Jacob Andreae
The Author of the Book of Concord
His Life and his Theological Significance
by
Dr. Chr. Moritz Fittbogen
as translated by
Arthur G. McCord Jr.
for the Honors Committee
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Adviser * Ronald C. Warner

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Dr. Chr. Moritz Fittbogen
Secondary School Teacher a. D.
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Foreword

In Saxony, three hundred years ago (1580), under the protection and the active cooperation of the Elector August, the Book of Concord (Formula concordiae) was produced, in which was established the doctrines of the Protestant church, as it had developed in a large part of Germany at that time, and whose adoption all clergymen had to affirm through their signatures in order to put an end to the ever more increasing quarrels of the theologians, which had thrown the Protestant church after Luther's and Melanchthon's death into confusion. The originator and actual author of this book was the chancellor of Tuebingen University, Jacob Andreae, who devoted a large part of his life to the task of reestablishing a universal agreement in matters of belief. Therefore, it is certainly reasonable to renew his memory now that his work has celebrated its 300 year Jubilee; and especially since there have been certainly few Protestant theologians, who have been subjected to a more diverse criticism. Because through the Book of Concord the gap between Lutherans and the Reformed Church was fixed for a long time, which the former declared to be a great fortune and the latter a great misfortune for Germany. Even now these differences of opinion have not been completely and everywhere overcome.

Therefore it appears to me well worth the trouble to become closer acquainted with the life and fate of this man, who for centuries has had such a great influence on the church's
organization in Germany, partly in order to be able to properly value his activity as a reformer, partly in order to obtain a review of the intense battles, which the theologians of that time had to fight out.

That is the purpose of this biography, which makes no further claims than that it, even if only in small degree, wants to assist in renewing the memory of those men, who did not in any way equal the great reformers, but still dedicated their lives to the development and improvement of the Protestant church in Germany to the best of their powers and according to their theological standpoints.

Frankfurt on the Oder, August, 1881

The author
I. Introduction

As long as he lived, Luther had through his high esteem held the Protestant theologians of his time together with a strong hand when they wanted to fall into conflict over some doctrine; and only a disagreement between the Protestant churches in Germany and the Reformed congregations in Switzerland had developed, which one had tried in vain to settle and overcome. Melanchthon had followed Luther absolutely at the beginning and had attempted to substantiate his doctrines scientifically. In his discussion with the Swiss at Marburg, 1529, he still had zealously advocated Luther's view about the difficult doctrine of Holy Communion against Zwingli. But, as his son-in-law Peucer explains, he had in fact become somewhat critical at this time and had begun to investigate further into this question in the writings of the old fathers of the church and so thereby had gradually come to a view deviating from Luther, through which he felt induced to abandon the literal interpretation of the sacramental words which until then was strongly defended by Luther, and to draw nearer to the Swiss and particularly to the conciliatory interpretation set forth by Calvin. Certainly he didn't come forward publicly in order to avoid enraging Luther, except that he undertook a change in the second edition of the Augsburg Confession (1540), by means of which the literal interpretation was essentially weakened. But surely it was through that change in the second
edition of the Augsburg Confession in the doctrine of communion that the foundation was laid for the many fierce conflicts, through which the Protestant church subsequently was shaken and torn apart.

Melanchthon was not a theologian by profession, as is well known, and, for that reason, when he opposed theological dogma dispassionately, his occupation with literature and philosophy combined to lead him, as a philologist and man of letters as opposed to the Bible theologians, to a more scientific and free direction. Therefore, it could also not fail, with his outstanding gift for teaching and great and encompassing scholarship, that the more capable among the students attached themselves to him without fail and sought to continue in their investigations in the path specified by him. So it happened that by his death (1560) not only the majority of younger theologians, such as Pezel, the younger Cruciger, Widebram, Koller, Strigel, Stoessel, but also the most renowned linguists, doctors, poets, and statesmen, like Camerarius in Leipzig, his son-in-law Peucer, and Sabinus, as well as the Saxon Councillors Keisewetter, Krakau, Bruck, etc. had devoted themselves totally to him and sought to bring his theological views to general recognition in churches and schools.

Melanchthon, of course, had not exactly concealed his opinion after Luther's death, having expressed the same now and then in his lectures and written inquiries, but he avoided the conflict, and although he was urgently requested by Calvin, who
had gotten into an intense battle over this doctrine with the Preacher Westphal in Hamburg (1555), to publicly declare himself for one party or the other, he did not do so; and firmly reserved his view concerning this conflict until his death, not because he doubted the truth of it, but rather out of fear of persecutions and charges of heresy, which he dreaded in his old age. His students came forward much more boldly after his death, specifically his son-in-law Kaspar Peucer, who, having been named as Studien-Inspector and Rector of the University of Wittenberg after Melanchthon's death, brought only such men to the University as professors who were totally devoted to Melanchthon's direction in theology, and Peucer, since he also became court doctor at the court of Elector August at Dresden, used his considerable influence to bring to general recognition the point of view of his father-in-law, whose followers were called Philippists, so that the theological writings of Melanchthon, namely the "Corpus doctrinarum Philippicum", were generally accepted as the norm of belief.

But the intense battle, which had kindled between Calvin and Westphal, had also moved to Saxony and the opponents of Melanchthon's doctrine raised the battle cry that the true Christianity, which Luther alone represented, was in danger of becoming suppressed. To these men belonged Flaccius Illyricus, who, at the beginning a student of Melanchthon, had since 1557, when he had secretly left Wittenberg, become one of his severest opponents, along with Heshus, Wigand, and the Wuertemberg theologians Brenz and Jacob Andreae.
With great displeasure the princes witnessed this severe battle of the theologians and their efforts to stop it through removals from office and prohibitions were in vain, and so they had to put aside the fact that the Catholics publicly derided the Protestants on account of their lack of union. Indeed, the Emperor Ferdinand and his son Maximilian are said to have been persuaded by these quarrels not to accept the Protestant belief, to which they were leaning. Then the Protestant princes resolved to put an end to this unedifying quarrelling through a doctrinal formula, to which all the clergy would submit themselves. So originated the Formula of Concord (formulae concordiae), the main author of which was Jacob Andreae. But it advocated only the direction of the so-called Lutherans and by forcing all students of Melanchthon now either to recognize it as a formula of belief or to give in to it, a great one-sidedness in theology originated and each deviating opinion was persecuted and condemned. So it could not fail that Andreae was highly praised by the one side as a new reformer and severely attacked by the other side.

How he now attacked and carried out this work, through which he has deserved well of the Protestant church, and which consequences his efficacy and activity had, can first be valued by a detailed presentation of his biography.

II. Youth and Training of Jacob Andreae until his Appointment at Tuebingen

In the neighborhood of Stuttgart, east of the Neckar River,
in the Neckar district of the Kingdom of Wuertemberg, lies
the small city of Waiblingen, also written as Weiblingen,
where formerly a castle of the Hohenstaufen stood. There
Jacob Endris, a native of Nicolau in the former bishopdom of
Eichstaedt in Bavaria, established himself as a blacksmith.
Here on the 25th of March, 1528, was born Jacob Andreae, as
he later changed his name at his enrollment at the University
of Tuebingen. His mother, Anna, born Weisskopf, came from
Gundelfingen, a small city on the Brenz River in the Upper
Palatinate, not far from the Danube, and had come to Waiblingen
as a child, where she was raised by a relative. Here she
married Jacob Endris, from which marriage originated three
sons, Jacob, Georg, and Philipp, and a daughter.

In his sixth year, 1534, Jacob was sent to the local
school by his parents, pious and respectable people, the same
year in which Duke Ulrich, who had been driven from Wuertemberg,
regained his land with the aid of Count Philipp of Hessen,
and in which he immediately introduced the Reformation; but
since they only had a paltry income and lacked the means to
maintain him at school, they intended for him to learn a trade
and they wanted to apprentice him to a carpenter. The mayor,
Sebastian Nader, then advised them to apply to the General superintendent at that time, Erhard Schnepf, in order to receive,
through his intercession, assistance from the theological fund.
His father brought him, therefore, to Stuttgart and introduced
him to Generalsuperintendent Schnepf, and since he recognized that the boy possessed good abilities, which had only been somewhat neglected by his teacher to this time, he struck an agreement with his father that a portion of the educational costs should be provided from the theological fund at Waiblingen, the remainder should be contributed by the father. So the boy came to the Gymnasium in Stuttgart, whose rector, Alexander Markolein, was a scholarly and very experienced teacher.

