THE MAGDEBURG CENTURIES

A BIBLIOTHECAL AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

A thesis presented

by

Ronald Ernst Diener

to

The Faculty of Harvard Divinity School

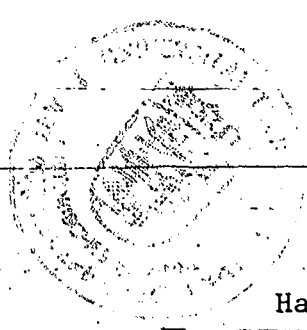
in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Theology

in the subject of

Church History



- Hb L 1611

Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Summary

THE MAGDEBURG CENTURIES

A Bibliothecal and Historiographical Analysis

The Magdeburg Centuries is the monumental ecclesiastical history that was published from 1559 to 1574: Magdeburg, because the authors began their work in that place; Centuries, because the work was arranged in commonplaces by hundred-year spans. The origins of the work went back to 1552, when Matthias Flacius Illyricus confided in an old friend, the imperial counselor Caspar von Nidbruck, that he intended to organize a massive history project and to solicit bibliophilic and financial assistance. The work was researched and composed precisely in those years when the major private collections of Europe were being organized by the Emperor in Vienna, by the Fuggers in Augsburg, by Ottheinrich in the Palatinate, and by Matthias Flacius Illyricus in Magdeburg.

The Illyrian was present in the difficult months of 1556, from February and on into the summer, when the methodology for the history project was being deliberated and agreed upon. A corporation, the collegium, had been formed earlier, to give assurances and pledges that borrowed books and manuscripts would be returned. The powers of the collegium were extended to include all financial arrangements and recordkeeping, as well as general oversight of the project. The extant evidence of the deliberations does not indicate a major role for Flacius, but rather indicates a decided shift of responsibility for the project to the Superintendent of the Magdeburg City Ministerium Johann Wigand, and to Matthaeus Judex, a deacon in the parish Wigand served, St. Ulrich's. When Flacius left Magdeburg to go to the University of Jena, almost two years before the first volume was published, the project stayed in

Wigand's control: the Magdeburg Centuries were written, Wigand said, "in my home."

Like so many other ecclesiastics of the age, Wigand was deeply involved in ecclesiastical and secular politics. In his partisan politics, through dismissals and exiles, he moved several times in the next sixteen years. After a brief stay at the University of Jena, he and Judex moved to Wismar. The project went with them to the Mecklenburg city. And in a few short years, most of the volumes that were eventually published were composed while the centuriators were resident in Wismar, to the point where loyal historian-sons of Mecklenburg proposed calling the work either "The Mecklenburg Centuries" or "The Wismar Centuries." Once Judex died, the work slowed down. Eventually only two volumes of the work were published with materials that had been collected, arranged, drafted, and polished by the successors of Judex. In the end, the work lay incomplete in the library of Johann Wigand: part of the research compends were published elsewhere, while efforts were made to secure the services of a young scholar to finish the work, Andreas Stangwald. He too failed to bring the work down "to the present time" at the end of the sixteenth century.

But the Magdeburgers were not the only history writers. They were also members of a highly organized, vocal resistance against the religious settlement of Emperor Charles V, the Augsburg Interim of 1548. They opposed not only the emperor, but also those who would either agree or compromise with the terms of the Interim. For their insistence that there be a firm stance politically and theologically against the Interim, the resisters came to be known as Gnesio-Lutherans, originally a pejorative term that was probably coined in Wittenberg. In Wittenberg, the "sedes Lutherana," imperial politicians and Saxon courtiers had reached something of an agreement with the leading

theologians headed by Philipp Melanchthon. The virulence of the polemic between Gnesio-Lutherans and the so-called Philippists (i.e., Melanchthonians) was intense, and the matter of the Magdeburg history project became one of many topics in the pamphlet exchanges. The attack was intensely personalized by the Wittenbergers against Flacius and the Flacians. In part because of this personal attack on Flacius and his early connection with the Magdeburg Centuries, many have assumed that his was a key role in their composition.

The Wittenbergers not only wrote theology and not only played important roles in the political controversies of the day, but they also wrote history. Melanchthon rewrote an earlier historical work, the Chronicle of Carion during the same years when the centuriators were working on their history project in Magdeburg. Melanchthon attempted to undo the damage that had been done his own reputation in pirated and emended versions of his earlier edition of the Carion Chronicle. In the end, Melanchthon indicated his political preference so far as the Magdeburgers were concerned: he dedicated the new Chronicle of Carion to the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Sigismund, Margrave of Brandenburg!--the very embodiment of the imperial settlement that called for the return of prelates to Protestant Germany.

When the Catholics responded to the Magdeburg Centuries, among them Konrad Braun, Flacius rose to counterattack. In the dedication of Flacius' book against Braun, the Illyrian rehearsed the early history of the Magdeburg Centuries, putting himself and Judex at the center of activity. Again, this attempt to arrogate to himself credit for the composition and publication, written almost a decade after Flacius had ceased active involvement in the project, has confused subsequent historians and analysts of the Magdeburg Centuries.

The attempt to continue, to defend, and to emend the Magdeburg Centurie

developed a tradition all its own that lasted well into the eighteenth century. These efforts--all of them, like the original work, incomplete--were organized by professors in the universities of Jena, Helmstedt, and Halle.

The Magdeburg Centuries was a magnificent summation of the history of the church from the time of Christ, the first of its kind since Eusebius. They were also the formation and creation of a new understanding of the church that stressed institutional and doctrinal development and change. By the time the authors had reached the thirteenth century--the last published volume--the Gnesio-Lutherans had reached the point where they were the dominant force in Lutheranism politically and theologically. Unfortunately, in these final years --just before the Formula and Book of Concord of 1579--the man who had brought the history project so far, Johann Wigand, was repudiated on every side because of an unfortunate theological controversy in which he played a decisive role. The attempt to rehabilitate Wigand's reputation in the 1590's by Conrad Schlüsselburg, his brother-in-law, has left modern researchers with valuable biographical materials about the man and his contribution to the church. On the one hand, Wigand's failure meant that he was unacceptable to his contemporary ecclesiastical leaders and his work was viewed with suspicion; he did not allow his own defamation to cast a shadow on the Magdeburg Centuries, perhaps deliberately, perhaps unintentionally, by leaving them incomplete. On the other hand, Wigand's creation of a history, from Christ "to the present time," for Gnesio-Lutherans and by Gnesio-Lutherans, succeeded to the point where it was truly unnecessary that the Magdeburg Centuries be completed: the work had already served its historic purpose.

PREFACE

Long years after others had given up hope that this research would ever be completed, the Grossmanns and my children did not give up. The wonders of Europe's many archives and libraries had been made available to me with kind assistance and professional consideration: from Hamburg to Vienna, from Basel to Wolfenbüttel--and Göttingen and Frankfurt and Regensburg and Munich in between. But especially Wolfenbüttel. There is a sense of coming home on returning to the Herzog August Bibliothek: a special sense in the familiar books and manuscripts, but even more in the warm human kindnesses of the staff, from the director to the custodians. The charm and skill of Martin Steinmann in Basel are remembered fondly; the work table in the Regensburg Stadtarchiv was a welcomed refuge to read and study in the cold German winter; the help of the staff in Frankfurt and the assistance of Rita Horvath in Hamburg are unforgettable. But the ride through the countryside of Lower Saxony, on the way to Wolfenbüttel, always quickens my pulse. And I come home again and again to friends at the Herzog August Bibliothek. But it would all have been a private pleasure and an enriching venture, had precious friends not insisted that I complete the research that I had begun.

Douglas W. Bryant and the staff of the Harvard University Library, the men and women of Widener Library and of the Andover-Harvard Theological Library and of the many other magnificent libraries of Harvard have invested their encouragement and lavished their kindnesses for my strange

antiquarian interests. Colleagues in the Office for Systems Planning and Research in the Harvard University Library listened patiently for over two years, as they heard my tales about the 1550's and 1560's and 1570's. They were indulgent to a fault. But it would be a sign of ingratitude, if I did not name Sharon A. Sullivan for her help in finishing the final typescript.

Only a few people in one's lifetime influence thought and life in profound and wondrous ways, turning one to new directions and opening new doors. To the names of earlier beloved teachers--Richard Jungkuntz, Ralph Gehrke, Arthur Carl Piepkorn, Hermann Sasse--the name of George Huntston Williams must now be added.

21 October 1978 — On the Anniversary of the Death of Johann Wigand

Ronald E. Diener — 21 October 1587

Cambridge, Massachusetts — Liebemühl, Pomezania

Suis

- Andreae

Mariae

Michaeli

Megandris

Mariae ac Gualtero

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface iii

PART ONE
INTRODUCTION

I. The Problem and the People 3

II. The Conditions of Crisis 24

The Empire (24) -- Magdeburg (27) -- The Interim (29) -- The Resistance (31)

PART TWO
FROM THE PLAN TO THE FIRST PRODUCTION OF THE PRESS

III. The Beginnings: 1552 to 1556 39

Toward a "Perpetual Church History" (39) -- The Collegium (59) -- The Bibliophilic Network (68)

IV. Methodology 82

The "Scheda" (83) -- The "Consultatio" (88) -- The "Methodus" (93): "Iudicium de methodo" (94) -- "Methodus I" (97) -- "Admonitio rectoris" (99) -- "Methodus II" (103) -- "Articuli proponendi scriptori et collectori" (109) -- "De collectione ex historicis et patribus regulae generales" (113) -- "Causae quare necesse sit fieri accuratam dispositionem historicam singulorum capitum" and "Regulae generales in dispositione historica obseruanda" (117) -- "Admonitiones quaedam de collectione" (121) -- "De dispositione quarti capitis quaedam declarationes" (123) -- "Admodum colligendi regulae iudicandi & explorandi, an libri, qui tribuuntur saepe autoribus vere eorum sint" (126)

V. The Magdeburg Centuries Without Flacius 128

A Change in Leadership (129) -- Excursus: Coswick January 1557 (143) -- Progress in Composition (148) -- The "Calumnies" of 1558 (161)

VI. History Against History 177

The Magdeburg Centuries I-II-III (178) -- The Chronicle of Carion and Melanchthon's Counter-History (190)

PART THREE
THE UNFINISHED TASK

VII. The Gnesio-Lutheran Program in Thuringia and Flacius Condemned 206

From Weimar (208) -- To Altenburg (213)

VIII. In Jena: The Project Stalled 218

The German Centuries (218) -- The Centuriators Dismissed (225)

IX. In Wismar: The Project Propelled 245

The Wismar Centuries (248) -- Changes in Staff (258)

X. Back in Jena: The Filling of the Seven Years 277

Progress in Wismar (280) -- Dismissal from Jena (284) -- Century XII and Century XIII (287)

XI. The Final Years 291

In Königsberg and Liebemühl (291) -- Wigand's Role and the Final Years (295)

PART FOUR
THE SEQUELA

XII. The Catholic Response 307

XIII. The Continuators 317

The Stangwald Project (317) -- The Seventeenth Century (330) -- The Nürnberg Edition (338)

XIV. The Modern Research 346

PART FIVE
CONCLUSIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

XV. From Thought to Action 356

From 1552 to 1556 (356) -- From 1556 to 1559--And After (359) -- The Implementation of the Plan (362)

XVI. Bibliography 365

Sixteenth-Century Books (378) -- University Matriculations (383) -- Library and Manuscript Catalogs (384) -- Primary Documents (385) -- Secondary Literature (387)

PART SIX
DOCUMENTS

Introduction 396

Documents I. Miscellany 399

Documents II. Letters of Wigand to Beyer 434

Documents III. Letters of the Centuriators to Oporinus 478

Documents IV. Planning Documents 526

TABLES

I. "Scheda" and "Consultatio" with English Translation 91

II. Size and Proportion of Chapter Four of the Published Version of the Magdeburg Centuries 106

III. The Collegium of 1558 168

IV. The Carion/Melanchthon/Funck Chronicle of 1552 and 1555 197-198

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Magdeburg Centuries, a monumental ecclesiastical history, was begun by a party of Lutheran theologians and polemicists who joined together in the city of Magdeburg to oppose the religious settlement of the Emperor, Charles V. The earliest proposal for such a hiatory was formulated by Matthias Flacius, who intended to prepare and organize the project himself, with the consulation and advice of friends and colleagues. In the end, however, the research, compilation, and composition of the work were carried out under the leadership of Johann Wigand. From an original staff of about fifteen, to a skeletal group twenty years later, the project was developed in the two decades after 1555. The church history, originally intended to begin with Christ and end with "the present time," was never completed as planned. The first thirteen centuries were published from 1559 to 1574; the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries were partially prepared, but never printed.

An introduction to the situation, to the participants, and to the secondary literature of the Magdeburg Centuries is difficult for several reasons. First, the historic roots of the major problems go back to the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Second, the people who became involved were not totally consumed by this one project; they each had other goals, other concerns, other projects, and livelihoods to take care

of. And third, the secondary literature of the Magdeburg Centuries has itself become colossal; comments and analyses began before the first volume was printed, and they continue to the present day. Like any classic historiographic problem, even the bibliography can be only surveyed. Nevertheless, an attempt is made to locate and discuss the issues and personalities concretely and firmly in their times and contexts in "The Problem and the People" (Chapter I).

In "The Conditions of Crisis" (Chapter II) the term "crisis" is used to mean that major changes would have to take place or be made to take place, especially up to the early 1550's. The crisis presented people with an either/or, a fork in the road, a moment or moments of decision--much like the Old Testament "judgment."

There is no attempt made in this second chapter to present the history impartially, since the authors themselves of the Magdeburg Centuries had a particular perspective, bias, or preference. The history of the times is told here from their point of view. Their rivals had other perspectives: the defenders of "the old faith" in the Rhineland and Bavaria, the followers of Philipp Melanchthon in Wittenberg, the friends and colleagues of Jean Calvin or Heinrich Bullinger in Switzerland. Viewed from the Magdeburgers' perspective, political events are evaluated in ways that seem strange to the modern student of this period of German history: the Passau Agreement was not significant, but the Colloquy of Coswick, for which there is not even a definitive edition, was a landmark. The perspective is most assuredly not from a European pinnacle, but from a pastor's study and workroom in Magdeburg.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND THE PEOPLE

In his history of dogma, Adolf von Harnack observed that "protestant historiography was prompted by the Interim, and Flacius is the father."[1] The imperial religious settlement of 1548 was called the Interim, because its terms were to be normative until an ecumenical council could come to an agreement. The Augsburg Interim--so named because it was promulgated at the Imperial Diet at Augsburg in 1548--together with the chain of events that led to it and sprang from it, set into motion a powerful movement that defied both the Emperor, Charles V (1500-1558, reg. 1519-1556), and the colleagues of Martin Luther in Wittenberg. Matthias Flacius was at the center of that resistance.

The coincidence of the passing of Luther in 1546 and the reversals of Luther's cause in the next three years was viewed as an ultimate test for true faithfulness. Many failed that test. In 1549, Stephan Tucher (+1550) introduced his edition of Luther's last sermon of 17 January 1546, the final legacy to Wittenberg:

> Doctor Martin Luther, of blessed memory, often spoke in the presence of many other faithful men, also in Doctor Augustin Schurff's presence, these words: After my death, not one of these theologians will remain steadfast. Doctor Augustin Schurff reminded Doctor [Johann]

---

[1] "Die protestantische Historiographie ist durch das Interim veranlasst worden, und Flacius ist der Vater," *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3. Aufl. (Freiburg i.B. und Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung, J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1894-1897), I, 28, footnote 2.

> Bugenhagen once Wittenberg had fallen [to the imperial forces, 1547] and he said: Now would be a good time to cry out, how the enemies are trying to oppress the Gospel (for Doctor Bugenhagen had preached mightily against the enemies beforehand, but now the times had changed). But Doctor Bugenhagen became angry and refrained.[3]

Stephan Tucher was the father-in-law of Flacius. When the test came for Flacius, he left the security of an academic appointment at the University of Wittenberg, traveled for a season, and eventually settled down in Tucher's household in Magdeburg. He became convinced that compromise with Luther's enemies constituted betrayal to Luther's cause, and since Luther's cause and the Gospel's were one and the same, to Christ's cause.

The price for resistance was high, indeed. The city of Magdeburg, controlled by Anti-Interimist forces in the form of a well-organized political resistance, suffered a ruinous siege. Those who in Magdeburg or elsewhere dared to declare themselves openly opposed to compromise with the Interim of 1548 suffered vilification and recrimination from the Interimists, even from the former colleagues of Luther in their safe academic retreats. In the vigorous pamphlet exchanges that ensued, no personal faults, no rumors, no embarrassments went uncited, unquoted, or unused in the vicious character assassinations. The refusal by the resistance to conform with the Emperor's settlement left them with a difficult mission: to construct a confessional church with no compromises to the Interim, but without the protection and leadership of Electoral Saxony with all its wealth and prestige. Other resisters hesitated before making common cause with the Anti-Interimists because of the forthright style and polemic of

---

[2] *Die letzte Predigt Doctoris Martini heiliger gedechtnis/ So ehr gethan hat zu Wittenberg/ am andern Sontag nach Epiphanias Domini den xvij. Januarij. Jm M. D. xlvj. Jhar* [Magdeburg] 1549, p. A4r. See also Martin Luther, *Werke*: Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883-), 51, xiii, also pp. 123-134; on Tucher, Briefwechsel, 14, 327.

the Magdeburgers, who were alleged to be peace-disturbers and trouble-makers by their enemies.

Meanwhile, the knowledge and methodology of ecclesiastical history were being challenged by the Interimists. The historic claims of tradition and authority by the papal party gave no room, no equivocation, no ground for the resistance to coexist. To deny the historic validity of the medieval and contemporary church--as some Anabaptists had done and as Melanchthon was tending more and more to do at the end of his life--was not a viable option for the Anti-Interimists. They saw themselves as an oppressed orthodox minority, the essentially catholic, faithful few within a much larger, but oppressing church--but still the church.

Flacius had become engaged in two monumental tasks, as the Anti-Interimists sorted out their past and future. The first was an extensive commentary on the entire Bible. The second was a history of the church, from the beginning "to the present time."

He worked until his death on the Bible commentary. It lies incomplete to this day, in manuscript form. The volumes of handwritten commentary constituted the inner, most precious core of his library, which was purchased from Flacius' widow in 1592 by Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg and would become in turn the basis of the present Herzog August Bibliothek of Wolfenbüttel. Many books and tracts were later to be based on that great commentary, but the entire work was never printed.

The ecclesiastical history project was divided into two parts: a catalogue and a monumental church history. The former, Flacius' *Catalogus testium veritatis*, assembled the historic witness "that cried out against the Roman Pontiff and his errors." The latter was called the Magdeburg

Centuries: Magdeburg, because the work was begun in the city of Magdeburg, rallying place of the irreconcilable resistance; Centuries, because the work was divided for organizational purposes into arbitrary, but workable, units without imposing an artificial periodization, the optimal unit thought at first to be either fifty or one hundred years--centuries proved to be the better unit.

The purpose and direction of the work were described very early in the planning stages by Flacius, a sketch that was changed in some particulars, but remained for all practical purposes the permanent statement of goals. This planning paper was untitled and had several characterizations and references, but was most frequently called "Scheda." The incipit is "Utile esset scribi historiam Ecclesiasticam," and it said:

> Useful it would be that a church history be written, organized to show through a succession of ages how the true church and her religion declined to the worse from a first purity and simplicity that she had in the age of the Apostles, while falsehood and errors were gradually on the increase, in a succession of ages and men. Declined to the worse, that is, partly on account of negligence and ignorance, also partly on account of the malice of impious men; and contrariwise, somehow renewed again and again by some truly pious men. The light of the truth used to shine more clearly for a time, and then it would be more or less obscured by the lengthening shadows of impiety for a time, such that finally in these most recent ages, after truth had been so far removed, by the magnificent gift of God true piety is again restored to a healthy condition. Indeed, it could really be demonstrated in this history that there were in all ages men who held to and followed the truth of the religion which pious men now embrace, that there were always, I say, seven thousand who hated Antichrist and his abominations and purely embraced Christ and his piety [I Kings 19:18; Romans 11:4]. In this work, many other consolations would be proffered for the pious; then indeed, they would meet that all but single argument of the papists who always keep crying out that the true church of Christ never defected, but has always remained in all ages, but that our church is new, born recently in the past thirty years, was always its own thing: therefore they, not we, are the true, catholic, and eternal church of God.
>
> Furthermore, for this task, beside other printed books, those others must be sought out, as much as possible, namely: first, the oldest

> liturgies ["agendae"] that were in use before Gregory [I]; second, inquisitions and trials conducted against pious men before recent ages; third, writings composed by pious men against Antichrist and his abominations of which many may be found here and there in old libraries; fourth, books written by papists against right-thinking men, for also from these something could be gained that pertains to history; fifth, chronicles and annals of individual places must be examined, in which mention of religious conflicts might be made often; finally, old people must be interviewed, whether they remember from somewhere or other that formerly there was a right-thinking or -teaching man either in all religion or in some part of it. Indeed, these authors I want to have, namely: the *Inquisitiones* of Nicolaus Eymeric, printed; the *Monarchia* of Dante; Caesarius [von Heisterbach] on heresies; the theological works of Johann von Wesel, Jean de Jandun, Arnoldo de Villanova; finally, all the others that can somehow demonstrate other vestiges of those seven thousand pious men, but especially as many as can have other materials about the Waldensians.[3]

The plan and rationale were discussed thoroughly through direct personal advice and through correspondence.

The actual authorship was not and did not depend on any single person. A corporation ("collegium") was established early in the planning to oversee the work.[4] The writing of this ecclesiastical history required the collecting of primary materials, the reading and excerpting of relevant quotations, the organization of the quotations into a logical framework, the drafting of original text for introductory narratives and for connective passages and for summaries, the review of all the drafts, and the preparation of a fair copy from which printers could set type. Other resources and materials constituted important ingredients for the success

[3] For bibliographic and textual issues, see Documents IV, 1.

[4] Paul Lehmann saw a major, distinctive contribution of the Magdeburg Centuries precisely in its organization and teamwork, in "Geistesswissenschaftliche Gemeinschaftsunternehmungen in der geschichtlichen Entwicklung," in *Erforschung des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1941-1961), IV, 353-385, especially p. 380ff.

of the project: payments to travelers and readers and copyists, livelihood for the chief editor, paper for copybooks and drafts and fair copies. The financial needs were extensive and the accounting of receipts and disbursements had to be done with precision, to stop the mouths of those who continued to see the venture as rank, peculating exploitation of would-be pious patronage.

In examining the many laudable features of the final work, one is struck immediately by the scope of the literary effort and by the organization that was required to carry it out. The purpose of further research is threefold: to examine the participation and relationships of the many persons who became involved, to observe changes in church and theology that had an impact on the writing of this history, and to note how the final work was conditioned by the politics--chiefly, that is, the ecclesiastical and confessional politics--of the age. Methodologically and procedurally an approach is used that describes the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries in a new way, focusing more on the implementation of a plan and the composition of the history, rather than on the development of a preliminary plan. New materials have been used to unravel the mode and manner of several men's participation, brought together in the appended section titled "Documents."

The three most important participants for the church history project successively arrived in Magdeburg in this order: Matthaeus Judex, Matthias Flacius, and Johann Wigand. First, the biographies of these three men is sketched up to the time of their arrival and cooperation in Magdeburg. Then, three important autobiographical and contemporaneous biographical accounts need to be adduced.

Matthaeus Judex (21 September 1528 to 13 May 1564)[5] first came to Magdeburg from the town of his birth, Dippoldswald, to study in the trivial school: a serious, hardworking student, left to himself for long periods of time. He lived in a woodcutter's household and sang from door to door for his bread. He was sickly as a child, frequently incapacitated, destined to be concerned for his health for his entire lifetime. His body was at times covered with rashes and sores and boils--the scourge of the plague--and his appearance was often repulsive. He took special delight in his studies and excelled in the Magdeburg gymnasium.

When the Stadtsyndicus, Levin von Embden,[6] wanted a tutor for his

[5]The most valuable modern biographical study is the brief article by Philipp Hedwig Külb, in the Ersch-Gruber *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* (Leipzig: J. F. Gleditsch, 1818-1889), II, 27, pp. 347-349. The biography by Andreas Schoppe, who later married Judex' widow, was entitled "Oratio de vita M. Judicis," in Matthaeus Judex, *Epistolarum festivalium....explicatio* (Eisleben: Andreas Petri, n.d.), as an appendix (pp. [8r-n8v). This oration--where it was delivered is not indicated--was "rediscovered" by Thomas Crenius (i.e., Crusius), published in his *Animadversiones philologicae et historicae* (Lugdunum Batavorum, etc.: F. Haring, etc., 1696-1697), VI, 49-74. All modern encyclopedia articles, whether biographical or religious, appear to have been derived from the single source of Külb.

The verses written on the occasion of Judex' death (*Luctus et testimonia Ecclesiae quae est in comitatu Mansfeldensi de obitu reuerendi viri D. Matthaei Iudici....*[Eisleben: 1565]) do not contain important otherwise unknown historical detail. The personal papers of Judex which Schoppe and his widow used have not appeared in indices of "Nachlässe." Schoppe later became a chaplain-librarian for the Alversleben family, whose library is now being catalogued at the Herzog August Bibliothek, in Wolfenbüttel; new material might be found as the project moves forward.

[6]Levinus or Levin von Embden was a humanist/jurist who came to Wittenberg in 1503 (*Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, ed. Carolus Eduardus Foerstmann [Lipsiae: Carolus Tauchnitius, 1841-1905], I, 12b; hereafter, Wittenberg, *Album*) in the fourth term of the University's existence, as "Leuinius emden de magdeburg." He continued his studies and matriculated at Frankfurt an der Oder in 1506 (*Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln*, I. Universität Frankfurt a. O., hrsg. von Ernst Friedländer [Leipzig: G. Hirzel, 1887-1891], in the series, Publicationen aus den K. Pruessischen Staatsarchiven, 32, 36, 49," I, 12). By 1517 he was "iuris utriusque doctor"

-wo sons, Judex' name was given with the highest recommendation from the rector of the school. Embden marveled at Judex' successes in instructing his sons and at Judex' own learning and mature judgment. The elder statesman also invited Judex into the company of his most intimate friends, among whom were numbered the physician-alchemist Martin Copus, the patrician Ebeling Alemann, the jurist Franz Pfeil, and the gymnasium rector Gottschalk Praetorius.[7] When Johann von Embden was ready for the university, Judex accompanied him and Christopher Riess to Wittenberg, where they enrolled in the fateful year of 1546.[8] Judex was slated to prepare for a master's degree when the school's activities were suspended. He returned to Wittenberg, but not before Pentecost of 1548, and was promoted to master in October 1549. He thereupon studied physics and mathematics, and he heard the lectures in law and theology. Judex wanted to become a jurist and desired to study law, in the custom of the day, with a journey and further education in Italy. But Embden and his circle of friends dissuaded Judex. He turned then to the study of theology and excelled at it.[9] In this faculty, his phenomenal memory drew attention.[10] With a few notes

---

and rector of the Frankfurt University, that year transplanted to Cotbus because of the plague. In 1509 he edited a text of Lactantius which was published by Johann Hanau. He had a distinguished career in the service of the city of Magdeburg and was associated with the many momentous decisions in the years of crisis, 1547-1552.

[7] Schoppe, "Oratio," p. m7v.

[8] Wittenberg, *Album*, I, 230: Mense Aprili 1545/6 (i.e., 1546)... Johannes Emden Magdenburgen, Christophorus Ries Magdeburgen, Mathias Richter Dippolswalden.

[9] Schoppe, "Oratio," p. m4r.

[10] Ibid., p. m5r. For other examples of his memory, in other contexts, see p. m8r and p. m5r.

he could reconstruct in writing or speak by memory entire lectures, either in German or in Latin. At the insistence of his father and at the recommendation of Embden, Judex made formal application for examinations leading to promotion. When the time came for the final oral examinations, however, Judex grew faint from exhaustion and was sent to bed to recuperate.[11] When he could no longer stay in Wittenberg because of progressively worsening health and penury, he returned to his Maecenas in Magdeburg. Thereafter, Judex became not only a household tutor, but also a personal assistant to Embden; later he took a position also as rector of the Magdeburg gymnasium. He managed the Embden household affairs and all landed properties,[12] and thus he knew at first hand the meaning of imperial sanctions against the city and against its landholders, businessmen, and guildsmen.

Through efforts by Emdben, Judex was designated to re-establish the gymnasium after the siege of 1551/52. Because of his poor health, however, friends insisted that he work less and the trustees of the gymnasium --one of them Embden himself--called upon Gottschalk Praetorius to become co-rector. This co-rectorship was continued until Easter 1554.

After Embden died on 2 April 1552,[13] Judex moved to the household

---

[11] Ibid., p. m4r. There was always a question whether the degrees granted to Judex by Wittenberg were right and proper, especially in the catalogues of insults employed later by the Wittenbergers. But Judex began to use the title "Master" from this time forward; if the degree had not been properly granted, the University of Wittenberg had several years to advise Judex on the matter before the "calumnies of 1558" (see below, Chapter V).

[12] Ibid., p. m6r.

[13] Frankfurt a. O., *Matrikel*, I, 45. The matriculation of Frankfurt an der Oder was heavily annotated and appears to be unusually reliable. The note of Embden's death could have been indication of his death

of Embden's intimate friend, the family physician and scientist, Martin Copus. Thereafter, Copus took a personal interest in Judex' physical wellbeing and in his work. Judex married in the spring of 1554 to Anna Gluck (Glück, Clock); he was 26; she, 16. They had six children: Matthaeus, Johann, Anna, David, Elizabeth, and Noah. He had delayed marriage because of his health and because of his personal jeopardy for political and theological partisanship. With his entire family he continued to live in the extended household of Copus.

The second to be on the scene in Magdeburg was Flacius,[14] Born

---

or the announcement in the University of his death (some time later). A comparison with similar notes of this period for other deaths, however, shows that the former situation is the more likely: it is the date of his actual death.

[14]The two most important autobiographical works by Flacius were published in the twelfth volume of Conrad Schlüsselburg, *Catalogi haereticorum liber i[-xiii]* (Francofurti: Joannes Saurius, 1592-1599), under the theme "Manichaeism" (the so-called Flacian heresy); these two autobiographies are the "Apologia" and the "Narratio actionum et certaminum." The major eighteenth-century biography was by Johann Balthasar Ritter, *M. Matthiae Flacii, Illyrici, Ehemahls berühmt- und gelährten Theologi in Teutschland Leben und Tod...* (Frankfurt und Leipzig: Johann Conrad Maximilian Ziegler, 1725). Between Flacius' death and 1725, his story was told in several collected biographies and several speeches on his life were delivered (few were published). The biography by August Detlev Twesten surprised historians and theologians, when this successor of Schleiermacher to the prestigious chair of theology in Berlin opened the book of the Reformation to the page of Flacius in his *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*: Eine Vorlesung (Berlin: G. Bethge, 1844). Twesten wrote, he said, to inspire others to study Flacius. And he did manage to inspire Wilhelm Preger to write the most extended biography to date: *Matthias Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit* (Erlangen: Theodor Bläsing, 1859-1861). In recent years, a rash of biographical essays and articles have proved that Flacius' story continues to cause deep partisanship, if not inspiration. The most complete and accurate survey in English of this literature is that of Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "Matthias Flacius Illyricus: A Biobibliographical Sketch Related to FRR's Extensive Holdings," *Bulletin of the Library: Information about Collections and Resources of the Foundation [now Center] for Reformation Research*, 4, 4 (December 1969), 37-38, 46-47. The essay by Martin H. Scharlemann, "Lutheran Scholarship at Work (The Magdeburg

in Albona (modern Labin in the Istrian Province of Yugoslavia), and named Mattias Vlačič (3 March 1520 to 11 March 1575), he left his homeland in 1539 to journey north. Earlier he had studied with the distinguished Venetian humanist, Giovanni Battista Cipelli (Joannes Baptista Egnatius) (1473?-1553) and at that time latinized his name to Flacius. He went to Germany on the advice of his uncle, the Franciscan Provincial, Baldo Lupetino, (+1562), to study with Martin Luther in Wittenberg. But first, he went directly to south Germany and met Bonifacius Wolfhart (Lycosthenes) in Augsburg in 1539, thereafter a lifelong friend. At his request, Flacius traveled to Basel and stayed at first in the household of Simon Grynaeus (1493-1541). At that time, he studied Greek with a young man who would play such an important role in the history of the Magdeburg Centuries, the publisher of the work, Johann Oporinus (1507-1568). Next he went to a countryman's home in Tübingen, Matthias Garbitius (+1559), also a scholar of Greek, also occasionally called Illyricus (leading to endless confusion: Flacius had a son named Matthias Flacius Illyricus, junior, and thus there were three Matthiae Illyrici). Flacius enjoyed the company of many bright, young humanists in Tübingen. The restless Illyrian finally went to Wittenberg in 1541, where he met Melanchthon and joined his household. Melanchthon's home was more Latin than German, a refuge for many students, chiefly Slavic, who struggled with the German language. Flacius heard lectures by Luther and had many private talks with the famous reformer. For the first time in his life, he said, he felt a sense of peace and could engage vigorously in serious study and

---

Centuries)," *The Lutheran Scholar*, 6 (1949), 34-43, is so badly flawed in details that its use tends to confound rather than clarify issues.

teaching, with his tortured soul finally unburdened.[15]

In 1544 he began to teach Hebrew, and on 25 February 1546 he became a master. When the University's activities were suspended because of war, he traveled first to Braunschweig and stayed with Nicolaus Medler (1502-1551), lecturing to an exile enclave there. The following autumn he returned to Wittenberg, already suspicious and dissatisfied. When the Augsburg Interim was mandated in the summer of 1548, and when the Saxon Elector's theologians at the University of Wittenberg openly cooperated with the prince Elector Moritz, by now bearer of the imperial sword, and when peace was demanded by religious and regulatory concessions, Flacius sought opportunity to depart. Pleading illness, he asked for a leave of absence from the University, received permission, and hurried to Magdeberg to his father-in-law's household, arriving shortly after Easter 1549. From there he sought immediately to ascertain what reactions would be forthcoming against the Interim in the cities of the north, as he hunted a safe refuge for his wife and children. He visited Lüneburg and Lübeck. He stopped for his family in Wittenberg and returned to Magdeburg, the eye of the storm. As a private person he supervised editorial and typesetting work for printers in Magdeburg and became an independent businessman.

Flacius began to issue from Magdeburg his famous tracts in 1549. On 18 March 1550 he corrected and collected his early works into a single octavo volume: *Omnia latina scripta* ([Magdeburg] 1550), a powerful statement to friend and foe. He noted bitterly and resentfully (page c5r)

[15]This information is taken from the "Apologia," which was first published in Magdeburg on 1 October 1549. The requirement for an apology was a clarification and specification of the reasons for his leaving Wittenberg.

that he had given his programmatic refutation of the Saxon concessions into the very hands of Georg Major, his colleague in Wittenberg, as the theologians prepared for meetings in Altzella (19 November 1548) with Elector Moritz' representatives. Flacius reduced his approach to the issues with sixteen statements ("rationes"), beginning with a philosophico-political argument of Aristotle against capitulation to demands (in this case, of the Interim) and then pressing a forceful array of political and theological arguments. He had attempted to describe his positions and conclusions privately, he said, and he refrained from pressing a public denunciation until ten days after Easter 1549. That summer he wrote the first version of his "Apologia" to the University of Wittenberg, defending both his departure and his regrettable attacks on former colleagues and benefactors. He reviewed his own positions and conclusions; then he noted that the eyes of all Europe were focused on Wittenberg. If the city of Luther failed to stand up against the Interim, their cowardice would make a mockery of the Reformation.

As he began his new career in Magdeburg, he emptied his pen and spleen not only against those who would compromise with the Interim, but also against those who were the authors and supporters of it. He sought and discovered bases for refutation of the new Catholic catechisms, sermon books, and religio-political tracts. And quickly he created an audience in all of Germany.

The third person to become a resident in Magdeburg of the group that would produce a new ecclesiastical history was Johann Wigand (14 September 1523 to 21 October 1587).[16] Born in Mansfeld and educated in

the local trivial school, Wigand left home for the University of Wittenberg in 1539, where he heard the lectures of Luther, Melanchthon, Cruciger, and Winsheim (Oertel). His closest friend on the faculty was the much-beloved young poet-philosopher Johann Marcellus (1510-1552).

From 1541 until Christmas of 1544, Wigand taught in the famous St. Lorenz School of Nürnberg, where he knew intimately and heard frequently Andreas Osiander, Veit Dietrich, and Thomas Venatorius. He was unhappy and restless, longing to return to Wittenberg. Shortly after he did return, he was awarded the master's degree (1545) and made plans for further study with Luther and Melanchthon. But the year 1546 was very bad for making plans: Luther died on 18 February 1546, Electoral Saxony was

---

[16] The most basic source of information about Wigand's life is his autobiography, "Leben D. Joh. Wigandi, von ihm selbst, mit eigner Hand geschrieben aus dem Original der Königsbergischen Stadt=Bibliothek," *Fortgesetzte Sammlung von Alten und Neuen Theologischen Sachen....1738* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Brauns Erben, 1738), pp. 601-620. See also A. Seraphim, *Handschriften-Katalog der Stadtbibliothek Königsberg i. Pr.*, Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek Königsberg i. Pr., 1 (Königsberg: 1909), pp. 2-7; the original manuscript number is S3, f. 300. The oration by Schlüsselburg, *Oratio funebris, de vita et obitu reverendissimi viri, pietate, doctrina, humanitate et constantia praestantis D. Ioannis VVigandi....* (Francofurti ad Moenum: Ioannes Spies, 1591), was based on the autobiography with whole sentences and paragraphs reproduced with only slight variations.

The bicentennial history of the Augsburg Confession, patronized by the ducal family of Braunschweig-Lüneburg as their special contribution to the occasion, authored by Christian August Salig, *Vollständige Historie der Augspurgischen Confession und derselben Apologie....* (Halle: Renger, 1730-1735), surveyed the contents of the Wigand library in the Herzog August Bibliothek. Neither the modern catalogs nor monographic studies nor shorter reports or papers have gone far beyond Salig's very important contribution.

There is no modern, major biography of Wigand and he was not even considered for treatment in the nineteenth-century series, "Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der Lutherischen Kirche." As with Flacius, there is no major collected epistolarium, no itinerarium, no collected edition of works, no collection of major works. Nor, to my knowledge, is there a plan anywhere to produce one of these most essential tools for research.

ravaged in the spring and summer by the armies of Albertine Duke Moritz, and Ernestine Elector Johann Friedrich prepared to leave for the Danube campaign of the Smalcald League against the Emperor, Charles V, who now took a personal role in leading the hosts of the Holy Roman Empire. Wigand was called upon to assist the aged Dr. Martin Seligmann (+1548) in his home town of Mansfeld. Through his controversial and polemical writings, he widened his circles of acquaintance and defined the parameters of his own partisanship. He continued in Mansfeld his favorite avocation, botany, in both the more theoretic interests in botanical taxonomy, and the more practical applications in horticulture. It was an interest that could consume and delight him until the final years and months of his life. From student days, he became acquainted with the work of Valerius Cordus (1515-1544) and his circle of friends; and in Nürnberg with a fellow schoolteacher, Georg Aemilius (Omler, Oemler) (1517-1569). (Late in life, he would restore and organize the episcopal gardens in Liebemühl, formerly the gardens of the administrators for the Knights of the German Order, in the diocese of Pomezania.) Wigand was both a theologian of the church and a scientist of life.

Nicolaus Gallus, exiled from Regensburg for his resistance against enforcement of the imperial religious settlement, was recalled to the Regensburg City Ministerium as Superintendent. He left the position of Superintendent in Magdeburg and of pastor to St. Ulrich's parish in the autumn of 1553. The elders of the congregation turned to Wigand to lead them; the City Council and the City Ministerium elected him Superintendent: 23 November 1553. Immediately thereafter, they called upon Matthaeus Judex to assist as Deacon of this parish, who would spend the next ten years of

his life doing research, writing, and teaching, as a deacon, professor, and private citizen--but always as the intimate co-worker and companion of Johann Wigand.

Thus the three principals, Judex, Flacius, Wigand, came to Magdeburg at different times for different reasons. Judex was already a long-time resident, closely tied to the household of one of the leading citizens. Flacius was the son-in-law of Pastor Stephan Tucher (recently deceased), exiled from the University of Wittenberg by his own decision, associated with the fearless printers of Magdeburg as a printers' and publishers' agent. Wigand, the last to arrive, was the official head of the City Ministerium, replacing a courageous spokesman who was thought by some to be indispensable. In 1553, Judex was twenty-five, Flacius was thirty-three, Wigand was thirty-one. It was a young man's cause.

The writing of the Magdeburg Centuries moved from the need to have or create a history: a history that would make sense of the religious tradition on which these men would stake ~~their lives; a history,~~ in turn, that would be conditioned by the political and ecclesiastical events of the day.

In very early accounts of their lives (two autobiographies, one biography) the three major participants reflected on how it was that they came to be involved in the project.[17]

A first relevant account was written by Flacius in one of his autobiographies, concerning his role in the writing of the Magdeburg Centuries:

---

[17]It is assumed that Judex' widow could indicate her husband's opinions and judgments on the matter, which would be incorporated into the "Oratio" by Schoppe.

> In that same year [1553] I began to press deliberations about writing an ecclesiastical history with D. D. Caspar von Nidbruck, the imperial counselor who had once heard my "Politics of Aristotle" at the University of Wittenberg. This work, under way for a long time in various ways, has still proceeded by the labor of others, rather than by my own.[18]

The first half of this quotation has been cited frequently; the second half, seldom if ever. The point warrants repeating: the work proceeded

---

[18] The Flacius autobiography, "Narratio actionum et certaminum," in Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus haereticorum*, XII, 802-857, this quotation p. 813. There is a copy of the "Narratio," in a secretarial hand, in the Regensburg Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 21, 32 [149]. There are several interesting, but noncritical, differences between the printed and manuscript versions.

The revival of Flacius studies in the nineteenth century was spearheaded by August Detlev Twesten. His biography was a series of lectures, transcribed and annotated, then published, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*: Eine Vorlesung. Hermann Rossel provided a German translation of the "Narratio actionum et certaminum" in an appendix to the Twesten volume, based on the text of Schlüsselburg's catalogue of heretics. Following is, first, the original; then, the Rossel translation:

> Eodem anno coepi vrgere consultationes de conscribenda Ecclesiastica historia vna cum D. D. Gasparo Nidpruck Caesareo consiliario, qui olim a me politica Aristotelis Witebergę audiverat. Quod opus diu varie tentatum tandem magis aliena quam mea opera feliciter progressum est.

> Damals begann ich auch, unter Mitwirkung des kaiserlichen Rathes, Dr. Kaspar Niedbruch, der früher die Politik Aristoteles bei mir gehört hatte, den Plan zur Abfassung einer Kirchengeschichte zu betreiben, eine Arbeit, die, nachdem wir auf alle mögliche Weise uns für sie bemüht hatten, endlich mehr durch Andere als durch mich glücklich Fortgang genommen hat.

Rossel introduced an interesting, but intrusive, first-person plural verb in the second-last phrase. Thus his translation injected a note of ambiguity that is simply not present in the original text. He might have assumed that this was an ordinary rhetorical overstatement. Nevertheless, the original sense and strength of the statement are softened. If scholars worked in the past from this translation, the full significance could readily elude them.

Twesten himself minimized the contribution of Wigand and Judex --"mehr Fleiss als Urtheil und Darstellungsgabe"--in his assessment (pp. 14-17); not only was Flacius the principal contributor of the first volume, but he was also "die Seele des Ganzen."

"by the labor of others, rather than by my own." The question is not how much of the writing Flacius did, but rather, did he write any of it.

Second, in his autobiography--which he cast throughout in the third person--Wigand said a few words about his role:

> But at first, from the very start, he helped along with his own research and effort the ecclesiastical history. Indeed, he was overseeing these labors in his very own home, and he himself wrote, with others, a fact that is explained more fully in its own place.[19]

The autobiography was either written or updated in 1586,[20] at a time when his other earlier autobiographical and biographical studies were being revised. Careful attention should be paid to the very first two words in this passage: In primis. Wigand's brother-in-law and biographer, Conrad Schlüsselburg, rewrote the autobiography into an address at the Wismar school, four or five years after Wigand's death. He added but a few words in this passage--all the more significant because Schlüsselburg was himself involved in both the Magdeburg Centuries and in Wigand's inner family. The second sentence was changed to read:

> Indeed, he was *chiefly* overseeing these labors in his very own home, and he himself *together with that very fine man Master Matthaeus Judex* and others wrote it --a fact that is explained more fully in its own place.[21]

---

[19]"Leben," p. 607: In primis vero Historiam Ecclesiasticam, omni studio & labore iuvabat. Nam in sua domo operas illas regebat, & scribebat ipse cum aliis, id quod suo loco copiosius exponitur.

[20]Ibid., p. 613.

[21]*Oratio*, p. 18: Schlüsselburg added the word "maxime" before "regebat," and after the word "ipse" he inserted the phrase "cum optimo viro M. Matthaeo Iudice, &." While it is true that, in some cases, Schlüsselburg provided little more than embroidery around Wigand's words, a good case can be made for more significance in this case. After this passage, Schlüsselburg inserted a defense of the Magdeburg Centuries written by Sturm, to refute the "Zoili," a favorite expression of Wigand.

Presumably Schlüsselburg judged Wigand's remarks that he wrote "with others" gratuitous, especially if one notes that the oration by Schlüsselburg on the life of Wigand, given as it was in Wismar, would have been heard by people who either knew first hand or second hand about Judex' work there twenty-seven years earlier, or would surely have been aware of the overstatement in Wigand's autobiography. The real point, however, cannot be diminished: Wigand was in charge of the project and involved in the writing.

Third, after Matthaeus Judex' death in 1564, his wife Anna married Andreas Schoppe, who wrote a biography--like Schlüsselburg's, a speech, but without an identified event or location--about his wife's first husband. The biography had information directly from the widow, demonstrable in terms of the intimate familial detail, reinforced by the reasonable conjecture that Schoppe would have consulted his wife. He wrote:

> Indeed, his colleagues are fully aware of the fact and admit that he was the organizer in the composition of ten centuries of the ecclesiastical history, and they can be substantiated by his own hand.[22]

Some time between the death of Judex (1564) and the date of the published biography (before 1578), the widow became convinced that Judex' very prominent position in the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries had to be reasserted. The phrase is aggressive, the tone is sharp, as though someone had attempted to do less than admit how much of a contribution Judex had ~~made~~ before his untimely death, underrating his role.

---

[22]"Oratio," pp. m5r-v: Nam quid in compositione Decem Centuriarum historias Ecclesiasticas praestiterit, collegae optime norunt & praedicant, atque manu eius testari possunt.

Thus the methods and procedures for research need to be carefully circumscribed, if the actual composition of the Magdeburg Centuries is to receive carefully focused attention. Even if Wigand and Judex are called "Flacians," members of a "Flacian Circle," or "The Flacian Party," such attribution does not warrant the extrapolation that the content of the Magdeburg Centuries was, for all practical purposes, that of Flacius.[23] That is not to say anything derogatory about Flacius' initial role in developing a proposal, organizing literary resources, and securing funds. But Flacius was not the author. Others were. If the Magdeburg Centuries actually deserve thorough historical and textual analysis, which they surely

---

[23] The remarks by Heinz Scheible, *Die Entstehung der Magdeburger Zenturien*: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der historiographischen Methode, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, Nr. 183 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, c1966), p. 10, about the work of Joachim Massner, *Kirchliche Überlieferung und Autorität im Flaciuskreis*: Studien zu den Magdeburger Zenturien, Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums, Bd. 14 (Berlin und Hannover: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1964), are well taken. One can go much farther than Scheible did, to say that the authors of the Magdeburg Centuries were not "members" or "participants" of a "Flacian Circle" at all, but that they enjoyed a mutually corrective and critical relationship such that in the end Wigand was able to join in those who condemned Flacius for heresy! Any use of the Magdeburg Centuries to construct or reconstruct a Flacian theology or a Flacian politics is, by definition, mistaken--even down to the introductions and dedications.

The same criticism must be leveled at S. L. Verheus, *Zeugnis und Gericht*: Kirchengeschichtliche Betrachtungen bei Sebastian Franck und Matthias Flacius, Bibliotheca humanistica & reformatorica, 1 (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1971). To the extent that Verheus makes the Magdeburg Centuries a work of Flacius--which ran through over half of the book--he was mistaken.

The only evidence of Flacius' intimate participation in writing the Magdeburg Centuries is the position of his name as the first of the dedicators in all but the last volume. But already on 25 May 1562, Wigand told the publisher of the Magdeburg Centuries that Flacius' name was merely attached to the prefaces for reasons that he did not have to explain (Documents III, 9 [S635]). Would that Wigand had explained!

do,[24] then the composition and composers of it also deserve precise historical description and substantive ascription.

---

[24]In 1919 and 1920, Preserved Smith finished his history of the Reformation in the same magnificent collections of the Harvard University Library that were used for this research. In his analysis of the Magdeburg Centuries, he concluded, *The Age of the Reformation* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), p. 584:

> Among the most industrious and the most biassed must certainly be numbered Matthew (sic) Flacius Illyricus and his collaborators in producing the Magdeburg Centuries, a vast history of the church to the year 1300, which aimed at making Protestant polemic independent of Catholic sources. Save for the accumulation of much material, it deserves no praise. Its critical principles are worse than none, for its only criterion of sources is as they are pro- or anti-papal. The latter are taken and the former left. Miracles are not doubted as such, but are divided into two classes, those tending to prove an accepted doctrine which are true, and those which support some papal institution which are branded as "first-class lies." The correspondence between Christ and King Abgarus is used as not having been proved a forgery, and the absurd legend of the female Pope Joan is never doubted. The psychology of the authors is as bad as their criticism. All opposition to the pope, especially that of the German Emperors, is represented as caused by religion.

CHAPTER II

THE CONDITIONS OF CRISIS

-- The Empire

For eighteen years, a workable settlement of Germany's religious problems had eluded the Habsburg ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles V.[1] Between 1530 and 1548 Charles sought frequently to arrange ~~not only a religous settlement, but also a general peace and a German al-~~ liance. The successes of his opposition in forming counter-alliances to defy imperial edicts--chiefly, but not only, the Smalcald League (1537)-- galled the Emperor even more. Yet the constant threat of the Turks and the expense to resist them made unified German support essential; a neutral

---

[1]The history of the reign and person of Charles V has been a standing challenge to the best historians of the past three centuries whose specialty is the modern period. To annotate a brief survey is like annotating a life of Augustus, Charlemagne, Otto the Great. The historiography is thoroughly examined in the most recent classic on Charles V, that of Karl Brandi, *Kaiser Karl V*: Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches (München: F. Bruckmann, 1939-1941), II, 13-53 (the second volume has not been translated into English).

