censor.<sup>243</sup>

By this point the new belligerent polemics coming out of Wittenberg had exacerbated the Electoral Saxon Territorial Diet. It complained in a November of 1676 letter to Elector Johann Georg II, "We would not hope, that with respect to such quarrelsome and abusive writings, drawn up by our theologians at Wittenberg, cause was given and a beginning made for serious inhibitions, which befell them before."<sup>244</sup> So the Saxon elector issued a new prohibition on March 20, 1677 against publishing any polemics without the permission of the authorities.<sup>245</sup> According to Kirm, plans for an anti-syncretistic celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the *Formula of Concord* in Torgau were also not pursued due to the changed climate in Dresden.<sup>246</sup> This did not stop Abraham Calov or his adherents from expanding the war on syncretism in new ways and on new fronts. In 1677 Calov openly started a long-brewing dispute with his colleague, Johann

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<sup>242</sup> Calixt, *Justa animadversion*; Dresden's November 20, 1676 letter is cited in Schubert, "Nachspiel," 231.

<sup>243</sup> Schubert, "Nachspiel," 231–22, 240–41.

<sup>244</sup> "Wir wollen nicht hoffen, daß zu dergleichen angezogenen Zank- und Schmähschriften von unsern Theologen zu Wittenberg den an sie hievor ergangen ersten Inhibitionen entgegen Ursach gegeben und der Anfang macht sei," cited in Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 200.

<sup>245</sup> Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 200.

Meisner, accusing him of syncretism.<sup>247</sup> That same year, a student of Calov, Johann Reinhard (1645–91) published the *Harmonia Calixtino-Haeretica* in Wittenberg, but under the pseudonym Huld-Reich Gottfried.<sup>248</sup> Friedrich Ulrich Calixt countered, making a case that Calov was its true author.<sup>249</sup> Consequently, Abraham Calov issued a defense of himself, and Reinhard issued another polemic against Calixt, but now under the pseudonym Ulrich Raitern.<sup>250</sup>

The Wittenberg theologians had long believed that the Jena theologians were syncretistic sympathizers, but it was Johann Reinhard who upped the ante by presiding over a disputation titled *Theologorum Ienensium errores*. In *Consensus Repetitus*-like fashion, it listed ninety-three Jena errors, particularly of Johannes Musaeus, under nineteen *loci* and includes references to where each of these errors can be found in their writings. The *loci* treated are Scripture, the articles of the faith, the Trinity, the beatific vision of God, creation, the image of God, sin, the

<sup>246</sup> Kirn, *Die Leipziger*, 93–94.

<sup>247</sup> See Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 225–34 and the primary sources reprinted in his *Der Geist*, 383–434; Friedensburg, *Geschichte*, 425–27. Kirn interprets Leipzig’s siding with Meisner in the dispute as its ultimate break with Calov. See his *Die Leipziger*, 94.

<sup>248</sup> Huld-Reich Gottfried [Johann Reinhard], *I. N. J. Harmonia Calixtino-Haeretica Viri Et Theologi Summi, D. Abrahami Calovi, per duo novissima D. Friderici Ulrici Calixti Scripta, Officii pietatis, ac Discussionis nebularum, est adhuc in vado, Quod monstratur, per XXVII. Quaestiones* (Wittenberg: Burckhardt, 1677). The visit of the atheist, Matthias Knutzen (1646–74), to Jena may have helped raised the charge of syncretism against Jena. See Frank, *Die Jenaische*, 52.

<sup>249</sup> Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, *D. Abraham Calovius Cum Sua Harmonia Cretico-Sycophantica Tertium confusus, & ultimo e Vado in quo per confictum Huld-Reich Gottfried / Collocasse eam sibi est visus, Detvrbatvs Praeceptvs In Fundum Actus Per D. Frid. Vl. Calixtum Accessit Appendix Qua Calovianae Alterius Rhapsodiae nuperrime evulgatae, Extrema scurrilitas & improbitas Nonnihil detegitur perstringitur & reprimitur* (Helmstedt: Lüderwaldt, 1679).

<sup>250</sup> Abraham Calov, *Vindiciae Fama Calovianae Adversus Sycophantam Pessimum, Personatum Illum Laurentium Laurentium, Svecum, Gymnasiarchem, Et P. (In Utopia,) Qvi Famoso Libello Nuperrime Publicato Discipulos Suos, (agw,soj kai. anwnu,moj,) Ad Privatam Epitomes Theologicae Calixtinae AKROASIN, Et Publicam Institutionum Hildebrandinarum DIASKEPSIN, [In Collegio Diabolicae Calumniae,] instituendam, invitavit: Patrem mendaciorum imitates, (verba hominis impuri sunt,) Bonis Oppedere, & oletum facere, satigit: In Solius Veritatis Coelestis, quam ille conspurcavit, Gloriam, & Criminationem, quas eructavit, confusionem publicam* (Wittenberg: Schrödter, 1678); Ulrich Raitern [Johann Reinhard], *Fides Catholica Omnium temporum, Veteris & Novi Testamenti, in Sangvine Messiae justitiam & salutem quaerens, innixa revelationi divinae, non tantum Novi, sed & Veteris Testamenti, satis luculenta; Impugnata a D. Friderico Ulrico Calixto, Cum in Programmate Apologetico,*

free will of the lapsed in spiritual matters before conversion, predestination, redemption, regeneration, repentance, justification, mystical union, renovation, sacraments, baptism, the Lord's Supper, and eternal life as well as hell.<sup>251</sup> Although Musaeus was no proponent of Calixtine irenicism, the book helped elucidate a commonality between Musaeus and Helmstedt on certain doctrinal positions, or at the very least created a breach between the theology of Musaeus and the theology of other Orthodox theologians (particularly on the topics of anthropology and soteriology). So as to be in accordance with his sovereigns' prohibition on polemics and so as not to escalate the controversy (*nicht Oel in das lichterlohe brennende Feuer gegossen*), Johannes Musaeus had repeatedly up until now turned down his students' requests to lecture on the current controversies. Via his 1676 *Der Jenischen Theologen Ausführliche Erklärung*, Reinhard compelled Musaeus to publicly and directly distinguish himself from Georg Calixt for the first time, rather than just through criticisms of Cassander or De Dominis as he had done in previous writings, such as his 1654 *Vertheidigung des Unbeweglichen Grundes*.<sup>252</sup> Therein Musaeus univocally declares that the Electoral Saxons “know of no title or letter that shows we [Jena theologians] helped or advanced syncretism or bolstered Dr. Calixt’s opinion concerning the peace of the church” (*keinen Titul oder Buchstaben auffzuweisen gewust / das von uns zu Behuff oder Beförderung des Syncretismi, oder zu Verstärckung D. Calixti Meinung de pace Ecclesiae*).<sup>253</sup>

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*tum in Discussionem nebularum, ante biennium in lucem publicam editis* (Wittenberg: Wilcke, 1679).

<sup>251</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 589, 1096. The *Theologorum Ienensium errores, ex variis eorundem Scriptis dilucide monstrati, inque privato Collegio juxta methodum Königianam ventilati* is reprinted in Musaeus, *Der Jenischen*, 706–18.

<sup>252</sup> Musaeus, *Der Jenischen*, preface; Albrecht, *Wesen*, 150–53, 275–77.

<sup>253</sup> Musaeus, *Der Jenischen*, preface.



By this time Calov could no longer remain indirectly involved. In the 1677 tenth tome of his *Systema Locorum Theologicorum*, he began attacking Musaeus for the syncretism.<sup>254</sup> He followed this up with an anonymous two-hundred page *Dissensus Theologorum Jenensium* that contrasted the theological difference between the Jena theologians and the Electoral Saxons from passages chiefly drawn from their own writings.<sup>255</sup> Musaeus rejoined with his 1679 *Quaestiones Theologicae inter Nostrates hactenus agitatae De Syncretismo Et Scriptura Sacra ante hos annos octo*.

On July 13, 1677, the Wittenberg theological faculty (save Meisner) attested to the Saxon elector of his “highly prized zeal for the pure doctrine of the Christian *Book of Concord* and the *Consensus Repetitus*” (*höchst-Preißlichen Eyffer für die reine Lehre des Christlichen Concordien-Buchs, und Consensus Repetiti*).<sup>256</sup> With the hundredth anniversary of the *Formula of Concord* fast approaching on June 25, 1680, Calov was making a last ditch effort via correspondence to propagate universal acceptance of the *Consensus Repetitus* in the Lutheran Church.<sup>257</sup> One of the theologians that Calov was courting was Philipp Jakob Spener, who had received praise from Calov for his 1675 *Pia Desideria* and even called Calov his “patron.”<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> In addition, Calov begins calling Musaeus “Dn. Mediator.” See Calov, *Systema*, 10:128. Tomes 5–12 were penned at this time.

<sup>255</sup> [Abraham Calov?], *Dissensus Theologorum Jenensium Ab Orthodoxis Electoralibus, e Jenensium Declaratione, & Celeberrimi Theologi Dn. D. Abrahami Calovii, Systemate Theologico ad verbum descriptus* (N.p.: n.p., 1678).

<sup>256</sup> UA Halle XXXVII, 6 vol. I, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 172.

<sup>257</sup> On September 25, 1677, Philipp Jakob Spener wrote, “Anno instante 1680 Jubilaeus F. C. publicatae celebrandus dicitur: si tentetur Consensus repetiti, quem vocant, & Wittebergenses Calixtinis opposuere, quamvis illi etiam non omnino concordant in eodem, universalis receptio ab Ecclesiis nostris, quae scio esse nonnullorum consilia, Schisma propemodum inevitabile prae oculis conspicio, quod Dominus avertat: cui causam commendamus.” See his *Consilia Et Judicia Theologica Latina; Opus Posthumum Ex Ejusdem Litteris Singularem industria ac fide collectum* (Frankfurt: Zunner & Jungius, 1709), 3:174, 3:34; Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:66.

<sup>258</sup> Philipp Jakob Spener writes, “Der seiner vornehmlich zu rettung der wahren Lehr außgegebenen Schrifften wegen berühmte Theologus Herr D. Abraham Calovius, mein insonders hochgeehrter gönner....” See his *Pia*

Spener himself conducted a correspondence about the controversy between 1676 and 1678.<sup>259</sup> He was disturbed by the controversy and by its expansion against Jena. He knew about the tensions within the Wittenberg theological faculty.<sup>260</sup> He also feared the new propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus* in anticipation of the upcoming jubilee. Spener had two main problems with the *Consensus Repetitus*: first, he did not think it could be universally accepted in light of Wittenberg's own disunity. Second, he feared that it would be propagated by compulsion.<sup>261</sup> On September 22, 1677, he wrote Calov, who had asked him for an explanation as to why Roman Catholicism and Calvinism had been growing. Spener's answer was threefold: first, many know and confess the truth of the Lutheran Confessions without the illumination of the Spirit or a conviction of a true heart. Second, he suggests a more thorough catechization to better inculcate the truth of the Lutheran Confessions. Third, he attributes much of the problem to all the commotion in the church and the theological innovations of certain teachers at Helmstedt. He further points out many theologians have tried to stay out of the whole affair and that the churches of Ducal Saxony, Brandenburg, Württemberg, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Hessen, and Baden-Durlach would never sign.<sup>262</sup>

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*Desideria: Oder Hertzliches Verlangen / Nach Gottgefälliger Besserung der wahren Evangelischen Kirchen / sampt einigen dahin einfältig abzweckenden Christlichen Vorschlägen* (Frankfurt: Zunner, 1676), 129. See also Spener, *Consilia*, 3:137–38.

<sup>259</sup> Staemmler provides references in his *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 175.

<sup>260</sup> Spener, *Consilia*, 3:314, 3:174.

<sup>261</sup> “Sed omni conatu ipsi studemus Schisma in Ecclesia nostra efficere, quod certe non poterit caveri, si quando Consensus ille repetitus pro symbolico libro obtruderetur, quod tamen futurum jam non reor, imprimis quia nec Witteberga omnia consentit, vel tota illius scripti in se suscipit defensionem. Instat Julilaeus Formulae Concordiae publicatae, quo sperabunt consensus illius fautores hunc etiam formulae assuendum, quorum tamen conatui spero obstituros, qui quae e re sunt Ecclesiae rectius intelligent.” See Spener, *Consilia*, 3:210.

<sup>262</sup> Spener, *Consilia*, 3:32–35.

To put suspicions of Jena syncretism finally to rest, the Saxon dukes had a visitation conducted of the university in September of 1679. All nineteen professors were required to sign an anti-syncretistic formula. But as Karl Heussi suggests, what looked like a victory for Calov proved only to be a “pyrrhic” one. Johann Musaeus now had license to critique freely the *Consensus Repetitus*.<sup>263</sup> Apparently just before Elector Johann Georg II learned about the *Triumphus Concordiae Repetiti Consensus Dramaticus*, he himself took the initiative on October 28, 1676 to write the Saxon dukes. His stated purpose was to request a *Gutachten* from Jena on the *Consensus Repetitus* for the sake of “unity between the universities” (*einigkeit under den Universitäten*) in order “to prevent the many inconveniences and crowing of opponents” (*vielen inconvenientien und frohlockern der widersacher vorzubauen*).<sup>264</sup> The Jena theologians had been very reluctant to supply this official theological opinion. But after the Saxon dukes ordered it,<sup>265</sup> Musaeus authored *Der Theologischen Facultät zu Jehn Bedencken*, which arrived in Electoral Saxony in April of 1680.<sup>266</sup>

Musaeus’ *Bedencken* began with a historical analysis of the development of the *Consensus Repetitus* to argue that the latter was simply a private writing. It traced the *Consensus Repetitus* to the 1652 *Ungefährlicher Entwurff*, which was simply meant to facilitate the discussion of Helmstedt theology at a theological conference and was first printed in Hülsemann’s 1653

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<sup>263</sup> Heussi, *Geschichte*, 139–40. The following oath “daß ich weder mit Papisten noch Calvinisten noch einiger andern irrigen Lehre, keinem Syncretismo zugethan bin, werde auch, durch Gottes Hülffe demselben so lang ich lebe nicht beypflichten, noch zugethan seyn” is cited in UA Halle XXXVII, 6 vol. I, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 181–82.

<sup>264</sup> UA Halle XXXVII, 6 vol. I, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 172.

<sup>265</sup> Albrecht, *Wesen*, 284–85. The superior consistory was already complaining about the Jena theologians’ negligence on July 11, 1679. See UA Halle XXXVII, 6 vol. I, cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 181.

<sup>266</sup> *Der Theologischen Facultät zu Jehn Bedencken An Ihre Hoch-Fürstl. Durchläuchtigkeiten / Herrn Johann Ernsten und Herrn Friedrich Hertzogen zu Sachsen / Jülich / Cleven und Berg u. Und derer Hoch-Fürstl. Herrn Brüder. Vom Consensu repetito Und Von dem Calixtischen Syncretismo* is reprinted in Calov, *Historia*, 999–1089.

*Calixtinischer Gewissens-Wurm*.<sup>267</sup> Even though the unpublished *Consensus Repetitus* had been sent to the Ducal Saxons in 1655, the *Bedencken* then suggests that all of a sudden someone reformulated the *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* into a new Lutheran symbol that first came into existence in the 1664 *Consilia Theologica Witebergensia*. Musaeus next indicates that he simply cannot understand how it could be a consensus under such circumstances.<sup>268</sup> In light of the “discrepancy” (*discrepanz*) between the Leipzig and Wittenberg *Kurtze Verfassung* first published in 1671 and the 1664 *Consensus Repetitus*, the *Bedencken* argues that the *Kurtze Verfassung* better reflects the *Ungefährlicher Entwurff* than the *Consensus Repetitus*. As a result, it claims that the *Kurtze Verfassung* is really the text produced by the Electoral Saxon theological faculties. Thus Musaeus dismisses the *Consensus Repetitus* as a private writing.<sup>269</sup> The *Bedencken* proceeds to suggest that even Elector Johann Georg II of Saxony regarded the *Consensus Repetitus* to be a private writing when he wrote the Ducal Saxons on November 28, 1676.<sup>270</sup> On this basis, Musaeus insists that the person or persons who penned this *Consensus Repetitus* without authorization have thereby defied the Peace of Passau and the Peace of Westphalia by their illegal exclusion of the condemned from Lutheranism. They have not only usurped episcopal jurisdiction from the Lutheran princes and their consistories by condemning the syncretists without approval, but they have also usurped the episcopal jurisdiction of all the Lutheran princes and estates by making such a condemnation without approval in the name of

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<sup>267</sup> Musaeus’ *Bedencken* in Calov, *Historia*, 999, 1000–1002.

<sup>268</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 594, 1102; Musaeus’ *Bedencken* in Calov, *Historia*, 1002.

<sup>269</sup> Musaeus’ *Bedencken* in Calov, *Historia*, 1002–4. The discrepancies listed are the CR1664’s Pan-Lutheran symbolic or consensus claims, its naming and condemnation of persons, its polemical language (*profitemur ... and rejicimus eos ...*), and the uneven gravity of its points.

<sup>270</sup> Musaeus’ *Bedencken* in Calov, *Historia*, 1004.

the whole Lutheran church.<sup>271</sup> The *Bedencken* now summarizes why the Jena theologians could not accept the *Consensus Repetitus*: first, the author of the *Consensus Repetitus* does not have the power to make such rejections and personal condemnations. Second, the judgments and condemnations of the *Consensus Repetitus* are “still at our time completely intemperate and untimely” (*noch zur Zeit gar intempestiv und unzeitig*). He adds that a contextualized rereading of the Helmstedt theologians’ writings is necessary to evaluate if they are really being understood correctly. In addition, the disputed points must be further examined to ascertain whether they are articles of faith or are matters concerning which saving faith and charity can disagree. Third, impartial theologians are required for this task. It was one thing to disagree about necessary articles of faith and another to disagree about scholastic questions or secondary matters (*Nebenfragen*). To elucidate this point, Johann Gerhard's distinction between “unity, absolute and perfect” and “fundamental unity” was then quoted, along with further examples of Lutheran divines who had legitimate differences of opinion:<sup>272</sup>

Therefore, a distinction must be made between an absolute unity, perfect and free of all dissent, which will first take place in the church triumphant, and a fundamental unity which consists of the consensus of the principal articles, although controversies may arise concerning some less principal parts of the faith, or concerning adiaphora ceremonies, or even concerning the interpretation of some passages of Scripture. This is actual unity, which takes place in the church militant, for in it we never find such concord that is not mixed with some disagreement.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> “Von der Gemeinschaft des wahren Lutherischen Glaubens / und der wahren Lutherischen Kirchen außgeschlossen werden. Dieses aber verneinen wir / komme einem Theologo oder Collegio Theolog. für sich nicht zu: Denn es sind solche rejectiones oder Condemnationes dissentientium actus jurisdictionis Ecclesiasticae, und gehören ad jura Episcopalia, welche in unsern Lutherischen kirchen / vermöge des Passauischen Vertrags und Religions-Friedens dem Domino territorri jedes Orths zu kommen / welcher sie an statt der Kirche / mit Zuziehung seiner Theologen oder Consistorien exerciret, und wann es eine rejectio oder exclusio a tota Ecclesia Lutherana seyn sol / so muß sie auch nur Consenu totius Ecclesiae & omnium statuum Lutheranorum, welche jede in ihren Kirchen die jura Episcopalia haben / geschehen.” See Musaeus’ *Bedencken* in Calov, *Historia*, 1004–5.

<sup>272</sup> Musaeus’ *Bedencken* in Calov, *Historia*, 1015–16. See also Albrecht, *Wesen*, 287 and Heussi, *Geschichte*, 140 for thoughts on Musaeus and freedom for research within the bounds of the Lutheran Confessions.

<sup>273</sup> “Distinguendum igitur inter unitatem absolutam, perfectam et dissensionis omnis expertem, quae in ecclesia

Accordingly Musaeus sheds light on how the controversy could be set aside. The first and easier solution was “by silence and tolerance” (*via silentii & tolerantiae*). The second and more involved solution was by a discussion of impartial theologians at a theological conference. This discussion would occur on the basis of the *Consensus Repetitus*. All the claims of the *Consensus Repetitus* required a thorough investigation in light of Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions. The *Bedencken* added that not all new teachings are to be rejected, insofar as they conform to the *analogia fidei*.<sup>274</sup>

The Saxon dukes had already requested the Saxon elector to forbid his theologians from polemicizing against the Ducal Saxon theologians. Before the Saxon elector had even received Musaeus’ 1680 *Bedencken*, he issued on January 12, 1680 another prohibition on polemics without the permission of the superior consistory.<sup>275</sup> The Dresden superior consistory, as a matter of fact, warned the Wittenberg theologians of reports concerning how Roman Catholic theologians were using the controversy to illustrate how divided Lutheranism had become.<sup>276</sup> Calov would not refrain. With the help of his student, Daniel Hartnack (1642–1708), Calov printed a title called “de syncretismo Musaei,” which appeared without publisher or place of publication. On January 26, 1680, the Saxon elector was able to confiscate 400 of the 500 copies

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trumpante demum habebit locum, et inter unitatem fundamentalem, quae in consensione principalium articulorum consistit, licet de nonnullis fidei capitibus minus principalibus, vel de ceremoniis adiaphoris, vel etiam de interpretatione quorundam Scripturae locorum controversiae incidant, actalis est illa unitas, quae in ecclesia militante locum habet, in ea enim nunquam reperitur tanta concordia, quin dissensionibus quibusdam sit permixta.” See Gerhard, *Loci*, 25:231.

<sup>274</sup> Musaeus’ *Bedencken* in Calov, *Historia*, 1020–28.

<sup>275</sup> Wittenberg Archiv’s Ueber die Jenaischen theolog. Streitigkeiten Vol. II. S. 19, referenced in Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 200–201.

<sup>276</sup> UA Halle XXXXII, 46, 1 (s. 98–100), cited in Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 180–81.

and fined the Wittenberg publisher 100 ducets.<sup>277</sup> In February of that same year, the superior consistory complained to the Saxon elector that one of Calov's students named Hartnack and Deutschmann had ignored the prohibition. It adds that Calov had attacked the prohibition on polemics from the pulpit in Wittenberg.<sup>278</sup> On August 21, 1680, Johann Georg II died, and his son, the "Saxon Mars," Johann Georg III, assumed the throne. He had little time for his father's pursuits, much less the Syncretistic Controversy. Returning Electoral Saxony back to a generally pro-imperial political policy, he used the territorial frustration to centralize more control in his secret war council and modernize his army, so that he could wage imperial wars.<sup>279</sup> Nevertheless, Calov was determined to publish his last will and testament on the Syncretistic Controversy, the *Historia Syncretistica* (1682), although without the publisher's name and place of publication. It was quickly confiscated by Johann Georg III.<sup>280</sup> A second printing was released in 1685, which once again omitted the publisher and place of publication.<sup>281</sup> Its three-part analysis of syncretism (i.e., Roman Catholic, Reformed, and Calixtine), not only provides Calov's interpretation of the Syncretistic Controversy, but also many of the primary sources as well. It concludes with Calov's rebuttal of Musaeus' 1680 *Bedencken*,<sup>282</sup> which set out to prove that the *Consensus*

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<sup>277</sup> Wotschke, "Calovs Historia," 425. The confiscation report is cited in Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 200–201. This study has not been able to locate such a text.

<sup>278</sup> The letter of complaint is cited in Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 201.

<sup>279</sup> Gross, *Geschichte*, 114–16.

<sup>280</sup> Wotschke, "Calovs Historia," 425–27. Lamenting Dresden's new disposition, Tentzel writes the following from Calov's house on February 21, 1683: "Der Gute Mann [Calov] hat neulich von Dresden Bericht erhalten, daß seine historia syncretistica zur ewiglichen Gefängniß verdamt sei, darauf er sehr übel zu sprechen ist. Es ist solches geschehen fraudulentis Helmstadiensium concilliis, die einem vornehmen conciliario zu Dresden (wie mir von andern berichtet worden und wo, ichs recht behalten, Dr. Jakobi seyn mag deßwegen 400 Thlr. verehrt haben.[?])" Epp. Ad Tentzelium sen. Cod. Ms. Goth., cited in Tholuck, *Der Geist*, 202.

<sup>281</sup> Wotschke, "Calovs Historia," 429–58.

<sup>282</sup> Abraham Calov's response was the *Bericht über Der Herren Jenensium Theologorum Bedencken / An Ihre Hoch-Fürstl. Durchleucht. Herrn Johann Ernst / Und Herrn Friedrich Hertzogen zu Sachsen / Jülich / Cleve und*

*Repetitus* was not the product of a private individual or one theological faculty, but rather was commissioned by the Saxon elector, composed by both Electoral Saxon theological faculties, and subscribed to by both faculties. The *Consensus Repetitus* was approved by the superior consistory and Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony in 1655, and not first approved of in 1664. It was published in 1664 because of the spread of the Calixtine enthusiasm (*Schwarm*).<sup>283</sup> He adds that symbolic strategy was employed against syncretism because the Jena theologians had foiled the 1652 conference out of favoritism towards Calixt and facilitated syncretism with their silence.<sup>284</sup> By now Calov had fallen completely out of favor with the court, and yet he dared to protest to Elector Johann Georg III in 1682 about the prohibition on publishing polemics. The indignation that Johann Georg III must now have had for Calov is captured by *Oberhofprediger* Green's November 7, 1682 letter to Calov that states no theologian has ever spoken so sharply against his Prince and Lord since the beginning of the church.<sup>285</sup> Only Calov's death in 1686 prevented him from continuing his campaign against syncretism.