Already at that time, Andreae is said to have received the nickname "Schmichel" (little smith) from his classmates and he retained it throughout his entire life. Originally, he may well have received this nickname from the trade of his father, but later the reference may also have been associated with his special talent for settling theological disputes. Feucer, Melanchthon's son-in-law, with whom he got in great Krypto-Calvinistic conflicts, as we will later see, calls him this almost always with a certain disdain because his character appeared to be best characterized by this appellation.

With his good abilities and his power of comprehension, it wasn't hard for him to finish the two year course in Latin and Greek grammar, if not with special distinction certainly with enough success, and at the same time to adopt the rules of dialectic and rhetoric of Melanchthon. After that, he was accepted in the seminar for theologians in Tuebingen in 1541, where he earned the first academic degree as baccalaureate after two years, that is in the Cloister Hirschau in the Upper Palatinate, to where the University had been moved on account of
the plague, which was then raging in Tuebingen. After he had also finished the philosophical course here, he earned the Master's degree in 1545 with seventeen competitors, among whom he took the second place. At the same time, he eagerly busied himself with the learning of the Hebrew language and attached himself especially to Schnepf, whose lectures he zealously attended. He listened just as diligently to his sermons and imitated him completely by practicing at that time in popular lectures, for which he had a special ability.

So it occurred then that, already in his eighteenth year, in 1546, he was called to Stuttgart as a deacon after he had satisfactorily held his trial sermon before a very numerous gathering on Easter Monday. Although he had come into the office so young, he certainly knew now to obtain such a reputation through his ministerial activity and through his outstanding accomplishments in pulpit eloquence that even Duke Ulrich became aware of him and ordered that he should preach for him in his palace chapel.

After the end of the service, he said to his acquaintances, "Wherever this little chicken might come from, this much is clear, that he has been hatched and educated by Schnepf." In the same year 1546, Andreae also got married to the daughter of an esteemed citizen in Tuebingen, who was praised on account of her domesticity and piety.

Now came the difficult time of the Smalcaldian War, in which the Elector Johann Friedrich lost his land and his freedom
through the unfortunate battle at Huehlberg, April 24, 1547, whereupon the emperor proclaimed the Interim, which greatly oppressed the Protestant princes, and he forced them into acceptance of it. Duke Ulrich was even driven from Wurtemberg again, as the emperor again confiscated the land, after it had already once been united with Austria after Ulrich's first expulsion. In this difficult time, when most Protestant preachers had to flee, Andreae showed a singular courage by persevering in his position until he was forced to give up his office by the proclamation of the Interim, to which he refused to submit himself. Until then he continued calmly to preach and officiate at the remaining worship services; even the Spanish soldiers neither harmed him nor hindered him in the execution of the duties of his calling.

There were even at that time moderate and sensible men among the Catholics, who did justice to the Protestants as soon as they had recognized that their idea of the Protestant belief and its worship service was either exaggerated or false. In fact, once a herald of the emperor had been invited to the Baptism of the child of one of Duke Ulrich's servants, at which Andreae was supposed to officiate, and he had accepted even sponsoring the child. After the conclusion of the holy service, he gave Andreae a small present with the words, "I thank my God that I have seen and heard that you have baptised in the doctrine of the Catholic church"—that is, the herald had heard at the Baptism the usage and repetition of the Apostle's Creed—
"and as soon as I come to the emperor, I will truthfully report to him of it. Because we of the emperor are of the firm opinion, that you had laid aside all belief and religion, that there were no sacraments for you, no veneration of the saints. Therefore, I wish to converse with you and I ask you to come to the banquet which is being given for me by the Magistrate at the town hall." Andreae accepted, was received and dismissed by the imperial herald with much friendliness, after having previously admonished him that if he possessed any of the books of the scholasticians like Thomas Scotus, Holcot, Bricot, Nephat, and similar ones, he should put these in the place of the lutheran books. Only in this way would he be safe and protected from every act of violence by the Spanish.

This story is at the same time proof that Andreae must have impressed even this Catholic man not a little by his assured and fearless behavior. We will also later find him always as a man who was able to easily take advantage of every situation of life.

Andreae remained in this difficult position at Stuttgart until 1548, where the Regensburg Interim was taking place, in which one sought to cunningly disguise the errors of the Catholics, and since the Protestant clergy refused to accept it and were dismissed from their offices, Andreae also perceived it was necessary to give up his position and he was commanded by the Duke to set out forTuebingen being refunded the costs of the trip.
III. The Efficacy of Jacob Andreae as Reformer in Wurttemberg and the Bordering Lands

Andreae belonged to those men of that time, who did not merely develop a prominent activity in their position as preachers, but rather showed themselves to be especially qualified to step forth as reformers and to establish an ordered state of affairs in other congregations, where the relations between Catholics and Protestants or even among themselves were confused and had not yet been sorted into sides. Since he proceeded with great diligence and skill in this matter and spared no pains, he soon made such a celebrated name for himself that later he was called even to other German lands for this purpose, as we shall see. In addition, Schnepf, the actual reformer of Wurttemberg, left this land (1548) since he likewise refused to accept the Interim, and set out for Weimar to the sons of the imprisoned Elector Johann Friedrich, who appointed him to the college to be established in Jena (1549). So Andreae stepped into his place in Wurttemberg and continued to work in his spirit and immediately joined with Brenz, who first since 1550 at Urach and Gundelfingen then from 1553 at Stuttgart displayed his important efficacy as General Superintendent.

So long as the Interim remained in effect, either Catholic clergy or Protestant preachers who had recognized the same were preferred in the main offices. The true Protestant congregations contented themselves with so-called catechists
or religion teachers, who looked after the religious instruction. Andreae also was occupied with this; at the same time, after he had been named to the deaconate at the Siechenhaus church, he preached in the Stiftskirche (Collegiate Church), in which Mass was read at the same time by the Interim preacher. Also in this position he developed such an extraordinary activity that Duke Christoph, who succeeded his father in the government after his death in 1550, became aware of him and invited him to seek his doctorate. After Andreae had prepared fittingly for it and had fulfilled the prescribed stipulations by publicly disputing and holding short and intense lectures over the lesser Prophets, he was named on April 19, 1553, a doctor of theology at the age of 25 in a festive gathering, of which Duke Christoph bore a part of the cost. Shortly before this, he had been named by the Duke as preacher and superintendent at Goeppingen, a small city five miles from Stuttgart. Next the adjacent churches were given to his supervision, later, however, his circle of influence was increased through the establishment of an administrative authority, which consisted of himself and two other men.

From this time on, the reform activity of Andreae beyond Sprenzel began and with this his extraordinary gift came into proper importance, so that even princes outside Wuertemberg became aware of him and called him in order to settle churchly and dogmatic disputes, at which he usually succeeded with great success.

First of all, the count of Oettingen in Upper Bavaria
on the Inn River called him in 1555 in order to purify and reform in the church that which remained of Catholicism. Likewise the Count Palatine on the Rhine, Otto Heinrich, (he ruled from 1552 to 1559) and the Margrave of Brandenburg Georg Friedrich turned to him. When he intended to set out for Oettingen, he was commanded by a special letter of Duke Christoph that if Duke Ludwig were toying with the idea of attempting to seize hold of the property of the church, namely that of the cloisters, and to use it for his purposes under the pretence of religion, he should immediately break off all communication and return home. Likewise the count himself was earnestly admonished by the duke not to prick his hands through the desecration of church property.