Two streams of historical tradition and methodology can be distinguished. One has emphasized the man and his personality (note the subtitle of Brandi's work). In spite of the suspicious Führerprinzip, Brandi's effort has remained the most recent definitive work of this historiographical tradition. The other stream has appreciated the fact that the Empire was also a government, filled with courts and commissions, counselors and rhetoricians. An excellent exponent of this tradition is the work of Stephan Skalweit, *Reich und Reformation*, Propyläen Bibliothek der Geschichte (Berlin: Propyläen, 1967); note especially the organization and contents of his excellent "Quellen und Literature" (pp. 419-445). Happily one tradition tends to correct the excesses of the other.

Germany was not enough. After intimate private meetings with the Landgrave Philipp of Hesse (1504-1567) in March 1546, Charles seemed to be convinced that he would have to establish peace and concord on his own terms. The Diet of Regensburg in April 1546 proved how insoluble the problems had become. In August 1546, Charles brought his seasoned Spanish armies into the Habsburg patrimony in Austria and assembled his German contingents. Meanwhile, diplomatic negotiations and conferences proceeded at a dizzying pace, especially under the young Albertine Duke of Saxony, Moritz (1521-1553). By holding forth the Electorate of Saxony to the young duke, the Emperor could gain sufficient strength to deal militarily, with the Smalcald League decisively. The attack by the Smalcald forces in the south of Germany in autumn 1546 did even more to galvanize the Habsburg alliance than did years of diplomatic efforts. The Emperor could then gain significant strength and the Smalcald League could lose prestige and credibility, if Charles suffered no serious reversals. Charles did not have to win a battle to win a war, but he could not lose a battle.

The Smalcald War--until the eighteenth century commonly called "the German War of Charles V"--was intended by the Evangelicals to deal a deadly blow, a single major military success, against the Emperor and especially against his hated Spanish troops. The several contingents of the Smalcald League had sufficient commitment to take to the field, win, and retire gloriously, as they marched south in the autumn 1546. The seeds of their own ruin lay, however, in their failure to agree upon a strong, unified command. The Evangelicals were quite unprepared for a brilliant manoeuvre by Charles and his generals. Like Quintus Fabius Maximus Verucosus of old, the "Cunctator" of history and legend in his campaign against

Hannibal, Charles conducted a campaign without battles, a race designed to demoralize the pursuers by refusing to commit forces in a decisive set battle. The tactic worked. The Smalcald League's forces began to melt away with the early morning autumn frost, and the entire army retired shortly to the north for the winter, while the imperial forces wintered on the banks of the Danube.

The imperial strategy for the following spring was a sudden turnabout. Imperial forces, assisted by Albertine Duke Moritz of Saxony, were free to rush northward: they left Nürnberg on 28 March 1547, took the right bank of the Elbe on 12 April 1547, and poured into Electoral Saxony. The Evangelical army, caught thoroughly unprepared, assembled hurriedly; and the Saxon Elector prepared for a makeshift defense at the river. South of Wittenberg, the imperial army led by the Albertine ducal brothers, Moritz and August, unexpectedly crossed the swollen Elbe on 24 April 1547 and met the Electoral Saxon army. The battle was decided within hours, as the Elector's forces were either cut down or retreated. The bloodied Elector himself, Johann Friedrich "the Magnanimous" (1503-1554), was captured, threatened with a summary death sentence, but instead jailed. On 19 May 1547, he signed a humiliating capitulation, consenting to the assumption of the Electorate by Moritz, to secure a lesser inheritance with security for his sons. The Landgrave Philipp of Hesse surrendered to the Emperor on 19 June 1547. The Emperor offered neither of the captured princes any terms or assurances. Militarily Germany belonged to Charles V. He turned to settle the religious and political issues of the empire.

Magdeburg[2]

Of all the cities of Germany, Magdeburg proved to be one of the most defiant of imperial orders and of negotiated religious settlements. On the election of Johann Albrecht (1499-1548), uncle of Margrave Joachim II of Brandenburg (1505-1571), to the archiepiscopal see of Magdeburg by the Cathedral Chapter, the City Council refused to pay him homage. Even though the final election agreement had been signed by the Cathedral Chapter and the archbishop-elect in the "Wahlkapitulation" of 19 October 1545, and even though the pallium had already been brought from Rome, Johann Albrecht could not be elevated to the ancient cathedra in proper solemnity. The City Council was fully prepared for the Reformation of Magdeburg, for defiance of any and all archiepiscopal privileges and taxes, for entrance into the Smalcald League as a subscribing participant, and for war as long as the city was threatened with the reintroduction of the

---

[2] The classic history of Magdeburg is Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg*, neu bearb. von Gustav Hertel und Friedrich Hülse (Magdeburg: Albert Rathke, 1885), in two volumes. The most important single narrative for the Magdeburg siege and the period of the 1550s is the chronicle by Heinrich Merkel, *Wahrhafftiger Aussführlicher vnd grůndlicher Bericht/ von der Altenstadt Magdeburgk Belagerung....* (Magdeburgk: Paul Donat, 1587). The chronicle and other associated documents were gathered and published by Friedrich Hortleder, *Von den Ursachen des Teutschen Kriegs Käiser Carls des Fünfften, wider die Schmalkaldische Bundts Oberste* (Franckfurth am Meyn: Hartmann Palthenius, 1617-1618), in two folio volumes. The collection proved to be very valuable, because the city library of Magdeburg was destroyed in the incineration of 1631. The Hortleder collection was reprinted in 1645 by the Endters press in Gotha. The city has had a publishing historical society and continuing tradition of local history. For the theology of the city's resistance, the indispensable work is that of Oliver Olson, "Theology of Revolution: Magdeburg, 1550-1551," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 3 (1972), 56-79. The important scholarly papers and historical treasures of the regional state archives of Magdeburg (German Democratic Republic) have not been available "to capitalist scholars" (summer 1975).

Mass. Even as the archbishop's legates sought to negotiate the matter of homage with the City Council, official orders were given to raze the Carmelite Cloister in order to strengthen the fortifications of the city's south wall. The Sudenburg District outside the city walls received permission to use the stone to build St. Sebastian's Church. Between 26 June 1546 and 2 January 1547, the City Council confiscated all properties of the Cathedral Chapter and declared Catholic worship illegal in the city. The Roman Mass had been suspended.

In April 1547 the Emperor feigned an attack on Magdeburg, encouraging some citizens to arbitrate differences with the archbishop. Negotiations between Magdeburg and Moritz proved to be fruitless (29 April to 2 May 1547), and on 22 May 1547 an imperial herald appeared at the city gates to announce that the Emperor himself had restored the ancient privileges to the Cathedral Chapter of Magdeburg, as he set up an improvised court in Halle. Preparations for a siege or attack consumed the efforts of the citizenry, aided by 3,000 Electoral Saxon troops. Between Easter and Pentecost, Spanish troops scavenged and pillaged in the countryside around Magdeburg; on 28 May 1547 fires could be seen from the city walls in the village of Rottersdorf. No contact of forces was made, however, and in the following hours and days Magdeburg's militia punished those who had either aided or not resisted the imperial army under the command of the Duke of Alva.

Through July, conferences proceeded in Augsburg, where the Emperor conducted the Imperial Diet in 1547. On 27 July 1547, Charles resorted to his ultimate weapon, the Imperial Ban ("Reichsacht und Überacht"). Talks had broken down several weeks before this final day; for instance, on

24 July 1547, the Emperor had stripped Valentin Denhardt, Stadtsyndicus Levin von Embden, Joachim and Thomas Keller, and the Müller and Roden families of all privileges and transferred them to members of his own staff. No act done against the city was punishable, and Magdeburgers should have been vulnerable to immediate attack and devastation. Electoral Saxony and Brandenburg were mandated to carry out the ban on 30 June 1547.

Diplomatic efforts moved on many fronts, particularly among the Prior of the Cathedral Chapter, Georg von Anhalt (1507-1553), himself an Evangelical but in the minority on the Chapter, and Ludwig Fachs (1497-1554), Moritz' learned jurist-adviser, and the Stadtsyndicus Levin von Embden. Sufficient progress was made, so that Joachim II and Moritz forbade the plundering of Magdeburg freight on Germany's roads; the two princes also recommended at the Imperial Diet in 1548 that the Imperial Ban on Magdeburg be lifted in accord with an emerging plan.

The Interim[3]

Meanwhile, in November 1547, Charles informed the Pope that the German princes would be prepared to participate in an ecumenical council,

---

[3]With the publication of the magnificent *Acta Reformationis Catholica* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1959-), there is four volumes' worth of new textual, biographical, and bibliographical information (vols. 3 to 6), to replace the standard texts for the study of the Interim--some of them over two hundred years old. As an introduction, the prefatory material of the recent briefer study is essential: *Das Augsburger Interim von 1548:* Nach dem Reichstagsakten deutsch und lateinisch hrsg. von Joachim Mehlhausen (Neukirchen/Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970) in the series "Texte zur Geschichte der evangelischen Theologie, 3." There are no modern texts to document and describe the reception of the Interim in Saxony and Brandenburg; the texts of the *Corpus Reformatorum* (Melanchthon's letters, vols. 6 and 7), for instance, are not true critical texts and are unacceptable as they stand.

prorogued from Bologna to Trent. In order to lay bases for such an explosive situation, Charles began efforts to reach a German religious settlement before the next Imperial Diet. He began in February 1548, choosing three theologians to draft a preparatory document: Julius Pflug, Bishop of Naumburg (1490-1564), Michael Helding, Suffragan Bishop of Mainz (1506-1561), and Johannes Agricola, court preacher of Joachim II of Brandenburg (1492-1566). Joachim II and the Elector of the Palatinate, Ottheinrich (1502-1559), introduced and promoted the settlement of the Imperial Diet. The Interim was mandated in the "Reichsabschied" of 30 May 1548 to become the law of the land.

The Catholic electors, led by Wilhelm of Bavaria, and theologians protested against the terms of the Interim, so that the Emperor himself made the decision that the terms of the Augsburg Interim would apply only to the Evangelicals! Therewith all concessions were null and void: there remained only those concessions forced on the Evangelicals by imperial order, in exchange for concessions forced on the Catholics that were subsequently abrogated. Joachim II still adopted the Interim without serious reservation. Moritz of Saxony vacillated. The two imprisoned princes announced their positions: Johann Friedrich of Saxony insured a lifetime of confinement when he denounced the Interim; Philipp of Hesse accepted the settlement to gain favor and eventual release. The Evangelical clergy of south Germany was forced into exile or confinement. By Christmas 1548, most of the Evangelical churches of the south had, for all practical purposes, shut down. In north Germany, the imperial cities either denounced or rejected or resisted the Interim; a few simply ignored it completely. The most intractable resistance was to be found in Magdeburg and Bremen.

The Resistance

Archbishop Johann Albrecht sought to establish his legal claims in Magdeburg and at the same time gain support from a mediating group within the city. He requested--and received--the rule of Magdeburg and Halberstadt from Charles on 12 July 1548, since Charles had assumed the rule in June of the previous year. Johann Albrecht also secured the election of his nephew, Margrave Friedrich (1530-1552), as Coadjutant Bishop. The diocesan staff and Cathedral Chapter maintained an official residence in Halle after 24 July 1548. In order to re-establish order in the realm, the Archbishop convoked a Landtag in Halle the day after the archdiocesan offices were established, 25 July 1548. He declared the Interim to be the will of the Emperor, who would reward the obedient and punish the disobedient, and he called for a declaration of intent from his subjects. The estates of the Landtag of the Magdeburg ecclesiastical principality replied that such action would be far too precipitous and requested time to consider the matter--until Christmas! The Archbishop declared a six-week recess and reconvened the Landtag in Aschersleben on 14 October 1548. Only a handful of lesser nobles and undercover spies attended, and on the next day even they sent a sharp note to the Archbishop. He should reconvene later, they said, after the representatives had had time to study and then reply, so that they could make a proper presentation.

Pressure came from all sides. The Emperor wanted an answer to the question: Would Magdeburg accept and enforce the Interim (Brussels, 18 October 1548)? On 19 February 1549, the Emperor charged Johann Albrecht--and the entire Brandenburg court and family--with the responsibility of punishing

all those who continued to resist. The Evangelicals gathered in Eisleben (December 1548 to January 1549), to discuss the Interim line by line, formulate a response, send the document to press, and dispatch a messenger to Brussels. The cities of the north were united: Hamburg, Lübeck, Lüneburg, Bremen, Braunschweig, Hildesheim, and Magdeburg. The others were forced to accept terms of one sort or another. Magdeburg and Bremen resisted unequivocally. Magdeburg's position was known in all Germany and exiles began to pour in: Nicolaus von Amsdorff (1483-1565), formerly Superintendent of Magdeburg, at the time Bishop of Naumburg/Zeitz; Erasmus Alber (d. 1553), master of satire; Nicolaus Gallus, of Regensburg; and Stephan Tucher's son-in-law, Matthias Flacius.

The courageous printers of Magdeburg defied imperial edicts which forbade anti-Interim publications: Michael Lotter, Christian Rödinger, Hans Walther. Not only Magdeburg's message, but resistance literature from throughout Germany, was printed there: more than one hundred pamphlets between 1549 and 1551. For their bravery, the city of Magdeburg came to be known as "des Herrgotts Kanzlei": what was forbidden elsewhere to be published (against Interim and Empire), the Lord God was having printed in his own chancery, Magdeburg. Flacius wrote, edited, traveled, and sold for these printers.

The Imperial Ban and the Imperial Interim inhibited action for the settlement of the two issues facing Magdeburg. Under the terms of the Interim, the city and Archbishop might have been able to agree upon a settlement of rights and privileges, but were forbidden by the Emperor even to negotiate a religious settlement. And under the terms of the Imperial Ban, the city and Archbishop might have been able to agree on a settlement of

the religious issues, but were forbidden even to negotiate rights and privileges. Through the summer and fall of 1548 and into 1549, Johann Albrecht and Moritz succeeded in isolating the city from other groups in the temporal archbishopric and from Electoral Saxony. The willingness of the theologians of the University of Wittenberg, now included in the territory of the new Electoral Saxony of Moritz, to come to terms with their new Elector drove a bitter wedge between them and their former colleagues in Magdeburg. The Archbishop pressed Moritz to act and sent delegates to Charles' court in Brussels. The Emperor told Johann Albrecht to encourage his supporters in Magdeburg to separate themselves from the disobedient City Council (18 February 1549), and he told Moritz to carry out the final Executive Order (18 March 1549).

In November, delegates from Hamburg, Lübeck, and Lüneburg had an audience with Charles to plead for their own case and that of Magdeburg and Bremen. While they were physically present in the court, news arrived: the city of Magdeburg had plundered the Augustinian Cloister of Hamersleben (19 August 1549) and Levin von Embden had told Melchior Osse, the Electoral Saxon chancellor, on 16 December 1548, that obedience to Charles constituted disobedience to God by the very terms of the Interim! Nothing came of this mission to the imperial court.

Johann Albrecht died in the summer of 1550. The Cathedral Chapter elected the Margrave Friedrich to become Archbishop Friedrich IV, who requested that a settlement be negotiated on 5 June 1550 of all outstanding claims.

Meanwhile delegates of the Empire had gathered in Augsburg for the Imperial Diet, where the decision was made on 26 July 1550 to besiege Magdeburg. On 31 August 1550, in the Lower Saxon Tag at Jüterbog, the Saxon

Circle agreed to attack the city if the Emperor would share the financial burden. Armies took to the field: Heinrich, the Younger, of Braunschweig-Lüneburg; Georg von Mecklenburg; Joachim II of Brandenburg; and Elector Moritz of Saxony. The several armies burned and destroyed everything up to the city walls, even Sudenburg and Neustadt, adjoining the walls.

The immediate background of the siege and the continuing problems of the Magdeburgers were military, political, social, and theological: a complex of crises brought on by Magdeburg's refusal to heed imperial orders, to acknowledge and implement the religious settlement of Charles V, and to pay homage to the Brandenburg Archbishop with his endless lists of debts and indemnities and taxes. The lifting of the siege on 17 November 1551, the revolution of the princes and the betrayal by Moritz of the Emperor, and the eventual access to the courts did not put an end to the problems and suffering of the Magdeburgers. The costs and damages of the siege were staggering: according to Elias Pomarius of the Magdeburg City Council they were estimated to be 4,044,466 gulden. The Imperial Ban, imposed on the city by Charles on 27 July 1547, was not to be officially lifted until 12 July 1562 by Emperor Ferdinand I. Not only did the siege turn Magdeburg's economy to ashes, but the robbing and plundering of Magdeburgers' goods and freight, with impunity, on the highways and rivers began before the siege and lasted long after. The ability to secure letters of credit, loans, fund balancing--all the usual services of banking houses and financiers--was not available under normal circumstances, because all indemnities were secured only with personal liability. The city's official guarantees were almost worthless. On 3 October 1552, after more than two years' futile effort to recover the possessions and privileges of the see, Friedrich IV died.

A successor was elected by the Cathedral Chapter on 26 October 1552, the Margrave Sigismund of Brandenburg. Pope Julius III confirmed the election over a year later, on 21 January 1554, the youth's sixteenth birthday. Suffice it to say that he was not elected for his knowledge, wisdom, aptitude, concern, or preparation to lead the People of God in Magdeburg. His first official act at the Landtag of Halle (25 January 1554) was to raise a new tax: his indemnities for sixteen months' reign amounted to 266,551 gulden. A series of proposed agreements were written, then tentatively agreed, then broken, then renegotiated: the Dresden "Vertrag" of 29 September 1555, the Köln an der Spree "Vertrag" renegotiated into the Berlin "Vergleich," then re-renegotiated at the Archbishop's residence in December 1557 and January 1558. The elusive final settlement was simply not to be found through negotiation.

The resistance flagged. On 10 March 1558, the Cathedral Chapter was allowed to hold sessions in the city for the first time in twelve years. The Prior, or Domprobst, was still the Evangelical prince, Georg von Anhalt, but the majority was loyal to Sigismund and to "the old faith." There were no guarantees for the free exercise of religion for the Evangelicals, but the demand for such a clause had been acceded to by the Cathedral Chapter in any "final" agreement. Nevertheless, confiscated properties could not simply be handed over; families were being displaced; old hatreds flared; no one trusted the courts for a solution. The City Council and City Ministerium anticipated and prepared for riots. The knights and cities of the Magdeburg archiepiscopal principality promised no assistance to Sigismund at the Landtag of 1558, because of his barefisted provocations. Through physical suffering, deprivation, and repression, the Evangelicals were

reduced and the Archbishop's privileges were reinstated in the early 1560's. The garrisons guarding the city and "protecting" its inhabitants were those of Electoral Saxony and Brandenburg.

The Evangelicals of Magdeburg had seen their friends also suffer for their beliefs: the Hansa cities of Lübeck, Hamburg, Lüneburg, and especially Bremen; also the trade capital of Germany, Frankfurt. They had also seen the fate of their enemies: the Brandenburg court with its youngster Archbishop and Joachim II the power behind the cathedra, the Electoral Saxon princes and their self-aggrandizement, and most of all the compromisers who had capitulated early and denied the resistance a united front: not the traitors, like the court chaplain in Brandenburg, Agricola, but Philipp Melanchthon, Georg Major, Justus Menius, Caspar Peucer, the theologians of Wittenberg and Leipzig, advisers to princes and prelates, who could rationalize any and every act of suppression, confiscation, and violence. Melanchthon thought of himself as a peacemaker, who saw only the futility of resisting, meanwhile resting comfortably and depending wholly on the princes of the Empire to resolve the religious issues politically. He labeled the resisters, trouble-makers who lead the people with vain hopes and false promises. He sneered at their claim to being authentically Lutheran in their theology with the *Spitzname* "Gnesio-Lutherans"--a designation that they later took on with pride. The resisters believed that they had been abandoned politically, compromised theologically, and put at the mercy of courtiers who sought to pay off their enormous debts with fines, confiscations, new taxes, and perpetual indemnities.

PART TWO

FROM THE PLAN TO THE FIRST PRODUCTION OF THE PRESS

The origins of the Magdeburg Centuries can be traced to the autumn of 1552. The first period, "The Beginnings: 1552 to 1556" (Chapter III), was not a time of intense activity; rather, options were slowly sorted out and just a few basic conclusions were reached. It was a preliminary stage when there was not even a fully developed plan, but rather only a proposal for a plan. The documents for this period have been, for the most part, published and at least minimally annotated.

Then, before continuing chronologically, the work on method, "Methodology" (Chapter IV), is summed up, from the beginning to the spring of 1557, when the most important schedule of commonplaces was in complete, drafted form. The documents for this analysis have been surveyed, but the texts have not been transcribed or reproduced until now.

In the second chronological period, 1557 and 1558, "The Magdeburg Centuries Without Flacius" (Chapter V), the coincidence of intense historical investigation and intense political activity is examined. In that time of research and writing, Flacius was not only gone from Magdeburg to his new post in Thuringia, but also far removed from his colleagues in Magdeburg in spirit, not even in reliable communication with them. The documentation and sources for this period are, for the most part, unpublished letters.

The Magdeburg Centuries first emerged from a printer's shop in Basel in 1559, representing a Gnesio-Lutheran interpretation of the church "from the beginning to the present time." The Chronicle of Carion by Melanchthon in its second Melanchthonian edition appeared in print, beginning in 1558; it would be brought to completion many years later (1572) by his son-in-law, Caspar Peucer. The Chronicle represented the Adiaphorists' or Philippists' point of view of church history. The timing of the two imprints, 1558 and 1559, was no happenchance, but was the result of attempts to form historiographical concepts along politically ideological lines. Hence Chapter IV is entitled, "History against History."

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNINGS: 1552 TO 1556

In the first years, from November 1552 to September/October 1554, the vague plan and bold initiative to compose a "perpetual church history" developed conceptually at a slow rate. Serious misunderstandings were brewing among the early principals. Then, in order that proper security be established for borrowing rare materials, Flacius had to identify a group that would take responsibility, namely, the collegium. The next phase, from late 1554 to 1556, saw little history writing done. But Flacius did establish contacts to bring materials together from libraries and archives throughout Europe for scholarly use and publication. When faced with the choice of sitting down and writing history, or traveling and seeking out books, Flacius chose to develop his bibliophilic network.

Toward a "Perpetual Church History"

In a letter dated 10 November 1552,[1] Flacius explained to his

[1] Victor Bibl, "Der Briefwechsel zwischen Flacius und Nidbruck: Aus den Handschriften 9737b, i, und k der k. und k. Hofbibliothek in Wien," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich*, 17 (1896), 1-24; 18 (1897), 201-238; 19 (1898), 96-110; 20 (1899), 84-116. Letters are cited with the Bibl number, volume, and page; hence, this reference is no. 1, 17, 6-8. The collection is the basis of Heinz Scheible's dissertation, "Der Plan der Magdeburger Zenturien und ihre ungedruckte Reformationsgeschichte," Heidelberg, 1960; and his monograph, *Die Entstehung*. The description of Flacius' plan is treated best by Scheible in *Die Entstehung*, pp. 13-40.

former student, Caspar von Nidbruck,[2] counselor in the Habsburg court of Vienna, his plans to expend a major effort to write a church history. The plan was sufficiently inchoate that he could speak of two separate works. In preparation for a more expansive history, he wrote, he was composing a catalogue of all those who wrote against the Pope and his errors before Luther's time. The work was to have been completed for publication shortly (*brevi*). He realized from the start that the scope of the effort was well beyond his own abilities and resources, and so he sought Nidbruck's help. He ventured to move ahead with his ideas, however, despite the anticipated difficulties, because the boundless usefulness would be commensurate with the endless work--therefore deservedly supported by both human effort and subventions. He appended to the letter the so-called Scheda, given in complete translated form in the introduction.[3] Marx Wagner, Flacius' messenger and secretary, penned both the letter and the proposal.[4]

---

[2]Wittenberg, *Album*, I, 235a: Caspar a Neytbruck Lottaringus vltima Julij [1546].

[3]At Chapter I, footnote 3; see Documents IV, 1.

[4]The hand of many early documents associated with Flacius is similar to Gallus', but is not his; a distinctive roundness of certain letters are different from Gallus, although the ascenders and descenders are deceptively similar. The hand is that of Marx Wagner. One cannot judge by Wagner's later hand, but must rely on a contemporaneous autograph (a convenient one is to be found in Cod. guelf. 359 Novi, f. 87r-88v [Lübeck, 14 July s.a.]).

If "Basil. F." of Cod. guelf. 20 Novi, f. 80r is Basilius Faber and if this is an autograph--as it seems to be--then Faber's is not the other common secretarial hand of the early documents.

The collecting work and the relationship between Flacius and Wagner were detailed by Johann Wilhelm Schulte, "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien," *Jahres-Berichte der Philomathie (Niesse)*, 19 (1877), 50-154, especially pp. 94-148. While a few additional documents and observations can be added to Schulte's work, Wagner's role in the development of the Magdeburg Centuries is not considered in this research.

While this letter by Flacius opened the correspondence so far as Nidbruck's epistolarium is concerned, there was a previous exchange on the subject of a church history project.[5] Nidbruck had even designated someone who might help collect and excerpt materials for the project, unnamed as of this November letter.

Nidbruck, born in 1525 in Bolchen (Lorraine), became a member of the Protestant circle of high officers in the service of the Holy Roman Empire, both in Brussels and in Vienna. Most of the members of that circle were from Spain and the Low Countries. He first came into the service of the Habsburg court in October 1550 at the Diet of Augsburg, after years of study in France, Germany, and Italy. In 1554 he was appointed to the most intimate circle of advisers to Maximilian, King of Bohemia, Archduke of Austria, later to become Emperor Maximilian II. Strangely, this appointment came from the very hand of his father, Emperor Ferdinand, in an act that one leading scholar has characterized as "careless."[6] Nidbruck's ideas about the princely Evangelical church developed when he was a member of the imperial advisory staff at Vienna. The developing concepts were shared with a larger group of courtiers, in correspondence with leading

---

[5] Bibl, "Briefwechsel," 17, 6, footnote 3, noted an earlier exchange. The more obvious evidence of previous communication is to be found, however, at the bottom of page 7 and top of page 8.

[6] Viktor Bibl, *Maximilian II., der rätselhafte Kaiser:* Ein Zeitbild (Hellerau bei Dresden: Avalun [1929]), p. 71: Eine solche "Sorglosigkeit" was es.... The literature survey for Nidbruck's life and work that was done by Rudolph Holtzmann remains indispensable (s.v. "Niedbruck, Kaspar von," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 52 [1906], 628-629; Bibl's "Literatur" [pp. 419-422] supplements it well). The definitive biography promised three hundred years ago by Peter Lambeck (1628-1680) is yet to be written.

Protestants of Geneva, Basel, Strassburg, Nürnberg, Joachimsthal, Leipzig, Köln, the Palatinate court, the Electoral Saxon court, Augsburg, Regensburg, Wittenberg--and Magdeburg.

Nidbruck replied on 1 March 1553, the day after he received Flacius' letter, via their mutual friend, Nicolaus Gallus.[7] The "good man of whom you [Nidbruck] made mention" in the first Flacius letter might very well have been this same Gallus. Nidbruck replied, at any rate, that Gallus would be a, or the, suitable man ("idoneus"), because of his writing skills. Nidbruck thrust Gallus into the position of mediating the communications between himself and Flacius. In order to receive the help that he desired from Viennese physician-historian-bibliophile Wolfgang Lazius (1517-1565),

---

[7] Adalbert Horawitz, "Beiträge zu den Sammlung von Briefen Philipp Melanchthon," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften:* Philosophische-historische Classe, 77 (1894), 299-324, no. 23, pp. 319-323. The location of the original is not given by Horawitz; it is Cod. vind. pal. 9737i, ff. 23r-24v. At the top of f. 23v are the words: Methodus Historiae Ecclesiasticae.

Gallus was deeply involved in Flacius' project before he left Magdeburg. At that time, when he was serving as Superintendent of the City Ministerium, about to return to serve in that capacity for the city of Regensburg whence he had come, he wrote to his friend and patron, the jurist of Regensburg, Johann Hiltner (1485-1567):

> Weil auch etliche fürhabens ecclesiasticam historiam von Christo bis auff vns tzuschreiben tzu grossem nutz der kirchen, darzu etliche libri historicj so Auentinus bej euch hehabt, vnd selbs tzum teil geschreiben, tzum teil bisher vngedruckt blieben sind fast sher viel dienen möchten, so bitte ich vmb gemeines nutzes der kirchen willen vleissig tzuforschen, vnd wie ich hoffe das ir könnet, auch tzuerhalten, das solche bücher tzu solchem nützbarn fhürnemen vns vmb ein ehrliche betzalung verkaufft, oder aber lehensweise tzugebrauchen möchten vergünstet werden. Ob auch Hertzog Ottheinrich Pfaltzgraff tzu Neuburg deshalben--an euch oder an ein Ehrbarn Rat möchte lassen gelangen, so wisset das solches eben dieser sachen halben von ihm geschihet. Darumb in euch die sachen wollet dester vleissiger lassen angelegen sein. vnd euch bej negster botschafft, war ir erfharen vnd ausgericht, wider beantworten. damit befordert ir ein gemein nutzlich werck. Wollet doch auch fürsichtig mit der sachen vmbgehen, damit nicht etwa das notigste. so es etliche erfhüren, möchte dauon komen. (Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 11, 44, lines 16 to 39.)

Flacius was instructed to deal with Gallus in this matter.[8] Nidbruck agreed that the effort deserved his support, offered his own research materials and compends, and cited valuable bibliothecal and bibliophilic information. Nidbruck also tried to reduce the scope of the larger work. A chronological catalogue would win Nidbruck's approval. He sought to partition the work topically, however, into three areas: (1) doctrinal aberrations from antiquity, (2) ceremonies and rituals, and (3) adversaries to the position and customs of prelates and ecclesiastics "from head to foot." He looked for an organizing technique that would allow specialists to write and contribute smaller portions of the work in their particular

---

On 17 May 1553, Hiltner replied:

> Ich wolte geben (?) das wir etliche gote bucher alhie mechten in der liberej zu sammen bringen als opera Augustini, Ihronimj und dergleichen mer Jtmal liest welche die nutzisten und besten wer damit die Diaconj so mit alles zukauffen vermogen dafur zulesen hetten was auch unser fur gut ansehe das wir kauffen sollten das schreybt mir Jtze nieder, vnd wie man sie vngefehlich bekommen mechte, wir haben alle tomos Lutherj so viel Jt nach ausgegangen sind. (Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles., I, 11, 50, lines 15 to 22.)

Gallus, seemingly surprised, answered:

> Das meine herrn ein liberj fur die kirchendiener anzurichten geflissen ist löblich und nützlich, von alten scriptoribus mögen sie fürnemlich itzt keuffen lassen, Augustinum, Hieronymum, Ambrosium, Chrysostomum, Chronicon et ecclesiasticam historiam Eusebij, Ireneum, [marg.: Josephum, Aegesippum] Cyprianum, Bernardinum, Gersonem, Magistrum sententiarum, ius canonicum, darnach finden sich die andern wol. (Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 11, 55, lines 13 to 20. Gallus' reply is dated 17 May 1553, Magdeburg.)

See also Christian Heinrich Kleinstäuber, "Ausführliche Geschichte der Studien-Anstalten in Regensburg, 1558-1880," *Verhandlungen des historischen Vereins von Oberpfalz und Regensburg*, 35 (1880), 1-152, especially p. 76.

[8] Nidbruck changed his mind as he drafted the letter. He originally instructed Flacius to deal with Mathesius, but changed the draft to Gallus. The struck words are, after "voles:"--Mittas Domino Mathesio hic deinde ad eum, a quo hasce literas accipiet.

areas of expertise.[9]

On 2 March 1553, a letter was sent to Flacius requesting help in getting a pamphlet published. The early words of the letter would indicate that it is the first contact between the two men, at least for a long period of time. The author was Johann Wigand, Superintendent of the Mansfeld church, the first documented exchange between the two after the Interim.[10]

On 7 March 1553, at about the time when Nidbruck's reply might have arrived in Magdeburg, Wagner penned and Flacius signed a letter to Hartmann Beyer (1516-1577), Superintendent of the Evangelical City Ministerium of Frankfurt.[11] This letter to Beyer indicates that earlier contact with Beyer had been solicited through the good offices of Erasmus Alber (d. 1553), at the time Superintendent of the ministerium of Neu-Brandenburg in Mecklenburg. The reason for the contact was further described:

---

[9]Horawitz, "Beiträge," p. 320. The manuscript evidence deserves more commentary than that afforded by Horawitz. The Latin text reads:

> Quod vero ad maius illud opus attinet, crediderim secundum materias distinguendum, ut primum secundum capita: errores circa doctrinam ab antiquis taxati recenseatur, deinde circa ceremonias et ritus, tertio aduersus statum et mores Praelatorum atque Ecclesiasticorum a capite ad calcem.

The letter, a draft, has at the top of f. 23r the title "Methodus Historiae Ecclesiasticae." The first letter of "errores" has been made into a capital. The original letter went as far as the phrase "nostra aetate." The rest was appended later. Then the text goes on:

> Articuli etiam saniores inserendi, diuersi ritus ecclesiae Graecorum Orientalium atque Occidentalium, quomodo cumulati, quid quisque addiderunt de suo, id ex historiis addi possent, et nonulli nostrae aetatis quaedam ediderunt.

[10]Cod. guelf. 20 Novi, f. 4v (autograph).

[11]Documents I, 1.

> ...that he [Alber] ask you [Beyer] by letter that you might deal diligently with the Lyon merchants, if some of them sell there at the fairs and are pious men, that they might endeavor to inquire carefully in their libraries, if any history of the Waldensians or other writings of theirs can be found there. Indeed, they first rose up four hundred years ago. I am assuming that you have been doing that until now. But if you have not done so yet, I implore and entreat you to do so now for the first time. Perhaps Oporinus of Basel can help us in this matter. I hear that he can be dealt with on the other side of this [arrangement]. I do not ask you all this without a good reason.

And then Flacius followed with a description of his aim, to compose "a catalogue of all those who before the Reverend Lord Doctor Martin Luther, of pious memory, wrote, said, or thought anything against the Pope and his errors." The second work was to be "a complete church history from Christ to our time."

So far as the organization was concerned, Flacius noted to Beyer that he was collecting a catalogue, not really writing or composing it, and that it would be completed shortly. The writing of the history was a far different matter:

> I wish that the writing be commended to some rather learned person of capable style--rather, not one but three people or four: two to seek out and gather materials from wherever, a third to compose those collected materials in writing, as it were, imitating some of the organization and honeymaking of bees.

Two important features of Flacius' arrangements are clarified. First, the network of leading Evangelicals, chiefly the city superintendents, were being enlisted for the support of the history project. They themselves had no formal organization, but were generally Anti-Interimist, if not "Flacian." Second, the catalogue was to be Flacius' contribution; the history, that of other researchers and writers. To the letter was appended another copy of the "Scheda."

Nidbruck reported to Flacius next with his personal emissary, the Burgundian adventurer and spy, Hubert Lanquet (1518-1581), later also a

spy for the Electoral Saxon court.[12] Flacius' letter of 28 November 1553[13] gave his side of the interviews with Lanquet. What was promised to be "the briefest summary of my ideas" turned out to be the usual delightful Flacian stream of consciousness prose. Flacius' attempt to write a history of the church went well beyond Nidbruck's idea of a history of controversies; Flacius wanted to deal with the history of faith. On the other hand, Nidbruck's suggestion for divisions in the material brought in an order that could lead to a successful project. Flacius saw the convenience and reasonableness of an order or arrangement that was modeled on the commonplaces. The thought had obviously been going through his mind as he discussed Nidbruck's suggestions with Lanquet. The arrangement was, in effect, a file structure:

> The individual materials will stand out better, if they are distributed to their own logical position, than if they were to be all mixed up in chronological order. Certainly it is a much happier and more useful arrangement for the reader, if he could in individual places put his hands on the materials of a certain type brought together into some spot, as it were, in a heap.

After a discursus about what materials needed to be gathered, Flacius returned to Nidbruck's message.

> Now, about the plan to organize the work, I want to say a few things. I readily agree that what you write is correct; this attempt of ours is not a one-man job, but many will have to expend their hard labors to get the job done. And I believe that I am less adapted for this

---

[12] In 1914 Walter Platzhoff wrote, "Eine vollwertige Biographie Languets besitzen wir noch nicht" ("Die Gesandschaftsberichte Hubert Languets als historische Quelle und als Spiegel seiner Persönlichkeit," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 113 (1914), 505-539, here p. 506). There followed an extended paragraph of literature survey that remains the best to date. The lack of a good, complete biography of Lanquet has not been remedied since 1914. In the classic treatments of Lanquet, however, his real role as a spy for the imperial court in the 1550's was so successfully concealed that the biographers did not understand his strange travels. Through Nidbruck, Lanquet was Maximilian's eyes and ears in Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg.

[13] Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 5, 17, 13-20.

> writing task, because I am deficient especially in the requisite history writing style, and because I cannot carry out so many different tasks, and finally because I am distracted by taking on all kinds of truth-saving causes. Therefore, I believe it is wholly necessary that the work go on with one master who earns a bit of salary for several years, with just a few colleagues occupied with this job.

The few turned out to be four persons, he continued, and he struggled for a feasible budget. The one master with a modest stipend was not Flacius, because that person was to be the writer. He told Nidbruck that he and Gallus had agreed to engage the young schoolmaster of Magdeburg, Gottschalk Praetorius, and that Lanquet had also interviewed him and would doubtless pass along his own assessment. Flacius sent a draft copy of his own *Catalogus testium veritatis*, extant today in the Vienna National Library,[14] and said that he would preface the work with another appeal to pious and learned people to support his church history project. He detailed his needs for more materials, especially to work on the Hussites. He rambled then, to discuss a congest of authors, compends of writings, and lists of libraries that he wanted to work with.

Lanquet also reported to Nidbruck on the three-day interview with Flacius, in a letter dated 1 December 1553, from Wittenberg.[15] The letter itself reflected the wide ranging agenda of items that were discussed. At the end of the letter, Lanquet noted that he had given for his presence in Wittenberg a pretext that Nidbruck should substantiate in further contacts with Melanchthon. Lanquet did not want Melanchthon to know that he was dealing with Flacius. When Lanquet saw that Praetorius was designated to

---

[14] Ibid., 17, p. 18, foonote 3.

[15] As a footnote in Flacius letter, Bibl had already mentioned this letter ("Briefwechsel," 17, p. 14, footnote 3): Vgl. Lanquet an N. ddo. 1 Dec. 1553; i. 64. He did not note the copy to be found in Cod. vind. pal. 10364, ff. 22v-25r. The full text is transcribed in Documents I, 2.

bear so much of the literary responsibility of the Magdeburg Centuries, he asked for a specimen of his work. The request for a sample, to be sent to Nidbruck, was a major impulse for the subsequent "De utilitate ecclesiasticae historiae," of Praetorius,[16] which was called a declamation and was to have been published shortly ("breui"): it never was. Lanquet thought that Praetorius' Latin was sufficiently stylish and elegant, but put the final judgment in Nidbruck's hands. Two new elements were to be added to the content of the church history: the course of imperial history and the political context of the church's own history were to be included. They did, in fact, find their way into the final scheme of things. The polemic was to be sufficiently mild so that the final work would not appear to be an intentional, direct attack upon the papacy. Lanquet estimated that a subvention of 200 to 300 florins per year would have to be secured to keep the writer and one or two staff members on the job full time. And he raised the question about location.

> Illyricus thinks that Magdeburg is a suitable place for this thing; but if it is all right with you, he asks that I send here those collections which you acquired in Bohemia and elsewhere. To me, the city seems well suited for this thing, if Illyricus is capable and willing to have it so.

Further:

> In this matter, I also value highly the judgment of the Lord Praeceptor [Melanchthon] and of other learned men who are here [in Wittenberg]; the work could also be promoted by them. What is more, if it would come out of this University, its authority among all those good men would be greater. But it could not be done readily by Illyricus, in my opinion; he could hardly be convinced to have it come here.

That is, it was more important that Flacius do the work and the prospect

---

[16] Scheible, *Die Entstehung*, p. 23, footnote 3, characterized the work: eine stilistisch und rhetorisch glänzend ausgefeilte Arbeit, jedoch ohne wirkliche originelle Gedanken. See also Scheible, "Der Plan," pp. 48-51, and Documents IV, 2.

for success was sufficiently more favorable with Flacius, that even the advantages of moving the project to Wittenberg--good as those advantages might have been--were insufficient in the final analysis. Lanquet was deeply moved by Flacius' erudition, bibliographic sophistication, and hospitality: an industrious, diligent, and learned man. He was put off, to be sure, by his contentiousness and by Flacius' offer that Lanquet market books for Flacius--for a commission, of course. The two exchanged indices of desiderata, and Flacius gave Lanquet some valuable materials, for which the latter made a personal commitment to future compensation for the Illyrian.

Meanwhile, Gallus was busy in Regensburg. After spending over four and a half turbulent years in Magdeburg, Gallus had returned to his former charge in Regensburg on 12 September 1553 midst victorious, festive solemnity celebrating the suspension of the Interim. He had made a mark in Magdeburg in the magnificent literature of resistance, both political and theological, in close friendship and collaboration with Flacius. Throughout his life, he recalled that he had been schooled in resistance by Levin von Embden and that he had learned the power of the printed word from Matthias Flacius. To his death (24 June 1570), his name remained closely linked with Flacius, through exiles and persecutions and trials: these two cast in the role of the arch-opponents of religious compromise--and of Philipp Melanchthon.[17] Since he made his home in the

---

[17] A century ago Adolf Brecher wrote: Eine umfassende Biographie, die, unparteiisch abgefasst, viel zur Aufhellung der Geschichte der Religionsstreitigkeiten nach Luther's Tod beitragen könnte, fehlt bis jetzt noch (p. 356), s.v. "Gallus, Nicolaus," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 8 (1878), 351-356. The observation remains true today. The role of Gallus in Magdeburg was finally clarified in recent years by Oliver Olson, "Theology of Revolution: Magdeburg, 1550-1551." For three

great Danube city during the 1550's, he was able to meet frequently with Nidbruck, whose travels for Maximilian brought him occasionally to Regensburg.

Nidbruck had requested an assessment from Gallus, and the request was met in Gallus' letter of 2 December 1553.[18] The *Catalogus*, crude as it was, was far along in its compilation and would be sent to Nidbruck and others before being published. The other work, which he characterized as the "perpetua Ecclesiae historia," was to be much like the *Catalogus* ("alteri non prorsus dissimile"). That is, the methods and intent were to be no different, so far as Gallus could see; only the extent and amount of materials surveyed were to be much more expansive. The history would show "where, when, and whose doctrine and church were the true ones and by whom they were defended or obscured." The principles of selection, the arrangement of the selected materials, and the explanatory narrative were all areas where Nidbruck could contribute substantially to the planning of the project, Gallus told him.

The next important letter by Flacius was undated.[19] He had

---

years after he returned to Regensburg, Gallus continued to be linked with Flacius in most Melanchthoniana; only after January 1557 did the Wittenbergers begin to think of their opposition to be "Illyricus and Wigand" (i.e., in connection with the Colloquy of Coswick, see the "Narratio" to Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 9 (1842), no. 6199, cols. 106-108).

[18] Documents I, 3. Only Nidbruck's copy has been located. There is a good chance that the original letter is in the Vienna collection and has been unintentionally overlooked. There is also a good chance that the author's draft lies somewhere in the Regensburg Stadtarchiv.

[19] The two brief letters, one dated, neither with a location, that Bibl inserted here ("Briefwechsel," no. 6, 17, 20-21; no. 7, 17, 21 [23 February 1554]) are responses by Flacius to specific requests for historical materials. The letter cited here is no. 8, 17, 21-24.

composed a new work entitled, "Consultatio de scriptione istius historiae,"[20] he said. And he added:

> Yes, I have written rather extensively a new plan for the writing of this history and for the benefits forthcoming from it, for the church of God and for the pious. I have written it so that I can more readily and clearly propose the whole organization and my intention to those princes whose support I plan to solicit, and so that I can convince them more readily to be kind and generous. I have not sent this plan to Your Highness now, because it renovates my organization rather satisfactorily in accord with my letters, as I said above, and because it was directed and prepared for promoting this work successfully by itself. I shall send it anyhow, if you ask for it.

Ask for it, indeed! Flacius went on to direct Nidbruck to deliver books and subventions, as he had promised. And he thereby provoked the most serious disagreement of the early history of the Magdeburg Centuries.

Nidbruck's reply was straightforward, responsive, and at times very sharp.[21] Writing from Augsburg on 13 and 14 March 1554, Nidbruck stated that the rather informal arrangements of the past would have to be transformed:

> The plan about the benefits forthcoming from your organization, etc., I would have wished to see, although I was mindful of your proposing something about that. For the future, do not send to me what you have prepared for printing up to now. You should just write what you expect of us. The booklets which you are compiling until now in my name--whether your own or someone else's--that is not the work that you should cram into your letters. But just compose some kind of index, whatever you are keeping for me until now. Then when a fascicule is finished, I shall send you the subvention and I shall indicate how they are to be sent. They can be intercepted and become a

---

[20] There are two extant holographs of the work: in the Vatican, Cod. pal. lat. 1567, ff. 37-45 and in Wolfenbüttel, Cod. guelf. 11.20 Aug. 2°, ff. 4-11. For more information, see the introduction to Documents IV, 3. See also Chapter IV at footnote 9.

[21] Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 9, 18, 201-205. The letter was clearly composed in two sittings or sessions, the dividing line being (in the printed version) page 204, line 21. Both Nidbruck and his secretary added many marginalia, and there were many important strikes in the letter --none of which is included in Bibl's edition of the material.

> scandalous problem anyhow. You should not send your letters with that address and form as you did today, unless by a secure agent.

Nidbruck's temper was sufficiently fired to confuse his grammar and to make even the imperial counselor lose the thread of his remarks at times. As he continued, he cooled. But he rekindled when he noted Flacius' suggestion that someone else, Praetorius, assume the major role, both to carry out the work and to keep accounts of the materials and monies:

> You are the only one who would know how to handle receipts and disbursements. These things are always handled very sloppily by the merchants. That is why I wrote to you very recently about carefully controlling what is done by a merchant.

Nidbruck did not offer to support Praetorius: he would put in a good word for him elsewhere. Flacius' request for help to publish Bohemian, that is, Hussite, materials presented a waste of time and money, said Nidbruck. Let the printers do it! And it also represented a waste of time and effort for Flacius. He asked then that some young scholar go to Gallus after Pentecost and Nidbruck would make arrangements for an adequate bookkeeping system. He wanted records for all books that already had been delivered from Bohemia; Nidbruck had copies of the bills of lading. He said that he wished Flacius would get out of the printing business, because of potential conflicts of interest. He gave orders as never before in their exchanges. And he got results.

A month later, Nidbruck wrote again: 14 April 1554.[22] He reported on his library visits and further efforts with other authors and collectors of Germany, France, and Italy. He promised not to forsake Praetorius and Flacius; because his own resources were limited, however, help for them would have to come from Augsburg. He requested precise information about

---

[22]Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 10, 18, 205-207.

materials in Magdeburg. And he announced that he would be in Regensburg in June to make arrangements for future bookkeeping. Flacius was asked to send full reports and accounts to Gallus before that.

Nidbruck's cold and fussy business talk brought Flacius to the decision that he would have to go to Regensburg personally, and he reported on that visit to Nidbruck on 7 June 1554.[23] He had waited in vain for Nidbruck's arrival. He had made arrangements with a young man to look after Nidbruck's affairs: Hermann Hamelmann (1526-1595). But this representative or agent for Nidbruck, a recent convert to the Lutheran cause (in 1553), did not return to Regensburg to work as Flacius promised. At any rate, the arrangements were sufficiently unclear or confused, that Hamelmann never reported for work to Gallus or to the Magdeburgers.[24]

On 28 June 1554,[25] Flacius wrote that his collecting activity in the area of Regensburg and Nürnberg were proceeding well.[26] He talked to Gallus about Nidbruck's accounts. He had looked forward to working

---

[23]Ibid., no. 11, 18, 208-209.

[24]The major early biographical work about Hamelmann by Johann Georg Leuckfeld, *Historia Hamelmani* (Quedlinburg und Aschersleben: E. G. Struntz, 1720), did not note this approach by Flacius and his companions to work on the Magdeburg Centuries. Hamelmann was, indeed, an accomplished historian of the early church and of the theology of the Fathers. Flacius had said that Hamelmann would report to Gallus, to work in Nidbruck's interest, in September. In August of 1554, however, Hamelmann was ordained and installed in the church of Bielefeld. A few bits of correspondence between Hamelmann and Beyer are extant; he spoke of Flacius and Wigand, but he never mentioned any proposed or real involvement with them on the Magdeburg Centuries or in any other bibliophilic activities.

[25]Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 12, 18, 209-211.

[26]The bibliophilic and bibliothecal journey was but one of several by both Flacius and Wagner, sometimes separately, sometimes together; for further detail, see Schulte, "Beiträge," pp. 94ff.

with the new man, but offered no further clarification. He sent an unidentified partial description of the work to Gallus and a fully detailed commonplace. If the so-called "locus descriptus" was intended to be a true commonplace, and if this "locus descriptus" was what is found today on the verso of Cod. vind. pal. 9737b, f. 24, then an important conclusion must be drawn, namely, that Flacius did not understand what a commonplace was. What he sent was a quotation of Aventinus on the life of Charlemagne, not what anyone trained in rhetorical invention would have dared call a "locus descriptus" in the technical sense. The editor of the text, Victor Bibl, added more confusion to the situation when he cited the manuscript evidence incorrectly.[27]

A letter by Nidbruck has been lost, probably dated late July 1554. The next word from him was written on 23 August 1554.[28] In recalling his own recent travels, visits, meetings, and correspondence, Nidbruck gave adequate evidence that he was involved in and/or knowledgeable about the major study centers and research ventures of the day, and the printers of that research. He was an extraordinary bibliophile, collector, and patron. He praised Flacius' *Catalogus testium veritatis* and indicated his preference that Oporinus be the publisher. The reader, presumably through the dedication, could be encouraged to collect materials and support further the

---

[27]Bibl, "Briefwechsel," 18, 213, footnote 3, cited "i 24[b]." This would be interpreted, consistently with his other abbreviations, Cod. vind. pal. 9737i, 24 verso. The footnote is wrong; the citation should be Cod. vind. pal. 9737b, 24 verso. Bibl did not give the text either, which was clearly part of a message by Flacius, who wrote below the citation from Aventinus: Partem aliquam descriptam operis misi ad G. quam tibi procul dubio communicabit. The "G" was, of course, Gallus.

[28]Ibid., no. 14, 18, 213-220. This is, no doubt, Nidbruck's most magnificent bibliophilic tour de force; here he showed he was aware of and informed about all major humanistic literary projects of the day, both in Germany and some well beyond the borders of the Holy Roman Empire.

study of ecclesiastical history. Then Nidbruck not only suggested two new co-workers for the Magdeburg Centuries, but he also took a bold initiative. He thought that Georg Cassander (1516-1566) and Cornelius Wouters (Vesalius, Gualthers) (1512-1578)[29] were exceptionally well qualified and prepared to work on the project. He had gone so far as to request Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich, one of the most promising financial sources for Flacius and the person to whom he had earlier sent his new "Consultatio," to support the two historians on the project with annual stipends. And Ottheinrich had already agreed, at least, tentatively.

