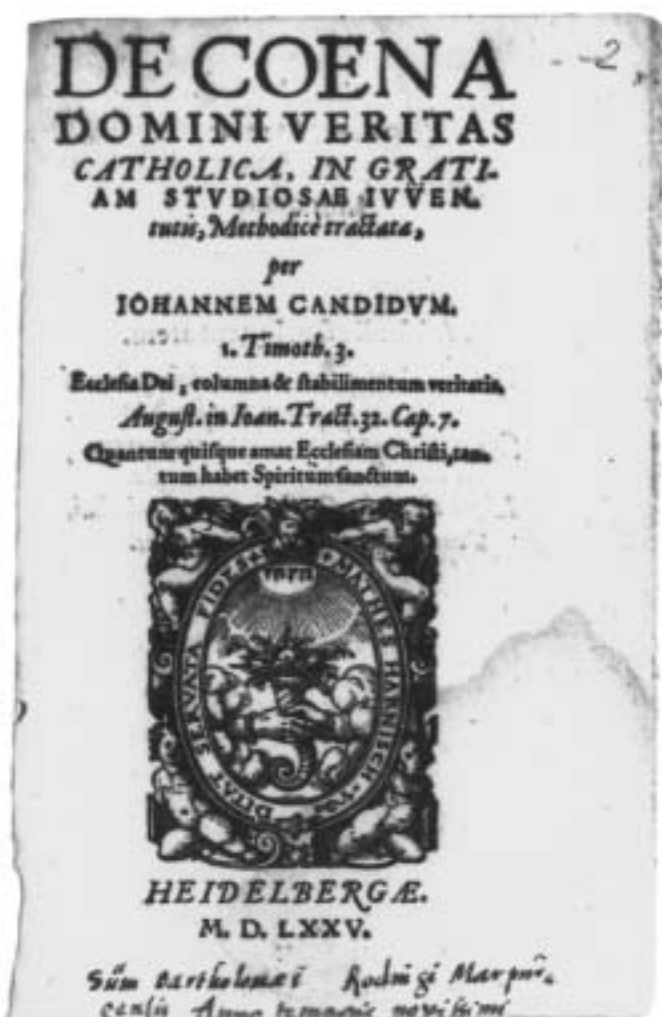


# The Reformation in Heidelberg II

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Advisor: Richard A. Muller, Calvin Theological Seminary, Grand Rapids, Michigan, USA  
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# The Reformation in Heidelberg II

“The Reformation in Heidelberg” is issued for the purpose of illuminating the intellectual and religious developments during the reigns of Ottheinrich (1556-1559) and Friedrich III (1559-1576). The first part of the collection, consisting of primary sources only, was published in 1999. This second and final part fills in lacunae in the first part and makes available rare secondary works.

This new collection comprises a wide array of rare primary sources gathered from libraries in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. It expands the number of works available by such theologians as Pierre Boquin and Zacharias Ursinus, and features more works by the prominent medical humanists, Thomas Erastus and Johannes Lange.

## Secondary sources

This supplement dramatically enhances the first edition by adding a group of significant older secondary sources. Many of these are difficult to access and it is hard – if not impossible – to find them all together in the same library. Yet, they are essential to any study of the materials found in the collection’s primary sources.

Several of the works deserve to be highlighted. *Monumenta pietatis et literaria* (Ludwig Mieg et al.) is a major early compilation of historical materials, including letters from the era. Alting’s *Historia ecclesii*

*Palatinae* is the earliest history of the Reformation in the Palatinate. Kluckhorn’s gathering of the letters of Friedrich III remains a necessary point of access to the politics of the Heidelberg Reformation. Heinrich Heppe’s *Die confessionelle Entwicklung der altprotestantischen Kirche Deutschlands* marks out the central concern of this leading scholar (known today for his *Reformed Dogmatics* project): It documents his highly influential understanding of German Reformed theology as a Melancthonian middle ground between Calvinism and Lutheranism.

In addition, Heppe’s three-volume *Dogmatik* offers a broad sample of citations from the era. Gooszen’s study of the text of the Heidelberg Catechism remains a standard examination of the early history of the document that modern scholars consistently take into consideration. In short, in addition to completing this collection of essential primary sources on the Heidelberg Reformation, the second part also offers a coordinated compilation of secondary works that supply background and context for the collection of texts in the first series.