The Braunschweig theologians seized this new opportunity to promote Calixt's irenicism once more. With the support of Emperor Leopold I and tacit papal permission, the Spanish Franciscan Bishop of Tina, Christóbal Rojas y Spinola (1626–95), had been visiting the Protestant courts since the 1670s. His purpose was to shore up the empire (against France and the Turks) as well as to draw Protestants back into the Roman fold. He found a sympathetic ear in

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*Berg / u. Fürs sich und Dero freundlich geliebte Herrn Brüder* printed in his *Historia*, 1091–1114.

<sup>283</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 1102–5.

<sup>284</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 1096, 1107.

<sup>285</sup> Baur, "Die Pflicht," 231; Wallmann, "Abraham Calov—theologischer," 311; Wotschke, "Calovs Historia," 427–29. Wallmann rightly speculates that if this letter were still extant, it would be one of the foremost examples of Orthodox Lutheran *Obrigkeitskritik*. "Non nemo iudicavit huiusmodi acerbas literas nullas unquam a theologo quoquam ad suum principem ac dominum fuisse ex eo, quo ecclesia coepisset, quibus elector non tantum impietatis accusaretur, verum etiam ad tribunal Christi aeternum citaretur," cited in Wotschke, "Calovs Historia," 427–29;



the 1651 convert to Roman Catholicism, Duke Johann Friedrich of Calenberg-Göttingen-Grubenhagen, and his Lutheran brother, Ernst August. However, the latter was mainly interested in elevating his status to Elector of Hannover, which occurred in 1692. At their behest the Lutheran Abbot of Loccum and Hannoverian Church Director, Gerhard Molanus, hosted an ecumenical exchange at the Loccum Court in Hannover in 1682 with Spinola. In response to Spinola's proposal, Molanus offered a ducal and Helmstedt sanctioned counter proposal, the 1683 *Methodus reducendae unionis ecclesiasticae inter Romanenses et Protestantes*,<sup>286</sup> to which Spinola would not subscribe.<sup>287</sup> The duke's privy councilor and ducal librarian, Gottfried Leibniz (1646–1716), and Molanus next began discussions in 1691 with the famous Gallican Catholic Bishop of Meaux, Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704). Whereas Molanus became more negotiable in this discussion, Bossuet was hardly more flexible than Spinola.<sup>288</sup> After these

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Wallmann, "Abraham Calov—theologischer," 311.

<sup>286</sup> Gerhard Molanus, "Methodvs reducendae Vnionis Ecclesiasticae inter Romanenses & Protestantes XX Speciali Mandato" in *Commercium Litterarivm Clarorvm Virorum*, ed. Rudolf Nolte (Braunschweig: Rengeriana, 1737), 2:327–42.

<sup>287</sup> Karin Masser, *Christóbal de Gentil de Rojas y Spinola O.F.M. und der lutherische Abt Gerardus Wolterius Molanus: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Unionsbestrebung der Katholischen und evangelischen kirche im 17. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2002); Martin Ohst, "Gerard Wolter Molan und seine Stellung zum Projekt einer kirchlichen Union," in *Union—Konversion—Toleranz. Dimensionen der Annäherung zwischen den christlichen Konfessionen im 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt and Gerhard May (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 21–39; Dieter Brosius, "Der Loccumer Abt Gerhard Wolter Molanus," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 103 (1992): 43–59; Hans-Walter Krumwiede, "Molans Wirken für die Wiedervereinigung der Kirchen," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 61 (1963): 72–122; Samuel Miller, "Molanus, Lutheran Irenicist (1633–1722)," *Church History* 22 (1953): 197–218; Heinz Weidemann, *Gerard Wolter Molanus, Abt zu Loccum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925–29).

<sup>288</sup> Gerhard Molanus, "Cogitationes privatae de Methodo reunionis Ecclesiae Protestantium cum Ecclesia Romano-catholica, a Theologo quodam Augustanae Confessionis sincere addicti, citra cujusvis praejudicium, in cartam conjectae, et superiorum suorum consensus privatim communicatae cum Illustrissimo ac Reverendissimo DD. Jacobo Benigo S.R.E. Meldensi Episcopo longe dignissimo, Praelato non minus eruditionis quam moderationis laude conspicuo, hoc fine, ut in timore Dei examinatur, publici autem juris nondum fiant," in *Super Reunione Protestantium cum Ecclesia Catholica Tractatus inter Jacobum Bossuetum Episcopam Meldensem et D. Molanum Abbatum in Lokkum* (Vienna: Sonnleithner, 1782), 21–68.

failures, the Braunschweig theologians turned their attention to Protestant reconciliation.<sup>289</sup> In 1698 Leibniz, Molanus, and the Reformed Berlin court-preacher, Daniel Jablonski (1660–1741), laid the foundation for a union plan in Hannover. But nothing would come of this project because the Brandenburg-Prussian Lutherans opposed it.<sup>290</sup> Interestingly enough, these discussions also reveal that the disciples of Calixt were modifying his irenicism in new ways that played down Lutheran doctrine. Molanus still believed that Lutheranism was the purest church, but stressed an infallible church council as the avenue of reconciliation. Leibniz wanted to get past the confessional marks of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism and return to the ancient church.<sup>291</sup>

The Electoral Saxons efforts to check syncretism did not remain fruitless in Braunschweig it merely took a new concrete application of Calixtine theology in the land to bear fruit. Duke Anton Ulrich of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel had decided to marry his Lutheran granddaughter, Elisabeth Christine of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1691–1750), who would become the future mother of Maria Theresa (1717–80) to the Roman Catholic Emperor Charles VI (1685–1740). To achieve this end, the duke first had Leibniz gather *Gutachten* from the Helmstedt professor and Abbot of Königslutter, Johann Fribricius (1644–1729). His Helmstedt-approved theological opinion justified her 1707 conversion and 1708 marriage on the grounds of the fundamental agreement between the confessions. But when the *Gutachten* was published, it caused such an

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<sup>289</sup> Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, *Georgii Calixti S. Theologiae D. & in Acad. Julia Profess. Prim. Venerabilis Regiae Litterae Abbatis De Tolerantia Reformatorum Circa Questiones inter ipsos & Augustanam Confessionem professo controversas Consultatio* (Helmstedt: Hamm, 1697). See also Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, *Via Ad Pacem Inter Protestantas Praeliminariter Restavrandam Strata per Colloquia Solennia atque alia Pacificorum Scripta Irenica Quae Calixtina comitatur Epicrisis* (Helmstedt: Hamm, 1700).

<sup>290</sup> Hans Otte and Richard Schenk, eds., *Die Reunionsgespräche im Niedersachsen des 17. Jahrhunderts: Rojas y Spinola, Molan, Leibniz* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999); Franz Kiefl, *Der Friedenplan des Leibniz* (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1903).

<sup>291</sup> Böttigheimer, *Zwischen*, 237–45; Schüssler, *Georg*, 157–71.

offence that he had to resign from office and pastors refused to read the public marriage announcement from their pulpits. To make matters worse, Anton Ulrich himself converted to Roman Catholicism in 1710<sup>292</sup> and penned an apology for Roman Catholicism.<sup>293</sup> Cognizant of the pulse of the people, Anton Ulrich issued a new church order in 1709, which required that it and the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* be subscribed to with the “quia” subscription.<sup>294</sup> But true peace was only restored to the land when his son, Duke August Wilhelm of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1662–1731), assumed the throne and broke with the Calixtine tradition. He brought forth the restoration of Lutheranism through publicly mandated preaching on the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*, festive celebrations of Lutheran anniversaries (Reformation and the *Augsburg Confession*), and new catechetical instruction.<sup>295</sup> Only Helmstedt and the new University of Göttingen (1734) were able to preserve some aspects of the Calixtine tradition.

### Conclusion

The initial trans-territorial propagation of the 1655 *Consensus Repetitus* suffered from a less than organized subscription campaign and opposition by the Ducal Saxons. It was hindered

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<sup>292</sup> Wilhelm Hoeck, *Anton Ulrich und Elisabeth Christine von Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel: Eine durch archivalische Dokumente begründete Darstellung ihres Übertritts zur römischen Kirche* (Wolfenbüttel: Holle’schen Buch-, Kunst- und Musikalien-Handlung, 1845).

<sup>293</sup> Anton Ulrich, *Fünffzig Motiva, Oder Bewegende Ursachen / Und Betrachtungen / Mit wahren Grund der rechten Vernunft und des Glaubens kürzlich verfasst: Warum unter so vielen Religionen oder Glaubens Bekandnissen / deren zu unseren Zeiten in der Christenheit gefleget wird / Der alleinige Römisch-Catholische Glaub zu erwählen, Und allen andern Glaubens Bekandnissen vorzuziehen seye? Neulichen in Latinischer Sprach nunmehr aber auf inständiges Verlangen zum Nutz und Heyl mehrer Seelen ins Teutsche übersetzt. Sambt einem Schreiben / welches Jhro Päbstl. Heiligkeit Clemens XI. An Jhro Hochfürstl. Durchl. Anton Ulrich Hertzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg /u. unterm 2ten Februarii dieses 1710 Jahr haben abgehen lassen*, 2nd ed. (Mainz: Meyern, 1755).

<sup>294</sup> Beste, *Geschichte*, 347–48. Ironically a new edition of the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium* had appeared in 1690 for the first time since 1603. It included a new preface by Duke Rudolf August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and his co-regent, Duke Anton Ulrich. It indirectly affirmed as an “unnecessary question” Duke Julius’ non-enforcement of the *Formula of Concord* in light of the controversy over the ubiquity of Christ’s human nature. See the preface cited in Mager, *Die Konkordienformel*, 486.

by naïve hopes that the controversy might die with the passing of its main antagonist and by the death of the Saxon elector himself. While the lack of a published text of the *Consensus Repetitus* until 1664 could be construed as a symptom of a jumbled operation, it may also suggest the Electoral Saxons initially had sought to garner a consensus and improvements before its final publication.

As the Electoral Saxons geared up for a renewed promulgation of the *Consensus Repetitus*, Elector Johann Georg II indirectly became the first internal obstacle to the new confession's propagation. Without the Saxon elector's active ecclesial-political involvement as the Director of the Evangelicals, the whole process against syncretism lost its teeth. But the Electoral Saxon theologians lost more than an essential ally. The new elector's confessional tolerance, cross-confessional politics of vacillation, and dalliance with conversion to Roman Catholicism significantly undermined the perception of Electoral Saxon Lutheran authority, fostered confessional indifference in the electorate, and even hampered the new elector's own state-building objectives.

The confession-building process behind the *Consensus Repetitus* was reignited by the Helmstedt theologians' continued promotion of Calixtine Lutheranism, the 1661 Kassel Colloquy, the 1662–63 Berlin Colloquy, the crisis in Königsberg, the advance of Calixtine ideas in other Lutheran territories, the apostasies from Lutheranism, as well as Roman Catholic and Calvinist appeals to the writings of Georg Calixt. But what really stoked the fires was the trans-territorial use of Calixt's theology for a Calvinizing agenda at the two colloquies. The Kassel Colloquy represented the first bi-confessional recognition of fundamental doctrinal agreement in the empire—an agreement that the Reformed capitalized upon and one that posed an existential

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<sup>295</sup> Beste, *Geschichte*, 358–66; Krumwiede, *Kirchengeschichte*, 1:216; Uhlhorn, "Die Bedeutung," 214.

crisis for Lutheranism. This is evident by the manifold subscriptions to the 1662 Wittenberg *Epicrisis*, the flood of Lutheran polemics, and the momentary realignment of Ducal and Electoral Saxons theological goals. If that were not enough, the agreement was soon used to legitimize a new Calvinization of former Lutheran lands, solidifying the Orthodox Lutheran belief that Calvinism would not rest until every last Lutheran had been “completely” reformed. On the other hand, the subscriptions to the Wittenberg *Epicrisis* and other Lutheran responses to the Kassel Colloquy also demonstrate that most Lutherans were convinced that Electoral Saxons were essentially in the right in the Syncretistic Controversy, even if they came to the conclusion that the *Consensus Repetitus* went too far and feared the implications of the Electoral Saxons’ polemical tactics.

The Hohenzollern efforts to advance a unique form of Calvinism in their largely Lutheran lands and undermine Concordial Lutheranism by Calixtine means were consistently met by a united front of Electoral Saxon-sympathizing Lutheran pastors and nobles. Even though the Great Elector’s intimidating attempts to coerce a pious syncretism failed, he forbade his subjects from studying at Wittenberg via an August 21, 1662 edict because the Leucorea had supposedly countermanded the Peace of Westphalia. This curtailed the Wittenberg’s influence on his lands and greatly reduced its matriculations. In addition, he managed to nullify the legal authority of the *Formula of Concord* in his lands through his two edicts of tolerance, laying the first stone of the 1817 Prussian Union. Elector Johann Georg II did step in and made a point of explaining that the *Epicrisis* was making a theological point, not a legal judgment, but among his various motives for doing so a new theological solidarity with his theologians does not appear to be one of them.

The Electoral Saxon theologians kicked off this new campaign with anti-syncretistic promotional oaths, the support of many Mecklenburg clerics, and the 1664 *Consilia Theologica*

*Witebergensia*. The latter sought to affirm the *Cathedra Lutheri's* theological hegemony as well as enlist the support of the King of Denmark and Prince Johann Georg III of Saxony. The first publication of the Latin-German 1655 *Consensus Repetitus* was contained in this large folio. But Calov also released the confession in affordable Latin-German octavos by 1666 as had been the will of his superiors. Assuming the 1655 dissemination plans were still in effect, the Electoral Saxons sought categorical subscription to the *Consensus Repetitus* by both Concordial Lutherans and non-Concordial Lutherans (i.e. Denmark) alike, now that one could see where failure to subscribe to the *Formula of Concord* might lead. It was to be promulgated via a top-down theologian-oriented process of first universities, then ministeriums, and finally states, perhaps still with the hope that once it was accepted by Lutheranism, the syncretistic territorial churches might also be brought into the fold. While the *Consensus Repetitus* was no *Flugschrift*, the literate German speaking layman could afford a copy, see that the syncretists were at the very least undermining the confessional integrity of Lutheranism, and be provoked to action. Evidence further suggests that many Lutherans basically agreed with the *Consensus Repetitus* but abstained from subscription because of its polemical tactics and the potential schism it might cause.

The purpose of the *Consensus Repetitus* was really threefold: first and foremost, it was the capstone of a new trans-territorial confession-building process to complete the Concordial campaign and inculcate the Electoral Saxon's interpretation of the *Book of Concord* via a categorical subscription to a "new" Lutheran symbol. Second, it was to be a trans-territorial instrument for the cultivation and preservation of Electoral Saxon Lutheran identity through social disciplining. Last but not least, it was an ecclesial-political mechanism for excluding Calixtine theology from Lutheranism and the protection of the Peace of Westphalia by demonstrating their breach with the Lutheran Confessions. The *Consensus Repetitus'* structure,

marginal glosses, content, affirmations, and condemnations were all designed to work in concert with one another to achieve these ends.

The *Consensus Repetitus* was a confession of firsts. It was the first Lutheran confession to boil down an entire controversy to its most basic presuppositional conflicts, to build its case completely around the symbols, to name names and reference antagonists' texts, and back up its polemic with legal implications. Like the *Formula of Concord*, the title of the *Consensus Repetitus* was selected to suggest that it was not really a new confession or something foreign to Concordial Lutheran identity, but another more nuanced and authorized pan-Lutheran explication of the *Augsburg Confession* because new controversies had arisen.<sup>296</sup> The Electoral Saxons interpreted it to be nothing more than a reaffirmation of the symbolic content (*Book of Concord*) to which two-thirds of Lutheranism were already bound as well as a consensus digested from the many diverse polemics against Calixtine theology already extant. Still the nature of its propagation incited protests that it was imposing a new Electoral Saxon "consensus" on all of Lutheranism without the synodical consent of its various churches. What is more, the *Consensus Repetitus'* lack of a list of signatures, more specifically the signatures of Elector Johann Georg I and his two theological faculties, made the title and polemic vulnerable to the charge that it was a Wittenberg or privately imposed "consensus" and an act of condemnation in the name of the entire Lutheran church in violation of the Peace of Westphalia's definition of the *ius reformandi*. By naming each of its articles an *Augsburg Confession* article and following its outline, the *Consensus Repetitus* visually and thematically bolstered its argument that Calixt and his adherents were in conflict with the *Augsburg Confession*, the very definition of Lutheranism.

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<sup>296</sup> Some have suggested that FC, SD, Rule and Norm, 2 prevents Lutheranism from adding any further symbols. If this provision is understood in this manner, then the FC should also not have been accepted. At any rate, this passage did tend to mold the FC and subsequent confessions into being interpreted as reaffirmations of the CA.

But while the *Consensus Repetitus* does not claim to be more of a repetition than the *Formula of Concord*, the way in which the Electoral Saxons implemented the *Book of Concord* in their new symbol tended to limit the debate in the reader's mind to whether Calixtine theology was valid according to the letter of the *Book of Concord*. As a result, the questions of Calixtine theology's scriptural veracity, Calixtinism's harmony with the theological matrix of the confessions, and the legitimacy of making new confessional formulations (if facets of Calixtine theology were shown to be unscriptural, but not specifically covered by the existing confessional norms) were not adequately addressed. The structure of the *Consensus Repetitus'* individual points was carefully calculated to provide the syncretists with absolutely no wiggle room for denying their culpability. Although this structure had its origins in the articles of the *Augsburg Confession* and *Formula of Concord*, it moved beyond its predecessors not just to reject false doctrines and erring groups (e.g. Anabaptists), but also to specifically name contemporary false teachers and cite at length from the writings of these teachers. But despite representing a wide selection of syncretistic writings that focused on their mature works, this tactic helped expose it to the charge that it misrepresented the syncretists' intentions and made it easy to dismiss as a mere historical question, particularly as the named antagonists passed away. The marginal references were a powerful aid for garnering Concordial readers' subscriptions and tracking down chapter and verse in the various Lutheran Confessions that opposed the syncretists' positions. This was especially true for ones to which the syncretists were specifically bound, but also for the *Formula of Concord* itself. Via their respective *corpora doctrinae*, the syncretists were in fact for most part bound to the *Formula of Concord's* theological substance. But along with the *Consensus Repetitus'* content and polemical strategy, the references also reveal the Electoral Saxon's dogmatic interpretation of the *Book of Concord*, which invited the charge that the Electoral Saxons had moved beyond the letter of the confessions as well. Since the *Consensus*



*Repetitus* assumed the scriptural veracity of the *Book of Concord* and was making its case on the basis of the Lutheran Confessions, the force of its case is driven by the theological, social, and legal weight of the *Augsburg Confession* and the *Book of Concord*. Still Scripture and the church fathers certainly have a role in the *Consensus Repetitus*, not to mention the fact it undermined Calixt's Lutheran irenic project by attributing it to an anti-Augustinian Pelagian monk. Of its eighty-eight points, the *Consensus Repetitus*' main doctrinal topics of contention in ascending order were authority and ecclesiology, Christology, and anthropology and soteriology.<sup>297</sup> The fact that the Lutheran Orthodox *Consensus Repetitus* was already having to defend the "article by which the church stands or falls" within its own communion helps explain the hostility of the controversy and the extremes that its participants were sometimes willing to go.<sup>298</sup> But while the sheer number of these errors looked very damning, some perceived it as being excessive on the Electoral Saxons' part. This is especially the case since the *Consensus Repetitus* sometimes treats non-fundamental doctrines as if they were fundamental as well as dogmatizes matters open to discussion (open questions, exegetical points, and philosophical matters).<sup>299</sup> Of course, the

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<sup>297</sup> The actual articles that receive the most attention are justification and good works with 15 points, sin with 13 points, Christ with 12 points, and Lord's Supper with 8 points. But if one were to generally enumerate all the points pertaining to anthropology and soteriology one would arrive at 35 points (sin = 13, justification and good works = 15, repentance = 3, and free will = 4). In comparison, Christology (Lord's Supper included) is the subject of 20 points (Christ = 12, Lord's Supper = 8) and authority and ecclesiology (means of grace excluded) is the subject of 14 points (preliminary article one = 4, preliminary article two = 5, church = 3, magistrate = 2).

<sup>298</sup> Arthur Carl Piepkorn states, "The earliest occurrence of the phrase in precisely these terms that I know of is in Balthasar Meisner, *Anthropologia sacra*, disputation 24 (Wittenberg: Johannes Gormannus, 1615): 'Verissimum est illud Lutheri proverbium, quo saepius fuit usus: 'Justificatio est articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae.' Meisner provides no examples." See "Correspondence: 'The Article by which the Church Stands or Falls,'" in *The Sacred Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions: Selected Writings of Arthur Carl Piepkorn, Volume Two*, ed. Philip J. Secker (Mansfeld: CEC Press, 2007), 259–61.

<sup>299</sup> The FC affirms both multivolipresence (FC SD VIII, 92) and ubiquity (FC Ep VIII, 16; FC SD VIII, 27; FC SC VIII, 81). Whereas the Helmstedt theologians did not really accept either view, the CR1664 calls ubiquity a fundamental doctrine. See CR1664 X, XX, & XXIV:4; CR1846 70. To counter a Calvinist understanding of the Lord's Supper, the CR1664 bound the subscriber to the traditional Lutheran exegesis of John 6. See FC, SD, VII, 61; CR1664 X, XXII, & XXIV:1; CR1846 67.

elephant in the room during the whole controversy was that not everyone was agreed on the definition of a fundamental (primary and secondary) doctrine, non-fundamental doctrine, and a secondary matter (*Nebenfragen*), much less a list of doctrines that belong in each category.

In what would become the lowest ebb of the controversy, the *Consensus Repetitus*' challenge to Braunschweig Lutheranism's very right to exist demanded that the Braunschweig theologians discredit it in the eyes of their other territorial churches, invoke outrage over Electoral Saxony's papish authority claims over Lutheranism, and propose a conciliar model for the resolution of the crisis. Demonstrating how the *Consensus Repetitus* had misrepresented the Helmstedt theologians as well as the Lutheran Confessions in a state-sponsored point-by-point refutation of it, Friedrich Ulrich Calixt made the first accusation that the *Consensus Repetitus* was a private work of Calov, whom he believed was really attempting to become the pope of Lutheranism. In a state-sponsored confutation of his own, the pugnacious Aegidius Strauch II resurrected Myslenta's emblem for syncretism, the Chimera, and set the whole situation into a tailspin with a seemingly sexually-charged jab against Calixt's character. The ensuing feud and need for a more diplomatic discrediting of the *Consensus Repetitus* gave rise to Hermann Conring's 1668 *Pietas Academiae Jvliae*, which was sent to almost all evangelical courts, universities, cloisters, and synods. It reasserted the claim that the *Consensus Repetitus* was a private writing of Calov, defended Helmstedt's adherence to the Augustana, rejected the existence of a Calixtine school of thought, and affirmed the validity of hypothetical confessional subscriptions. Accusing Calov of disturbing the peace of the empire, usurping infallible authority over all the Lutheran territorial churches with his excessive hairsplitting, and being unable to obtain the consensus of his own faculty (a reference to Meisner), Conring proposes that the princes set aside this controversy via a synod of qualified theologians and laity on the basis of the clear words of Scripture, rather than Calov's patchwork misuse of the confessions.

The renewed propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus* was obfuscated by a number of factors: first there was a lack of support from its confessional-tolerant Saxon elector. Second, there was no *Formula of Concord*-like subscription-building campaign. Third, the confession's own construction, particularly its polemical tactics, contributed to its downfall. Fourth, the degeneration of the polemic that followed its publication stifled subscriptions. Last but not least the Ducal Saxons' efforts to resolve the controversy without schism greatly undermined the project. The 1668 *Pietas Academiae Jvliae* struck such a chord with the Ducal Saxons that Duke Friedrich Wilhelm II of Saxony-Altenburg persuaded the Saxon elector to impose the first silence on his theological faculties in 1669. But the two faculties' requested proposals for peace were still resolutely committed to an extensive "non-compulsory" plan for propagating the *Consensus Repetitus* throughout Lutheranism via consensus (including the solicitations of improvements), subscriptions, and oaths because a Lutheran synod had not proved viable in the past. The *Consensus Repetitus*, moreover, was defended as a state-sponsored undertaking of both faculties, which was necessitated by the Lutheran Confessions and Treaty of the Peace of Westphalia to defend the integrity of the church and empire, lest they both endure the same kind of chaos that the Arminian Controversy or English Civil War (1642–51) unleashed. With the death of Duke Friedrich Wilhelm II, Ernst the Pious initially lost ground in the peace process by attempting to overcome the controversy once again via the creation of *Collegium hunnianum*, (i.e., a Lutheran magisterium), which quite naturally got bogged down by theological, jurisdictional, and practical objections. Ernst the Pious turned things around via his (1671–72) peace delegation. It not only exposed dissension in the Electoral Saxon ranks (apparently even indiscretions on Calov's part), but it even got them to commit themselves to a peace plan free of the *Consensus Repetitus*. Meanwhile, the Jena theologians managed to challenge indirectly both Wittenberg's authority claims and the authenticity of the *Consensus Repetitus* by issuing an

expanded edition of Dedekens' *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum* casuistry, which included the undated Leipzig and Wittenberg *Kurtze Verfassung*.