Flacius was deeply shaken. On 5, 8, and 10 September and on 6 and 7 October 1554,[30] he wrote a series of short letters. He sounded anguished, troubled, and shattered when he wrote:

> Inasmuch as some other, more suitable person has been found, I do not want to impede the church's requirements. Therefore, for Christ's sake I ask that you either tell all or at least make your plan known in a brotherly fashion. I have supported two writers with my own resources; with them I want to arrange all the pertinent writings out of your and my different codices this month (5 September 1554).

He felt a sense of being alienated maliciously, just as Nidbruck had described his own feelings six months earlier. Further, Flacius complained:

---

[29] The incident is fully covered and well reported in the literature about Cassander; see, for example, Maria Elisabeth Nolte, *Georgius Cassander en zejn oecumenisch streven* (Nijmegen: Centrale Drukkerij, 1951), pp. 52-54. The epistolary evidence used by Nolte (and others) is that of the *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum tomi quinque*, collecti et digesti per Petrum Burmannum (Leidae: Samuel Luchtman, 1727), in the second volume, between the epistolaria of Justus Lipsius and Daniel Heinsius (provenance of the material not indicated by Burmann, but it was, in fact, part of the Heinsius collection). The many letters by and from Nidbruck, to be found in Cod. vind. pal. 9737, have not been brought into the discussion about Cassander as a bibliophile and historian. He and Wouters agreed essentially with much of Nidbruck's conclusions regarding the preferred development of the princely church.

[30] Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 15, 18, 221; no. 16, 18, 221-222; no. 17, 18, 223-224; no. 18, 18, 224-225; no. 19, 18, 226-227.

> On another matter, [Gallus] writes that the few things that were given to him which he sends to me indeed arrived, but not without tremendous grief [a shipping accident on the wharf of Regensburg]. For the work is inchoate, tasks are all around, support is unavailable; just like that we run out of materials. But if other better workers are found, this we would wish [Nidbruck] to know, just as soon as possible (8 September 1554).

Flacius was in a deep depression, discouraged, deprived. Anyone else who would have gotten involved should know the truth too. He snapped back:

> I pray you by God Jesus, that you either see to it that all those things you told me about get sent here right now, or just let me know if you have a more suitable person, so that I can quit getting involved in all these troubles and write to so many people (10 September 1554).

After reviewing what he could and should have done, what he had written and thought about in the late summer of 1554, he looked ahead.

> Perhaps if matters were looked after by a person of greater authority, something would work out. I have often wished to go bookhunting in Muscovy; well, since they have the Greek religion there, it is very likely that they also have some books there too (6 October 1554).

Just when he had expressed optimism that soon a finished product would come from the early efforts, Flacius offered to hand over the entire matter to Nidbruck and to whomever he would designate, even to defenders and apologists of the Pope.[31]

---

[31]Unfortunately, the work of Paula Bröder, *Georg Cassanders Vermittlungsversuche zwischen Protestanten und Katholiken* (Marburg: L. Schwann, 1931), did not take a genetic or developmental view of Cassander's thought. Rather, she drew from his writings as a common pool of information. Nevertheless, the conclusions about Cassander's mediating position between Protestants and Catholics was well taken. The practical applications of these irenic principles was much more the concern of John Patrick Dolan, *The Influence of Erasmus, Witzel, and Cassander in the Church Ordinances and Reform Proposals of the United Duchies of Cleves during the Middle Decades of the 16th Century*, Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 83 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1957). Cassander and Wouters both found themselves in a position much like that of Melanchthon and Major: those who attempted to identify a mediating position were thought to be harmonists and traitors. Insofar as they and Nidbruck shared in the hope for pacification through the triumph of the princely church, they presented a large contingent of irenic thought in the middle of the century.

Two years had passed since Flacius had made the first proposal that a monumental church history be composed. To summarize how far he and Nidbruck had come in this period, the following conclusions seem to be warranted.

First, the proprietary of the project was not at all clear. For four months after November 1552, there was no evidence of movement. When Flacius asserted himself without informing Nidbruck, the imperial counselor backed away from the project and led Flacius to assume that it was his alone to develop however he desired. Again, there was no progress for almost seventeen months. Then when Flacius issued promises of success in the near future and when Nidbruck asserted himself and tried to enlist the active participation of two well-trained historians, Flacius backed away from all responsibility and offered to turn over the matter to Nidbruck.[32] Despite earlier notes of optimism that progress had been made, by September 1554 Flacius could not present concrete results.

Second, the work would not begin in earnest until there was some agreement on methodology. What Nidbruck, in his draft letter to Flacius, called a "methodus" was little more than a skeletal three-part outline. What Flacius called a "locus descriptus" was a simple quotation, not a commonplace. Misunderstandings were bound to recur unless and until the

---

[32]The position of Scheible, *Die Entstehung*, p. 29, is simply too mild. The situation was far more serious than he allowed, especially in footnote 36, in reference to Nidbruck's finding better colleagues: Dieser wenn auch in Affekt geschriebene Satz zeigt doch, welch grossen Anteil am Zustandekommen der Magdeburger Zenturien Niedbruck auch nach des Flacius Meinung hat. Earlier, Scheible, "Der Plan," gave no evidence of a problem (p. 50-51). Joachim Massner, *Kirchliche Überlieferung*, pp. 75-76, made no mention of the point. The context of Flacius' words, the history of Nidbruck's involvement, and the style of their exchanges eliminate the possibility that Flacius' words were a rhetorical excess.

methodology and terminology for the project were agreed upon.

Third, concern about the history project was but a very small part in the first two years' exchanges between Nidbruck and Flacius. The attention paid to historiography paled to mere scraps of evidence, when compared with the page after page of information about collecting and authenticating ancient manuscripts, about codicology and bibliography and bibliophily, and especially about the signficance and location and condition of the major authors of antiquity in the libraries of their acquaintance. Surely, the project was occasionally on both men's minds; but one cannot say much more than that. When challenged, each of them was willing to hand the project over to the other.

The Collegium

New participants became involved in the months after September 1554. On Nidbruck's side, other contacts in his European network of scholars and bibliophiles were enlisted. On Flacius' side, a new group of Magdeburgers was formed who could assume responsibility for the finances and recordkeeping, for the authorizations and leadership of the project.

In the longest letter of the epistolarium of Nidbruck and Flacius, his second magnificent collection of bibliophilic and bibliographic observations, the imperial counselor excused himself for not meeting with Flacius, as appointed, in Regensburg.[33] He was busied, he said, but with matters that would please Flacius. He had some bad news:

> You write many things indeed about books in Italian libraries. I do not see how anyone who would set out to describe those authors could get paid for that work. For all those could hardly be described within five years and the costs would be infinite and unbearable for me. And yet they would help your project little or nothing.

By "describe," Nidbruck meant both to search out materials from lists of desiderata and to copy in full the parts previously designated as the most important. A better way would have to be found to specify the actual needs in greater detail. Nidbruck disallowed the notion of employing Lanquet's services again, and he made Flacius deal directly and exclusively with Gallus. There were problems earlier, but what he had promised to Flacius was now on the way. Nidbruck tried to cheer the Illyrian.

---

[33] Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 20, 18, 227-236. The date of 1 November 1554 is well attested. But the letter is in two parts: one part in Cod. vind. pal. 9737k, f. 282 and a second part in Cod. vind. pal. 9737i, f. 133. The contents of the two parts show, however, that they belong together or very close one after the other.

> Do you want to finish your work in one year? I praise your diligence, but matured too! It will seem revolutionary and repulsive to some people, and you cannot do it all alone. For you are not the Pope; only the Pope can do everything--and then some. You must have a selection of my books and I am making you the master of that selection. That is why you should go to Gallus, but at your convenience.

The value of the materials and the mutual responsibilities of the principals necessitated ways and means for securing and insuring the safety of books and manuscripts. Recall that Nidbruck was sending priceless, invaluable manuscript treasures to Magdeburg when the city was still under the Imperial Ban. The Brandenburg margraves were threatening to confiscate personal property and possessions of Magdeburg citizens to pay for the indemnities incurred by the young Archbishop Sigismund. While the Elector August and Margrave Joachim were committed to the eventual safety of Magdeburg traffic and freight, that day of safe roads and safe highways had not yet arrived. In these circumstances, arrangements needed to be made with public institutions involving civic magistracies, to minimize the extent of individual and private liability. The pivotal assistance came from Regensburg.

As he neared the end of this long letter, Nidbruck replied with the longest desiderata list and response that Flacius had seen, replying to seemingly endless inquiries by the Illyrian. And he assured Flacius that he was writing forthwith to Muscovy.

But Flacius did not receive this long letter for about six weeks. In his foul mood, he complained and chafed.[34] He said: send Cassander to Paris and Wouters to Rome. After all, Cassander would be able to take

---

[34]Ibid., no. 21, 18, 237; the letter is dated 1 November. Context indicates that the year is probably 1554.

care of his expenses with his rich Cardinal friend there. Make Lanquet go to Rome, or someone else.

Unbeknownst to Flacius, Nidbruck was doing what he could to get help in surveying and "describing" in Italian libraries. On 9 October 1554,[35] he had written to Georg Tanner, the young historian who was later to become one of the premier professors of the University of Vienna. Tanner, already in Italy accompanying and tutoring the sons of the imperial adviser Wolfgang Kremer, had been in contact with Bonifacius Amerbach, the famous Swiss historian of jurisprudence. The Amerbach/Tanner correspondence became known to Nidbruck sometime in the autumn of 1554. Through Georg Aigmayr, also of the imperial court and at that time resident in Padua, Nidbruck wrote to Tanner and said that he was aware of Tanner's literary journeys and bookhunting activities from the Amerbach letter.

> For I also find not a mean bit of pleasure in old books, but more in those which were more purely written by the ancients in the matter of religion, or which contain the history or succession of struggles in the church, not in the patchwork of lawyers--actually, so many commentaries are extant that a lifetime could not suffice either to collect or to read them with any pleasure at all. Moreover, I do not turn my back on my own profession and I do not ridicule the tried and true commentaries. But I believe this study is far more useful and meaningful to my conscience, because it is wont to show me firm consolations in these public-affairs responsibilities of mine. Therefore, you would do a gratifying thing, if you would write to me more often what/where in Italy you know of Greek and Latin books which concern dissensions, about the progress, state of of the church at a certain time before the time of Luther, so that I may know more fully from my own index where I have indicated certain chapters, although I have not been able to enumerate everything precisely. What you refer to about my study is not for anyone else to know, for others' judgments are hostile, especially now.

---

[35]Based on *Georg Tanners Briefe an Bonifacius und Basilius Amerbach, 1554-1567*: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Novellen-Editionen, hrsg. und erl. von Rudolf von Stintzing (Bonn: Carl Georgi, 1879), Victor Bibl wrote, "Nidbruck und Tanner: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien und zur Charakteristik König Maximilians II.," *Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte*, 85 (1898), 379-430, esp. pp. 387ff.

Nidbruck attached a list of books, which Aigmayr copied, and the letter and list were, in fact, delivered into Tanner's hand.

Tanner had access to a catalogue of the Biblioteca Marciana through a friend (spy?) of the imperial court, Laurentio Rocca, he told Nidbruck in a letter dated 1 March 1555.[36] "Almost everything that your catalogue contains as a desideratum" was in the Marciana index. So far as the purposes of Nidbruck's bibliophily were concerned, Tanner directed his attention and hopes to the intervention of kings and princes to solve religious issues.

> Now that my prince believes that the exercise of all these duties has been mandated by God, I shall thank God the eternal Father daily with my charges [the sons of Kremer], and we shall pray ceaselessly that he kindly limit and suppress the devil's raging which is by Christ's leave now active in his institutions, to furnish a refuge for the churches and for the best [humanistic] studies.

Thus Tanner would find himself quite at home in the company of a Nidbruck, sharing the new confidence that the pious prince and the princely church would cause religious strife to cease.

Nidbruck was more interested in having his index annotated from the catalogue than in gaining access to the materials, at least for the moment; later he could work, through imperial connections, in Venice, namely with Paolo Tiepolo, when he wanted or needed to get actual texts.[37] Then Nidbruck directed Tanner to purchase books for him and prescribed the desired procedures. As to the content of the materials:

> Not jurisprudence, not arts or humanities, but theology I ask--materials which are sacred and help me to understand the differentiation in rites or otherwise concern the dissensions of the churches, whether they be Greek or Latin.

So it was that Nidbruck began exchanging information with Tanner, through

---

[36] Ibid., pp. 390-391.

[37] Ibid., p. 392.

the Amerbach correspondence and the person of Georg Aigmayr. Nidbruck got detailed information from and about the contents of the Marciana, provided for purchases of books in Italy, and initiated important correspondence that would eventually redound to the further good of the Magdeburg Centuries.

On 15 December 1554,[38] Flacius informed Nidbruck that he had received the important letters of 28 July (lost), 23 August, and 1 November. Flacius refused to be put off by Nidbruck, however: after all, Lanquet could go to Italy at a cost of only 100 ducats per year! Flacius had no further word about Ottheinrich; Johann Baptist Heintzel, the humanist physician of Augsburg, did not answer letters; Achilles Pirmin Gassar, Heintzel's colleague in Augsburg, was contacted with hopeful prospects of support. Flacius tried to frustrate once again every attempt to engage Cassander and Wouters in the church history project. Given all the past problems of negotiation for the security, lading, shipping, and delivering of materials, as well as the complications of long-term use and legal liabilities, Flacius made a concrete proposal.

> That is why, in my judgment, it would have been most convenient and workable also by my friend [Nidbruck] in every way, that he be satisfied with the oathbond of our collegiolum or quinquevirate. We all swore together and individually for each. Now I have joined these four to myself, very friendly also to Gallus, well known, and completely trustworthy, not so that they do the work, as that they oversee and mutually discuss everything and know all--what has been given, what has been received--lest someone be suspected of something with only one person. You certainly know what kind of men we are; even though one or another of us might die or not desire to stand by his oath, nevertheless the other four will dominate who can force, or be forced, to require restitution. These are the four others: Johann Wigand, master, Superintendent; D. D. Martin Copus; Master Gottschalk Praetorius, rector of our school; and Matthaeus Judex. Our Gallus can present his own testimony for us all.

---

[38] Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 24, 19, 97-102.

This group, with a few changes, served for over five years as the collegium of the Magdeburg Centuries, bound to each other and to the city governments of Regensburg and Magdeburg by sacred oath.

On the same day (15 December 1554), the quinquevirate sent a letter to Gallus, who in turn sent it to Nidbruck after making a copy for his own files.[39] The most important requirement that they sought to satisfy for the moment concerned the guarantees for transferring rare materials from Regensburg--highest point of regular navigation on the Danube--to Magdeburg, with all legal liabilities clarified and registered.

> We understand that there are certain good men who wish to be helpful in providing books for us, useful for our project, as you also know, if our Council provides for security to your Council, that they see to it that these books are returned in the end—an arrangement that really seems to us to be neither one-sided nor unfair.

Rather than allow for the assumption of personal liability for these rare books and manuscripts, the two sides--the lenders and the borrowers--agreed that a collegium be held responsible under surety and guidance by the City Council of Regensburg and the City Council of Magdeburg. Clearly it was Gallus who had taken care of representing the case of the Magdeburgers "to those good men." The characterization of the arrangements by the quinquevirate, however, seemed to go beyond Flacius' own words to Nidbruck. Where Flacius had said that they would not be doing any of the actual work, the quinquevirate said: We five who subscribe with our own hands and who as a collegium take over this project and work force....shall take on the responsibility...." The collegium was to be understood as a group ("societas," "congregatio") that would assume administrative responsibilities and provide leadership and guidance: it was a fictional person, what would be

---

[39] Ibid., no. 25, 19, 103-104.

called today a corporation. The subscribers of the document were: Johann Wigand, Martin Copus, Matthaeus Judex, Gottschalk Praetorius, and "the friend."[40] The representative of the Magdeburg City Council was Ebeling Alemann, who later became a full member of the collegium. The representative of the Regensburg City Council was Gallus' close friend, Johann Hiltner. Nowhere in the documents that were exchanged between the parties, Regensburgers and Magdeburgers, did the name Maximilian or Nidbruck appear. This technique satisfied the requirement for guarantees without revealing the source of the materials. But where and how did this group, the collegium, form?

In his "Narratio actionum et certaminum,"[41] Flacius spoke of the circle that persuaded him to reside in Magdeburg: Johann Aepinus, Joachim Westphal, and especially Erasmus Alber and Stephan Tucher. He did not have other people that he could name who were especially close to his heart and hearth. Magdeburg was a base of operations for the Illyrian, not a true adoptive home town. His house and his home address were in Magdeburg, of course, but he spent long periods of time traveling. He did not become involved deeply in city politics after the siege (1552), or with the lives and destinies of the Magdeburgers. He did not leave behind or recall later a body of close friends, relations, or associates.

In his autobiography,[42] Wigand did not mention a circle of close

---

[40]Bibl said that Flacius' name does not appear on the document (ibid., 19, 104, footnote 1); that is incorrect. Flacius' name appears on the verso.

[41]Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus haereticorum*, XIII, 815.

[42]"Leben," pp. 607-608.

friends and associates in Magdeburg either. His brother-in-law, Schlüsselburg, inserted a paragraph at the end of the narrative about Wigand's seven-year term as Superintendent of Magdeburg.[43] He noted specifically the encouragement and support of the knights and singled out the "principal Maecenates and patrons," Andreas Meiendorff von Ummendorff and Joachim von Alversleben.[44]

Martin Copus, Matthaeus Judex, Gottschalk Praetorius, and Ebeling Alemann did have a connection, and that relationship among them stemmed from their earlier association with Levin von Embden: Judex was a household tutor and manager; Martin Copus was related to the Embden family by marriage and when Embden died, took Judex into his own household.[45] There was also a close relationship of Judex with Ebeling Alemann, who served with Copus as a member of the Magdeburg City Council; with Franz Pfeil, who succeeded Embden as Stadtsyndicus; and with Gottschalk Praetorius, who was Judex' colleague in the Magdeburg gymnasium.[46] Judex' biographer also noted the eleven-year collaboration with Wigand by Judex as συμμύστης, σύνεργος, σύμμαχος, συνοδοιπόρος, καὶ συμβουλος συμφονέσαντος. At a third level of association, Judex' biographer named Flacius, Simon Musaeus,

---

[43] *Oratio,* pp. 19-20.

[44] Century VI was dedicated to these two men (among others); see also the dedication by Wigand of *Confessio, oder Bekandtniss reiner Lehre* (Erffurt: 1582).

[45] Schoppe, *Oratio,* p. m7v.

[46] When Judex was exiled from Magdeburg, during his short stay after he had been driven out of Jena in 1562, both Berndt Lohse and Franz Pfeil were responsible for Judex' particular legal predicament. Perhaps because of the earlier familial relations, the biographer did not mention Pfeil's failure to help, perhaps also because of both earlier warm companionship and their later mutual regrets. The relationship between Judex and Praetorius went well beyond the classroom and occasional meal: Praetorius wrote and published verses on the occasion of Judex' marriage.

Tilemann Heshusius, Basilius Faber, and Johann König (Rex). Judex was a true adoptive son of Magdeburg, with roots deep in the political and intellectual life of the city, forever mixed up in the politics of the City Council. The collegium was composed of long-term familial and table companions of Judex, who himself served as Deacon in St. Ulrich's church for the pastor, Johann Wigand. And Flacius was a parishioner.

The Bibliophilic Network

In the years 1555 and 1556, Flacius either carried on an active correspondence with the following persons, or indicated in correspondence with others that he was engaged in bibliothecal or bibliophilic activities with them:

Augsburg	Johann Baptist Heintzel
	Achilles Pirmin Gassar
	Hieronymus Wolf
Basel	Herwagen's heirs
	Peter Perna (of Lucca)
	Johann Oporinus
	Wolfgang Wissenburg
Bavaria	Albert Reiffenstein
Bomberg	Nicolaus Stoppius
Braunschweig	Martin Chemnitz
	Joachim Mörlin
Bremen	Alexander Bruchsalius
Cologne	Johann Hecht
	"Gymnicus"
Coswick	Martin Wolff
Eisleben	Erasmus Sarcerius
Erfurt	Hieronymus Henning
	Matthaeus Ratzeburg
Frankfurt a.M.	Hartmann Beyer
	Peter Braubach (Hanau)
	Cramer
	Fichard
	Adolf Glauburg
	Hieronymus Glauburg
	Ridesel
	Matthias Ritter
	Schwartzkopf

	Adolf von Spannheim
	Stock
	Andreas Stoltzius
Gotha	Johann Cuno
	Pancratius Sussebach
Hamburg	Paul von Eitzen
	Conrad Gerlach
	Joachim Westphal
Joachimsthal	Johann Mathesius
Jülich	Lythodius
Königsberg	Christian Jonas
Kronstadt	Valentin Wagner
Leipzig	Alexander Alesius
	Georg Coelestinus
	Christopher Neumeyer
	Valentin Paceus
	Johannes Recait
Lüneburg	Friedrich Henninges
	Antonius Wippermann
Mansfeld	Johann Bohemus
	Michael Coelius
	Erasmus Sarcerius
	Cyriacus Spangenberg
Marburg	Andreas Hyperius
	Laurentius Zadesius
Naumburg	Johannes Steinhof
Nürnberg	Hieronymus Besoldt
	Georg Romanus
	Bartholomaeus Schober
	Wolfgang Waldner
Palatinate	Ottheinrich
	Erasmus von Minckwitz
Regensburg	Nicolaus Gallus
	Johann Hiltner

Strassburg	Valentin Erythraeus
Schwerin	Joachim Nolscophagius
Stargard	Georg Schermerus (Schomer)
Vienna	Caspar von Nidbruck Georg Tanner
Weimar	Johann Aurifaber
Wittenberg	Sebastian Theodoricus Johannes Luft Caspar Pfreund "Chilian," or "χ"

This is but a very brief checklist, derived chiefly from correspondence in Cod. guelf. 361 Novi and 20 Novi. Beyond these people, many of whom he also visited from time to time, were scores of correspondents outside of Germany: in England, France, Italy, Denmark, and "the East." In the sixteen months after January 1555, Flacius removed himself farther and farther from the actual work of composing an ecclesiastical history. On the one hand, his interests in Anti-Interim resistance almost consumed him, as he worked toward an Evangelical open synod and eventually participated in the Colloquy of Coswick (January 1557). And on the other hand, his bibliophilic interests were clearly a higher priority than history writing, as even a surface examination of the next group of letters by him shows. In these months, Flacius worked with Marx Wagner to prepare for and take part in collecting journeys, while Wagner added almost daily to the *Catalogus testium veritatis*. Meanwhile, Nidbruck expanded his own collecting activities from Constantinople to Scotland, from Scandinavia to Sicily. In spring 1555, the first technically conceived methodology was issued, to which Nidbruck at first refused to give comment or critique, although he was hard pressed to do so.

Six months after his first plan for a face-to-face discussion, Nidbruck repeated the request. In a letter of 1 January 1555,[47] Nidbruck answered Flacius' anguished letters of September and October 1554. He spoke of his recent and future journeys, reviewed his own accomplishments, and said to Flacius:

> And it is totally necessary that we meet and confer exactly about these matters. Once we have consulted, then the hand will move ever more firmly to that history work.

This letter by Nidbruck crossed the 10 January 1555 letter by Flacius,[48] who also boasted of his successful collecting and his many new and old contacts. Flacius allowed that Cassander and Wouters might have some role in the future, perhaps doing excerpts for the Magdeburg Centuries, i.e., not writing the narrative parts.[49] Flacius had become progressively more stubborn on this issue and would not concede a single point to Nidbruck.

From January 1555, however, Nidbruck's letters to Flacius indicate a further deterioration in their relationship. Very clearly, the imperial counselor was worried about the security of messages. Despite warnings, Flacius failed to exercise even a modicum of caution. There is a note of utter exasperation in Nidbruck's remarks of 20 March 1555.[50]

> For the past, I did not want you to transmit your letters to me through the Bohemian [Mathesius?] or any others except through Gallus, with no other address than φίλος. [Flacius' 10 January 1555 letter (no. 27) addressed Nidbruck by name, via Heintzel in Augsburg.] And although in my earlier letters--28 July, 23 August,

---

[47] Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 27, 19, 107-110.

[48] Ibid., no. 28, 19, 110.

[49] Ibid., 20, 109, Bibl noted that Nidbruck wrote to Cassander on 20 March 1555 and offered him and Wouters the job of writing a church history with the Magdeburgers (Cod. vind. pal. 9737i, f. 29v).

[50] Ibid., no. 29, 20, 83-88.

> 1 November, and 1 January--I wrote to you at length about all these very same things about which you ask to be informed again; nevertheless I shall repeat and answer in order all your letters--a practice I would also have you follow. 1...2...3...4...5...6...7...8...9...10....[51]

Further, Flacius' delays in returning materials to Nidbruck caused serious problems for the Austrian, well beyond his general and personal convenience:

> It is necessary that you return the Hincmar of Rheims manuscript as soon as possible--and to think that I stopped Gallus from just sending it back on his own! You have no idea how put out and angry and dangerous that man is from whom I got it, that he took precaution to have even a bishop [Gallus, the Superintendent?] intermediate the transaction for me.

"That man" was none other than Ulrich Fugger.[52]

The result of the delays was that procedures for borrowing, using and returning manuscripts were tightened severely, with the requirement that the City Council of Regensburg and the City Council of Magdeburg sign for each shipment and that the collegium also sign all consignments and agreements, with all lading described by unit of material being borrowed or returned.[53]

---

[51]Flacius finally got the message. In the first letter after this one by Nidbruck, no. 31, 4 April 1555, he used a new format: the handwriting was neater, all inquiries and messages were numbered. He used that fine format but once; thereafter he reverted to his usual technique of almost aimless rambling.

[52]Paul Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fugger Bibliotheken* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1956-1960), I, 148. The manuscript that had been used by Flacius was incorporated into the volume of the Vatican, Cod. vat. pal. lat. 296. The assessment by Nidbruck--that Ulrich Fugger could be a very dangerous man when crossed--was surely well ~~taken~~.

[53]Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 33, 20, 97-98. The search for some of these lists ought to be continued. A copy was no doubt filed in the Magdeburg Stadtarchiv, which was unfortunately burned in the siege of 1631. A copy was also filed in the official records of the city of Regensburg. These lists with signatures and seals have not been located.

Further evidence of the cooling between the two collectors can be shown in Nidbruck's thought that the arrangements for collecting that had been made about Bohemia [Hussites?] and in Bohemia (through Johann Mathesius, pastor in Joachimsthal) and in Transylvania (through Valentin Wagner, pastor in Kronstadt) were a waste of time.[54] Although he remained willing to find a working arrangement with Flacius, Nidbruck wanted from his own side to take over the bibliophilic activity, and from Flacius' side that the Illyrian get on with the job of writing the ecclesiastical history.[55] Other intermediaries were cut off, presumably forcing Flacius to stay in or near Magdeburg in order to communicate regularly and reliably

---

[54]Nidbruck did not inform Flacius that he was in correspondence himself with Mathesius at this very time. The correspondence was edited by Georg Loesche, *Johann Mathesius*: Ein Lebens= und Sitten=Bild aus der Reformationszeit (Gotha: 1895; repr., Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1971). The extant exchange was all to be found in Cod. vind. pal. 9737i and k.

The urge or compulsion to collect and publish Hussite material underlay Flacius' interests in Bohemian collecting for a long time. Wenzel Flajshans and Marie Kominkova (*Mag. Joannis Hus Super IV. Sententiarum*, Opera omnia, 2 [Prag: Jos. R. Vilimek, 1904?], p. XII), correctly connected Nidbruck's borrowing of Hus' manuscripts from the Carolina as a decisive moment for the Nürnberg edition of Hus' works by Johann von Berg; but Nidbruck gave no indication that he was interested in the project as such. He secured the manuscripts and told Flacius to make an arrangement with a printer to get them published--and that would be enough! That is, he insisted that Flacius not preface such works with his strongly worded introductions, his point well taken in the instance of the Hus edition. *Ioannis Hus, et Hieronymi Pragensis confessorum Christi Historia et monumenta....* (Norimbergae: Joannes Montanus & Ulricus Neuber, 1558), in two handsome folio volumes, appeared with only a "Typographus lectori salutem dicit" (pp. a2r-v). Scholars have not connected the 1558 edition by von Berg with Flacius; the Nidbruck letter of 26 July 1555 makes that connection.

[55]After July 1555, Nidbruck attempted to enlist others in delivering the message that Flacius work on the ecclesiastical history, among them: from Basel, Oporinus and Wissenburg; from Nürnberg, von Berg; and from Magdeburg, Lotze. The attempt failed. Both encouragements, of January and July 1555, failed.

with Nidbruck. As a clincher, in response to Flacius' remarks that he had collecting to do "in the East" and in Muscovy, Nidbruck offered to use the imperial diplomatic channels as far distant as Constantinople and Muscovy, where he already was exchanging correspondence--all this to keep Flacius from claiming that remote sources were both necessary for the ecclesiastical history and findable only by himself.

In this context, in March 1555, Nidbruck sought again a face-to-face clarification and assessment of the situation.

> I cannot set a firm date; when the Reichstag is ended, I hope to come there where Gallus is [Regensburg]. It would be highly advisable if you would come here also. But I cannot predict when this session will end, perhaps around Pentecost.[56]

When Nidbruck wrote again, on 1 April 1555,[57] he wanted to make arrangements to meet Flacius, this time in Frankfurt. He encouraged Flacius to solicit support in the Frankfurt City Council, where there were rich patrons; at the same time, he withheld any notion that further support would be forthcoming from Vienna or from sources inspired by himself or the imperial court. And he added that the arrangements of the collegium for the security of materials seemed to be satisfactory.

Flacius had seen Lanquet at the great wedding feast of Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg in February.[58] He awaited Lanquet's return.

> When I departed from home, I left for him letters for Heintzel and for you; I also left orders, or an instruction, as they call it in

---

[56]Ibid., no. 29, 20, 83-88. [57]Ibid., no. 30, 20, 88-90.

[58]Ibid., no. 31, 20, 91-94, dated 4 April 1555. At that wedding feast, Flacius boasted that he had powerful allies and friends in very high places, as high as the imperial court in Vienna. Nidbruck's lonely and dangerous position as an active, though secret, partisan of the Evangelicals was exposed. At the feast, imperial courtiers were present from Brussels. And Lanquet surely took a special report to Nidbruck.

> court, for the Superintendent [Wigand] and for Gottschalk [Praetorius] about a plan for dealing with him, and I hope that it will work out there in short order.

Flacius continued to travel very extensively and the collegium was, meanwhile, functioning as the responsible agency for the history project. The tensions between supporters (Interimists, Adiaphorists) and resisters (Anti-Interimists, Gnesio-Lutherans) of the Interim was reaching a breaking point. The resisters admitted that conditions in general had improved, but that the results of the Interim's earlier imposition had not been undone. Lanquet's close association with Melanchthon might have prompted Flacius to recommend that the Burgundian was not the right person for further collaboration on bibliophilic projects. Yet shortly after that, on 1 July 1555, Flacius announced that Lanquet had been retained and instructed and sent on his way.[59]

In order to reach an understanding about the composition of the "perpetual church history," it did Nidbruck little good to plan for meeting with Flacius, if the collegium had really taken charge. That meeting with the collegium finally did take place on 19/20 June 1556. But before that, there was almost a year of bitter complaints and sharply worded directives by Nidbruck. On 26 July 1555,[60] but even more strongly on 27 September 1555,[61] Nidbruck complained bitterly. Flacius had been publishing ancient texts whose unique manuscripts were known by collectors to be in the hands of the Viennese court, in the Ulrich Fugger library, or among the "Codices palatinae" of Ottheinrich in the Palatinate. The

---

[59] Ibid., no. 32, 20, 94-95.

[60] Ibid., no. 33, 20, 101.

[61] Ibid., no. 35, 20, 105.

vituperative, contentious prefaces to these publications of historical records and sources were having the opposite of their desired effect.[62] Patrons were peeved; potential patrons turned aside. Meanwhile, Nidbruck's connection with the materials themselves was too well known among bibliophiles; the counselor of the King of Bohemia, Archduke of Austria, had access to too many unique treasures. When he did mention what he was willing to contribute to the effort to produce a church history, Nidbruck did not divulge any substantial information to Flacius at all, but directed him to learn anything new from Wigand's recent correspondence directly with Nidbruck.[63]

---

[62]Karl Schottenloher, *Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich und das Buch*: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der evangelischen Publizistik, Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 50/51 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1927), pp. 45-47, and in annotations to the "Catalogus librorum ad scriptionem historiae necessariorum" (pp. 157-166), did not connect Nidbruck's complaint with specific titles. Interesting connections between Fugger manuscripts and Flacius imprints were made both by Paul Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fugger Bibliotheken*, I, 145-149, 174--also without reference to Nidbruck's warnings--and by Andreas Burckhardt, *Johannes Basilius Herold*: Kaiser und Reich im protestantischen Schrifttum des Basler Buchdruckers um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts, Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 104 (Basel und Stuttgart: Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1967), pp. 19-33.

At about this same time, Hermann Hamelmann, who had almost been recruited earlier to work on the ecclesiastical history project, wrote three letters to Hartmann Beyer (Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Beyer Briefsammlung, no. 95 [f. 111]; 15 June 1555, no. 96 [f. 112]; 31 August 1555, no. 97 [f. 113]), all autographs addressed to Hartmann Beyer and Matthias Ritter, Beyer's colleague. Hamelmann noted that he had agreed with Flacius to have a work published on the early church, but he confided in Beyer that he did not want Flacius to publish the work, now that he had become a controversial figure. Hamelmann was hoping to woo the Westphalian bishops, had dedicated the book to them, and did not want to become "suspicious" from the start if the work were associated with the Magdeburgers. On the other hand, in the third letter, he complained that he had sent a book to Wigand and Judex six months previously about purgatory, but that he had not received an answer from them. Thus it was not with Magdeburgers in general that Hamelmann feared association, but with Flacius.

[63]Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 37, 20, 110.

Flacius had not taken up the ecclesio-political situation with Nidbruck previously in their correspondence. Tensions had reached the point in the north, however, that required some clarification. And Flacius felt compelled to speak forthrightly about it to Nidbruck.[64]

> Now, however, in just a few words, but with my whole heart and mind, I commend to you these people [the Regensburg resistance]. They are oppressed by very corrupted men so grievously that one can rightly pity their enemies. They are especially deserving and not just by all the pious people. Indeed, if we ought to be prepared to lay down our lives for all our brothers, how much more for those who earlier risked their lives for us. There is nothing to fear. They are good men and you can trust them. One is the brother-in-law of Gallus. I cannot fail them when they call upon me, as I have done there recently, to give them letters if perchance I have some suitable person. That is why I shall appreciate your helping however and wherever you can with a plan, a recommendation, and your authority.

Flacius threatened Nidbruck's safety within the imperial court in Vienna. And Nidbruck saw the dangers and withdrew progressively farther and faster.

On 26 July 1555, Nidbruck announced that Lanquet would not be going on any planned journeys, but would return to Wittenberg for the winter.[65] After Flacius had sent a copy of the "Methodus historiae"[66] on 9 September 1555,[67] Nidbruck did not respond to this proposal of the centuriators. Finally, after four months, on 1 January 1556,[68] it was Flacius' turn to complain to Nidbruck.

> I am grieved that I do not receive his [Nidbruck's] opinion about the "Methodus scriptionis," nor any other letters he has had many opportunities to write. We surely wish to hear both him and other experienced opinion in due time. And we do not want to appear to taste only a little opinion; we know that both he and others can give much good advice.

---

[64] Ibid., no. 32, 20, 94-95. [65] Ibid., no. 33, 20, 95-101.

[66] Documents IV, 3.

[67] Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 34, 20, 101-105.

Materials flowed to Magdeburg adequately, but there were further severe financial strains.

In summing up the situation by early 1556, four conclusions can be posited.

First, the focus of the effort to write a church history had been changing so that by the beginning of 1556 there was a certain distribution of responsibility. The security of materials was insured by a representative from the Regensburg City Council (Johannes Hiltner) and from the Magdeburg City Council (Ebeling Alemann).[69] The technical correspondence about their work, from then on, was to be carried out by Wigand, representing the collegium, concerning such matters as purpose, benefits, methods, precedures.

Second, Flacius was stepping aside in late winter and early spring of 1556 for others to assume the leadership and day-to-day responsibilities, so that there could be no question as to editorial roles. The most explicit statement to that effect by Flacius was also a very public

---

[68]Ibid., no. 36, 20; 106-108.

[69]In his review of the work of Bibl and Schaumkell (*Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien* [Ludwigslust: Hinstorff, 1898]), Theodor Gottlieb of the University of Vienna (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 164 [1902], 444-465) challenged the notion that books for the centuriators had come from the library of Maximilian II with the owner's knowledge and consent. One counterargument to Gottlieb's position that has not appeared in print is the point that the nature of such elaborate security precautions for insuring the materials should have been a signal. When Nidbruck, through Lanquet, transferred a few personal copies of important books, there were no such elaborate bills of lading, signatures and seals of imperial free cities. Until now, the letter by Maximilian II to the centuriators has not been noted, conclusive evidence that it is (Documents I, 14). Quite apart from that letter, however, one might suspect that the precautions corresponded not only to the rarity of the materials, but to the station of the owner. That much material simply could not have been secreted in and out of a true collector's library.

statement: in the dedication to Johann Wilhelm and Johann Friedrich of Ducal Saxony (Thuringia) in the first edition of the *Catalogus testium veritatis*, published by Johann Oporinus of Basel, with a colophon dated March 1556. The letter in the published version is not dated; a manuscript copy of the letter has not been located. Therefore, the date of the letter is, at the earliest, late autumn 1555. In it Flacius said:

> Of these [authors of the ecclesiastical history] I can lead or accomplish nothing by myself. Nevertheless, I encourage those who can, just as I have been doing myself until now. And I shall give to a happy Christ that work, so that if those who can and ought really will help the effort, something quite ordinary ("aliquid mediocre") might come of it all, with the help of God (p. a7r).

The self-deprecating last phrase was a common rhetorical understatement.

Third, the finances of Flacius' project were being distributed and handled in many places. In Augsburg, Heintzel was holding money in accounts for the history project.[70] In Magdeburg, Copus was controlling accounts and making regular reports to the collegium.[71] In Regensburg, Gallus and Hiltner handled both purchases and borrowings, and they made reports to Flacius.[72] In Frankfurt, first Harmann Beyer, then other

---

[70] Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 33, 20, 96-97 (26 July 1555). See also the letters by Heintzel to Flacius: Cod. guelf. 64.1 Helmst. 2°, ff. 70r-v (2 March 1553); ff. 71r-v (9 June 1553); ff. 72r-v (15 July 1553); ff. 73r-v (10 November 1553); and in Cod. guelf. 361 Novi, ff. 78r-v (30 January 1556); ff. 79r-80v (3 March 1556); ff. 81r-v (12 September 1556); ff. 82r-v (23 January 1557); ff. 83r-v (10 May 1557); ff. 84r-v (24 February 1557); ff. 85r-v (20 November 1558). Letters from the years 1554 and 1555 are probably also to be found in the Herzog August Bibliothek and will, no doubt, be noted as the collection is catalogued further.

[71] The later reference in Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 39, 20, 113 (18 February 1557) is the only published document. The correspondence in the Regensburg Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 15, has many references to Copus' accounting and reporting.

[72] On 10 November 1556, Gallus reported that Georg von Berckheim had donated 100 florins, to be held in the Regensburg accounts. (Cod. guelf. 361 Novi, f. 46v, lines 14 to 17). Financial jottings are also to be found at f. 33r, lines 23-31 and f. 35v, lines 30 to 42.

members of the ministerium, and finally Conrad Agrius--a succession of agents was empowered to make purchases and payments through accounts held by Johann Oporinus.[73] In addition, many businessmen and printers with whom Flacius did his trading often held sizable accounts for him in their treasuries in Leipzig, Nürnberg, and Basel.[74]

Fourth, the activities of Flacius in the world of books and manuscripts was no avocation. It was big business. Vast quantities of printed materials were being moved through the convenience of the book fairs in Leipzig and Frankfurt. For years, Flacius and Gallus dealt with stocks of imprints that amounted to hundreds of copies-- occasionally even five hundreds--each with their equivalent values in gilders or florins in summary lists or inventories.[75] With his contacts in Leipzig, Flacius also dealt with large quantities of printed books, bound and unbound, in a distributorship of Rhineland printers' bookstocks. Johann von Berg in Nürnberg was also an agent for Flacius' distributorship. In 1556, when Flacius was making important decisions about his own personal future, when he was encouraged to put aside or curtail his bibliophilic and bibliopolic activities, he made no move to become a sedentary scholar.

---

[73]The letters to Beyer by Flacius contain many examples. For a listing of this correspondence, see the index at the end of Documents II.

[74]Christopher Neumeyer (Leipzig), Johann von Berg (Nürnberg), and Johann Oporinus (Basel) held substantial balances in their accounts. Gallus once reported that 100 florins from Austria was being deposited in an account with Neumeyer in Leipzig (Cod. guelf. 361 Novi, f. 40r, line 26, dated 24 June 1556).

[75]The materials in Cod. guelf. 361 Novi do not contain as much of these inventories as one finds in the Regensburg Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I. In the Regensburg papers, even the smaller inventories on scraps of paper were saved; they are not dated and cannot be used for specific moments, but they help to prove an established practice.

He continued to maintain a vast network of sales agents and distributorships. And he apparently preferred this work to that of writing and organizing literary projects. By 1556 he had capitalized a substantial distributorship at a time when such relationships usually operated on the basis of consignment, not retailing; Flacius was not paid until the materials were sold. At the same time, he was publishing many of his own works, materials he gathered or wrote. But the materials that were ~~so published contained large quantities of text that~~ Flacius did not write, whether contemporary polemic or ancient texts. Flacius was himself no dilettante; he was an expert in paleography, codicology, and bibliography. When, after his death, his library was made available to the world of scholarship, first in Helmstedt, later in Wolfenbüttel, it was found that some of the finest European manuscript treasures were his. Flacius was not a deficient church historian; he was a brilliant bibliophile and a successful businessman.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

In order that the work on the composition of the ecclesiastical history could proceed, the collegium had to consent to the content and implementation of a methodology, or else the project would continue to be concerned chiefly with collecting materials and copying documents, with no publishable results. At the same time that the methodology was being devised, the conflicts between the Adiaphorists and Gnesio-Lutherans were reaching white heat. The methodological issues began to be settled in February and March 1556. The negotiations between the resisting Magdeburgers and their fellow Anti-Interimists also began at this same time and moved propitiously into the summer of 1556, so that by January 1557 they could present together a united front against the faculty of the University of Wittenberg, specifically against Philipp Melanchthon and Georg Major. These two important sets of deliberations and negotiations make the spring of 1556 a pivotal time for both the Magdeburg Centuries and the Adiaphoristic controversy.

The preparation for a methodology and the final resolution of the main conflicts can be traced from the beginning (before November 1552) to the spring of 1556. While the excerpting of historical texts began much earlier and while copy books could be filled with quotations, a truly workable organization for the "perpetual church history" eluded Flacius. He did manage to turn out a marvelous book of quotations: his

Catalogus testium veritatis.

It was the collegium, however, in a series of meetings from February through April of 1556, that had to resolve the issues. There are three major documents around which a description of the collegium's procedure is cast. The three documents are: (1) the "Scheda," (2) the "Consultatio," and (3) the "Methodus" in its several variations with accompanying documents. Furthermore, the methodology of the Magdeburg Centuries needs to be viewed in contrast with the contemporaneous revision of the Carion chronicle by Philip Melanchthon, in the second half of Chapter VI.

The "Scheda"[1]

The major themes of Flacius' first concept for a monumental church history remained basically unchanged through the years. They were three in number. First, the progressive decline of the church. Second, its counterpart, the concurrent renewal of the church. And third, the dialectic of the first two, namely, the seven thousand who have always hated Antichrist and his abominations and purely embraced Christ and his piety. These themes stand out all the more sharply when contrasted to Melanchthon's historiography as expressed in the two prefaces (1558, 1560) to the Carion chronicle.[2]

In 1558, Melanchthon's was a history of piety (the faithful who have always cried out to God and were saved), a history of pious exemplars for Christian life, a history of the resolution of theological conflict in consensus, a history of the expansion of papal powers into secular realms, a

---

[1]For comment on text and bibliography, see Documents IV, 1; for an English translation, see below, Chapter I, at footnote 3.

[2]Philip Melanchthon, *Opera*, Corpus Reformatorum, IX, 531-538; 1075-1077. The historiographical parts are at pp. 535-537 and 1075-1077.

history of the Muslims whom he called the heirs of the Arians, a history of the patriarchal East versus the pontifical West.

In 1560, Melanchthon's was a history that devalued post-Augustan (sic, for post-Augustinian?) European Christian writers with their "meat-market" theologies and heretical madness, a history that detected that the medieval period had no positive values as such, a history to be learned in the opinions of the first and purer church.

The differentiation between the two views of the church and of the church's history could hardly be more diametric.

Flacius' original plan was to organize and arrange the historic sources in six categories. First, the most ancient (pre-Gregorian) church orders (i.e., liturgies). Second, the inquisitions and trials against the pious. Third, the writings of the pious against Antichrist. Fourth, the writings of the papists against the right-thinking. Fifth, the chronicles and annals as sources for localized religious strife. And sixth, oral history.

The starting point, the ancient church orders, was most fascinating, not because it was a historiographical novelty and not because of any ideology of "lex orandi lex credendi," but because the priority of this concern fixed the entire plan firmly within the Interim struggle, as Harnack observed. The preacher at the Diet of Augsburg of 1548, Michael Helding, had published his fifteen sermons on the Mass in 1549.[3] At this particular Reichstag, the Emperor had mandated the Interim of which Helding was one of the three authors. Presumably, those who attended and heard Helding's ser-

[3] *Von der hailigisten Messe: fünffzehen Predige, zu Augspurg aff dem Reichstag/ im Jar M. D. XLVIII. gepredigt....* Ingolstadt: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1549). Other sermons than those of the Reichstag were appended.

mons could fit them well within the broader context of the controversies surrounding the Mass within the specific conditions of the Interim. Flacius certainly made the connection. And he responded to Helding in two tracts,[4] his ire unconcealed.

> The learned rightly say, the truth is also attested by the fact that histories are a light of their times. From Platina and other writers, it is sufficiently apparent that one Pope after another always added different ceremonies and rites to those that existed earlier, that consequently the greater part of church rite and law of papal idolatry and abuse are clear, human invention, not especially old. Yet the seducing hypocrites of Antichrist can continue their shameless cry: This is the Catholic, rightly Christian and Apostolic religion! Those inexperienced with history readily suppose that they mean all papal abominations have been treasured since Christ's time and were established by him and his Apostles.
>
> But what I have not said about others so far--the Christian reader should just take this into account--how shameless Sidonius [i.e., Michael Helding, titular bishop of Sidon] is, that he can bellow so often in his sermons, his Mass stood for fifteen hundred years, namely from the Apostolic period, and his holy offering will remain until Antichrist removes it, because it is a known fact that the Mass was first born about one thousand years ago at the time of Pope Gregory I and had even grown and changed in the four hundred years before that.[5]

The basic conflict about the history of the Mass was an essential difference between the Gnesio-Lutheran resistance and the imperial Interimists. On the

---

[4] *Zwey Capitel Polydori Virgilij von Namen und Stiffern der Mess....* [Magdeburg: Christian Rödinger, 1550]. The second one appeared in two printings. In this research the version used was *Vermahnung Matt. Flacij Illyrici zur Gedult vnd Glauben zu Gott....* [Magdeburg: Christian Rödinger, 1551]. It is easily distinguishable from the other 1551 Rödinger printing by the orthography of the title. Several other pamphlets of the period return to this same point and name Helding as the culprit of the Augsburg Reichstag of 1548.

[5] The critical passage at the end of the first paragraph reads: die vnerfarnen der Historien leichtlich betriegen/ das sie meinen/ alle Papistlische grewel haben von Christus zeiten her geweret/ vnd sind von ihm vnd seinen Aposteln eingesatzt (*Zwey Capitel*, p. A2r). The correction that was required in church history was filled, eleven years later, in Century VI; the issue was so important that it was covered in the first chapter, the overview of the entire century (col. 16, lines 24 to 31).

other hand, Flacius' outrage was kindled because the Interimists--both Catholic and Evangelical--falsified historic evidence which the common man had no way to refute.[6]

The Christians of Augsburg and other south German cities had no way to combat the Interim's sanctions: a rich man like Ulrich Fugger could simply move, but what of a responsible poor parson? The resisters in the south suffered grievously at the hands of the Interimists, physical abuse and exile, while the theologians of Wittenberg claimed that the differences in liturgical practice were non-critical, matters of opinion to be settled by authority, neither commanded nor condemned by the explicit Word of God, that is, they were adiaphora. Hence Flacius' moniker for them: Adiaphorists.

Flacius proved, he thought, in the *Vermahnung* that Helding had no grasp of theology or history: biblical or historic texts were used by Helding as commonplaces in the medieval sense of tags or slogans, around which any rationalization could be uttered, disregarding context, logic, the Christian faith, humanity.[7] Thus, in 1552 the pre-Gregorian liturgies ranked very high in Flacius' understanding of the sources for historical scholarship.

---

[6] *Vermahnung*, p. *3r. Scheible, *Entstehung*, p. 15, introduced the tracts as examples of Flacius' interest in historical texts, without the intimate connection to the Interim struggle concerning the origins of the Mass. The evidence of Melanchthon's sermon at Luther's death (six years old) was far more remote than the evidence of the historiography of the Mass (one year old). *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, I, 127-130, and II, 413-415, by Preger are not connected: the first passage deals with the Helding debate, the second with the historiography of the Magdeburg Centuries.

[7] Helding's answer, the introduction to his *Brevis instructio*.... (Mainz: Iuo Schöffer, 1550), pp. A5r-A6r, took as its main point the "fact" that Flacius was a seditious non-German, driven from home and fatherland for unspeakable crimes. As Oliver Olsen pointed out in "The 'Missa Illyrica' and the Liturgical Thought of Flacius Illyricus" (Dissertation: Hamburg, 1966), the liturgiology of the 1550's was more than historicist or antiquarian interest in texts and vestments; for a few unfortunate souls liturgics became a life and death struggle.

The adiaphoristic controversy--chiefly, the question about rites and ceremonies--was intimately bound up with Flacius' historiography. That controversy continued beyond Flacius' death to the settlement of the Book of Concord (1577-1579), and beyond that into seventeenth-century Indifferentism. Its early course ran parallel to the development of a methodology for the Magdeburg Centuries.

