

The Bern Disputation: Some Observations

by DAN L. HENDRICKS

The Bern Disputation of 1528 is largely a product of ideas conceived in other places and sponsored by outsiders. Even the ten theses, issued by reformers Berchtold Haller and Franz Kolb, reflect dependence upon the theology of Zwingli and antagonism to Catholic theology, enunciated by John Eck at Baden. Recent scholarship has explored the influence of Zwingli¹, but showed less concern for the negative role of Baden². Both factors' impact on the Bern reformation settlement needs reassessment. Therefore, this article³ offers a few observations on the debt to Zürich and the opposition to Baden.

The decision by the Bern City Council on November 17, 1527, to convene a disputation represents the government's response to a deepening social crisis, occasioned by the clash of the old and new beliefs⁴. From the introduction of evangelical preaching in the early 1520's⁵ to the near riotous situation in the city of Bern in 1527⁶, the Council had cautiously

¹ Cf. *Ulrich Gähler*, Huldrych Zwingli im 20. Jahrhundert, Forschungsbericht und annotierte Bibliographie 1897–1972, Zürich 1975, No. 474, 629, 1037; *Gottfried W. Locher*, Zwinglis Schlußpredigt an der Berner Disputation als Beitrag zu seiner Ethik, in: Humanität und Glaube, Gedenkschrift für Kurt Guggisberg, hg. von *Ulrich Neuenschwander* und *Rudolf Dellsperger*, Bern 1974, 29–41.

² *Leonhard von Muralt* offered new perspective on the Bern Disputation by examining the political-religious standpoint of the Catholic cantons as they attempted to keep Bern in their coalition and isolate it from the influence of Zürich, see *Die Badener Disputation*, Leipzig 1926 (*Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte* 3). See also *Johann Lippert*, Die Einladung Zwinglis an Johann Eck zum Berner Religionsgespräch, in: *Zwingliana* VI, 1938, 580–588; *Gottfried W. Locher*, Die theologische und politische Bedeutung des Abendmahlsstreites im Licht von Zwinglis Briefen, in: *Zwingliana* XIII, 1971, 281–304.

³ My thanks to Pierre Fraenkel and Gottfried W. Locher for their suggestions on the occasion of the presentation of this paper, Monday, November 22, 1976, at a Colloquium of the Institute of the History of the Reformation, University of Geneva, Geneva, Switzerland.

⁴ The convocation and ten theses are edited in: *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Berner Reformation 1521–1532*, hg. von *Rudolf Steck* und *Gustav Tobler*, Bern 1923, No. 1371, 518–521 (cited: ABernerRef).

⁵ We know that a Bernese book dealer visits Basel on December 24, 1518, and buys a number of works by Luther. The incident is reported by Beatus Rhenanus in a letter to Zwingli, December 26, 1518, Z VII 123_{1r}.

⁶ Haller claims that several of the guild parishes throw out the Mass in the autumn of 1527 and about the same time some local priests openly declare that they

monitored religious developments⁷. In need of a church settlement radical enough to placate a broadening evangelical consensus at home, and also anxious to present a religious program moderate enough to satisfy the Catholic Confederate cantons abroad, the Council guardedly promulgated a series of reformation laws⁸.

By the summer of 1523, Bernese evangelicals exerted considerable influence in local church life. Their new ideas were being spread by a growing number of preachers, and key ecclesiastical posts were occupied by reform-minded clergymen⁹. Despite the political and religious conservatism of the ruling "oligarchy"¹⁰, which had forbidden local priests to participate in the Zürich debates, changes were occurring¹¹. Following the lead of Zürich and Basel, the Council issued a mandate on June 15, 1523¹². In light of the confusion created by the introduction of the new ways by some and the maintenance of the old by others, the law was

are married, Z IX 232f. *Leonhard von Muralt* believes that the action of the guild parishes actually forces the hand of the conservative Small Council. Without this factor, he suggests, a Disputation might never have taken place, *Stadtgemeinde und Reformation in der Schweiz*, in: *Zeitschrift für Schweizer Geschichte* 10, 1930, 349–384.