The failure of the Helmstedt and Jena theologians to commit themselves to the delegation's terms for peace fomented an unsanctioned war upon them on the part of Calov and his adherents, who would even defy the authority of the Saxon elector himself to wage it. In a 1675 university program, Calov broke the elector's imposed silence and forced Friedrich Ulrich Calixt back on the defensive via an invective laden program. The Great Elector's imprisonment of Aegidius Strauch II only provided more proof that Calixtine theology was in league with House Hohenzollern. Given the Electoral Saxon territorial diet's frustration with the Saxon elector's own peccadillos, they must have been really irritated with the Calov's and his adherents' new polemics to protest them. Whether the publication of the *Dramatized Triumph of the Consensus Repetitus* was intended to advance the *Consensus Repetitus* through another medium or just the fame of its author, the scandal it caused no doubt only ended any support the estates might have given to the *Consensus Repetitus*' cause. Not even a new 1677 prohibition on polemics deterred Calov and his adherents. Using pseudonyms, they set their sights on Jena, forcing Musaeus publically and directly to disassociate himself from Calixtine theology for the very first time. Calov even made a last-ditch effort to propagate the *Consensus Repetitus* during the *Book of Concord Jubilee*. Theological opinions from Spener and Musaeus against the *Consensus Repetitus*, a new 1680 prohibition on polemics, reports about the Roman Catholics exploitation of the controversy, and the confiscation of Calov's publications all could not prevent the *de syncretismo Musaei* and *Historia Syncretistica* from coming to light. However, Johann Georg III was able to capitalize on the contentious situation he inherited and bolster his own state building objectives.

Calov's war on the University of Jena would come to haunt him because it gave an exonerated Jena theological faculty license to chart a course for fellow Lutherans between the Scylla of Calixtine Lutheranism and the Charybdis of subscription to the *Consensus Repetitus*. In this manifesto of Ducal Saxon Lutheranism, Musaeus' *Bedencken* completely turned the tables on Calov by charging him with defying the Treaty of the Peace of Westphalia after attempting to prove that Calov himself authored the *Consensus Repetitus* in 1664. If this were true, then Calov could be charged with illegally usurping the territorial princes' (and their consistories') right of condemnation. Musaeus then makes a number of proposals that in light of his writings sound very symptomatic of his historicizing reading of the *Book of Concord*. For instance, he argues the *Consensus Repetitus* was not just "intemperate," but also "untimely." Syncretists' writings need to be contextualized. A plurality of theological opinions should be tolerated in secondary matters. Silence and tolerance were a possible solution to the controversy.

Posthumously Abraham Calov largely won the war against Calixtine theology, but the victory was anything but total. The *Consensus Repetitus* would never be accepted as a symbol of Lutheranism<sup>300</sup> and the Syncretistic Controversy would already be used by pietistic historians to excoriate the period as a dead orthodoxy. But the unfettered application of Calixtine irenicism in Braunschweig finally brought about a grass-roots return to the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*. The Ducal Saxon Lutheran tradition remained a viable alternative to that of Electoral Saxony. But having succeeded in stigmatizing Helmstedt theology as the responses to the *Epicrisis*, *Consensus Repetitus*, etc. suggest,<sup>301</sup> Calov continued to have a significant impact on the next

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<sup>300</sup> In 1690 Spener still writes, "Es haben aber diejenige Theologici, welche einige mal verlangt / daß der consensus repetitus möchte in den religions-eyd inseriret werden, nichts erhalten / sondern sowol die hohe ministri, geistliche und weltliche rätthe, als auch landschafft, stäts davor gehalten, daß wir an den vorigen symbolischen büchern gnug hätte." Spener, *Letzte*, 3:690.

<sup>301</sup> Christian Thomasius' (1655–1728) syncretism got him banned from lecturing at the University of Leipzig

generation of theologians.<sup>302</sup> Even after Augustus II the Strong's conversion to Roman Catholicism, Lutheran Orthodoxy retained its hold on Electoral Saxony like no other Lutheran populace.<sup>303</sup> Calov's influence on Brandenburg-Prussian Lutheranism forced the Hohenzollerns to turn to Lutheran pietism to cultivate its unionist objectives, which helped forestall a union between the confessions until the formation of the 1817 Prussian Union.<sup>304</sup> In the nineteenth century, Braunschweig even became one of the bastions of the Lutheran Awakening.<sup>305</sup> To be sure, the ecumenical movement has helped cultivate a resurgent interest in Georg Calixt's irenicism, but the specifics of his approach have limited its viability in the minds of most contemporary ecumenists. Finally, Calov's impact has even been felt in the New World. While the Missouri Synod theologian, C. F. W. Walther (1811–87), issued an augmented edition of

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in 1689. See Hunter, *The Secularization*, 9–11. See also *Beweis, Dass Christ-Evangelische Lutherische Eltern, welche die unverfaelschte Reinigkeit des Glaubens von Hertenzen lieb haben, Ihre Theologiam studirende Soehne ohne Beleydigung ihres Gewissens gen Helmstaedt nicht schicken koennen* (n.p.: n.p., 1725), an anonymous German tract, which omitted the publisher or place of publication.

<sup>302</sup> Some of his lost correspondence has been preserved and referenced in Wotschke, "Aus Abraham Calovs Briefwechsel," 1–57. See also Bethge, "Epistolae theologicae," 22–68. One of the last Lutheran Orthodox theologians to be educated at both Jena and Wittenberg, Valentin Ernst Löscher (1673–1749), describes the legacy of the Syncretistic Controversy by lamenting that the Jena theologians' dalliance with syncretism only facilitated the rise of Hohenzollern backed pietism. He also refers to Calov as "dem seel. Calovio." See Valentin Ernst Löscher, *Vollständiger Timotheus Verinus Oder Darlegung der Wahrheit und des Friedens In denen bißherigen Pietischen Streitigkeiten Nebst Christlicher Erklärung und abgenöthigter Schutz-Schrift Vor seine Lehre / Ambt und Person Insonderheit gegen eine von Hrn. Joach. Langen / Prof. Hall.* (Wittenberg: Hannaur, 1722–26), 1.1.12; 2.4.13; 1.10.52. It should also be noted that syncretism now began to be treated in Lutheran dogmatics. See David Hollaz, *Examan Theologicum Acroamaticum Universam Theologiam Thetico-Polemicam Complectens, Commodo Candidatorum Theologiae Destinatum, Praesentis Ope Atque Auspiciis Numinis Immortalis Adhibita cura atque industria singulari Ad normam Sacrae Scripturae concinnatum, lucidoq ordine digestum* (Stargrad: Ernest, 1707), Prolegomenon 32–35.

<sup>303</sup> Günther Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig*, trans. Herbert Bouman et al. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1984), especially 31–33.

<sup>304</sup> Richard Gawthrop, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth Century Prussia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

<sup>305</sup> Erich Beyreuther, *Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte: Die Erweckungsbewegung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977).

Baier's *Compendium* for practical reasons, the theologians of the American Lutheran Synodical Conference came to favor the theology of Abraham Calov over that of Johannes Musaeus.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>306</sup> C. F. W. Walther, *Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche die wahre sichtbare Kirche Gottes auf Erden* (St. Louis: Aug. Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1867). For a critique of Baier's *Compendium* and C. F. W. Walther's intention in republishing an augmented edition of it, see Reinhold Pieper, *Wegweiser durch die Theologischen Disciplinen und deren Litteratur für Theologische Studenten und Pastoren bei Anschaffung einer Bibliothek* (Milwaukee: Germania Publishing, 1900), 48; Francis Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950–57), 1:166. Note also that Walther introduced many Calov citations into his edition of Baier. For a critique of Johann Musaeus' conception of theology, similarity with Calixt, synergism, retraction of verbal inspiration, faith as the less impelling cause of justification, etc., see Adolf Hoenecke, *Evangelical Lutheran Dogmatics*, trans. James Langebartels et al. (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1999–2009), 1:18, 1:284, 1:308; Pieper, *Christian*, 1:151, 1:267. For the Colloquy of Thorn as a model of prayer fellowship, see “Zur kirchlichen Chronik,” *Der Lutheraner* 64 (April 7, 1908): 111–13. For a generally neutral account of the controversy, albeit one that justifies naming names on biblical grounds as the *Consensus Repetitus* did see, “Der Calixtinische Synkretismus,” *Lehre und Wehre* 23 (1877): 81–85, 55–57, 76–89, 116–19.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

Two questions served to center this dissertation. Can the confessionalization paradigm provide a more penetrating and comprehensive explication of the development and propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus* than the limited number of previous studies? What elements or aspects of the aforementioned confessionalization paradigm prove warranted or unwarranted in light of the development and propagation of this Lutheran symbol? With respect to the former, the matrix of confessionalization theory did provide a fuller and more acute explication of the *Consensus Repetitus* by elucidating the interconnectivity of the rise and fall of Electoral Saxon confession building with the other marks of confessionalization. With respect to the latter, there is evidence to suggest that the classical confessionalization paradigm should be expanded because the process behind *Consensus Repetitus* represents a unique turn on the paradigm, although ultimately this particular process collapsed or failed to reach fruition, preventing an assessment of its macro-historical impact. In other words, this dissertation has found that the development, propagation, and collapse of the *Consensus Repetitus* represents a unique and distinct but also failed process of confessionalization insofar as all the marks (confession building, alliance formation, social disciplining, identity building, and state building) of the confessionalization paradigm were measurably engaged at least until 1655 to achieve a confessional objective.

Confessionalization theory illuminates the Syncretistic Controversy from the very start. The controversy is rooted in the failure of the process behind the *Formula of Concord* to achieve a Pan-Lutheran homogenized Lutheran identity, much less universal subscription to it.



Consequently, different hermeneutics and readings of the various *corpora doctrinae* within the historical circumstances of their respective territorial churches emerged, which resulted in the building and disciplining of distinct state-backed identities within Lutheranism. The centrality of confessions to the theory, coupled with contemporary studies in Renaissance humanism and confessional hermeneutics, necessitated a reexamination of Georg Calixt's irenicism. The study found that Calixt's irenicism was enabled but not determined by Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel's non-enforcement of the *Formula of Concord*, Calixt's Philippist upbringing, Helmstedt Philippism, humanism, Aristotelianism, Calixt's educational excursions, and ultimately by the Thirty Years' War. More importantly, it concludes that Calixt became a confessional irenicist, who developed a fundamentalist reading of the *Augsburg Confession* to facilitate his new Lutheran irenicism.

The Braunschweig dukes, politicians, and theologians generally all came to embrace and foster his new conception of Lutheran identity to varying degrees, but it is unclear how far it saturated the parish clergy and populace. With respect to the bond between throne and altar, Lutheran theologians of all stripes tried to exercise their influence to direct their sovereigns to help enable their theological agendas. It has been suggested that the Helmstedt theologians were subservient to the will of the state more than most, but Duke August's supplanting of the pericopes shows even Calixtine Lutheranism was not immune to criticizing the authorities. Calixtine Lutheranism was cultivated by the mechanisms of a now united Welf university (student enrichment, teaching, disputations, oaths), parish (catechism, preaching), and territorial consistory (Stattus Büscher Affair). It was even propagated abroad where it found some sympathetic ears (especially in Sweden, Prussia, and Schaumburg) through the acquisition of a printing press, publications, correspondence, ecumenical exchanges, and state craft. This new conception of Lutheranism proved such a disruption to Concordial and non-Concordial

conceptions of Lutheran identity that it found challengers from both within and without Braunschweig from the very start. Interestingly enough, the 1621 Saxon conference already recognized how Helmstedt theology was favored in the Braunschweig courts and the difficulty of finding the right approach to dislodge it.

Unlike Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, both Albertine and Ernestine Saxony territorial churches had been formed by the *Book of Concord*, but their tangled history of mutual, theological, and political distrust and rivaling created an environment where distinct political platforms and conceptions of Lutheran identities could arise. Here at the intersection of religion, sociology, and politics, confessionalization theory offers a grammar for comprehending the collision that took place between these Lutheran cultures as well as an understanding of why the Syncretistic Controversy dominated seventeenth-century Lutheran life like no other theological dispute. Early critiques of Calixtine theology aside, the first array of territorially-diverse theologians to feel existentially constrained to censure Calixtine theology occurred when the very foundations of Lutheranism were shaken by the Calvinist Great Elector's promotion of Calixtine irenicism in an effort to undermine Concordial Lutheranism. Coelestin Myslenta was forced to solicit Orthodox Lutheran support and form a confessionalized front with the Ducal Prussian Lutheran estates against Königsberg syncretism. But whereas the Ducal Prussians were working chiefly from a defensive posture, the Electoral Saxon took an offensive position against Calixtine theology. Drawing in the Straßburg and Ducal Saxon theologians, they forged an alliance with their sovereign to commence an act of trans-territorial discipline against Helmstedt in the 1646 joint Saxon *Admonitio Fraterna*. This pact was made on the grounds that the syncretists had not only usurped the Saxon Elector by promoting a social-disruptive alternate conception of Lutheranism, but also by undermining the validity of the Lutheran states' legal existence in the empire and facilitating the Hohenzollern's legal advance of Calvinism. All of this dovetailed

quite naturally with the Director of the Evangelical's (not to mention the *Cathedra Lutheri*'s) asserted claims of Lutheran ecclesial-political hegemony and the state-building objectives behind his pro-imperial Anti-Calvinist confessional politics.

Convinced that the Helmstedt threat was only mounting after the failure of the *Fraterna Admonitio*, this study observes that Electoral Saxony then initiated a new internal Lutheran trans-territorial process of confession building, alliance formation, social disciplining, identity formation, and ecclesial-political directorship (of the *Corpus Evangelicorum*) building. Aimed at completing the campaign for universal adherence to the *Book of Concord* in accord with the Electoral Saxon interpretation of it, the confession building initially focused on the creation of list of Calixtine errors against the symbols, as the Saxon Elector had specifically requested, for the purpose of a Lutheran synod. In addition to the alliance with the Saxon Elector, pacts were sought with the Ducal Saxons and other Lutheran states, churches, and ministeriums. With respect to social disciplining, it attempted to shore up Electoral Saxon Lutheran identity at home (via student enrichment, teaching, disputations, examinations, and eventually oaths), to cultivate it in other territorial churches (via alliances, correspondence, publications), and to theologically and legally exclude Helmstedt theology from Lutheranism and the protection of the Peace of Westphalia via *Augsburg Confession*-driven polemic. Last, it endeavored to expand the theological-political leadership of the Director of the *Corpus Evangelicorum* by both *fiat* and action, weakening Calvinist (Hohenzollern) and Lutheran (Welf) rivals.

The Braunschweigers actively resisted the process on the basis of their own Non-Concordial confessional integrity, the Helmstedt educational tradition, the equality of the territorial churches, and the need for consensus over against the Director of the Evangelicals' overreach of power. On nearly the same basis, the Saxon dukes had their theologians passively resist the process and protect the Braunschweigers via a 1648 mutual imposition of silence on the

grounds that the controversy was essentially semantic in nature. Ernst the Pious even went so far as to suggest the creation of a Lutheran magisterium. At this point, it is important not to read back into the history, but to recognize that both Ducal Saxons and Electoral Saxons were seventeenth-century Lutherans reading and engaging the same *Book of Concord*. It is just that Musaeus tended toward a historicizing reading of it whereas Calov represented more of a dogmatic reading of it, all of which helped shape their churches' respective identities. But when the Braunschweig theologians attempted to forge their own alliances in defense of their Lutheranism, they were met by an unparalleled ecclesial-political threat of disciplinary action and assertion of oversight by the Saxon Elector. Still insisting on the strictly political role of the Directorship of the Evangelicals, but clearly disturbed nevertheless, the Braunschweig dukes sought to circumvent the theologians and resolve the matter at the political level. But the Wittenberg theologians countered with a proposal for a theological conference in 1651 to resolve the controversy under the pretext that the Helmstedt theologians and their dukes would make the Lutheran princes disturbers of the religious peace in the empire. The Jena theologians' refusal to participate in this theological conference, anti-Electoral Saxon politicking at the 1653–54 Regensburg Diet, not to mention the threat of Danish and Swedish intervention, refocused Electoral Saxon confession-building efforts on the development and propagation of a new Lutheran symbol to serve as the norm and capstone of the process in which they had been engaged. With respect to the *Consensus Repetitus* itself, the confession-building process revealed that Calov not only supplied the rationale for a new symbol, but also he should be regarded as a co-author of the *Consensus Repetitus* because of his intellectual contribution to and involvement in the formulation of it.

The new process behind the *Consensus Repetitus* began to unravel after 1655. Not long after the symbol's development, its propagation stalled because of the unorganized effort to

garner signatures, the non-participation of the Ducal Saxons, and the deaths of Calixt as well as the Saxon Elector. The disposition of the new Saxon Elector not only spelled the end of the Electoral Saxon alliance between throne and altar, but also ironically undermined his own state-building objectives, save for the fact that the role of the *Oberhofprediger* and theologians at the Dresden court was curtailed. Following the first Calixtine victory at Kassel, the Wittenberg theologians' rallying of Orthodox Lutheranism, including the Jena theologians, behind the 1662 Wittenberg *Epicrisis* looked like the process might not just be fully rejuvenated, but actually accelerated. It certainly showed that Electoral Saxons had so stigmatized Calixtine theology that its first success induced territorially-diverse Orthodox Lutheran disciplinary action. Even though the Elector Saxons had also helped prevent the Great Elector from using Calixtine theology for his own ecclesial-political agenda, he returned the favor by delivering the Electoral Saxon process a real blow by forbidding his subjects to study at Wittenberg and by removing the *Formula of Concord* from the symbols of Brandenburg-Prussia. Nevertheless, the Electoral Saxon theologians instituted anti-syncretistic oaths, won many Mecklenburgers for the *Consensus Repetitus*, and finally published the symbol. The *Consensus Repetitus* itself was clearly designed to serve the process' objectives as articulated above.

The confession-building process was derailed by the confessionally-tolerant Saxon Elector's distance from the project, the lack of a *Formula of Concord*-like subscription-building campaign, the *Consensus Repetitus*' own construction (particularly its polemical tactics), the deterioration of subsequent polemics, and the Ducal Saxon efforts to actively and passively prevent the process. The firestorm of personal attacks and invective that followed the *Consensus Repetitus*, while by no means foreign to the polemics of the period, certainly did little to advocate that the Electoral Saxons represented the moral high ground, particularly when a crisis of piety was being felt. Proposing a conciliar solution to the controversy and accusing Calov of

disturbing the imperial peace, Conring's 1668 *Pietas Academiae Jvliae* affirmed its adherence to the Augustana and sought to discredit the *Consensus Repetitus* as private work of Calov. In fact, it won over the Saxon dukes, who finally broke down the process. After the peace delegation exposed the new rift in the Wittenberg faculty and persuaded the Wittenberg theologians to agree to peace terms without the *Consensus Repetitus*, the confession-building process was effectively terminated. Nevertheless, Calov and his adherents commenced a war on Helmstedt and Jena syncretism in defiance of their elector's repeated prohibitions on polemics. On one hand, Calov's war enabled the Jena theologians' legitimization of Ducal Saxon Lutheranism as an alternative to that of Electoral Saxony and enabled Johann Georg III's capitalization on tensions in Electoral Saxony to advance some his own state-building objectives. On the other hand, Calov's efforts stigmatized Helmstedt theology in Lutheranism and contributed to its ultimate down-fall as well.

This conclusion will now shift to the question of how this case study impacts confessionalization studies. Heinz Schilling asserts his confessionalization paradigm is a macrohistorical fundamental modernizing process of social transformation. Potentially latent in this idea is a progress-orientated, social-evolutionistic interpretation of history. Such a philosophical presupposition assumes that one can know the end of history, when one will reach it, and that history is evolving. The development and propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus* indeed contributed to the theological, social, and political changes that were occurring in Electoral Saxony and beyond. As a failed process of confessionalization, the *Consensus Repetitus* itself cannot specifically speak to such macrohistorical questions. Suffice it to say, this aspect of the theory is the most problematic, particularly its dubious teleological-orientated presupposition of "progress" or "improvement."

At the same time, the classic marks of the confessionalization theory are all supported by this case study at least up to 1655. Even though the *Consensus Repetitus* ultimately represents a

failed process of confessionalization, the process behind it still bore fruits of social disciplining, identity formation, and state building. The development and propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus* made Lutheran society reengage the question of the meaning/limits of Lutheranism and further define itself over against Calixtine theology. Thus it not only stigmatized Calixtine theology, it also helped bring about its fall. The process, furthermore, restrained rival ecclesial-political agendas to that of the Saxon Elector as well as intentionally and inadvertently contributed to the state building of later Saxon Electors.

Confessionalization has tried to rescue religion from the social historians and remind church historians that theology is intertwined with social and political factors. In spite of this laudable effort to restore a balance in historical studies, the impact that theology plays in confessionalization could easily be underestimated because of the socio-political tunnel vision and overstress on parallelism that can accompany the paradigm. This case study provides an important corrective. The Syncretistic Controversy hinged on the question: What does it mean theologically to be a Lutheran or what doctrinal beliefs are essential to Lutheranism? To be sure, Calixtine theology finally fired up the confessionalization process through its socio-political disruption of Lutheran identity as evident in the Colloquy of Thorn and Königsberg Syncretism, but it was always theology that sat in the driver's seat of this new process. While the Electoral Saxon theologians were willing to implement legal and political means when it served their theological purpose, they were not afraid to criticize the state or even defy it when theology demanded it.

The distinctive controversial *propria* of the territorial churches manifested themselves as doctrinal differences rooted in different interpretations of different *corpora doctrinae*. While Calixt's notion that Braunschweig Lutheranism was the purest expression of catholicity, not to mention his concept of mutual tolerance, did not significantly alter the *cultus* and practice of

Braunschweig Lutheranism, the actual carrying out of his irenicism certainly had universal Lutheran *propria*-leveling implications. Still the other distinctive *propria* of each of the churches involved in the controversy did not appear to have entered into the debate. For example, Braunschweig's greater retention of monasticism was not attacked and its lectionary dispute did not really figure into the controversy. The Helmstedt theologians did try to dismiss the controversy on the grounds that it placed a greater stress on catholicity, humanist studies, and Aristotelianism than its opponents, but these claims have been greatly over-exaggerated, and were clearly not the root of the controversy.

The confessionalization process should not be limited to an explication of the building of only three or four confessions (i.e., Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism [and Anglicanism]). It is a process that can occur in its strong or hard form within confessions at least in the unique environment of the German territorial churches. If one assumes the *Augsburg Confession* is a Lutheran symbol and not just a starting point for German Protestantism, then the *Formula of Concord* considerably more successfully attempted to do what the *Consensus Repetitus* failed to accomplish, namely reunite Lutheranism by overcoming other territorial churches' conceptions of Lutheranism with that of the formulators' own. Since even the *Formula of Concord* failed to achieve a completely homogeneous universal Lutheran identity, even among its subscribers, distinct internal Lutheran identities were built in different Lutheran territories, grounded in different readings of various *corpora doctrinae*. The clash of these identities was a catalyst for the Syncretistic Controversy and what the process behind the Electoral Saxon *Consensus Repetitus* was trying to rectify. The possibility of achieving internal and trans-territorial Lutheran confessionalization, coupled with the existence of competing confessional hermeneutics already in seventeenth-century Lutheranism, is one of the main insights this study offers.



The intended directorship building of the Electoral Saxons aside, the confessionalized resistance of the Prussian Lutherans as well as Abraham Calov and his adherents provide another important corrective to the etatistic myopia that confessionalization can suffer. Just as confessionalization can occur without the state, this case study shows that the obstruction of the confession-building process can provide fertile soil for state building as well. Ultimately it was the turmoil which Johann Georg II and the degeneration of polemics had caused in the land that provided Johann Georg III the opportunity to achieve some consolidation of his own. That said, not even Prussian absolutism was ever absolute, and the Wettiner, moreover, lacked the same circumstances and advantages that the Hohenzollern had. This study also illustrates the difficulty of formulating and trans-territorially promulgating a new confession among the German Lutheran territorial churches without the support of the state. Only Luther's *Catechisms* and the *Smalcald Articles* were able to attain symbolic status in Lutheranism without the state. But even their ultimate authority was cemented in Lutheran nations, territories, and cities via legal edict. This case study, furthermore, represents an example of an essentially top-down confessionalization since the Electoral Saxon theological faculties and the court were the major players. And yet the resistance to Königsberg Syncretism, the opposition to Hohenzollern syncretism, and the fall of Calixtine theology did have a groundswell of support.

Finally, the process behind the *Consensus Repetitus* does not represent a decisive challenge to Heinz Schilling's periodization. Apart from the dissolution of the alliance between altar and throne, the process continued well after 1650. It was not until the early 1670s that the *Consensus Repetitus* was first displaced as the solution to the controversy.

In the end, the significance of this dissertation is threefold. First, this study is making a case for a modification to Heinz Schilling's confessionalization paradigm. As the first example of an internal Lutheran trans-territorial process of confessionalization since the *Formula of Concord*,

the *Consensus Repetitus* shows that the process cannot be limited to the formation of only the three/four great confessions of Christendom, but rather that it can also be used within a confession to bring co-confessional territorial churches into harmony with another. It reasserts the centrality of confessions and theological beliefs to the confessionalization process without diminishing the function that social disciplining and state building often serve in the process and did serve in the example of the *Consensus Repetitus*. For all the light that this study sheds on theologians' ability to run confessionalization (even without the backing of the state), it must also be pointed out that the unique context of the Holy Roman Empire made it difficult to promulgate a binding confession without the support of the princes.