The trials and inquisitions against the pious and oral history as sources were also very close to Flacius' personal life and experience. Flacius had learned of the German Reformation of Martin Luther through his uncle, the Franciscan Provincial, who forbade the young man Matthias from becoming a monk. For his witness to the reform, Baldo (or Ubaldo) Lupetino was arrested and tried three times between 1543 and 1555, condemned to die, and executed by drowning on 17 September 1556. For years Flacius organized appeals to the Venetian senate in his uncle's behalf, to no avail. His beloved uncle was literally walled into his cell, the ultimate in solitary confinement, for years at a time; he was deprived of every comfort and amenity, suffering from gout and scurvy; and he was punished, in the words of his keepers, "to come to his senses."[8]

Flacius also felt a close kinship with Slavic Protestants, particularly those of Bohemia. The continuing saga of the Unitas Fratrum and the persecuted Bohemians was nurtured both through books and through oral accounts. The papal perfidies against the Bohemians, particularly

[8]Frederic C. Church, *The Italian Reformers, 1534-1564* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), pp. 148-149; Theodor Elze, *Geschichte der Protestantischen Bewegungen und der Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinde in Venedig* (Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1883), pp. 19-22. Baldo Lupetino has been neither sufficiently radical or uncommonly unorthodox to interest the "new school" of Italian Reformation studies.

in the Utraquist eucharistic "settlement," stood as dire warning to Flacius that compromise and negotiation were utterly feckless.

To conclude, the historiography developed in the "Scheda" did not arise out of a philosophical exploration of the options and alternatives; nowhere does one find evidence that Flacius was even superficically aware of the contemporaneous philosophical discussions about historiography. Rather, the proposal grew out of the nexus of his own personal experience and his nascent bibliophily.

The "Consultatio"[9]

At the end of February or beginning of March 1555,[10] Flacius informed Nidbruck that the revised plan for the history project, the "Consultatio," had been written for fund-raising purposes. The uneasy relations between Flacius and Nidbruck were thus further strained, as the Illyrian failed to confer with Nidbruck about it beforehand, failed to evidence even a minimal courtesy by sending a copy after the fact, and failed to coordinate any initial approach in a court where Nidbruck did, in fact, have excellent access, the court of Ottheinrich von der Pfalz.

Here is the message of the "Consultatio." The church was lacking a brief scholarly commentary on the Bible and a church history, from Christ to the present time. The history would show "what was the form of doctrine and of ceremonies and of religion as a whole, at individual times, in whichever Christian churches." This three-dimensional array

---

[9] Documents IV, 3, Introduction.

[10] Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 8, 17, 21-24; the original letter is not dated. Discussions on dating and related issues are summarized in Documents IV, 3, Introduction.

was further articulated in a four-stage chronological approach to the whole work: (1) the simple form of Christ and his Apostles; (2) the degradation and deterioration of the pseudo-apostles and heretics; (3) the restoration and restitution of God through learned men and through councils; and (4) the faith of thousands of pious people who always believed and bore witness to the truth at all times. Flacius warned that ecclesiastical history was not a black and white story, but a mixed matter, with shadows: perpetua varia ac multiplex lucta veritatis cum errore, lucis cum tenebris. Moreover, hagiography, persecution, and divine liberation and miracles may be useful; but they were to be treated briefly, so as not to go beyond the more important part, namely, the form of doctrine. Just as the Gnesio-Lutheran campaign against changes in the Evangelical church orders moved from rites and ceremonies to dogma (e.g., in the formulations of Georg Major, Andreas Osiander, and Caspar von Schwenckfeld), so also the rationale for a church history had moved in three years from an over-arching concern about liturgics to the new decisive topic, the form of doctrine. That is, the focus shifted in religious practice from the book entitled "Kirchenordnung" to the book entitled "Corpus doctrinae"; and the focus in ecclesiastical historiography shifted with it.[11]

---

[11] The two modern analyses of Otto Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908-1927), II,1, 325-327, and Hans Emil Weber, *Reformation, Orthodoxie und Rationalismus* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1937-1951; reprint, 1967--incomplete), II passim, do not satisfy fully the major questions about the nature of that change in emphasis during the Interimist and Adiaphorist struggles. Ultimately, both Ritschl and Weber depend on psychological arguments. Ritschl emphasized the emotional side when he based his conclusions on Flacius' anger and jealousy against his former Wittenberg colleagues. Weber's thesis was more philosophical but equally psychological: Flacius' ultimate subjectivism as the root "problem." Flacius' own claim--for what

Regarding the benefits ("utilitates") of ecclesiastical history, four were enumerated: (1) that "our doctrine," not the papists', was there in the beginning and it is the papists who are corrupt;[12] (2) that the ancients' thoughts might be available in the new controversies (e.g., with the Anabaptists); (3) that those who teach and those who rule may have a basic knowledge of the ancient church; and (4) that the history itself serve as a compend of the ancients' thoughts and words, like a treasury ("thesaurus"). His purposes were refreshingly devoid of the usual moralisms and didacticisms about history's ability to impart wisdom or to teach good behavior by example, such as in Melanchthon's historiography.

The requirements for literature and for written documentation of the church were basically developments of those described in the "Scheda." In the comparison of the resource requirement between the "Scheda" and the "Consultatio," one can readily determine that some maturity and sophistication had brought the planning a long way in the previous three years.[13]

The need for money to support his colleagues, the scheduling of

---

that is worth--was that the Philippists were dealing perfidiously with the church: compromising principles in religious matters as they negotiated with the Saxon court, then denying publicly that they had made any concessions. His contentiousness, he said, stemmed from the need for self-defense (see Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus haereticorum*, XII, 810-811). Unless that issue is thoroughly settled on the basis of historic evidence and documentation, speculation about psychological factors can rage eternal.

[12]The form of the argument had been reversed in the "Scheda." Earlier Flacius denied that the papists' claims were correct; later he argued that "our" own were true, hence the papists' were false. Technically, the "Consultatio" was a stronger form of argument in rhetorical terms.

[13]See Table I.

TABLE I

SCHEDA AND CONSULTATIO WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Scheda and *Consultatio*	English Translation
(1.) omnes theologici scriptores, praesertim vetustiores, tum impressi hactenus, tum non impressi conquirendi essent.	1. All theological writers must be sought out, especially the older ones, both those in print today and not in print;
(2.) omnes historici rerum post Christum actarum gestarumque sive editi sive non editi.	2. All historians of the acts and deeds after Christ, whether published or not;
1. *(3.) ut aliquid magis in specie indicem, omnes vetustiores Agendae* [agendae vetustissimae] *praesertim autem,* quae ante Gregorium *magnum* in usu *fuissent* [fuerunt].	3. That I might indicate something more by genre, all the older church orders, but especially those in use before Gregory the Great;
2. *(4.)* inquisitiones et processus contra pios homines ante haec tempora *facta* [facti].	4. Inquisitions and trials conducted against pious men before these times;
3. *(5.)* scripta a piis hominibus contra antichristum aut eius abominationes composita, quorum multa passim adhuc in *vetustis* [veteris] bibliothecis.	5. Writings composed by pious men against Antichrist or his abominations, of which there are many here and there up until now in the old libraries;
4. *(6.)* libri scripti a papistis contra recte sentientes. Nam et ex illis aliquid sumi posset, quod ad historiam *afferet* [faceret].	6. Books written by papists against right-thinking people; (for also from them something can be gotten that pertains to history)
(7.) inspiciendae essent chronicae seu annales singulorum locorum, in quibus etiam certaminum religionis mentio saepe fit.	7. Chronicles and annals must be inspected of individual localities, in which there is often some mention also of religious struggles;
*(8.) conquirenda essent ante omnia Valdensium scripta....**	8. [The writings] against the writings of the Waldensians must be sought out;
Denique: explorandum e senibus esset, an meminerint se audisse, alicubi olim aliquem recte sentientem aut docentem vel in tota religione vel in aliquibus eius partibus fuisse.	Finally, we must probe with elderly people, whether they remember that they heard at one time or another that there was a right-thinking or right-teaching person either in all of religion or in some parts of it.

*The phrase--almost impossible to translate literally because of its skewed grammar--is to be found in Flacius' letter to Nidbruck of 10 November 1552 (Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 1, 17, 7): Habeo praeterea quaedam historica iam olim a papistis de Waldensibus scripta, quae simul coniuncta edam. The Scheda also has the phrase: omnia ea quoquo modo vestigia aliqua illorum 7000 piorum *monstrare possent*, praesertim autem quaecunque antiquiora de Waldensibus habere possunt.

work, the division of labor, his work to date--almost all the latter two thirds of the "Consultatio" were composed out of ideas and even whole sentences that had appeared earlier in Flacius' correspondence with Nidbruck. One's imagination is stretched, however, by Flacius' optimism or exaggeration, when he discussed how far the project had come.

As Karl Schottenloher noted,[14] other versions of the "Consultatio" await discovery. The German version to which he referred was but one of several. Embedded in the dedicatory epistle to his *Catalogus testium veritatis*, with its March 1556 colophon, Flacius presented another version of this plan for an ecclesiastical history. The piece did not have a separate title within the dedication and was not set off from the body of the dedication typographically; but it is grammatically and logically separable within the larger work.[15] The dedication and preface were, unfortunately, undated. The dedication named the dukes of Thuringia.

This version of the message of the "Consultatio" was much more dependent for persuasion on the arguments of necessity and utility in the usual rhetorical conventions of the day; the Latin style was also considerably smoother and more elegant than the original "Consultatio." So far as the ultimate effect of these two forms was concerned, however, the one that went to the Palatinate initiated an interesting exchange between Flacius and Erasmus von Minckvitz in Ottheinrich's court. But when the time came for Flacius to make his move from Magdeburg, he chose Jena, not Heidelberg, in early 1557.

---

[14] *Ottheinrich und das Buch*, p. 151; see also Documents IV, 3.

[15] The dedication is in three parts: introducing the catalogue proper (pp. a3v-a4v), introducing the commentary project (pp. a4v-a5r), and introducing the history project (pp. a5r-a8r), with mere phrase transitions.

The "Methodus"

The final plan, "Methodus," for the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries was published in the front matter of the first volume. From the "Consultatio" to the final published version of the "Methodus," however, the plan was to go through several stages. They are detailed, as follows, arranged by the titles of the individual pieces.

Some of these pieces were intended to be complete, finished, independent works; others were intended to be mere proposals that would initiate discussion or action. The several documents with their difficult provenances are also confusing from our point of view, because many of them were only drafts or, at most, temporary working papers in a process of composition or in a process of discussion. Our goal is to understand as well as possible how three documents came to be: what is here called "Methodus I," "Methodus II," and "Methodus II[2]." In order to prepare for the first of these three, a proposal by Flacius needs to be treated first: "Iudicium de methodo." All of these documents need to be understood as the working papers of the collegium--proposals to them, drafts for their review, results of discussions and deliberations and even votes. They continued to be the working papers of the authors and were annotated, adjusted, copied, and recopied. With each of these documents, an attempt is made to offer a very concrete historical setting, with dates and places and participants; then the documents are described in terms of their content and impact.

Iudicium de methodo[16]

The first dated proposal in the series of working papers was "Iudicium de methodo," which was titled in Cod. guelf. 11.20 Aug. 2°, in Wigand's hand, and dated March 1555. With this date in hand, it is possible to unravel two difficult sentences from the Flacius/Nidbruck correspondence. On 26 July 1555, Nidbruck wrote to Flacius:[17]

> I *am sending* my "Iudicium" of your historiography when you will have transmitted your plan and in what order it is to be described to me--you ought to do that quickly. You were promising that you would send it to Regensburg, but I received nothing.

Confusion may arise because of the use of the present tense in the first verb: mitto. The intent is clear, however; it is not, literally, "I am sending," but "I shall send," in accord with the next future perfect verb. Thus Bibl's note that this is a reference to Nidbruck's "Consilium" (Cod. vind. pal. 9737k, f. 257r) is incorrect. Next, on 25 September 1555, Flacius replied:[18]

> "Methodus historiae" I send; I had asked Gallus to sent it there from Regensburg, but he did not do it. You, please correct it and add your own opinion and return it.

The identification of "Iudicium de methodo" with "Methodus historiae" is further complicated by the fact that the title in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript may have been added later, to distinguish this work from

---

[16] Documents IV, 3.1.

[17] Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 33, 20, 95-101.

[18] Ibid., no. 34, no. 101-105. The remarks of Nidbruck from 26 July 1555 sound a bit censorious that Flacius had intentionally failed to communicate new plans for the history project; thus, Flacius was more than a little defensive about the mix-up with Gallus.

from similarly titled works of February 1556.[19] At any rate, through Nidbruck's notification of July 1555, Flacius became aware of the fact that the Austrian did not have the latest word on methodology. There is no reason to assume that the work that Flacius subsequently sent to Vienna was any different from the "Iudicium de methodo" found today in Wolfenbüttel. Shortly before the February 1556 meetings, Flacius complained to Nidbruck that the counselor had not sent his opinion or critique about the new methodology.[20] Therefore, one need not speculate that Nidbruck's comments were annotated, then embedded in the extant fair copy. Therefore, there is no literary manuscript or epistolary evidence that Nidbruck's special concerns were brought to the attention of the collegium before a series of very important meetings held in February 1556.

But the "Iudicium de methodo" was not a plan at all. It was a proposal for a plan. The chronic problem that Nidbruck had with Flacius' vague proposals was not much relieved with this work. The paper talked of what "I" intended to do, with conditionals and subjunctives to add endless uncertainty. By offering once again so much flexibility and potential, Flacius failed to specify in detail what he was capable of doing. Therefore, so far as a real planning document was concerned, the proposal

[19] Many of Flacius' early works, especially those extant only in manuscript form, were without title (e.g., the "Scheda"). In many cases, titles were added earlier or later by archivists or binders or cataloguers.

[20] Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 36, 20, 106-108. This can only be taken to mean that Nibruck had neither sent his own critique or an annotated copy of Flacius' "Methodus historiae."

as a whole failed. It was not, however, a complete waste. The distinctions between "general" and "specific" were sufficiently explicit, though incomplete, so that the intent was clear; the distinctions were preserved throughout the planning of the Magdeburg Centuries. Some topical subdivisions were given in two places: at folio $120r_{9-15}$:

1. de pontificibus, episcopis, verisque doctoribus
2. de seductoribus
3. de conciliis
4. de viris eximiae pietatis laude excellentibus (quos sanctos vocamus) eorumque miraculis, etc.

And at folio $124r_{11-16}$:

Ad partes formae Ecclesiae descendendum quarum
doctrina
ceremoniae
politia seu regimen Ecclesiae & praesertim doctorum....

With no further numbering or enumeration of specifics, however, Flacius' narrative often tailed off into its usual delightful and bombastic incoherence. But immediately to the left of line eleven at folio 124r, in the margin, Johann Wigand wrote:

Hic facile est opus in capita distingue= ere	Here the work is easily divisible into chapters

And he numbered the three points of folio 124r, lines eleven to sixteen with an interlinear "1," "2," and "3." It is possible that this was the first or earliest attempt to arrive at a specific arrangement of chapters for the church history project under the aegis of the collegium.

Methodus I[21]

There is no reason to suppose that the "Iudicium de methodo" was a product of Flacius' pen, or even chiefly a product of his pen. In terms of style and content, however, there is not sufficient evidence to say that its successor document was of his authorship. The title of the "Iudicium de methodo" attributed the work to Flacius; the title of "Methodus historiae ecclesiasticae," or "Methodus I," made no attribution of authorship. Both of these titles were in Wigand's own handwriting. The work was dated, in Judex' hand, February 1556. To judge by other planning papers and working papers of the collegium in these months and years, a multiple or corporate authorship is not at all unlikely. Only the fair copy of Cod. guelf. 11.20 Aug. 2° is extant, so that hard evidence of single or multiple authorship is simply not available in the text.

"Methodus I" has many definitions of terms: tomus, liber, caput, generaliora, specialiora, etc. The entire compass of the work was to be divided into four or five physical volumes:

1. From the beginning to Constantine I or the Nicene Council
2. To Charlemagne
3. To Henry IV or thereabouts
4. To Wycliff or Hus
5. To our times

Within each volume there were to be individual books ("libri"), either by century or by some other appropriate chronological measure. Each book was to have two types of chapters: the earlier ones, general, applicable to the whole church or to the condition of the whole church; the later ones, special, applicable to individual teachers, heretics, councils, disputations,

[21] Documents IV, 3.2.

etc. The earlier part of each book was to have as chapters--after the introduction [I]:[22]

De locis ac propagatione Ecclesiae [II]
De pace externa ac persecutione Ecclesiae [III]
De doctrinae forma [IV]
De erroribus ac haeresibus [V]
De ceremoniis [VI]
De schismatibus ac certaminibus leuioribus [VIII]
De reliqua politia ac regimine Ecclesiae [VII]

The latter parts were further divided, as follows:

1. De conciliis [IX]
2. De episcopo celebriorum locorum [X]
   Romae
   Antiochiae
   Alexandrinae
   Hierosolymae, &c.
   De insignioribus doctoribus, attributis singulis personis (si ita materiae copia postulet) singulis capitibus.
3. De seductoribus seu haereticis per singula itidem capita [XI]
   De singulis si multum sit
4. De martyribus seu celebrioribus sanctis qui doctores non fuerunt [XII]
5. De miraculis [XIII]
6. De rebus Judaicis [XIV]
   -De religionibus extra Ecclesiam, vt de Ethnica, Mahometica, &c. [XV]

In its final form--that is, in "Methodus II"--the chapters were not separately numbered into earlier and later divisions; the distinctions between general and special were always preserved. Thus, "Methodus I" was clearly and fully a specific outline of each century for the ecclesiastical history. It was prepared for a special meeting of the collegium that deliberated and came to a conclusion on 16 February 1556.

[22]The eventual numbering of the chapters in the printed version is bracketed after each appropriate heading.

Admonitio rectoris[23]

"Methodus I" was not the only document prepared for the February meeting. Gottschalk Praetorius prepared his advice that took a diametrically different approach to the project. His paper was dated, in Wigand's hand, 12 February 1556. That could be the day of its composition, but more likely the date of a meeting to discuss the contents. At any rate, since the paper is so short and so important, a full translation is given here.

The Advice of the Rector

1. Narratives are either chronicles or cosmographies or biographies.

2. In chronicles, an appropriate distribution of facts and dates is required.

3. In cosmographies, the distribution of nations has to be first, then the order of facts and dates by whatever nation.

4. In biographies, the rhetorical order is used which consists in the distribution of periods of time, and proceeds to that extent according to a series of dates.

5. Generally, therefore, in all narratives, proceeding uniformly by a chronological order is the first consideration.

6. A technique of distribution ought to be planned, not dialectically, not rhetorically, but historically, that is, according to the course of history.

7. Historical narratives ought not be a heaping up of commonplaces, and ought not be chapters of patchwork [pun: centonium, for centurionum].

8. Distribution by commonplaces has three inconveniences: -1, it lacks a model of sacred or ecclesiastical narratives; -2, it lacks a model of pagan histories; -3, the order of events is mixed up; -4, distractions, inversions, anticipations, and confusions of dates and years follow; -5, it is a contradition in terms.

[23] Documents IV, 3.3.

> 9. I would write with a chronological order. At the end, I would subordinate general conclusions, as it were, like the bold final ornamental flourish at a summary and accommodation. Or if it ought to be there in the beginning, I would use general remarks as an introduction or argument of what follows.

Two very important observations need to be made about Praetorius' proposal; a third summation should be made about the reaction of the collegium as a whole.

First, the rector's arguments contain a definition of narrative that was derived from the rhetorical tradition of Cicero/Quintilian and Agricola/Melanchthon. For Praetorius' recommendations in particular, however, a qualification must be made. To be sure, he was trained in this discipline by Melanchthon and in turn even declared himself a Philippist after 1558. But in 1556 he was using terms quite imprecisely. He may have alluded to classical models and employed their terms, but some of the usages were quite skewed--like a child using unfamiliar, big words or a neophyte student misapplying a new technical vocabulary. It is a characteristic of several months' problems that terminologies were used much more creatively than classically, leading to much confusion by the colleagues. Narrative was traditionally divided into three parts: fabula, argumentum, historia--in various orders and with various further definitions (Cicero, De inventione, 1, 19, 27; Quintilian, Institutio oratoria, 2, 4, 1, and further in extended treatment in all of book 4). Praetorius' advice follows some of the advice and tendency of Antonius' speech in Cicero, De oratore (2, 15, 62), when he was speaking of history, but not in Praetorius' final divisions and arguments. The immediate conduit of the Cicero/Quintilian tradition was, of course, Melanchthon's rhetoric.[24]

[24] *Elementa rhetorices*, CR, XIII, 413-506.

Perhaps Praetorius' insistence on a chronological order ("series") came out of the chapter by Melanchthon on disposition.[25] The added irony is that all the centuriators, except Flacius, were trained in rhetoric by Melanchthon and would have been familiar, not only with the chapter, "De dispositione," but also with the chapter, "De locis communibus."[26] Yet another terminological problem is Praetorius' use of the word "coaceruatio." This very term, "aceruatio," was cited by Quintilian (9, 3, 54-55) as an example of over-specified and over-technical jargon; one can only speculate what he would have thought of the term with the specific prefix "co-" added.

Second, Praetorius was resolutely against the use of commonplaces distribution for the history project. Thus, what Flacius had called a "locus descriptus," in the sense of a mere quotation, would have been consistent with the proposal for a "narratio" by Praetorius, but not with the more precise sense of "locus communis."[27] Praetorius was willing to compromise on the treatment of "generaliora," although he did not carry out the point in sufficient detail to see whether the definition of "specialiora" was also controversial. His advice, in the end, ran counter to the solution proposed by "Methodus I." If Praetorius were to be the writer for the project, he would have to do a complete about-face.

Third, regarding the reaction of the collegium, an interesting political situation was evolving in February 1556. With the encouragement of

---

[25] Ibid., col. 436: in disponenda narratione rerum seriem plaerumque sequimur, perinde, atque fit in historiis. The text of the Corpus Reformatorum is, for this research, the ideal one: the 1542 edition.

[26] Ibid., cols. 451-454. The centuriators, except Flacius, were all Melanchthonian methodologically, both as students of Wittenberg and as users of Melanchthonian textbooks in the gymnasia of north Germany.

[27] See Chapter III, footnote 27.

Copus, Wigand and Judex were trying to implement agreements made with Nidbruck to write a history. If Flacius were either neutral on this issue, or in favor of "Methodus I," then Praetorius' position was doomed to defeat before it got a hearing. The only conclusion that one can draw is that Praetorius either knew or suspected that he had Flacius' support and that Wigand and Judex were taking the position of "Methodus I," with Copus a swing voter. Supporting the notion that it was a close vote is the fact that problems persisted for a long time after the fateful meetings where these issues were discussed: weeks later the collegium formulated "causae" or reasons why the distribution by commonplaces had to be made. Praetorius would have been foolhardy indeed, to enter the debate with an anticipated vote of three opposing and one abstaining. Firm commitments had been made to Nidbruck, ratified and insured by two city councils, to see the matter through to a consensus and to the actual composition of a church history. The representatives of that obligation were Copus and Alemann. When the collegium was forced to resolve differences and become engaged in the actual work, once there was no chance that the commonplaces technique would be overturned, Praetorius quit. Flacius ceased playing an active role in the Magdeburg Centuries at about this same time, threatening to go to Heidelberg or Jena. The organization, responsibility, and composition of the history devolved on those who remained. By spring 1558, the collegium was composed of these four: Alemann, Copus, Wigand, and Judex. On Praetorius' leaving, Wigand wrote to Gallus: He vexed us well.[28]

[28] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 18, $23v_{33}$.

Methodus II[29]

"Methodus II" with its long lists of commonplaces specified in detail for each of the chapters listed earlier in "Methodus I" signaled the beginning of any composition: it was finally possible to compose a history, once the outline was known in detail. It was officially agreed at the meeting of 16 February 1556 that "Methodus II" would constitute the working schema for the church history:

> This analysis of Methodus was approved by all the colleagues of Historia Ecclesiastica on 16 February 1556, 12 Noon: M. Matthias Flacius, D. Martin Copus physician, M. Johann Wigand pastor, M. Matthaeus Judex, minister of the word at St. Ulrich's, and M. Gottschalk Praetorius, rector of the Gymnasium.
>
> On the same day, after 3 PM (it could not be done before this meeting) in the presence of those named above, D. Copus showed this analysis to the scriptor, Basilius Faber, that he might follow it.[30]

With this copy of "Methodus II" in hand, on the basis of practical day-to-day experience in editing and composing, major revisions were made--only and all in the hands of Wigand and Judex. These revisions were not produced at a single or particular moment, but over a long period of time: the handwriting, penstrokes, and ink are irregular and uneven, proving that the changes in the original, faircopy text were not written at one time or from beginning to end, but were produced at many different times. When "Methodus II" had become so revised that it could not be used readily--one sheet was covered with ink, probably from a spilled cup --it was fair copied in the form of "Methodus II^2," extant in Cod. guelf.

[29] See Documents IV, 3, Introduction; the full text is not transcribed.

[30] Cod. guelf. 11.20 Aug. 2°, f. 26r$_{12-32}$, in Wigand's hand.

11.20 Aug. 2^{o}, folios 79r to 119v (the last few leaves blank). For over a year, changes continued to be inserted in this copy. The title was changed slightly, from

METHODI RE=
SOLVTIO, SEU
SINGVLORUM CA=
PITVM METAE
GENERALES

to

METHODVS HISTO
RICI OPERIS AC
SINGVLORUM CA=
PITVM METAE
GENERALES

Chapter headings were once again partially reorganized; commonplaces were, in some instances, totally reworked and reworded. All the changes were, once again, always and only in the hands of Wigand and Judex; and once again, the document was most assuredly not written at one time or from beginning to end. "Methodus II^{2}" was once again fair copied with the detailed specifications covering the application of general/special omitted. That fair copy--not extant--was the basis for typesetting Century I, pages β3r to [γ6r], even down to the few words changed in the title and virtually illegible annotations and interlinear emendations. Thus it is possible to trace in excruciating detail every step of the way from initial concept and draft, to the day-by-day working schema, to the final published form.

Four observations can be ventured, on the basis of the evidence of Cod. guelf. 11.20 Aug. 2^{o} and of the published version of "Methodus II."

First, the people who wrote the methodology did not yet know the history in detail that they were about to write. In the late 1550's they were forced by circumstances to become responsible masters and experts in

the field of doctrinal theology, both in the writing of church history, and in the conflict of the Adiaphorists/Interimists. Thereby they became the progenitors of the discipline called Dogmengeschichte. There was no attempt made to balance the materials by means of a schema, with the consequence that certain themes would be disproportionately amplified and emphasized when there was abundant material and conversely abbreviated when there was not. What happened, in fact, was that they brewed a beef and hare stew: one cow and fifteen rabbits. The sixteen chapters were not balanced at all, in terms of size and scope. Chapter four, one of the sixteen subdivisions, or 6.25% of the whole, turned out to contain 30.1% of the text of the published work--45.2% of the first three centuries.[31] At the same time, the authors remained sublimely conscious of form. The number of chapters was changed once, early in the development of the commonplaces catalogue, from fifteen to sixteen. Later the contents of particular chapters were adjusted, changed, shifted, reorganized; but the numbered remained sixteen. It was no coincidence that the rhetorical "conquestio," the summary persuasive passage of successful oratory to arouse "the sympathy and mercy" of the hearer, also had sixteen commonplaces in Cicero (De inventione, 1, 55, 106). The centuriators were pleading an historic cause with an historic form of pleading.

Second, the composition of the methodology and the consensus to use it was, in effect, the work of the collegium: the body deliberated and came up with a solution, corporately, on the basis of alternative approaches, to accomplish what they had agreed had to be done. If the "Iudicium de

[31] See Table II.

TABLE II

SIZE AND PROPORTION OF CHAPTER FOUR

OF THE PUBLISHED VERSION

OF THE MAGDEBURG CENTURIES

Century	Columns Ch. 4	Columns Total	Percent Ch. 4
I[1]	204	382	53.4
I[2]	429	672	63.8
II	35	248	14.1
III	63	314	20.1
Subtotal I-III Wigand-Judex-Faber	*731*	*1,616*	*45.2*
IV	153	1,574	09.7
V	442	1,526	29.0
VI	202	872	23.2
VII	58	668	08.7
VIII	275	942	29.2
Subtotal I-VIII Wigand-Judex	*1,861*	*7,198*	*25.9*
IX	188	640	29.4
X	249	722	34.5
XI	187	766	24.4
Subtotal IX-XI Wigand	*624*	*2,128*	*29.3*
XII	785	1,930	40.7
XIII	530	1,378	38.5
Subtotal XII-XIII Wigand-Corvinus-Holtzhlter	*1,315*	*3,308*	*39.8*
TOTALS	3,800	12,634	30.1

methodo" by Flacius intended to raise and clarify certain questions--the work begins with the phrase "quaestio ac deliberatio sit"--then the "Methodus" was the answer to that question. The solution, however, did not have real status until it was "approved" by the collegium.

Third, when the collegium acted, there was the unmistakable sense of official authorization: a body of responsible activity was delegated to a specific person, in this case Basilius Faber. The person who carried out the formal delivery of the authorization document was the treasurer of the group, Dr. Copus.

Fourth, an alternative interpretation, that "Methodus II" represented a protocol of the meeting of 16 February 1556, must be rejected. On the one hand, Wigand and Judex did become accomplished protocolists in their day: Wigand recorded the Weimar Disputation and his protocol remains the definitive document on the historic confrontation between Matthias Flacius and Victorin Strigel.[32] Later Wigand recorded the Altenburg Colloquy for the Thuringian prince and published this controversial tome. Why not a protocol for a long meeting of 16 February 1556, during which the original form of the methodology was revised by the participants, leaving open extensive participation by Flacius, Praetorius, and Copus that was simply recorded in Wigand's and Judex' hands? Impossible for two reasons. First, the penstrokes and ink would indicate that the document was written over a long period of time, with both hands intermixed and correcting one another. Second, even more convincing, is the fact that 16 February 1556 was a Sunday. There is precious little likelihood

[32]See Chapter VIII, at footnote 3.

that an extended meeting could have taken place either on a Sunday morning, when all the members of the collegium would be occupying pews in St. Ulrich's, their Superintendent and colleague probably preaching. Nor could they meet in the afternoon, when Wigand and Judex had other duties to perform for the parish--at that time of the year, the catechetical services. They approved at noon. They reassembled at 3 PM, for a formal presentation by Copus to Faber. There was simply not enough time to account for a Sunday working meeting. The session of 16 February 1556 was probably a moment when votes had to be taken, based on earlier, extensive deliberation and discussions of "Methodus I" and "Admonitio rectoris." Were one to speculate on what kind of meeting it might have been, better to speculate that it was a joyous Sunday dinner at Wigand's table in St. Ulrich's parsonage, or at Flacius' or Dr. Copus' home.

Two more documents were presented on 16 February 1556 for approval by the full collegium, substantiating the conclusion that that date was the culmination of a longer series of deliberations and discussions. The first was called "Articles"; the second, "Rules." These two directives take the modern researcher deep into the day-to-day organization and procedures of the history project. These two documents help substantiate a conclusion that the collegium was attempting to bring about a corrective to an operation and procedures that were not working, rather than starting afresh.

Articuli proponendi scriptori et collectori[33]

The "Articles" were in Latin, thirteen in number, with a fourteenth added--at the meeting?--in German. Responsibilities were clearly distinguished between the scriptor and the collector. A summary of the articles themselves without commentary follows, with observations appended after that.

(1) The project would move forward with organized provision for specific jobs, for the oversight responsibility, and for regular consultation, with the limits of all responsibilities for each employee spelled out in a contract.[34] (2) Working conditions--vacations, holidays--were governed by the contract, but those who became involved were to be mindful that theirs was a service to God, not to men. (3) The "Methodus" and "Methodus II" were to be known and applied definitively in every case. (4) The tasks were to be broken down in three parts: invention, disposition, elocution--as had been described by the rector (i.e., Praetorius) in his study on the writing of church history. (5) The author quotations, with book and chapter citations, were to be noted in the three stages of activity: collection, distribution, writing. (6) As soon as the forest[35] of each single book was collected, it was to be fair-copied and shown to the

---

[33] Documents IV, 3.4.

[34] The contract ("conventio") for each individual must have been geared to particular work schedules; the provisions of the first article are for those who would be working full time, to limit responsibilities and expectations.

[35] The forest ("sylua"), recalling a work by that title of Statius, was the most primitive level of excerpting, but even that was fair-copied. Wigand used the term frequently; when depressed, he preferred another metaphor, however: the swamp.

inspectors. (7) The fair copy dispositions were to be checked for legibility and shown to the inspectors. (8) The scriptor was to complete one--and no more than one additional--chapter and then take the results to the inspectors. (9) Before noon on Saturdays, the scriptor and collector were to show their week's work to the inspectors; the work week was to be recorded in detail in a special book. (10) Problems were to be recorded by both (i.e., the scriptor and the collector) so that issues would not remain unresolved, particularly in the temporary absence of the inspectors. (11) The scriptor's records were to be maintained in three books: in the first, all topics that had been addressed whether they were subsequently pursued or not; in the second, all materials that had been delivered to him; and in the third, all experiments and compendia, that is, the experiences and short-cuts that were discovered in the process of doing the work. (12) A catalogue of all authors and books was to be made, with entries made at the time when the forest for a particular author was collected. (13) The scriptor and the collector were to demonstrate to the inspectors that they had maintained a cordial collaboration throughout. (14) They were to understand and heed the care, diligence, and oversight of the collegium, not as though the collegium were unreasonably burdening them; but the collegium had to insist that they be intimately involved in even the minutest detail.

None of the special recordkeeping provisions has been discovered in modern times. No doubt, the problems, experiments, and compendia were the most important sources for the gradual emendation and evolution of "Methodus II." The tasks, as divided by Praetorius into invention, disposition, and elocution, came straight out of Cicero; the terms were rarely used later by the centuriators, however, article seven being an exception.

The more common form of division for the collegium was that of article three: collection, distribution, writing. Distribution is a definition of disposition (Cicero, De inventione, 1, 7, 9). Collection and writing ("collectio," "scriptio") were perhaps unrhetorical, but described the functions of the "collector" and the "scriptor." "Sylua" was used in a decidedly unrhetorical way: in the classic definition of Quintilian (Institutio oratoria, 10, 3, 17) it was a pejorative term for a rough draft, written in the heat of inspiration which does not even evolve into something useful, and was hence a vice ("vitium"). Two more terms require special comment: experiments and compendia. While it is possible to see the requirements for experiments and compendia in the rhetorical tradition, the context is severely strained. The provision for recording such information was much closer to the practices of the observer, that is, to the alchemist (Copus) and to the natural historian (Wigand), than to the rhetorician (Praetorius).

The Saturday meetings became an important moment when the work of a week could be evaluated and supervised closely in detail. Some subsequent documents were dated on Saturdays. The Saturday meetings were to be directed by the inspectors. Later (in 1558) they were numbered and named: two, Wigand and Judex. For this early moment, they are not designated beyond the mere term, but it is surely not the full membership of the collegium.

The final article, number fourteen, was not just another point; it was the over-riding concern of the collegium--distinguished all the more sharply in its clear, simple German text. While the collegium was delegating a certain amount of responsibility and authority to the scriptor and collector, there was no equivocation as to the involvement of the

collegium. They reserved the right to remain involved, in even the minutest details, everthing completely down to the most minute ("alles gentzlich biss auf das geringste").

Finally, all the provisions and distinctions and definitions were important at the moment, of course; but one cannot determine if all the instructions were actually implemented, and, if they were, for how long. There is even a disjuncture between the first two documents of 16 February 1556: the "Articuli" speak of a (or the) collector; the "Regulae" speak of collectors. While this may not be a contradiction, the first provisions speak in terms of the "two," in the sense of one scriptor and one collector. It may have been that a scriptor and a collector worked as a team (e.g., Faber on Centuries I-II-III; Veltbeck on Century V, as the scriptors, each with a collector). Or the "Articuli" may have used the terms collectively. At any rate, the documents that are extant are the result of some editorial development leading to slight inconsistencies.

If Flacius was directing this activity, then the "Articles" are unique in all the Flacian materials that have been examined in this research. On the other hand, the specification of responsibility and the articulation of all expectations were the usual modus operandi of Johann Wigand, in Magdeburg, Jena, Wismar, and Pomezania.

De collectione ex historicis et patribus regulae generales[37]

The "Regulae" were numbered to thirteen, but they extended much father than that sum of points or issues. The work contained at least three, if not fourteen, additional separately paragraphed instructions. Again, the extant document was the result of extensive editorial development. More primitive versions of the rules might have ended earlier.[38] The modern observer is taken once again deep into the historians' workshop.

(1) Command of the "Consultatio" and "Methodus" are required of collectors, so that they would understand the target and shoot their arrows directly at it, as the archer does.[39] (2) Then they must view and know "Methodus II" with great precision, even by memory if at all possible, so that there would never be a moment's hesitation as to whether a particular passage would be excerpted and distributed. (3) The sixteen chapters were to be kept in mind constantly as reference points (the chapter headings were listed then in order). (4) The context, not just the words, was also a determinant for assigning chapters with the precision that "Methodus II" required. (5) When the collector had to copy the same passage many times under different chapters, he ought not be peeved. (6) Some quotations for the early centuries were to be repeated later as a witness

---

[37] Documents IV, 3.5.

[38] The three possible earlier endings are at: folio 31v, line 29; folio 31r, line 19; folio 30v, line 11, successively.

[39] The metaphor was a common usage by teachers of rhetoric and is found in most manuals; the quotations was also commonly found in compends of wise sayings. Its most famous usage from antiquity is to be found in the introductory parts of Aristotle, Nicomachaean ethics (1, 2).

of the time when they were actually written; likewise, a single quotation that was recorded once in a later book might have been used in another volume (i.e., century) under disparate headings. (7) The names were to be assigned (i.e., spelled) in the forms by which they were cited. (8) The author citations with title and chapter were to be clearly copied, in the text (not in the margin); where one author agreed with another, the quotation was to be made inclusive in a clear, unambiguous text. (9) Collectors were to write legibly, because their forest would have to be read several times by several people.

Then there were two extended treatments: (10-12) on the technique for collecting from histories, and (13) on the technique for collecting from the fathers.

(10) For excerpting, a collector was to take a folio sheet and divide it into two columns, putting the chapter and after it the name of the emperor, so that historical materials could be arranged in a succession of reigns. Then the excerpts from several authors could be gathered, in a similar way, into chapters arranged by commonplaces for a particular book (i.e., century). (11) Then conjectures could be noted for individual chapters; interpretation of scant or obscure evidence had to be indicated, bound up, as it were, to give sufficient consistency of earlier events and the later interpretation of those events. Wise detectives and adroit conjecturers they had to be--like hunters. (12) Quotations about dogma were also to be noted from histories.

(13) Concerning the Fathers, [¶1] historical materials had to be treated briefly. [¶2] Frequently excerpts needed to be copied twice: as historical commonplaces and as dogmatic commonplaces. [¶3] What was said

about history also applied to the Fathers. But in addition, a special treatment was required for each; for instance, for Origen, under "On teachers," also in other places such as "On teachings," "On the refutation of the arguments of heretics," whose teachings he recalled, what books he wrote, what terminology he used, what sorts of private and public opinions he held. [¶4] "On teachings," chapter four, was to be annotated exhaustively by commonplaces. [¶5] Several gatherings would be necessary for the historical commonplaces of each author; [¶6] likewise for the dogmatic commonplaces. All manner of material needed to be gathered: good or erroneous, clear or obscure or even dangerous. [¶7] It was not always necessary to quote long passages verbatim, but the sense had to be noted accurately in the context of its time. [¶8] Not only the detailed quotation, but also the larger concepts or opinions of the Fathers needed to be noted accurately and gathered. Rule four said that a collector ought not be peeved that he needed to copy something many times; but in his compendium, a collector could note that one particular passage was quoted extensively in one place, only briefly in another place. [¶9] One forest should have been completed in a single or just a few days, so that the collector could remember the whole of it. [¶10] If collectors cannot understand the authors' ideas, they were either to get help or failing that to note their difficulty, so that someone else could review the material and they not lead the scriptor astray with a false conclusion.

In terms of clarity and style, logic and latinity, the rules were the worst of the instructions. First, they contained annoying inconsistencies, most of them subtle; but the reference in [¶8] to rule four was mistaken; the reference should be to rule five. And second, what was

treated to the most extensive descriptions was precisely the most obvious inconsequentiality; what was brushed over quickly and lightly was the basic problematic.

The rules dealt with the mechanics of excerpting: a gathering of paper, folded and divided into columns, captions and titles for each, notes of difficulty, entries in the compendium, references to be contextual and clear but not in the margin. These provisions all sound like the result of a false start, a corrective or a series of correctives for mechanical problems that were being encountered over a long period of time. The obvious conclusion that one can draw is that the rules were correcting practices that were employed by Flacius and Wagner, as they gathered materials for the *Catalogus testium veritatis*, material that was also intended to be used for "the perpetual church history." From some small syluae in the Regensburg Stadtarchiv, Ecclesiastica I, 3, in the hand of Flacius, one can see the need for a corrective very clearly: Flacius used odds and ends and scraps of paper, uneven in size and format, for his notes. Beside the requirement for standardization in size of paper, there was also the need that references be contextual and clear, but not in the margin (as opposed to the opposite case in Flacius' annotations). All the participants in the project at this stage, however, wrote a better quality of Latin than one finds in these rules. And the present state of the document may be accounted for if the copyist of it had a very crabbed hand (Judex) or a messy paper with strikeouts and inserts that were not altogether clear.

Causae quare necesse sit fieri

accuratam dispositionem historicam singulorum capitum

and

Regulae generales in dispositione historica obseruanda[40]

The "Causae" and the "Regulae generales," like the preceding, were paired. These two are dated, in Wigand's hand, 14 March 1556, four weeks after the first recorded meeting in February.

The purposes to be served with the accurate historical disposition of individual chapters were enumerated--a total of nine with eight detailed points and a ninth summary statement: (1) that there be a clear outline of the total work, and a particular form and idea of the scope to be covered; (2) that the scriptor, as it were, might "cook and age" the very material in his own mind; (3) that much might be collected into a single entry; (4) that everything be laid out more easily, correctly, meticulously and distinctly; (5) that the participants in this common endeavor might play meaningful roles; (6) that the totality need not be revised for just one additional part; (7) that when new materials are discovered, they might be added without great difficulty; (8) that the proven rhetorical distinctions of invention, disposition, eloquence be put into practice with prospects of real success; and (9) intellect and memory are required for collecting, such that concentration is bent on words and sentences in minute detail; disposition, on the other hand, requires a concentration on judgment and context, quite different from collecting.

The general rules to be observed in the historical disposition were thirteen in number. (1) The first rule called for clear distribution:

---

[40] Documents IV, 3.6.

subjects and predicates to be positioned clearly and distinctly,

> that is, the material we wish to treat, what we wish to affirm or deny or doubt about the material and finally, as we call it, that binder: that is, just as we speak, so also the individual points which ought to be referred to the actual writing are to be delineated not obscurely and are to express the idea of the writing.

(2) The general topics were to appear prior; the special, in an appropriately subordinate position. (3) To the extent that it was possible, chronological sequences were to be closely observed. (4) "Not just the available narratives were to be recited, but also the reasoning--a priori and a posteriori--and other vestiges of the truth were to be wisely pursued." (5) Circumstances and events that seemed to be missing were to be noted, so that further evidence might be sought or established. (6) Chapters for analysis were to be as accurately distinguished as possible. (7) Materials were to be cut up and apportioned judiciously to the proper commonplaces. (8) To relate quotations that were brief in one commonplace, more extended in another, cross references were to be added. (9) In the distribution, authors who said the same thing differently were to be annotated together by book and chapter. (10) Some marginal annotations were to be carried along from distribution through to the scriptor and then also to the colleagues (i.e., members of the collegium); notations concerned judgments and qualifications about the material. (11) Knots were also to be noted, to help get solutions. (12) Where chronological calculations conflict, they were to be indicated according to the authors of the material. (13) A final paraenesis:

> Since we are about to write an ecclesiastical history, the work ought to be presented so that we also treat the material not in a heathenish, but in an ecclesiastical way; surely, also that we advise the reader about the usefulness of parts of the history, about God's counsel in the governance and conservation and liberation of the church,

> and that we adorn the historical narrative epiphonematically. The monks who wrote histories about the papacy had almost heathenish, inane, melancholy narratives. But we, in such a light of the Gospel and in the flourishing of all the arts, we ought to add something like torches, quickening the narrative.

Perhaps added later, then, was the sentence:

> We judge that it would be necessary and useful that the scriptor not undertake the treatment of some chapter or other, before his disposition has been perused and approved by the colleagues.

The two directives were quite different from one another. The first document had an initial eight points that were direct, simple, clear. The summary spoke about the day-to-day experience that was being gained. The second document, however, used several technical terms in suspicious ways, if not as malapropisms. The stangest of all was the use of the word "epiphonema." The word--and concept--are both obscure and inappropriate. According to the Greek tradition (Hermogenes, De inventione, 4, 9) the rhetorical device is humor, specifically a joke or the punchline of a joke, perhaps what modern comedians would call a "one-liner." According to the Latin tradition (Quintilian, Institutio oratoria, 8, 5, 11 [a commentary on Cicero, Oratoria pro Ligario, 4, 10]) the "epiphonema" was defined as an extreme insult and in that sense was also defined as "summa acclamatio," the final exclamation. The author of the rules intended to say, it would seem, that the centuriators advise the scriptor to have a snappy narrative with memorable final phrases or exclamations, commonly called in the rhetorical tradition the "clausula," not the "epiphonema"--surely not a statement spit in the face of an accused man as a final insult. The pedantic style of rule nine made it impossible to render the two points clear and understandable, although the intent was again obvious.

Both of the documents have extended final paragraphs or summations. And the Saturday, 14 March 1556, meeting--one would assume--was intended to

have dialogue and exchange among the inspectors and workers. The final remarks reflected such an exchange.

But more than that, there remains the strong suspicion that the two directives were attempting again to deal with existential problems. The repeated use of rhetorical terminology--and its occasional misuse--together with the old spectre of a strictly chronological treatment (in rule three) suggest that the hand of Praetorius was waving over these concerns. Whereas the previous directive told the workers to show their work to the inspectors, the "Regulae generales" require approval by the colleagues. While the meeting may have found workable compromises, the record of the "Causae" and of the "Regulae generales" show chiefly the same old concerns voiced by Praetorius in February 1556, the previous month. And behind each of the purposes and rules there lurked its obverse: the final rule indicated that a month after "Methodus II" was available in a workable form, there had been no progress.

Admonitiones quaedam de collectione[41]

The situation had not improved two weeks later, on 28 March 1556, the date of the seven numbered "Admonitions."

(1) The architect was to take into his hands the collected materials and master them. The myriad citations and quotations had to be reduced to a logical order. The scriptor was to go over all these materials in detail before he set himself to writing. (2) The architect was also directed to read Eusebius, Nicephorus, some of the shorter and better Fathers, the councils and some of the best chronicles. The collector could go on to other things. (3) The problem areas had to be identified, in order to solve basic historical issues on the basis of the most reliable evidence. (4) Before any book was started, the architect was to meet with the colleagues to decide which authors were to be included. Then they set down a plan. If there was a problem with the earlier collecting, it would have to be solved by coming to agreements "diligently and lovingly." (5) The *inspectors* were to be intimately involved in the task. Therefore, attendance at the Saturday meetings was mandatory for everyone. (6) The division of collecting and writing was a proper one. But for writing, priorities had to be observed and consultation was required. The collector also had to follow the planned priorities *and not* work wherever his personal interests directed him. (7) "It would seem to be useful that, in collecting, first a whole book or chapter be drafted and commonplaces be assigned to

[41] Documents IV, 3.7.

just a few points. Afterward, then, everything can be described in order."

Finally, "there are two reasons for all this: one, that frequent change affects the style of the work and a certain turn of mind; two, that when materials of a whole book are perused, everything can be annotated and excerpted with a better plan and harmony. This very matter can be easily demonstrated visually with just one short example."

A new title suddenly appeared on 28 March 1556: the architect, first called the "scriptoricus architectus." Whether there were new divisions of labor or a new set of assignments is not clear from the extant evidence. What is clear is that after six weeks, there was nothing to show: no final drafts, not even a plan. While the responsible parties still thought that the division of labors between scriptor and collector was a good and appropriate one, they were getting into each other's hair; they were simply unable to carry out their respective responsibilities without conflict. Nor were they coordinating their mutual needs for materials or for annotations on the materials. The architect was not a historian; even worse, he had to be directed explicitly to read Eusebius, Nicephorus, the Fathers, the councils and chronicles. This directive proves what rank amateurs the centuriators were in the beginning: they were themselves discovering history and writing their own past.

De dispositione quarti capitis quaedam declarationes[42]

The next document, "Several Declarations," was dated by Wigand 19 April 1556, a Sunday. The legend below the title, also in Wigand's hand, can help explain the situation. On Saturday, the scriptor had shown his drafts of the fourth chapter. In response, the "Declarations" were composed, in style and in quality of presentation probably by Wigand or at least chiefly by Wigand. If the collegium assembled on 18 April 1556 before noon, then these statements could have been drafted after the meeting, either later in the day and/or completed on Sunday.

The attempt to distribute materials in the fourth chapter, "On dogma," had failed. The entire work had been taken over in this one chapter, with citations strung together without inter-relationships. The material was there, to be sure; but the technique and arrangement were altogether too crude. The distribution of chapter four had to take into consideration the totality, but not include the totality, of the ecclesiastical history.

Take the analogy of painting. Commonplaces are like colors. The distribution is like the first lines that are used to lay out the picture. Then other lines and shadows can begin to be added. The colors are the forests of commonplaces. The lining out of the picture with colors is the application of the forest to a distribution of a chapter.

Then came concrete suggestions, laid out step by step: with a plan in hand for the entire matter, first an introduction, then the thesis,

---

[42]Documents IV, 3.8.

then clauses and sentences and figures. Last, the catalogue of teachers and places and their significance are added.

With further examples and with several clear, simple metaphors, the author explained the desires of the collegium. In sum, the advice amounted to this: the material of the forest had to be mastered first, then a plan written, then the material arranged in the order of general and specific. The point to be driven home repeatedly when dealing with long lists of commonplaces was this: the narrowest applicable topic--whether of the general or of the specific type--was to be used for arranging the collected excerpts. This is a principle of modern indexing that is aphoristic, but for beginners is the hardest of all principles to master and to put into practice.

The advice given to the scriptor in a gentle way, without technical rhetorical terminologies and distinctions, was surrounded with concrete examples and, time after time, simple metaphors. If the material was not in a relationship, one excerpt or quotation to another, then one might want to assume that this early draft of the fourth chapter had an alternative arrangement. The first that comes to mind comes to mind--mistakenly--is chronological; and the issue of Praetorius' preference returns again. That is, the suggestions and statements and directives of these "Declarations" were all pointedly aiming toward correctives of precisely those techniques and recommendations that Praetorius issued on 12 February 1556.