In the following year, 1556, Count Ulrich of Heisenstein by Geisslingen in the Danube area called him to likewise reform the church there. Here Andreae had significant hindrances to overcome, in that the pastors of the Cathedral occupied the church and opposed with all force the entrance of the count in the company of Andreae until the count finally broke this resistance and appointed Protestant preachers in place of the Catholic clergy. However, this count did not remain true to this new teaching, but rather fell away again after a few years, intimidated by threats, although Andreae admonished him most urgently to steadfastness and had refuted his objections, so that no guilt can be attributed to the latter on account of his falling away, for which more precise
circumstances are not accounted. Also at this time the following story occurred in which Andreae showed his eagerness to convert others and his fearlessness. A Jew was to be hanged upside down by his feet in the nearby town Weissenstein on account of a burglary that was committed and, since Andreae had not yet seen this form of punishment, he travelled there with a citizen of Goeppingen. Here he found the Jew hanging on a cross between two dogs, which tore his body to pieces in a horrible fashion, while he recited psalms in the Hebrew language imploring for godly help. Andreae drew nearer to the unfortunate delinquent, discussed with him that Jesus Christ was the true Messiah, and admonished him to believe in Him. While Andreae spoke the dogs immediately stopped biting the unfortunate man; the Jew embraced the Christian religion, allowed himself to be baptized, and acquired a lessening of the sentence in that he was hanged with his head once again upright.

In the same year 1556, Andreae was called by the Margrave Carl of Baden in order to reform the churches in cooperation with two theologians from Saxony and one from the Palatinate by subordinating several worldly councillors at that time. The Margrave himself embraced the Augsburg Confession and the Apology and gave the theologians the task of forming uniform holy services in the congregations as much as possible. At first the lower part of the march was reformed, whereby those clergy who passed the exam were retained to make the
Gospel known. The Margrave also called Professor Herbrand from Tuebingen for a year and Andreae joined himself in partnership with him in the commission of the Margrave in order to introduce the Reformation in Breisgau as well, indeed each received his own specific district and area of work. This work succeeded very well and so the Reformation in Baden found a general beginning.

The call of Andreae now extended itself ever wider since he understood how to settle religious disputes with much aptness and great success and how to bring order in the congregations. So he was called even in the same year, 1556, to the Imperial city of Rothenburg on the Tauber by the local magistrate in order to establish a uniformity in divine services in the villages belonging to the city, where the preachers diversed from each other in Christian practices causing disputes among them to break out. Andreae composed a confession of faith conforming with Holy Scripture and set up definite norms about the divine service to which all preachers in the city and in the country had to pledge. So peace was established again in those congregations.

IV. Andreae at the Imperial Diet at Regensburg, Worms, and Frankfurt, and others. He Comes Forward as an Author.

Since the year 1558, as you well know, the fierce dispute over the doctrine on communion had kindled between Westphal, pastor at St. Catherine's in Hamburg, and Calvin and eventually brought all Protestant theologians in a powerful
movement, in the course of which most German theologians declared themselves for Westphal or rather Luther's view, which the former maintained to represent, the Swiss, on the other hand decided for Zwingli and Calvin. Andreae, who had formed his theological views entirely upon Schnepf and, after his departure from Wuertemberg, upon Brenz, who in 1553 had been named by Duke Christoph Prior of the Stiftskirche (Collegiate Church) in Stuttgart, the highest clerical degree in the land, also took part in this struggle; and he (Andreae) wrote in 1557 "Brevis institutio de coena" that is "a short lesson on Communion", and further in 1559 "Expositio sententino de coena" an explanation of the view on communion with a short forward by Brenz. Loescher, in his "Historia motuum" (Part II, chapter 4, appendix page 99) says of Brenz that he proceeded in his book extremely modestly and yet the affirmation was often repeated by Brenz to remain true to Luther's teaching in Holy Communion. In so doing, Andreae's effort was to bring about an agreement of the dissident parties, which he naturally failed to do due to the embitterment of hearts at that time, in fact it even brought him under suspicion of secretly leaning toward the Calvinists, since he stepped less harshly on the Calvinists, so that in 1570 Wilhelm Sidenbach, Professor at Tuebingen University, felt himself moved to warn Andreae of the Calvinists while he remained in Saxony. The Calvinists also used his early writings to show
that even the Lutheran theologians had agreed in general with them. According to a polemic from 1615: "Andreae was at the beginning Calvinist-minded, because he writes in his booklet, A Short Report on Holy Communion 1557: 'So now imagine Christ, that His flesh is not spread to all places, that it also would not travel from one place to the next, but rather stand at the right hand of God and there give yourself His body and blood, which He calls a true food and drink, to eat and drink.' " Furthermore, it says in one of his writings, Why a Christian Should No Longer Go to Mass 1560: "So we are speaking of Holy Communion, so we are eating the body of Christ before the face of the father in heaven, in which the father is indeed, and even an angel may not carry him up, because in and out of heaven Christ gives us His flesh, which intercedes for us in heaven unceasingly, and may not ascend and depart, be carried up and away by the angels." So the Calvinists sought to appeal to Andreae; meanwhile, it is not to be forgotten that he fought mainly against the blatant hypocrisy of the Catholics in his expositions, although a certain vacillation in his views during the time of his first public appearance cannot be denied. Later he attached himself entirely to Brenz, who categorically defended the omnipresence of Christ in Communion, and Loescher noticed expressly that Andreae recognized with Brenz the omnipresence of the body of Christ in Communion. However, so much arises out of all of this that at the beginning he still sought to
negotiate by endeavoring to combine the conception of the bodily and spiritual presence, the "corporaliter" and "spiritualiter". This indecision he later put aside completely, however, as we shall see. He was also less a man of science as rather a man of action, who with restless zeal stepped forth where it concerned mediating theological disputes and bringing the recognized truth to general acceptance. Duke Christoph also recognized this; therefore, he drew him to himself and took Andreae along to the Imperial Diet in order to consult with him on theological questions. So he travelled with the Duke in 1557 to Frankfurt on Main, where several princes came together at the bidding of the Emperor in order to settle the dispute between Count Philipp of Hessa and Count Wilhelm of Nassau about the possession of the earldom Katzenellenbogen, where the last owner had died in 1479 without male heirs and whose only daughter had been married to Heinrich IV of Hessa, whereupon the upper earldom went to Hessa, the lower part to Nassau. At this conference, Andreae and several other theologians were consulted in deliberating about the way, manner, and form the Colloquium proclaimed by the Emperor should be held at Worms. Andreae preached there twice before the assembled princes in the church of St. Bartholomew, which belonged to the Catholics. At the same time the following incident occurred. Namely, when the rumor had spread throughout the city that by order of the princes a Protestant sermon should be preached in that church,
a great mob of people of all classes and parts of the city turned up to hear the sermon. Then, when the signal for the beginning of the service had been given by a bell, a Catholic clergyman climbed into the pulpit but hardly had anyone caught sight of him when the entire gathering began to sing with a loud voice: "Now let us pray to God the Holy Ghost" etc.

When the song was over, the clergyman read the Sunday gospel of the birth of John the Baptist, to which the gathering attentively listened along. However, when he began to explain the text that was read, the congregation again began to sing with one voice: "Dear Christians, one and all, rejoice." Then the former stopped, shocked, and when he saw that the listeners continued to sing, he left the pulpit and turned to the Duke of Juelich, who had come first and now was the only one of the princes present, and complained to him that he had been driven forcibly from his position and duty, asking him at that time to be his witness at the Judgement Day about this outrage. The prince answered him: "My dear sir, the princes have come to an agreement to hear a sermon from their theologians today, and so, if I were in your place, I would not oppose their will. However, concerning your request to be your witness on the Last Day, this is very difficult for me; because either we will perhaps not both meet in that place, or the one will not recognize the other." The former shrunk back from the answer and, inflamed with boldness, threw the hourglass which he held in his hand on the ground next to the altar with a curse. Andreae was also present in the Colloquium at Worms, which was still to be held
in the same year, 1557, between the Catholics and Protestants by the wish of Emperor Ferdinand, but was broken up because Schnepf and the Saxon theologians, who were among the princes of the Ernestine line requested by Melanchthon to first come to an agreement with one another over several disputed points such as the Communion doctrine and the adiaphorian errors, left the city in protest, indeed Andreae certainly returned to Brenz. It is only to be noticed that the Wuertembergers Brenz and Andreae still went here together with Melanchthon, and therefore no open split had yet emerged in their views. For that reason the Collocuium with the Catholics was broken up, because the Protestants wanted to base the Norm for the dispute upon the Scriptures, however the Catholics maintained that the Scriptures, being a dead letter which allowed for different explanations, couldn't serve as the norm, but rather could only produce the stuff for the controversy. If an agreement could not be reached about the principles, absolutely no discussion could take place.