Second, this dissertation has made a significant move beyond interpretations of Syncretistic Controversy in terms of a clash of humanism, rationalism, and orthodoxy. Instead this study posits that the Syncretistic Controversy should be read as a collision of completing confessionalized Lutheran identities. Confessionalization theory is responsible for this conclusion because it refocused this analysis on the various parties' hermeneutical and contextual engagement with their respective symbolic texts as well as how the interpretation of these texts and the identities drawn from them were cultivated in the various territorial churches. This change in perspective has proved quite fruitful. It has revealed that Georg Calixt was a confessional irenic, who believed his project was in complete harmony with the intention of the *Augsburg Confession*. Johannes Musaeus' differences with the Electoral Saxons were found to be rooted in his own confessional hermeneutics and sympathy for Helmstedt anthropology and soteriology. Abraham Calov's reading of the Lutheran Confessions was motivated by his organic concept of doctrine and Hohenzollern church politics. As a side benefit, this reassessment has discovered that Calov can once again be regarded as a co-author of this new Lutheran symbol.

As an even more divided Lutheranism struggles today to define its own identity in the new millennium, the Syncretistic Controversy, finally, shows how one of the most formative periods of Lutheranism struggled to do the same. Even if the *Consensus Repetitus* failed to become a universal Lutheran symbol, the controversy still reaffirmed the important role that the Lutheran Confessions have historically served in defining Lutheranism, despite pressures to form a Lutheran teaching magisterium. As culture, liturgy, episcopacy, ecumenism, etc. have attempted to scuttle confessions' role in defining Lutheranism, confessions still remain the best solution to the needs of secondary authority. That said, the Syncretistic Controversy and the subsequent history of Lutheranism shows that confessions are not without their own concomitant problems. Two of the chief problems are that the hermeneutics for interpreting confessions are almost as important as the confessions themselves and that the form of a confession can be just as critical as its content and promulgation. Therefore it is the hope of this author that the study of the Syncretistic Controversy prompts Lutherans not only to reflect on what role confessions will serve in forging Lutheran identity in the twenty-first century, but also to reexamine the act of confessing itself and the hermeneutics used to interpret such acts of confession.

## APPENDIX ONE

### THE CURRENT STATE OF SYNCRETISTIC STUDIES

There are two basic subject headings relevant to the development and propagation of the *Consensus Repetitus* in the midst of the Syncretistic Controversy. The first are monographs on Georg Calixt, in tandem with examinations of the chief Lutherans (i.e., Johann Hülsemann [1602–61], Abraham Calov [1612–86], and Johannes Musaeus [1613–81]) responding to him. The second are investigations of the Syncretistic Controversy and the *Consensus Repetitus* itself.

With the notable exceptions of a funeral sermon and two orations,<sup>1</sup> the first biography of Georg Calixt was penned by Johannes Moller, the rector of the Flensburg Latin School. His 1744 biography and bibliography have not only been regarded as a primary source because of the contributions to it by Friedrich Ulrich Calixt (1622–1701), Georg Calixt's son, but also because of Moller's use of Georg Calixt's correspondence.<sup>2</sup> In the wake of the negative assessment of

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<sup>1</sup> Balthasar Cellarius, *Vnverdiente Seligkeit / Oder Himlische Gnadenreiche Belohnung / Welche der Sohn Gottes Denen Friedfertigen Wie auch Denen / so daumb der Gerechtigkeit willen verfolget vnd umb sinet willen geschmähet werden / Verheisset / vnd ihnen zueignet / Auß dem Matth. v, 9. 10. 11. 12. Bey Christlichen Begräbnis Deß Weyland Wol-Ehrwürdigen Groß-Achtbarn und Hochgelahrten / Herren Georgii Calixti SS. Theol. D. vnd derselben bey der Fürstlichen Iulius Vniversität zu Helmstädt Prof. Publ. Primarij, wie auch Fürnehmen Abts der Kloster zu Königslutter / welcher in dem 70. Jahr seines Alters / den 18 Mart. dieses 1656 Jahrs in dem Herren sanfft und selig entschlaffen / vnd darauff den 10 April. in der S. Stephans Kirchen hieselbst in Seine Ruhkammer beygesetzt worden In ansehnlicher Versammlung betrachtet und der Gemeine Gottes fürgehalten* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1656); Gerhard Titius, *Laudatio Funeris Memoriae Svmmi Et Incomparabilis Viri Georgii Calixti SS. Theol. Doct. Et Primarii Professoris In Academia Ivlia, Abbatis Regio-Lothariensis & c. / Dicta Pvblice XIII. M. Aprilis Hoc Est Quarto Ab Exeqviis Die. A.C. MDCLVI* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1656); Christoph Schrader, *Memoriae Viri Et Theologi Summi Georgii Calixti, Oratio Christophori Schraderi, Habita In Academia Iulia XXIV. Sept. MDCLVI* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1656).

<sup>2</sup> Johannes Moller, *Cimbria Literata, Sive Scriptorum Ductatus Utriusque Slesvicensis Et Holsatici, Qvibus Et Alii Vicini Qvidam Accensentur, Historia Literaria Tripartita* (Copenhagen: Kisel, 1744), 3:121–94. The bibliography is found in 3:194–210. See also E. L. T. Henke, *Georg Calixtus und seine Zeit* (Halle: Waisenhaus, (continued next page)

Georg Calixt by the Electoral Saxon theologians, Johannes Moller fostered a favorable reassessment of Calixt, even gathering accolades from Calixt's opponents.<sup>3</sup> He introduces his biography with a commendation of his own: "Georg Calixt is truly the most virtuous (kalli,sto)j theologian, who is greater and more excellent than our Cimbrian (Jutland) ones, indeed, if you withdraw a few (from Germany), than all that Germany possesses."<sup>4</sup>

The modern father of Calixtine studies is E. L. T. Henke, a Marburg professor and a son of a Helmstedt professor. Henke has published the only collections of Georg Calixt's correspondence available as well as the most current edition of the Electoral Saxon *Consensus Repetitus*.<sup>5</sup> Between 1853 and 1860 he issued his strictly chronologically-arranged biography of Georg Calixt in two volumes. His comprehensive, thoroughly documented, and sympathetic account of the life of Calixt begins with an extensive description of the University of Helmstedt from its founding in order to contextualize Calixt's thought. The bulk of the biography then celebrates Calixt as the embodiment of Helmstedt's Melanchthonian-humanist spirit and the breakthrough of a more scientific and religious Christianity over against a narrow-minded, anti-humanist, and quarrelsome Orthodox Lutheranism. Henke asserts that Georg Calixt regarded Martin Luther to be more of a restorer than reformer. The *Formula of Concord* was rejected as not binding upon Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. The *Augsburg Confession* was for him merely a

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1853–60), 1:81.

<sup>3</sup> Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:181–92. For example, Johann Gerhard refers to him as "*Theologus eximius*." The young Abraham Calov writes, "*Theologum eum salutavit incomparabilium*." A collection of censures can also be found in Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:192–94.

<sup>4</sup> Moller, *Cimbria*, 3:121.

<sup>5</sup> Georg Calixt, *Georg Calixtus' Briefwechsel*, ed. E. L. T. Henke (Halle: Waiserhauses, 1833); Georg Calixt, *Georgii Calixti ad Augustum Ducem Brunsvicensem epistolae XII*, ed. E. L. T. Henke (Jena: Schlotter, 1835); Georg Calixt, *Commercii literarii Calixtini ex autographis editi fasciculus tertius*, ed. E. L. T. Henke (Marburg: Elwert, 1840); *Inest theologorum Saxoniorum consensus repetitus fidei vere Lutheranae*, ed. E. L. T. Henke (Marburg: Elwert, 1846).

document of expediency requested by Emperor Charles V (1500–1558).<sup>6</sup> Subscription to the *Consensus Repetitus* according to Henke would have prevented the pursuit of genuine learning and brought about a further diminishing of Lutheranism.<sup>7</sup>

Two books follow on the heels of E. L. T. Henke's biography that widen the study of Calixt's irenicism. The first is an English biography of Georg Calixt penned by W. C. Dowding. Its significance lays not in its thesis or content, which is derived and largely paraphrased from Henke, but that it introduces Calixt, more specifically Henke's Calixt, to the English-speaking world. It also provides the only English translations of much of the extensive primacy source material related in the study of Calixt in Henke's biography. The second is Theodore Moldaenke's 1909 dissertation on the Königsberg syncretists. He focused his work particularly on Christian Dreier (1610–88) and the orthodox opposition to him. It suggests that the Calvinist Great Elector's (1620–88) motive for appointing a student of Calixt, Johann Latermann (1620–62), to the University of Königsberg was peace between the Protestant confessions if not a reunion to firm up state unity.<sup>8</sup>

Writing in the wake of the Syncretistic Controversy assessments by Heinrich Schmid, Wilhelm Gaß, and Ferdinand Christian Baur, Hans Friedrich sets out to examine how far Georg Calixt's irenic efforts were justified. He concludes that Calixt's syncretism was justified because it revived what the Reformation sought, "a critical and scientific impulse."<sup>9</sup> Calixt was motivated

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<sup>6</sup> Werner Elert also states that Calixt disavowed the CA and deemed it superfluous. See Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, trans. Walter A. Hansen (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), 209–10.

<sup>7</sup> Henke, *Georg*, 1:47, 181–84, 534–35.

<sup>8</sup> Theodor Moldaenke, "Christian Dreier und der synkretistische Streit in Herzogtum Preußen" (Diss., Königsberg, 1909). See also Gertrud Powilleit, "Der Königsberger Synkretismus und Melchoir Zeidler," (Phil. diss., Königsberg, 1926).

<sup>9</sup> Hans Friedrich, *Georg Calixtus, der Unionsmann des 17. Jhs. Inwiefern sind seine Bestrebungen berechtigt?* (continued next page)

by the belief "that Christendom should not be torn apart by theological-scientific questions, but that it should remain bound to the Christian articles of faith through practical Christianity and that dogmatic scholastic questions be treated by the learned."<sup>10</sup> Some of the factors that prevented Calixt's efforts to pave the way for fellowship between the confessions were that Melancthonism gave ground to Lutheranism, the unbroken power of Lutheran Orthodoxy, the lack of a thoroughly constructed dogmatic system to clarify Calixt's thought, church-political opposition, and the conversion of some of Calixt's students to Roman Catholicism.<sup>11</sup>

Ever since the mediating theologian, August Tholuck, largely reaffirmed Gottfried Arnold's negative caricature of the Wittenberg theologians, scholarship has generally ignored the two chief Electoral Saxon opponents of Georg Calixt, Johann Hülsemann and Abraham Calov.<sup>12</sup> Max Keller-Hüschemenger helped fill this lacuna with a 1939 examination of the problem of the fundamental article (i.e., justification), in his study of Johann Hülsemann. After a brief biography of Hülsemann, he traces the fundamental article from the thought of Martin Luther through Hülsemann. He concludes, "In spite of all the dangers of scholastic thought, the kernel and middle of the Reformation article of justification was preserved by Hülsemann in a rarer purity under the veil of his scholastic form."<sup>13</sup>

The Saarbrücken theologian, Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach, marks a shift in scholarship toward exploring the representatives, sources, and motives of the irenicism for the benefit of

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(Anklam: A. Schmidt, 1891), 35.

<sup>10</sup> Friedrich, *Georg*, 34.

<sup>11</sup> Hans, *Georg*, 38–40.

<sup>12</sup> August Tholuck, *Der Geist der lutherischen Theologen Wittenbergs im Verlaufe des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Friedrich und Andreas Perthes, 1852), 3–4, 161–64.

<sup>13</sup> Max Keller-Hüschemenger, *Das Problem der Fundamentalartikel bei Johannes Hülsemann in seinem* (continued next page)

modern ecumenism. Since Kantzenbach asserts Scripture and not the symbols or church tradition is the path to agreement between the confessions, he does not find anything currently relevant to ecumenism in Georg Calixt's ahistorical union theology. Kantzenbach interprets Calixt's thought to be a departure from the Reformation's dynamic conception of Scripture and justification. Echoing E. L. T. Henke, he argues that Calixt regarded the Reformation to be more of a restoration. However, he traces Calixt's ecclesiology to Erasmian irenicism through Philipp Melanchthon, who had more influence on him than Martin Luther.<sup>14</sup>

Hermann Schüssler continued Kantzenbach's search for ecumenical relevance in the theology of Georg Calixt. His monograph examines the development of his universal church concept, his irenic church politics, and the reception of his theology in the remainder of the seventeenth century. Schüssler argues that Georg Calixt's "universal church theology" or "old catholic church concept" was a reaction to the Orthodox Lutheran understanding of *Augsburg Confession VIII* (i.e., their further explication of its authoritative criteria for church consensus), which Schüssler defines as "an exclusive-confessionalistic understanding of the church." This conflict between ecclesiologies manifests itself in the development of the *Consensus Repetitus*. Georg Calixt, moreover, was not born an irenicist. Rather his understanding of the unity of the church moves from a "Lutheran-confessional" to a universal church concept prompted by the Thirty Years' War and facilitated by two streams of thought. On one side, it is grounded in the Melanchthonian tradition of Schleswig, a humanist-influenced idealizing of the early church, and an Erasmian union theology, mediated by the writings of Georg Cassander (1513–66) and

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*theologischen Zusammenhang* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1939), 183.

<sup>14</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach, *Das Ringen um Einheit der Kirchen im Jahrhundert der Reformation: Vertreter, Quellen und Motive des "ökumenischen" Gedankens von Erasmus von Rotterdam bis Georg Calixt* (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1957), 236–48.



Marcus Antonius de Dominis (1566–1624). On the other hand, it was rooted in the Reformation tradition which shaped his dogmatic views, his late humanist Aristotelianism, his Lutheran conception of the fundamental articles, and his formal retention of the *Augsburg Confession's* conception of church. Calixt's ahistorical approach and simplification of Christian truths were the main weaknesses of his universal church concept. But Schüssler believes that his quest for the "unity of the truth" and, therefore, his distinction between what is fundamental and non-fundamental, his stress on the continuity of the church, the use of a common theological language, and the necessity of achieving understanding with the Catholic Church have ecumenical value.<sup>15</sup>

The scholar of Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism, Johannes Wallmann, is no stranger to the study of Georg Calixt.<sup>16</sup> In his study of Johann Gerhard and Georg Calixt, Wallmann identifies two different conceptions of theology in old protestant theology. The first stream begins with Martin Luther and his theology of the cross. It continues in Johann Gerhard's concept of a God-given habit or capability and Philipp Spener's theology of the regenerate. This stream equates theology with the knowledge of faith (*Glaubenserkenntnis*), and asserts theology is not acquired through human effort, but by prayer, meditation, and the cross. The second stream begins with Philipp Melancthon's doctrine of the church (*doctrinae Ecclesiae*). It is continued in Georg

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<sup>15</sup> Hermann Schüssler, *Georg Calixt: Theologie und Kirchenpolitik eine Studie zur Ökumenizität des Luthertums* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1961), VIII, 40–52, 133–49, 172–79.

<sup>16</sup> Johannes Wallmann, "Zwischen Reformation und Humanismus. Eigenart und Wirkungen Helmstedter Theologie unter Berücksichtigung Georg Calixts," in *Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Zeitalter des Barock: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1995), 61–86; Johannes Wallmann, "Die Unionsideen Georg Calixts und ihre Rezeption in der katholischen und protestantischen Theologie des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Religionsgespräche im Niedersachsen des 17. Jahrhunderts. Royas y Spinola—Molan—Leibnitz*, ed. Hans Otte and Richard Schenk (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 39–55; Johannes Wallmann, "Union, Reunion, Toleranz. Georg Calixts Einigungsbestrebungen und ihre Rezeption in der katholischen und protestantischen Theologie des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Union—Konversion—Toleranz. Dimensionen der Annäherung zwischen den christlichen Konfessionen im 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt and (continued next page)

Calixt and is taken up new again in Johann Semler (1725–91). This stream increasingly distinguishes theology from faith and secularizes the theological knowledge of faith into a rational scientific concept. He further notes that these two streams may not always be so distinct in the Lutheran theologians. A mediating position between these two streams may have occurred in the concept of theology articulated by Johannes Musaeus. In sum Wallmann characterizes Johann Gerhard's concept of theology as "erudition from God" (*Gotteslehrsamkeit*) and Georg Calixt's conception of theology as "an erudition proceeding from theological objects" (*Gelehrsamkeit von theologischen Gegenständen*).<sup>17</sup>

The most prolific contemporary scholar of Georg Calixt is no doubt Inge Mager. She has not only penned a number of essays and a book related to Calixt, but is the editor of an anticipated eight-volume critical edition of Georg Calixt's selected works with four volumes published to date.<sup>18</sup> Her study of Calixt's theological ethics, the *Epitomes theologiae moralis*, its roots, and its impact fills in an important lacuna in Calixtine studies. Mager concludes that his moral theology brought forth the first real Lutheran attempt to produce an analytically arranged independent theological ethics distinct from dogmatics. The ethics was not syncretistic according to Mager, but faithful to the "Reformational beginning" (*reformatorischen Ansatz*), even if they were more in harmony with Melancthon and his students than Luther. She also regards his tolerance-centered ethics to be critically eclectic. It drew on Protestant school philosophy and

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Gerhard May (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 21–39.

<sup>17</sup> Johannes Wallmann, *Der Theologiebegriff bei Johann Gerhard und Georg Calixt* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1961), 1–4.

<sup>18</sup> Georg Calixt, *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Inge Mager, 4 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970–); Hans-Walter Krumwiede, "Neuere Arbeiten über den Unionstheologen Georg Calixt und der Plan einer wissenschaftlichen Ausgabe seiner Schriften," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 61 (1963): 123–34.

Jesuit moral theology. Calixt's ethics was essentially a preaching and church discipline manual for correcting a perceived lack of the *praxis pietatis*, but his ethics was also intended to improve relations with Roman Catholics as evident by the irenic work appended to its first printing, the *Digressione De Arte Nova*.<sup>19</sup>

Concentrating his analysis on Georg Calixt's theological principals (*Prinzipienlehre*), interpretation of Scripture, and the continuity of God's Word in the history of the church, Peter Engel investigates the relationship between Calixt's theological thought and his irenic efforts. Engel maintains that for Calixt truth had to be one as well as binding at all times and in all places. This one unalterable truth is God's Word, which in its simplest form is the fundamental articles of the faith. The Word of God as sign may change, but that which it signifies is timeless, super-rational, and practical or necessary for salvation. The goal of the practical science of theology is then to demonstrate the one unalterable Word of God as the confession for the present and the church of all ages. Confessional conflicts in exegesis are overcome with Calixt's tradition principal, which also affirms the nature of God's Word. In contradiction to truth,

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<sup>19</sup> Inge Mager, *Georg Calixts theologische Ethik und ihre Nachwirkung* (Göttingen; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 9–10, 174; See also Inge Mager, "Georg Calixt—der niedersächsische Unionstheologie," in *Vier Jahrhunderte Lutherische Landeskirche in Braunschweig: Festschrift zum 400jährigen Reformationsjubiläum der Braunschweigischen evangelisch-lutherischen Landeskirche im Jahre 1968*, ed. Wolfenbüttel: Landeskirchenamt (Wolfenbüttel: Landeskirchenamt, 1968), 79–93; Inge Mager, "Brüderlichkeit und Einheit: Georg Calixt und das Thorner Religionsgespräch 1645," in *Thorn. Königing der Weichsel 1231–1981*, ed. Bernhart Jähnig und Peter Letkemann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 209–38; Inge Mager, "Georg Calixt," in *Orthodoxie und Pietismus*, ed. Martin Greschat (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1982), 137–48; Inge Mager, "Spiritualität und Rationalität: Johann Arndt und Georg Calixt in Norddeutschland in 17. Jahrhundert." *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 90 (1992): 31–41; Inge Mager, "Bemühungen des niedersächsischen Theologen Georg Calixt um konfessionelle Eintracht für das von den Schweden gebildete Herzogtum Franken im Jahre 1633," *Jahrbuch für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 87 (2008): 19–32; Inge Mager, "Georg Calixts Versöhnliche Haltung Gegenüber den Reformierten: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Prädestinationskontroverse," in *Prädestination und Willensfreiheit: Luther, Erasmus, Calvin und ihre Wirkungsgeschichte: Festschrift für Theodore Mahlmann zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Wilfried Härle and Barbara Mahlmann-Bauer (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2009), 211–22; Inge Mager, "Georg Calixts interkonfessionelle Kommunikation im Dienste des Kirchenfriedens," in *Das Athen der Welfen: Die Reformuniversität Helmstedt 1576–1810*, ed. Jens Bruning und Ulrike Gleixner (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 2010), 52–57; Calixt, *Werke*, 1:25–26.

confessional divisions in Christendom are the result of the historical development of the church, its proclamation, and its truth claims.<sup>20</sup>

In contrast to Johann Hülsemann, Abraham Calov has received some attention in the early twentieth-century articles of the Prussian Union historian, Theodore Wotschke, which are largely collections of primary sources related to the study of Abraham Calov.<sup>21</sup> Calov has also been the subject of a few cursory essays by Jörg Baur, Georg Hoffmann, Johannes Wallmann, and Katharina Bethge.<sup>22</sup> The first monograph on Abraham Calov was penned by Kenneth Appold, the most prolific scholar of Abraham Calov at present.<sup>23</sup> In his 1988 English study of Abraham Calov's doctrine of *vocatio*, Appold argued that three aspects of his doctrine of *vocatio* were "historically interesting as well as systematically promising." The first was "Calov's synthesis

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<sup>20</sup> Peter Engel, *Die eine Wahrheit in der gespaltenen Christenheit. Untersuchungen zur Theologie Georg Calixts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 11, 150–53.

<sup>21</sup> Theodore Wotschke, "Calovs Historia syncretistica," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 36 (1916): 425–58; Theodore Wotschke, "Brandenburgische Brief an Hülsemann and Calov." *Jahrbuch für brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 17 (1919): 48–80; Theodore Wotschke, "Aus Abraham Calovs Briefwechsel mit Niedersachsen," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 24 (1919): 1–57; Theodore Wotschke, "Kaspar Hermann Sandhagens Briefe an Abraham Calov," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 42 (1937): 306–13.

<sup>22</sup> Jörg Baur, "Die Pflicht geschichtlichen Gedenkens. Anlässlich Geburtstages von Abraham Calov," *Lutherische Monatshefte* 1 (1962): 230–32; Georg Hoffmann, "Lutherische Schriftauslegung im 17. Jahrhundert, dargestellt am Beispiel Abraham Calovs," in *Das Wort und die Wörter. Festschrift Gerhard Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Horst Balz and Siegfried Schulz (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1973), 127–42; Johannes Wallmann, "Abraham Calov—theologischer Widerpart der Religionspolitik des Großen Kurfürsten," in *700 Jahre Wittenberg Stadt Universität Reformation*, ed. Stefan Oehmig (Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1995), 303–11; Katharina Bethge "Epistolae theologicae: Eine Quelle zur Erforschung von Leben und Werk Abraham Calovs und der lutherischen Orthodoxie. Brieffliste aus der Bibliothek des Evangelischen Predigerseminars Wittenberg," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 22 (1996): 22–68.

<sup>23</sup> Kenneth Appold, "Abraham Calov als Vater der lutherischen Spätorthodoxie?," in *Ernst Salomon Cyprian (1673–1745) zwischen Orthodoxie, Pietismus and Frühaufklärung*, ed. Ernst Koch and Johannes Wallmann (Gotha: Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, 1996), 49–58; Kenneth Appold, "Das Melancthonbild bei Abraham Calov," in *Melancthonbild und Melancthonrezeption in der lutherischen Orthodoxie und in Pietismus*, ed. Udo Sträter (Lutherstadt Wittenberg: Edition Hans Lufft, 1999), 71–79; Kenneth Appold, "Abraham Calovs Auseinandersetzung mit der tridentischen Rechtfertigungslehre," in *Zur Rechtfertigungslehre in der Lutherischen Orthodoxie*, ed. Udo Sträter (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2003), 71–80; Kenneth Appold, "Abraham Calov on the 'Usefulness' of Doctrine: Blueprints for a Theological Mind," in *Hermeneutica Sacra: Studien zur Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Tornjörn Johansson, Robert Kolb, and Johann Steiger (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, (continued next page)

and further clarification of Luther's and Melancthon's doctrine of justification." Calov overcomes Melancthon's lack of a transformative dimension in justification and Luther's lack of a stronger systematized connection between verbal efficacy and mystical union with his efficacious *vocatio*. This doctrine of efficacious *vocatio* "presents a conceptually coherent account of how the justifying Word 'effects' change in the person who receives it." The second was "the introduction of the speech act *vocatio* into the justification process and the characterization of that speech act as a form of 'invitation.'" Calov's speech act *vocatio* or *invitatio* does not just state truths, but invites the *vocati* from a state outside of the church into a changed state inside the church without setting aside an imputative understanding of justification. The third was "the epistemological shift of emphasis, and reduced evidentiary demands for faith, that come as a result of *vocatio*'s place in the system." The purpose of *vocatio*, according to Appold, is to induce a response, not to draw out assent.<sup>24</sup>

The following year Volker Jung produced the only other published tome on Abraham Calov to date. His investigation focused on Calov's hermeneutics and interpretation of Scripture. He summarizes three points of Abraham Calov's theological-hermeneutical approach that he found to be especially useful. First, "The interpretation of Scripture is to be understood as the theological task, which ushers in religious *Praxis*." Second, "The interpretation of Scripture does not mean to rule over the text, but to allow the text to rule over itself." Third, "The question concerning the sense-unity of the Bible is to be set aside by the effect of Scripture."<sup>25</sup>

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2010), 295–312.