If the version of chapter four, as of 19 April 1556, was unsatisfactory, then the terminus a quo for at least this part--if not for all of Century I--is after this date. What is more, there is no reason to assume that correctives and new drafts were instantaneous. If the problem

was not thoroughly resolved by mid-June of 1556, then Nidbruck himself would have gotten involved. Hence, his "Consilium"[43] probably spoke to the methodological issues as they stood at that time, mid-year 1556. It is hard to say whether Nidbruck was trying to take a middle position or a position favoring Praetorius. At any rate, he took his place firmly on both sides of the fence: in favor of commonplaces, to follow each other "secundum annorum seriem." Chronological sequences for commonplaces? The point of the "Declarationes" is that such an arrangement is a contradiction in terms. If the intent on Nidbruck's part was to mediate, then he could only cause confusion in this matter. If his purpose was to confound, he was also unsuccessful. Since there are no records or protocols of the actual meeting, and since the "Consilium" cannot be established to have been composed at that time with firm documented evidence, no more ought to be speculated.

---

[43] Documents IV, 3.10.

Ad modum colligendi regulae iudicandi & explorandi, an libri, qui tribuuntur saepe autoribus vere eorum sint[44]

The centuriators knew that the authorships of many ancient and medieval texts were spurious. They received much technical help in this matter from François Baudouin.[45] But that help came later. This set of five rules was composed, is extant in Wigand's hand, and helps to settle the matter for collectors. Criteria were established for making on-the-job judgments.

The first rule used the criterion of style; the second, of subject matter; the third, contents (i.e., other historical references); the fourth, witness of other reliable authors or catalogues of writings; and fifth, faults which can either prove or disprove authorship. Thus, the centuriators may have been fooled by spurious authorships, but they were not unaware of the problem. In fact, their rules were very good ones--then and now. The fact that these historians were taken in by pseudo-

---

[44] Documents IV, 3.9.

[45] Documents IV, 3.10. Baudouin, among others, gave opinions and guidelines for the centuriators to follow. They included Andreas Hyperius (see above, footnote 17), Jean Calvin, Georg Tanner, and many more. A good introduction is given in "2. Gutachten von auswärtigen Gelehrten," by Scheible, *Die Entstehung*, pp. 46-49. The problem, however, is that the approaches of other scholars cannot be thoroughly assessed until all of Cod. vind. pal. 9737i and k and 10364 are properly indexed and analyzed. The initiative to collect expert opinion came from Nidbruck. He needed such opinion apparently to substantiate to his patrons (i.e., Maximilian and perhaps also Ulrich Fugger and Ottheinrich) that the church history project had real, enduring value and to prove that he had done all that he could, within reason, to make of it the best church history that could be written at the time. The rules of Baudouin are transcribed as an example. Much more information is available in both Wolfenbüttel and Vienna on this matter, but they go far beyond the scope of this research.

nymous works and forgeries only proves that such works were very numerous and quite confounding. Before making damning judgments about the centuriators' gullibility, however, the modern observer might take into consideration the fact that the centuriators were the first people in modern times to deal with works that were subsequently proved to be spurious, precisely because they were brought into the purview of modern historiography by their presence in the Magdeburg Centuries.

Scheible's comments on these documents made frequent reference to a possible authorship and/or involvement by Flacius.[47] From the "Methodus" to the final rules for determining authenticity, the only manuscript evidence is that of fair copies with annotations by Wigand and Judex. The antithetical position of Praetorius can be readily identified, and the several refutations of it. Beyond that, it is impossible to fix absolutely the authorship of these several documents. At the same time, however, it must also be noted that where Flacius attempted to use commonplaces, particularly commonplaces in syllogistic argumentation, he found himself in deep trouble. The worst problems were caused by his clumsy handling of syllogistic disputation against Victorin Strigel in Weimar, for which he was eventually declared a heretic. When he needed help, as in 1558, he was tutored by Wigand.[48] And when Wigand was promoted to doctor of theology, it was precisely because of his contribution to the discipline in the field of methodology.[49]

---

[47] "Der Plan," pp. 69-80.

[48] Documents I, 13.

[49] Chapter IX, at footnote 12.

CHAPTER V

THE MAGDEBURG CENTURIES WITHOUT FLACIUS

Work could commence on the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries only when an agreed version of the methodology was in place. Ironic as it may be, the elaborate system of excerpting, copying, recopying, drafting, editing, and fair copying would have been unnecessary, if the centuriators had adopted a dated unit record concept and a unit hierarchical descriptor system, that is, note cards arranged by century, then by subject. But they thought of their work in a linear form--quotations with citations strung together in a logical order--and of the product in the form of a codex--a printed book.

The work did begin in the summer and autumn of 1556, with a decided change in leadership. The focus shifted from paid staff, co-workers or subordinates of Johann Wigand and Mattheus Judex, to the methodical line-by-line review and completion of final copy by these two. They could point to many continuous months of solid progress in the composition. Not that they were unoccupied by other concerns. Quite to the contrary.

Then the opposition struck, as the pamphlet war with their antagonists simply could not exempt this allegedly rich, subsidized, expensive history project: the Wittenbergers unleashed a vituperative attack. When struck, the centuriators had to answer, leaving a valuable account of their procedures in 1558. The "calumnies of 1558" set the project back in terms of morale and of that sense of political neutrality they had previously enjoyed, but only temporarily.

A Change in Leadership

Before the summer of 1556, long before the meetings of June and July and before the epistolary exchanges of August and September 1556, tha change in leadership was beginning to take place. Flacius was no longer representing the interests of the collegium to Nidbruck, at least not in an official way. Initial contacts were begun between the Palatinate and Flacius in December 1555 or January 1556; the epistolary communication began in February 1556.[1] Flacius set out to secure a professorial chair at the University of Heidelberg, under the patronage of Ottheinrich, through the good offices of Erasmus von Minckvitz. His earliest answers to the Palatinate were not refusals, not even temporary refusals; Flacius was biding his time, to see whether he should make any change at all, move to Heidelberg, or take a third option. The other option came from the ducal court of Johann Friedrich ("der Mittlere") of Thuringia, represented by Johann Aurifaber, who was pressing Flacius to take the position of "Ober-superintendent" of all Thuringia, in July of 1556. Thus, he could have chosen to assume a leading position in a leading university, or a powerful ecclesiastical appointment--probably the most powerful single person in Ducal Saxony in matters of religion. To make the offer irresistible, Aurifaber secured also an academic appointment at the University of Jena. Thuringia's was an offer the *Illyrian* simply could not refuse. On the one hand, Flacius remained closer to the center of controversy that surrounded the University of Wittenberg and the Saxon courts of the Electorate. But,

[1] Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, II, 105-106.

on the other hand, it was a proximity that allowed his enemies a far better opportunity to overwhelm him and eventually to heretify him.

Thus, from December 1556 to February 1557, the future of the Magdeburg Centuries was thoroughly undecided and confused, at least in Flacius' thinking. In March or early April, Flacius made his final commitment to the Weimar court of Thuringia; he left Magdeburg on 27 April 1557; his inaugural lecture was delivered on 17 May 1557, as he assumed the post of theological professor and "Supersuperintendent." To Gallus, in February 1557, Flacius said that he would have accepted Ottheinrich's offer if it had come earlier.[2] As he explained his own actions in his own words, however, he said:

> About the end of 1556 the younger Saxon princes began to insist strongly that they (?, for I) move to Jena for public lectures and for the "Obersuperintendent" position. To them I soon committed my work, moreover with a half year's time allowed for the completion of *Historia ecclesiastica*, the *Catalogus testium veritatis*, and the last book against Schwenckfeld, sufficiently long and dedicated to the most excellent Council of Strassburg.
>
> At the same time, Elector Ottheinrich was asking that I come to Heidelberg. I made a promise to His Excellency with this condition; if he could ask that the Saxon princes agree, to whom I had committed my work. When they did not agree, I went to Jena about Eastertime 1557.[3]

It would be unwise, indeed, to speculate what kind of church history Flacius would have written in six months.

---

[2] Ibid., II, 107, footnote **. While copies of the exchanges were, of course, available in the Bavarian State Library, both between Flacius and the Palatinate court and between Flacius and Gallus, the autographs have been in the Regensburg Stadtarchiv, Ecclesiastica, I, 3, 11, 14. More than that, the scores of letters between von Minckvitz and Gallus and between von Minckvitz and Flacius are also in these three boxes of papers. These originals, from which the Munich copies were only selected, can throw an entirely new light on the politics of Ottheinrich's court in 1556 and 1557.

[3] Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus haereticorum*, XIII, 832-833. The typesetting errors of Schlüsselburg's edition and the absence of a published version of the work in Flacius' day--errors like the one in the first line--could be remedied with a new edition. See Chapter I, footnote 5.

At precisely the same time when the collegium was discussing methodology, in those months of Saturday meetings of inspectors and staff, when the problem of dealing with Praetorius' recommendations was the most severe and the most critical for the future of the Magdeburg Centuries; Flacius was carrying on a vigorous correspondence with the Palatinate (Erasmus von Minckvitz) and Ducal Saxony (Johann Aurifaber). In those discussions, as he noted in *Narratio actionum et certaminum*, he was bargaining for six months' time to finish (sic) the Magdeburg Centuries, the catalogue, and his most ambitious work against Schwenckfeld. And that, in turn, must lead to the conclusion that Flacius did not yet understand the scale, dimensions, and requirements of the Magdeburg Centuries, either at precisely that time (i.e., 1556 and 1557), or at the later date when he finally wrote the autobiography! With such misconceptions, Flacius left the scene in Magdeburg. A review of events leading up to that departure and their impact on the Magdeburg Centuries follows.

On 18 September 1556, Hubert Lanquet sent a letter to Melanchthon from Frankfurt.[4] One cannot take this letter to be simply a form of private communication; shortly after it arrived in Wittenberg, a copy of the holograph was sent to Flacius, probably by Wilhelm Eccius. So then, it is necessary to observe that the letter is not only intended for Melanchthon's eyes, but is also being read over Melanchthon's shoulder by Flacius. The Burgundian was evaluating and reviewing also for himself the results of his peace-making overtures and discussions with Flacius that were held in July. Regarding specifically the history project, he had some very critical things

[4] Documents I, 4.

to say. He was convinced that Flacius did not understand the magnitude of the task that he was proposing--but more. He also became convinced that Flacius never intended that the project succeed. Despite all the efforts that had been expended to date, Flacius remained certain that he could and would write the history, even though every attempt to write even a small sample had failed. Furthermore, he charged that Flacius was diverting large sums of money to his own polemical activities, the pamphlet campaign against the Melanchthonian Adiaphorists. The disagreements of Flacius with Praetorius were becoming bitter and virulent in matters of adiaphora. Lanquet warned Melanchthon that Flacius had a major asset and could advance the Gnesio-Lutheran cause with a breakdown in any and all mediation. Lanquet's assessment was absolutely on the mark in this point. Since 1555, he continued, Flacius seemed to have lost his ardor for writing. He excused himself, begged poverty, searched facetiously for a writer: Lanquet could only conclude that Flacius considered the Magdeburg Centuries project his private property. Although the letter was dated September, it related to the situation that Lanquet had been reviewing and pondering since July.

Following shortly after that meeting between Lanquet and Flacius, and well after Nidbruck's visit to Magdeburg, Wigand wrote to the imperial counselor with words of thanks and friendship on 18 August 1556.[5] He reminded Nidbruck of their need for "an adequately methodical person also suited for writing" and sought his suggestions. Nidbruck had promised to invite Georg Tanner to visit, if not stay, in Magdeburg. Wigand then asked Nidbruck to represent the collegium to Tanner and offer a salaried position to him. The writing plan could be adjusted to meet Tanner's needs, said Wigand, and he closed with this remark:

---

[5] Documents, I, 5.

> D. Illyricus will probably tell you about all these matters. To me it seemed a good idea anyhow to add this brief letter, so that you may understand that the whole collegium seeks your advice. Moreover, we promise that we shall tend to a perpetual reminder of your generosity.

Two months later, 19 October 1556,[6] Nidbruck answered from Regensburg, that he had indeed received the earlier letter and was deeply gratified. Nidbruck had written to Tanner three times with no answer. He then addressed a few technical issues:

> Watch out for this: when you arrange the writings of the ancients, do not cast aspersions on innovation. Leave the final decision to the reader, lest some silly introduction or critical judgment against an ancient author detract from the authority and reliability of the whole work. On chapter and titles, I think well-used and general words should be employed. All the material ought to be arranged according to a chronological sequence, or you might wish to divide each book into fifty-year segments more or less. I allow you to consider the material itself.

He continued to support, at least in part, the position of Praetorius. But he offered the use of his own library for someone to come from the collegium to make excerpts. That collection was, of course, the Viennese palace library under the control of Maximilian. The collegium could also join in the effort, Nidbruck said:

> We shall get into the whole plan (consultatio) with Nicolaus Gallus. And meanwhile get with it on the whole rationale (ratio) of the writing. If you would send me the application (tractatio) of one commonplace, perhaps I would have no disagreement, so that I could show it to some wealthy people and encourage their support.

That is, some disagreement probably remained, but could be dissipated with just one successful sample of narrative.

The exchanges between Tanner and Nidbruck took place because of the insistent initiative of Wigand in his 18 August 1556 letter. That is, on 24 August 1556, Nidbruck wrote to the young Tanner.[7] He repeated the re-

---

[6] Documents I, 6.

quests for information and asked on 19 September 1556 that Tanner consider "whether you would wish to live in those regions, in a group of very learned men; they offer you annually one hundred thaler."[8] He explained further what was happening with the church history project:

> They seek you as the appropriate one to write that history, such that you need to do no collecting (excerpting). Five learned men have been designated for this task alone who, as I myself have seen, have an extensive copy of selected historians and opinions about many, many matters. It needs only to be polished in a style and arranged in a logical order. In this matter you will present for sure to the whole church a most beneficial work and to your highest praise for posterity. How necessary and how excellent the work will be, you yourself will easily judge and understand, once you have taken into your own hands what these very learned men have assembled and customarily deliberate for days on end. Wherefore for our friendship's sake, I ask you, so that you may understand as all of us ought to strive for the propagation of the essential truth. Not just for me, so eagerly seeking after you, but for many brilliant men you would set the model and then turn it over to them after one or two years. Your companionship will be a most happy one, your knowledge of these matters that you will handle, not useless. When you wish to refer to our common teachers [in Wittenberg] a compact study of your writing effort, you will be permitted to rush those few eight or ten miles. You will be returned to those who I know are very close to you. They who asked that you be approached offer one hundred thaler annually and more. I and other good men who support the common good will add what remains of your requisite needs from our own resources. Consequently nothing has been neglected, for when you wish to return to your own people in your fatherland, the same conditions will apply which can now also be offered by these very friendly men.

Nidbruck promised help in securing a position and scholarly resources whenever Tanner might want to return to Austria.

Tanner answered after conferring with friends and confidants on 6 November 1556.[9] He was willing to declare himself for the Evangelicals

---

[7] The full text of the letter is to be found in Victor Bibl, "Nidbruck und Tanner: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien und zur Charakteristik König Maximilians II.," *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*, 85 (1898), 379-430, especially p. 426. In Nidbruck's hand, on the original manuscript (Cod. vind. pal. 9737k, f. 126) are the words: Scribit, se non accepisse.

[8] Ibid., p. 427.

[9] Ibid.

on the basis of his own personal beliefs. He thought, however, that there would be sharp reaction from his past and present patron. If he could do the work in his fatherland (Austria) with the knowledge and consent of his patron, then the whole proposal would have to be considered in another light. As Bibl pointed out, that patron was in all likelihood Maximilian.[10] Nidbruck awaited a good opportunity, he said on 24 December 1556;[11] and he asked that Tanner temporize. Again, on 4 January 1557, he said he was considering handing over the entire matter to Maximilian.[12] On 8 February 1557, Tanner accepted a position in the University of Vienna, Professor of Greek letters. He would, however, wait on subsequent decisions of learned and good men.[13] Flacius did not get around to sending formal letters of invitation until 15 February 1557, the very day on which Tanner wrote to Nidbruck that the negative decision was final.[14] Despite the formally proper, but long protracted, negotiations between Tanner and Nidbruck, the Magdeburgers never seemed decidedly hopeful that Tanner would ever return a positive response after the earlier equivocation. The writing was moving forward without him.

Meanwhile, as Tanner fretted, on 19 November 1556,[15] Wigand reported to Nidbruck that work had been going forward daily. Clarification had been achieved and the commonplaces were being used as formally and formerly agreed, thus ending earlier confusion among the workers. But even at this late date, the collegium desired to have further formal opinion from Nidbruck, in writ-

---

[10] Ibid., p. 429.

[11] Ibid., pp. 429-430, f. 106.

[12] Ibid., f. 126v.

[13] Ibid., f. 18.

[14] Ibid., f. 206.

[15] Documents I, 7.

ing, not only his own, but others' whom he had solicited. The Promethean task has begun: we have actually started to roll that great stone, said Wigand. And he asked Nidbruck to thank Tanner for help that he had already rendered, no matter what his final decision might be about joining the project. The letter was filled with praise and thanks, forthrightly expressed, without fawning or excess.

Nidbruck's reply of 18 December 1556 repeated an old request.[16] Send one completed locus, treated through the individual centuries as a sample, to help raise funds. Nidbruck also referred to the essay, "De methodo conscribendae hijstoriae," the recommendations of the Marburg professor, Andreas Hyperius.[17] Nidbruck's annotated copy remained with his private papers, and there is no indication that this interesting revision of Hyperius' work was ever shared with the Magdeburgers. The version of Hyperius' work that was used by the centuriators came through Nidbruck in the summer of 1556 when he visited.[18] Nidbruck continued, in this December letter, that he had reviewed Tanner's tentative refusal. He asked that Wigand communicate further, explaining how much had been done and what agreements were already fully in hand regarding methodology. Despite the

---

[16] Documents I, 8.

[17] The holograph of Hyperius' work is the same as that in Wolfenbüttel, that is, Cod. pal. vind. 9737k, ff. 318-323 and Cod. guelf. 11.20 Aug. 2°, ff. 62-70. Nidbruck's annotations (autograph) are very extensive and very interesting, but there is no indication that he referred them to Wigand or Flacius. On the other hand, there is no indication of Nidbruck's annotations in any of the other Magdeburg methodological papers, either drafts or final copies.

[18] Hyperius' contribution is another of those that deserve special extended treatment (see below, footnote 45 of Chapter IV). As Hyperius was made conscious of historiographical issues--as he was called upon to advise others--he had to come to grips with the very issues that changed his own history studies at that time.

earlier assurances by Wigand that the basic issues regarding methodology were settled, or at least sufficiently defined to begin working; Nidbruck persisted in opening the question time after time, either because of disagreement or misunderstanding. He understood all too well; he probably disagreed.

On 18 December 1556, Nidbruck also wrote to Flacius.[19] Marx Wagner, who was working with Gallus, supported by Gallus, served as messenger. Once again Nidbruck deplored Flacius' failure to work with Cassander and Wouters, because they were studying materials and literature of the early church; at the very least, a collector should be sent to Cologne. Nidbruck did not confer with Flacius about hiring Tanner, but instead wrote about Tanner only to Wigand. At the close of his letter, Nidbruck said to Flacius:

> What he [Gallus] attached to the appendix of your letters, about the words added to Baudouin's advice, you are too convinced, and you fear that I am perhaps not constant in maintaining friendship, or you think that I do not know what is incumbent on friends. You know the rest from letters which I wrote to Wigand and also from your Wagner and from Nicolaus Gallus.

But a friendship was suffering that had to be shored up with such verbosity.

Shortly thereafter, on 15 January 1557,[20] Nidbruck said that he wanted to come to Magdeburg again, this time with Wagner. And he said to Flacius the following, ominous, dire, troubled:

> Wissenburg wrote that Oporinus will publish the collected ancient verses and some other things that I sent to him that you want to preface with an introduction. I certainly wish that such books can be purchased without the front matter, so that they can make a better profit. Many people will be appalled by that, if they see your name on the front. It would be enough to have advanced and helped the church! These things I write, not that I would be jealous of your fame, but that I would advise you of this matter which would perhaps produce some benefit. You, go ahead and do less than nothing: it will seem a good thing. Nevertheless, in the work underway, be very, very careful that you do not make yourself suspect. That will happen if you are anxious to tell

---

[19] Bibl, "Briefwechsel," no. 37, 20, 108-111.

[20] Ibid., no. 38, 20, 111-112.

> too much and if you add only those points that seem to serve your purpose. For, as you know, reliability is required above all in history writing. Just one commonplace carried out through centuries I would like you to send to me, which I could show as a sample for the others of your industriousness and diligence, so that those who can be convinced by it rather quickly may help you.

All the effort that Nidbruck had invested in the history project could come to naught, if the public were predisposed to distrust the results, simply because of one man's contentiousness.

Flacius' reply of 15 February 1557[21] was very correct. His thanks were profuse; the work on chapter one was going ahead splendidly; reports were on the way or almost ready. He said then of Lanquet:

> What he spread around about me, you have probably heard from Peucer. He is said to have reported in these regions that I divert money and plan to flee to my fatherland. How I offended the man, I do not know, except that I did not allow support to be given to him to journey to Belgia when he wanted to go there for no reason of ours. He was informed of secret discussions. Afterward I sought a more accurate accounting when he returned from Italy, as is necessary in public affairs and in business. Copus has the money somewhere and we are prepared to show accounting to good men....In Lower Germany those can surely be found among the hosts of pious people who are convinced that [the history] be written by us here, to acquire everything for us and our organization. But today the matter of our opponents has been tested. Our people will give [Cassander and Wouters], the Kölners--no reason to doubt it--both of them one hundred thaler if only they wish to work here for one year, even if they do not apply themselves to these hard labors as others do.

Flacius assured Nidbruck that the good name and promises of Nidbruck would be cleared, to the extent that Flacius and the collegium were aware and capable. When suspected, challenged, and accused of wrong-doing, Flacius agreed to do things that he had refused for over a year: he agreed to hire Cassander and Wouters. Flacius did not take at face value what Lanquet had written about him: the Burgundian's assessment was a function of his own perversity, not of any remotely conceivable culpability on Flacius' part. Flacius was thoroughly incapable of learning from criticism.

---

[21] Ibid., no. 39, 20, 112-114.

Three weeks after his powerful letter of February 1557, Flacius again wrote to Nidbruck, on 5 March 1557.[22] The honesty and integrity of the Magdeburgers had been seriously challenged and Flacius thanked Nidbruck for his continuing support. Flacius understood that Nidbruck would and could not sympathize with the Magedeburgers' uncompromising stance, despite all attempts for a minimum of pacification, if not reconciliation, with the Wittenbergers. With the sending of the formal invitation and chapter to Tanner, Flacius believed that he had discharged his responsibilities, without any further expression of desire that the invitation succeed, that Tanner accept. The rumor of stolen books was in the air; Flacius pleaded:

> Therefore, we beg of you earnestly, that the names of those books be sent to us which were earnestly requested, so that we can return them as quickly as possible. Indeed, we have proposed either in the spring Leipzig [book] fair or even before it, if it is asked of us--either the first four [laded shipments] or as many as possible of the earlier ones. Then indeed it could be done very safely and very correctly, but if Your Highness wishes it to happen before that, it will also move forward although at some greater risk.

Flacius' name was never cleared of the charge of bibliokleptic peculator.

From Regensburg Nidbruck answered, on 16 March 1557,[23] eleven days after Flacius' urgent message. After virtually hounding the Magdeburgers for years to produce just one sample of a commonplace, Nidbruck was shockingly unmoved when he wrote:

> I have received several chapters of your work, but I fear that I have not read them through carefully. As far as I can see, the work is not displeasing.

The matter that the Magdeburgers return borrowed books did not sound like a pressing emergency, at least not as expressed by Nidbruck.

---

[22] Ibid., no. 40, 20, 114-115.

[23] Ibid., no. 41, 20, 115-116. The title of the letter, "Nidbruck an Tanner," (p. 115), was, no doubt, a simple typographic or secretarial error. It is clearly a letter of Nidbruck to Flacius.

> As to the books that were recently sent, it is agreeable that you use them at your leave; nevertheless, why not all the charts and lists which I sent at one time or another and you had straightened out into a single book--I wish them to be sent to me after you have used them, and--as much as you can sent through a single shipment--send them here to Gallus. But this is the issue that I wrote about before: I am obliged to other people. But now it does not matter who they are. I shall write it down sometime or other.

Apparently he was never given an opportunity to write down the whole story or to communicate it with Flacius and perhaps not with Gallus; Nidbruck would die suddenly, six months after this letter was written.

Two months after this exchange between Flacius and Nidbruck, Wigand wrote once again to the imperial counselor, 5 May 1557.[24] He said that Flacius had gone to Jena, adding, "you are not ignorant of the fact." Flacius would retain the title of "summus gubernator," clearly an expression filled with formal, rather than practical, weight. The work would continue in Wigand's home, with seven supported staff members. One, the writer; a second, to begin after Pentecost, would be the major composition staff. Perhaps they were Faber and Veltbeck; Wigand did not name them. He asked that Nidbruck understand, and that he acknowledge Wigand and his companions had been left in an "immense swamp," and that the "forest" (the library) had been reduced severely with Flacius' departure. The bills were increasing. Perhaps the King of Denmark would help. Wigand expressed his thanks to God that the methodology problems had been solved, and that the workers now had a cynosure to guide them--presumably in response to Nidbruck's queries about opening once again the whole matter of method. Wigand said that many books were in the process of being returned and moved about, and that the matter of appropriate literary resources for the future would be handled by Flacius. The beginnings of the second and third centuries had been reviewed, the fourth to begin after Pentecost. Most striking, however, in this

---

[24] Documents I, 9.

basically friendly letter by Wigand was the absence of requests for materials or aid from Nidbruck: materials would be handled by Flacius, funds from other sources (King of Denmark?). The division that occurred between the Gnesio-Lutherans and the Adiaphorists had taken a heavy toll and had eroded the open and helpful relationship between the centuriators and Nidbruck. At least the division was without rancor.

Nidbruck's letter of 12 July 1557 to Wigand was one of his last.[25] He acknowledged that he too was in the "immense swamp," that his attempts to raise money in the past were largely in vain, that "the ones who have, won't; and the ones who don't have, would." He directed the Magdeburgers to their own City Council to assign one or another ecclesiastical benefices. While the task was freezing among the mighty, perhaps the cities and counts of the north would warm up. He said that he would continue to work for the cause. Apparently he sent a brief paper also, for he said, "you were asking for my opinion on "De methodo," for your use, in brief form." This is the document entitled:

Consilium meum extemporate
Jn scribenda historia Ecclesiastica[26]

At least, this is the remnant in Nidbruck's papers; a copy in Wolfenbüttel has not been identified. It seems incongruous to find, at this late date, yet another methodological proposal; fifteen months after the collegium had opted for the majority's methodology, Nidbruck continued to support Praetorius, as he recommended a chronologically organized commonplaces technique.

---

[25] Documents I, 10.

[26] Documents IV, 3.11. The temptation continues, to find an earlier date for a Nidbruck opinion on methodology, fully explicit. An earlier reference to his own committment is not available than this one of 1557. On the other side, this paper is an autograph draft: q.e.d.

When Nidbruck confessed that he was unable to raise significant sums of money, he left testimony that the almost endless flow of cash from his sources to Magdeburg was mythic. If Nidbruck or Maximilian gave large sums of money, either directly or through conduits (e.g., Heintzel, Neumeyer), and if that money went to Flacius; then the intent was not only to support the Magdeburg Centuries. In fact, the Nidbruck confession would indicate that such money was not all intended to write history. As any fund raiser knows, it is a far, far distance from the promise of help to the signed voucher.

EXCURSUS 1

COSWICK--JANUARY 1557

The long, protracted contentiousness between Magdeburg and Wittenberg came to full confrontation from 18 to 28 January 1557 in the Colloquy of Coswick.[a] A meeting of the principals--chiefly Melanchthon and Flacius --had been recommended for a long time by many people. Flacius' own letters to Melanchthon of 1 and 16 September 1556 detailed the points of contention from his perspective.[b] The issues were not dissipated and the complaints had not been resolved in the preceding months. The Duke of Mecklenburg, Johann Albrecht, played a major role in coordinating the representation of the Evangelicals, who took issue with Melanchthon, and in organizing face-to-face meetings between Melanchthon and duly appointed officers of the church.

The cities of Hamburg, Lübeck, Lüneburg, and Braunschweig sent representatives: Paul von Eitzen (Superintendent) and Joachim Westphal (Pastor) of Hamburg, Valentin Curtius (Superintendent) and Dionysius Schünemann (Pastor) of Lüneburg, and Joachim Mörlin (Superintendent) and Martin Chemnitz (Pastor) of Braunschweig. This group, known variously as the "Mediatores," "Pacificatores," or simply "pastores Saxonici," came to Magdeburg on 17 January 1557. In a formal presentation, Chemnitz stated openly

---

[a]The most complete secondary documentation about the Colloquy is to be found in the work of Christian August Salig, *Vollständige Historie der Augspurgischen Confession*, III, 238-251, based chiefly on Cod. guelf. 64.7 Extra. 2° (the brief article in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* [1708], 529-538, also based on this codex). The codex contains two sets of documents. The *Corpus Reformatorum* performed a major disservice to scholarship with the set of documents published in Liber XIII of the correspondence of Melanchthon (cols. 23-61). (1) The Salig citation, as noted in CR, is wrong. (2) The printing of texts from Cod. mon. Galli I is more confusing than helpful, because they are chiefly copies, unsigned, without detailed provenance. (3) The texts from the *Epistolae Scholasticorum* (Wittenberg: 1571), from the *Consilia* edited by Pezel, and from the Backmeister *Acta philippica* are clearly and obviously corrupted--in Melanchthon's favor. The best available texts--partial, extensive, but uncorrupted, but also signed, annotated, with detailed provenance--are to be found in Cod. guelf. 64.7 Extra 2°, to be collated perhaps with Cod. mon. Galli I; the Melanchthonian partisans' texts form another distinct text tradition and should not be confused with the other. The city archives of Regensburg contain scores of eyewitness accounts and reports to Gallus on the Coswick affair and can settle textual variations in many cases.

[b]Cod. guelf. 64.11 Extra. f. 132ff. The letters were finally published in 1874 in the Appendix, no. 571b and 574, pp. 573-589, of Heinrich Ernst Bindseil's edition of Philipp Melanchthon, *Epistolae, iudicia, consilia, testimonia aliorumque ad eum epistolae quae in Corpore Reformatorum desiderantur* (Halis Saxonum: Gustav Schwetschke, 1874; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1975).

that the group was not impartial: they were one with the Magdeburgers in the Confession of 1551 and in Flacius' recent tract, *Von der Einigkeit.*[c] The most telling point of this work was the documented statements that the wrongs and crimes of the Interim and of the Interimists had not been corrected or undone. The superintendents and pastors wanted to depart quickly for Wittenberg, so that they would not give the appearance of having conspired with the Magdeburgers; in fact, they wished to journey up the Elbe the next day, 18 January 1557. They were joined on 21 January by officially delegated representatives of the City Ministerium and City Council of Magdeburg: Johann Wigand (Superintendent) with Johann Baumgarten and Matthaeus Judex (Pastors). Flacius accompanied them by

---

[c]The full title is, *Von der einigkeit derer/ so für vnd wider die Adiaphora in vorgangenen Jaren gestritten haben/ Christlicher einfeltiger bericht/ sehr nützlich zu lesen/ durch Matth. Flac. Jllyricum* ([Magdeburg] 1556), folioed A-F^{8}. After tracing the immediate background (pp. A2r-C3r), Flacius listed the twenty-one ways or steps to unity: (1) No one admits to error for allowing the Interim for four years, only self-justification. (2) Philipp even said for a public sin there should be a public penance--for an accidental death. How much more so in the case of the Interim? (3) When one has committed a scandal, the first responsibility is to undo the wrong. (4) One is duty-bound to honor God rather than men in times of crisis, rebuilding the church (not as though what happened was but a slight perturbation!), uprooting the last traces of the Interim. (5) Stop the false teaching; stop turning priorities around. (6) Where there had been false teaching, ~~a clear~~ refutation and damnation are in order. (7) Do the proper penance: to allow Adiaphorists peace and quiet is to allow them to entrench themselves even deeper. (8) A proper punishment for open wrongdoing is in order. (9) Evil examples are to be uprooted, not treated to amnesty. (10) Ingratitude is being cited: how is gratitude shown by praising evil, by commending what is wrong, by flattering? (11) Those who fall must be restored and forgiven, but they must admit their wrong. For eight years they prosper, not suffer; they continue unchanged. Remember the story of Marcellinus and three kernels of incense: he was damned by a church council and deposed. (12) The Adiaphorists help turn over church properties to anxious princes to rule, and cater to the forms of protocol of Antichrist. (13) Now the lay officers want the power of the keys [in the consistories] to dictate what gets preached, taught, prayed, sung, and how the church is ruled, linking secular powers and religious powers, politics and personalities. (14) The godless bishops return for their jurisdictions and rules, also to the Evangelical preachers and churches. (15) Osiander is to be treated to amnesty, even though he is an open heretic, leading many people astray. (16) Those who were persecuted and driven off by the Adiaphorists are still out; the persecutors are still on top. (17) No attempt is made to undo the basic evils of the Interim, where people were forced to comply and are still forced against their wills. (18) Those who bore false witness should confess to the earlier character assassinations. (19) Those who refuse to damn the heretics and show what is wrong and right are also deniers of the truth. (20) Do not teach contrary to the truth. (21) Help lead the fallen back to confess, be absolved and live in God's grace again.

order of the City Council.[d] The Magdeburgers joined the rest at the previously arranged meeting place, a village near Wittenberg named Coswick. The leaders all feared for the physical safety of the Magdeburgers, in the face of threats by the students of Wittenberg. From Coswick, the mediators communicated with both the Magdeburgers and the Wittenbergers, conducting three important conferences with each of them.

On 21 January 1557, after exchanges of greetings and the usual duties of hospitality the previous day, the discussions began in the home of Melanchthon. He complained bitterly that the attacks against him were personal invectives by Flacius and Gallus. He affirmed that he would refuse to adopt any and all Flacian articles of any kind.[e] The mediators said that article-writing was precisely their task, and they proposed eight of them: (1) doctrinal accord to be based exclusively on the Augsburg Confession and Smalcald Articles; (2) rejection of all errors of papists, interimists, anabaptists, and sacramentarians; (3) rejection of the formula that good works are necessary for salvation; (4) commitment by the Saxon church not to abrogate the next confession; (5) no further concessions to papists' ceremonies until there is doctrinal unity; (6) until then, a sincere confession to be drawn up that does not confuse Christian freedom with slavery; (7) Melanchthon obligated to clarify in writing his position on adiaphora and the necessity of good works for salvation; (8) in cases of ambiguity, Melanchthon further obligated to make thorough clarification.[f] Melanchthon answered the superintendents' articles the next day.[g] He again denounced Flacius and argued that Flacius had been able to attack only a few random theological issues, but had not made a systematic presentation of his own theology. He found fault with several theological formulations by Flacius. Regarding the articles: the first he accepted; the second he wished to extend; the third he would add a second half on the expression "new obedience"; the fourth, fifth, and sixth, he accepted rather than appear to obstruct peace; the seventh he would agree to, writing no more about the Interim and about adiaphora; and the eighth he would not respond to.

Both Flacius and Melanchthon were behaving disingenuously: one complained about the other's spying, one blamed the other for writing and sponsoring invectives and parodies, one attacked the other for trying to create traitors in each other's camps. Each felt that the other had taken important, vital theological issues and personalized them. And both were correct in their complaints.

---

[d] CR IX, no. 6158, cols. 26-28; and no. 6160, cols. 29-30.

[e] CR IX, no. 6164, cols. 53-55.

[f] CR IX, no. 6165, cols. 55-57. The articles were signed by Curtius, Mörlin, von Eitzen, and Henninges.

[g] CR IX, no. 6167, cols. 58-60. There is no mention made of the interesting and enlightening scholia on these lines to be found in the Wigand library, Cod. guelf. 64.7 Extra. 2°, ff. 13r-16v.

At the same time when the collegium got down to working on the methodology, Flacius was negotiating for himself a professorial chair in Heidelberg, with a half-year's sabbatical to complete a double life's work. *Nidbruck said that he was pleased by what he saw in Magdeburg in* June of 1556, but continued to express himself in opposition to the majority opinion of the collegium. He tried to recruit for their ranks one of the brightest young minds of his native Austria, one for whom a distinguished academic career was already being planned. But that all was not to be.

Again, the modern researcher cannot treat one project in isolation and hope to make sense of its context. The tensions between Magdeburg and Wittenberg had reached the point where the Magdeburgers were ready to advance successfully a united political front against the Melanchthon circle. Lanquet correctly warned of Flacius' increasing political strength.

But how could Flacius continue to misunderstand the nature and scope of the church history project, from February to July 1556? He was not stupid. He was preoccupied. There is every reason to believe that he ignored all the project's details: methodological, organizational, administrative, even financial. He never wrote about any of these matters with even the faintest insider's insight or intuition, to say nothing of hard information. Once again, however, Flacius cannot be faulted for being a deficient historian or organizer. He was, in fact, organizing elsewhere. He was gathering a political force of the large urban superintendents. He rallied them and convinced them of his cause; he wrote the constitution of the Gnesio-Lutherans: *Von der Einigkeit*. He prepared to take a new ecclesiastical office in the eye of the storm, the "Supersuperintendent" of Thuringia. Simple calculations of working hours in a day or week or month would indicate that, with his involvement in the Adiaphoristic controversy, lesser priorities would have to be handled by others. So they were.

On the other hand, Wigand was growing intellectually with the project. His other publications began to speak with the rock-hard basis of documented witness and flawless method. He honed his skills. At the age of thirty-four his was a commanding position as Superintendent of Magdeburg: he chaired the sessions of the Gnesio-Lutherans in Coswick, organizing colleagues the age of his father who addressed him amd respected him as their own spiritual father. Forcefully and persuasively his program against Wittenberg rolled forward, not as a vendetta of personalities, but rather as a prophetic pronouncement that the wrongs of the Interim would be made right. Or else.

Progress in Composition

With Flacius' departure from Magdeburg, the task was complicated well beyond what Wigand had confided to Nidbruck. Three autograph letters of 1557 and 1558 from Wigand to Flacius survive.[27] The first two are the only available information from the workshop of the history for autumn and winter 1557/1558 among the members of the inner circle, the collegium.

On 10 August 1557, Wigand expressed his utter exasperation that Flacius had failed to communicate with the centuriators in Magdeburg. They were mutually engaged in a broad range of controversies and were deeply involved in preparations for, or in subsequent analyses of, theological colloquies. Flacius had not sent books as he had promised. The general notes that he had sent were not adequate for the detailed historical analysis required by the agreed methodology of the Magdeburg Centuries. He persisted in his misunderstanding of the simple mechanics of excerpting and distributing. The staff was engaged in excerpting material for Century IV and Century V. The extensive treatment of chapter one had not been returned to Magdeburg from Jena. Both Judex and Wigand had agreed that the Methodus needed further revisions, and they waited on Flacius' judgment.

Wigand wrote two letters to other friends and patrons at the same time, on 10 August 1557: to Gallus in Regensburg and to Waldner in Nürnberg. Wigand was aware, he said to Gallus,[28] that criticism had begun to rise

---

[27] 10 August 1557, Documents I, 11; 8 February 1558, Documents I, 12; 16 November 1558, Documents I, 13.

[28] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 15, 49v, lines 6-23: Collegae hisorici negocii agunt tibi gratiam pro tuis officijs, quibus nos hactenus iuuasti, et petiunt ne eam promptitudinem mutes. Laboramus vt spero fideli-

against the history project. Such criticism would hurt not only current support, but the prospects for getting additional financial aid. The organization and methodology were paying off handsomely, however: The material grows marvelously under our hands, as we try to explain the form (idea) of the church in single centuries, Wigand rejoiced. At this time, he also sent Pancratius Veltbeck to do excerpting in the region around Regensburg. To Waldner, Wigand wrote an introductory letter for himself, with thanks for the Nürnberger's help and generosity in the past, and a note of introduction for Veltbeck.[28] Wigand hoped that the manuscript of one century in Waldner's possession would satisfy those who were asking for demonstrations of results for the years of collecting materials and support of scholars. The volume they sent, Century III, was one of the shortest of them all. But it was done!

Veltbeck was the messenger for Wigand's letters to Flacius, Gallus

---

ter & diligenter. Audimus multos flagitare aeditionem, sed idem nos vrgeremus, si ab his laboribus abessemus, qui certe tanti sint, vt si initio omnes satis eos expendissemus, forte pauci eos subijssent. Ne tamen videamur imponere tantum bonis viris & pecuniam eos emungere, ad futuram aetatem, vt aliquid prodeat, quidquid id tantum erit, faciemus. Res nobis conantibus ideam Ecclesiae singulis centurijs proponere, mire crescunt sub ipsis manibus. Bene in Domino. Vale. Hic M. Pancratius vnus est, qui architecti vier in postremum sustinebit. Jam in Methodj cogitione quam collectione & qualicunque vsui cogitj discere est occupatus. Visitabit in sua patria suos cognatos inde ad nos reuerterj.

[28]Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 26, 103r, lines 11-26: Quantopere negotium historicum promoneas, M. Matthias saepe mihi retulit. Ago igitur tibj gratias, ac peto, vt pergas. Spero iam apud vos esse vnam Centuriam quae desiderio bonorum vtrunque satisfaciet, donec aliquam in lucem prodeat cum quibusdam alijs. Etsi enim posteriora semper priora enudiant, tamen vt testemur nostram diligentiam, si nihil aliud, ad futuram aetatem, aliquid typographo, Deo iuuante, tradetur.

Hasce literas etiam ideo huic M. Pancratio dedj, vt haberes occasionem de nostris rebus percontandj. Est enim vnus ex cooperarijs in nostra officina, quae est in meis aedibus, quamuis recens accesserit.

The Waldner correspondence is to be found today in the Regensburg city archives together with Gallus', because Waldner succeeded Gallus as Superintendent of the City Ministerium of Regensburg.

and Waldner. But when he stopped in Jena to deliver his first message, the letter to Flacius, the Illyrian added his own missive and Veltbeck became also his messenger. So it was that Flacius personally introduced Veltbeck to Waldner,[29] noted that he was a Bavarian, capable, and had been brought into the project shortly after Easter. He ought not be seduced to some other vocation, Flacius added. With the other materials, Flacius sent Century III to Waldner in Nürnberg, with instruction that it should also be transshipped to Heintzel in Augsburg. Here was the evidence of good faith for years of patronage.

From the sound of Flacius' message to Gallus, one would suspect that Flacius was intimately involved in the day-to-day workings of the project. While the 10 August 1557 letter by Wigand puts that in doubt, the next messages by Wigand to Gallus indicate where the real burden was.

By 23 September 1557, Wigand was feeling the full financial and organizational responsibilities and pressures: he was working with and supporting ten people, but the project itself had already moved on to the composition of Century IV.[30] Further, he said that he had heard about, but not seen, a critique by Calvin.

---

[29] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 15, 70r, lines 9-29: Hunc nostrum Pancratium ob pietate ac eruditione ad negocium historicum, vt alter architectus esset, adhibuimus. Js uero cum natione Bauarus sit, iam istuc conficiendorum suorum negociorum gratiam proficiscitur. Quare te plurimum oro ac obsecro, vt omni eum, qua omnino potes, humanitate complectaris, ac in pio proposito confirmes, ne ulla occasione se ab illa functione ad aliam vocationem abduci patiatur. Adhuc est hactenus (sane post pascha primum accessit) uersatus in inferioribus exercitijs, donec rem panitus pernosceret. Jam ubi rederit, libri alicuius scriptionem inchoabit. Speramus duobus architectis adhibitis, rem foelicius magisque ex noto esse progressuram. Tertiam centuriam misi Valdnero Noribergam ut ipse amicis ac patronis huius operis commonstraret, fidemque faceret rem serio agi. Vnde porro iussi eum etiam Heintzelio mittere.

[30] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 15, 48r, lines 28-33: In historia progredimur non impigre, modo pecunia, qua porro altremque operarios adesset. Nam decem plurimum absumunt, sicut facile cogitare potes. Coepta est centuria quarta vberrimam materiam continens.

In a revealing letter to Gallus dated 16 November 1557, Wigand discussed several important matters.[31] Although he had received from Gallus a sum of money from Lucas (?), he did not have access to the subscription lists of Flacius; he would turn the matter over to Flacius, also to write the proper acknowledgments for receipt of the money. Not only Gallus, but others--and pious men, at that--had contributed both money and excerpts for the composition of the history, for which Wigand tendered his thanks. The work was going slowly for two major reasons: first, the authors with which they were dealing tended to be numerous and very prolix; second they were trying so hard to compose the entire work in very good order. The "superficial narratives"--the connecting texts, as he called them--were much easier, such as one might find in the usual histories. He grieved the loss of Caspar von Nidbruck. He added: You did a good and pious thing, in that you took care to have the matter about the books explained to Maximilian; may God see to it that he helps us. As he discussed the Sacramentarian controversies in which he and Judex were deeply involved, Wigand indicated how scrupulously he and his co-workers were taking part in the effort:

> ...on top of [the Sacramentarian struggles], this history work is added. It is necessary that Judex and I sweat over this, such that

---

[31] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 15, 52r, lines 13-31: Pecuniam a Luca accepimus. Quitantiam mittimus. Verum cum tam subito D. Illyrici subscriptionem habere non potuerimus, puto satis esse quod nos quattuor addiderimus nomina. Si voles, D. Illyricus seorism addet suas testimoniales literas. Agimus autem tibi caeterisque, pijs vrijs, quicumque illi sunt, pro ista collatione gratias quam maximas nec dubitabitis, quin optima fide collocetur. Alimus adhuc decem operarios. Tardiuscule res progreditur, tum quia autores plurimj ac prolixissimj sunt euoluendi, tum quid res bonas & vtiles bono ordine contexere, quantum quidem in nobis est, studemus. Superficiales vt sic dicam, narrationes facilius multo componeremus, quales quidem passim in historicis videmus. Optimum virum D. Doct. Casp. vitam functam esse, & in talj loco, ex animo doleo. Recte autem & pie fecistis quod ad Max. de libris quaedam perscribj curastis, gubernet enim Deus, vt nos adiuuet.

> we try to allocate for that purpose not only the day, but some portion of the night--and nevertheless, we cannot satisfy ourselves. The other workers do what they are told, as it should be done, and yet not just the way we would want it. Then the endless corrections and drafts fall upon us--only a few people know about this.[32]

The two clergy of St. Ulrich's, pastor and deacon, assumed the full responsibility for the content of the Magdeburg Centuries, not only for the managment and supervision, once the excerpting and draft disposition had been completed according to the guidelines of the methodology. This is the first explicit mention that the complete burden for the accuracy, reliability and polish of the final copy was the ponderous duty of Wigand and Judex. There is good reason, after reviewing the recent past of the Magdeburg Centuries, to believe that the project got underway only because someone felt that sense and responsibility and worked "not only during the day, but also some part of the night," to see that it would get done.

To review the information from the autumn of 1557, Veltbeck was being groomed to become a second architect--presumably to work with Faber. Wigand and Judex were preparing the final copy of the history. Flacius was in Jena, not responding well to calls for help. And the centuriators grieved the loss of Nidbruck, who died in September 1557 at the imperial court in Brussels. To make sure that there would be no misunderstandings about borrowed materials, Gallus was asked to clarify the situation with Maximilian.

---

[32] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 15, 52v, lines 13-21: Nos hic alias parum apti ad tanta certamina sumus, id quod nosti, & accedit insuper hoc opus historicum, in quo me & Judicem ita desudare, necesse est, vt non tantum diem, sed & noctis aliquam partem ej tribuere cogamur, nec tamen nobis ipsis satisfacimus. Caeterj operarij faciunt, quod iubentur, vt fierj solet, nec tamen vt volebamus, ideo perpetuae nobis correctiones & scriptiones incumbunt, id quod paucis notum est.

Six months after his first exasperated letter to Flacius, Wigand wrote, on 8 February 1558, an ominous epistle. The situation between the Magdeburgers and Jena had not changed: Flacius had not written; he had held up publication of Century I because he had not returned the introduction with his embellishments;[33] he failed to send books and materials. Serious problems were arising and would have to be settled. The problem apparently concerned Gottschalk Praetorius. Wigand wrote further on this topic that same day, 8 February 1558, to Gallus, information that Flacius probably received orally or might have read if the messenger passed through Jena with an unsealed letter bound for Regensburg. Wigand said:

> Our school rector will leave for Frankfurt [an der Oder], to his countrymen of the Mark Brandenburg; he has vexed us well. Now I could not write to you more, on account of the strictures of time, and depressions also are afflicting me.[34]

And well might the depressions afflict him. On 7 March and 15 March 1558, Wigand explained further to Gallus:

---

[33] In his attempt to prove Flacian authorship--or perhaps even a nebulous Flacian or Flacian-Circle responsibility--for the introductions to the centuries, Joachim Massner, *Kirchliche Überlieferung und Autorität im Flaciuskreis*, pp. 83-87, reviewed the historical problem. He noted the positions of Otto Ritschl (no involvement by Flacius), Preger (introductions have a Flacius "style"), and Moldaenke (incontrovertable evidence through "eine eingehende sprachkritischstilistische Textanalyse" of Flacius' personal involvement). When Wigand said to Flacius, "praefationem te necesse erit adornare," he settled the issue: the introductions were written by Wigand and Judex, embellished perhaps (not proven) by Flacius. Flacius became less and less responsive as time went on.

[34] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 18, 23v, lines 32-35: Noster ludirector discedet Francofordiam ad suos Marchitas, nos bene vexauit. Plura nunc ob temporis angustia scribere non potuj, & moerores etiam me affligant.

By 24 May 1558, Melanchthon was answering a letter to Praetorius (CR, IX, no. 6534, cols. 559-560), presumably responding to an offer by Praetorius to become involved in the chronicle of Carion.

> Gottschalk has sufficiently vexed us for a long time; Illyricus censured him [ploughed him over] in the school; the ministerium despises him [tramples him]. He is a friend of the Bishop and of others who have hated us. Now God has taken charge of all things in such a way, that without our plans he himself has arranged for his work for the Margrave [of Brandenburg] in the University of Frankfurt [an der Oder]. We think that God frees us; we pray that he next also take care of our business. He has crossed straight over to the Adiaphorists, and he is just not the same person he was when I found him as I first came here. But these are secret matters that you will also grieve over.[35]

Grieved, depressed, beset by a duplicitous friend, Wigand wrote to Gallus that he lacked a Levin--that is, Levin von Embden, the crafty and pious Stadtsyndicus and patron of Judex. The centuriators were under severe attack for their position contrary to the resettlement of the Cathedral Chapter in Magdeburg, and the reinstitution of the Mass within the city's walls:

> Even our Gottschalk has written a refutation of our writing, but he does not want the City Council to show it to us today; nevertheless he sent it to others. He is the closest friend of the bishop and of the sacrificers, inimical to us, and especially disliked by us.[36]

Wigand characterized his ministry as having one chief goal: to encourage

---

[35] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 18, 8v, lines 20 to 30: Godes. iam diu nos satis vexauit. Jllyr. in schola proscindit, ministerium conculcat. amicus est Episcopi & aliorum, qui nos oderunt. Jta tum Deus guvernat omnia, vt sine nostris consilijs ipsemet condixerit operam Marchioni in Acad. Francofordiensi. Sentimus Deum nos liberare, quem rogamus, vt deinceps quoque nostras res curet. Prorsus ad Adiaphoristas transijt, & non est ille, quem initio huc veniens reperj. Sed haec sunt secreta quae & dolebis.