## Introduction to the first part

### Ottheinrich (1556-1559)

The Electoral Palatinate (Kurpfalz) and its capital, Heidelberg, do not figure prominently in the early history of the Reformation. Nor was the Palatinate a notable religious force at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. The Reformation came relatively late to Heidelberg: although Luther had debated there in 1518, with both Bucer and Brenz in attendance, Lutheran forms of worship were introduced only in 1546 when the hesitant elector Friedrich II yielded to the pleas of his nephew Duke Ottheinrich of Pfalz-Neuburg and to the demands of his people for reform. In the Interim, however, Catholic forms of worship were re-instituted. Friedrich II died in 1556 and was succeeded by his nephew Ottheinrich, who proceeded somewhat less hesitantly to remove the “papistische Abgoetterei.” Ottheinrich was a many-sided renaissance prince, who was equally interested in alchemy and art as he was Protestant theology. He favored academic excellence to narrowly defined orthodoxy and added luster to his university with Protestant scholars of varying confessional stripes. The latent conflict between the parties had already

broken out into a public row over Eucharistic practice before Ottheinrich’s death.

### The Lord’s Supper controversy

When Friedrich III of the line of Pfalz-Simmern succeeded Ottheinrich in 1559, he was faced with a bitter dispute between the Gnesio-Lutheran, Tilemann Heshusius, general superintendent of the Heidelberg churches and the Reformed partisan Wilhelm Klebitz. After both preachers continued to harangue the other’s position from the pulpit, Friedrich opted to restore the peace by dismissing both Heshusius and Klebitz. This action received the blessing of the elderly Melancthon, who bid all parties to put aside bickering and go no further than the Biblical language in describing the Lord’s Supper. Beyond Melancthon’s intention, his *Iudicium* on the Heidelberg Lord’s Supper controversy played into the hands of the emerging Reformed party in Heidelberg led by Pierre Bouquin and Thomas Erastus.

The pivotal event proved to be a disputation that was held in Heidelberg regarding the Lord’s Supper in 1560. Here Bouquin and Erastus convinced the

elector, if not their Lutheran disputants, of the scriptural basis for their proposition that Christ was not physically present in the Lord’s Supper. Friedrich demonstrated this conviction when he won acceptance of the altered edition of the Augsburg Confession (the *Variata*) with its more open definition of the Lord’s Supper as an acceptable interpretation of the *Invariata* at the Naumburg princes’ assembly. For all Friedrich’s adherence to the *Variata* and his attempt at Naumburg to maintain ties with Lutheran brethren, his choice of preachers and professors and his reconstruction of the church council moved the Palatinate ineluctably toward the Reformed faith.

### The first generation

The first generation of Reformed thinkers at Heidelberg is sufficient to account, in and of itself, for the eminence of the Palatinate, its university, and its intellectual achievement: Pierre Bouquin (d. 1582), Immanuel Tremellius (1510-1580), Thomas Erastus (1524-1583), Zacharias Ursinus (1534-1583), and Caspar Olevian (1536-1587). After the resignation of Ursinus, the eminent

Thomist-trained Girolamo Zanchi (1516-1590) occupied the chair of theology in the university. The effect of this concentration of Reformed thinkers in Heidelberg was manifold.

First, it brought Heidelberg and the Palatinate into the Reformed fold, creating intellectual and spiritual ties to Geneva and Zurich – as evidenced by the theology of the Heidelberg Catechism (1563) – at a time when the political settlement of the Holy Roman Empire did not permit overt confession of the Reformed faith. Under the terms of the Peace of Augsburg, the Palatinate, confessing the increasingly problematic *Variata*, was in the difficult position of being officially Lutheran and under consistent polemical attack from the Gnesio-Lutherans.

Second, it created an intellectual center in Heidelberg that more than rivaled the older Reformed centers of Geneva, Bern, and Zurich. Indeed, given the impact of Erastus' views on church and state and his important natural philosophical works, Ursinus' and Zanchi's systematic formulation, Olevian's covenant thought, and Tremellius' biblical scholarship, Heidelberg was arguably more important to the development of international Reformed thought than the Geneva of Beza.

Third, it offered a pattern of Reformed theology within the Empire, particularly evident in the production of theological works in the vernacular and in the translation of works, like Calvin's *Institutes* into German, that stood as a positive as well as polemical counterpoise both to Gnesio- and to Philippistic Lutheranism.

### Tumultuous history

The history of the Reformation in the Palatinate remained tumultuous after the establishment of the Heidelberg Catechism. A large influx of Netherlandish refugees contributed to

the sense of international engagement on behalf of the Reformed confession.