In 1558, Andreae authored a polemic against a certain Staphnius, who had again fallen away from the Protestants and had published a book under the title "Epitome trimembris Theologiae Lutheranae", in which he had reported the views of most of the sects and attributed their origins to Luther. At the same time, he had sought to trace the contradictions of the same after the manner of the Jesuits, in order to prove their indefensible position so as to destroy them in this way.
Andreae received the task from Duke Christoph to refute this writing and to reject the vanity and insolence of that man. There appeared on this matter three polemics from both sides.

No one had yet published the files concerning the religious discussion at Worms that had ended so unhappily and without result, but rather they lay packed in a box, locked up and the publication of them was to happen at the Imperial Diet at Augsburg in 1559 after the guilds were to have assembled there. Even Andreae was sent there with some worldly councillors in order to be present at the publication of them. At this opportunity a serious charge was raised against him at the entire gathering by the Papists that, first of all, he had expelled the legitimate clergyman of St. Bartholomew's Church in Frankfort-on-Main with forcible means from the execution of his office and so had violated the agreements of the Peace of Augsburg; and that secondly, while the Imperial Assembly in Augsburg was still in session, he had interrupted a Catholic clergyman during the sermon and accused him of a lie in the doctrine, through which a riot could have arisen. Specifically, once when a Catholic clergyman was holding a sermon at Augsburg, Andreae said to his friend who was standing next to him: "He is lying." A priest who was standing behind him heard this and called to him with a loud voice: "Why don't you tell the preacher holding the sermon publicly that he is lying?" After this Andreae withdrew in the company of his friends in order not to make an appearance at the meeting. After Andreae had explained the whole true story and had exposed and refuted the false accusations
of his opponents, the charges were settled.

At the same Reichstag, he held two sermons in the presence of all the Protestant princes about justification and Holy Communion, which were printed before the closing of the Diet in Tuebingen and distributed at Augsburg in great numbers.

When Andreae had returned to Goeppingen, he introduced the Reformation to the properties of Johann von Lieberstein, who at seventy years of age listened to the sermons of Andreae diligently, even saw a great deal of him, but still held on to the Catholic church. When he asked Andreae what had been settled about religion at the very famous discussions at Worms and Andreae had explained the reason for the fruitlessness of this discussion, namely that the Protestants had set up the Holy Scriptures as the norm, which the Catholics had not wanted to allow, that nobleman declared freely that he recognized no other teaching as worthy of belief as that which was contained in the Holy Scriptures, and he desired that this teaching also be explained to his subjects, but only by Andreae himself. The latter agreed gladly and, after he had preached early in the morning on the particular Sundays and Holydays in Goeppingen, he went out to the village and preached there. Whereupon he returned to the city and held the afternoon service here again, and so he preached three times a day and did so a long time without remuneration because the nobleman didn't want another person to climb into the pulpit until his subjects had been completely instructed and established in the religious doctrines.

In order to accomplish all of this, we can only accept
that Andreae was not only very strong and hearty physically, but preached with great agility as well. Also Osiander wrote of him that he had such a natural eloquence that he even held very learned and powerful impromptu sermons.

At this time Andreae first found the opportunity to explain himself against Calvinism and to argue with them, which he from now on regarded as his special life's task and carried out with great energy and skill. Specifically, a preacher in Wuertemberg, Bartholomaeus Hagen, had often proclaimed the teachings of Calvin. When Duke Christoph learned of this, he commissioned this clergyman to put down in writing his confession of faith about Communion, and after he had sent this work to the pre-eminent theologians and had heard their agreement, he called a synod in Stuttgart in 1559, before which that preacher was brought to answer for himself. Andreae got the task of setting down a confession of faith for the church, which that preacher signed after he had recanted his beliefs, and so this disagreement was settled.

Already at this time nobody besides Andreae was recognized as more suitable to watch over the pure Lutheran teaching and to combat the encroaching Calvinism with success. So he was called several times by the Count of Gett ingen to inspect the churches of this county, which lay between Wuertemberg and Bavaria. For this very purpose he went to Lauingen on the Danube in 1560 upon the request of Duke Wolfgang of the Palatinate with permission of Duke Christoph of Wuertemberg in order to purify the churches there from the sects of Cal-
vinistic direction, which were up to their mischief there, and he remained there almost a quarter of a year before he succeeded in leading the congregations back to pure doctrine through numerous sermons and discussions whereby he reportedly set to work with gentleness and meekness.

In the Palatinate Otto Heinrich, who had already begun to introduce the Reformation though entirely in a Lutheran sense, was followed by Friedrich III (1559-1576) who leaned toward the Calvinistic direction, and he decided to introduce the Reformed Church in the Palatinate. When the Protestant princes came together at Raumburg (January 1561) in order to agree whether they should accept the "Confessio Augustana invariata" (1530) or the "variata" (1540), Friedrich III of the Palatinate was accused by Duke Johann Friedrich of Weimar and Gotha of leaning toward Calvinism, although he was his father-in-law; because in Weimar at that time the strong Lutheran direction of Flacius prevailed, whereby it was taught that the body of Christ should be administered to the sinful also and be consumed with the mouth. However, when he did not prevail with this, since the remaining princes declared that the difference between the "Editio invariata" and "variata" was insignificant and signed the new preface which was written by the Palatine and Saxon chancellors Chem and Krakau, he left the convention. To settle this quarrel the theologians Beuerlein, Schnepf, and Andreae came together at Erfurt in April 1561; however, no agreement was reached and they separated
again having accomplished nothing.

In June 1561, Andreae travelled once again to the Upper Palatinate at the proposal of Count Wolfgang to inspect the congregations there, since the Calvinist view made ever greater progress in those areas.

After the chancellor of the University of Tuebingen, Beuerlein, had died of the plague on October 28, 1561, in Paris, where he had been sent with Andreae and Bidenbach and some worldly councillors in 1561 by Duke Christoph upon the request of the King of Navarra to take part in the discussions between the Reformed Protestants (Huguenots) and the Catholics, this mission ending fruitlessly however, since the discussion had already ended when they arrived in Paris, Andreae was named his successor as chancellor and Prior at Tuebingen University in 1562. Thus he attained the highest honor at the university. At this time, he took part with Brenz and Bidenbach in the conference of Duke Christoph with the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lothringen at Tabern in Elscape, where the Guisen gave the Wurtemberg Duke the promise by handshake not to persecute the Huguenots any more. They broke this promise, however, infamously by the bloodbath at Vassy, which was done against the reformed congregation assembled in the church by order of the Duke Franz of Guise.