⁷ The Bern government was not above intervening in church affairs to ensure a proper hearing for its interests. See the affair of the installation of the Bishop of Lausanne in 1471, *Emil Blösch*, *Die Vorreformation in Bern*, in: *Jahrbuch für Schweizerische Geschichte* 9, 1884, 1–92. The gradual process by which the Bern Council assumed responsibility for the monitoring of religious affairs has partly to do with the default of episcopal authorities in these matters. For an analysis of church-state relations on the eve of the Reformation see *Gerold Meyer von Knonau*, *Zur Vorgeschichte der Berner Reformation*, in: *Zwingliana* III, 1918/1919, 396–404.

⁸ Because of the broad powers and conservative persuasion of the Small Council, it served for a long time as a brake upon sudden and radical change. One major reason, which is often overlooked, is the diplomatic issue. Bern was always anxious to maintain a viable relationship with its Confederates. When the Confederation split in two, Bern was caught in the middle. Even after the Disputation, it continued to seek cordial relationships with its neighbors, this primarily for defensive purposes. See *Bernd Moeller's* discussion of the role of magistrates in the Reformation, in: *Imperial Cities and the Reformation* (English translation, Philadelphia 1972) 61f.

⁹ In the city for example, Sebastian Meyer was lecturing on the Bible in the Franciscan Monastery, Niklaus Manuel, the gifted artist and dramatist, counted himself in the evangelical camp, Thomas von Wattenwyl, a close friend and follower of Zwingli, was provost of St. Vincent Cathedral, and Berchtold Haller was the people's preacher.

¹⁰ "Oligarchy" is the name given by Haller to the elite group of magistrates, all noblemen, in the Small Council, whose inertia nearly prevented the calling of the Disputation.

¹¹ Sebastian Meyer went anyway.

¹² *ABernerRef* 249.

designed to establish theological uniformity in preaching and teaching. It prescribed adherence to the Bible as the sole source of proclamation¹³.

However, faced with the intransigent conservatism of the Bernese country folk and the increasing militance of the evangelicals, the authorities retreated from the innovative implications of the first law and voted in the so-called Reformationsartikel on April 7, 1525¹⁴. Framed in cooperation with several other cantons of Catholic persuasion, the articles outlawed the unorthodox celebration of the eucharist, advised adherence to the traditional understandings of the Mass and Purgatory, and warned against clerical marriage¹⁵.

By 1526 the canton of Bern was still "officially" Catholic. The initial successes of the reform party had been nullified by the banishment or resignation of talented men like Sebastian Meyer and Niklaus von Wattenwyl¹⁶. Even Berchtold Haller's continued leadership was not certain, since he had been nearly ousted from his preaching post by detractors¹⁷. Another crippling blow was dealt the cause of reform, when on May 21, a mandate censored all evangelical literature, threatening prosecution to offenders¹⁸.

On the same day the Baden Disputation opened. Sponsored by the "old Catholic" cantons, and spearheaded by John Eck, the debate was planned in order to consolidate Swiss opposition to the new doctrine and more specifically, to "silence" Zwingli and "turn the people from their error¹⁹".

¹³ Ibid., p. 66: "Namlich, das ir, und alle die, so sich predigens underziehend und gebruchend, nützig anders, dann allein das heylig evangelium, und die leer gottes frey, öffentlich, und unverborgen ..."

¹⁴ Ibid., 610. Legislation in religious matters involved an elaborate process of negotiation between local communities and the City Council of Bern. For example see ABernerRef 882, 891, 892.

¹⁵ Ibid., 610. On matters like belief in Purgatory, prayers and masses for the dead, and pilgrimages, compulsion was forbidden; the people were to choose for themselves. The law mentions the presence of dissension among the clergy and suggests that in certain areas iconoclasm had become a problem (p. 192).

¹⁶ For an account of the ousting of Meyer see Die Berner Chronik des Valerius Anshelm, hg. vom Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern, vol. V, Bern 1896, 58f. (cited: Anshelm); ABernerRef II 152. Niklaus von Wattenwyl leaves his post to marry an ex-nun, Klara May. See Anshelm V 121.