<sup>24</sup> All citations are from Kenneth Appold's *Abraham Calov's Doctrine of Vocatio in Its Systematic Context* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 170–73.

<sup>25</sup> Volker Jung, *Das Ganze der Heiligen Schrift: Hermeneutik und Schriftauslegung bei Abraham Calov* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1999), 312.

Harry Mathias Albrecht's 2003 study of Johannes Musaeus provides the most recent monograph related to the Syncretistic Controversy and a much needed reassessment of the Ducal Saxon position in the controversy. Therein Albrecht argues that Musaeus' thought was not a compromise between Helmstedt and the Electoral Saxons, but a third way. This is substantiated by Musaeus' refutation of Helmstedt theology, the wide reception of the Musaeus-influenced *Compendium Theologicae Positivae* of Johann Wilhelm Baier (1647–95), and his insistence that the church's unity cannot be grounded in a reduced reflection on the church's essence.<sup>26</sup>

Christoph Böttigheimer's contribution to Calixtine studies is a *Wirkungsgeschichte* of Calixtinism. He asserts that the "fundamental approaches of today's ecumenical efforts are not new, but they reach ... in the central points at least back until the seventeenth century." Böttigheimer traces the historical foundations of Calixt's thought, his move from polemicist to irenicist, and the impact and reception of Calixtinism. Formed by Melanchthonian-humanist thought and standing in the Erasmian tradition, Georg Calixt sought to prove "from a confession transcending objective perspective" that a union of the Christian confessions is possible, "if in view of the foundation of the Christian faith within the whole of the Christian truths of faith, a qualitative separation and concentration was undertaken." Calixt was not making a Roman Catholic distinction between explicit and implicit faith, but rather a "distinction inside of the fullness of the *depositum fidei*." He "clearly distinguished dogmas necessary for salvation from the non-fundamental ones." Every confessional church was a member of the one, holy, catholic,

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<sup>26</sup> Harry Mathias Albrecht, *Wesen und Einheit der Kirche nach der Lehre des Johannes Musäus (1613–1681). Lutherische Orthodoxie und Kirchliche Wiedervereinigung* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp Von Zabern, 2003), 284, 307–9; See also Harry Mathias Albrecht, "Das ekklesiologische Ringen des Johannes Musäus um die Einheit der Kirche," in *Union—Konversion—Toleranz. Dimensionen der Annäherung zwischen den christlichen Konfessionen im 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt and Gerhard May (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 35–59.

and apostolic church by virtue of their adherence to the *Apostles' Creed*, which functioned as a summary of the dogma necessary for salvation.<sup>27</sup> Böttigheimer concludes,

Not only his fundamental concerns, but also his unionistic approach derived from the fundamental articles of the faith deserves lasting validity. On the one hand, it is clear through it, that the present ecumenical efforts, which in particular are joined to the faith testified through the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, are not only legitimate, but also have behind them a longer tradition going back among others to the humanist irenics and above all to Georg Calixt. On the other hand, the confessional differences themselves do not touch on the Christian foundation of the faith. Therefore, one should agree with Calixt as also Rahner and Fries: Church unity is possible.<sup>28</sup>

In his study, Andreas Merkt explores patristic authority from the sixteenth century to today, inquiring if a renewal of the patristic principal is possible. His study consists of three parts: the historical context of the *consensus quinquesaecularis*, the *auctoritas patrum* in the Early Modern Era, and the *auctoritas patrum* in the modern and post-modern era. Georg Calixt's conception of tradition falls under the first part. On the basis of two brief articles from Guillaume H. M. Posthumus Meyjes and Rob J. M. Van de Schoor, Merkt opines that Georg Calixt is a confessional irenic, who was very much shaped by Erasmian irenicism.<sup>29</sup>

In comparison with Calixtine studies, the Syncretistic Controversy and the *Consensus Repetitus* have been largely neglected. The first historical analysis of the controversy, the 1682

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<sup>27</sup> Christoph Böttigheimer, *Zwischen Polemik und Irenik. Die Theologie der einen kirche bei Georg Calixt* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1996), 385–86; See also Christoph Böttigheimer, "Auf der Suche nach der ewig gültige Lehre. Theologische Grundlagenreflexionen im Dienste der Irenik bei Georg Calixt," *Kerygma und Dogma* 44 (1998): 219–35; Christoph Böttigheimer, "Das Unionskonzept des Helmstedter Irenikers Georg Calixt (1586–1656)," in *Irenik und Antikonfessionalismus im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Harm Klüeting (Hildesheim: Olms, 2003), 55–70.

<sup>28</sup> Böttigheimer, *Zwischen*, 385–86.

<sup>29</sup> Andreas Merkt, *Das Patristische Prinzip: Eine Studie zur Theologischen Bedeutung der Kirchenvater* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 25–36; Guillaume H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, "Protestants irenisme in de 16e en eerste helft van de 17e eeuw," *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 36 (1982): 205–22; Rob J. M. Van de Schoor, "Reprints of Cassander's and Witzel's Irenica from Helmstedt: The Meaning of the Irenical Tradition for Georg Calixtus, Hermann Conring and Johannes Latermann," *LIAS. Sources and Documents Relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas* 20 (1993): 167–92.

*Historia Syncretistica*, was a polemical history published as the controversy was coming to a close. This comprehensive history of syncretism was penned by Abraham Calov, the Prussian theologian, Wittenberg professor, and opponent of Georg Calixt. The *Historia Syncretistica* is a goldmine of primary sources related to the *Consensus Repetitus*, but it is also polemical history from an entrenched Electoral Saxon point of view. Since the 1682 first edition was printed after the Saxon elector had prohibited polemics against Jena, it was published without the name of the printer or place of publication. A second printing was issued and was released in the same fashion in 1685. What was at stake in the Syncretistic Controversy, for Calov, was divine truth itself and the Lutheran Confessions because the latter were derived from the former:

The most certain way to truth is, however, we believe via the divine truth and our church books, which are taken out of it and are sworn on by us: On what other certain basis can true church peace rest? Those who teach one or another thing different from what is taught therein, they are cursed. Galat. [1:]8–9. The God of peace suppress all errors, but sanctify us in his truth, his word is truth. Amen!<sup>30</sup>

With this in mind, Calov points out that Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1528–89) and the Helmstedt theologians had subscribed to the *Bergen Book*. Tilemann Heßhusius (1527–88) and Daniel Hoffmann (1533–1611) later had opposed the *Formula of Concord* for unscrupulous reasons. Here Calov does not acknowledge that the duke and his successors refrained from enforcing that subscription, suggesting instead that it was binding on the Helmstedters.<sup>31</sup> Having charged Georg Calixt with undermining nearly every article of the *Augsburg Confession* as well as a number of ancient errors, Calov describes his arch-adversary as one who, "spent his time almost only in scholastic theology, an auctodidaktoj, who never had

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<sup>30</sup> Abraham Calov, *I. N. J. Historia Syncretistica, Das ist: Christliches wohlgegründetes Bedencken über den Lieben Kirchen-Frieden und Christliche Einigkeit In der heilsamen Lehre der Himmlischen Warheit / In Dreyen Büchern*, (n.p.: n.p., 1685), 1114.

<sup>31</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 565–71.



heard orthodox theologians and was even less grounded in the Word of God."<sup>32</sup> In the face of objections to the authenticity of the *Consensus Repetitus*, Calov maintained that it was not the product of a private individual or one theological faculty, rather it was commissioned by the Saxon elector, composed by both Electoral Saxon theological faculties, and subscribed to by both faculties. It was approved by the superior consistory and Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony (1585–1656) in 1655 and not first approved in 1664. It was published in 1664 because of the spread of the Calixtine enthusiasm (*Schwarm*).<sup>33</sup> He explains that nothing came of the 1652 conference on the syncretistic problem because the Jena theological faculty favored Calixt. Calov even claimed that Musaeus was the mediator (*Mediatore*) of Calixt, who chose to remain silent.<sup>34</sup>

The Pietistic historian, Gottfried Arnold, known for his rehabilitation of heretics and criticism of the institutional church, was the next to take up the Syncretistic Controversy. As the great promoter of the “dead orthodoxy” thesis, it is not surprising that he paints the Orthodox Lutherans in an unfavorable light. Nevertheless, he wrote concerning both the Orthodox Lutherans and the syncretists, “As seriously as one now usually engages one's self in writing, just as carelessly the parties sometimes broke out against each other, so that all suitable theological gravity was often suddenly blocked.”<sup>35</sup> Arnold traces the roots of the controversy to the Electoral Saxon suspicion of the Helmstedters after the latter rejected the *Formula of Concord*. This

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<sup>32</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 574.

<sup>33</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 1102–5.

<sup>34</sup> Calov, *Historia*, 1096, 1107.

<sup>35</sup> Gottfried Arnold, *Gottfrid Arnolds Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer- Historie / Vom Anfang des Neuen Testaments biß auf das Jahr Christi 1688. Mit Königl. Polnischen / Churfl. Sächsischen und Churfürstl. Brandenburgischen Privilegiis* (Frankfurt: Fritsch, 1700), 2:511.

preexisting distrust and Calixt's creed-based reunion efforts coupled with his doctrinal peculiarities brought about a division in Lutheranism between "pure (gnhsl,wj) Lutherans" and the "Syncretists."<sup>36</sup> The *Consensus Repetitus* itself failed because "the Wittenberg theologians feared that Calixt had supporters (*favoriten*) everywhere and, therefore, the *Consensus* could not be brought to the desired goal through the approval of the other universities and churches."<sup>37</sup>

The moderate orthodox Jena professor, Johann Georg Walch, divided his analysis of the Syncretistic Controversy into three parts: brief biographical sketches of the individuals involved, a presentation of the Syncretistic Controversy coupled with the Musaeus Controversy, and finally a discussion of the points of controversy. According to Walch, the very learned scholar, Georg Calixt, was charged with prompting the controversy because of his syncretism and certain points of his doctrine. One of his chief opponents was Abraham Calov, who began his polemics against Calixt following the Colloquy of Thorn. The first period of the controversy ran from 1611 to 1649, when the controversy was first kindled. Walch notes that as long as Georg Calixt lived, the controversy raged. The second period of the controversy took its course from 1650 to 1660, when the Wittenberg theologians issued the *Consensus Repetitus*, Friedrich Ulrich Calixt assumed the role of his father, and the controversy grew in intensity. The final period ran from 1661 until the end of the controversy. At this juncture, the theology of the Jena theologians came under fire, particularly the "blessed Johann Musaeus," a man of great intellect, who saw the consequences of the *Consensus Repetitus*.<sup>38</sup> The controversy revolved around the question

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<sup>36</sup> Arnold, *Unpartheyische*, 2:508–9.

<sup>37</sup> Arnold, *Unpartheyische*, 2:513.

<sup>38</sup> Johann Georg Walch, *Historische und Theologische Einleitung in die Religions–Streitigkeiten Der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen, Von der Reformation an bis auf iletzige Zeiten* (Jena: Johann Meyers Witwe, 1730–1736), 1:219–27.

whether Lutheran, Calvinist, and Roman Catholic churches could be united, more specifically, could the creed and adherence to consensus of the first five centuries of the church serve as a norm for doctrine? Was the Trinity revealed in the Old Testament? Were good works necessary for salvation?<sup>39</sup>

The father of modern church history and “new Calixt,” Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, did not champion Calixt’s cause. The “new Calixt,” however, still believed that Georg Calixt had been misinterpreted:<sup>40</sup>

The principal of all the charges so odiously alleged against Calixtus, was, his zeal for bringing the three larger communities of European Christians, not to *unite* together and become *one body* as his opposers interpreted him to mean, but to abstain from their mutual hatred and *enmity*, and to cultivate mutually love and good-will. And this it was, that was generally condemned under the name of *Syncretism*.<sup>41</sup>

Mosheim further argues that Calixt taught that Lutheranism could not associate with or be in harmony with Roman Catholicism as it was at that time, because of its errors and superstitions.<sup>42</sup> Recognizing that the theological and legal implication of the Electoral Saxon *Consensus Repetitus*’ polemic was to reveal syncretism’s departure from the *Augsburg Confession* and from the legal protection of the Peace of Westphalia, Mosheim states, “And the most discerning men demonstrated, that the book called *Consensus, &c.*, would be a firebrand, the cause of perpetual dissension, and ruinous to the Lutheran cause; and by their efforts, it was prevented from ever

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<sup>39</sup> Walch, *Historische*, 1:419.

<sup>40</sup> Karl Heussi, *Johann Lorenz Mosheim: Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1906), 76.

<sup>41</sup> John Lawrence Mosheim, *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History Ancient and Modern*, 2nd ed., trans. John Murdock (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841), 3:375.

<sup>42</sup> Mosheim, *Institutes*, 3:375.

obtaining the least authority."<sup>43</sup> He explains Ducal Saxon opposition in terms of moderation:

In these commotions, the divines of Jena manifested uncommon prudence and moderation. For while they ingenuously confessed, that all the opinions of *Calixtus* could not easily be admitted and tolerated, without injury to the truth; they judged that most of his doctrines were not so very bad, as the Saxons supposed to them to be; and that several of them might be tolerated, without the least hazard.... *Johann Musaeus*, a man of superior learning and uncommon acuteness, first determined that it was allowable to say, with *Calixtus* and *Horneius*, that in a certain sense good works are necessary to salvation; afterwards he maintained among his intimate friends, that little or no importance was attached to some of the other questions. These therefore, the Calixtine divines would not perhaps have refused as arbiters. But the moderation was so offensive to the Saxon divines, that they arraigned the school of Jena on suspicion of many errors, and declared that *John Musaeus* in particular, had departed in not a few things from the sound faith.<sup>44</sup>

The Saxon electors' withdrawal of support for the *Consensus Repetitus* in the face of potential mischief explains its end:

At length, as the Saxon divines, and particularly *Calovius*, (who had previously been invited to Wittenberg), urged the setting forth of a new symbolic book, the princes of electoral Saxony so vividly depicted the mischiefs which would thence result to our church, that in view of those representatives the proposed introduction of what was called the *Consensus Repetitus*, was laid aside. Yet the conflicts went on, and were conducted with so much bitterness and acrimony, that one party commenced an action against the other for abuse; and *Calovius* wrote his bitter *Historia Syncretistica*, which was confiscated by the elector of Saxony. Finally, as the Pietistic contest commenced soon after this, so the *Calixtine* contest was dropped.<sup>45</sup>

This being said, Mosheim would later write about the Colloquy of Thorn, "If there would have been more prudence and caution on the side of Calixt and more reasonableness and fairness on the side of his opponents, the matter would not have come so far."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Mosheim, *Institutes*, 3:374–75.

<sup>44</sup> Mosheim, *Institutes*, 3:376–77.

<sup>45</sup> Mosheim, *Institutes*, 3:374.

<sup>46</sup> Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, *Vollständige Kirchengeschichte des Neuen Testaments, aus dessen gesammten grössern Werken und andern bewährten Schriften mit Zusätzen vermehret und bus auf die neuern Zeiten fortgesetzt* (Heilbronn: Friedrich Ludwig Wilhelm Hemeling, 1780), 4:342

The pragmatist church historian, G. J. Plank, holds Georg Calixt in high regard and disparages the Orthodox Lutheran opposition to him. Georg Calixt is praised as one who "most zealously worked to accustom the spirit of his contemporaries and his own thought on a freer examination of the doctrines of religion."<sup>47</sup> The Orthodox Lutherans are disparaged for their rigid equating of Lutheranism with the *Formula of Concord*:

The party, which began the syncretistic war and carried it on so long, had no other goal in mind, than to preserve the orthodoxy of the Lutheran church, especially in those doctrines which belonged as a special property of it, more specifically, to preserve those doctrines in the way they had been formulated in the *Formula of Concord* or to preserve them in this form. They wanted to take it so far that all which was codified in the symbols was the single true Christian and likewise the unique Lutheran doctrine. On account of both the one and the other, it should be held for all times as inviolable. Every doubt about it or deviation from it should be treated and regarded as a deviation from the fellowship of the Lutheran Church.<sup>48</sup>

Perhaps the reason the *Consensus Repetitus* failed to become a new Lutheran symbol, Plank avers, was because the majority of the quarrels leading up to it were on the side of the Wittenberg theologians.<sup>49</sup>

The Erlangen professor, Heinrich Schmid, had already shown an uncommonly favorable disposition toward the Orthodox Lutherans in his 1843 *Die Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*. Even though he opposed the positive assessment of Calixt and the negative assessment of Lutheran Orthodoxy, he was far from uncritical of the Orthodox Lutherans and was not devoid of praise for Georg Calixt. The controversy centered on the relation of the confessions to one another and marks the end of Lutheran Orthodoxy's dominance. Classified as a representative of an illegitimate "Melanchthonian-humanist direction," Calixt was interpreted

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<sup>47</sup> G. J. Plank, *Geschichte der protestantischen theologie von Konkordienformel an bis in die Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1831), 94.

<sup>48</sup> Plank, *Geschichte*, 148.

both as prompting the controversy and as the precursor of modern theology. Despite taking issue with the way the Orthodox Lutherans fought, the form of their theology, and their relation to their congregations, Schmid deemed the Orthodox Lutherans clearly justified in attacking Georg Calixt's doctrinal aberrations.<sup>50</sup> Still he was quite critical of the *Consensus Repetitus* itself. He maintained that it makes no distinction between greater and less matters. It condemned the wording of the syncretists' statements, ignoring their true sense even when they were explained. It represented the dogmatics of the time, which built on the *Formula of Concord*, more than the *Formula of Concord* itself, which it also misrepresented.<sup>51</sup> The Jena theologians were mentioned as having a "milder disposition."<sup>52</sup> Ultimately, both sides undervalued the needs of the congregation, prompting an unfortunately turn of events in Pietism. Schmid concluded by remarking that Calixt led the congregation astray in their faith in order to demolish and rebuild it, whereas the Orthodox Lutherans fed their congregations theological debates and failed to satisfy their needs.<sup>53</sup>

A student of both Schleiermacher and Neander, Wilhelm Gaß, contrasts his 1846 *Georg Calixt und der Synkretismus* with Schmid's study by the assertion that Schmid's work is broader in scope and suffers from a Confessional Lutheran point of view that prevents it from recognizing the legitimacy of the Melancthonian-humanist direction of the Reformation from which Calixt emerged. For this reason, a narrow-minded Lutheranism is understood as

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<sup>49</sup> Plank, *Geschichte*, 138.

<sup>50</sup> Heinrich Schmid, *Geschichte der synkretistischen Streitigkeiten in der Zeit des Georg Calixt* (Erlangen: Verlag von Carl Heyder, 1846), IV–VII, 423–29, 432. See also his *The History of Pietism*, trans. James L. Langebartels (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 2007), 21–22.

<sup>51</sup> Schmid, *Geschichte*, 378, 381–83.

<sup>52</sup> Schmid, *Geschichte*, 400.

prompting the controversy. While by no means uncritical of Calixt's "catholicizing" of justification and good works as well as of his departure from the wording of the *Augsburg Confession* on original sin and free will, Gaß states that Calixt's thought represents the "progress of a universal evangelical churchdom."<sup>54</sup> Gaß describes Georg Calixt's syncretism as a "revival of the critical and scientific impulse of the Reformation" and characterizes it in four ways. First, it employed a non-Roman hierarchical conception of tradition. Second, it was "the first reaction against the degenerate efforts for an absolute isolation into dogmaticism." Third, it was marked by an "impulse for a Christian-moral common-spirit and admonition for piety, virtue and love."<sup>55</sup> The *Consensus Repetitus*, conversely, simply went too far in the opinion of Gaß. Fourth, it improperly tried to determine exegetical questions, critical questions, and *Nebendinge*. The confession accuses the syncretists of full pelagianism and other errors by means of the misinterpretation of their works. It suggested that all the doctrines contained in the Lutheran Confessions were necessary for salvation and gave the impression that Calixt attacked the chief articles of the Christian faith. The Jena theologians' stance was once again described as a mediating position (*mittlere Stellung*).<sup>56</sup>

The Tübingen professor, Ferdinand Christian Baur, sought to strike a balance between Heinrich Schmid and Wilhelm Gaß. Baur agreed with Schmid that the greatest contradiction in Calixt was "that he wanted a faith fellowship without a church fellowship."<sup>57</sup> In contrast to the

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<sup>53</sup> Schmid, *Geschichte*, 439, 449–50.

<sup>54</sup> Wilhelm Gaß, *Georg Calixtus und der Syncretismus* (Breslau: A. Gosohorsky, 1846), V–XI, XIII, 116–45.

<sup>55</sup> Gaß, *Georg*, 134–41.

<sup>56</sup> Gaß, *Georg*, 110–13.

<sup>57</sup> Ferdinand Christian Baur, "Ueber den Charakter und die geschichtliche Bedeutung des calixtinischen Syncretismus," *Theologischer Jahrbücher* 7 (1848): 178.

Orthodox Lutherans and the dangers of their system, Baur states that Calixt was the one who "put the system entirely into question, appeared as the opposition, and represented the freedom of the protestant principle in his person, repelling away from itself the authority of faith."<sup>58</sup> F. C. Baur summarizes the tendency of Calixtine syncretism as follows, "To bring the common foundation of all positive dogmas and confessional differences to self-consciousness, and through the deepening of religious consciousness in the general and the immediate to revive the practical interest of religion and Christianity."<sup>59</sup>

In 1867 the mediating theologian, Isaak August Dorner, published his *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie*. Drawing on Mosheim, Schmid, and Gaß, Dorner now divides seventeenth-century Lutheranism into three distinct schools of thought: the Orthodox school represented by Wittenberg, Tübingen, Straßburg, and Giessen; the Calixtine school represented by Helmstedt, Königsberg, Rinteln, and Altdorf; and the Middle-Ground represented by Jena and Leipzig.<sup>60</sup> Suggesting that Georg Calixt's system would have caused essential damage to the Protestant Church and its mission, Dorner also recognizes an ecclesial-political basis for the controversy as well. After the eight joint Saxon conferences (1621–29) of the Dresden *Oberhofprediger*, Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg (1580–1645), the Saxon theologians "had claimed a kind of supremacy, which they subsequently endeavored to support by the directorial position

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<sup>58</sup> Baur, "Ueber," 186.

<sup>59</sup> Baur, "Ueber," 193.

<sup>60</sup> I. A. Dorner, *History of Protestant Theology Particularly in Germany*, trans. George Robson and Sophia Taylor (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1871), 2:103–8.



of their prince in the *Corpus Evangelicorum* (a position acknowledged in matters non-ecclesiastical).”<sup>61</sup> Dorner summarizes the collapse of the *Consensus Repetitus* as follows:

Upon this occasion ancient Lutheran orthodoxy once more summoned all its strength to check every departure from the common Lutheran type. The undertaking nevertheless failed. Several princes, among whom were not merely members of the house of Brunswick, but also Ernest the Pious, the Saxon dukes, and the Great Elector, were averse to the prolonged strife, which, when once the peace of Westphalia had been obtained, burst forth with new fury among the Protestants. The German nation, wearied to death by public disasters, needed other nourishment than the *Consensus Repetitus*. But it was through the quiet but firm resistance of the faculty of Jena, with Musaeus at their head, that the design was frustrated. They regarded it as unnecessarily narrow and illiberal, and as containing exaggerated and malicious allusions with accusations of heresy, and as likely to become the fruitful seed of fresh dissensions.<sup>62</sup>

Paul Tschackert's article on the *Syncretistic Controversies* for the *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, which was adapted and abridged for *The New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia*, remains the most comprehensive and still relevant discussion of the controversy in any religious encyclopedia. Tschackert conceives of the Syncretistic Controversies as follows:

The Syncretistic Controversies (*lites syncretisticae*) mean in seventeenth century church history those theological controversies, which through inter-confessional peace efforts or the so-called Syncretism of the Helmstedt theologian, Georg Calixt, and his students, had been stirred up in the bosom of the Lutheran Church. These same theological controversies which, although in their immediate results were unsuccessful, have still contributed indirectly thereto, to a total transformation of the whole theological spirit and to prepare the victory of a *theologia moderatio* over the orthodox controversial theology.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Dorner, *History*, 2:197, 199.

<sup>62</sup> Dorner, *History*, 2:198.

<sup>63</sup> Paul Tschackert, “Synkretistische Streitigkeiten,” in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Albert Hauck, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1897), 19:243. See also Paul Tschackert, “Syncretism, Syncretistic Controversies,” in *The New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia*, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1949–1950), 11:219–23.