V. The Efficacy of Jacob Andreae in Saxony

Until now the activity of Andreae mainly had extended to the reforming of Protestant congregations in Catholic areas,
and had certainly had a blessed success almost everywhere, and had yielded him the reputation of an excellent reformer and at the same time a strongly Lutheran-minded clergyman. Now, however, his reform activities got another direction in that he was called to intervene actively in the theological disputes among the Protestants, and this activity of his, which filled up almost all of the remaining part of his life, first made him famous in Germany and, depending on the different standpoint of the party, has been highly praised by one side and judged and abhored as pernicious by the other. Specifically, even before he could return to Tuebingen to assume his new degree, he was called in April 1561, by Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony to Thuringia to settle the quarrel which had arisen between Professors Flacius and Strigel about the free will of man (Synergismus). Flacius had maintained namely that man behaved purely passively toward divine grace just like a mere log, and that Original Sin was the substance of man. On the other hand, Strigel called Original Sin only an accident, an accidental evil, and thereby attributed to man a participation in conversion (συνέργεια). Already in 1550 Duke Johann Friedrich had arranged a colloquium between Flacius and Strigel at Weimar, though without results, since each persisted in his opinion. Indeed, the dispute became ever more intense so that finally Flacius was discharged from his office in December 10, 1561, since he persuaded the remaining clergymen to excommunicate the opponents from the
participation in Communion and Baptism, and moreover, he was accused of having refused obedience to the Duke. Andreae and Binder from Wurterberg received the task of investigating the case of Strigel, who had published a declaration. Andreae sought to negotiate by persuading Flacius to retract his strong expressions, who did so under the condition that Strigel also would not call Original Sin an accident or a chance petty thing. But the opponents did not calm down with this decision, but rather declared that Strigel had only cunningly concealed his error, and that Andreae, who had pronounced him to be orthodox, had let himself be deceived, and since the remaining theologians in Thuringia were now forced to submit to his decision, he drew great hate upon himself through his negotiation, since he had allowed himself to be misused and had trusted Strigel too much.8 Under these circumstances, Strigel considered it advisable to leave Jena, although apparently vindicated, and went to Leipzig and since he also would not renounce his conviction here, he finally set out for Heidelberg in 1568, where he died in 1569.

In this way Andreae had had an opportunity to have a look into the confused relations in Saxony and Thuringia and became convinced at the same time that a negotiation between the quarreling parties would lead to no results, and that if there were to be peace, one party would have to completely give in to the other. So he then emerged from this time on as the determined defender of the strong Lutheran direction and made
it his life's task to fight with determination against everything straying from this direction, especially against the Melanchthon school, to which an adequate opportunity was soon offered.

First of all he expected still another mission. That is, he had hardly returned to Wuertemberg in order to move with his family to Tuebingen (July 1562) when he was called to Strassburg in February 1563. There an intense dispute between Professor Zanchius and the Lutheran preacher Marbach had broken out, in that the former refused to recognize the omnipresence of Christ, a doctrine which was defended with particular zeal by Brenz in Stuttgart, and maintained the presence of the Body of Christ was the same as the presence of the sun; therefore, the Body of Christ also had an influence on the faithful; furthermore, the elect could not fall, even if they committed the most gross sins. By Marbach's influence, Professor Zanchius was forbidden to lecture at the university and, since polemics continued to follow on both sides, the Magistrate called several foreign theologians in 1563 to make peace. After much negotiation certain theses were finally established in Lutheran interpretation, which the gathered clergy as well as even Zanchius had to sign after long hesitation. Indeed, Zanchius later went to Chiaverne in Italy as he once again became suspect. Andreae had also been taken into consultation at these negotiations and, even if he did not find the opportunity to distinguish himself there, afterwards it served him very well to have
obtained an increased understanding and exercise in this when he later had to emerge independent. Indeed, before this occurred, he still had the opportunity to verify his reforming activity at two places in Wuerttemberg.

Two miles from Tuebingen lived a man of excellent family, virtue, and piety, Johann von Auvin-Wachendorff, who upon the advice of his doctor, Dr. Gabler, who taught him about the dogmas of the Protestants, and the lawyer, Johann Bielligheim, allowed Andreae to come to him in order to introduce the Reformation. The latter developed thereby an extraordinary activity by going there on Saturdays and preaching on Sundays and explaining the Catechism. He did this an entire year long (from November 8, 1564, on) and gradually did away with Catholicism. His sermons were printed later. Even the patron of that congregation remained true to the Protestant belief having weathered many attempts at backsliding and despite the return of Dr. Gabler to Catholicism, and, since he was childless, he obliged his brother, who was his heir and still a Catholic, not to change anything in religion through the condition in his last testament that if he would attempt it he should again lose the entire inheritance. However, he fulfilled the last will faithfully.

Also he preached at Esslingen, not far from Stuttgart, for a year where the University had been moved on account of the plague upon the request of the magistrate there since no preacher was available, and he fought against the dogmas of
the Catholics, the followers of Zwingli, the Anabaptists, and the followers of Schwenkfeld, who had spread themselves there. These sermons also appeared in print.

So Andreae had gradually prepared himself for the work which he was to begin in Saxony. The cause behind this work was the following. In 1568, Duke Heinrich, who had opposed every Reformation in his land, died in Braunschweig. His son Julius, who had himself previously joined the Lutheran confession, succeeded him and now determined to let his subjects have the benefit of the Reformation. Now since he was related to Duke Christoph of Wuertemberg, he asked him for advice in this matter and the latter recommended Jacob Andreae to him as the most qualified theologian to carry out the Reformation in Braunschweig.

This calling of Andreae was very momentous for northern Germany. From out of Wittenberg, the school of Melanchthon, which pursued a freer and more Swiss-and-Calvinist-leaning direction, had spread over a great part of Germany and specifically Saxony, and Melanchthon's students occupied almost all higher positions not merely in theology, but in the remaining state offices as well.

In Wuertemberg, on the other hand, through the influence of Generalsuperintendent Brenz only the strong Lutheran position had come to recognition, and Andreae also followed this position, after having vacillated somewhat at the beginning, as a faithful student of Brenz. The opposition
became especially apparent in the doctrine of Communion and the Omnipresence of Christ (Doctrine of Ubiquity), in that Brenz strongly joined Luther and accepted the real or corporeal presence of Christ in Communion and the eating and drinking of His body and blood not only by the worthy, but also by the unworthy and evil, and as a result of a participation of the human character of Christ in His divine character in one person—communicatio idiomatum—he taught that a bodily or physical presence of Christ would take place in a mystical and supernatural manner. Meanwhile, the students of Melanchthon, with Calvin and the Swiss, repudiated the physical omnipresence of Christ in Communion and accepted only a spiritual communication of Christ on the worthy and faithful, thus the unworthy would eat and drink only the mere bread and wine. Christ, they taught, was raised into heaven after His resurrection, but, although His human nature was glorified through this, the nature and substance by which He was set in time and space could not be raised up since it otherwise would vanish into the divine nature; therefore, Christ worked in Communion from heaven through the Holy Spirit on man. Yet even in Saxony several theologians emerged from Brenz' party, such as Flacius, Heshus, Westphal, who holding strongly on the literal interpretation of the words of institution "this is my body etc." took the side of the Wuertembergers as defenders of the genuine doctrines of Luther, to which conviction even the people in general were devoted, and consequently were drawn into a severe quarrel.
with the "Philippists", that is the students of Melanchthon and Calvin. In the Saxon dukedoms, the conviction of Melanchthon predominated among the scholarly and the educated in general, indeed Flacius had already attempted to drive it out of Jena, and when, after the overthrow of Duke Johann Friedrich in Gotha (1567), his brother Johann Wilhelm recovered the sole administration of the Ernestine lands, the Philippists or so-called Krypto-Calvinists, that is those who embraced the views of Melanchthon or Calvin in their attitudes concerning the disputed points of doctrine but attempted to conceal these attitudes by too generally held and often ambiguous formulas, were driven out; the Professors who subscribed to this conviction like Stoessel and Widebram were dismissed, and only men of the opposing party such as Wigand and Heshus were called to Jena. The dismissed theologians turned to the Electorate of Saxony, and since the electoral councillors at the court of Dresden were loyal to Melanchthon's conviction, they found a ready reception in Leipzig and Wittenberg.

This was the general situation of the church in northern Germany, when Andreae came there for the second time. He won over Duke Julius of Braunschweig to his strong Lutheran theological conviction and from then on a reaction began against the prevailing Philippists in the Electorate of Saxony, which ended with their destruction and annihilation. The significant theologian Chemnitz worked in Braunschweig, who, although a student of Melanchthon and scientifically educated, nevertheless joined now on the side of the strict Lutheran
conviction. Since 1554, he was the preacher at St. Aegidien's Church at Braunschweig, and in 1567, was elected to be Superintendent there. Andreae and Chemnitz, although they did not always agree and the latter was even more scientifically educated, carried out the Reformation in Braunschweig now with the powerful support of the Duke and outlined the "corpus Julium" as the guiding principle for the preachers of this land.