¹⁷ Vadian alludes to the opposition to Haller in a letter to the Bernese Reformer, June 13, 1526. Die Vadianische Briefsammlung der Stadtbibliothek St. Gallen, hg. von Emil Arbenz, vol. IV, Saint Gall 1897, No. 461, 30.

¹⁸ ABernerRef 892, p. 314f.

¹⁹ Amtliche Sammlung der ältern eidgenössischen Abschiede aus dem Zeitraume von 1521 bis 1528, vol. IV/1a, bearbeitet von Johannes Strickler, Brugg 1873, No. 354, p. 869i: "... damit der Zwingli und sins gleichen in unser Eidgnoschaft irer falschen leer geschweigt und etlicher maß das gemein volk von der irrthumb

Bern's only clerical representative, Berchtold Haller, made no secret of his opposition to Eck's seven theses. Indeed, he challenged Eck on the second thesis, that the body and blood of Christ are offered in the Mass for the living and the dead²⁰.

In the absence of Zwingli, Oekolampad argued the Protestant case, but the partisan crowd adopted all seven theses, which were skillfully defended by Eck. Whatever polemical success the Catholic cantons enjoyed by the Disputation, they nonetheless lost a coveted ally. Offended by the harsh condemnatory tone of the debate minutes, which severely indicted Zürich and Zwingli, Bern disavowed any support for the Baden settlement²¹.

Back home, Haller was ordered to appear before the Small Council and justify his refusal to say the Mass in St. Vincent Cathedral. A favorite with the people, especially guildsmen, the preacher was ensured a fair hearing by mobs of citizens who noisily gathered outside the city hall. The Large Council, with its guild majority, acquitted Haller²². Not only was the decision an implicit mandate for change, it had also become an evangelical *cause célèbre*. In the months following, elections delivered a majority to councilmen favorable to reform²³. Moreover, a canvas of opinion throughout the canton showed growing sympathy for change²⁴.

At the same time the viability of opposition to reform, centered politically in the Small Council, was seriously threatened. We know, for exam-

abgewendt und rüewig gemacht werd." The document is a dispatch from Lucern to the Bishop of Constance about the Baden Debate.

²⁰ Haller had to be released from his oath to the Mandate of Pfingstmontag, which forbade disputation on the Mass, before he could debate. He contested the real presence with a basically Zwinglian notion of the sole sufficiency of the Lord's sacrifice on the cross. See *Die disputation vor den XII orten einer loblichen eidtgnoschaft*, edited by Thomas Murner, Lucerne 1526, f.T₂.

²¹ ABernerRef 1084, p. 363f.

²² According to Anshelm V 172 there was nearly a riot. He relates that Haller's defense was so impressive that no one spoke against him. He was relieved of his duty to say Mass but retained as preacher in the Cathedral.

²³ Report of the elections comes in a letter from Haller to Zwingli on April 25, 1527. It is also recounted by Anshelm V 199.

²⁴ The government asked its constituent communities to consider the Mandate of Viti and Modesti and the Reformation Articles. The people showed preference for the Biblical mandate; only six endorsed the more conservative law. ABernerRef 1196, p. 398-400 and 1205, p. 403-427. The response became the basis for the final reformation law before the Disputation. The *Mandat* of May 27, 1527 embodies a theological contradiction, because it stipulates both the unhindered preaching of the Gospel and adherence to the traditional ways. Its framers realize this contradiction; ABernerRef 1221, p. 435-437.

ple, that by October 31, 1527, four Bernese communities had stopped celebrating the Mass²⁵. In the city of Bern several of the guild associations had also abolished the Mass, so that on November 4, Haller writes to Zwingli, reporting that the shoemakers, weavers, merchants, fishermen, stonemasons and carpenters had all thrown out the liturgy²⁶.

Under these circumstances the Small Council could stall no longer. On November 15, the government decided to hold its own Disputation in order to facilitate a stable religious solution based upon community theological consensus. Two days later, the official announcement of the debate was issued, including a list of ten theses. The Disputation would convene on January 6, 1528.