Tschackert goes on to provide a periodization of the Syncretistic Controversy: The Colloquy of Thorn–Georg Calixt's Death, 1645–56; Five Quieter Years, 1656–61; The Colloquy of Berlin and Kassel–The Imposition of Silence on the Saxon Theologians, 1661–69; Five Quieter Years, 1670–75; and Abraham Calov's Last Fight for the *Consensus Repetitus* and Against Johann Musaeus–Calov's Death, 1675–86. Tschackert argues that the Saxon elector's anti-Calvinist politics, specifically targeted against the Palatinate and Brandenburg, played a role in the controversy. He points out the Helmstedters' recognition of the political implications of the *Consensus Repetitus*. The *Consensus Repetitus*, he maintains, was not subscribed to outside of Electoral Saxony because few wanted a new confession. The confession equated Lutheranism with the invisible church.<sup>64</sup>

A learned four-volume history of Protestant dogma was penned by the son of Albrecht Ritschl, Otto Ritschl. He notes a number of results of the Syncretistic Controversy that relate to the history of dogma. Heinrich Schmid had maintained that externally speaking Wittenberg won the war on syncretism, but that the victory was imperfect. A new development in Protestant Theology was the critical work of this period. This is evident in the Orthodox Lutheran historical and functional critique of the *Apostles' Creed* as a fundamental summary of the faith. The original Reformation faithfulness to Scripture was set against Georg Calixt's traditionalism. Still Scripture was understood in the sense of the Lutheran Confessions. In light of Leonhard Hutter (1563–1616), Ritschl adds that the Orthodox Lutheran categorical subscription to the Lutheran Confessions was an innovation first introduced against Calixt. One place where there was agreement between the Orthodox Lutherans and syncretists was the application of the analytical

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<sup>64</sup> Tschackert, "Synkretistische," 19:243–66.

method to Lutheran dogmatics, albeit their conceptions of theology were still in conflict. The influence of Calixt's theology can be clearly seen on the Jena theologians. Georg Calixt's irenicism shares similarities with heterodox Lutheranism, which traces its effects back to Johann Arndt.<sup>65</sup>

Hans Leube enters the discussion disproving of the caricature of Lutheran Orthodoxy as "dead orthodoxy" and explaining that Reformed Irenicism was driven by its tenuous legality in the empire.<sup>66</sup> Leube argues that the Syncretistic Controversy was the beginning of the end for Lutheran Orthodoxy. By their opposition to the sufficiency of the creed, the Orthodox Lutherans defended a lost situation, bolstering their dogmatic system more than the Lutheran faith. The push for ethical improvement, evident in Johann Musaeus, was simply part of the spirit of the times. Still it was not fate that the Wittenberg and Leipzig theologians lost the controversy, rather it was their own fault because they could not cope with the task given to them. For instance, the very capable and creative Abraham Calov, who praised piety, failed precisely because "he did not recognize the line between theology and dogma and in a rigid holding fast of the old formulas overlooked the practical needs of the church of his time." The Helmstedters, conversely, did not achieve any victory. Critical historical analysis defeated Calixt's tradition-centered theology. His peace project failed completely and only succeeded in creating even more difficulties for Lutherans under Reformed sovereigns.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Otto Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1912–27), 4:423–27.

<sup>66</sup> Hans Leube, *Die Reformideen in der deutschen Lutherischen Kirche zur Zeit der Orthodoxie* (Leipzig: Verlag von Dörffling & Franke, 1924), 35–36; Hans Leube, *Der Kampf um die Herrschaft im protestantischen Deutschland*, vol. 1 of *Kalvinismus und Luthertum im Zeitalter der Orthodoxie* (Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung D. Werner Scholl, 1928), 37–38.

<sup>67</sup> Leube, *Kalvinismus*, 349–50.

In his classic study of symbolics, Philip Schaff simply dismisses the *Consensus Repetitus* as “An Abortive Symbol against Syncretism.” Schaff explains that Georg Calixt “was disgusted with the exclusive and pugnacious orthodoxy of his day, and advocated, in the liberal and catholic spirit of Melancthon, peace and conciliation among the three great confessions.”<sup>68</sup> He attributes authorship of the *Consensus Repetitus* to Abraham Calov.<sup>69</sup> “This new symbol,” Schaff opines, “goes far beyond the *Formula of Concord*, and would have so contracted Lutheranism as to exclude from it all independent thought and theological progress.”<sup>70</sup> It should also be noted that the greatest modern scholar of symbolics, Jaroslav Pelikan, joined Schaff in omitting an original text or translation of the *Consensus Repetitus* in his edition of Christendom's creeds and confessions. For Pelikan the significance of the *Consensus Repetitus* was that it suggested that the doctrine of verbal inspiration was implied by subscription to the Lutheran Confessions.<sup>71</sup>

In a joint history of Christian thought with J. L. Neve, O. W. Heick interprets Jena as “striking the balance in the controversy,” and goes as far as saying, “Wittenberg no longer truly represented the Lutheran Church.” Heick writes,

It has been emphasized again and again that Lutheranism cannot agree to a clear-cut separation between religion and theology, especially not after the suggestion of Calixtus. But it has also been indicated that the seventeenth century Lutherans had lost themselves in an intellectualism which ignored entirely the distinction between confessional substance and matters that are purely theologumena. Here the later Wittenbergers had been leading. The real defect in the position of the Wittenberg

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<sup>68</sup> Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom with a History and Critical Notes*, 4th ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishing, 1919), 1:349–50.

<sup>69</sup> Schaff, *The Creeds*, 351.

<sup>70</sup> Schaff, *The Creeds*, 352.

<sup>71</sup> Jaroslav Pelikan and Valerie Hotchkiss, eds., *Creeds and Confessions of the Faith in the Christian Tradition*. 4 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003); Jaroslav Pelikan, *Reformation of the Church and Dogma (1300–1700)*, vol. 4 of *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 347.

University came into light in an abortive confession, composed and proposed by Abr. Calovius.... This new symbol against syncretism went far beyond the Formula of Concord in rendering decisions on theological problems.... But Wittenberg no longer truly represented the Lutheran Church. Johann Musaeus with the faculty of the Jena University stepped in as a regulating factor and did a valuable service to Lutheranism. He criticized the Wittenberger theologians that in their controversy against Calixtus they had not sufficiently distinguished between necessary articles of faith and matters in which *salve fide et caritate* there may be disagreement. He demanded the recognition of "open questions." ... The Jena theologians were far from agreeing with Calixtus in his manner of distinguishing between fundamentals and non-fundamentals. Here they were entirely in harmony with Wittenberg.<sup>72</sup>

The writings of Sven Göransson mark the only recent investigation of syncretism outside of Germany. His chief work looks into the political history of the period as he traces the development of syncretism mainly in Sweden. In a German essay on Swedish and German syncretism, Göransson states, "The syncretistic controversies were conditioned by the inner Lutheran contradictions evinced in the conflicts between the theologians at the universities of Helmstedt and Wittenberg."<sup>73</sup> The Helmstedt legitimization of the Reformed Church was politically advantageous for the Great Elector. The Saxon elector, conversely, did not recognize the Reformed Church and believed it was in his sphere to do so. Sweden and her theologians remained neutral in the controversy. They neither wanted to concede such authority to the Saxon elector, nor did they want to facilitate the aims of the Great Elector, their competition in Pomerania and East Prussia. In the end, Swedish religious politics could either follow Queen

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<sup>72</sup> J. L. Neve and O. W. Heick, *A History of Christian Thought* (Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1946), 2:12–13.

<sup>73</sup> Sven Göransson, "Schweden und Deutschland während der synkretistischen Streitigkeiten 1645–1660," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 42 (1951): 243. See also "Sverige och bekännelsefrågan vid den westfaliska fredskongressen 1645–1648," *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* (1947): 86–156; "Sverige och de synkretistiska striderna i Tyksland 1649–1654," *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 48 (1949): 43–100; *Ortodoxi och Synkretism i Sverige 1647–1660* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1950).

Christina's support for Helmstedt in the University of Uppsala or Chancellor Oxenstierna's opposition to Helmstedt following the 1653–54 Diet of Regensburg.<sup>74</sup>

Benjamin T. G. Mayes penned an article in 2004 assessing whether Abraham Calov's or Johannes Musaeus' response to Georg Calixt was to be preferred by Lutherans. Focused on the question of ecclesiology, Mayes determines to his own surprise that Johann Musaeus supplied the better answer.

The theological positions at play in the syncretistic controversies of the seventeenth century and the struggles of those times have much to teach contemporary Lutherans. Lutherans can learn much from Georg Calixt, Abraham Calov, and Johannes Musäus, both positively and negatively. Calixt was wrong in his understanding of the ancient creeds. The Apostles' Creed was never meant to be an exhaustive list of fundamental doctrines. Calixt was also mistaken when he considered the doctrinal issues of the Reformation to have only a secondary or non-fundamental importance. On the other hand, one may also respect Calixt's assumptions about ecclesiastical union, namely that there must be unity of doctrine and practice before there can be external ecclesiastical union. This viewpoint seems to be lacking in modern ecumenical dialogue. From Abraham Calov, one may conclude that the attempt to make certain *theologoumena* ecclesiastical dogma was imprudent, if not plainly wrong. Calov's aggressive vilification of his opponents serves as a negative example of theological discourse. On the other hand, Calov was right in spotting an error which, if unchecked, would have overturned the Reformation. Calov had the courage to lead the fight. Even if his love for the truth led him to excesses, he may be respected for the fact that he fought against falsehood. From Johannes Musäus one may learn how to distinguish the controversial point from the non-essential, how to act as a churchman in both defending the truth and not placing a stumbling-block before others unnecessarily. Musäus' importance has continued beyond his own day in the fact that his doctrine, epitomized by Baier, was taught to a generation of LCMS pastors. From this fact, Musäus' position on syncretism and ecumenism can be seen as the classical position of the Missouri Synod.<sup>75</sup>

In 2005 Heinz Staemmler published his 1963 dissertation, which remains the most comprehensive analysis of the *Consensus Repetitus* to date. It reads the controversy largely

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<sup>74</sup> Göransson, "Schweden," 243.

<sup>75</sup> Benjamin T. G. Mayes, "Syncretism in the Theology of Georg Calixt, Abraham Calov and Johannes Musäus," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 68 (2004): 315.

(continued next page)

through Electoral Saxon eyes. Tracing the motive, fate, and contents of the *Consensus Repetitus*, Staemmler concurs with Dorner and Leube that the *Consensus Repetitus* marked the beginning of Lutheran Orthodoxy's decline. But more importantly Staemmler advances three subsequent points: first, claiming to be nothing more than a reaffirmation of the *Book of Concord*, the *Consensus Repetitus*, which is largely the product of Johann Hülsemann, focused its critiques on the syncretists' unorthodox Christology, soteriology, ecclesiology, and conception of authority. Second, the *Consensus Repetitus* was only successful in being nothing more than a repetition of the confessions in the sections dealing with nature and grace. Third, the motive for creating a new binding symbol as a means of crushing syncretism stemmed from the fact that the Electoral Saxon theologians ultimately concluded that political solutions and theological conferences could not bring about the end they desired.

Even though the *Consensus Repetitus* had some success refuting syncretistic soteriology, Staemmler argues that it failed for two reasons: first, Staemmler argues that the Electoral Saxon theologians assumed syncretism was not a new theology with new theological problems, but a theology that presented old problems already condemned by the *Book of Concord*. The result was that rather than specifically condemning Helmstedt errors with the clear words of the Lutheran Confessions, the *Consensus Repetitus'* points and the marginal references were sometimes merely consequences of the *Book of Concord's* logic, misconstrued the syncretists' writings, or unconsciously moved beyond the *Book of Concord* altogether. Second, the *Consensus Repetitus'* original condemnations targeted against six specific individuals rather than syncretism in general. As these individuals passed away, this left the *Consensus Repetitus* open to the charge that the controversy was only a "historical question," which could now be

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dismissed. In addition, the *Consensus Repetitus* failed to distinguish fundamental doctrine from secondary matters. Thus open questions or at least secondary matters are condemned as if they were fundamental breaches of doctrine.<sup>76</sup>

Finally, Staemmler briefly explains the reason for each party's support for or opposition to the *Consensus Repetitus*. For the Electoral Saxon theologians, syncretism was a gross violation of the Lutheran Confessions that had to be opposed to preserve Lutheranism. Helmstedt's objections to the *Consensus Repetitus* were aimed against Electoral Saxony becoming a new papacy. But the roots of the Helmstedt charge stemmed not so much from Luther but from Helmstedt humanism. Doctrine, moreover, was marginalized because Helmstedt humanism had an ethical focus. The Jena theologians illustrate in their rebuttal of the *Consensus Repetitus* the "whether and under what circumstances" a *dissensus* must be tolerated. The Jena theologians were defending academic freedom. They also maintained that the matter must be handled by academic theologians and via a comprehensive analysis. For Spener what was needed was not a new confession, but a return to the old Christian truth and purity along with intensive catechetical examinations of the congregations. In the end, each response reflects movements of the seventeenth century, Orthodox Lutheranism, Melancthonian-humanism, Rationalism, and Pietism respectively.<sup>77</sup>

C. George Fry raises the question of the identity of the Latin Lutheran fathers of the seventeenth century in a 1979 essay for *Concordia Journal*. The Syncretistic Controversy was

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<sup>76</sup> Heinz Staemmler, "Das Kampf der kursächsischen Theologen gegen den Helmstedter Syncretismus, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Schrift *Consensus Repetitus fidei vere Lutheranae* von 1655," (Theol. diss., Halle, 1963); Heinz Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung der kursächsischen Theologen mit dem Helmstedter Synkretismus. Eine Studie zum "Consensus Repetitus fidei vere Lutheranae" (1655) und den Diskussionen um ihn* (Waltrop: Hartmut Spenner, 2005), 13–14, 267–70.

<sup>77</sup> Staemmler, *Die Auseinandersetzung*, 188–91.



really a struggle about Lutheran history, identity, and destiny. He concludes that the Latin Lutheran fathers saw themselves as catholic, evangelical, and confessional. Georg Calixt stressed the catholic dimension. Johann Musaeus stressed the evangelical dimension. Abraham Calov stressed the confessional dimension. If these dimensions are understood together and as corrective to each other, they faithfully reflect Lutheran history, identity, and destiny.<sup>78</sup>

In her article on the Syncretistic Controversy for *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, Inge Mager identifies the basic cause and outcome of the controversy:

The basic cause of the syncretistic controversy carried out on both sides with princely support, was the Reformed-friendly religious policy of the Great Elector (Frederick William, 1640–1688); the catalyst was the Colloquy of Thorn (Pol. Toruń), held in 1645 to bring about the reconciliation of the Polish Protestants with the Catholic, in which Georg Calixt took part as a Lutheran Prussian delegate. The undertaking, which failed because of the inflexibility of all participants, led to a three-phase literary war against syncretism, which ended only after the decease of the main Lutheran protagonist, Abraham Calov (1612–1686).... The outcome of the syncretistic controversy was inclusive. The ahistorical and ancient principle of tradition advocated by union theology was opposed by the Lutheran tradition of *viva vox evangelii* (living word of the gospel) and by the confessional writings.... Similarly, the effort to bring about interconfessional reconciliation was opposed by the decisive rejection of compromise in dogmatic matters and the commitment of confessional boundaries. The present-day ecumenical discussion could derive impulses from both positions.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> C. George Fry, "Three Lutheran Fathers of the 17th Century: The Search for Identity," *Concordia Journal* 5 (1979): 138–39.

<sup>79</sup> Inge Mager, "Syncretistic Controversy," in *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, ed. Erwin Fahlbusch et al., trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998–2008), 5:270.

## APPENDIX TWO

### THE CURRENT STATE OF CONFESSIONALIZATION STUDIES

The genesis of the confessionalization discussion can be traced back to the confession-building (*Konfessionsbildung*) process first articulated by Ernst Walter Zeeden, a Tübingen professor and Roman Catholic convert. Zeeden was responding to a historiographical tradition shaped by Leopold von Ranke's conception of a Protestant Reformation and Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation.<sup>1</sup> Indebted to Hubert Jedin's 1946 attempt to recast the Counter-Reformation as a Catholic-Reform and Counter-Reformation,<sup>2</sup> Zeeden's confession-building process claimed that Calvinism, Lutheranism, and Roman Catholicism each built modern, distinct, confessional churches during the second half of the sixteenth century. Zeeden defined this process in his seminal 1958 article *Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung in Deutschland im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*:

The formation of the confessions is to be understood in this way: the intellectual and organizational solidification of the several Christian churches, which had been separated ever since the Reformation, to reasonably stable ecclesiastical organisms regarding doctrine, church order, and the religious-moral life. At the same time, the process involved their expansion into the Christian world of early modern Europe; their defense against challenges from the outside through the means of diplomacy and

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<sup>1</sup> Leopold von Ranke, *History of the Popes: Their Church and State*, trans. E. Fowler, rev. ed., 3 vols. (New York: Colonial Press, 1901).

<sup>2</sup> Hubert Jedin, *Katholische Reformation oder Gegenreformation? Ein Versuch zur Klärung der begriffe nebst einer Jubiläumsbetrachtung über das Trienter Konzil* (Luzern: Stocker, 1946).

politics, but also the formation of extra ecclesiastical forces, especially the power of the state.<sup>3</sup>

The German historiography of the 1970s was not centered on *Konfessionsbildung*. The paradigm represented the fringe of a historiography that was dominated by the social sciences and socio-economic categories. The reason for this lack of enthusiasm, Heinz Schilling explains, was confession-building's narrow focus on the religious and ecclesiastical as opposed to Schilling's universal macro-historical perspective that encompasses all of society:

In the work of Zeeden and most of his students the preoccupation with the formation of the confessions was primarily traditional history—guided less by analytical than by subjective interest in those religious, institutional, and political traditions, at the end of which stood their own contemporary Christian confessional existence. This primary epistemological interest entailed the shaping of problems and research narrowly to the religious and ecclesiastical spheres, while the political, social, and general intellectual connections were seen as their marginal ramifications or consequences, and secular structures and developments remained in the background.”<sup>4</sup>

Consequently, the confessionalization paradigm arose, as Thomas A. Brady, Jr. points out, as one of a number of theories to explain Germany's transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Era as well as to account for Germany's alleged backwardness by European standards. Some of the other contending explanations focused the Marxist early bourgeois revolution, communalism, and proto-industrialism.<sup>5</sup> Schilling began to develop his theory of

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<sup>3</sup> Ernst Walter Zeeden, “Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung in Deutschland im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe,” in *Konfessionsbildung: Studien zur Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform*, ed. Volker Press and Ernst Walter Zeeden (Stuttgart: Verlagsgemeinschaft Ernst Klett Verlag, 1985), 69, translated in Heinz Schilling, “Confessionalization: Historical and Scholarly Perspectives of a Comparative and Interdisciplinary Paradigm,” in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor of Bodo Nischan*, ed. John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 23; See also Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Die Entstehung der Konfession: Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1965).

<sup>4</sup> Heinz Schilling, “Confessionalization,” 23–24.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas A. Brady, Jr., “Confessionalization—The Career of a Concept,” in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor of Bodo Nischan*, ed. John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (*continued next page*)

confessionalization (*Konfessionalisierung*), researching his second dissertation (*Habilitationsschrift*) at the University of Bielefeld. His winter of 1977/1978 dissertation, published in 1981 as *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatbildung*, proposed a new key paradigm for Early Modern German research and a reevaluation of past German historiography as well. Herein Heinz Schilling also gives Ernst Walther Zeeden's process of confession-building a makeover. Schilling supplanted the view most deftly articulated by Ernst Troeltsch (i.e., Calvinism represented a more progressive form of Protestantism than Lutheranism).<sup>6</sup> His study centered on a Calvinist Count of Lippe, Simon VI, who used confession to enhance his absolutist position and some Lemgo Lutheran burghers, who successfully utilized their own confessional identity to defend their communal liberties. Rather than attempt to assert absolutism's modernity over against traditional communal liberties, Schilling explained that there was really nothing inherently more progressive or modern about Calvinism (the Second Reformation) than Lutheranism (the Reformation). The politics of these confessions were not pre-programmed, but the product of their contextual situations. His interpretation of confessional conflict as social conflict, moreover, sought to overcome German historiography's socio-economic myopia by reintroducing religion as an important historical factor without diminishing the significance of the social sciences. Therefore, Lutheranism and Calvinism should be regarded, according to Schilling, as parallel developments or confessions, equally dedicated to religious renewal, social disciplining, and state building.<sup>7</sup>

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(Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 1–2.

<sup>6</sup> Ernst Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress: A Historical Study of the Relation of Protestantism to the Modern World*, trans. W. Montgomery (London: Williams & Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Son, 1912); Brady, "Confessionalization," 3–4.

<sup>7</sup> Heinz Schilling, *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung: Eine Fall Studie über das Verhältnis von religiösem und sozial Wandel in der Frühneuzeit am Beispiel der Grafschaft Lippe* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd (continued next page)

With the help of modernizing theory and Gerhard Oestreich's etatistic concept of social discipline, Heinz Schilling ultimately developed a theory of confessionalization as an universal paradigm of societal change in Early Modern European research.<sup>8</sup> He began with a theory of Protestant confessionalization as a societal transformation.<sup>9</sup> Schilling enlarged his model of Protestant confessionalization to include Wolfgang Reinhard's paradigm of Roman Catholic confessionalization. The use of neutral terminology such as "confession," "Lutheran confessionalization," and the "Age of Confessionalization" were encouraged to foster unbiased research, rather than loaded terms like "Concordial Lutheranism," "Lutheran Orthodoxy," and "Counter Reformation." However, he retained the term "Second Reformation" to describe the Reformed confessionalization in Germany that followed the Lutheran and Roman Catholic "Reformation of doctrine" "in order to designate the self-understanding of the actors, as well as to denote its distinctive political dynamic and its explicitly public character as a 'Reformation of

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Mohn, 1981). 366, 371, 382. Schilling summarized this dissertation in "Between the Territorial State and Urban Liberty: Lutheranism and Calvinism in the County of Lippe," in *The German People and the Reformation*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 263–83.

<sup>8</sup> The concept of social discipline rises from the work of Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 271–72. Oestreich writes, "The introduction of a basic discipline is a general process, consciously or unconsciously promoted by absolute monarchy, which took place in the most varied spheres. It brought a radical restructuring of political and social life. It was not a process confined to the state, the church, the army, or the economy. It first manifested itself in the power and authority of the early modern absolutist state. The state took over areas which were previously independent of it assuming new tasks in the expanding society of the time; simultaneously there was a new attitude towards the state, a new political view of national institutions and their representatives. The spiritual process was no less important than the material process. Thus there arose the pious, almost obsessive devotion to the state, which was attacked, in the name of the individual and personal liberty, by the spiritual, social, and economic revolution of 1789." See also Gerhard Oestreich, *Geist und Gestalt des Frühmodernen Staates. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1969); Winfried Schulze, "Gerhard Oestreichs Begriff 'Sozialdisziplinierung in der frühen New Zeit'," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 20 (1987): 265–302.

<sup>9</sup> Heinz Schilling, "Konfessionalisierung als gesellschaftlicher Umbruch. Inhaltliche Perspektiven und massenmediale Darstellung," in *Luther, die Reformation und Deutschen.—Wie erzählen wir unsere Geschichte?*, ed. Siegfried Quandt (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1982), 35–51.

life."<sup>10</sup> Still focusing on confessionalization in the German empire in a 1988 essay, Schilling dated the phenomenon between 1555 and 1620. He explains further that imperial confessionalization began between the late 1540s and 1560s following a functioning religious peace after the Peace of Augsburg. Confessional confrontation emerged in the 1570s.

Confessionalization reaches its apogee from the 1580s to the 1620s. It concludes under the conditions of the Thirty Years' War and on the basis of the Peace of Westphalia. Reaffirming the parallel comparability of these three confessions, Schilling stresses that their functional and structural similarities are more important than their differences in theology, spirituality, legal forms, or institutional forms when examined from the perspective of social and political transformation.<sup>11</sup> Finally, he developed confessionalization into a universal paradigm and modernizing process of societal change in Early Modern European research. In this paradigm, he leaves room for Anglicanism as a fourth confession and dates the "Confessional Age" in Europe, "the warm-up time of modernity," between 1560 and 1650.<sup>12</sup> This paradigm he defines in a comprehensive fashion:

In the wider definition "confessionalization" means a fundamental social transformation that includes ecclesiastical-religious and psychological-cultural changes as well as the state-political and social ones. "Confessionalization" means,

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<sup>10</sup> Heinz Schilling, "Second Reformation—Problems and Issues," in *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History*, ed. Heinz Schilling (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 299–301. The former is an English translation coupled with a new epilogue of Schilling's, "Die 'Zweite Reformation' als Kategorie der Geschichtswissenschaft," in *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland—Das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation, Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1985*, ed. Heinz Schilling (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1986), 387–437.

<sup>11</sup> Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalization in the Empire: Religious and Societal Change in Germany between 1555 and 1620," in *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History*, ed. Heinz Schilling (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 205–46. The former is an English translation of Schilling's "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich. Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620," *Historische Zeitschrift* 246 (1988): 1–45.

<sup>12</sup> Schilling, "Confessional Europe," 2:641–82. This essay provides a comprehensive overview of Schilling's confessionalization paradigm.

consequently, not only the rise of early modern confessional churches as institutions, also not only the "formation of confessions" in the sense of a prominence accorded to religious-cultural systems that can be confessionally speaking clearly distinguished from one another by their doctrine, ceremonies, spirituality, and not ultimately in the religious everyday culture. "Confessionalization" means a fundamental social process which largely coincided, but sometimes conflicted with, the formation of the early modern state and the shaping of its modern, disciplined society of subjects, which was organized differently than medieval society, not fragmented and personally (*personal-fragmentiert*), but institutionally and by territory (*institutionell-flächenmäßig*), as well as in parallel to the rise of the modern, capitalist economy, which deeply transformed both public and private life in Europe. In the long view, confessionalization belongs to the driving elements of the early modern process of transformation, which reshaped the status-structured social world of the old Europe into modern democratic industrial society.<sup>13</sup>

If Schilling's paradigm is a "confessionalization of society," Wolfgang Reinhard's model should be categorized as a "confessionalization of the churches."<sup>14</sup> Concurrent with Schilling's discoveries, Reinhard, first a professor at Freiburg and then at Augsburg, was working on a study that would make room for a theory of Roman Catholic confessionalization. In his 1977 *Gegenreformation als Modernisierung*, Reinhard maintained against Max Weber (and the Hegelian historians) that Roman Catholicism was also an agent of modernization, and not the most backward of the three confessions. He concluded the following:

1. the concept of "Counter Reformation" and "Catholic Reform" are inadequate to designate an entire epoch of either German or European history, because they promote a false derivation of all historical processes from ecclesiastical history;
2. the conventional pseudo-dialectical antithesis of the supersession thesis—a progressive Reformation bound to supplant a reactionary Catholicism—cannot be justified historically, whether applied to the religious movements or to an entire epoch;

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<sup>13</sup> Heinz Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat, und Gesellschaft—Profil, Leistung, Defizite und Perspektiven eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigms," in *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung. Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995), 4.