As the Lutherans now held the views of the Philippists and crypto-Calvinists in Saxony as highly pernicious for the spiritual welfare of the subjects, they aimed, after the work in Braunschweig had come successfully to an end, to establish true Lutheranism in the remaining lands of Germany as well, especially in the Electorate of Saxony, and above all to win over the Elector August himself to their cause. Already in 1564, Duke Christoph of Wuertemberg had sent the writings of Brenz and Andreae to this prince. August had sent them to the Wittenberg theologians in order to give an expert opinion about them. These theologians, consisting of Melanchthon's students and entirely loyal to the Calvinist interpretation, did agree in general with the view of Brenz and Andreae about Communion doctrine but rejected Brenz' doctrine of Ubiquity by declaring it impossible that one nature could share a characteristic with another when the Person has not agreed about it. The Elector sent this opinion back to the Wuertembergers, who once again justified themselves and charged that the Wittenbergers deviated from Luther
in this doctrine.

But before Andreae could pursue this work in Saxony further, he had to return once more to Tuebingen, since at this time (1567) Duke Christoph of Wurttemberg had died, and he remained there until 1569. During this residence, he also had a private discussion with Elector Friedrich III of the Palatinate about Communion, in which the latter, leaning toward the Reformed view, wanted to be instructed about the Lutheran doctrines but was not convinced by Andreae.

After this, he returned to Saxony in order to apply himself with all his strength to introducing a harmonious formula of belief in Germany. For this trip, the widow of the deceased duke gave him the travelling money. Since Brenz died soon thereafter (September 11, 1570), he regarded himself at this time the heir and one to carry on the work begun by the former to bring to recognition again the true Lutheran doctrine everywhere in Germany and to destroy the prevailing so-called Calvinism. However, that required above all things that he win over to his mission the princes, magistrates, and the prominent clergymen in northern Germany and move them to accept a general formula of belief in opposition to Zwingli, Calvin, and Melanchthon. However, that was not so easy to carry out. The theological faculty in Wittenberg still stood in high esteem; the views of all theologians were directed here, from here came the new tendency which agreed with Melanchthon and Calvin, and in
Hessia and the Electorate of Saxony, this view had come to
general acceptance. In Hessia, after the death of Count
Philipp (1567), his son William, who refused to know anything
of orthodox Lutheranism, had come to power, and in Saxony the
Elector August was diligently kept in the belief by the
Wittenbergers and his councillors that they aimed at nothing
other than preserving the pure Lutheran doctrine. Likewise,
the Chancellor Brueck favored the Calvinists in the Ernestine
lands until he was overthrown in the Gothic War in 1567 and
Johann Friedrich lost his land; however, his brother Johann
Wilhelm stood on the side of the Lutherans and, when he took
the administration of the lands of his captured brother, he
of course expelled the Calvinists from Weimar and Jena. But
after his death (1573) when the Elector August took over the
regency while the children were under age all Lutheran
preachers were driven away again. Approximately one hundred
and eleven clergymen were dismissed from their positions and
banished from the land because they would not sign the so-
called consensus Dresdensis offered to them, which the witten-
berg and Leipzig theologians had written upon the order of the
Elector in 1571. It displeased the strict Lutherans on
account of a few unclear expressions.

Andreae turned at first to Wittenberg (1569) because he
is said to have expressed "they would all have to get out of
the hut, they could not hide themselves any longer"—namely
the Krypto-Calvinists. He had composed five theses and laid
them before Professor Major in order to learn his opinion of them. They concerned mainly justification, good works, free will, intermediaries, and holy Communion. But the Wittenbergers noticed what this was driving at and remained quiet. Now it depended above all things on winning over the Elector; for this reason, Andreae also went to Dresden, although he obtained nothing more than the permission to be able to confer with the wittenberg and Leipzig theologians. The Elector became increasingly suspicious of the strivings of his theologians though, especially since even Professor Selnecker had denounced the Wittenbergers to him saying that they denied the "communicatio realis." Thus in 1570, he sent to Wittenberg Superintendent Krell and Selnecker, who had been called by Duke Julius of Braunschweig as Court Preacher and Generalsuperintendent (Andreae agreed with both men), in order to investigate the case; however, since the Superintendent Widebram preached excellent Lutheranism, nothing further was accomplished.

In the meantime, Andreae had used the entire year before, 1569, to carry out his trip through northern Germany and had come through Upper and Lower Saxony, Hessia, and Mecklenburg, and had even visited the court of Denmark. In January and February, 1570, he had gone also to Berlin and Wolfenbuettel and had joined with Selnecker and Chemnitz, superintendents in Braunschweig, to fight the Calvinists.

Andreae got the opportunity at this time to influence
even the Emperor Maximilian II. That is, when Julius of Braunschweig went to the Emperor in Prague in March, 1570, Andreae accompanied him there, having obtained Julius' full confidence, and was received by the Emperor in a private audience, in any case by recommendation of the Duke. The Emperor, to whom the theological disputes among the Protestants were very displeasing, wanted to hear something more detailed about the efforts of Andreae. Thus he also expressed his sanction of Andreae's plans and admonished him to continue boldly in this, not to let any clamor or defamation dissuade him from the good work, and to expect the reward for his work from God. Thereupon he dismissed him most mercifully. The Emperor saw only the bickering of the Protestants and the ensuing political division of the empire. However, as a Catholic, he could recognize even less the further consequences that a moral restraint had to be produced by Andreae's efforts and that the principle of Protestantism, the freedom of conscience, had to be suppressed, as almost all contemporaries were not capable of recognizing it. And so, praised and incited by the Emperor, Andreae had to consider himself more and more as the God-chosen tool, that he was called to establish peace in the Protestant lands again.

In order to set forth his views and to win souls to it, Andreae used the pulpit, aside from his negotiations with the theologians and princes, and held very numerous
sermons. Likewise, he preached soon afterwards at Bernburg before the prince of Anhalt and in Wolfenbuettel. He had gone there on April 12 in order to come to an understanding about the further steps with Chemnitz and Selnecker. Hereupon a convention of theologians was called upon his proposal at Zerbst on May 8, 1570, by Duke Julius of Braunschweig and the Count of Hessia, where it was decided to stay with the Augsburg Confession and Luther's works. Loescher observed that the Wittenbergers had shamefully feigned in this matter so that Andreae himself had incurred suspicion that he had considered it with them and so Andreae had seen it as necessary to have a special report printed on the Zerbst Convention in order to vindicate himself. Similarly, he quoted to Andreae a writing of Professor Bidenbach, which has already been indicated above, in which Bidenbach warned him especially to beware of the Neo-Wittenbergers krell, Cruciger, Pezel, and Peuceler, who he calls perverted men and drumsticks; because, he says in that writing, whoever did not recognize the polemics of Luther in the doctrine of Communion or recognize the real communication of the natures of Christ (realis communicatio idiomatum) was a follower of Zwingli, no matter how much he wrapped himself up with the coat of Luther. It would be better to offend the Wittenbergers than the wuertembergers and to extract the brotherhood from the former rather than from the others. Theodor Beza already had won the agreement of the Wittenbergers with him. For
that reason one had to beware that the Church in Wuertemberg was not made suspect and the hate and scorn of the true Lutherans brought down on it.

At this time (September 11, 1570) Brenz, who had actually been the soul of this entire movement and to whom Andreae had closely attached himself, died in Stuttgart, and Andreae now considered it his duty and life's task to carry on Brenz' work with all his strength. Admittedly, it was no small task to overthrow the wittenbergers, who were decidedly superior to him in spirit and intelligence and went slyly about their work, and it would have been hard for him to succeed if the Elector August had not come to his aid with his worldly power, as we shall see later.