Before we examine the ten theses, a brief look at the political and theological uses of the Disputation, what Bernd Moeller calls *Disputationspolitik*, will be helpful. We should first note the pervasive influence of Zwingli on Berchtold Haller²⁷. The Bernese reformer had considered Zwingli his teacher and master since 1521²⁸. Haller actively solicited the Züricher's advice on matters ranging from the deeply personal to the high professional. They conferred on the role of magistrates, the baptism of children, the marriage of priests and the problem of Anabaptists. Charged with the organization of the Disputation, Haller sought the advice of Zwingli on the selection of participants and submitted his theses for Zwingli's approval²⁹. It is no surprise, then, that striking similarities exist between the Zürich and Bern Debates.

Like its predecessors the Zürich Debates, the Bern Disputation involved not only the search for truth, but also a transfer of power³⁰.

²⁵ The communities were Rohrbach, Langnau, Bolligen and Rüderswil. See especially letters of Rohrbach and Langnau in ABernerRef 1242 and 1357, respectively.

²⁶ Z IX, No. 664, 292f.

²⁷ See note 1 above.

²⁸ Cf. Z VII, No. 194, 196.

²⁹ "Ich bitt dich, du wellist die artikel mitsamdt dem titel trewlich besichtigen, endern, bessern, darzu darvon thun, nach dem dich am alerbesten dunkt." Z IX 309₁₉₋₂₁ (cf. p. 634).

³⁰ In two major articles, Bernd Moeller has explored the character of the Zürich Debates and the parallel uses of the politicized disputation in Germany and Switzerland. In the first article Zwingli's Disputationen, Studium zu den Anfängen der Kirchenbildung und des Synodalwesens im Protestantismus, I. Teil, in: Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte 87 (Kanonistische Abteilung 56), 1970, 275-324, Moeller discovers a basic "Erfindung" on the medieval, academic disputation. Zwingli modifies the medieval debate, making it more of a proclamatory occasion than an exploratory one. Moreover, he uses the disputation to establish and consolidate the evangelical church in the city and the canton. The Debates facilitate

Guided and legitimized by Scriptural norm, the Bern reformation shifted executive power in matters of doctrine and practical piety from bishops to magistrates³¹. It ushered in a new theocratic³² order modeled on the Zwinglian reform program in Zürich. For these reasons, I call the Bern Debate an “occasion of state”.

To understand the theocratic character of the Bern Reformation, one other event besides the Disputation must be mentioned. Less than a month after the end of the Debate, the Council issued the Reformations-mandat³³. All male citizens fourteen years and older were required to make an oath of allegiance to the law. The mandate of thirteen articles was the executive apparatus of the new evangelical state. Based upon the theological results of the Disputation, it was a declaration of independence from Roman episcopal power³⁴ and doctrine³⁵. It prescribed obedience to the ten theses and abolished the celebration of the Mass and the worship of images.

The first suggestion of the civil-ecclesiastical uses of the Disputation comes in the convocation statement. Unlike the medieval, academic debate, which occasioned the promotion of the theological student, the Bern Disputation was convened to solve a community problem. In the statement mention was made of previous attempts to quell the disturbance and establish peace. By the event, the government hoped to reestablish doctrinal consensus and uniformity of worship; “... that divine

the change from the Catholic to the evangelical order, formalizing the new program under the guidance and dictates of the Scriptural rubric. The result is a theocracy in which the civil and ecclesiastical functions are merged under the auspices of the City Council and legitimized by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. In the second part of the article (ibid. 91, 1974, 213–364) he surveys the uses of “Disputationspolitik” in German and Swiss cities. See in particular *Otto Scheib*, Die theologischen Diskussionen Huldrych Zwinglis, Zur Entstehung und Struktur der Religionsgespräche des 16. Jahrhunderts, in: Von Konstanz nach Trient, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirche von den Reformkonzilien bis zum Tridentinum, Festgabe für August Franzen, hg. von *Remigius Bäumer*, Munich/Paderborn/Vienna 1972, 395–417, pursues the practical implications of Moeller’s thesis. He submits that the Debates effect the consensus in theology and practice, which is the foundation of the new order.

³¹ The practical aspects of the transfer of power are elaborated in the Reformationsmandat, ABernerRef 1513, p. 629–634.