<sup>14</sup> Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche," 3–4.

3. the movement of the Counter Reformation proceeded parallel to and frequently in competition with the Reformation in the modernization of European society; and

4. the term "Confessional Age" is to be preferred for this era, because it supplants a chronologically based confessional antithesis with the idea of a parallel development, which makes it possible to understand the contemporary concept of "confession" in terms appropriate both to ecclesiastical-history and to social history.<sup>15</sup>

Reinhard incorporated these ideas into a Roman Catholic theory of confessionalization, which he summarizes as follows: Roman Catholicism plays a parallel role to Lutheranism and Calvinism in confessionalization, which occurred between the 1520s and the early part of the eighteenth century. Confessionalization was achieved by seven methods or mechanisms: the recovery of clear theoretical ideas, the spread and enforcement of new norms, propaganda and prevention of counter-propaganda, internalization of new orders through education, disciplining of adherents, the use of rituals, and the influence of language. Political growth is served by confessionalization. It strengthens national or territorial identity, keeps control of the church, and creates a homogenous populace through discipline.<sup>16</sup> In agreement with Schilling, Reinhard affirmed that his Roman Catholic theory was confessionalization of the church. He further argued that "knowledge amassed about the entire confessionalization process" can reveal the "confessional differences themselves" "much more extensively and fundamentally than before," and then listed eleven "crucial points and characteristics of Catholic confessionalization." These so-called *propria* or marks include: the binding of faith to the institution, the binding of faith and religious life to tradition, institutional reserves, the clergy as the spiritual estate, orders, women

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<sup>15</sup> Wolfgang Reinhard, "Gegenreformation als Modernisierung," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 68 (1977): 251–52, translated in Brady, "Confessionalization," 8.

<sup>16</sup> Wolfgang Reinhard, "Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des Konfessionellen Zeitalters," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 10 (1983): 258–59, 263, 268. See also Wolfgang Reinhard, "Konfession und Konfessionalisierung in Europa," in *Bekennnis und Geschichte: Die Confessio Augustana im historischen Zusammenhang*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Munich: Vogel, 1981), 165–89.



in confessionalization, Latin as a liturgical language, internationality, church and state, missions, and works-piety and popular piety.<sup>17</sup>

With a new paradigm on the horizon, three conferences were then scheduled to debate the merits of confessionalization theory. Heinz Schilling arranged the first of a series of three conferences that explored confessionalization theories. It focused on Reformed confessionalization and occurred in 1985.<sup>18</sup> Hans-Christoph Rublack arranged the second conference. It examined Lutheran confessionalization and took place in 1988.<sup>19</sup> Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling arranged the third conference. It looked at Roman Catholic confessionalization and occurred in 1993.<sup>20</sup> The confessionalization paradigm has now become such a pervasive interpretative model for the overview of the Confessional Era that a multi-volume series examining the reform and confessionalization of the German empire has been published.<sup>21</sup> Numerous scholars, moreover, have gone on to implement, reinterpret, and critique the paradigm in their own studies.

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<sup>17</sup> Wolfgang Reinhard, "Was ist katholische Konfessionalisierung?" in *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung. Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995), 436–37, 439–48.

<sup>18</sup> Heinz Schilling, ed., *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland—Das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation."* *Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1985* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1986).

<sup>19</sup> Hans-Christoph Rublack, ed., *Die lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland. Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1988* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1992).

<sup>20</sup> Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, eds., *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung. Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995).

<sup>21</sup> Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter—Katholizismus, Luthertum, Calvinismus (1563–1675)* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000); Anton Schindling and Ernst Walter Zeeden, ed., *Die Territorien des Reiches im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, 7 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1989–97).

The confessionalization paradigm has not only garnered a great deal of interest, but a significant amount of criticism as well.<sup>22</sup> The first and most significant critique of the confessionalization paradigm centers on its macro-historical claim to be a fundamental modernizing process of social transformation. The process, as defined by Schilling and Reinhard, could presuppose a progress-oriented social evolutionist interpretation of history at odds with the philosophical presuppositions of many historians. Luise Schorn-Schütte explains,

The perspective of the interpretive model of "confessionalization" is expressly *etatic*; the perspective of the interpretive model is "success-orientated" and therefore as a teleological interpretation of history focuses on the constant *higher development* of societal and state structures; the interpretive model is the expression of the time constraint of the historian interested in meaning, as it formulates a *functionalistic* historical picture. The early modern era is *demoted* to the prehistory of the modern.<sup>23</sup>

This analysis of confessionalization, it should also be noted, has implications for the debate about the modernity and uniqueness of the Reformation itself.<sup>24</sup> Confessionalization affirms the modernity of the Lutheran, Reformed, and Roman Catholic Reformation or confessionalization, although it undermines the uniqueness and distinctive *propria* of the different confessions as evident in the subsequent criticism of the paradigm. The philosophical presuppositions of

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<sup>22</sup> For overviews of the criticism of the confessionalization paradigm, see R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989); Heinrich Richard Schmidt, *Konfessionalisierung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992); Brady, "Confessionalization," 1–20; Stefan Ehrenpreis and Ute Lotz-Heumann, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter: Kontroversen um die Geschichte* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002); Lotz-Heumann, "Confessionalization," 1:497–501; Susan R. Boettcher, "Confessionalization: Reformation, Religion, Absolutism and Modernity," *History Compass* 2 (2004): 1–10; Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Confessionalization," in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. David M. Whitford (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2008), 136–57.

<sup>23</sup> Luise Schorn-Schütte, "Konfessionalisierung als wissenschaftliches Paradigm?," in *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa: Wirkung des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur*, ed. Joachim Bahlcke and Arno Strohmeier (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 66.

<sup>24</sup> See Heiko A. Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963); Lewis W. Spitz, *The Renaissance and Reformation Movements*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1987).

confessionalization aside, the process' capacity for bringing about social transformation has been contested as well. Anton Schindling has shown that confessionalization had its limits and that a number of aspects of Early Modern life resisted the confessionalization process.<sup>25</sup> Heinz Schilling's former Berlin colleague, Ute Lotz-Heumann adds, "Scholars have identified numerous elements and developments in the age of confessionalization that were unconfessional or could not be confessionalized, such as Roman law and many aspects of matrimonial law, the humanist republic of letters, the mystical-spiritual tradition, alchemy, and astrology."<sup>26</sup> Winfried Schulze has even suggested that the Early Modern Era could be better characterized with the concept of pluralization, which bought about secularization.<sup>27</sup>

The second major critique of confessionalization is that despite the paradigm's attempt to reclaim religion's role in Early Modern historiography, religion is reduced to parallel social forms and consequences.<sup>28</sup> Confessionalization runs the risk of examining religion only insofar as it is relevant to state building and social transformation, if not the socialization of religion itself. Although sympathetic to the confessionalization paradigm, John M. O'Malley writes,

The confessionalization thesis wants especially to show the social and political effects of religion; that is, more specifically, to show the codependency of church and state, with each influencing the other as well as society at large according to similar patterns. The thesis has had considerable success in this respect. It also has thereby

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<sup>25</sup> Anton Schindling, "Konfessionalisierung und Grenzen von Konfessionalisierbarkeit," in *Der Bilanz—Forschungsperspektiven—Register*, vol. 7 of *Die Territorien des Reichs im 1502–1611 Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, ed. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990), 9–44.

<sup>26</sup> Lotz-Heumann, "Confessionalization," 143. See Ernst Schubert, "Vom Gebot zur Landesordnung. Der Wandel fürstlicher Herrschaft vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert," in *Die deutschen Reformation zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Thomas A. Brady, Jr. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001), 19–62.

<sup>27</sup> Winfried Schulze, "Konfessionalisierung als Paradigm zur Erforschung des konfessionellen Zeitalters," in *Drei Konfessionen in einer Region: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Konfessionalisierung im Herzogtum Berg vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Burkhard Dietz and Stefan Ehrenpreis (Köln: Rheinland-Verlag, 1999), 15–30.

<sup>28</sup> Brady, "Confessionalization," 5.

manifested a curious similarity to traditional "church history," with its tendency to reduce everything to ecclesiastical politics. But what about religion in and of itself—not as a political or social force but as a yearning for the transcendent or an experience of it? Whether historians believe such yearning can be genuine and such experience possible is irrelevant if they define their task as in some measure to deal with what people in the past felt and believed and to enter that mental and emotional set, as far as possible, in its fullness.<sup>29</sup>

Concomitant to this problem is confessionalization's stress on the parallelism of the confessions and its tendency toward the playing down of each confession's distinctive *propria*. No doubt Wolfgang Reinhard's own articulation of Roman Catholic *propria* helped instigate this discussion. But Walter Ziegler does not really think that Roman Catholicism can represent a parallel development or confession at all, because of its unbroken continuity with the medieval period.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the leading advocate of the "fundamental upheaval" and the uniqueness of the Reformation, Thomas Kaufmann, has been a strong proponent of Lutheranism's distinctive *propria*.<sup>31</sup> He has even tried to refocus the discussion on what he calls confessional cultures (*Konfessionskulturen*) rather than confessionalization. Ute Lotz-Heumann explains,

He concentrates on the "internal perspective" of the confessions and looks at how a confessional church variously shaped social and cultural life. His emphasis on diversity in Lutheran confessional culture, rather than uniformity, has led him to introduce a new term, *binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität* (inner-confessional plurality).<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 138–39.

<sup>30</sup> Walter Ziegler, "Typen der Konfessionalisierung in katholischen Territorien Deutschlands," in *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung. Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995), 417.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Kaufmann, "Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche und Gesellschaft. Sammelbericht über eine Forschungsdebatte," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 121 (1996): 1008–25, 1112–21. See Thomas Kaufmann, *Universität und lutherische Konfessionalisierung: Die Rostocker Theologieprofessoren und ihr Beitrag zur theologischen Bildung und kirchlichen Gestaltung im Herzogtum Mecklenburg zwischen 1550 und 1675* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1997).

<sup>32</sup> Lotz-Heumann, "Confessionalization," 145. See Thomas Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Westfälischer Friede: Kirchengeschichtliche Studien zur lutherischen Konfessionskultur* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, *(continued next page)*)

The third critique of the confessionalization paradigm revolves around its elitist "top-down approach" and "etatistic narrowing." Confessionalization has been found to take place independent of state building or state-driven social discipline. The process, moreover, has been shown to occur from below as well as from above. In light of his study of the peasants and villages of Bern, Heinrich Richard Schmidt has argued that the paradigm is too focused on the activity of the state and treats the populace as passive objects to be controlled and disciplined. Since the church and not the state carried out discipline, Schmidt wonders whether scholars should rather speak of a "self-discipline" and "self-confessionalization."<sup>33</sup> Similarly Kenneth Appold, Wolfgang Sommer, and Jonathan Strom have argued that clergy and theologians were not mere state "agents of confessionalization."<sup>34</sup>

How has the confessionalization paradigm fared outside of Germany? In an essay on confessionalization in France, Mack P. Holt argues,

It is equally clear, however, that confessionalization in Burgundy was not a part of any state-building program. If anything, the local magistrates were opposed to the crown's policy of the legal recognition of the Protestantism in France, and they fought consistently against it. It was the weakness of the monarchy in France during the religious wars, in fact, that allowed such local and particularist opposition to flourish. In addition, the political support from the state given to the process of confessionalization in Dijon derived entirely from the local city council and the local parlement, not from the monarchy or the Parlement of Paris. Likewise, the pressure from the city's *vignerons*, the workers in the local wine industry, provided significant

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1998); Kaspar von Greyerz, et al., *Interkonfessionalität—Transkonfessionalität—binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität: New Forschung zur Konfessionalisierungstheorie* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 2003).

<sup>33</sup> Heinrich Richard Schmidt, *Dorf und Religion: Reformierte Sittenzucht in Berner Landgemeinden der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: G. Fischer, 1995); Heinrich Richard Schmidt, "Socialdisziplinierung? Ein Plädoyer für das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalisierungsforschung," *Historische Zeitschrift* 265 (1997): 639–82.

<sup>34</sup> Kenneth Appold, "Academic Life and Teaching in Post-Reformation Lutheranism," in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675*, ed. Robert Kolb (Brill: Leiden, 2008), 92–93, 114–15; See Wolfgang Sommer, *Gottesfurcht und Fürsteherrschaft: Studien zum Obrigkeitsverständnis Johann Arndts und lutherischer Hofprediger zur Zeit der altprotestantischen Orthodoxie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988); Jonathan Strom, *Orthodoxy and Reform: The Clergy in Seventeenth Century Rostock* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 8; Appold, *Orthodoxie*, 314–17.

opposition to Protestantism in the city. From this perspective, confessionalization in Dijon represented much more a process whose impetus came from below, rather than from the state above.<sup>35</sup>

This rejection of the so-called strong theory of confessionalization that included state building has marked confessionalization research in the Netherlands, England, and Scotland as well.<sup>36</sup>

With such scholarship in mind, John M. Headley opines, "It would therefore appear that the Germanies of the Holy Roman Empire provide something of a unique soil for our understanding of Confessionalization in its strong, hard form."<sup>37</sup> But before a hard form of confessionalization is deemed normative in Germany, Marc Forster asserts that confessional identities were formed from below, independent of a state-sponsored program of social disciplining in Southwest

#### German Catholicism:

By the late seventeenth century most people living in Southwest Germany developed a confessional identity in absence of strong states and without being subjected to a sustained policy of confessionalization.... The local experience of Baroque Catholicism bears few marks of an elite-sponsored program of social discipline or modernization.... An analysis of religious practice at the local level reveals that the origins of Catholic identity were not political but in fact popular.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Mack P. Holt, "Confessionalization beyond the Germanies: the Case of France," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor of Bodo Nischan*, ed. John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 272.

<sup>36</sup> Andrew Pettegree, "Confessionalization in North Western Europe," in *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa: Wirkung des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur*, ed. Joachim Bahlcke and Arno Strohmeyer (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 105–20; Olaf Mörke, "Konfessionalisierung als politisch-soziales Strukturprinzip? Das Verhältnis von Religion und Staatsbildung in der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande im 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 16 (1990): 31–60.

<sup>37</sup> John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas, eds., *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor of Bodo Nischan* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), xxv. See also Bruce Gordon, "Konfessionalisierung, Stände und Staat in Ostmitteleuropa (1550–1650)," *German History* 17 (1999): 90–94.

<sup>38</sup> Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 15. See also Marc Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

One scholar has even recognized confessionalization among radical and non-Christian groups, challenging Schilling's conception of state building and its *de facto* exclusion of sectarian groups from the confessionalization process.<sup>39</sup>

The fourth major critique of confessionalization revolves around the question of periodization. Not even Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard are in harmony on this subject. Schilling starts confessionalization with the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and concludes the process with the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648). Reinhard, conversely, begins the period of confessionalization in the 1520s and lengthens it to the expulsion of the Salzburg Protestants in 1731–32.<sup>40</sup> With respect to the genesis of confessionalization, Harm Kleuting and Erika Rummel have argued for a 1525 and 1520s beginning of the confessionalization process respectively.<sup>41</sup> With respect to the terminus of confessionalization, Joel F. Harrington and Helmut Walser Smith have made a case for extending confessionalization to 1870. They write, "It is our contention that confessional identities and divisions belong to the deep structures of German history, and that these structures, however complex, are traceable over the long historical term and across traditional disciplinary boundaries."<sup>42</sup> Studies of German Catholic confessionalization agree and

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<sup>39</sup> Michael D. Driedger, *Obedient Heretics: Mennonite Identities in Lutheran Hamburg and Altona during the Confessional Age* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002). See also Michael Driedger, "The Intensification of Religious Commitment. Jews, Anabaptists, Radical Reform, and Confessionalization," in *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in 16th-Century Germany*, ed. Dean Philipp Bell and Stephan G. Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 269–99; Schilling, "Confessional Europe," 2:643.

<sup>40</sup> Schilling, "Confessional Europe," 2:641; Reinhard, "Was ist," 432.

<sup>41</sup> Harm Klueting, *Das Konfessionelle Zeitalter 1525–1648* (Stuttgart: Eugen Ulmer, 1989); Erika Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

<sup>42</sup> Joel F. Harrington and Helmut Walser Smith, "Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in Germany, 1555–1870," *The Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997): 77–101. See also Etienne François, *Die unsichtbare Grenze: Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg, 1648–1806* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1991).

have shown the process continued to 1800 and often crystallized after 1650.<sup>43</sup> Some scholars have even extended confessionalization to 1970.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Marc Forster, "Catholic Confessionalism in Germany after 1650," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor of Bodo Nischan*, ed. John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 227–41; Forster, *Catholic Revival*; Forster, *Counter-Reformation*; Werner Freitag, *Pfarrer, Kirche, und ländliche Gesellschaft: Das Dekanat Vechta 1400–1803* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1998); Andreas Holzem, *Religion und Lebensformen: Katholische Konfessionalisierung in Sendgericht des Fürstbistums Münster 1570–1800* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000).

<sup>44</sup> Olaf Blaschke, ed., *Konfessionen im Konflikt. Deutschland zwischen 1800–1970: ein zweites konfessionelles Zeitalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003); Casten Kretschmann and Henning Phal, "Ein Zweites Konfessionelles Zeitalter"?—Vom Nutzen und Nachteil einer neuen Epochen-signatur," *Historische Zeitschrift* 276 (2003): 369–92.



**APPENDIX THREE**

**SYNCRETISTIC AUTHORS CITED IN THE *CONSENSUS REPETITUS***

Georg Calixt	Conrad Horneius	Christian Dreier	Johann Latermann	Friedrich Ulrich Calixt
1617 <i>Disputatio Theologica De Peccato</i>				
1624 <i>Quatuor Evangelicorum Scriptorum Concordia Et Locorum</i>				
	1632 <i>De Sacris Et Divinis Scripturis Tractatus Theologicus</i>			
1634 <i>Epitome theologiae</i>				
1634 <i>Epitomes Theologiae Moralis</i>				
1635 <i>Theses De Providentia Dei</i>				
	1637–40 <i>Dissertationum Theologicarum</i>			
1638 <i>De Sacrificio Christi Semel in Cruce oblato</i>				
1639 <i>Disputatio Theologica De Autoritate Antiquitatis Ecclesiasticae</i>				
1641 <i>Historia</i>				

<i>Iosephi</i>				
1641 <i>Gründliche Widerlegung</i>				
1642 edition of <i>Georgi Cassandri De Commvniōe Sv̄b Vtraqve Specie Dialogus</i>				
Georg Calixt	Conrad Horneius	Christian Dreier	Johann Latermann	Friedrich Ulrich Calixt
1643 <i>Dissertatio Theologica De Igne Purgatorio</i>	1643–44 <i>Disputationum Theologicarum</i>			
1643 <i>Disputatio Theologica De Baptismo</i>				
1644 <i>Responsvm Maledicis Theologorum Moguntinorum Pro Romani Pontificis Infallibilitate Praeceptoqve Commvniōis Sv̄b Vna Vindiciis Oppositvm</i>				
1645 <i>Responsi Maledicis Theologorum Moguntinorum Vindiciis oppositi Pars Altera Infallibilitatem Romani Pontificis Seorsim Excvtiens</i>				
1645 <i>De Sanctissimo Trinitatis Mysterio Contra Socinianos Exercitatio</i> (with Latermann responding)				
1645 <i>Scripta Facientia Ad Colloqvium</i>				

			1646 <i>De Aeterna Dei Praedestinatione</i>	
1648 <i>De Auctoritate Sacrae Scripturae</i>	1648 <i>Disputatio Theologica De Vera Praesentia Corporis Et Sanguinis D. N. Jesu Christi Cum Pane Et Vino</i>		1648 <i>Declaratio Apologetica</i>	
Georg Calixt	Conrad Horneius	Christian Dreier	Johann Latermann	Friedrich Ulrich Calixt
	1648 <i>De Summa Fidei Non Qualislibet Sed Quae per caritatem operator necessitate ad salutem</i>			
	1648 <i>Iterata Adsertio Qva Fidem Non Qvalemlibet Sev Otiosam Avt Mortvam</i>			
1649 <i>De Peccato Originali Exercitatio</i>	1649 <i>Repetitio Doctrinae Verae De Necessitate B. O. Sev Stvdii Pietatis</i>			
1649 <i>Ad Svam De Questionibvs Nvm Mysterivm S. Trinitatis E Solo Vetere Testam. Possit Evinci</i>				
1649 <i>De Qvaestionibvs Nvm Mysterivm Sanctissimae Trinitatis E Solivs Veteris Testamenti Libros Possit</i>				

<i>Demonstrari</i>				
1650 <i>Desiderium Et Studium Concordiae Ecclesiasticae</i>			1650 edition of Cassander's <i>Tractatus De officio pii viri, in hoc Ecclesiae universae, Occidentalis imprimis, dissidio</i>	
Georg Calixt	Conrad Horneius	Christian Dreier	Johann Latermann	Friedrich Ulrich Calixt
1650 <i>Iudicium Georgii Calixti, SS. Theologiae Doctoris Et Professoris Celeberrimi. In Academia Iulia De Controversiis Theologicis, Quae inter Lutheranos Et Reformatos Agitantur</i>				
1651 <i>Wiederlegung Der unchristlichen und unbilligen Verleumdungen (including concomittant texts)</i>		1651 <i>Gründliche Erörterung</i>		
1651 <i>Ad Illvstrissimvm Et Celsissimvm Principem Et Dominvm, Dominvm Ernestvm</i>				
1652 <i>Iucundus Congressus seu Epistolae Anno M.DC.L. Iubileo Scriptae Et Ad Autographum Romanum Recusae</i>				

				1653 <i>De Deo Divinisque Attributis Exercitatio</i>
1654 <i>De Pactis</i>				
1659 <i>Consideratio Doctrinae Pontificiae Iuxta Ductum Concilii Tridentini Et Reformatae Iuxta Ductum Confess.</i>				

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*Anti-Crisis, Sive Confutatio Judiciorum, a Latermanni Errorum Complicibus, utpote D. Michaelis Behm, D. Christiano Drejero, nec non ipso D. Latermanno, sine iudicio editorum, qua larva speciem Judiciorum prae se serens detrahitur; Censurarum genuinarum ab Orthodoxis Theologis expeditarum autoritas adseritur; innocentia Venerandi Ministerii Tripolitani vindicatur: Mysteria insuper notabilia iniquitatis D. Calixti, ipsiusque; asseclarum in Prussia, Latermanni Complicum passim patrare, e latibulis in apricum protrahuntur, ac conspectui Ecclesiae in Dei gloriam sistunter. Accessit appendix Declarationem Triplicem D. Latermanni concernens, quarum secunda Rostochii ab ipso exhibita variarum Heterodoxiarum, Calvinismo, Photinianismo, & Iudaismo applaudentium & patrocinantium, rea agitur; Tertia nuper divulgata Apologetica, non tantum communium cum Calvinianis & Pontificiis Errorum sed etiam Atheismi convincitur; qualem D. Latermannus, ductum Georgii Cassandri, Marci Antonii de Dominis I. 7. de Republ. Ecclesiasti; ut & D. Calixti, secutus, Ecclesiis Prutenicis una cum complicibus errorum suorum, obtrudere, nec non in easdem, ut & Acadmiam Regiomontanam, plenis velis invehere satagit. Opera & studio Ministerij respectivè Tripolitani apud Regiomontanos.* Danzig: Hünefeld, 1649.