[36] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 18, 70v, lines 9 to 13: Noster etiam God. scripsit refutationem nostri scripi, verum Senatum hactenus nobis exhibere noluit, mittit tamen ad alios. Is est summus amicus Episcopi atque sacrificulorum, nibis iniquus, & a nostris etiam plurimj sit.

There is every reason to believe that he did not suddenly change. The Cathedral Chapter and the Archbishop had spies in the city for a long time, and were always able to deal with first-hand assessments of the political situation in the City Council and the City Ministerium. He was a spy.

our church that they pray that God not permit "the sacrificers" to restore inside of the city their manifestly pernicious idolatries.[37] On the one hand, such a pronouncement might be deemed unreasonable obsession; on the other hand, the reintroduction of the Cathedral Chapter and of the Mass meant political and economic hardship--if not ruin--to a large number of people.[38] As an afterthought, Wigand added in the Gallus letter:

> We shall take care of the Maximilian book matter as soon as possible. Now, God willing, tomorrow we shall send the first tome to Oporinus, and we shall see whether he wants to print it.[39]

The centuriators sent the first volume of the Magdeburg Centuries to Frankfurt on 15 March 1558, carried by Wilhelm Eccius; in his hand, a letter to Hartmann Beyer. Despite the fact that Flacius had close connections with the Oporinus press in Basel, the Illyrian did not negotiate the printing and publishing arrangements. Wigand turned to Beyer, a fellow superintendent, to help. He wrote:

---

[37] Ibid., lines 23 to 26: ...sed tantum aperte & grauiter hortamur Ecclesiam, vt orent ne Sacrificuljs Deus permittat intra ciuitatem tam manifestas & perniciosas idolatrias restaurare. The "sacrifice" of the Mass was especially odious to Wigand.

[38] Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg*, II, 9-12.

[39] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 18, 70^{2}r, lines 34 to 36: Quod ad Max. libros curabimus quam primum. Jam .1. tomum die crastino deo dante mittemus ad Oporinum, ac tentabimus an velit imprimere.

A further word on the Praetorius affair, 17 March 1558, Wigand to Gallus, Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 18, 73^{2}r, lines 40 to 46: Sacrificí, Episcopus & alij filii huius saeculi nobis nascuntur, si nos tempestas eiecerit, Deo rem committemus et noster Godes., quod hic dictum, eludit nostrum scriptum, & nostri eum nobis inscijs, quod compotor est, confudierunt, nobis non ostendia, quam viderunt non scibuntur esse meras nugas & somnia. --- --- est amicus episcopi & sacrificulorum. quiscivit iam diu conculcationem totius ministerij. Haec secreto.

Thus Wigand did not assume or conjecture that Praetorius might have been a long-term spy in the City Ministerium.

> We are now sending to Oporinus the first part of *Historia Ecclesiastica* and have ordered that this scholar negotiate with him. Moreover, since we depend on the advice and aid of good men, we call upon you chiefly that you help us, no, rather help the Church of Christ, in advancing this holy work. No doubt, you know about the way printers operate, how they usually accept and print books of this type. Now we ask that you carry on with Oporinus together with this scholar. And we allow you and this Wilhelm the power of negotiating and formulating [an agreement]. You will learn from Wilhelm what we have proposed. This matter will cause you some inconvenience and work. We hope that you will not deny us what your involvement can contribute, especially since you know that a book of this type will be a little more useful than the immense commentaries on the migrations of the tribes and similar works. We wish that what is agreed is nevertheless not at anyone's expense.[40]

The negotiations were carried out successfully, as can be noted in Wigand's letter to Oporinus, dated 10 June 1558, when Eccius returned.[41]

> Our Wilhelm showed us the formula of the agreement. We were hoping that we could receive somewhat more money in addition to copies. How much money and how much effort the compiling of this history cost us, we will repeat the offer that you estimate how much from the record itself. We are not working chiefly from our own resources. Not just a little money, however, will suffice for sustaining our common expenses and for continuing the work. We shall accede to the agreement as is, nevertheless, so that you do not suppose at all that you were put upon to your own expense. Further we now send at our own expense the subsequent agreement, which was left with us for the three Centuries and we have no doubt that you will apply greatest faith and diligence.

They agreed to a corrector for the typesetting. And then Wigand proposed a series of maps for the publication, similar to those that had been done for Joannes Honter.[42]

---

[40] Documents II, 3. The Wigand/Beyer correspondence is transcribed complete, even though the first two letters are not used in this research, namely, the first (28 September 1551), a self-introduction; and the second (24 March 1555), intended to get materials into Flacius' hands.

[41] Documents III, 1 [S481].

[42] *Rudimenta cosmographica* [the title varies in the several issues and editions] (Cracovia: Mathias Scharfenberg, 1534[1]; Corona: Honter, 1542[2]; Zürich: Froschauer, 1546 [1548, 1549, 1552, 1558, etc.]; Antwerp: Joannes Reichardus, 1554 [1555, 1560, etc.]). Presumably Wigand was referring to either a Zürich edition, or the Petri edition, in progress in Basel, to be published in 1560.

The Centuries were to be printed separately and individually, each with its own dedication, as well as a special introduction for the second half of the first Century. Even though Century I's chapter on doctrine exceeded the desired length, they did not allow it to be cut; they had a plan for it. Apparently Oporinus had asked for financial support to begin the printing. Wigand refused politely. They were working far ahead--to Century XI--and their resources were depleted. The Magdeburgers had been devastated by war. Wigand would write to Flacius, who might be able to get help from allies in Augsburg, presumably Johann Baptist Heintzel and Achilles Pirmin Gassar.

The plan for chapter four, the first Century's chapter on doctrine, was then proposed, namely to print this section from *both* halves of the first Century in an octavo volume with cursive type, yielding a much more compact text. They sent the introduction and asked that the work be divided into two parts: "Prima pars doctrinae Christi ex evangelistis," and "Altera pars doctrinae Christi ex Actis, epistolis et scriptis apostolorum." The first part was to begin immediately with the locus "De scriptura veteris testamenti." They wanted this work--the publishing of the three centuries and the separately published chapter four--completed by the time of the Frankfurt book fair. They asked that page proofs be sent immediately after they were composed. The short version of the first Century on dogma was the famous *Syntagma*.

---

[43] Otto Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*, I, 133-141, discovered the similarity (identity!) of the passages from the Centuries and the *Syntagma*. From the correspondence between Wigand and Oporinus, the motivation and timing are now well understood. On the other hand, the conjectures by Joachim Massner, *Kirchliche Überlieferung und Autorität im Flaciuskreis*, pp. 83-87, are thoroughly untenable.

By August 1558 it was clear that Oporinus was running far behind his own plans and the centuriators' expectations.[44] Wigand asked that he contact the people to whom the Magdeburgers had made commitments for 1558, so that the centuriators would not appear to be procrastinating. They asked that the first one hundred copies of the Centuries be forwarded to Christopher Neumeyer in Leipzig, via Nürnberg. No agreement had been made about the *Syntagma*, or *Corpus doctrinae*, and the Magdeburgers agreed to whatever Oporinus in his generosity would give them. Wolfgang Kirchner, the Magdeburg printer, would also bring copies home. Eccius had brought along the desiderata of the centuriators, the "Catalogus librorum." Books were to be selected and sent, the cost to be deducted from the one hundred thaler royalty Oporinus had promised for the first three Centuries. This agreement would also be used for Beyer's purchases in Frankfurt for the centuriators. Books from Paris and Cologne, selected and purchased by Eccius, were to be transshipped to Magdeburg via Basel and Frankfurt, carried by Wolfgang Kirchner. Wigand asked that Oporinus intercede for the Magdeburgers, so that Wolfhardt (Lycosthenes) and Bale keep in contact and report on their bibliophiletic activities. Wigand added:

> We saw that the hatred of those who were inflamed against Illyricus is now brought to bear against him. They caricature our effort before they saw anything. Lest they contribute to the alienation of good men, against them we put forth the *Narratio vera* and the plan for the whole business of which we send you several copies. Against this, a doggy, childish, insane, investigative piece has appeared under the authorship of the *Studiosi Witebergenses*, even though the students and professors are ignorant of what it is we have actually attempted to do. In it, they scold us with marvelous insults and sarcasms. But if this work has by chance been brought also to you, to upset you and others, we ask that you not be moved by it. Indeed, those furious and doggy and inept people displease all good men. No one admits to being the author. The Wittenberg students are opposed to those rabblerousers' abuses in their name. Although the Devil seeks to suppress our ef-

[44] Documents III, 2 [S482].

> forts, the highest, mightiest God will promote it all the more. For when they passed judgment before they saw [anything], others were roused up at their ferocity, to anxiously await the publication.

The prefaces were reworked and could replace the earlier ones, if they had not already gone to print. If they had been printed, the new prefaces were to go into the second edition. They had found many errors in the first and third Century pageproofs and asked that Oporinus provide a page or so of corrigenda. Finally, they asked Oporinus' advice about a German edition, which was already underway.

On the same day, 28 August 1558, and doubtless delivered by the same messenger, a letter by Wigand went to Beyer, that the Frankfurt Superintendent secure the services of some young man to help collect printed materials from book dealers in Frankfurt, to charge the books to Oporinus' account, and to transmit the books--one to a box--to Wolfgang Kirchner.[45] The centuriators also asked Beyer not to be moved by the calumnies of malevolent men.

Much valuable information remains extant of the thirteen months between August 1557 and September 1558. Regarding the publishing arrangements, a form of publishing may have been introduced by Flacius to finance the project: subscription. The one hundred copies that were to be sent to Chrisopher Neumeyer of Leipzig, and the subscription lists in Flacius' possession, point to an innovative technique to finance printings, a broadly based and broadly subscribed prepayment. Seven years later Flacius was

---

[45] Documents II, 4. Wigand continued to be unsuccessful with this particular part of the Frankfurt connection: Beyer did not secure the assistance of a young student, and he did not himself set out to help collect materials listed in the "Catalogus librorum." Not until the centuriators had a person on the scene in nearby Hanau were they able to have a reliable mechanism for selecting and purchasing at the Frankfurt book fair.

able to say that the publication of the Magdeburg Centuries did not depend on subventions and donations given by the rich and famous (only the city of Lindau was so generous), and he was not contradicted by Wigand.

Modern observers must marvel at the complex network of epistolary communication, messenger circuits, river and highway freight, fund balancing and accounting, and the usual human logistics for travel and study. The primitive catalogues of desiderata and the unsophisticated bibliographic annotation of the time were still adequate in a world not yet inundated with paper. That the project came to print at all is a marvel. The literary resources and financial support came together only momentarily to make possible such an effort. But it took the extra effort of two people, once all others had performed perfunctorily, to take the final responsibility, the final reading, the final approval, the final copy: Wigand and Judex.

After the authors had sent their magnum opus to press, but before it was available for sale; the project was blasted by the Wittenbergers. Surely it took away much of the joy. Wigand's depression was surely not relieved. At the same time, the centuriators recalled kindly and lovingly their benefactor from Vienna who never lived to see the church history in print. Now Wigand had reported first to Nidbruck: we have begun to roll the great stone. The attacks by their adversaries, however, gave opportunity to the centuriators to explain to their benefactors, their contemporaries, and fortunately their readers in perpetuity, how the organization was functioning in the important year of 1558.

The "Calumnies" of 1558

The "calumnies" of 1558 were the slanderous pamphlets of the Wittenbergers.[46] The attack was pointedly against Flacius, at the time the "Supersuperintendent" of Thuringia and professor of theology at the University of Jena. Even though the Flacian/Melanchthonian division focused on major theological issues, the public debate was highly personalized; even those close to the two main characters in the drama were soiled by their very proximity in the vicious attacks. The four tracts, in letter form, pseudonymously authored by alleged "scholars" in Wittenberg--all in the year 1558--were a ruthless attempt at a devastating character assassination: impugning Flacius' academic record in Wittenberg as a student and instructor, his pedagogic abilities as a professor before and since 1546, his loyalty to "Germany," his orthodoxy in the Evangelical faith, his honesty in business, his accented speech, his craggy countenance, and all his associates. Two key passages aroused the anger also of the Magdeburgers: in the third and fourth letters; the centuriators had to defend themselves from false accusations. At the same time, the conflict between Justus Menius and Flacius was running its course. Menius also questioned Flacius honesty

[46] As part of the Electoral Saxon campaign against Flacius, the collected tracts of the "scholastici academicae Witebergensis" were republished in 1571: *Epistolae, editae contrà Matthiam Flacium Illyricum*, anno M. D. LVIII. quibus respondetur ad toties cum fastidio impudentissime repetitas virulentas & falsas criminationes Flacii, aduersus harum regionum Ecclesias.... (Wittenberg: Johann Schwertl, 1571). Paginations are given for both the 1558 and 1571 editions. The Elector August never relented in his personal campaign to embarrass, ruin, heretify, and haunt Flacius to his grave. The publication of these old, in the main disproved, accusations merely gave currency once again in 1571 to a set of issues for which there could be no adequate reply. At the time, August was trying to force Flacius from a safe retreat in the city of Strassburg.

and ability to make an honorable living as a private citizen, but nowhere as ruthlessly and cavalierly with the truth, as the Wittenbergers.[47]

In the third letter, the Wittenbergers complained that Flacius' resistance against the imperial and ecclesiastical authorities would cause Saxony--and Germany--to be engulfed once again in a ruinous war and sieges. Instead of working for peace, Flacius campaigned constantly for war. They sarcastically called the Magdeburg Centuries, "the golden historical work, cast out of much German gold." And they said Flacius had sold this work to the pious men of the church, but in exchange produced vicious pamphlets on the side (1558: p. Flr; 1571: p. H3v). The same sentiment was repeated in the fourth letter, with the even closer identification of Flacius as totally immersed in the composition of *Ecclesiastica historia* (1558: p. H3v; 1571: p. Llv), which of course by this time he was not.

Flacius did not attempt to reply to the specific charges about the Magdeburg Centuries, at least in none of the pamphlets that have been perused in this research. His silence was calculated. It was up to the Magdeburgers, not Flacius, to reply with their *Narratio vera*. The Wittenbergers then reprinted--actually reset the text on the same measure and signatures--and added their *Responsio*.[48] The need to respond to charges was

---

[47] Wilhelm Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, I, 385-395.

[48] The Magdeburg edition is titled: *De ecclesiastica historia: quae Magdeburgi contexitur, vera narratio, contra quorundam diffamationes, a gubernatoribus et operariis eius historiae aedita.* It is signed "A" in a single gathering of four leaves. The Wittenberg edition is titled: *De ecclesiastica historia: quae Magdeburgi contexitur, narratio, contra Menium, et scholasticorum Wittebergensium epistolas, a gubernatoribus et operariis eius historiae edita Magdeburgi. Cum responsione scholasticorum Witebergensium ad eandem* (Wittenberg: 1558).

In the Herzog August Bibliothek, among the eight copies of these two works, the most interesting is the succession of the Magdeburg and Wittenberg editions in 184.27 Th. 4° [3] and [4]. On the Magdeburg edition,

certainly disruptive and demoralizing at the time, but fortunate, however fortuitous, for later historical purposes: it provided the Magdeburgers with the first opportunity to go public with a description and discussion of the Centuries as of late summer 1558, that is, some time before 28 August.

The centuriators were grieved that the pamphlets spoke out so harshly out of ignorance of the truth, with ridicule and insult. Such mendacious men are to be feared for the public unrest and distrust that they could bring. The workshop of the writers was open to anyone who would inquire, to learn how the work was going. The rumors had gone unrefuted due to the fact that the workers were very busily engaged in their tasks, not to the fact that there was any truth to the slanderous, malicious critics. When the final product would be published, they assured the reader, clarity would be reached; but the task had required a long time to bring it to that point. The involvement of a large number of people, workers and advisers, was necessary from the start. The fact that methodological problems and the endless task of excerpting, editing, and writing were resolved and completed proved how much God had assisted them. The objective itself was:

> that with the inspiration of God we have decided to describe the form (idea) of Christ's church in its most important and serious affairs, as much as can be comprehended altogether, out of the oldest and best authors, both historians and fathers, and other writers as well. For in Eusebius' and in several others' histories just the persons are treated as such. There is almost nothing there about doctrine, about ceremonies, about the eruption of controversies, about the governance of the churches, or many other matters of this type. Throughout there are either changes or mutilations, not such that only we, but also all right-minded men have long desired a somewhat more articulated and fuller *Ecclesiastica historia*.
>
> Moreover, although our ignorance is better known to us than to others, nevertheless we have been called and stimulated by many not inexperienced or unlearned men (especially since those who were so very capable

---

in Flacius' hand, is the legend: Clariss. d. Joanni Bapti. Heintzelio. On the Wittenberg edition, in Peucer's hand (the son-in-law of Melanchthon), one finds: Clariss. d. Joanni Bapti. Heinzelio.

> in teaching and other matters turned down these tasks, because they seemed to lack the proper rewards). We wished to turn out a sort of definition rather than an anlaysis, for which no one will be able to fault us. Therefore, since many changes in these matters took place within single epochs (saeculis), as it were, it seemed best to us to divide ecclesiastical affairs in such a way that single books embrace single epochs (saecula), or as we say, centuries.

Then the sixteen chapters were enumerated and described, in accord with the revisions of the methodology that were made about August 1557. An entire Methodus was to be produced soon in printed form (it appeared in the front matter of Century I). Anyone could see that producing such a History would have to take a long time. Then the centuriators described the four divisions of their labors.

> First, with certain stipends we support seven scholars, somewhat outstanding for their teaching and judgment, who treat the authors supplied to them with a great deal of attention and accuracy. They excerpt according to the criteria of the Methodus the individual items, carefully and diligently, and they make, as it were, an anatomy of the authors, in the proper commonplaces, whatever they assign to it, and they do this taking in hand ~~one century after the other~~.
>
> Next, we support two masters, renowned in their age (i.e., experience), teaching and rightness of judgment. To them is delivered what the earlier hard work and bee-like industriousness make available from their varous commonplaces and comments. They make a judgment about the collected materials, outline them and separate what ought to go to the writing stage, and finally correlate and collect it into an historical narrative.
>
> Third, certain inspectors were assigned out of the number of the governors [of the collegium], who distribute materials to the collectors (excerpters), and they examine what has been outlined, and they help with the judgment of the materials [for inclusion/exclusion] and with the correlation of the parts. Indeed, nothing is written unless it has been settled earlier in this way. Next, they call the writings back under the file and finally they themselves compose and write certain things, as necessary.
>
> Fourth, we support an amanuensis, as they call him, who rewrites what has been composed into fair copy.

The governors of the collegium could hire and fire; they approved the budget (sumptuum ratio). One governor (i.e., Copus) kept the books for the collegium to record assets and liabilities; he presented a quarterly, annotated, audited, and approved account of all expenses.

Regarding fund raising, they had received very few large sums. The collegium was invested with heavy responsibilities and sought to operate efficiently. In fact, they were constantly held back by lack of funds. In the beginning, some funds were used for journeys and for the acquisition of books, they admitted. As for the "much German gold," however, it simply did not exist. In fact, those who ridiculed would doubtless have been unwilling to expend so much effort for so little salary as did the centuriators. If they had the least concern for the public benefit of the church, they should have helped rather than condemned.

> In this matter, we governors come to the defense of Illyricus, who is certainly afflicted with no everyday injury [when it is alleged] that he fraudulently diverted common funds. Indeed, we testify who know the facts more in depth and in truth than anyone else, that he handed over with utmost honesty the offerings sent by pious people to the common treasury, and that for this history work he always contributed more resources than he received. No one denies this. In something of this matter, we see clearly the lying and impudent letter, in which the attempt is made to injure this man for that reason. But we leave to God the final decision, and from now on we will not respond unless this charge against us has been discreetly withdrawn.

Unfortunately, however, for the benefactors and would-be benefactors of the Magdeburg Centuries, they would have to decide, based on mixed evidence, whether they should contribute or not to the effort. Those who read the slanders should at the very least not repeat them, not condemn, not get anxious, not affirm what cannot be proved. The Magdeburgers called upon the Wittenbergers not to applaud or join the liars, and not to allow other innocent people to be slandered, but to remember how it is forbidden by God himself in the commandment: Do not bear false witness.

The narrative of the centuriators did not lash out against their opposition with wild charges of misconduct or dishonesty. The work was, in tone and tendency, mild.

The collegium was listed on page B2v of the *Narratio*. The page head for the list of persons is: "Gubernatores et operarii historici instituti." The full complement of leaders and workers is noted in the left-hand column of Table III.[49] Several observations can be made on the basis of this evidence.

First, the number of governors of the project was clearly four, and Flacius was not one of them. Back on 5 May 1557, Wigand had already told Nidbruck that Flacius was to go to Jena, but retain the title of "summus gubernator" of the history project.[50] The next two letters by Wigand to Flacius would indicate that the title had no functional definition or action: Flacius was simply not involved and not participating, not even communicating. He had been promoted to a position of unreachable heights, from which--it would appear--he could not even reach as far as his quill and ink. Further, in the autumn of 1557 (23 September and 16 November) Wigand told Gallus two things: first, that ten people were working on the Magdeburg Centuries, and second, that "we four" would add signatures to acknowledgments of gifts.[51] Thus, the list accurately reflected the situation from the time shortly after Flacius departed (spring 1557) to the summer of 1558. The four who carried out the official business of the collegium were: Alemann, Copus, Wigand, and Judex.

Second, it is also known that among the four were two inspectors (Wigand and Judex) and that there were two architects (Faber and Veltbeck). A certain amount of work had been divided by special assignment in the

---

[49] Scheible, *Die Entstehung*, pp. 55–56, footnote 87, gathered much valuable information for the collegium.

[50] Documents I, 9.

[51] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 15, 52. See also below at footnote 31.

early days of the project: Faber was the architect of Centuries I-II-III, and Veltbeck for Century V. An assignment for Century IV, if there was one, remains unknown.

Third, the two leading citizens among the governors were very significant political figures in the city of Magdeburg. Ebeling Alemann was Bürgermeister, with Georg Ger[i]cke, in 1558.[52] And, judging by the recurrence of the name Alemann in the registers, his was one of the--if not the--most influential clan(s) in the city. The unnamed treasurer, Copus, was also a very powerful and influential character in the city politics and City Council of Magdeburg.[53]

Fourth, of the eight other "operarii," more information is available for all but one: Nicolaus Beumuller. All of them, except Agrius, went to the University of Wittenberg (see Table III).[54] Three of them accompanied Wigand and Judex to Jena in 1560: Agrius, Hitfeld, and Niger.[55] Whence the

---

[52] K[arl] Janicke, "Verzeichnis der Magdeburger Bürgermeister und Kämmerer von 1213-1607," *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*, 2 (1867), 401 (I, 276-289; II, 393-406). He also served in 1568, the full term, and filled the unexpired term of Bernhardt Lohse, who died on 20 June 1565.

[53] Copus and his forefathers before him were also leading figures in the political life of Magdeburg; he served as Bürgermeister in 1561 (Janicke, "Verzeichnis," p. 402), and in 1564 the following is recorded of him: Doctor Koppen ist dess Ratsstuls endtsatzt, dan er vor der kor=Zeit vhast jn anderthalben jare nicht zu Rathauss gefurdert ist.

[54] The references to the Wittenberg matriculation are given in Table III. After the lists were published, but before there were adequate indexes and corrections, Ludwig Götze wrote "Magdeburger und Hallenser auf der Wittenberger Universität 1502-1560," *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*, 4 (1870), 125-152. He was utterly confused by the name "Richter" (p. 137), which is, of course, the German form of Judex.

[55] Only the alphabetic listing is available for the Jena matriculation. It is very difficult to determine if others enrolled also, with their names changed in significant ways. In the spring term of 1560, Agrius was numbered 26; Niger, 38. Others may have accompanied them to Thuringia.

Narratio	*Album Academiae Witebergensis*	Page	Date	Other Matriculation
Ebelingus Aleman Consul.	Ebelingus Aleman Magdeburgen.	13 Jan: 132 b19	1529	
Martinus Copus Doctor Medicinae.	Martinus Kopus Madeburgensis	176 a17	1539	
M. Iohannes Vuigandus Pastor ad S. Hulderícum.	Ioannes Wigandus Mansfeldens[i]s	170 a38	1539	
M. Matthaeus Iudex Minister uerbi Dei, Ibidem.	Mathias Richter Dippelswelden	230 b 9	1546.04	
M. Basilius Faber	Basilius faber Soranus Lusatius	172 b10	1538	
M. Pancratius Veltpock	Pancratius Veldbeck Bauarus	213 a23	1544.05	
Ambrosius Hidfeld	Ambrosius Hitfeld Magdeburgensis	275 a16	1552.04.30	Jena: 1560 a35
Dauid Cicelerus.	Dauid Czitzler Magdeburgens[i]s	283 b27	1553.08.12	
Caspar Leunculus.	Caspar Leonculus Zellinensis	291 a15	1554.04.27	Rostock: (A)
Vuilhelmus Radensis.	Wilhelmus Radensis Montensis	312 b16	1555.08.31	
Nicolaus Beumullerus.	Nicolaus Bruchmuller Magde:	289 b42	1554.04.08	
Bernhardus Niger,	Bernhardus Schwartz Magdeburgens[i]s	283 b25	1553.08.12	Jena: 1560 a38
Petrus Schroder.	Petrus Schröderus Magdeburgensis	256 a17	1550.05.13	
Cunradus Agrius				Jena: 1560 a26

Note: The table does not take into consideration other academic honors or notices in matriculations for Wigand and Judex.

(A) Casparus Leunculus Sellinensis Marchita mgr. honorat[us], May 1560.
Casparus Leunculus Merchicus (mgr. artis) *peste peremptus anno 1565 mense Septembri*, May 1564.

young man Agrius? He may have come along with Wigand from Mansfeld, where Wigand left behind an old, revered teacher named Dionysius Agrius, an Austrian.[56] Hitfeld returned with the centuriators to Magdeburg from Jena, became the pastor of St. Peter's parish, and in 1562 turned against Wigand and Judex, his former colleagues. Ciceler, who was a poet and teacher and musician,[57] as well as a pastor, having served directly under Wigand as a parson in St. Ulrich's congregation, eventually also turned against Wigand and Judex. He died in 1593. Caspar Leunculus later became a pastor in Rostock. In 1564, at the time of Judex' death, Leunculus' home was the scene of the solemn gathering of friends and associates for Judex' funeral procession. Leunculus himself died of the plague the next year. Wilhelm Eccius was rarely known by his surname, more often as Radensis. He had been a monk and was also nicknamed "monachus." When the affairs of Flacius were sorted out in 1570, when it was agreed generally among the Gnesio-Lutherans and the Wittenbergers that Flacius' views on original sin were heretical, Eccius continued to support the Illyrian and moved to lower Austria, the town of Gollersdorff, where groups of Flacian partisans continued to hold forth for over three generations. Eccius was to be a would-be literary stylist in his later years.[58] He was at the University of Wittenberg in 1556, perhaps as a spy for Flacius.[59] From 1557 he served as an

---

[56] Wigand, "Leben," p. 602.

[57] Ciceler edited many of the liturgical books of Magdeburg for publication; few reached actual print. His poetry was set to music in the form of chorales, none of which has ever become popular in the Lutheran tradition. See "Die Ordnung der evangelischen Gottesdienste in der Metropolitankirche zu Magdeburg zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*, 7 (1872), 129-146, especially pp. 144-146, by A[lbert] Fischer.

[58] Cod. guelf. 910 Helmst., "Dialogus oder Gespräch eines Türcken vnd Christen..." of 1570.

[59] He gave his name as "Wilhelm Radensis Montensis," which even the editors of the matriculation of Wittenberg could not interpret.

excerpter and messenger for the centuriators. Of Niger (or Schwartz) and his journey to the English court, no more has been discovered than was assembled by Joachim Massner and Heinz Scheible.[60] Of Agrius' fate, it is known that he went to Franconia and became a teacher in Hanau, but also served for many years as an agent for the centuriators among the printers of the Frankfurt area and with those who vended their wares at the Frankfurt book fair. A separate epistolarium or distinctive *Nachlass* of Agrius has not been discovered, but either would be a very valuable find if extant.

Fifth, there was clearly a separation of generations in the group: the first five (i.e., including Faber) constituted the older group; Hitfeld, Ciceler, Leunculus, Beumullerus, Niger, and Schröder were a younger group. If Eccius had been a monk, it is difficult to say how old he was at this time. And with Agrius the modern scholar also pleads ignorance. Veltbeck, the Bavarian of Braunau am Inn, was between the two groups. The older group, however, had as its senior member a man who was thirty-five years old: they were not playing with history in their dotage, but were busy young men of affairs and action.

The *Responsio* of the Wittenbergers was designed to answer with substantial arguments the apology of the *Narratio*. In content and in style, the Electoral Saxon response can be divided into two, perhaps three, parts: first, a sharp, bitter, almost chaotic stream of invective against Flacius and against anyone who would stand close to him (pp. B3v to E3v, line 8);

---

[60] The errors in detail by Joachim Massner, *Kirchliche Überlieferung und Autorität im Flaciuskreis*, pp. 16ff. and 77ff., were corrected by Heinz Scheible, *Die Entstehung*, pp. 55-56, footnote 87. While a few additional scraps of information are known, the decisive contribution to this story must come from unpublished court records of Queen Elizabeth I.

second, a very brief, rather gentle scholarly ridicule, a sudden and total change of mood (to line 24 of p. E3v); third, an attack based on intimate knowledge of organizational detail and methodology that only an insider would know sufficiently to analyze, comment, and slander. The first section might be attributed to information and argument known to, and proposed by, Hubert Lanquet; the literary source of the hard information--not style and expression--are those of his correspondence with Melanchthon and perhaps with Nidbruck. The second section, if it is to be distinguished from the first, might have come from within the Magdeburg community or from a person with warm and kind feelings about that community; the words were those of a person who disagreed, but surely did not hate, the Illyrian. The third section bears all the marks of Gottschalk Praetorius, whose most dire deeds against the centuriators not even Wigand could confide in writing to Gallus and Flacius.

The *Responsio* rejoined. They ridiculed harshly the organization of the collegium with all its titles and with all its detailed functions. Former workers on the Magdeburg Centuries were also in Wittenberg and they alleged to have first-hand information! They called the centuriators the "mercenaries" ("conductivii") and Flacius the "Conquistor prouincialis et procurator per Germaniam uel Europam...generalis." But if stipends were short and people were not well salaried--which they refused to believe--then the Magdeburgers should be thankful for Flacius' public embarrassment, which should result in higher pay. They resented any treatment of Flacius that did not deal with Flacius' own insults about the University of Wittenberg: it was none of Magdeburg's business! The collegium itself was a farce: Ebeling Alemann, the "consul," had no real involvement in the project.

They denied that they made any real charges against Flacius regarding the history work itself, and that the Magdeburgers--none of their

business, anyhow--were meddling. Flacius could dismiss the whole group in Magdeburg and take over the project, and the workers would have absolutely no recourse. The accounts of the centuriators were of no interest. The Wittenbergers wanted to see the sources and sums of Flacius' private accounts. The centuriators should not ask for funds from other people, but go back to Flacius and recover all the money that was really intended for the Magdeburg Centuries. The Magdeburgers were involving themselves as an outside party, so that they would assume responsibility to defend Flacius against all charges. "The things that were written recently by us about the history work do not pertain to you miserable devils, but to your Father, the Arch-Devil." The real issue was the ingrate academic patricide by Flacius, attacking his former teachers and colleagues in Wittenberg. The response then turned briefly to Wigand. What sort of things are they that your Wigand--~~such a Bacchanal~~ as he is--edited--or vomited--against us? The level of invective did not rise higher in quality, content, or literary value. Wigand was accused of extolling magic (his association with the alchemist Copus?); Wigand and Judex, of false doctrine and lying. The "Feri" and "Nigri" (for Basilius' Faber and Bernhardus Niger?)--but the response moved on without a predicate or pause to "lies, scandals, blasphemies, feignings, devastations, destructions of your Devil Flacius." "The golden German work" was the object of countless barbs, all returning to the point that Flacius was diverting funds. Flacius--and with him the historical work--was thoroughly corrupted and unreliable because of the large sums of money involved. But not only was support extorted from Germans, but also from others, including people in the Rhine Palatinate (if they were not Germans, what were they?). Beyond them, even Hungarians, the Portuguese, the English, etc. Later the list was extended with Neapolitans and Italians.

In this first section, the problems that Nidbruck and Lanquet had with Flacius certainly came out, but they were twisted and turned to cast the worst possible light on the Illyrian. Flacius was not a clergyman, but a businessman in the world of printing and publishing, in the exchanges between bibliopoles. He succeeded and accumulated a notable private treasure, both money and books. His very success made him vulnerable.

In the second section--if it is to be separated from the first--the focus shifted. Wigand was attacked for his arrogance. He was alleged to have bathed himself and his friends in luxury, and compared his status with that of Luther. The author seized on the expression of the *Narratio*, "the anatomy of the authors," to take a swipe at the "medicus" of the collegium, Martin Copus. Perhaps the centuriators could compose in the end a skeleton, what with so many hands involved in the dissecting! Then the focus returned to Flacius and the fact that he was thoroughly unsuited for so delicate a task as anatomy--and history writing.

The humor in this part is different; it is sporty, funny, based on word-play and alliteration; not heavy-handed, clumsy, blunt. Even the centuriators would have smiled at some of the clever turns of phrase, more reminiscent of their old friend Erasmus Alber than of the first or third parts of the response. It has all the appearances of an embellishment added by an unidentified party, who inserted a clever joke or string of jokes into an otherwise bludgeoning, slanderous piece.

The third section of the reponse became progressively more personalized, more insulting, with fewer distinctions between the leader and the followers. The intelligence and ability of all the participants to carry out

the work were called into question. The involvement of the physician was again ridiculed. The summary statement was:

> You therefore, inspectors and governors who took upon yourselves the burden of Flacius, you are also his successors. You ought to take on this work rather than make demands of others. But you carry on just like Flacius, your Praeceptor: you take on the easier parts for yourselves. For he was the first to take for himself the task of writing the history, and was the first leader, author, beggar of gifts throughout Germany. Afterward, since he could not assume the high expectations of it, he turned that glory over to you, and he retained for himself, ever so humbly, that other task of taking care of the money and being the "tribunus aerarius." He saw that he would have to work even more in composing the history. If he thought he were in any way equal to that task, which he took on to himself and in whose name he collected incredible sums of money, from the start he would have been eager to raise you up or to free you to become co-workers and governors, rather than follow a casual, very relaxed writing regimen. But he is happy that he has the money and that he is free of the city and of the work. Now you stick with it! Still, you are more lucky than Flacius, because you understand even less the enormity and jeopardy of your responsibilities.

The earlier work had been done with schoolboys, lacking all sense of judgment. Nothing could be done with their excerpts. The mistaken judgment of value and commonplace caused constant confusion. The separate commonplaces were torn out of context (chronologically) and were very frequently mistakenly assigned. The constant pleas for money and the resulting hodgepodge of commonplaces--how could right-thinking people suppose that anything could come of it? Exactly what kind of "history" was it to be? Annal, chronicle, commentary, history? "Delineatio" was not an adequate working definition. The response recommended that the work be entitled "Commentaries" rather than "History." Methodologically, formally, and stylistically the commentary genre would be much more honest, much more useful, than a "history" as "delineatio"--whatever in the world that is! All of which did not address the fact that all the participants were inexperienced and unprepared. The objective was leagues beyond the ability of the collegium's members. Since the centuriators were unequal to the task,

the respondents pleaded that they write no history, no commentary--nothing! --for the modern time. The Wittenbergers were openly fearful the full exposure of collected letters and papers in the centuriators' possession would be embarrassing.

> Therefore, let this be the sum of it. If you think that you are equal to the task you have organized, no one is more wretched than you. If you think you have the capabilities and what is here is bad, prepare for our admonition.

The objectives of the centuriators would only lead to more dissension, if by chance they succeed. Rather than allow the work to become a silly exercise, let one of the collegium do it alone--at first, Wigand. Wigand's good intentions and writing skills were praised highly. He alone could carry the work to any meaningful state. And the response warned of further scoldings, should Magdeburg's collegium fail to heed this advice.

In the last parts of the third section, Praetorius gave himself away as the probable author, if not source, of information and even text. The strange use of rhetorical technical language is parallel to his earlier discussions, down to the individual terms and definitions, but more than that. Even down to the cliches, jargon, and errors in classical rhetorical tradition (e.g., "delineatio").

Whether the *Responsio* caused any harm or deterioration of the relationships between the centuriators and their former colleague, Flacius, cannot be determined with precision. There had been already a considerable distance put between Magdeburg and Jena, not all of it geographical. Wigand's letter to Flacius of 16 November 1558[61] was just a little too diffident, a little too formal, a little too precise, for the exchange that one would expect to read between close colleagues and allies--such as the

---

[61] Documents I, 13.

two decades' worth of correspondence between Flacius and Gallus, or even Wigand and Gallus. The argument of silence, for all its risks, can be an argument well taken. And when little, if anything, about the Magdeburg Centuries was being communicated between Magdeburg and Jena, then one can only wonder about the quality of the relationship and the significance of Flacius' role. The Magdeburg Superintendent wrote to Flacius:

> We have received the books which you just sent, and I render you incorruptible thanks for your honest gift. All my books are in the service of the history work, such that they are becoming messier than they were before, on account of the daily use by so many hands. But the public weal must be put above this, my own expense.

The centuriators were working on the last excerpting for the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. Apparently Oporinus was keeping in contact with both Flacius and Wigand for filling desiderata catalogues and sending materials; confusion had begun in their relationship to Frankfurt and Basel. The position of Wigand and his colleagus in Magdeburg, in their opposition to the Archbishop and the idolatry of the Mass, had been severely weakened. Meanwhile, many who were formerly brave and courageous in their stand against the Adiaphorists were becoming either pacifist or quietist.

As a final observation about the critical years of 1557 and 1558, the prodigious amount of work that was done in these two years became a treasury from which the project drew for the next sixteen--and beyond that. It was an historical schooling for Wigand and his associates. But the conditions under which the work was done and the political context of the organization require a comment. Not the remote tower, not the storerooms and chanceries, not the lonely villa, but the Superintendent's workroom or study was the workshop of the Magdeburg Centuries--bustling with activity, the political life of the city and the pastoral ministry of a parish. So it was, indeed, an ecclesiastical history.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY AGAINST HISTORY

Just as they were marking their most rapid progress, the two chief centuriators, the inspectors, were forced by political and religious reasons to move their base of operations, virtually stalling the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries for many months. They marked in 1559 a great milestone, however, the publication of the first volume, Centuries I-II-III. But the historical dimensions and points of reference are deceptive. By 1559, the copybooks of excerpts and the initial drafting process had brought the entire project very far along the way toward completion, perhaps as much as ninety percent of the first two stages in fully usable form for final drafts and final fair copy.

The achievement can be marked in several ways. The assessment by Scheible views the larger historiographical world from a modern perspective, highlighting the so-called Blondus School. Without detracting from his contribution, this research looks closely at the contemporaneous work by Philipp Melanchthon, specifically his new edition of the chronicle that he had published years earlier. The work is viewed within the political context, as well as in reference to its publishing history.

The Magdeburg Centuries I-II-III

The first printing of the first volume appeared in spring of 1559, probably timed for the book fair in Frankfurt. The original goal of autumn 1558 proved to be too optimistic, but correspondents of the centuriators were anxiously anticipating copies of it momentarily. Bartholomaeus Pica of Graz, for instance, asked Gallus whether a patron of the project, Galler, would be receiving his copy soon.[1] And Heintzel waited anxiously in Augsburg.[2] The first volume, containing the two halves of Century I, with Century II and Century III, appeared, with each of the four parts containing separate dedications. There were, in all, four printings and two distinct editions of the first volume: 1559, 1560, and 1562 as the first edition; 1564 as the second edition.

1559: The colophon reads:

BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA PARTIM
IOANNIS OPORINI, PARTIM IACOBI PARCI
Anno Salutis humanae M. D. LIX.
Mense Februario

While he shared the printing task with Jakob Kündig,[3] the title page

---

[1] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 18, 77[3]r, lines 20 to 25: Jenensia scripta quae misisti fuerunt grata, legi cum Gallero perlubenter. Dominus Galler auidissime expectat Historiam Ecclesiasticam. Ego promisi multis. Si potes mitte venales in hasce regiones, mihi sex Exemplaria latina et germanica, pecuniam promptam numerabo.

[2] Cod. guelf. 361 Novi 85r, lines 14 to 19: Corpus doctrinae, a D. Wigando & Judice editum vidimus: & primum Historiae totum breuj Basileae in lucem prodituru audiuimus. Wigando, per Christophorum Newman mense Augusto 90 Florenos transmittj curauj, quod receperit nec me ab ipso sciscitaberis, nam syngraphym a quodam ignoto scriptum (cui nomen est Ulrico Schmeid) recepj.

[3] Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 12 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), p. 37.

leaves no doubt that it is an Oporinus publication. From the very start, Oporinus planned to be involved in the publishing of a German edition, as the verso of the earliest title page attests: the printer asked that others not pirate the history or translate it, in accord with God's commandment: You shall not steal.

1560: The colophon reads:

BASILEAE, OPERA ET EXPENSIS PAR-
TIM IOANNIS OPORINI, PARTIM NICOLAI BRI-
lingeri, Anno Salutis humanae M. D. LX.
Mense Februario

An error, or perhaps simply a variant, occurred on the twentieth line of the 1559 edition, which was altered in the 1560: from "deprehendet," to "deprehendes." Many of the lines in the first printing of 1559 appeared to be much looser on the title page (and elsewhere); the 1560 had much tighter forms and furniture than 1559. Even without the colophon, the 1560 title page is set off by the broken T in QVANTVM in the third line and a broken T in ET of the first line of the dedication. The 1559 and 1560 were set on the same measure, with very slight line and orthographic variation (the line variation caused chiefly by poorly locked intercolumnar numbering in the 1559 edition). Nicolaus Brylinger[4] was allowed, not only to print, but to invest in the publication of the 1560 volume.

New material is to be found in the 1560 version. After the text of Century III, cols. 321 to 374, comes a new section:

CASTIGATIONES ET ADDITIONES
LOCORVM ALIQVOT, IN PRIMA EDITIO-
ne uel deprauatorum, uel omissorum

And appended to these corrections, were the further corrections of the corrections:

---

[4] Ibid., p. 36.

ERRATA, QVAE NE IN CASTIGATIONIBVS QVI-
dem postremo adiectis cauere, propter operum incuriam
non licuit, sic emendabis.

They were all typesetting errors that "you will correct yourself." The main body of corrections, fifty-four columns in length, called attention to several typesetting errors and to one brief and three extended insertions:

at Century I^2, 609.43, on Luke the Evangelist (cols. 322.25 to 334.49);

at Century I^2, 617.16, briefly on Lucius Cyrenensis, Ananias, and the three (Fortunatus, Achaicus, Stephanas) (cols. 334.51 to 335.39);

at Century II, 198, on Athenagoras (cols. 335.44 to 341.10); and

at Century 245.2, the longest addition, on paganism (cols. 341.29 to 374.31).

The two indices had to be corrected, but not reworked entirely.

1562: The colophon reads:

BASILEAE, OPERA ET EXPENSIS
IOANNIS OPORINI, ANNO SALV-
tis humanae M. D. LXII. Mense
Martio.

The corrections of the 1560 printing were simply reset and included at the end of the volume, this time with a new set of typesetting errata. The new initials and the quality of paper and ink would lead one to conclude that Oporinus was cutting every corner to save expenses. The fact that he printed the volume alone--without the help or financing of another printer--was not a sign of prosperity. In fact, between 1560 and 1561, Oporinus found himself in both political and financial difficulties, some of the worst of his entire career.[5] If the March date of the colophon is accurate--and was not used to show how "new" the printing was for the

[5]Steinmann, *Johann Oporinus*, p. 102.

spring book fair in Frankfurt--then Oporinus was late and probably did not market copies at the fair itself. Easter fell on 29 March in 1562 (late in 1560, 14 April; early in 1559, 26 March). The condition of the paper, ink, and craftsmanship and the timing of the colophon would show that financial and perhaps scheduling problems plagued this printing.

1564: The colophon reads:

> BASILEAE, EXPENSIS IOANNIS OPORINI, ANNO SALVTIS HVmanae M. D. LXIIII. Mense Augusto.

The first three centuries were no longer set on the same measure as the 1559 edition. All the corrections and emendations of the "Castigationes" were incorporated into the text, thereby requiring new indices. The title page, interestingly enough, was probably set from a copy of the original 1559 edition ("deprehendet" for "deprehendes"). Again, the financing was by Oporinus, as well as the printing. The setting, paper, and inking were better than 1562, but not as good as 1559 and 1560.

When all is said and done, however, the first three centuries of the Magdeburg Centuries appeared in a magnificent example of Oporinus' work: the layout and composition with its roman capitals and italic body type, cut initials and spaced running heads, two column pages with line numbers in the intercolumnar space. Not only a clear, clean, accurate text, but an efficient, compact, and artful sample of the printer's craft.

After the first volume appeared, Wigand penned a letter to Oporinus, of which only the last leaf is extant.[6] In the first part, arrangements for the publication of Century IV were detailed, as can be assumed further from the publishing history. In the extant portion, no important

[6] Documents III, 3 [s483], 29 August 1559.

information about the history work was revealed. Wigand inquired about desiderata, about the settling of financial accounts, and about further purchases of materials to be made for the centuriators. The missing leaf contained very valuable information: if it is ever rediscovered in the Basel library's manuscript collections, it can shed valuable light on several issues.

On 22 October 1559, a letter was signed and sealed by Maximilian, King of Bohemia, Archduke of Austria, and sent off to Regensburg.[7] The original has not been located; a copy is available, in the Gallus collection of the Regensburg city archives. Its significance warrants a complete translation.

> Honorable, learned, especially dear [friends]:
>
> We have received your writing of 14 April 1559 and with it the letter of the first century of *Ecclesiastica historia*, which you dedicated and addressed to our name. We have also profited from it in part--as much as we have had time and will to do up to now. And we have observed in it your Christian, steadfast industriousness, pain, and work, as you showed and proved in the compilation of such a great work. Doubtless the very same [work] will extend the edification of the Holy Gospel and right worship of God, as well as for yourselves, for your honor and esteem. Thus we are graciously pleased not only by your work and its dedication, but inasmuch as we, at the leave of divine help, would offer assistance and help to organize [it] to its full stride, to the same end also yourselves together or individually, publicly to offer gracious thanks, we were well inclined and disposed earlier. Therefore, in connection with your writing, we did not want to withhold our gracious and approving opinion. And accordingly, you know that formerly our honorable, learned, trusted, beloved Caspar von Nidbruck, Doctor of Laws, our Counselor, allowed to go to you from Regensburg on loan to you in 1556 for the above-mentioned work, a number of books out of our library together with an inventory with our gracious permission. So it is our gracious intefit, since you no longer have need of them, that you would have [them] delivered again with its [their] box and returned--as we have no doubt that you would do so without [our asking]. Issued in Vienna on 29 October 1559, the eleventh year of our Bohemian reign.

---

[7] Documents I, 14.

The first introduction, that is, to Century I[1], wove together two themes in parallel: the expectation of the kings in reading and nurturing ecclesiastical history and the expectation of the centuriators in the ruling and living of pious kings. The two kings were Christian III of Denmark (together with his son Frederik Christian) and Maximilian of Bohemia (and Archduke of Austria). Christian III died on 1 January 1559, thus dashing earlier hopes that he would contribute, once the first volume appeared. The language did not attain to a final arrogance in an address to kings, but not by far. The starting point was the argument of utility ("usus," "utilitas") of sacred history. The rule of the kings was set in the framework of the Two Kingdoms and of the Two Tables of the Decalogue (pp. α2v-α3r). The regents could compare their potential by measuring the gentile and sacred histories: of those to whom much is given, much is required! The centuriators asked plainly and directly for support; they pointed out how the wise gentile rulers appointed the learned to write *Res gestae* and how wise pious rulers would enhance their own stature by supporting men of piety to write ecclesiastical history (p. α3v). Special responsibilities fell on the shoulders of pious rules, not only that they safeguard public order and public peace, but also that they take care that religious practices are maintained pure and whole. In order to make judgments about religious practice, the Christian kings may read and discover this history to be useful. They characterized their work as a most precious treasury, and as a jewel. The final appeal was in four parts: to accept this history with pious hearts; to cultivate, promote, and adorn the kingdom of Christ; to pursue, root out, and destroy the evils of Anti-Christ; and to help and safeguard "this most precious and useful work of ours" (p. α4r).

In response to this dedication, Maximilian requested that his private library materials be returned. It is unknown whether materials had, in fact, already been returned; whether they were in transit; or whether there was a lapse either with Flacius or with Gallus. At least, it is known that as a result of the dedication of Century I[1], the issue was opened once again. The dedication does settle once and for all the fact that Maximilian was aware of the earlier involvement of Nidbruck and that, at least in 1559, he spoke approvingly of it.

To the two electors--of the Palatinate and of Saxony, Ottheinrich and August--the dedication of Century I[2] was set forth as an extension of the *Narratio* of 1558, further apologetic to reply to the "calumnies" of 1558. The entire piece was further defense of the "Methodus," in answer to the Wittenbergers' response of 1558. They gave the electors four reasons for using the "Methodus." (1) They endeavored to write a synopsis of Christian dogma with Christ and his teachings at the center, organized logically out of scriptural material. (2) They hoped to set down a basic fundament in Century I against which the later theologians of the rest of the centuries could be compared and judged. (3) They would use Century I as a criterion to judge the reliability, not only of dogma in history, but also of current, contemporary theologies. (4) They sought to implement their methodology beautifully and whole ("pulcherrimme & integram"), and they thought that pious minds would be thankful for the collocation and explication of the most important parts of the New Testament. In language, tone, and tendency, the dedication was almost uncharacteristically modest, in that the centuriators made very limited appraisals of their final accomplishment. To that extent, they let the results speak for themselves.

Century II was dedicated to the heirs of the vanquished Elector of Saxony, Johann Friedrich, who had himself been unseated from the throne by the dedicatee of Century I[2], August. To the three sons of Johann Friedrich--Johann Friedrich, Johann Wilhelm, Johann Friedrich junior--the work was dedicated "because under the shadow of your protection for several years the true doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ has sounded forth, and the Church has been gathered which has truly worshiped God and celebrates him also in eternal life" (p. aa3r). The princes of Thuringia still had much to learn from the form of the church in ancient times. The centuriators pointed out how Dr. Martin Luther, of pious memory, had restored the true Gospel and snatched it from darkness by the grace of God. The church would then, almost inevitably, turn to all kinds of silly heresies and fads--just as the church did in the second century. And that was why the dedication to them was of special significance: through the myriad heresies of their own age the princes could help find the path for true doctrine by reading and learning from history.