³² See, for example, *Robert C. Walton*, *Zwingli’s Theocracy*, Toronto 1967.

³³ In fact there were *two* oaths made: the first was sworn on February 2, 1528. The people pledged to guard, protect and carry out present and future actions, of worldly and religious import, handed down by the Council. On February 7, they pledged to obey the thirteen articles of the Reformation Mandate. The mandate was written by Zwingli. See Z VI/I 502f.

³⁴ See articles 2 and 3 of the Mandate, ABernerRef 630f.

³⁵ Ibid., article 1, 630.

truth, Christian understanding and belief be discovered, and worship grounded in divine Scripture be planted and observed³⁶." The conveners also aimed to serve "Christian peace, calm and unity³⁷". As we have suggested the model for magisterial action was Zürich's program and the inspiration, Zwingli's.

Argued in a letter to Ambrose Blarer and actualized in the institutionalization of reform in his city, Zwingli defended a council's right, indeed responsibility, to supervise religious affairs, insofar as it was Christian and founded upon a degree of community consensus³⁸. Although the magistrate exercised executive power to insure a peaceful society, where the Gospel could be preached and faith could flourish, a more basic authority belonged to the community.

Equating the church and the body politic, Zwingli saw the "kirch" as a gathering of believers in a specific geographical area, like Zürich or Bern³⁹. Each "kirchgemeind" possessed authority to determine true doctrine and faithful practice. Opposed to the idea that only a council of bishops and prelates could legislate doctrine, he affirmed that, obedient to the divine Word of Scripture and guided by the Holy Spirit, the local congregation acts as *ecclesia representativa*⁴⁰. Zwingli used this ecclesiology to justify the Zürich Debate.

The same theological framework informed the execution of the Bern Disputation. In the first debate on the nature and authority of the Church, Haller argued that the local church community owes its origin and existence solely to God. It is subject alone to the lordship of Christ and the Spirit alone leads the church in a virtuous and righteous Christian life⁴¹. The Spirit commissions faithful communities like Bern to govern themselves. Their decisions are tested and legitimized by the radical standard, *sola Scriptura*, because the Bible is the clear word of God.

Already in the convocation statement, the Bern Council advised that no other source be cited in support of arguments, except the Word of God

³⁶ Convocation: "... den grund göttlicher warheit, christenlicher verstands und gloubens fürzebringen und dem nach ze läben, rechtgeschaffen und in göttlicher geschrift gegründet gotzdienst ze pflanzen und üben", *ibid.* 517.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Z IX 456-458.

³⁹ See the excellent article by Robert C. Walton, The Institutionalization of the Reformation at Zurich, in: *Zwingliana XIII*, 1972, 497-515. Walton analyzes the relationship of church and community in Zwingli's thought.

⁴⁰ *Auslegen und Gründe der Schlußreden*, Z II 62₂₃.

⁴¹ *Handlung oder Acta gehaltener Disputation zu Bern in ſechtland*, Zürich 1528. See especially the exchange between Träger and Bucer, f.20^r-36^v.

recorded in the Old and New Testaments: "Alone Biblical text with Biblical text clarified, explained, compared and the difficult texts illuminated by the clear⁴²." Furthermore, the validity of the Reformation Mandate was also grounded in the claim that its directives measured up to the Scriptural rubric: "that the same are Christian and grounded in and supported by divine Scripture⁴³." It was to such a vision of Christian society that Bucer admonished the Bernese in debate on the first thesis. They listened closely, for soon they would have it.

The ten theses bring into focus the specific problems with which Bern wrestled, since the introduction of evangelical preaching in 1518. Constantly in touch with the magistrates, Haller predicted in early November 1527, that the Council would eventually rule on the issues: the Mass, images, the intercession of the saints, Purgatory and clerical marriage⁴⁴. The new theology had called these practices into question and evangelical preachers had exposed abuses associated with them. Sebastian Meyer, Niklaus Manuel, George Brunner, Haller and Kolb were some of those who protested.