After a residence of one and a half years in northern Germany, Andreae returned to Tuebingen, where he arrived on December 12, 1570. Yet he did not get any peace here either as his assistance in churchly matters was frequently demanded. Twice he was called by Count Christoph Binder to Moempelgard, a city in France on the Doubs, in order to inspect the churches there (1571-72). Here Daniel Tossanus had been suspected of concealed Calvinism and, after he had been convicted by Andreae, he was dismissed from his office. On his first return trip from there Andreae met with Flacius in Strassburg, who after being driven from Jena (1562) could no longer find a safe resting place, and had a discussion with him about the previously mentioned assertion of his
that sin was the substance of man. However, it appears that he did not accomplish much with him because he wrote of him in 1573 in the blunt manner of that time, "Illyricus is of the devil, I have nothing more to do with him because I have no doubt that he must now eat with all the devils, if they are at home and not accompanying some of his comrades such as Spangenbergen and the others." On the other hand, Flacius complained that Andreae had not published the report of the Colloquium in conformity with the truth. He thereby presented himself in the right light.

In Memmingen-on-the-Ille, an Imperial city at that time, the clergyman Eusebius Kleber had proclaimed himself publicly for the teaching of Zwingli. Andreae, who had been sent there (1579), sought first to convince him by means of friendly discussion; however, since this did not succeed, a public colloquium was arranged and Kleber was dismissed, since he did not give in. Afterwards, he became a preacher in St. Gallen in Switzerland.

In the following year, 1575, Andreae introduced to Hagenau, after the death of the preacher there, Philipp Heerbrand, his successor, Georg Volmar, a pupil of the seminary in Tuebingen. On his return trip he went to Aalen, at that time an Imperial city where Catholicism still prevailed, and, after the Catholic clergy had been removed, installed Protestant preachers in their places. Hardly had he returned home when he was called to the Imperial city Lindau on Lake
Constance where Tobias Rupius and Scheffler defended the views of Flacius on Original Sin. A public disputation was arranged at the city hall in the presence of the magistrate and the public, whereby Andreae sought to prove that the view of Flacius was in opposition to the Bible and the symbolical books. However, since Rupius refused to give in, the magistrate broke up the disputation and, since the opinion of the foreign theologians came out against both preachers, they were dismissed.

He was also called to Regensburg at this time in order to settle the dispute which had developed between the magistrate and the preachers concerning excommunication. Andreae remained here from January 15 to March 14, 1576, until the dispute had been settled. So Andreae was almost continually on the road settling disputes and not only did his fame as a first-rate organizer spread further and further in Germany but he gained more and more in accomplishment and skill in such matters as well, so that he could now fully prepared to the great task which was at hand in Saxony. While he lingered in southern Germany (1570-76), the downfall of the so-called Krypto-Calvinists, which was well prepared and initiated by Andreae, had ensued in Saxony due to Elector August. To be more exact, following the example of the doctor and son-in-law of Melanchthon, Kaspar Feuer, the Wittenbergers had considered it appropriate, after Jacob Andreae's departure in 1570, to step forward
more publicly in their efforts at Reformation since they still hoped (through the influence of the Privy Councillor Krakau) to win over to their cause the court preacher Schuetz and the member of the consistory, Stoessel, who decidedly favored them, and also the Elector, who at first had accepted an observer's position but was devoted in heart with his spouse, Anna, to the Lutheran confession. At the instigation of Professor Peucer, who was in charge of the inspection of schools, the Wittenbergers published a new catechism to replace the Lutheran Cathechism, which never got beyond discussion since this catechism was severely attacked by the Lutheran theologians as Calvinistic. They wrote a detailed justification paper, the so-called "Foundation," in which they sought to justify their doctrine. In order to win over the Elector, Peucer even dared to put this book in the Elector's hands personally. It dealt particularly with the real or corporeal presence of Christ at Communion, which they did not accept but rather they sought to prove that Christ was bodily in heaven. As we have already seen, the Elector had called the Wittenberg and Leipzig theologians to Dresden (1571) in order to effect an agreement and the "Consensus Dresdensis" had taken place, in which the view of the Wittenbergers had been covertly expressed, as their opponents maintained. From there the battle continued with the Lutherans or the _Flacianern_ as they were also called. They even worked on a new refutation paper, which, however,
was forbidden by the Elector August. In fact, he sent the Court preacher Wagner to Wittenberg twice to warn the theologians. The latter, however, distributed from Wittenberg Calvinistic writings, which were printed there, although Geneva was indicated as the place of printing. Naturally, they rejected also the demand of the Elector to write against the Calvinists. On the other hand, Theodor Beza ventured to turn to the Elector directly from Geneva with a writing, and the latter came to the suspicion that the Wittenbergers had incited him to do this. That is to say, Beza had fallen into contention with Selnecker on account of his Bible translation, which the latter had severely attacked and now he turned to the Elector himself with the request that he put an end to this dispute by reprimanding Selnecker. Beza sent along his polemics and explained his theological views (February 18, 1572). But the Elector did not acquiesce to it, rather he sent his letters back to him (May 22, 1572) and forbade all similar correspondence in the future. Naturally, the Lutheran clergy in Dresden also did not let it be drawn to his attention that Beza was the head of the Calvinists, whom Luther had previously declared to be notorious heretics. They drove the Elector more and more to the opinion that Lutheranism, as they perceived it, namely the doctrine of the real or corporeal presence of Christ in Communion and His Omnipresence (Ubiquity), was the true Protestant doctrine and expostulated to him the danger of the Saxon church being forced on a false track and being at the point of falling
into the Calvinism and Zwingli-ism prohibited by Luther. Then the so-called "Exegesis perspicua controversiae de coena domini" by Voegelin appeared at the beginning of 1574 in Leipzig, in which the Calvinist view of the disputed matters was distinctly and clearly pronounced as it was traced by Hesius in Jena and Wigand in Prussia. The composition of this book was attributed again to the Wittenbergers and the Elector sent some councillors to Wittenberg in order to investigate the case thoroughly. Although the book dealer Voegelin gave evidence that this book was composed by a Silesian, Dr. Buraeus, he was not believed and, since still other Calvinist books were found in Wittenberg, the Elector was firmly convinced that the Wittenbergers were behind this.

In the meantime, Andreae had kept the theological errors in Saxony firmly in mind while he undertook his trips in Wurtemberg and in the bordering lands. Besides being vigorously supported in endeavors by the Wurtemberg court, he also turned to other courts and similar-minded theologians in northern Germany as from then on the Elector was urgently called on to put an end to the Calvinistic intrigues. Through repeated writings, he warned the electoral court at Dresden particularly of the ruinous influences of the court doctor Peucer, who was filling up the soul of the Elector with sacramental poison and, at the same time, was holding him ensnared as if through magic, like a Kolossischer dog keeping
watch before his room and letting no one in who could teach him differently. However, he particularly turned to the Queen of Denmark, the mother of the Electoress of Saxony, and moved her to write her daughter in order to induce the Elector to dismiss the court physician Peucer from his position at the court and the university.

Andreae himself also had penetrated deeper into the entire case, to which his association with the learned Chemnitz had especially contributed much, so that there could be no more talk of a certain fluctuation by him of which he had been previously accused. In six sermons, which he published in April 1573, he developed his complete view about all of the issues and from this originated his outline of twelve affirmative and twelve negative articles, which formed the basis of the later "Formula concordiae" under the title "Explanation of the Churches in Swabia and the Dukedom of Wuertemberg", also named the Swabian Formula. He sent this writing to Chemnitz in order to review it and the latter sent it on to the theologians in the Lower Saxony area, namely to Chytraeus in Rostock and to Westphal in Hamburg. Since these theologians were hesitating with their agreement, Andreae turned again to Duke Julius of Braunschweig, who was protector and who, since 1569, had travelled to

\[\text{ender Andreae time repeatedly}\]
to push the work forward more strongly. Upon his pressing forward, the remaining Tuebingen theologians turned to Chemnitz, especially Schnepf and Heerbrand. Finally, after many deals and trips by Chemnitz, an agreement was reached in Lower Saxony also; the Swabian Formula had been improved and was sent back to Andreae in 1575.