The several princes to whom Century III was dedicated were of quite another stripe: Wilhelm von Nassau (William of Orange), Günther XLI of Schwartzburg, the Mansfeld and Stolberg princelings.[8] They were exuberant, boisterous, ebullient roughnecks: they were known much more for their tournaments of jousting and drinking, of brawling and womanizing, than for their piety and love of wisdom or learning--even exaggerated in the eponym of Günther, called "Bellicosus." Without a word of scolding, however, the

[8]Günther von Schwartzburg was engaged to Wilhelm von Nassau's sister, Katharina (married on 17 November 1560). For this and several other connections among these princes, see Th[ilo] Irmisch, *Beiträge zur Schwartzburgische Heimatskunde* (Sondershausen: Friedrich August Eupel, 1905-1906), I, 155-210, esp. pp. 157-161 (an essay entitled "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Beziehungen welche zwischen dem Prinzen Wilhelm I von Oranien (dem Schweigsamen) und dem Grafen Günther XLI von Schwartzburg und dessen Hause stattfanden," originally serialized in a local newspaper in 1878).

centuriators addressed them, pointing out how the church had been sorely oppressed in the third century. With one exception--the Emperor Philip Arabs--the Roman rulers had all declared that there should be persecutions of one severity or another. But the persecutions did not work. Why? While it was true that God ordained the rule ("imperium") and a limited obedience of all men to that rule, God also ordained a check on that rule. And that check was the magistracy. The administration of the empire fell to professional civil servants and princes and princelings. It was up to them to decide whether a law or order was in accord with God's will or against God's will: no man can be commanded to do anything against God's will and still be accountable for the charge of disobedience. But how could they know what constituted disobedience to God? By the careful reading of ecclesiastical history they could sort out obedience and disobedience. They could then play a constructive-role in the propagation of the true faith and of true teachings, as pious governors. There were three kinds of politicians, according to the centuriators. (1) Some were avaricious men, mean, self-serving and self-indulgent, and they cared not a wit for public obedience and religion. They were, in fact, tyrants. (2) Others were better: while they tried to maintain the lands of their charge with peace and concord, they did not bother with religion. They did not care if religion was pure or filthy in their charge: they used and manipulated religion to accomplish other ends. (3) The third type were the best: they kept public order and public peace, and at the same time had a deep and sincere concern for religion. They rooted out secular and religious strife and evils, and they had sincere doctrine and legitimate sacraments of Christ's own ordination. And this was, in fact, the first and essential goal for God's ordaining the magistracy. It is difficult to imagine how seriously some of

these swaggering, bellowing princelings would have taken the challenge of the centuriators, who themselves had been accused for almost ten years of inciting religious riot and discord, disobedience and insubordination to Emperor and to God. In that sense, the centuriators and the princelings had a strange commonality and collegiality.

Thus the first tome, Century I-II-III, contained the four books, dedicated to an interesting spectrum of personalities and messages: a challenge to two kings, an apology to two electors, a paranesis to three pious princes, and an injunction to a group of young prince-warriors.

In 1559 the position of the anti-Interim Gnesio-Lutheran resistance in Magdeburg deteriorated until the only remaining question was not if, but when, Wigand and Judex would be forced to leave. They did, in fact, depart in the fall of 1559 to take positions on the faculty of the University of Jena. They had seen the *Syntagma* appear in the autumn of 1558 and the first volume of the Magdeburg Centuries at Easter of 1559; they could leave with a sense of accomplishment. Not all was lost.

As Wigand and Judex took leave, they delivered special reports to the City Council of Magdeburg. Judex took the opportunity to recall the courage of his former patron, friend, and exemplar, Levin von Embden. The heroic syndic of Magdeburg's awful siege, Judex barked, would have shaken the dust of his sandles, were he alive, rather than see the reverses of recent days. Then, ever sensitive to the charge by the Wittenbergers that the authors of the Magdeburg Centuries were but schoolboys, Judex paid

---

[9] Cod. guelf. 71a Helmst., ff. 463-468: "Ad Senatum Magdeburgensem." The manuscript is dated 23 November 1559. The conjecture that this volume is of Flacian provenance can be challenged successfully from this item alone: this piece was Wigand's.

special tribute to his colleagues of the Magdeburg school, not witless children, but youthful scholars.

> As you know, God called us to treat the history of the church and other things well beyond that, which could not have been carried out altogether in any other place better, more effectively, more correctly, and more usefully, than in a Gymnasium where learned people live together, as all God-fearing people must admit.[10]

On the same day, as they wrote their sad "Farewell to Magdeburg," they also wrote to Oporinus.[11] At this time they sent the corrections, expecting that the type in the final copy be changed where it was in very grievous error: what would not be corrected in the text, they requested, could be noted on a tipped page of corrigenda. They feared that issuing emended, corrected editions later would cause hard feelings for those who purchased the earlier first volume--and could hurt future sales. These corrections were the appendix that Oporinus called "Castigationes." Wigand and Judex insisted that maps be included and tried to follow with more specific information, in accord with an earlier request by Oporinus. They had looked at Ptolemy's *Geographica* and Münster's *Cosmographia*.[12] They remained dissatisfied. While Ptolemaic names might have been good for ancient times, modern equivalents also needed to be provided. They listed fifteen desired maps; they should also have illustrations in a consistent manner and style, double folio in size. Good maps of Germany, Italy, and Gaul were available, on which larger maps could be based. They claimed that the maps would be good, not only for the Magdeburg

---

[10] Ibid., ff. 466v-467r.

[11] Documents III, 4 [S484].

[12] The only probable editions to which they were referring were from Basel, printed by a some-time partner of Oporinus, Heinrich Petri: the Ptolemy of 1550 or 1552, the Münster of 1554 or 1559 (perhaps the German of 1550). The maps for these works had been made in Basel.

Centuries, but also for other history books as well. And the separate maps would be quite salable. For place names, the locations given in works on councils would serve well as a gazateer.

The centuriators wanted more copies of the first volume at the autumn book fair, and they asked Oporinus to pay expenses for the messenger. Finally, Oporinus was asked to indicate to the messenger whether he would really carry out their desire (for maps?).

The Chronicle of Carion and Melanchthon's Counter-History

The rivalry between Magdeburg and Wittenberg related not only to the mutually opposed theological orientations. The interests of the two groups were in direct opposition also historiographically. Already in 1555, when Flacius thought that Lanquet was abroad on missions for the history project, the Burgundian carried other letters in his purse. Melanchthon sent a letter of reference with Lanquet, to the court of the Archbishop of Paris, Jean du Bellay (1492-1560).[10] He commended Lanquet to the cardinal as the Burgundian visited libraries in Italy and France (in du Bellay's retinue?). He also introduced Lanquet as his close personal friend to Johann Baptist Heintzel of Augsburg, the collector and patron of letters,[11] as Lanquet set out to see Nidbruck in Vienna.

In the summer of 1556, Melanchthon was well along in the preparation of a revised edition of the Chronicle of Carion, to be completed in 1558. The significance of this effort was not lost on the Magdeburgers.[12] The revision was not only completed in written form, but was also published in 1558--in late summer or early autumn.[13] The dedication of that volume

---

[10] CR VIII, no. 5794 and 5795, cols. 490-492: two letters, one to the Archbishop in his own name and one a letter of introduction.

[11] CR VIII, no. 5998, col. 765, dated 24 May 1555.

[12] Wilhelm Radensis [Eccius] had matriculated in Wittenberg on 31 August 1555. On 1 September 1556 he wrote to Flacius (Cod. guelf. 20. Novi, f. 24r, lines 34 to 40): Philippum iam texere historiam a principio ut et adiaphoricarum controuersiarum ut etiam alijs innotescat quantis tui libri scateant mendacijs. Dicunt tibi iam multos non fauere qui antea optime de te senserint, putant te moueri quorundam clamoribus fabellis aut scriptis ut ita contendas, nihil de istis historijs compertum habres (for habere), tales his audiuntur querelae.

[13] CR XII, cols. 704-1294. See also Chapter IV, at footnote 2.

was addressed to the centuriators' archenemy, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Sigismund, Margrave of Brandenburg.[14] The second volume of the chronicle --and Melanchthon's last--was also addressed to the Archbishop, dated a little over three weeks before Melanchthon died.[15] In these two volumes, he traced world history from the beginning to Charlemagne. The work was continued by his son-in-law, Caspar Peucer. Volume three, from Charlemagne to Friedrich II, appeared in 1562; volume four, to the time of Charles V, in 1566.[16] The complete work was re-issued in 1572, in a single large folio volume, and thereafter in many editions and versions. There are many traditions of the Carion Chronicle that go beyond the scope of this study: an Italian tradition, a French tradition, the publications of it in the Low Countries, and the English tradition. The many streams of tradition and historiographical influence have not been gathered into a single work.

The rivalry between Magdeburg and Wittenberg extended beyond the religious and political differences to the task and very purpose of history. The essential rationales were pointed and purposefully opposed,[17] and were grounded in deep philosophical and theological differences. But they were also grounded in equally deep animosities and suspicions: Flacius, always the ungrateful foreigner and intellectual patricide; Melanchthon, always the perfidious betrayer of the basic Lutheran principles of the Reformation.[18]

---

[14] CR IX, no. 6513, cols. 531-538, April 1558.

[15] CR IX, no. 6956, cols. 1073-1077, 25 March 1560.

[16] CR XII, pp. 708-709.

[17] See Chapter IV, at footnote 2.

[18] Melanchthon was never able to live down the letter of 28 April 1548 (CR XI, no. 4217, cols. 879-885), to Christoph von Carlowitz: he detailed his personal anguish as Luther's minion, his offer to cooperate secretly and silently, and his essential agreement with the overall intent

The focus is now limited to two issues. Why did Melanchthon dedicate the Carion Chronicle to Sigismund of Magdeburg? And why did he bother to revise the entire work in the troubled and sickly last days of his life?

Melanchthon decided to dedicate his version of the Chronicle to Sigismund, because his own first edition of 1532 and the translation by Hermann Bonnus of 1537 were both dedicated to Sigismund's father, the Margrave of Brandenburg, Joachim I. Melanchthon said that Joachim would have wanted his son to learn of the church and empire from this great historical work, because that history was so very important to Joachim personally.[19] The work was intended for young students, but was by necessity chiefly for those who rule: Sigismund was both. While the ancient sources were indispensible for writing history, even an extra measure of wisdom was required to determine what were the true lessons of history: history writing could not be a dilettantish, amateurish avocation. As much as history showed the horrors of sin and sin's consequences, it also demonstrated the sure hope of salvation to those who called upon God. Meanwhile, the true norm of faith and doctrine has always remained the same: the earliest is the truest ("primum quoque verissimum"), the ancient dictum of Tertullian. The essential dynamic of subsequent history (i.e., post-patristic), Melanchthon saw in the widening and broadening of papal authority to initiate and to enforce beliefs contrary to the prophets and apostles. The results of

---

of Charles V's Interim. Copies of this letter were made secretly. The letter was then printed and pirated repeatedly. One denial and counter-charge after another failed to cleanse Melanchthon's name: the University of Wittenberg was caught in a "cover-up." The Praeceptor opened himself indiscretely to every imaginable charge, from perfidy to peculation.

[19] CR IX, no. 6513, concentrating on cols. 533 to 537.

departing from the true norms were clear: the double empire, Muslim and Papal. The former arose because the East did not resist the succession of deviants from the Manichaeans to the Arians. Then also, papal power grew as the Franks invaded to put out the iconophile Greeks. As the Gauls and Germans were convinced that the Greeks were the enemies of true religion, and as the kings were weakened because of disunity, papal power increased and the monastics came on the scene to indulge in their own form of idolatry and error. In order to understand this history, however, the story must be told honestly and dispassionately ("candore et moderatione disputationum et adfectuum"). Melanchthon hoped to ward off fearful anarchy and mitigate the suffering by piety and prayer. He ended the epistle with a personal testimony of his dedication, absolute and unequivocal, to the Archbishop's cause.

Twenty-three days before he died, Melanchthon penned the second dedication, dated 25 March 1560.[20] The mood of the letter was dire and pessimistic, even sick of the world: the beginnings of the world and of the empire were infinitely more splendid and were far better written, he said. He seriously questioned whether he could delight the reader of history after the age of Augustus (Augustine?), once the beginnings of the church were over. The later theology was all downhill: theological inanities, the madnesses of heretics, the babblings of the furies with their impious dogmas. He despaired. He directed the great minds of the day to be aware of the dangers and to steer a careful course in grievous times. He exhorted caution for examining what and where the true church is, that rightly invokes God, judged on the basis of doctrine. That dogma

---

[20] CR XIII, pp. 1073-1077.

which produces dissension is neither trivial nor obscure, he said. He called for temperance and sanity in a world driven mad by a catalogue of self-indulgent sins. It is necessary to know the thoughts of the earliest and purest church, he claimed, and he called upon Sigismund to safeguard the doctrines that had true integrity and to teach rightly in opposition to the madness of sophists who were trying to ruin both doctrine and discipline.

As in the first introduction, Melanchthon's was a powerful political statement, made against those who cause dissensions. There can simply be no question, but that the sophists whom he denounced repeatedly were once the inhabitants of the very city whose ecclesiastical privileges Sigismund had tried in vain to recover for his family. The dedication, especially the second one, has the ring and cadence of a testament; Melanchthon's testament to Magdeburg was a declaration of his support for the Archbishop. His testament was also, in effect, an abrogation of any and all concessions made during and after the Colloquy of Coswick. The rivalry was no longer an appeal to the hearts and minds of their countrymen; the rivalry had become a matter of survival or annihilation.

But the reasons for Melanchthon's work and concentration on this particular work go deeper than simply a declaration of purpose and loyalty. They are rooted also in the history of the Carion Chronicle itself, which had not ceased to evolve once Melanchthon put down his pen in 1532. Between 1532 and 1556, several altered and extended editions of the work appeared in print and were readily available for the adult readers and school children of Saxony--the greater Saxony of the Saxon Circle. Several of these continuations of the Chronicle were pointedly and explicitly written against

Melanchthon. Melanchthon--*and after him, Peucer*--reworked and re-issued the Chronicle in 1558 as a corrective against the several altered editions. And they--at least, Peucer--tried to keep the revised Chronicle from suffering the same fate as the original, that is, from being turned into a literary weapon directed against themselves.

The original, manuscript Chronicle of Johann Carion (1499-1537) served as the basis for Melanchthon's most important historical treatise.[21] The original form, mailed to Melanchthon in 1531, has never been located; attempts to reconstruct the original Carion and subsequent Melanchthonian material have been, by and large, unsatisfactory.[22] The purpose in writing annotations and corrections to the work was, for the first edition, the same as for the second edition: to curry favor--for the first edition, in the court of the Margrave of Brandenburg. Carion was the "Hofmathematicus" of the Brandenburg court from 1522, a man of power and influence with the prince because of his skills in astronomy and numerology.[23] How much of the resulting printed text was Carion's and how much was Melanchthon's? The witness in Melanchthon's letters is contradictory: to Carion himself (17 August 1531) he said that he was only correcting some basic information; to Camerarius (12 June 1531) he spoke of reorganizing the text; to Anton Corvinus (January 1532), to whom he sent a copy, he said that Carion had, in fact, sent him little more than "a collection of notes rather carelessly

---

[21]Modern biographies are almost all dependent on Georg Theodor Strobel, *Miscellaneen litterarischen Inhalts* (Nürnberg: Martin Jacob Bauer, 1778-1782) in six parts, VI, 139-206, "Von Carions Leben und Schriften."

[22]For example, Hildegard Ziegler, *Chronicon Carionis:* Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtschreibung des 16. Jahrhunderts (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1898).

[23]Not "Hofmechanicus," Alfred Stern, s.v. "Carion, Johann," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 3 (1876), 781.

put together."[24] Because of the currency of manuscript literary works in the middle of the sixteenth century, a continued search for an original Carion Chronicle has prospects for success, if not the entire work, perhaps parts of it.

The original printing of 1532 was well received, and the book was successful, although not a best-seller. The Rhau press of Wittenberg issued the work twice: in 1532 and in 1546. In addition, there was a very interesting Lower-Saxon version of the work.[25] This version made the text available to both the Saxon and the Lower-Saxon audiences, with a much more inclusive reading public in the north. The Lower-Saxon version was printed in Magdeburg.

Then Johann Funck (1518-1566) brought the work "up-to-date" with appended text that brought the history up to the death of Martin Luther (1546).[26] This edition appeared without date or place, was in High German,

---

[24] G[otthard] Münch, "Das Chronicon Carionis Philippicum: Ein Beitrag zur Würdigung Melanchthonis als Historiker," *Sachsen und Anhalt*, 1 (1925), 199-283, esp. for an analysis of the epistolary evidence here, pp. 205-206.

[25] For purposes of this study, the undated but early (1534?) edition printed by Christian Rödinger in Magdeburg is very important (Wolfenbüttel, HAB T222 Helmst 8°; Gb 59; 527.58 Quod. 8°). Strobel listed (*Miscellaneen*, VI, 166): eine in das plattdeutsche oder niedersächsische übersetzte Ausgabe erschien zu Magdeburg durch Mich. Lotter 1534. 8°." Such an edition has not been identified or verified. The Rödinger is number II in the list prepared by Johann Christoph Dommerich (appended [p. VI] to Erhard Ernst Hoch, *Disquisitio de Chronici, quod extat sub nomine Ioannis Carionis, vera et genuina origine* [Guelpherbyti: Johann Christoph Meisner, 1755]). There is an undated Magdeburg edition by Michael Lotter (Wolfenbüttel, HAB T229 Helmst. 8°) of the Funck edition, i.e., must be after 1546.

[26] Strobel, *Miscellaneen*, VI, 166, said: gewiss zu Frankfurt a.M. 1546. In the introduction to the first edition, Funck mentioned his contacts with Cyriacus Jakob of Frankfurt (Wolfenbüttel, HAB T226 Helmst. 8°):

TABLE IV

THE CARION/MELANCHTHON/FUNCK CHRONICLE OF 1552 AND 1555

DESCRIBED

Title:

Chronica
Durch M. Johann
Carion fleissig zusamen gezogen/
menniglich nützlich zu lesen.
Volstreckung diser Chronica vom
32 Jar der minden zal/ biss in das 52.
Sampt eym kurtzen ausszug des grossen vñ
mechtigen kriegss/ so Kei. Carolus U. mitt
der Protestierenden gefurt/ im Jar 46.
Auch was sich in der schweren belägerung der Stadt Magdeburg zugetragen hat.
Anno. M.D.L.II.

Signatures: $+^{8}$, A^{4}, B-Z^{8}, Aa-Zz^{8}, Aaa-Kkk^{8}, LLL^{4}: [1] *11, 424 [19] f.

Contents

[Dedication by Carion to Joachim of Brandenburg (Berlin, 1531)]	*1r-*2v
Warzu Historien zu lesen nützlich ist	*3r-*6r
Anleytung/ wie Historien ordentlich zu fassen vnd zu lesen sindt	*6v-*9r
Tabula annorum mundi nach der Bibel/ vnd nach Philo	*9v-*11v
[Dedication by Johann Funck to Michael Aichler (Nürnberg, am tag Epiphanie, 1546)]	1r-2r
Anfang der Chronica/ das erst Buch/ darinn das erst Alter/ das ist/ zweytausent jar/ von Adam biss auff Abraham/ gefasset sindt	3r-11v
Der ander Buch/ von vier Monarchien/ darin auch zweytausent Jar gefasset sindt	12r-126v
Von der ersten Monarchi	9v-40v
Von der anderen Monarchi	41r-86r
Die dritte Monarchi	86v-121v
Anfang der vierdten und letzten Monarchi, nemlich des Römischen Reichs	122r-[424v]
Das dritte Buch/ darinn die Zeit/ von der geburt Christi an/ gefasset ist	126v-378r
Continuation vnd weittere erstreckung dieser Chronica/ vom Jar 46. Biss vff 52.	378r-422v
Beschluss der Chronica	423r-424v

Notes

The 1552 revision does not include a final passage (366r-368r) and "Beschluss" (368v-[369v]) of the alleged 1546 edition. The evaluation Funck made of Luther's life and works, the author of the 1552 condensed into a reference for readers to look elsewhere:

> Was nun dieses Hochverstandigen Mans [Luther] leben vñ Lehr gewesen/ ist aus seinen Büchern so er verlassen abzunemen/ Auch an mehren orten weit leufftiger angezeiget (p. 378r).

The last passages before 1552 were turned into a transition, much like Funck's reworking of the original edition, pp. [f6r] to glv, for the year 1532.

*

Title:

Chronica
Durch M. Johann
Carion fleissig zusamen gezogen/
menniglich nützlich zu lesen.
Volstreckung diser Chronica vom
32. Jar der mindern zal/ biss inn das 55.
Sampt eym kurtzen ausszug des grossen und mechtigen kriegs/ so Keyser Carolus
V. mit den Protestierenden gefurt/ im Jar
46. Auch was sich in der Schweren belägerung der Stadt Magdeburg
und biss itzt vffs lauffend 55.
Jar zugetragen hat.
Anno 1555.

Notes

Only the final gatherings of the 1555 edition vary from the 1552; they are set on the same measure and the signatures are identical.

1552	1555
Ccc2 to [Hhh6], 378r-422v: Continuation	Ccc2 to Jii5, 378r-429v: [Not titled, but a continuation]
[Hhh7] to [Hhh8], 423r-424v: Beschluss der Chronica	[Jii6] to [jii7v], 430r-431v: Beschluss der Chronica
Jiil to L(l4, unpaged: Register	[Jii8] to [Mmm7v], unpaged: Register

Colophon:

Gedruckt zu
Franckfurt durch Davidt
Schöffeln/ Anno
1555.

with the original Carion/Melanchthon text virtually unchanged. There is no indication that many copies of the work were printed, or that it was wildly popular.[27]

The next two versions are very important, because they brought into the text tradition material about the "German war" of Charles V, about the Interim, and about the sieges of Magdeburg and Frankfurt--all of the added material putting Wittenberg in a very bad light. As Table IV demonstrates, the 1552 version is, in all likelihood, like the 1555 version, a product of the presses of David Zöpfel. And the tie that bound the first Funck edition of 1546 to the revisions of 1552 and 1555 was Sara Jakob, daughter of Cyriacus Jakob, wife of David Zöpfel. The Jakob/Zöpfel press is continuous.[28]

> Vnnd nach dem ich lang hin und her gedacht/ warde ich von meinem günstigen Herrn Cirīaco Jacob Burger vñ Druckerhern zu Franckfurt in schrifften gebeten/ jme die geschicht/ so sindher Johannis Charionis Chronica aus liecht kommen ist/ verlauffen sein zubeschrieben/ deñ der willens were solche Chronica dieses jars wider an tag zugeben/ sintemal sie kurtz/ undordnung halben nützlich ist zulesen (page A3r).

See also, Joseph Benzing, "Der Drucker Cyriacus Jacob zu Frankfurt am Main 1533 (1539)-1551," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 3 (1961), 1-18 (i.e., *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*, 17 [1961], 194-202), and Heinrich Pallmann, *Sigmund Feyerabend* (Frankfurt: K. Th. Völker, 1881), 1ff.

[27]Of immediate interest were the first edition by Cyriacus Jacob of Frankfurt (1546); then the undated Magdeburg, Michael Lotter (Wolfenbüttel T225 Helmst. 8°); the Leipzig, Jacob Baerwald of 1553 (Wolfenbüttel T229 Helmst. 8°); the unsigned and uncolophoned edition dated 1558 (Wolfenbüttel T231 Helmst. 8°). Very important, for purposes of this research, is the edition by the Rhau firm in Wittenberg of 1550, which brought the name of Johann Funck to the Wittenbergers in an unspoiled, if not positive light.

[28]The specific copies used for this research are: 1552, Wolfenbüttel T228 Helmst. 8°; 1555, Wolfenbüttel T230 Helmst. 8°. Once the proper distinctions are made about the nature and scope of the variations, other printings and other variations will come to light.

The Funck version with the 1552 revisions extended the history of the world to the siege of Magdeburg in 1552. While the issue does not have an imprint or a colophon, a Frankfurt edition by Zöpfel is very difficult to deny. Then the Funck version with the 1555 revisions extended the history of the world three more years. Portions of the final section that deal with the city of Magdeburg became less detailed than in the 1552 edition; and following the Magdeburg materials is a section whose most detailed portion concerned the siege of Frankfurt, showing presumably that the example of the Magdeburgers had caught on and was brought to an even higher pinnacle in the Frankish river city. In neither case were the names given of the authors who penned the conclusions, nor is there an intimate personal reference in the appended sections. Therefore, it has been assumed that Funck wrote the additional, appended materials.

Earlier, the Carion Chronicle became a piece of European literature with the Latin translation by Hermann Bonnus--Halae Sueuorum: Peter Braubach, 1537.[29] It was, of course, without revisions, the basic text of Carion/Melanchthon; the book was pirated unchanged, often translated to vernaculars, then modified and extended and often localized. One finds editions from the Veneto to London, in all the Romance and Germanic tongues. Hermann Bonnus himself was a student of Wittenberg,[30] a friend of Bugenhagen (as well as student of Luther and Melanchthon), later Superintendent of Lübeck, the "Reformer of Osnabrück," a well-known author and poet, who

---

[29]The copy used for this research is that of Wolfenbüttel, T233 Helmst. 8°(1).

[30]Wittenberg, *Album*, I, 116a3: 13 April 1523, "Hermanus Bonnis Quackenburgen. Osnaburgen. dio." His birth date is also known with certainty: 1504.

who died on 18 February 1548, before the furies were loosed, and hence he could mourn the death of the beloved Reformer of Wittenberg without taking part in the vicious struggles of the next twenty-two years.

That is not to say, however, that the Latin translation by Bonnus was not altered and published. The 1555 version of the Carion/Melanchthon/Funck German edition was translated and published in Frankfurt in 1555, the entire first part based, word for word, on Bonnus. Efforts to identify and verify other variants at this time have proven fruitless. The one Latin 1555 altered publication is sufficient to show that the Latin form was also being rendered inimical to the Wittenberg authors who first saw the work to press.[31]

As Melanchthon reworked the Carion Chronicle in 1556--the year after the most damning version of the original Chronicle--the significance of his rewriting history was not lost on Wilhelm Eccius.[32] Melanchthon sought not only to undo what had gone wrong, but to be assured that the same thing would not happen again--at least not in his immediate neighborhood. He requested, and received on the same day (12 February 1558), a privilege from the Electoral Saxon court, through the good offices of Ulrich Mordeisen.[33] The privilege appeared on the verso of the title page of the first volume of the new edition: a six-year Electoral privilege--hence binding on the Saxon Circle. His argument for assigning the printing rights to the heirs of Georg Rhau was an injunction to help support orphans in their plight! especially since the Rhau firm had published the first

---

[31]Wolfenbüttel, T237 Helmst. 8°. [32]See above, footnote 12.

[33]CR IX, 443, no. 6457.

edition. There is no word about the publication of the Funck versions in this communication.

The privilege proved to be very important for the future. When the firm of Sigmund Feyerabend of Frankfurt displayed their wares at the Leipzig New Year's fair in 1568, Caspar Peucer, the author of volumes two and three of the new Latin edition of the Chronicle (1563, 1566), equipped with the original and subsequent privileges, complained bitterly to the Elector August.[34] The first altered edition by Funck was printed by Cyriacus Jakob; at least three--and probably more--altered editions came from the presses of his son-in-law, David Zöpfel. The Feyerabend firm took over the book stocks and assets of the Jakob/Zöpfel presses after the death of David Zöpfel (December 1563); Sigmund Feyerabend had worked frequently as a partner in publishing ventures with the elderly Cyriacus Jakob. These connections were well known and deeply appreciated by bookmen and scholars of the day.

Formal complaints were filed in Leipzig and in the Electoral court. On 7 January 1568, the Elector August signed an order to confiscate all Feyerabend's copies of the Chronicle: a mild order since usually a violation led to confiscation of all bookstocks. In the coming weeks, Peucer grew impatient and had to remind the Council in Leipzig of this order, together with a copy of the Imperial Privilege he had secured for the new edition on 18 April 1566.

The court had to weigh two factors. First, the pursuit of a copyright privilege in the first place was valid only to the extent that the privilege holder--that is, in this case, Melanchthon and Peucer--assumed

---

[34]The documents were published by Pollmann, *Sigmund Feyerabend*, pp. 31-33.

literary responsibility both for the first edition and for subsequent editions that bore their name.[35] Peucer claimed that all the Frankfurt editions were falsified, in that some materials were deleted and others added, and in that the Elector of Brandenburg was insulted and ridiculed. Second, the representatives of the Feyerabend firm argued that both Cyriacus Jakob and David Zöpfel had made printings with the name of Carion on the title page, with the name of Johann Funck at the point in the text where he assumed responsibility. Since no action had been taken in the previous sixteen years, the publisher felt free to continue his sales. The case went to adjudication in the Elector's court, but meanwhile the Feyerabend firm returned to Leipzig for the October book fair. By the time the Electoral court got to the case, however, Peucer was out of favor and there is no indication that an actual ruling or enforcement was ever proclaimed by the court or the bailiff.

Suspicions about the currency and influence of the altered editions seem to be borne out by Peucer's insistence that altered editions be confiscated. To all appearances, the course of legal action was not impulsive, but stemmed from a deliberate plan to undo the effects of the altered and "continued" editions of the Carion Chronicle, going back to the original Saxon privilege of 1558. Help the orphans, indeed!

---

[35] In the preface to the fourth volume of which he was the chief redactor, Peucer also included notice of the help tendered by Georg Sigismund Seld and Hubert Lanquet to his own and Melanchthon's efforts (pp. A7r-A8v), thereby tying their destinies to the literary contributions of two very important literary-diplomatic figures of Augsburg and the Holy Roman Empire.

PART THREE

THE UNFINISHED TASK

The Magdeburg Centuries were not completed "to the present time" by the centuriators. As the authors left Magdeburg in 1560, they seemed confident that they could bring the work along physically and complete the task in short order. The last published volume was eventually printed in 1574, Century XIII. Later, Wigand complained that he did not have helpers, that he was out of touch with the rest of Germany. But the complaints were only excuses. Wigand did manage to carry out other major writing tasks and remained deeply involved in other scientific pursuits. He had time to do what he wanted to do; and he had resources to carry out major research and publications, as he wanted to do them. The only conclusion that one can draw is that he decided, for one reason or another, not to finish the job. Since he did not detail his reasons, the modern researcher is well advised to review what extant evidence there is, to place that evidence in a plausible context, and to speculate.

The Magdeburg Centuries were begun with the clenched fist, held up to the academic and political powers of Saxony, in bitter defiance and reckless aggressiveness. But ecclesiastical politics accommodated the Gnesio-Lutherans in time; they moved from the fringe to the mainstream. The final settlement of differences among the German Lutherans in the Book of Concord (1579) was, in large part, a Gnesio-Lutheran document. The progress of the Gnesio-Lutherans was not, however, a triumphal lockstep to victory.

The theologians had to endure hardships and defeats, particularly in "The Gnesio-Lutheran Program in Thuringia and Flacius Condemned" (Chapter VII).

The Magdeburg Centuries' first home was a center of culture, of art, of trade, of jurisprudence, of political movements and philosophies, and of urban elegance. Through his career as an ecclesiastic, Wigand brought the history project with him: "In Jena: The Project Stalled" (Chapter VIII), "In Wismar: The Project Propelled" (Chapter IX), "Back in Jena: The Filling of the Seven Years" (Chapter X), and "The Final Years" (Chapter XI). When Wigand was but a lad, his illiterate father had prayed over his pallet that the boy would grow to serve God in accord with the newly unfettered Gospel. And he rose to prominence, advising courts and councils, princes and dukes and kings. Wigand's last home was among the heaths and dunes and swamps, on the shores of the Baltic, in rustic Pomezania. For a season, he had been lifted to the heights of political influence. But he was also brought low, condemned by former allies and colleagues, isolated, lonely, suffering for his own stance against Tilemann Heshusius.

At his death, Wigand left a completed manuscript on his writing desk. The introduction addressed his companion, Benedict Morgenstern. Wigand's excitement jumped from the page: he told his young colleague about a wonderful new discovery--not of theological verity, but of botanical taxonomy.

CHAPTER VII

THE GNESIO-LUTHERAN PROGRAM IN THURINGIA AND FLACIUS CONDEMNED

From March 1560 to January 1562, Wigand and Judex were resident in Jena and active in Thuringian Ducal Saxon ecclesiastical politics, rejoining Flacius who had been in Thuringia for over two years by late spring of 1560. They left Magdeburg as their support collapsed: they were no longer able to resist the provisions of the Interim that would return the despised papist Mass to the altars and the Brandenburg heir to the archiepiscopal cathedra of Magdeburg. They looked forward to a political backing and a theological consensus whereby they could participate in what could be characterized as the "Gnesio-Lutheran religious program."[1] The

[1]The Gnesio-Lutheran program can be described best in terms of the so-called *Konfutationsbuch: ...solida & ex Vero DEI sumpta Confutatio & condemnatio præcipuarum Corruptelarum, Sectarum, & errorum....* (Jena: Thomas Rebhart, 1559). The German edition of the same year was published "durch Christian Rödingers Erben," that is, also by Thomas Rebhart, also in 1559.

The prince, Johann Friedrich, addressed most of the introduction (pp. a2r-a6v) to the magistracy, calling on them not only to keep themselves free from, but also to prosecute and eliminate wherever identified, all errors and corruptions of the true faith. The errors are described in nine sections, in sixty numbered leaves (A-P in fours): I. Confutatio Erroris Serueti; II. Confutatio Erroris Schvenckveldij; III. Confutatio Erroris Antinomorum; IV. Confutatio Erroris Anabaptistarum; V. Confutatio Erroris Zuingli; VI. Confutatio Erroris de libero Arbitrio; VII. Confutatio Erroris Osiandi & Stanckari; VIII. Confutatio Erroris D. Maioris; IX. Confutatio Erroris Adiaphoristarum. In the "Generalis epilogus totius operis" that followed the nine confutations, indication was already forthcoming that the Gnesio-Lutheran program would involve bitter internecine battles, even in Thuringia itself:

desire of the Thuringian court for political differentiation from Electoral Saxony extended to relations with the Saxon Circle, with the many German cities and municipalities, with the Holy Roman Empire, and even with other nations of Europe. That political differentiation had its religious counterpart in the theological differentiation between the Gnesio-Lutherans, or Flacians, of the University of Jena and the Adiaphorists, or Philippists (i.e., Melanchthonians) of the University of Wittenberg.

As they relocated in Ducal Saxony to participate in the Gnesio-Lutheran religious program, Wigand and Judex transported their entire history project from Magdeburg to Jena, with every intention of continuing the work, as they told Hartmann Beyer on 19 March 1560.[2] But they had broken up a successful team, that had brought them a long way toward completing the work: the original Latin version was either fully printed or coming off the press in Basel up to Century V; the German translation was complete up through Century IV; material was excerpted in quantity as far as Century X. On the other hand, their commitment to Thuringia was not unequivocal:

> At sectarij sunt domestici in nostris Scholis & Palaestris uersati, non solum ut fratres, uerumetiam ut duces et praecipui Antesignani, *armati autoritate et opinione* Veritatis, a quibus uel latum digitum dissentire, ingens piaculum esse dicitur (p. 56v, i.e., O4v).

In the "Conclusio" (pp. P2r-P4r), the voice returned to that of the prince, Johann Friedrich. He brought a closer definition of purpose: first, to show "our subjects" the proper [theological] rationale, lest they be drawn from the simple word of God; second, to offer a reference point to people outside Thuringia; third, to give evidence that he stood by his forebears' position in the Augsburg Confession, the Apology [of the Augsburg Confession], and the Smalcald Articles (p. P2r). The prince set the limits for judiciary latitude by magistracies and officials: virtually no discretion was allowed under any conditions (pp. P2v-P3r). And finally, the prince set out the *Konfutationsbuch* as the theological standard for the University of Jena and for all other schools of his lands (p. P3r-v).

[2] Documents II, 8.

they refused to demit from their positions at the Ulrich Church of Magdeburg. Wigand resigned the superintendency--to be assumed by Tilemann Heshusius, pastor of St. John's Church--but not the pastorate he occupied for the previous seven years, just down the street from the Magdeburg Cathedral.

Before continuing the chronological narrative of the Magdeburg Centuries' own history, attention needs to be focused on a very important factor--perhaps the most important factor for the future of the Magdeburg Centuries and its authors--after twenty-two months in Jena: Wigand's parting with Flacius. It is necessary to look at this parting, because Flacius never again had close contact, to say nothing of good relations, with the centuriators. The story needs to be told in two separate parts: the immediate issue in Thuringia, centering on the Colloquy of Weimar, in August 1560, and on the Colloquy of Altenburg, in October 1568.

From Weimar

In their work in Thuringia and in the University of Jena, in the balance between court and academy and church, the three principals operated in far different ways. On the one hand, Flacius was much more involved in the ducal court at Weimar, as "Obersuperintendent," and less in the theological faculty of the University. On the other hand, Wigand and Judex were the major figures in working out a systematic theological program, for the articulation and implementation of certain theological fundaments in the churches of Thuringia. Not only was the theological faculty deeply alienated from other faculties in Jena--chiefly, but not only, that of

jurisprudence--and from important elements of the ducal court's council responsible for overseeing the University; but also the theologians were deeply divided among themselves from the very start.

For years, the conflict festered between Flacius and Victorin Strigel, his most important rival on the theological faculty of Jena; the conflict came to a head at the Weimar Disputation, begun on 2 August 1560.[3] Ironically, the same debate, in the second session of the first day, that spelled the end of Strigel's term as professor also marked the beginnings of the bitter struggles over the so-called Flacian [Neo-]Manichaeism. But at least temporarily, the removal of Strigel, after the colloquy of 1560, made room for Wigand and Judex to take full charge with Flacius' earlier colleague, Simon Musaeus.

---

[3] As Salig noted (*Vollständige Historie der Augspurgischen Confession*, III, 588, footnote [a]), Strigel complained bitterly that the protocol of the colloquy had been heavily edited by Simon Musaeus (?) to Strigel's disadvantage. While Strigel may have complained, there is no evidence that members of the court, even courtiers friendly to Strigel, pressed the point at that time. Salig's conclusion is well taken, however: Wir aber müssen es erzehlen, wie wirs finden. The protocol is: *Disputatio de originali peccato et libero arbitrio,* inter Matthiam Flacium Illyricum & Victorinum Strigelium publice Vinariae per integram hebdomadam, praesentibus illustriss. Saxoniae Principibus, Anno 1560 initiō mensis Augusti habita ....1563. Simon Musaeus dedicated the work to Johann Friedrich "junior," on "die purificationis," i.e., 2 February, 1562. It is an immense and highly detailed protocol.

The protocol itself was transcribed, not by Musaeus, but by Wigand ("Leben," p. 608; Schlüsselburg, *Oratio,* p. 20ff.). Schlüsselburg added interesting and important words to the autobiographical text of Wigand: post disputationem Vinariensem, inter Illyricum et Victorinum Apostatam (cui ipse interfuit, & quam celeri calamo, sicut postea disputatio ex Wigandi exemplari est impressa)....

The physical tome contained eleven separate works. It was published three years after the disputation, almost two years after Flacius' expulsion from Jena. In his letter to Oporinus of 7 March 1562 (Documents III, 8), Wigand requested ten copies of the work, important evidence that he also saw the work through the press and that Oporinus did the publishing (Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus,* II, 127, footnote **, named the editor Musaeus and the place of publication Bremen--inexplicable).

The topic of the disputation in the princely court of Weimar was the question of original sin and free will: a trap on Flacius' part to show that Strigel was a sympathizer with the Electoral Saxon theologians of the University of Wittenberg, particularly with Georg Major, and also with Philipp Melanchthon. Officially and for the record, Flacius had accused Strigel of being a synergist and/or Majorist, alleging that Strigel held the heretical view that human will cooperates in man's redemption. Strigel, a very wise and deliberate planner and a skillful debater, sought refuge by admitting as little as possible about the central issues, by continuing at every point to open new questions and new aspects of questions about free will, and by assuming a rather aggressive, rather than defensive, posture in the exchanges. Flacius desired to argue each of the large issues in brief, concise, unambiguous, almost binary formulations: true/false, either/or, yes/no. Strigel sought tenuous theological and logical underpinning to each and every statement, concentrating on the modalities of epistemology and logic. Flacius moved to argue a complex set of original sin/free will dogma where he could marshall an array of simple alternatives. Strigel made a rather minor point along the way: that original sin is far different from free will, in that original sin is an accidence--whereas, one would assume, free will is of the substance--of human nature. To this Flacius replied that he did not want to argue substance/accidence. Strigel rejoined that Flacius would not cooperate in the debate, because he was so confused about substance/accidence. On the basis of the published protocol,[4] the most that can be said of Flacius' final word on

---

[4]That is, according to the Wigand protocol. The problem of the protocol's accuracy is not settled. On the one hand, the embarrassing interruptions by the Chancellor Brück in Strigel's introduction were reproduced in full, perhaps verbatim. On the other hand, the alleged disruptions when

the matter is that the Illyrian approached the position that man's original sin is of the substance of man. The reason that this particular argument is singled out for special discussion is not apparent at this time, but becomes the cause of further action many years later. At the time, there was no major discussion of the issue, in the disputation or immediately afterward; perhaps a warning was given to Flacius of the dangerous ground he was beginning to cross.

The Gnesio-Lutheran program collapsed after two years' work. Court politicans and friends of those who received severe church discipline by the Jena theologians and their partisans brought about a crisis that focused on the banning of Matthaeus Wesenbeck. The result of the crisis was the summary dismissal of several key Gnesio-Lutheran leaders. One of the first to be forced from office was Judex, who was removed on 1 October 1561.[5] Wigand followed him.[6] Flacius, with his friend and companion, Marx Wagner, left shortly before 2 February 1562 for Regensburg, where he went about spinning plans for a new university of Regensburg and for a revitalization of publishing in the great upper Danube city, opening Bavaria, Austria, and Bohemia, strongholds of the papists, to further Lutheran influence.[7] He was alternately incapacitated by depression, unable to work for grief that

---

he made his statements about original sin being of the substance of man were conspicuously absent. Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, II, 127-132, believed that Flacius won the debate, but lost the battle politically; and Ibid., II, 321ff., that Flacius was subsequently betrayed theologically by fellow Gnesio-Lutherans.

[5]Judex was removed for publishing a controversial tract against the orders of the court (Schoppe, *Oratio*, p. m4v).

[6]Wigand was not removed, but resigned: in eo rerum statu existimabat Wigandus, exilium potius subeundum esse, quam consentiendum in ea, quae bonam conscientiam laederent (sic) ("Leben," p. 609).

[7]Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, II, 174-177.

he had become an exile, deprived of his position, his possessions (in a riot, his house was burned), and his good health. Yet, at the same time, he was occasionally hyperactive, speaking and writing and traveling with superhuman energy and effort.

Wigand and Judex looked forward to returning to St. Ulrich's in Magdeburg, where so much of the work on the Magdeburg Centuries had been done, as Wigand said, "in my home." Their spirits were recharged to play active roles once again in the politics of the city of Magdeburg, rather than of the academic and princely court of Jena and Weimar. They looked forward to rebuilding their former civic political bases and alliances for a fresh assault on the implementation of the Interim and on the acceptance of the Archbishop and his claims against Magdeburg.

Wigand and Judex did not live in close proximity or work in close collaboration with Flacius after they all departed from Jena in late 1561 and early 1562. In the five years between 1562 and 1567, the relationship between Wigand and Flacius first cooled and then turned decidedly hostile. In that quinquennium, each pursued goals and objectives far different from the other, leading to estrangement on another level of values. In the winter of 1568/1569, protracted debate and discussion took place between the Thuringian Saxon and Electoral Saxon theologians in the Colloquy of Altenburg. As the leading representative of Thuringia at this colloquy, Wigand consented to the condemnation of Flacius for the Illyrian's views on the doctrine of original sin. Flacius was declared a heretic.

To Altenburg

Wigand and his colleagues have been called political opportunists --and far worse--for their "abandonment" of Flacius in the Colloquy of Altenburg.[8] The whole story cannot be told now, because too much evidence remains unsurveyed, unedited, uncalendared. Flacius' side has been well represented, chiefly by his biographer Wilhelm Preger. Since, in Wigand's view, the origins of the problem must be traced back to the Weimar Disputation, and since this part of the Wigand/Flacius relationship cannot be integrated chronologically into the history of the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries--and especially since this episode is so important for an understanding of the end of their friendship--the Wigand side of the story is rehearsed here.

There is, on the one hand, no concrete contemporary evidence from 1560 to 1567[9] that Wigand tried to dissuade Flacius from his allegedly Manichaean doctrine on original sin, that original sin is of the substance of man. But would Wigand have written about the matter to his colleague

---

[8]Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, II, 327-333. Preger interpreted the criticims of former colleagues as political expediencies on the part of perfidious former friends and allies, to rid themselves of any connection with the controversial Illyrian. That is, Preger did not treat seriously the content of the disagreement, the theological argumentation, as a real issue. The fact is, former friends and allies were dissociating themselves from Flacius both for his politics and for this theology. Preger's views have been ridiculed as blind to Flacius' weaknesses, a strong charge, but understandable in the light of Preger's argumentation.

[9]Christian Schlegel, *Ausführliche Bericht von dem Leben und Tod Caspari Aquilae* (Leipzig und Frankfurth: Michael Gottlieb Griessbach of Eisenach, 1737), p. 499ff., reviewed this history as it related to Aquila's life and work; Schlegel claimed that their was such evidence from Simon Musaeus (the protocol?) and from "einige andere seiner Freunde."

Flacius, as they lived in the same city, in the same neighborhood, for the next two years, thus leaving any textual evidence? Or was it a burning issue in the next five years, as Flacius turned his attention and his energies from Jena to Regensburg, and as Wigand returned from Jena, first to Magdeburg, then moving on to Wismar? The modern researcher has no particular reason to expect that a documented or documentary set of arguments between Wigand and Flacius is to be found. But that does not, by any means, imply that Wigand ever agreed with Flacius' view about original sin.

On the other hand, Wigand told from memory, in his later writings, a story that must be taken into account.

The real storm broke in 1567 and 1568, in three parts. First, Flacius published a new defense of his doctrinal formulation on original sin in an appendix to his monumental *Clavis Scripturae* (Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1567).[10] The essay was entitled: De peccati originalis aut veteris Adami appellationibus et essentia; it was written, said Flacius, against certain Synergists who were making heretical assertions. If the Synergists' assertions were ever published, they have eluded modern scholarship. Others who commented on the tract early, former colleagues of Flacius and fellow anti-Interimists, found little fault with the essay. Second, two prestigious theologians did find fault, and published their argumentation against Flacius: Martin Chemnitz and Joachim Mörlin. Soon after them, Heshusius began to publish against Flacius also, an exchange that developed into a one-for-one pamphlet exchange for almost one and a half years. Third, as the peace movement in Saxony was developing quietly, a formal meeting of

---

[10] Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, II, 310-321, for an analysis of the essay itself. The developments after its publication (II, 327ff.) are documented chiefly from Cod. mon. ger. 1317 (the Gallus papers).

theologians from Ducal Saxony (Jena) and Electoral Saxony (Wittenberg) was called, to take place in Altenburg, beginning on 21 October 1568. Here, for the first time, Flacius was officially declared a heretic for his doctrine on original sin.[11]

For understanding the final break in the relationship between Wigand and Flacius, the modern observer notes well Wigand's recollection of the events that occurred in, or shortly after, 1560. In 1572, Wigand introduced *Rettung des Heiligen Catechismi* (Jena: Donat Richzenhan, 1572) by Andreas Schoppe (by this time, husband of Judex' widow), with a long account of Wigand's struggles with Flacius' doctrine of original sin.[12] He said that friends and associates of Flacius--himself included, we might assume--had tried to dissuade Flacius and waited until they were sure that he would not reconsider his position or retract any of it, before they

---

[11]There are three important manuscript sources for the struggle, contemporary documentation, not later collections or recollections. The first is Wigand's own papers; the second is Gallus' collection in Munich; the third is the Waldner collection. Salig, *Vollständige Historie der Augspurgischen Confession*, III, 587-652, concentrated his attention on the question of synergism when he used the Wigand papers, Cod. guelf. 11.7 and 11.9 Aug. 2°, chiefly for the history of the subsequent conflict between the banned Matthaeus Wesenbeck (chiefly pp. 625-652), not for the history of the Weimar Disputation and its results. Salig did not use the Wigand treasures in the Cod. guelf. 64. Extra. 2°. As noted above (footnote 10), Preger used chiefly Cod. mon. ger. 1317, part of the magnificent four-volume (1314-1317) "Miscellaneorum Galli tomus I[-IV]." To these two sets should be added the first volume of "Collectionis Waldneri tomus I [-V]" (Cod. mon. ger. 1318-1322). The Gallus fourth volume and the Waldner first volume have documents that need to be checked against other autographs and holographs to be found in the Regensburg Stadtarchiv. A survey and analysis of the relevant papers will, no doubt, lead to a new synthesis about the issue of Flacius' doctrine on original sin and the reaction of his former colleagues to it, from Weimar to Altenburg.

[12]Schoppe's book was originally prepared for sixteen leaves of front matter. The printer left four gatherings: A to D. When the preface was set in type, the material required gatherings A to Q: as Wigand began to tell his story, he was apparently unable to restrain himself or contain the story to such a small prescribed limit.

openly and publicly attacked him--an act that all agreed was their last resort.[13]

In 1575, Wigand recalled the story once again, by then fully contemptuous of Flacius' beliefs and behavior:

> The monstrous and blasphemous babblings of the ancient Manichaeans Matthias Flacius Illyricus revived in our century, first of all in the disputation at Weimar in Thuringia with Victorin Strigel, an acknowledged syncretist, in 1561 [sic]. Although he was only wishing--and he put himself in that position--to exaggerate the horror of original sin, he put himself in jeopardy as he asserted that original sin is of the very substance of man. Although restrained by Wigand and several other colleagues, he did not allow himself to be dissuaded from this position. No, indeed! and he hurried to draw others to his position. And then, while many good men were trying to dissuade him, he broadcast his delirium to the church of Christ, very upset at that time for other reasons too, and next, as is customary with errors, bearing fruit of their own nature, he begat many monstrous acts and words, and went public and carried on thefight with a marvelous contentiousness and malediction, as will be shown in its proper place.[14]

All that with fifteen years' hindsight on Wigand's part. Whether or not there had emerged *a consensus* in 1560 that Flacius' formulation was wrong, in 1567 and 1568 there was widespread agreement that Flacius' terminology (chiefly, substance and essence) was not only unusable, but intolerable.

No loud and public dissociation of Wigand and Flacius can be shown to have occurred between 1560 and 1567; the evidence of the Magdeburg Centuries will show that important personal problems arose and were brewing between these two men for many years before Altenburg. On a personal and private basis, there is evidence that their departures from Jena were much,

---

[13] Ibid., p. A3v.