To be sure, the theses not only express Bernese problems, they also bear the theological imprint of other Swiss-German Disputations. For instance, Schuhmann has traced six of the Bern propositions to the Ilanz Debate of 1526 and two of them to the Basel Disputation of 1524⁴⁵. Furthermore, Locher has noticed the inspiration of Zwingli in both the Ilanz and Bern Debates⁴⁶. I also submit that five of the Bern theses are framed in explicit opposition to five of Eck's Baden theses⁴⁷.

First, the positive contribution of the Bernese propositions is Zwinglian. It is mediated through John Comander, pastor in Chur, who authors the Ilanz theses. Gottfried Locher suggests that Comander's first thesis, which is adopted by Haller and Kolb, is Zwinglian in "spirit and style". In fact, we can extend this theory to all the other Ilanz theses taken over by the Bernese. Haller and Kolb model six of their propositions after Comander's because in them they find strong, incisive statements of the master's theology. Comander's close relationship to reform-

⁴² Convocation: "... allein biblisch geschrift mit biblischer erklärt, usgeleit, verglichen, und die dunckle mit der heitern erluchtet...", ABernerRef 1371, p. 519.

⁴³ Mandate, *ibid.* 630.

⁴⁴ Z IX 293²⁸⁻³⁰.

⁴⁵ *Georg Schuhmann*, Die "große" Disputation zu Bern, in: *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 3, 1909, 210-215.

⁴⁶ *Gottfried W. Locher*, Die Stimme des Hirten, in: Oskar Farner, *Erinnerungen*, Zürich 1954 (Zwingli-Bücherei 68), 113-115.

⁴⁷ See the comparative chart.

ers like Zwingli and Bullinger also argues well for a line of theological ancestry extending from Zürich through Ilanz to Bern⁴⁸.

In addition, Haller almost certainly used the Bern Debate as an opportunity to discredit the ideas adumbrated in Baden. After all, he never concealed his fundamental opposition to Eck's theses. Thus, Bern theses numbers 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are probably explicit refutations of their Baden counterparts, numbers 1, 2, 3, 5 and 4. In light of the near identical sequence, the relationship seems more than accidental. Eck affirms the corporal presence in the sacrament; Haller and Kolb reject it. Eck asserts the efficacy of the Mass for the living and the dead; the Bernese contend that this negates the sole sufficiency of Christ's salvific death. Eck proposes that Mary and the saints are prayed to as intercessors; the reformers insist upon the sole mediation of Christ. Eck affirms the use of images; Haller and Kolb would abolish them if they become objects of worship. Finally, Eck claims the existence of Purgatory after this life; the Bernese reject it as being unscriptural.

The extent to which the Bern theses are composed *in terms* of previous Swiss Disputations in Zürich, Ilanz and Basel, and *against* the one in Baden, indicates the theological bias of Haller and Kolb. In the Bern Debate evangelical theology of Swiss-Zwinglian type would dominate the proceedings and finally vanquish both Catholic and Lutheran alternatives. By their careful composition of the ten revolutionary statements, Haller and Kolb set the polemical stage and anticipated its theological denouement.

⁴⁸ Commander's theses are a theological synopsis of the 67 articles of Zwingli, concerning the Ilanz Disputation cf. *Emil Camenisch*, *Mitarbeit der Laien bei Durchführung der Bündner Reformation*, in: *Zwingliana* VII, 1942, 432-436. Notice the theological affinity between Ilanz thesis 1 and Zwingli's *Adversus Hieronymum Emserum antibolon*, Z III 268₈₋₁₀; theses 2-3 and *Auslegen und Gründe der Schlußreden*, articles 11 and 16; thesis 12 and articles 19 and 20; thesis 14 and article 18; thesis 16 and article 18.

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE BERN THESES

Hanz Theses: January 1526

Baden Theses: May 1526

Bern Theses: January 1528

1. Die Christenlich kylch, ist uß dem wort Gottes erboren, imm selben sol sy blyben, und nitt hören die stimm eines anderen.

2. Die kylch Christi machet nitt gesatz, one Gottes wort, sunder sy hört was der gmahel Christus gesetzt und gebotten hat, sy wære sunst vil minder, dann die Judisch Synagog.