From 1568 onward Count Palatine Johann Casimir often led Palatine forces into battle in France and the Low Countries. Also from 1568, the Heidelberg church was shaken by a bitter dispute on the question of church discipline, which pitted former Zwinglian and Calvinist allies against one another. The church was further rocked by the discovery of an Antitrinitarian cell among its clergy in 1570. Turmoil over the execution of Johann Sylvan in 1572, the infamous flight and scandalous life of Adam Neuser in Istanbul, and accusations of heresy against Erastus and his associates plagued Heidelberg in the early 1570s. These controversies were only beginning to be set aside when Friedrich died in 1576. His heir Ludwig VI was Lutheran and eventually released the Reformed theologians. The territory became fully Lutheran again with the introduction of the Formula of Concord in 1580. The Reformed tradition of the Palatinate lived on in Johann Casimir's territory of Pfalz-Lautern. Many of the prominent Heidelberg academics moved to his new academy in Neustadt an der Haardt, and the prominent printer Matthaeus Harnisch set up shop there. When Ludwig died in 1583, Johann Casimir returned to Heidelberg as regent and reestablished the Reformed confession. Under Friedrich IV and Friedrich V, the Palatinate continued to play a leading role in imperial politics and in Reformed intellectual life. The heyday of the early Reformed movement came to an end with Friedrich V's disastrous involvement in the Thirty Years War. The consequences of the Winter King's gamble for the throne of Bohemia included demographic decline, political marginalization, and academic decline including the loss of the famed Bibliotheca Palatina.

### Intellectual and religious developments

Our primary goal has been to present the complete works of the major Heidelberg figures (Bouquin, Erastus, Olevianus, Ursinus, Zanchi) and a sampling of the works of secondary figures (Johann Brunner, Jakob Curio, Wilhelm Klebitz, Johannes Lange, Petrus Lotichius, Wilhelm Roding, Johann Sylvan, Daniel Tossanus, Immanuel Tremellius, Johann Willing, Hermann Witekind, Wilhelm Xylander). We have also included translations or editions of works of Beza, Calvin, Andreas Dudith, and Melancthon that were significant in the Heidelberg context. We have favored original editions to the extent that availability and microfilming considerations allow. Secondly, we have sought to illuminate the theological development of the Palatinate including the origins and reception of the Heidelberg Catechism. Here we venture outside the strict bounds of Reformed Protestantism to include attacks on the Palatine confession by Lutheran scholars (e.g., works by Heshusius, Matthaeus Flacius Illyricus, and Paul Einhorn). We have also endeavored to include a wide range of scientific, philosophical and literary works whose variety attests to the intellectual vitality of Reformed Heidelberg.

*Richard A. Muller*  
Calvin Theological Seminary

*Charles Gunnoe*  
Aquinas College

The editors wish to express their gratitude to Brian Lee and Christopher Burchill for their assistance.

## General information (part II)

Scope	78 primary titles 23 secondary titles
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## Contributing Libraries

- Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, Germany
- Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom
- Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam, The Netherlands
- Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Germany
- Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Switzerland

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## BN

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## BOD

Bodleian Library, Oxford

## BSB

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

## KBG

Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

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## STC (2nd ed.)

Pollard, Alfred W., and G.R. Redgrave. *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., rev. and enl., begun by W.A. Jackson and F.S. Ferguson, completed by Katherine F. Pantzer. London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91.

## UBA

Universiteitsbibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam, Amsterdam

## UBT

Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Tübingen

## UBUT

Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, Utrecht

## UBVU

Universiteitsbibliotheek Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Amsterdam

## VD 16

*Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts: VD 16*. Herausgegeben von der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München in Verbindung mit der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. Redaktion, Irmgard Bezzel. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983-<97>.

## WLB

Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart

## Zurich ZB

Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Zürich



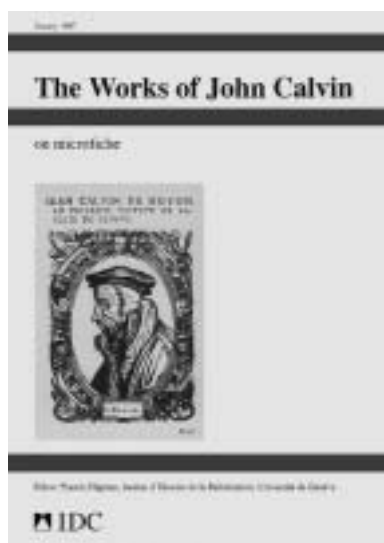
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Ursinus, Zacharias. *Doctrinae christianae compendium, seu, Commentarij catechetici...* Genevae, 1584