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- . *Institutionum Theologicarum Ta. prolegomena Et ea, quae ad Partem Generalem revocari solent; De Natura Theologiae; Objecto, Religione: Principio, Revelatione, vel Scriptura S. ut & Articulis Fidei in genere. Cum Examine Novae Theologiae Calixtinae: Quo refelluntur Hypotheses Ejus palmariae, ac imprimis Scopus Syncretisticus; simulq; liquido demonstratur, D. Calixtum, Ejusq; Complices Regiomont: D. Michael Behm, D. Drejerum, & D. Latermannum non nisi falso sese Catholicos, & Lutheranos jactitare, reapse autem a Fide Catholica Lutherana, ab Aug. Confess. apologia, Artic. Smalcald, Formula Concordiae, & maxime a Corpore Prutenico, Julioq; defecisse. Producto unanimi praecipuorum Theologorum contra Heterodoxias istas Consensu, proprioque Novatorum de Apostasia sua testimonio. Danzig: Rhete, 1649.*
- . *I. N. J. Isagoges Ad SS. Theologiam Libri Duo, De Natura Theologiae, Et Methodo Studii Theologici, Pie, Dextre, Ac Feliciter Tractandi, Cum examine Methodi Calixtinae. Wittenberg: Hartmann, 1666.*
- . *I. N. J. Judicium Theologicum repetitum De Quaestionibus IV. Practicus 1. de dignoscendis haereticis a Catholicis 2. Sectariis & Nominibus discretivis. 3. Admissione Reformatorum ad S. Synaxin Lutheranorum. 4. Usu Eucharistiae apud Papistas; adversus Syncretistarum novissimum, eundemque omnium, quos Solunquam inter Christianos vidi, Facile pessimum; M. Henricum Nicolai, Ex-Professorem Gedenensem, & Elbingensem. Wittenberg: Hake, 1658.*
- . *Nöthige Ablehnung, Etlicher injurien / falschen aufflagen / und bezüchtigungen / Damit D. Calixtus ihn D. Calovium hat belegen und angiessen wollen / sambt Nützlicher Entdeckung / unterschiedener anderer Calixtinischen guten Werke / Zu steuer der Warheit / und rettung seines guten Namens. Mit Consens und approbation der Theologischen Facultet in Wittenberg / ausgefertigt. Wittenberg: Hartmann, 1651.*
- . *Scripta Philosophica, I. Gnostologia. II Noologia, Seu Habitus Intelligentiae. III. Metaphysicae Divinae Pars Generalis. IV. Metaphysicae Divinae Pars Specialis. V. Encyclopedia Mathematica. VI. Methodo Docendi Et Disputandi. VII. Idea Encyclopedias Disciplinarum Realium, Philosophiam Universam, Facultates Superiores, Ut Et Logicam Repraesentantes. Quae partim primun nunc prodeunt, diu multumque desiderata. Partim revisa & locupletata, ita exhibentur, ut non minus SS. Theologiae, quam accuratioris Philosophiae cultoribus insigni usui esse queant, simulque abusum, ac Sophismata varia Socinianorum Calvinianorum & Pontificiorum solide refellant. Rostock: Wilde, 1651.*
- . *In Nomine Jesu! Stereoma Sacratissimae Testatoris Christi Voluntatis De Substantiali Praesentia Et Orali Perceptione Corporis & Sanguinis Sui In S. S. Eucharistia ad solidam skoliodoxi, aj Zvinglianae confutationem & Fundamentalem yeudoserew, matoj Antesignani Reformatorum hodie celeberrimi D. Johannis Bergii, eversionem. Rostock: Reusner, 1635.*



- . *I. N. J. Syncretismus Calixtinus a modernis Ecclesiae turbatoribus D. Georgio Calixto, Ejusque; Discipulo D. Johann. Latermanno, & utriusque Complice, ac hyperaspista D. Christian Drejero, In Nupero Papistico Calvinistico-Arminiano Tractatu Der ungründlichen Erörterung etlicher schwerer Theologischer Fragen nimis infelicitè Cum Reformatis & Pontificiis Tentatus Quoad Postlata Praecipua Cum Generalia, Tum Specialia, Solemni, aliisque; Publicis Disputationibus In Illustri Elector. Quae Witteberg, Est, Universitate ad lancem veritatis exactus & discussus. Adjectum est Epimetron in gratiam D. Calixti advocate, ac Patroni Judaeorum & Muhammedanorum in Puncto Idololatriae adversus Apologiam August. Confeß. & Megalandrum Lutherum.* 2nd ed. Wittenberg: Wendt, 1655.
- . *In Nomine Jesu! Synopsis Controversiarum Potiorum, Quae Ecclesiae Christi cum Haereticis & Schismaticis modernis, Socinianis, Anabaptistis, VVeigelianis, Remonstrantibus, Pontificiis, Calvinianis, Calixtinis, aliisque intercedunt, Secundum seriem articulorum August. Confeßionis ita propositarum, ut tum materia disputationum, tum idea Locorum Communium Elenclicorum exhibeatur, XLIII. Disputationibus publico privatis in Electorali Universitate Wittebergensi expedita, Praeside Abraham Calovio, D. Prof. Publico, Consist. Eccles. Adsess. & Circuli Elect. Saxon. Superintendente Generali. Praemissa est praefatio Apologetica ea, quibus Autorem D. Georgius Calixtus in der Wied-erlegung vellicat, expendens.* 2nd ed. Wittenberg: Wendt, 1653.
- . *Quadrige Quaeſtionvm Theologicarum De Syncretismo Non-Neminis Variarum Religionem Confusioni longe exitiosissimae dicato. Quam in Illustri Electorali, quae Wittebergae est, Universitate, Ad diem XVI Aprilis publica sentiarum collationi subicit.* Wittenberg: Hake, 1657.
- . *Syntagmatis Antisyncretistici Loci, Et Controversiae Ad E;LEGCON Errorum qui hactenus a Pontificiis, Calvinianis, Socinianis, Arminianis & Novatoribus, aliisque toi/j sunkrhtizousi Iude ab Aug. Conf. exhibitae tempore, & hoc praecipue, quod nunc agimus, seculo disseminati & propugnati; non Ecclesiis in unitate Spiritus consociandus, sed per schismata varia turbandis, novisque sectis procreandis apti nati sunt.* Leipzig: Lanckisch, 1668.
- . *Systema Locorum Theologicorum, E Sacra Potissimum Scriptura, & Antiquitate, Nec Non Adversariorum Confessione, Doctrinam, Praxin & Controversiarum Fidei, Cum Veterum, Tum Imprimis Recentiorum, Pertractationem Luculentam Exhibens.* 12 vols. Wittenberg: Hartmann and Wilcke, 1655–77.
- . *Theologia Naturalis Et Revelata secundum tenorem Augustanae Confessionis.* Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1646.

———. *Theologisches Judicium / Vff Begehren / Vber D. Christiani Dreieri, Zu Königsberg in Preussen / In verwichenem Jahre gehaltenen / auch daselbst öffentlich publicirten Oration, De Syncretismo, und Predigt / unterm Titul / Die Einige sichtbahre und bedrängte Kirche Christi aus dem Evangelio am Sontage Matth. 20. Zu Erklärung des hochnötigen Articuls unsers Glaubens von der allgemeinen Kirchen / wie auch zu Vermeidung der Syncretistischen Schreyer / und Feind der Einigkeit / gestellet / Vnd vormahls ohne des Autoris wissen / Willen / oder Begehren / darzu ohne seinen Namen zu Königsberg / wiewol in guter Meynung / gedruckt/ jetzo aber aus erheischender Nothdurfft / und zu Rettung seiner Vnschuld /Nebst einem Extract aus der gnädigst erforderten Apologia, Mit Gutbefindung / und Consens der Theologischen Facultät zu Wittenberg Sambt D. Leonhardi Hutteri, und D. Bartholdi Krackeviz Sel. Theologischen Bedencken / Ob ein Theologus in ein frembdes Ampt greiffe / und derer Sachsen und Religions-Händel sich annehme / die ihn nicht angehen / wann er sein Judicium schriftt – oder mündlich von falschen Lehrern / ausser seinem Gezirck / ertheilet / und andere dafür warnet!* Wittenberg: Mevius, 1663.

———. *I. N. J. Vindiciae Considerationis Arminianismi Exercitationi Apologeticae Henrici Nicolai oppositae: Quibus scripta partier caetera Autoris cum Philosophica, tum Theologica defendunter, hominisq; illius desperati in novella haeresi, pertinacia luculenter demonstrator.* Wittenberg: Hake, 1658.

———. *Vindiciae Fama Calovianae Adversus Sycophantam Pessimum, Personatum Illum Laurentium Laurentium, Svecum, Gymnasiarchem, Et P. (In Utopia,) Qvi Famoso Libello Nuperrime Publicato Discipulos Suos, (agw,soj kai. anwnu,moj,) Ad Privatam Epitomes Theologicae Calixtinae AKROASIN, Et Publicam Institutionum Hildebrandinarum DIASKEPSIN, [In Collegio Diabolicae Calumniae,] instituendam, invitavit: Patrem mendaciorum imitates, (verba homnis impuri sunt,) Bonis Oppedere, & oletum facere, sategit: In Solius Veritatis Coelestis, qvam ille conspurcavit, Gloriam, & Criminationem, qvas eructavit, confusionem publicam.* Wittenberg: Schrödter, 1678.

[Calov, Abraham?]. *Dissensus Theologorum Jenensium Ab Orthodoxis Electoralibus, e Jenensium Declaratione, & Celeberrimi Theologi Dn. D. Abrahami Calovii, Systemate Theologico ad verbum descriptus.* N.p.: n.p., 1678.

Carpzov, Benedikt. *Jurisprudencia Ecclesiastica Seu Consistorialis.* Leipzig: Stark, 1708.

Carpzov, Johann. *Isagoge in Libros Ecclesiarum Lutheranarum Symbolicos.* Edited by Johann Olearius. Leipzig: Wittigau, 1675.

Cellarius, Balthasar. *Vnverdiente Seligkeit / Oder Himlische Gnadenreiche Belohnung / Welche der Sohn Gottes Denen Friedfertigen Wie auch Denen / so daumb der Gerechtigkeit willen verfolget vnd umb seinet willen geschmähet werden / Verheisset / vnd ihnen zueignet / Auß dem Matth. v, 9. 10. 11. 12. Bey Christlichen Begräbnis Deß Weyland Wol-Ehrwürdigen Groß-Achtbarn und Hochgelahrten / Herren Georgii Calixti SS. Theol. D. vnd derselben bey der Fürstlichen Iulius Vniversität zu Helmstädt Prof. Publ. Primarij, wie auch Fürnehmen Abts der Kloster zu Königslutter / welcher in dem 70. Jahr seines Alters / den 18 Mart. dieses 1656 Jahrs in dem Herren sanfft und selig entschlaffen / vnd darauff den 10 April. in der S. Stephans Kirchen hieselbst in Seine Ruhekammer beygesetzt worden In ansehnlicher Versammlung betrachtet und der Gemeine Gottes fürgehalten. Helmstedt: Müller, 1656.*

*Censurae Theologorum Orthodoxorum: Quibus Errores varii, iique; periculosi, utpote in Scripturam S. ac Libellos Symbolicos Ecclesiarum invariatae Augustanae Confessionis impingentes, Autore D. Johanne Latermanno tum in Exercitatione de Praedestinatione in Academia Regiomontana; tum alibi distinctis velitationibus propugnati, examinantur & damnantur: a multis pio erga puriorem religionem zelo flagrantibus hactenus desideratae: Jam vero e bono Ecclesia una cum quibusdam Apographis & Breviariis literarum a celeberrimis Theologis orthodoxis exaratarum, lectuque, non minus dignarum, quam necessariorum & utilium publica luci expositae. Studio & opera Ministerii respectivè Tripolitani Regiomontani. Danzig: Rhetian, 1648.*

Chemnitz, Christian. *Vertheidigter Grund des Glaubens und der Seligkeit / Oder Bericht und Antwort / Auff Henrici Martini Eccarti, Theologiae Doctoris und Professoris zu Rinteln / Weiniges / kurtzer und wohlmeinliches Bedencken / über das Theologische Gespräch / Anno M.D.C.LXI. zu Cassel gehalten. Darinnen erwiesen und dargethan: Daß der Calvinisten Lehre neben demselbigen nicht bestehen / noch zwischen der Lutheraner und ihrer Lehre / unverletzt der Göttlichen Warheit / ein Religions-Syncretismus geschlossen werden könne: Auch was zu dessen Behauptung angeführet / beantwortet wird; Auff sonderbaren fürstlichen Gnädigsten Befehl / Zur wahren Nachricht und Vertheidigung der Seligmachenden / in Gottes Wort gegründeten / und in denen Libris Symbolicis wiederholten / reine Lehre. Jena: Nisio, 1664.*

Chemnitz, Martin. *Examen Concilii Tridentini*. Edited by Ed. Preuss. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1915.

———. *Loci Theologici*. Edited by Polykarp Leyser the Elder. Frankfurt and Wittenberg: Mevius and Schumacher, 1653.

"Christlicher und gründlicher bericht, welcher gestalt die herrn und jungfrauenklöster im herzogthumb Braunschweig, Wulffenbütlischen theils, reformiret, aus welchem die jungfrauen nicht allein ihr gewissen gegen Gott bewaren, sondern auch meniglich genugsame rechenschaft geben können, das sie aus keiner leichtfertigkeit, sondern mit beständigen grund des catholischen christlichen glaubens und reinem gewissen die kappen sampt dem orden abgelegt und verlassen." In *Niedersachsen*, vol. 6 of *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Emil Sehling, 1:281–335. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1955.

*Christliches Hauß-Kirch-Büchlein / Darinnen gelehret und gezeiget wird / Wie ein Christ nicht allein für sich / in der Wissenschaft derer zur ewigen Seligkeit gehörigen nothwendigen Stück / sich gründen / und in dem wahren Gottes-dienst üben / sondern auch die Seinen hierin recht anführen und auffziehen solle ... Am Ende ist angefüget Ein Christliches Bet-Büchlein / Nach Ordnung des Catechismi Lutheri eingetheilet.* Gotha: Schall, 1647.

Colerus, Theophil. *Abbildung Eines rechtschaffenen Lehrers / In unsträfflich geführtem Wandel und dapperer Bekänntniß der Christlichen Lehre aus der Epist. Pauli an die Philipp. am 3. v. 20. 21. bey Christ-gewöhnlich- und Volckreichen Leichbegängniß des weiland Hoch Ehrwürdigen / Hochachtbahren und Hochgelahrten Herrn D. Johannis Musaei, Hochberühmten und üm die gesammte Christ-evangelische Kirche fürtrefflich-verdienten Theologi, bey der Fürstl. Sächs. gesammten Universität zu Jena hochansehnlich Professoris Publici Primarii, und der wohlöbe. Theol. Facultät Senioris. Als derselbe den 4. Maji A. 1681 in Christo sanfft und seelig entschlaffen / den folgenden 8 Maji zu seiner Ruhestätte gebracht worden / Wohlerbaulich gezeiget.* Jena: Gollner, 1681.

*I. N. J. Collegii Theologici Wittebergensis Ad Rintelensem Epistolam Apologeticam Justa Et Necessaria Antapologia : Qua Syncretismi Cassellani Foeditas, Et Dnn. Anticriticorum Avtocatacrisis, Erroresqve Gravissimi Deteguntur, Orthodoxia S. Augustini, B. Lutheri, Et Aliorum Ecclesiae Doctorum Adseritur, Calviniani Haereseos, In Praecipuis Fidei Articulis, Convincuntur, Adeoque Literae Communicatoriae, Cum Epicrisi, Luculenter Vindicantur, Ad Divinae veritatis propagationem, Ecclesiae a Syncretismi lue praeservationem, Accusationum iniquarum propulsationem, Errantium in viam veritatis revocationem, Pio, Debitoqve Erga Sinceriores Doctrinae Depositum Zelo, Suscepta, Et In Facie Ecclesiae Anno O. R. MDCLXVI Ad Sacra Invariatae August. Confessionis Cum Academica Tum Ecclesiastica Collegia.* Wittenberg: Mevius, 1666.

"Colloquium Lipsiense, Das ist, Die Vnterredung deren zu Leizig im Jahr 1631. anwesenden Chur-Sächsischen, Chur-Brandenburgischen vnd Fürstlichen Hessischen Theologen, Von denen zwischen den Evangelischen streitigen Religions Punkten." In *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum*, edited by H. A. Niemeyer, 653–68. Leipzig: Klinkhardt, 1840.

*Concordia. Christliche, Widerholete/ einmütige Bekentnüs nachbenanter Churfürsten / Fürsten und Stende Augspurgischer Confession / vnd derselben zu ende des Buchs vnderschiedener Theologen Lere vnd glaubens. Mit angeheffter / in Gottes wort / als der einigen Richtschnur / wolgegründter erklerung etlicher Artikel / bey welchen nach D. Martin Luthers seligen absterben / disputation vnd streit vorgefallen. Aus einhelliger vergleichung vnd beuehl obdachter Churfürsten / Fürsten vnd Stende / derselben Landen / Kirchen / Schulen vnd nachkommen / zum vnderricht vnd warnung in Druck vorfertiget. Dresden, 1580.*

*Concordien-Büchlein / Deutsch: Darinnen: 1. Die drey Häupt-Symbola: 2. Die Augspurgische Confession: 3. Die Schmalkaldischen Artikel; 4. Die eilff Artickel / welche man eigentlich nennet die Formul Concordiae: Für die Kirchen im Fürstenthumb Gotha / auff Gnädige Fürstl. Verordnung / also in Druck gegeben. Gotha, 1646.*

"Confessio Fidei Ioannis Sigismundi, Electoris Brandenburgici." In *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum*, edited by H. A. Niemeyer, 642–52. Leipzig: Klinkhardt, 1840.

*Confessio Fidei, Qvam Statvs, Cives & Ecclesiae in Polonia, Prvssia Et Lithvania Inv. Conf. Avg. Addictae in Colloq. Charitat. Thorvnii, A. MDCXLV Habito Primvm Serenissimi Regis Poloniarvm Vladislai IV. Legato, Dn. Georgio Ossalinski, Deinde Ipsi Sereniss. Reg. Maiest. Tradidervnt Denvo Ivxta Exemplar Lipsiens. A. 1655.* Edited by Samuel Günther. Danzig: Knock, 1735.

"Consensus Repetitus Fidei Vere Lutheranae in illis doctrinae capitibus, quae Contra puram & invariata[m] Augustanam Confessionem, aliosque libros Symbolicos, in Formulae Concordiae comprehensos, scriptis publicis hodieque impugnant D. Georgius Calixtus, Professor Helmstadiensis, eiusdemque complices," in *Consilia Theologica Witebergensia, Das ist / Wittenbergische Geistliche Rathschläge Deß theuren Mannes Gottes / D. Martini Lutheri, seiner Collegen, und treuen Nachfolger / von dem heiligen Reformation-Anfang / biß auff jetzige Zeit / in dem Namen der gesampten Theologischen Facultät außgestellte Urteil / Bedencken / und offentliche Schrifften / In Vier Theilen / Von Religion-Lehr-und Glaubens-Ministerial und Kirchen-Moral-und Policey-Matrimonal-und Ehe-sachen / Und allerhand dabey vorfallenden Casibus, Ordentlich zusammen gebracht / Und zur Ehre Gottes / Erhaltung der reinen Lehre / und Nutz der Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirchen / auf vielfältiges Begehren abgefertigt von Der Theologischen Facultät daselbsten*, 1:928–95. Frankfurt: Wust, 1664.

*J. N. J. Consensus Repetitus Fidei Vere Lutheranae In illis Doctrinae capitibus, Qvae Contra puram, & invariata[m] Augustanam Confessionem, aliosque; libros symbolicos, in Formulae Concordiae comprehensos, scriptis publicis impugnant D. Georgius Calixtus, Professor Helmstadiensis, eiusdemque complices. In gratiam Eorum, qvi distantiam D. Calixti, Rintelensium, & aliorum Novatorum a fide Lutheranae in Synopsi intueri discipiunt, Ob praesentem Ecclesiae necessitatem, seorsim editus.* Edited by Abraham Calov. Wittenberg: Borckard, 1666.

*Consilia Theologica Witebergensia, Das ist / Wittenbergische Geistliche Rathschläge Deß theuren Mannes Gottes / D. Martini Lutheri, seiner Collegen, und treuen Nachfolger / von dem heiligen Reformation-Anfang / biß auff jetzige Zeit / in dem Namen der gesampten Theologischen Facultät außgestellte Urteil / Bedencken / und öffentliche Schrifften in Vier Theilen / von Religion-Lehr-und Glaubens-Ministerial und Kirchen-Moral-und Polickey-Matrimonial-und Ehe-sachen / Und allerhand dabey vorfallenden Casibus Ordentlich zusammengebracht und zur Ehre Gottes / Erhaltung der reinen Lehre / und Nutz der Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirchen / auf vielfältiges Begehren abgefertigt von Der Theologischen Facultät daselbsten. Frankfurt: Wust, 1664.*

*Consilium oder Bedencken der Theologischen Facultet zu Jehna Dem Durchleuchtigen hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Johann Ernst dem jüngern Hertzogen zu Sachsen / Gulich / Cleve vnd Berge / etc. Wegen jetziger Böhmischer Unruhe auff J. F. G. gnädigst begehren gestellet vnd vbergeben. N.p.: n.p., 1620.*

“Copia epistolae monitoriae, quam jussa Serenissimi Domini Electoris Saxon. Tria Collegia Theologica, Anno MDCXLVI. ad Dd. Calixtum & Hornejum miserunt, de qua tam egregie excepta Calixtus in Epist. ad Acad. Witteberg. N. XXV. seqq. gloriatur.” In *Dialysis Apologetica Problematis Calixtini: Num Mysterium Sanctissimae Trinitatis Aut Divinitatis Christi E Solo Vetere Testamento Possit Evinci, Et Omnibus Ejus Temporis Fidelibus Ad Salutem Creditu Fuerit Necessarium? Cum Refutatione Appendicis, Defensionis Hujus Problematis Pro Subsidio Nuper Missae*, edited by Johann Hülsemann, 464–69. Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1649.

*Corpus Doctrinae, Das ist / Die Summa / Form und Fürbilde der reinen Christlichen Lehre / aus der heiligen Göttlichen Schrifft der Propheten und Aposteln zusammen gezogen / Darinn folgende Schrifften begriffen: Die Drey Heuptsymbola / Apostlicum, Nicaenum, und Athanasianum. Der kleine und grosse Catechismus Lutheri. Die Augspürgische Confession / so Anno 1530 Keyser Carolo uberantwortet und folgend 1531. gedruckt. Die darauff erfolgte Apologia, Anno 1531 gedruckt. Die Schmalcaldische Artickel. Das Büchlein D. Urbani Rhegii / Wie man fürsichtiglich von den fürnemsten Artickeln Christlicher Lehre reden solle / mit einem nützlichen Appendice, & c. Bericht von etlichen fürnemen Artickeln der Lehre / etc. Aus gnediger verordnung des Durchleuchtigen hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn IVLII, Hertzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg etc. für seiner F. G. Kirchen und Schulen zusammen gedruckt. Helmstedt: Lucium, 1603.*

Dannhauer, Johann. *Mysterium Syncretismi Detecti, Proscripti, Et Symphonismo Compensati*. Straßburg: Spoor, 1664.

Dedeken, Georg, Johann Ernst Gerhard, and Christian Grübel. *Thesauri Consiliorum Et Decisionum*. 3 vols. Jena: Hertel, 1671.

*Deutliche vnd gründliche Außführung dreyer jetzo nochnötiger vnd gantz wichtiger Fragen: I. Ob einiger Evangelischer Chur- oder Fürst / Gewissenshalben verbunden gewesen / denen Herren Böhmen beyzusetzen? II. Ob einiger recht Evangelischer Chur- oder Fürst / mit gutem gewissen, dem Römischen Kayser in jetzigem Krieg / assistentz leisten können vnd sollen? III. Ob ein Christlicher Evangelischer Chur- oder Fürst / (zumal auff ordentlichen Beruff / von seinem Häupt / deme er Pflicht zugethan) mit gutem Gewissen / Fug / Recht / vnd Nutz / lieber Neutral bleiben / vnd keinem Theil beystehen solle, oder nicht? N.p.: n.p., 1620.*

*Deß Durchläuchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn / Herrn Ernstens / Herzogens zu Sachsen / Jülich Cleve vnd Berg / u. Landgraffens in Düringen / Marggraffens zu Meissen / Graffens zu Marck vnd Ravensburg / Herrns zu Ravenstein / etc. Ausschreiben / wie es bey der General Vistiation in I. F. Gn. Fürstenthumb / bey Geist: vnd Weltlichen Ständen / Städten / Bedienten / Pfarrkindern / Vnterthanen vnd Einwohnern / praeparatione gehalten werden soll. Erfurt: Dedekind, 1640.*

"Des durchlauchtigsten, hochgeborenen fürsten und herrn, herrn Augusten, herzogen zu Sachsen u. s. w. Ordnung, wie es in seiner churf. g. landen bei den kirchen mit der lehr und ceremonien, desgleichen in derselben universiteten, consistorien, fürsten und partikular schulen, visitation, synodis und was solchem allem mehr anhanget, gehalten werden sol. 1580." In *Sachsen und Thüringen, Nebst Angrenzenden Gebieten*, vol. 1 of *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Emil Sehling, 1:359–457. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1902.

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“Kurtzer / jedoch gründlicher Beweiß / daß Doctor Johann Latermann von der ungeänderten Augspurgischen Confession und deroselben Glaubens-Articuln vielfältig abgetreten / ja fast in keinem einigen Articul da bey richtig verblieben.” In *Consilia Theologica Witebergensia, Das ist / Wittenbergische Geistliche Rathschläge Deß theuren Mannes Gottes / D. Martini Lutheri, seiner Collegen, und treuen Nachfolger / von dem heiligen Reformation-Anfang / biß auff jetzige Zeit / in dem Namen der gesampten Theologischen Facultät außgestellte Urteil / Bedencken / und öffentliche Schrifften in Vier Theilen / von Religion-Lehr-und Glaubens-Ministerial und Kirchen-Moral-und Policey-Matrimonial-und Ehe-sachen / Und allerhand dabey vorfallenden Casibus Ordentlich zusammengebracht und zur Ehre Gottes / Erhaltung der reinen Lehre / und Nutz der Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirchen / auf vielfältiges Begehren abgefertigt von Der Theologischen Facultät daselbsten*, 1:904–11. Frankfurt: Wust, 1664.

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