3. Uß disem volgt, das die Oren- bycht, und ir glychen, so man nempt kylchen gebott, nitt wyter bindent, dann sy imm göttlichen wort gegründet und gebotten sind.

1. Die heilig Christenlich kilch, deren einig haupt Christus, ist us dem worts gots geboren; im selben blibt si, und hört nit die stimme eines frömden.

2. Die Kilch Christi machet nit gesatz und bott on gots wort, deshalb aller menschen satzungen, so man nempt der kilchen pot, uns nit witer bindent, dann si in gottlichem wort gegründet und poten sind.

3. Christus ist unser einige wys- heit, gerechtigkeit, erlösung und bezahlung aller welt sünd; deshalb ein ander verdienst der saligkeit und gnugthun für die sünd be- kennen, ist Christum verleugnen.

16. Das Christus wäsenlich, wie er sitzt, zu der gerächten Gottes vatters, oder amm stammen des crüzes gehanget ist, im brot der Dancksagung sye, ist ein yrr- thumm, und mag mitt heiliger ge- schrift nitt bewisen werden.

14. Die Maß, damitt man Chri- stumm Gott dem vatter, für die Sünd der labenden und todten uffopfferet, ist der heiligen ge- schrift wider, und dem aller heiligisten lyden Christi, ein leste- rung.

1. Der wår fronlichnam Christi unnd sin blut ist gegenwertig im sacrament des alltars.

2. Die werden ouch wår- lich uffgeopfert im ampt der meß für lebendig und todten.

4. Das der lyb und das blut Christi, wäsenlich und liplich in dem brot der dancksagung emp- fangen werd, mag mit Biblischer geschrift nit bybracht werden.

5. Die Maß, yetz im bruch, darinn man Christum, Gott dem vatter, für die sünd der läbendigen und todten, uffopffere, ist der geschrift widrig: dem aller heyligosten offer, lyden und sterben Christi, ein lesterung, und umb der miß- brüchen willen, ein grüwel vor Gott!

12. Diser obrister priester, ist unser einiger mittler, zwüschen Gott dem vatter, und uns sinen gläubigen. Deßhalben all andere mittler und fürsprächen, ussert diser zyt, von uns, one grund heyliger geschrift, uff geworffen sind.

3. Maria und die heiligen sind anzurieffen als fürbitter.

6. Wie Christus ist alleyn für uns gestorben, also sol er ein eyziger mitler und fürspräch zwüschen Gott dem vatter, und uns gläubigen, angerufft werden. Deßhalb all ander mittler und fürsprachen usserthalf disem zyt angeruffen, von uns on grund der geschrift, uffgeworffen.

5. Nach dissem leben ist ein fegfür.

7. Das nach disem zyt kein Fäghür in der geschrift erfunden wirt. Deßhalb all todten dienst...vergeblich sind.

7. Bilder machen zur vereerung, ist wider Gottes Wort Nüws und allts testaments.

4. Des herren Jhesu unnd des heiligen billdnuß sinnd nit abzethun.

8. Bilder machen zur vereerung, ist wider Gottes wort, Nüws und Alts Testaments. Deßhalb wo sy in gefar der vererung fürgestellt, abzethünd syend.

Basel Theses: February 1524

1. Die heilig Ee ist keinem Stand in der heiligen geschrift verbotten.

2. Unküyscheit usserthalf der Ee und Hury zu vermyden ist die Ee allen Standen verbotten.

4. Sömlich unküyscheit und Huory ist in keinem Stand (der Ergernus halb) schädlicher, dann in dem priesterlichen.

5. Ein offentlicher hurer ist nach dem göttlichen gesatz, in dem rächten und waren bann, und deßhalben untougenlich zuo dem priesterlichen ampt.

9. Die heilig ee ist keinem stand verpoten in der geschrift, sonder hury und unkuschheit ze vermyden allen stenden poten.

10. Diewil ein offentlicher hurer nach der geschrift im waren bann, so volget, daß unkuschkeit und hury, der ergernuß halb, keinem stand schädlicher dann priesterlichem.

Pastor Dr. Dan L. Hendricks, Bowling Green, Kentucky 42102 (USA)