Meanwhile, a complete turnabout had also taken place in Saxony in the efforts of the Wuertembergers. Urged by the majority of the remaining princes, by his wife, and by his courtiers, and at the same time ashamed that he, as he believed, had been deceived so long by the Wittenbergers, the Elector August intervened with a strong arm and sought with one blow to put an end to the theological disputes. A detailed description of these measures does not belong here, it should only be mentioned that in Dresden the notoriously Calvinist-minded men -- the court preacher Schuetz, the church councillor Stoessel, and the Privy Councillor Krakau, and in Wittenberg at the same time (April 1574) Peucer, Melanchthon's son-in-law--were dismissed and imprisoned. The same fate met the theologians in Wittenberg in June 1574, the younger Cruciger, Bezel, and Widebram, who refused to sign the four questions, although they recognized the polemics of Luther, the doctrine of the omnipresence of the body of Christ, the oral partaking of Christ's body even by the side of the unworthy, and the condemnation of Calvin, as these things had been established by the Lutheran theologians, who were called by the Elector for this purpose to the Landestag
at Torgau, together with the twelve affirmative and twelve negative articles. Moreover, a severe investigation was undertaken in Wittenberg and all suspected books were confiscated.

However, it did not merely suffice in putting other Lutherans in the offices after the suspected theologians were removed, but rather it was also considered necessary to set up a new confession of faith in the sense of the winning party and have it undersigned by all theologians in order to cut off all fighting about theological questions in the future. Keeping this viewpoint in mind, August coincided his efforts with Andreae's. Therefore, while Andreae (in Tuebingen) and Chemnitz worked on a new rule of belief and sought to obtain the concurrence of other like-minded theologians, often after many deals, the Elector August, after he had come to an understanding with the court preacher Mirus, Listenius, and some other Lutheran theologians, and even had written a treatise himself, called the major theologians in Saxony to the Castle Lichtenburg (February 1576), where it was decided not to let the "corpus Philippicum" act as norm, to abolish the Dresden Confession of 1571, and to call the theologians Chytraeus, Chemnitz, and Andreae to prepare a new confession of belief for general acceptance. At the same time, the princes of Wuertemberg, Baden, and Henneberg had commissioned the theologians Osiander and Bidenbach to revise again the Swabian and Lower Saxon Formulas.
After those three princes had their representatives sign this at Maulbronn (January 1, 1576), they then sent this improved Formula to the Elector of Saxony (February, 1576). In January, 1576, the latter had already been sent the Lower Saxony Formula by Duke Julius of Braunschweig and had turned to Andreae at the same time to ask him which of these formulas appeared most practical to him. Since Andreae suggested to him the Formula signed by the princes at Maulbronn, he called the most well-known theologians of Saxony and northern Germany to Torgau (May, 1576) in order to decide which Formula was to be accepted. Even Andreae had been invited there by the Elector (April, 1576). At this convention a new Formula was made out of the different Formulas, the so-called Book of Torgau. It was still a difficult task before the theologians present were able to unite themselves and Andreae especially can be given credit that it finally occurred for which the Elector directed a heartfelt letter to him.

The next task was now to move the remaining princes and cities in northern Germany to acceptance of the Book of Torgau. This mission was assigned to the theologians Andreae and Chemnitz and, of course, the former received the more difficult part of the work. Namely, he was supposed to confer about it with Count Wilhelm of Hessen-Cassel and with the Generalsuperintendent of Holstein Paul von Eitzen. He travelled to Hessen and, although he was not received inhospitably, the result showed indeed that a favorable opinion for this work was not at hand; his efforts
with Paul von Eitzen had just as little success. He also came to the Brandenburg Court on this trip and here one was favorably inclined to him.

The Elector August continued to give Andreae his full trust and, since he considered him the most capable theologian to bring to a happy end the concordance, he invited him to move entirely to Saxony for a while in order to review and reform from new the churches and schools. Andreae travelled there after he had returned to Tuebingen from his trip to Hessen, Brandenburg, and Braunschweig to bring his wife and children to Saxony due to his impending longer absence. After the Duke of Wuertemberg had granted his permission to the proposal of the Elector of Saxony, Andreae moved with his family to Leipzig and here he set up his home. Since at the beginning of 1577 he already appeared actively again in Saxony, this move with his family to Leipzig must have taken place at the end of 1576. Because already in March, 1577, Andreae was once again in Zerbst in order to raise the hesitations which one had about the "communicatio realis."

After the book of Torgau had circulated everywhere in northern Germany and all doubts about the individual points, which one still thought were to be found in the book, had been sent to Elector August, he called the three theologians Andreae, Chernitz, and Selnecker to undertake a super revision of it and to test once again the considerations brought in. These three men came together in March, 1577, in Kloster Bergen by Magdeburg and worked with it until May 25, 1577.
So this work, highly praised by Lutherans, much despised by Reformed Protestants, finally came to be and there is no question that the major merit is attributed to Andreae. For that reason the Lutherans celebrated him as a highly enlightened, highly gifted, and ingenious theologian and named him a second Elijah while the Reformed accused him of seeking to introduce a new papacy in Germany.

If this new writing on belief had been accepted by all Protestants in Germany, then perhaps by this a wholesome success concerning the Catholics would have been reached for the future. However, this was not the case, on the contrary, the dividing wall between the Lutherans and the Reformed, as those who had accepted the Heidelberg Catechism were called since 1580, became not only greater but harsher as well. Such a great hate developed between both parties that it was even declared by the Lutheran side that they would rather become Catholic than have fellowship with the Reformed, as Polycarp Leyfer answered the question in 1602 in an explanation of Luther's explanation, "Why one should prefer to have association with the Papists than with the Calvinists and to have more trust with them."

After many deals at Tangermuende, Herzberg, and Zueterbock, whereat Andreae had to do his best, the majority of northern German princes and cities signed, but the Count of the Palatinate, Johann Casimir, the Prince of Anhalt, and the Count Wilhelm of Hessen-Kassel proclaimed themselves against it and refused to sign. For that reason, Andreae was sent
in October, 1579, to Kassel, accompanied by Chemnitz and several worldly councillors of the Elector. He presented a letter from the Elector and asked for the signature of the Count. But the Count received the letter very ungraciously and gave him a negative answer. As Andreae sought by all means to persuade him and particularly brought up that anyone who did not sign would be excluded from the religious peace and that no one, who rejected the Book of Concord, could accept the Augsburg Confession. The Count is said to have answered him at the oral audience, "That would be the devil, Priest Jackel, where is it in the Augsburg Confession that this book (Book of Concord) is one and the same?" He is also said to have criticized Andreae's sophistical manner of disputing and to have accused him of only wanting to make a name for himself and become the German pope. Likewise, he had already declared at a convention in Hamburg in 1576, he would rather stick his hand in the oven than sign this book with it. Things did not go any better with Andreae in Dessau, to where he turned with his companions. The Prince of Dessau previously had his theologians give an opinion and he presented this to the delegates. He did not even allow Andreae an audience before him but rather imparted to him a severe snub to which the latter replied from Dresden.

Already in 1576, the Elector August had made his intentions known to the representative body at the Landtag at Torgau to establish a universal Formula of Concord especially since the Torgau Articles of 1574 were not yet sufficient everywhere
and still stirred up some offence with the zealous Lutherans. Whereupon he had Andreae, Selnecker, and Polycarp Leyfer undertake a general visitation of the churches and schools in Saxony (1577) and gave Andreae the task of reforming the University of Wittenberg and to fill the positions vacated by the dismissed professors. The Wittenbergers, however, wanted to know nothing about Andreae because they saw in him the main originator of all the misfortune, which had befallen the University. Therefore, they asked the Elector not to have the visitation conducted by Andreae; also, they would not accept the new Professor Schuetz, whom the latter was supposed to introduce into the clerical service and the professorship. Since they wrote a written complaint to the Elector on this account, Andreae himself travelled to Dresden to confer with them. Upon this the Elector issued a strong mandate to the Rector, the masters, and the doctors of the University (April 23, 1577), in which he threatened them with strong measures if they were to further resist the reception and directives of Andreae. According to this mandate, the Elector ordered them to help him in suppressing and purging from his universities the prevailing error concerning the most reverent sacrament, in putting teachers and servants pure and beyond suspicion in the parishes and schools, and in correctly instructing the misled youth from God's word again. He would find, however, that all his effort and trouble, which he had turned to this job, would not be successful and that he would have to assume therefore that they themselves were still secretly fouled by