### THE WORKS OF JOHN CALVIN

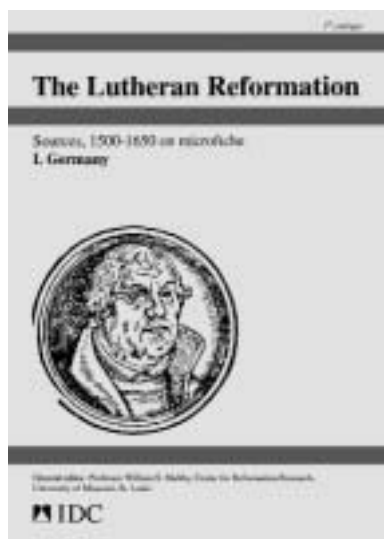
**Editor: Francis Higman, Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation, Université de Genève**

Of all the major Reformers, John Calvin (1509-1564) had the most far-reaching influence on the modern world. Calvin's Reformation was not simply a religious movement in the sense of an ecclesiastical reorganization or a doctrinal revision; it was something that touched all areas of life, which involved a profound reorientation of the life of the individual and of society in line with the teachings of the Gospel.

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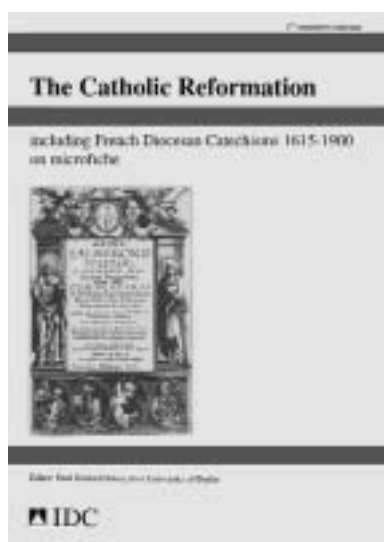
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## THE REFORMATION IN HEIDELBERG I

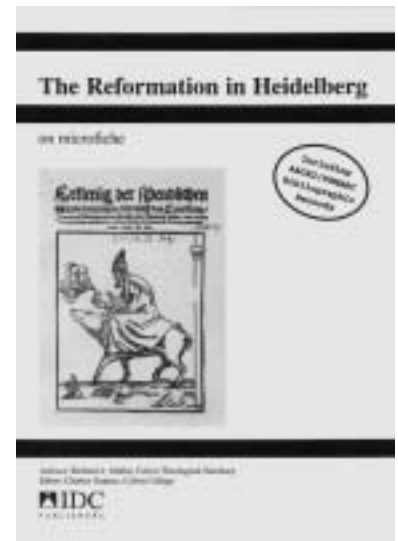
**Advisor: Richard A. Muller, Calvin Theological Seminary**

**Editor: Charles Gunnoe, Calvin College**

This collection has been gathered for the purpose of illuminating the intellectual and religious developments during the reigns of Ottheinrich (1556-1559) and Frederick III (1559-1576). Its primary goal is to present the complete works of the major Heidelberg figures (Bouquin, Erastus, Olevianus, Ursinus, Zanchi) and a major sampling of the works of many secondary figures. Also included are translations or editions of works of Beze, Calvin, Dudith, and Melancthon that were significant in the Heidelberg context.

Secondarily, this collection illuminates the theological development of the Palatinate including the origins and reception of the Heidelberg Catechism. A wide range of scientific, philosophical and literary works whose variety attests to the intellectual vitality of Reformed Heidelberg has been added.

- 99 titles
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## REFORMED PROTESTANTISM

**General editor: Prof. F. Büsser, Zurich University**

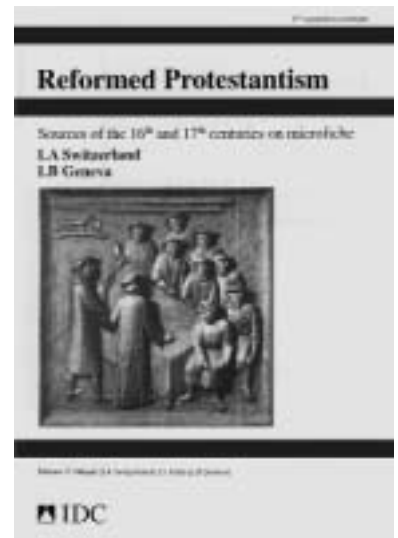
Original sources dating from 1500 to 1700, concerning the development and progress of Reformed Protestantism.

The project is focussed on Reformed Protestantism as the vehicle for the development of an international Protestantism which at its best was and is catholic and ecumenical. The interpretation of Reformed Protestantism, better called Reformed Catholicism, has been subject to many distortions.

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