[14] This quotation is cited from the text of Wigand's *De Manichaeismo renouato* (Leipzig: Henning Grosse, 1587), as edited by Conrad Schlüsselburg, a more complete edition than the original collection of documents by Wigand published in 1575. This particular paragraph remained unchanged. In 1597, Schlüsselburg used these very same materials in his *Catalogus haereticorum*, II, 4-5, with the significant omission of Wigand's name in this very quotation. The original papers of the Wigand collection and the Schlüsselburg collection are to be found in Cod. guelf. 64. Extra. 2°.

much more than merely geographic partings of the way. When he was recalled to Jena in 1567 and when the Colloquy of Altenburg condemned Flacius in 1569--Wigand was not only a participant, but the editor of the protocol of the colloquy--Wigand could and did become an open, publishing critic of Flacius and of Flacian Neo-Manichaeism. His earlier silence is insufficient evidence that he agreed, then later changed his mind. His earlier restraint does not make him a traitor to Flacius' cause.

CHAPTER VIII

IN JENA: THE PROJECT STALLED

Since the printing of the Magdeburg Centuries in German translation did not go beyond Century IV (1565), and since the translation of that volume was finished as early as March 1560, this special author-translated version of the Magdeburg Centuries must be treated at this point. The centuriators, for all their original optimism and energy, did not get as much done on their history project during the twenty-two month stay in Jena as they planned. When they left Jena as "exules," they returned to Magdeburg, newly schooled in the emerging Gnesio-Lutheranism and newly disciplined in their dissent with political powers.

The German Centuries

On the very day when Wigand and Judex were leaving Magdeburg for Jena (19 March 1560),[1] they confided in Oporinus that they had marked no progress in their work recently. They requested fifty copies of Century IV (when it was completed), fifteen copies of Centuries I-II-III, and fifteen of the corpus of doctrine. Wigand and Judex feared that Oporinus was making plans for his own German translation; whatever plans had been made, they said, to translate the ecclesiastical history in Basel, they trusted Oporinus would cease and desist forthwith. The pageproofs of Century IV were returned, but they were unable to deliver Century V in fair

[1] Documents III, 5 [S632].

copy. The German version of the Magdeburg Centuries was in serious trouble, they said, because of their printer, Thomas Rebhardt.[2] And they advised the Basel publisher that they had completed the German translation through Century IV. Six months later, in the tension and confusion of the Weimar Colloquy, in August 1560, Judex wrote to Wigand:[3]

> Thomas Rehbardt asks for the introduction to the Third Century, so I looked for it among your books, but did not find it. Thomas says that he recently returned it to you in Weimar. That is the reason that he [the messenger?] should leave this to you and bring it back here. If you have the whole thing, give it to him. Or if it is missing, say where a copy can be found and is to be transcribed again. He is hurrying on account of the Frankfurt fair. Or if the earlier version has

---

[2] Rebhardt was the son-in-law of Christian Rödinger and took over the marketing of the Jena edition of Luther's works on 8 March 1559 (Friedrich Lütge, *Geschichte der Jenaer Buchhandels, einschliesslich der Buchdruckereien* [Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1929], pp. 18-28, esp. pp. 18-19). His role in the Luther project was cloudy indeed, with allegations of overcharging the buyers and over-billing the princely subvention ([C. A. H.] Burkhardt, "Druck und Vertrieb der Werke Luther's: I. Die jenaer Gesammtausgabe 1553-1570," *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 32 [n.f., 26] [1882], 456-469, esp. pp. 465-469). The handling of the Luther edition by Conrad König and Thomas Rebhardt continued to be a major scandal, even after he left Jena. After the death of Rödinger's daughter, Rebhardt married the daughter of the Frankfurt printer Weigand Han, in 1565 (Erhard Heinrich Georg Klöss, "Der Frankfurter Drucker-Verleger Weigand Han und seine Erben: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Buchgewerbe im 16. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 2 [1960], 308-374, esp. pp. 323-324). Through his assuming of König's business affairs in Jena, Rebhardt also became an agent for the two Basel printers, Froben and Episcopius--frequently partners of Oporinus (Heinrich Grimm, "Die Buchführer des deutschen Kulturbereichs und ihre Niederlassungsorte in der Zeitspanne 1490 bis 1550," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 7 [1967], 1153-1772, esp. pp. 1666-1667). There is, however, no evidence of direct contact between Rebhardt and Oporinus, particularly in the matter of the German edition of the Magdeburg Centuries. But such contact can and should not be ruled out of the realm of possibility in 1565 and 1566.

[3] Documents I, 15. The date is not given, but the context indicates that the letter was sent at the time of the Weimar Disputation. The phrase, "post dium hunc abibit corpus doctrinae germanice et alius imprimat consentit, quid si vel per montanum vel oporinum tentemus an vellem?" can be explicated by the fact that Rebhardt used also the presses of Donat Richtzenhahn, husband of Rödinger's widow and heir of the Rödinger presses (Lütge, *Geschichte der Jenaer Buchhandels*, p. 20; Benzing, *Buchdrucker im Deutschen Sprachgebiet*, pp. 207-208). The phrase does not mean that Rebhardt would consent to losing the marketing or control of the Wigand/Judex books.

> been lost, compose another. I would wish that you write to Rebhardt also for those copies of Century II and Century III that he owes us, either as much as he may add copies of the first, or he may take them to Frankfurt at our expense and there sell them all together. After a long time, he will bring the German *Corpus doctrinae* [i.e., the *Syntagma*] back here and he agrees that someone else do the printing. What if we hurry with either Montanus or Oporinus? or should I?

The German version was arranged the same way as the Latin. The title of the first volume did not indicate, however, that the *Kirchen historia* was a translation (the next three did). The first volume, Centuries I-II-III, was published in August of September 1560, within nineteen months after the first Latin edition.[4] Even earlier, at the time when the Latin Century IV was in Basel, the German Century IV was already in fair copy.[5] The centuriators planned to move forward with their work in both a Latin original and a German translation simultaneously, it would appear.[6] Clearly it was the fault of Thomas Rebhardt, the publisher, that the effort was stalled and never got beyond Century IV, which was published five years after the fair copy was completed, that is, in 1565. Even as Rebhardt was finally going to press with Century IV, Wigand notified Oporinus once again that he would seriously consider changing to the Basel printer for the remainder of the German centuries.[7] While the centuriators did express their desire to

---

[4]Documents I, 15.

[5]Documents III, 5 [S632], 19 March 1560.

[6]Bartolomaeus Pica expected both the Latin and the German editions to appear at the same time, already in 1559, Chapter VI, footnote 1.

[7]Documents III, 17 [S629], 9 March 1565. The actual wording was neither discrete nor equivocal:

> If, as I hope, Thomas Rebhardt prints the German Century IV, he himself prohibited from doing so all too long, constrained by poverty; next I shall take and transfer the German centuries with you, God willing, although others expect them.

have Oporinus publish both the Latin and German versions, once Century IV was printed by Rebhardt, Oporinus was already saddled by serious legal and financial problems himself, and probably could not take on new ventures. By that time, he was already negotiating with the Gemusaeus brothers for the sale of his press.[8] Within two years, the Officina Oporiniana was sold.

Five books, four centuries, were published, however. There are no remains of the rest of the German centuries in the Wolfenbüttel library, unless the registers are mistaken and the books are incorrectly catalogued or indexed. The five dedications of the German centuries are very interesting in themselves. They are different from the Latin dedications for the corresponding volume, both in the person addressed and in the content of the message. All five of them sere signed by Johann Wigand and Matthaeus Judex: Flacius' and Faber's names do not appear at all. The German title pages describe the authors: Durch etliche Gottfürchtige Menner zu Magdeburg.

In Century I[1], Wilhelm von Jülich-Cleve-Berg (1516-1592) was exhorted by the centuriators to play the part of a God-established authority ("Oberkeit"), with true preaching and with true worship in his realms. They began by reviewing Old Testament worship, then New Testament worship. They were not biblicistic simpletons:

> Thus it is sufficiently clear that the Christian church is responsible faithfully to treasure, to read, and to put into practice not only the biblical books, but also other useful history books, indeed that they heed such histories to the end of the world, keep in mind and teach others about them.

The others who expect them could very well be the new partners of Rebhardt in Frankfurt, through connections with the Han clan; one of the Han agents in Frankfurt was Polycarp Gemusaeus, later an owner of the Oporinus press.

[8] Steinmann, *Johann Oporinus*, pp. 112-113.

They were not commending a long-time champion of reform, but rather a prince who had wavered and pondered long and hard. Finally, from 1558 to 1566, he reformed his lands, at least in part under the influence of Georg Cassander, the same Cassander who was designated by Caspar von Nidbruck as "the likely writer" for the Magdeburg Centuries, but was unacceptable to Flacius.[9] Stricken by a serious stroke at the age of fifty, he worked another twenty-five years partially incapacitated, wondering at God's will for himself and his lands. There is no indication that the dedication of Century I[1] elicited a response from him, or that he was influenced by it.

By the content of the dedication to Century I[2] one can determine[10] that it is the one addressed to Hans von Brandenburg-Küstrin (1513-1571), on the one hand a staunch adherent to the Augsburg Confession, on the other hand a true prince of the Empire with notable services performed for Charles V and for Philipp, as well as for Ferdinand and Maximilian. This second dedication is an extended essay on "antiquity/novelty" that stands on its own, with but a brief paragraph in the seven-page piece addressing the Margrave himself. The essay demonstrated that the centuriators were well on the way to becoming historiographical experts. Three years earlier they might very well have assented to simplistic aphorisms like Tertullian's "primum quoque verissimum." And they did cite this very point. But by the beginning of 1560, after producing several thousand pages of finished

---

[9] See Chapter III, footnote 29. See also, for the larger issues, W[ilhelm] Rotscheidt and F[riedrich] Nippold, "Georg Cassander: Ein Rheinischer Ireniker des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Monats=Hefte für Rheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 12 (1918), 105-122, 310-313. The intellectual contribution of Cassander was one of many that made for a unique, mixed "settlement" in Jülich; see Chapter III, footnote 31.

[10] Several copies have the dedications for Century I[2] and Century II turned around--an easy mistake, both signed with "*".

history, the authors knew better than to use reductionist apothegms. The particular reason that the centuriators picked Hans von Brandenburg-Küstrin was not further spelled out; no other persons or historical references were specified in the introduction to help unravel the reasons. Perhaps one or more members of his court were involved in financing the Magdeburg Centuries or he himself may have had an interest in the project.

Century II was dedicated to the Bürgermeister and City Council of Augsburg. No individuals were cited; no particular events or groups were specified. The theme remained generally the same as that of Century I[2]: the identification of the true church and the true faith midst conflicting claims of truth. (Four years later, the centuriators dedicated Century VIII of the Latin edition to, among others, their most supportive contacts in Augsburg, Johann Baptist Heintzel and Achilles Pirmin Gassar.)

Century III was likewise dedicated to the Bürgermeister and City Council of Nürnberg. (The Latin edition of Century VIII had a counterpart dedication to six leading Nürnberg citizens.) The centuriators encouraged the Nürnbergers to understand the origins of heresy to be, not from the church, not from the Word of God, but from lies of the devil. Even the greatest figures of the third century were tainted by the devil. Unlike the dedication of the Latin version, there was here but a brief hint at the history of persecutions. Tongue in cheek, the authors reminded the Nürnbergers that they should note that Tertullian had said, in the Nürnberg of his day there was devil-worship.

The dedication of Century IV showed in 1565 a new orientation for Wigand: to the Bürgermeister, City Council, and Community of Thoren (i.e., Thorn, Polish Toruń), an orientation to the East. The centuriators wrote an encomium to good order, exemplified in the fourth century, one would

assume, by Constantine. The obligation by God to have government, raising man above the beasts, had three stages: to establish peace, to establish public order (discipline, decency), and to establish the church. The highest function of all for the city was the third obligation. The fourth century would teach them how to establish a church. The introduction took special note of the presence in the city of Franz Burchardi and Benedict Morgenstern (1525-1599).[11] These two men were in Toruń only seven years: fleeing from Danzig in 1560, fleeing to Königsberg in 1567. In Prussia, in later years, Morgenstern was to become a colleague, companion, and fellow natural historian with Wigand. Between the years 1560 and 1567--and especially the year of the dedication, 1565--they were in constant controversies about the establishment of religious practices in the city of Toruń. They were embroiled particularly at this time with the problem of Bohemian Hussite refugees, who had entered the Lutheran church but continued to hold private conventicles with the Eucharist.[12] Hence the emphasis by Wigand on the matter of good order and a church established.

The long introduction to Century I[1] that described the purposes and organization of the Magdeburg Centuries (the detailed Methodus was not published) contained most of the same information as the Latin, but simplified. The German was clearer, briefer, and clearly the result of more experience than went into the original methodological works of 1556 and 1557. The

---

[11]Bronisław Nadolski, *Ze studiów nad życiem literackim i kulturą umysłową na Pomorzu w xvi i xvii wieku*, Studia Staropolskie, 23 (Wrocław, etc.: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1969), pp. 178-180, et passim.

[12]The problems in Danzig, which also involved the Eucharist, also saw involvement by Flacius and Wigand (Ibid.). The published works of Morgenstern are extremely rare: none of the material is registered with locations in the United States and Canada, very little is available in the major research libraries of Germany.

text of the centuries is also much simplified, without losing the critical point or the decisive issue. That is, the text of the German centuries is, unlike the text of the Latin edition, the work of masters over their subject. What the centuriators learned in their meticuluous leafing through history for the Latin centuries they tended to interpret much better when they told it to their fellow countrymen.

The Centuriators Dismissed

As they brought their work to Jena, Wigand and Judex were confident that they could write the Magdeburg Centuries expeditiously. On the day of their departure, as they wrote to Oporinus, they also sent a letter to Beyer, 19 March 1560.[13] Wigand penned the words:

> Now my colleague Judex and I are leaving, called to Jena. I do not know who will succeed us [in Magdeburg]. We are taking along the entire history business, and we hope that in the University several helpers will be gotten. We are not at all abandoning such a pious and holy work as this, if only we shall get the resources, modest as they are; but to stop them [the resources], the Wittenbergers are hard at work.

They did not anticipate the heavy load of teaching and administration that would fall on their shoulders.[14] And in a year's time they made no headway.

---

[13] Documents II, 8.

[14] The partial catalogue of courses at the University of Jena (Documents I, 16), with Wigand teaching systematic theology and the exegesis of the pericope, with Judex teaching the Gospel according to St. Matthew in Greek, and assisting in the exegesis of the periocope in Wigand's absence. Flacius was teaching a course on the letter of St. Paul to the Romans. Beside the regular lectures, there were also the prescribed public disputations which had to be held a minimum of once weekly, often lasting an entire day. Although they were treating materials that they knew well from daily use earlier, particularly Wigand and Judex were completely inexperienced in the lectures of the University and in the demands that were placed on them to produce such lectures. Finally, the disputations, or "theses disputandi," were written by the professor, no t the student. The published doctoral or magisterial theses represented but a small fraction of the total amount of written theses that professors had to produce.

A definite pattern of communication was established, and it lasted for several years. The letters of Wigand and Judex went to Frankfurt, one each for Beyer and Oporinus, timed for the Easter and autumn Frankfurt book fairs. Thus it is possible to note a missing letter very easily.

A full year after Wigand and Judex moved to Jena, on 14 March 1561, they wrote to the Superintendent of Frankfurt.[15] They concentrated on news about the Adiaphorists, about the Naumburg Convent, and about the recent meetings of Gnesio-Lutherans in Braunschweig. Wigand commended the household servant and messenger, Franciscus, to Beyer as the young man left his service. But not one word was uttered about the history project, probably reflecting accurately the priorities of issues and responsibilities in their own minds. They did not even ask that books be sent from Frankfurt, the first time such a request was not made in a Wigand/Beyer letter.

The reason that the centuriators' pleas for materials had ceased might be explained, in part, in a report of 8 April 1560 from the librarian of the University of Jena, Johannes Weischner, to the prince's chancellor, Dr. Christian Brück. That report stated explicitly that one of the heaviest users of the library, on the basis of the "Ausleihregister," was Johann Wigand, even from the time of his last months in Magdeburg.[16] The rather plaintive appeals for books and materials ended, replaced with a regular process of acquisition: purchase through delegated agents and payments through the established accounts in the centuriators' names with Oporinus. Meanwhile, the library was serving well the resource needs of the history

---

[15] Documents II, 9. The year is not given on the piece, but was correctly sequenced in the numbering of letters by a Frankfurt archivist.

[16] *Geschichte der Universitätsbibliothek Jena, 1549-1945*, Claves Jenenses, 7 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1958), p. 105.

project.

The letter of that same day, 14 March 1561, to Oporinus shed significant light on the developments of 1560 and 1561 for the history project.[17] The effort was stalled, according to Wigand, for four reasons: (1) The centuriators were unable to set up the project physically. They needed what Wigand called "aedificatio tuguriolorum," a building of little huts. The project had become so immense that the special storage arrangements of Magdeburg were required and needed to be rebuilt--probably a combination of linear shelving and bins. The requirement for Century V in fair copy, for instance, must have exceeded four thousand pages of manuscript; the draft copy, the copy books, and the excerpts each well in excess of that. It is not unlikely that the first six centuries required over forty thousand leaves of manuscript--all in good order and clear arrangement. They had contrived a clever work place in Magdeburg, in Wigand's home,[18] and they had problems simply duplicating the space that the project occupied. (2) Wigand and Judex were distracted by other ecclesiastical affairs. The assertion, clearly an understatement, is readily borne out by the combination of their teaching load, the expectation that they participate in the church visitations, and the biobibliographies of the authors for those years. (3) Large amounts of historical scholarship were required for Century V; again, surely an understatement, as one puruses that century. While Century IV was longer in terms of columns, Century V required much more work in the distribution of the earlier chapters, less work in the more biographical and topographical sections. (4) Added in the margin,

---

[17] Documents II, 6 [S633].

[18] Wigand, "Leben," p. 607; Schlüsselburg, *Oratio*, p. 18.

perhaps after the final signature of Judex was already attached to the page, to preserve a certain confidentiality, is the note of Judex' faltering health.[19] The reasons were credible; the fourth boded a special notice and dire consequences.

Then, for the first time, Wigand spoke the unspeakable: he wished to be relieved of the entire project:

> *So, bear with us with equanimity what cannot be changed. Indeed, we* would wish to be sprung out of this vast swamp at the first opportunity, as any mortal would, because we think the responsibility too weighty and we almost succumb, especially at this time of iniquity and adversity.

The fact that the work had become overburdening was also consistent with the departure of Basilius Faber from the project, to take a position in the gymnasium of Quedlinburg.[20] A surface assessment of Faber's possible

---

[19] While Schoppe's biography did not make any special mention of Judex' health at this particular moment, he did note "corpore fuit haud magno, & annis quindecim valetudine afflictissima" (p. m5r).

[20] Faber translated Johann Wigand's Γνῶθι σ'αυτόν, a devotional tract, as *Erkenne dich selbst* (s.l., 1563). The introduction to the Abbess of Quedlinburg, Anna von Stolberg-Wernigerode, was dated 14 April 1563, and named Quedlinburg as the locus of the letter. In it was the last mention that Faber made, in print, to any association with Wigand, Judex, Flacius or the entire Gnesio-Lutheran movement. In his several later books, he made no references to his former colleagues, although he did recall other friends and activities before his days in Quedlinburg. For instance, in the fifth edition of his *Christliche/ nötige vnd nützliche vnterrichtungen/ von den letzten hendeln der Welt* (Leipzig: Vögel [i.e., Hans Steinmann], 1572), he printed "Tractetlein von der Seelen der verstorbenen/ vnd allem jhrem zustand vnd gelegenheit," dedicated to his patroness, Katharina von Asseburg. He recalled her courageous father in Magdeburg:

> Zu dem allem sol ich auch nicht vergessen/ sondern billich für das erste erzelet haben/ das Johan von der Asseburg (seeliger gedechtnis) der erste vom Adel im Stifft Magdeburg gewesen/ so das heilige Euangelium/ bey regierung Bischoffs Alberti/ frey offentlich/ vnd nach dem dazumal das Bapsthumb noch in vollem schwang gangen/ nicht on gefahr vnd verfolgung/ hat fortsetzen vnd predigen lassen.

A memoire of his earlier participation in the Magdeburg Centuries would be invaluable.

contribution can be made by Faber's own magnificent *Thesaurus eruditionis scholasticae*.[21] This important landmark in philology and lexicography, no doubt borrowing on techniques learned in compiling the Magdeburg Centuries, can give some indication of the work Faber was capable of doing for the centuriators. And it also helps to show the limits of his help, in that his was the key responsibility for the first arrangement of quotations, the first drafting of intersticial text.

Since the centuriators were unable to send all of Century V at the moment, they delivered ten chapters: all except 4, 6, 7, 14, 15, 16. These chapters could be delivered directly to Basel, or via Heintzel in Augsburg to Basel. The work had already begun on the final drafts of Century VI.

The actual publication of Century IV remains a difficult question. There are at least two, possibly three, printings of the work. The first was dated 1560 on the title page and has the colophon:

BASILEAE, PER IOANNEM OPO-
RINVM, ANNO SALVTIS HU-
manae M. D. LX.

On page 1573/1574 (Xxlr) there were no errata. When Wigand asked for copies of the volume in March 1560, there was no indication that Century IV was actually available for the Easter book fair in Frankfurt. On March 1561,

[21] The work appeared in Leipzig editions of 1571[1], 1572, 1587, 1605, 1672, 1680, 1686, 1696, 1700, 1710, 1717, 1726, 1735, 1745, and 1749 (also in Prague in 1579 and in Frankfurt in 1622 and 1664), in editions updated successively by August Buchner (1591-1661), Christoph Cellarius (1638-1707), Johann Georg Grave (1632-1703), Andreas Stübel (1653-1703), Johann Matthias Gesner (1691-1761), and Johann Heinrich Leich (1720-1750). The many introductions were gathered in the 1749 edition by Johann Heinrich Leich: none of the six separate, major introductions noted Faber's connection with the Magdeburg Centuries, even though all agreed that Faber's work was the origin of modern lexicography in Latin for Germany. Nor have I been able to find any acknowledgment in other writings of Faber that he participated in the effort to compile and publish the Magdeburg Centuries.

there is no mention in Wigand's letter of Century IV. The delivery of fifty copies was therefore met sometime in the year 1560 or before March 1561. The second printing of Century IV had 1562 on the title page with the colophon:

BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA IOANNIS OPORINI, ANNO SALVTIS humanae M. D. LXI. Mense Septembri.

At page 1573/1574 (Xxlr)--the two were set on the same measure--there were four typesetting errors with the heading, "Dubia." There was also probably a 1564 printing with further corrections of the authors, which I have been unable to identify or locate.[22]

Of the early centuries, Century IV is a jewel, as well as the largest of the first eleven books. While the portion of the work that dealt with councils and with the biographies of teachers and leaders of the church was surely extensive and magnificent, and while Chapter Four, as usual, was a complete survey of the century's dogmatic theology in exacting detail; the chapter on rites and ceremonies, Chapter Six, columns 406 to 483, set a new standard in the scholarship of liturgics. The gleaning of minute points of information from myriad sources and then assembling them through the application or distribution of the commonplaces were working magnificently.

The signators of the dedication (Flacius, Wigand, Judex, Faber) acknowledged, not only that Century IV was a glorious and splendid age, but also that their history of it was marvelous. This immense tribute to "modern" scholarship and organization they dedicated to the person, in their minds, who ought attend to the affairs of that age: the establishment of

---

[22]The sets of the Magdeburg Centuries are mixed: Andover-Harvard Theological Library has the last issue of the first volume, the first issue of the second volume; my personal copy has the third issue of the first volume and the second issue of the second volume.

just laws and a church that worships God aright. They dedicated it to "Serenissimae ac potentissimae Reginae ac Dominae, D. Elizabethae, Angliae, Franciae & Hyberniae Reginae." And they sent a man to deliver it to her feet, Bernard Niger (Schwartz).[23]

In Wigand's letter to Oporinus of March 1561, valuable information was set down in writing, detailing the formal arrangements for purchasing materials and keeping accounts. Agreed payments for earlier volumes had not been made in full, indicating that the bookkeeping in Magdeburg was sufficiently detailed and arranged, so that expenses and anticipated income were balanced. Wigand also asked that Conrad Agrius, the secretary, be given letters of credit to purchase historical materials in Frankfurt, and that Oporinus consider buying a valuable book from the messenger, Franciscus. This was the first mention of Agrius' work as a collector or selector. It was a task he apparently did well, because he was to become the chief contact of the centuriators in the Frankfurt book fairs.

Wigand's letter to Beyer of 30 August 1561[24] asked that Beyer attempt to convince Peter Braubach to print Wigand's own booklet, *De homine*. (Braubach did print it.) Wigand did not admit in writing to the seriousness of predicament he and Judex faced in Jena.

In the winter of 1561/1562, the conflict between the forces for and against the Gnesio-Lutheran religious program of the *Konfutationsbuch* was resolved. Judex was dismissed. Flacius was forced to demit. Wigand resigned.

To Oporinus, Wigand wrote on 7 March 1562[25] that he and Judex had

---

[23]See Chapter V, at footnote 59. [24]Documents II, 11.

[25]Documents III, 8 [S634].

recently returned from Jena to Magdeburg,[26] that their household was not transplanted and that they were unable to work and had not finished Century VI. They hoped to have the work copied and corrected by summer. They were unemployed ("sine functione"). They awaited God's call, and if Oporinus had other work for them, they wanted to be informed. They requested further payments from Oporinus' accounts. The messenger was instructed to bring along: Century V, fifty copies; the German corpus of doctrine, fifty copies; the Weimar Disputation, ten copies.[27] Wigand and Judex were working on the *Corpus doctrinae veteris Testamenti*.

In the letter to Beyer of the same date,[28] Wigand noted that he and Judex were living as exiles without official positions ("in exilio absque functionibus"). The messenger was to fill in the Frankfurt Superintendent on the dire straits of the two exiles. Through many agonizing months of 1562, they attempted to secure positions and resettle in Magdeburg. Although they were defended by Tilemann Heshusius, Wigand's successor as Superintendent of Magdeburg, and supported by the elders of St. Ulrich's parish, they were unable to recover their former positions as clergy in that church.

The conflict in Magdeburg[29] stemmed from two groups of issues. The majority of the City Council desired, under the leadership of Berndt Lohse

---

[26]There is one additional detail that the correspondence did not reveal. The Judex biography by Schoppe, *Oratio*, p. n6r, noted that Judex and his family stayed first in Ilefeld with Michael Neander, and that they were joined later by Wigand and set out from there for Magdeburg.

[27]See Chapter VII, footnote 3. [28]Documents II, 12.

[29]Hermann von Vecheldt, Stadtsyndicus of Lübeck--whose striking portrait greets visitors in the Stadtmuseum of Braunschweig--gathered eighteen publications of the years 1561/1562 concerning the conflict in

and Marx Gierecke with the Stadtsyndicus Franz Pfeil, to come to terms with the Archbishop and Cathedral Chapter. They desired to bring Magdeburg into accord with the provisions of the Lüneburg Mandate of August 1561,[30] which sought to stop contentious writings--under pain of corporal punishment. Meanwhile the superintendency of Heshusius exacerbated the issue locally: some clergy of the City Ministerium and teachers in the *gymnasium were censured and punished for coming to terms with those who* desired accommodation. Heshusius spoke and preached loudly and articulately against the Lüneburg Mandate. In his own parish, St. John's, the chaplains rebelled. The master of the gymnasium, Siegfried Sack, made common cause with the City Council. As Wigand and Judex returned, they were swept up overnight into the tension-filled conflicts that surrounded Heshusius.

Just as Wigand and Judex were advising Oporinus and Beyer of their flight from Jena, the publication of Century V took place for the spring book fair. The colophon set the date:

> BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA IOAN-
> NIS OPORINI, ANNO SALVTIS HVMA-
> nae M. D. LXII. Mense Martio..

The title page reflected the situation of the centuriators accurately for the time when Century V was written, but not when it was published: the authorship was dubbed: Partim in urbe Magdeburgica, partim in Academia Ienensi contexta. The dedication was also ended with "1562, Jena." The dedication was addressed to King Eric of Sweden, acknowledging his estab-

---

Magdeburg to which Wigand and Judex were returning. He had them bound in 1568. The tome is 228.7 Th 4° of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

[30]The Lüneburg Mandate was the immediate problem, because it forbade both public debate and publication. The cause, in substance, was the seventeenth article of the so-called Wolmirstädtische Vertrag of 1557, which allowed the Archbishop and Cathedral Chapter "to be allowed unhindered to practice the Catholic Religion" (Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg*, II, 27-33).

lishment of a truly reformed church in Sweden, but rightly refraining from calling this warloving lord of the north a man of peace. The dedication also took note of the special contribution by Pancratius Veltbeck for the final text of Century V.[31]

As he reviewed the situation two years later, the major complaint of Judex was that the new leadership had none of the experience or courage of the burghers who had sustained the siege. What had been won with great risk of life and freedom, the new leadership would give up for the sake of settling debts based on unjust feudal claims.[32] Wigand went even further.[33] The new leaders wanted to be hailed as pious men for their infamous, wicked deeds and lies and compromises, whereas the earlier men of true courage put themselves in the position of giving and receiving advice humbly and without dissimulation. Superintendent Heshusius recalled how the two Bürgermeister of 1561, Martin Copus and Georg Gierecke, had opposed the vile compromises and contemptuous violence against the preachers.[34] Wigand's successor, Heshusius, thundered for all to hear. But the council was wise

---

[31]Scheible, *Die Entstehung*, p. 56, footnote 88: the credit should be particularized to Century V. "Sicut in hac Centuria, in quibusdam nos adiuuit M. Pancratius Veltbeck, cuius honoris gratia his mentionem facimus."

[32]*Ein unterricht vnd Trostschrift/ an die betrübte/ vnd von inwendigen geistlichen feinden beengstigete Kirche zu Magdeburg. Durch Mattheum Judicem* (s.l., s.d.). The last page (p. 32) contains the date Easter 1563.

[33]*Ein Brieff Doctoris Johannis Wigandi an Herrn Nicolaum Amssdorff* (s.l., 1563). The letter is dated, "Datum Wissmar/ den 28. Augusti. Anno/ etc. Lxiij. See pp. a2v-a3r. For the debate that raged for several pamphlets between Wigand and Amsdorff, see Robert Kolb, *Niklaus von Amsdorf (1483-1565)*: Popular Polemics in the Preservation of Luther's Legacy, Bibliotheca humanistica & reformatorica, 24 (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1978), pp. 235, 241.

[34]In his two-part publication: the report of the City Council and his own refutation, Tilemann Heshusius, *Des Raths der alten Stadt Magde-*

to the power of the printed word: they pressed forward to implement the provisions of the Lüneburg Mandate of August 1561 against Wigand, Judex, and Peter Eggerdes, their outspoken colleague, to keep them from printing the text with commentaries of the City Council's proposed agreements with the Cathedral Chapter. Despite the pleas of the elders of St. Ulrich's,[35] the City Council would not allow Wigand and Judex to resume their duties in the church as clergy,[36] alleging that they had abandoned the flock to go to Jena, where they had been summarily condemned and exiled.[37] Wigand's former chaplain at St. Ulrich's was Wilhelm Eccius; he felt the full brunt of the City Council's actions against the intransigents and was also summarily exiled, when he opposed the council in person and in writing.[38]

---

burgk Bericht/ Aus was beweglichen vrsachen sich itziger zeit/ etzlich hendel zugetragen/ Sampt angehengter Christlicher bitt/ ermanung vnd erbietung....D. Tilemanni Heshusij notwendige entschuldigung/ vnd grůndliche verantwortung/ Wider den ertichten Bericht/ des Raths der alten Stad Magdeburgk/ von der Ausfůhrung der Prediger daselbst....(s.l., 1562), p. F1v.

[35]Ibid., pp. H1r-H2r.

[36]The full text of the St. Ulrich's elders' supplication to the City Council that Wigand be allowed to stay was also printed, ibid., pp. R4v-S2r.

[37]Tilemann Heshusius, *D. Tilemanni Hesshusij andere notwendige verantwortung/ wieder der verfolger vnnd falschen Prediger zu Magdeburg grausame Schmachschrifft/ vnter dem vermeinten titel Nothwehr aussgangen ....*(s.l., 1564), pp. C2r-C3r. The copy in Wolfenbüttel, 228.7 Th 4° has an autograph dedication to Hermann von Vecheldt.

[38]In the City Council's earlier response to Heshusius, *Notwehre Des Raths vnd Syndici/ auch etzlicher Pastorn/ Prediger vnd Schulrectorn der Altenstadt Magdeburgk/ Wider das geuehrliche/ ehrrůhige vnd lesterliche/ doch vngegrůndte Buch/ so vnlangst vnter dem Namen vnd Scheintittel D. Tilemanni Heshusij Nothwendiger entschůldigung vnd verantwortung/ etc. Meuchlings abgedruckt vnd ausgesprengt worden....*(s.l., s.d.), there is a complete text of the Eccius letter, pp. A1r-A4r, entitled, "Ein Brieff Wilhelmi Eccij Radensis/ an die Kirchveter ac. zu S. Vlrich der meinung/ das weltliche Christliche Oberigkeit an der Wahl vnd beruff der Kirchendiener kein recht noch macht haben solle [13 March 1562]."

Beside the public and personal opprobrium, Wigand was forced to observe also the "betrayal" of two members of the 1558 "operarii" of the Magdeburg Centuries, who went to the side of the compromising City Council: Ambrosius Hitfeld, pastor of St. Peter's,[39] and David Ciceler, who later succeeded Wigand as pastor of St. Ulrich's.[40] Later, Judex commented from Wismar:

> David Ciceler and Sebastian Werner, deacon at St. Ulrich's were convinced in their consciences that the driven-out pastors were improperly treated, but they love human goodwill more than God--and their belly is their lord.[41]

The pastor of St. Peter's, Judex remarked, also knew that the City Council was in the wrong, but stood by and watched innocent men be exiled: that pastor was Ambrosius Hitfeld.[42]

The City Council hit back. On 9 October 1562, Peter Eggerdes, with his earthly possessions, was taken to the city close and deposited. Likewise on 15 October 1562, Wilhelm Eccius was removed. Both of them were taken

---

[39] On 16 January 1563, Hitfeld signed the *Bericht/ Confession vnd Bekentnis des Raths/ aller Pastorn/ Prediger vnd Schuldiener der altenstadt Magdeburg/ der Lehr/ so daselbst zu diesen zeiten/ von Gottes gnaden noch vnuerruckt in Kirchen vnd Schulen gefurt wirdt* (Magdeburg: Joachim Walden, 1563), p. G2r.

[40] *Von ausfürung etzlicher gewesener Prediger zu Magdenburgk. Warhafftiger abdruck zweier Zeugebrieff....* (Magdeburg: Joachim Walden, 1563), one of the two testimonials, 14 December 1563, was signed by Hitfeld and Ciceler.

[41] *Ein vnterrricht vnd Trostschrift*, p. 19 (c2r). By the time that Judex wrote this sentence, however, Ciceler had already officially succeeded Wigand as pastor of St. Ulrich's--by special order of the City Council.

[42] Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg*, II, 621. Hitfeld took an unambiguously hostile stand directly against Heshusius and Eccius, but only indirectly against Judex and Wigand (Heshusius, *Notwendige entschuldigung*, pp. L3r and O4r). Ciceler and Werner equivocated until they were forced to take sides for the sake of their own survival, said Heshusius (ibid., p. L3v). Later, Hitfeld repented and counseled the same recourse to his father-in-law and leading burgher, Joachim Rhode (Heshusius, *Andere notwendige verantwortung*, pp. P3r-v).

from the city before dawn, lest partisans be alerted. Finally, on 21 October 1562, Superintendent Heshusius was held in house arrest by armed guards for the entire day, until evening, when he was unceremoniously transported outside the city's territorial borders.[43]

Judex had arrived in Magdeburg with his wife and children on 2 February 1562. For his protestation against the decision of the City Council, he was ordered out of the city. His wife went to Berndt Lohse, godfather of one of the Judex children, to beg for time: she was nursing an eight- or nine-week-old infant, deathly ill. She asked if at least she might be able to stay with relatives in the city. Lohse asked whether she agreed with her husband. She answered: Yes. Lohse lost his temper. The family was loaded on an oxcart, with their few possessions, taken to the city close, and dumped on the highway, a cold 30 October 1562.[44]

The courageous Bürgermeister of 1562, as Heshusius never failed to remind his readers, was the pious and beloved Dr. Martin Copus. Like Hitfeld and Ciceler, he was one of the inner group at work on the Magdeburg Centuries, but even more: he was their treasurer. The several Magdeburg dissidents who were not forced out of the city, like Copus, regrouped in Braunschweig after the debacle of autumn 1562, to confer with Joachim Mörlin. Copus accompanied Heshusius, defended him publicly and privately, and later turned his back on "Des Herrgotts Kanzlei."[45] From other sources, Copus' further fate is known.[46] He became the "Pestphysicus" for the city

---

[43]The story is recorded both by Heshusius (*Notwendige entschuldigung*, pp. O2r-v) and by Schoppe in his biography of Judex, pp. n6r-v.

[44]Heshusius, *Notwendige entschuldigung*, pp. N2r-O1v.

[45]Heshusius, *Andere notwendige verantwortung*, pp. O3r-v, Q3rff.

[46]The earliest mention of "Martinus Coppe" in Braunschweig's official records was that of 24 October 1565, as registered in the "Anstellung

of Braunschweig, under contract to provide services to the city for relief of the plague, for which he received a house, an annual stipend, and the usual civic immunities. His house stands today behind the Magnikirche in

---

und Wirkungskr. d. städt. Diener" (Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, B.III.10.1-2 (old number, 14 and 14,1). The entries for Copus are:

Volume	Folios	Date	Sequence
1	377-378	24 January 1573	3
1	399-400	14 September 1575	4
1	409-410	4 August 1578	5
1	461-462	12 November 1580	6
2	214-215	29 September 1568	2
2	224-225	24 October 1565	1
2	256-257	4 July 1583	7

He lived in the parsonage of St. Ulrich's church, according to the terms of his contract: Dar zu haben wir Ihme solche drei Jar vber vnsser haus vff S. Vlrichs Kirch hoffe bey der Bad stuben gelegenn vnd zu bewohnen eingethan (B.III.10.2, f. 224, lines 17 to 20). Copus therefore lived in the old parsonage in the Kohlmarkt, the earlier Ulrichskirche that was torn down in 1544 (Julius Philipp Rehtmeyer, *Historiae ecclesiasticae inclytae urbis Brunsvigae....oder: Der berühmte Stadt Braunschweig kirchen=historie* [Braunschweig: L. Schröder, etc., 1707-1720], III, 165), not the congregation that moved to the former Franciscan Cloister--also known as the Brüdergemeinde. The "Bad stube" adjoined the parsonage in the Kohlmarkt; there was no bath near the Franciscan Cloister. The facade of the house was rescued after World War II and moved to the narrow street behind the Magnikirche in Braunschweig, where Copus' legend on the main exposed lateral beam is still visible.

Copus was salaried by the city's apothecaries for one hundred taler per year, could pruchase through the city's [tax-free] accounts, and paid none of the city's taxes or tolls. He was not to prepare his own pharmaceuticals, but was responsible for writing prescriptions for the apothecaries. In 1568 his stipend was one hundred fifty taler, renewed at that rate until 1580, then reduced to fifty taler plus twenty taler for maintenance of the building, adjusted once more in 1583 to one hundred plus thirty taler for upkeep of the building. His was a refuge for religious exiles, a source of strength for the Gnesio-Lutherans. His home was also an alchemical shop, where he researched not only cures for the plague--a particularly virulent attack the year after his arrival (ibid., III, 256)--but he also delved into the mysteries of Hermetic-Gnostic experimentation. His two most famous works were *Mercurius Triumphans* (Magdeburg: Johann Franck, 1600 [also 1601]), a collection of works, and a sequel to the last of them, *Apotelesmata philosophica Mercurii Triumphantis* (Magdeburg: Johann Franck, 1601). He examined the problems of poisoning and wrote *Das Spissglas Antimonium oder Stibium genandt/ in ein Glas gegossen/ es sey Geel oder Rodt/ das man Vitrum Antimonij nennet/ ein warhafftige Gifft vnd gantz gefehrliche schedliche Artzney sey....* (s.l., 1569).

Braunschweig, decorated on one of the exposed beam ends with a diminutive doctor holding a vial, the symbol of the alchemist.

In the midst of reconciling his own future, Heshusius also paid special tribute to Wigand's scholarly work in Magdeburg, particularly his contribution to the Magdeburg Centuries, with one of his typical, twenty-two line, untranslatable sentences.[47] Suffice it to say that his compliments betray an intimate understanding of the content and methodology of the work.

Between the spring and autumn book fairs in Frankfurt, Wigand sent a messenger to carry letters that had been left by Peter Eggerdes, who was on his way to Rostock, exiled from Magdeburg. Wigand and Judex were awaiting a call from God, they wrote to Beyer on 25 May 1562,[48] while Victorin Strigel was returned to his old post on the theological faculty of the University of Jena, thanks to his close association with Chancellor Brück: a mockery of the conditions proposed by the prince to his magistrates in the *Konfutationsbuch*. The lines of demarcation were becoming progressively clearer between the "Adiaphoristic spirit" and the "Lutheranic defenders," Wigand warned the Frankfurt Superintendent; unless the Lord himself would take charge of his church, the "Lutheranic defenders" would be held in contempt and their lives would be imperiled.

Wigand's message to Oporinus on that same day[49] began with the good news that Century VI was completed. But there were further complications. The fair copy was poorly written and might cause problems in type-

---

[47] *Andere notwendige verantwortung*, p. R2v.

[48] Documents II, 13.

[49] Documents III, 9 [S635].

setting. The Adiaphorists had succeeded in stopping support for the history project, so that Wigand and Judex were dependent solely upon Oporinus' subvention to continue the effort. They were hoping to transmit *Corpus doctrinae veteris Testamenti* by winter, and therefore they desired to have Century VI published by fall. If Oporinus could continue to print the text promptly, Wigand and Judex thought that they could also be encouraged to speed up the editing process. Then Wigand delivered to Oporinus the bad news, ominous tidings about the tensions and problems between the centuriators and Flacius:

> Your subvention we have awaited, not just on account of our own business. Nevertheless, we post this one warning: that we have nothing to do with the business of books that you sent to Illyricus. Of course, if you have some other agreements with him, you can also carry them on with him. With our agreement, the agreement of the History [in exchange] for books sent to us, Illyricus has no financial interest with us in this matter. Therefore, with respect to the History, whatever subvention must be made over to us, you just direct it to us, not to Illyricus; and do not give any mortal, with respect to the History, anything that ought to come to our subvention, except when you have from us letters expressly saying so. We say these things so that no one beats you out of anything with respect to our History. Since the two of us are occupied with the writing, the shipment of books which we receive from you pertains to us. But why we sign Flacius' name to the editions is another matter, about which it is not necessary to speak.

Would that Wigand and Judex had told Oporinus--and history--why they continued to attach Flacius' name to the project *at this late date, when he had* not been involved for almost five years! Lest there be any doubt, any difficulty, the centuriators stated their own terms once more: for Century VI, fifty talers and fifty copies. Wigand allowed Oporinus to omit the imprint on a German-language apologia--it could be one of several that Wigand wrote at this time--because the booklet was sure to be highly controversial. He added that Judex was preparing a booklet on the history of typography.

In spite of irresolvable conflicts with the City Council of Magde-

burg and the inevitability of Wigand's departure in the near future, his letters of 1 September 1562 were almost exuberant, if not relieved that the worst part of the storm had passed.

To Beyer[50] Wigand wrote: We [Wigand and Judex] are awaiting legitimate calls from the Lord Messiah. They anticipated news from Mecklenburg (Wismar) or from Bavaria (Regensburg) about new positions. But meanwhile, Elector August was drawing tighter and tighter control of the region through his powers in the Saxon Circle of the Empire, infused as the circles of the Empire were with renewed prestige and power by the imperial courts at this time. Elector August concentrated his energies on his new proposal, "On sacrilege." The edict would have proscribed public refutation of error and censure of profligates; in addition, no books could be published without prior approval of his court. The areas of magisterial and judicial discretion were expanded beyond all precedent. The politicians had clearly crossed the line to become, in Wigand's words, *opponents of the Word of God*.[51]

To Oporinus[52] Wigand wrote his thanks for printing promptly Century VI and for delivering it to Andreas; he requested additional copies of Century V. Wigand reported to Oporinus that Century VII was not complete and that he and Judex had been unable to finish *Corpus doctrinae veteris Testamenti*, but set for themselves a deadline of Christmas. Given the civic

---

[50] Documents II, 14.

[51] Later, Wigand codified his views on this matter in extenso in *De arguendis falsis dogmatibus et doctoribus* (Erfurt: Esias Mechler, 1580). He made frequent references to the precedent-setting moved of the Elector August in the matter of the edict, "De sacrilegio." But he did not make further historical references to his own or Judex' predicament at the time when the decree was prepared for the Saxon Circle (i.e., summer 1562).

[52] Documents III, 9'[S636].

politics of Magdeburg and especially St. Ulrich's parish, one wonders that Wigand and Judex got anything else accomplished in the summer of 1562. But they had also visited the princes of Mecklenburg and were pondering a firm offer to go there (they did not specify where). They requested fifty copies of their apologia. Oporinus must have settled accounts in accord with their requests of the previous letter: by September, Wigand and Judex themselves apologized for not being able to pay Oporinus promptly for printing the apologia for them. Wigand believed that it was uncertain (!) whether they would winter in Magdeburg.

There were two printings of Century VI: one in September 1562 and one in March 1563. Both had the date 1562 on the title page. The work was dedicated to Barnim IX (1523-1595) of Pomerania and to his five sons: Johann Friedrich, Boguslaw, Ernst Ludwig, Barnim, and Casimir. The centuriators were not addressing amateurs in the field of history: Barnim IX was one of the major patrons of history, printing, painting, and many folk arts.[53] He was wont to put his very own hand to quill or clay. Likewise, he was no stranger to the problems of establishing a church, in the late 1550's and early 1560's suffering through the griefs of composing the *Corpus doctrinae Pomeranicum*.[54] A deeply religious man who treasured highly both the works of men's minds and the works of men's hands, he retired from the throne in 1569 to give two of his sons (Johann Friedrich, in Stettin, and Ernst Ludwig, in Wolgast) opportunities to rule while they were still young and idealistic, while their father became further involved in folk art and

---

[53]Merely as an example, Hermann Bollnow, "Die Pommerschen Herzöge und die heimische Geschichtsschreibung," *Baltische Studien*, N. F. 39 (1937), 1-35, esp. 11-17, the Kantzow chronicle.

[54]Hellmuth Heyden, *Kirchengeschichte Pommerns*, Osteuropa und der deutsche Osten, Reihe 3, Buch 5 (Köln-Braunsfeld: Rudolf Müller, 1957), II, 49-55.

and printing. Throughout the two decades of 1555 to 1575, cities of Pomerania erupted in scores of charges of false doctrine: in Stralsund, Stettin, Greifswald, in the ducal courts, in the rural villages. There were repeated charges of Osiandrism, Sacramentarianism (i.e., Zwinglianism), Philippism, and Flacianism; problems in religion concerned almost very particular doctrine of the systematic theologies of the day. The existence of a particular doctrine seemed to elicit a particular heresy. The dedication by the centuriators of Century VI contained three major parts: one section on the "marks" or characteristics of the true church, one section on the values of studying Century VI, and one section on the reasons for their dedication. They were delighted to inscribe the dukes' names in this century, they said, because of the way in which the church had been established and protected in their region. The centuriators asked that the dukes accept the dedication as a gift, knowing that the authors could not possibly enumerate all the wonderful things that the rulers of Pomerania had already done.

Midst all the movement and action of the years 1561 and 1562, it is possible to lose sight of the very significant note by Wigand to Oporinus: that the centuriators were having serious problems keeping their accounts and those of Flacius separate, that Flacius had nothing to do with the history project, and that his name was merely appended ("adscribamus") to the dedications. Whatever the problems were with the translation of the Magdeburg Centuries into German, there is no indication that Aurifaber in the ducal court or Flacius in the highest reaches of the ecclesiastical establishment of Thuringia tried to help the centuriators to work with the printer of the German verison, Thomas Rebhardt. Rumors of Rebhardt's questionable business practices had been neither proved nor disproved.

The centuriators sought, unsuccessfully, to work with the Jena printer until Oporinus could take over the job--unsuccessfully, because Oporinus was unable to assume any new projects by the time relations had completely broken down with Rebhardt. The centuriators next turned from Magdeburg and Thuringia to the Baltic littoral, where Wigand would spend most of the rest of his life: except for a five-year stay in Jena, he would live out the next twenty-five years in Wismar (Mecklenburg) and in Königsberg and Liebemühl (Ducal Prussia).

CHAPTER IX

IN WISMAR: THE PROJECT PROPELLED

From 1562 to 1564 in Wismar, Wigand and Judex were able to apply themselves to the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries as never before or later, to the point where the historians of the Wismar church, Dieter Schröder and Daniel Springinsguth, suggested that the name be changed to the "Wismar Centuries," or perhaps the "Mecklenburg Centuries."[1] There is little doubt from contemporary evidence, as well as from Conrad Schlüsselburg's later speech in Wismar about the life of Wigand, that these were enjoyable and productive years for Wigand and, at least for three years, also for Judex. It was also the time of Wigand's highest honor, the promotion to Doctor of Theology at the University of Rostock. Sadly it was also the time of Judex' final promotion, God's "doctorandum."

Wigand came to Mecklenburg only six years after the final division of lands and after the settlement of the Reformation by the ducal bothers, Johann Albrecht (1525-1576) and Ulrich (1527-1603). Wigand came to assume the position of Superintendent of Wismar. The Interim had been rejected in Mecklenburg, after a period of procrastination, at the Landtag of Warnowbrücke bei Sternberg, 19 June 1547, chiefly because of the south German refugees who had come north to protest the imperial settlement. But the Mecklenburg princely houses with their constant internecine strifes

---

[1] Daniel Springinsguth, *Wismarische Prediger=Historie, oder Verzeichnis der H. H. Prediger....fortgesetzt und ausgeführet von M. Dieter Schröder* (Wismar: Andreas Seb. Winckler, 1734), p. 54.

remained closely tied to "the old faith" in matters of ecclesiastical benefices and prebends, rather than as a decisive matter of faith and practice. Deeply moved by Flacius' treck on foot from Magdeburg to Wismar in February 1555 for the marriage to the princess of Ducal Prussia, the young, educated, athlethic Johann Albrecht responded warmly to the Illyrian and entered into several friendships with Gnesio-Lutherans thereafter. Flacius' motives in going to Johann Albrecht's wedding were not all that personal: he was attempting to turn Johann Albrecht against the Osiandrists of Ducal Prussia and of the young princess' entourage.[2] In the following years, both ducal brothers--but especially Johann Albrecht--took a personal interest in the fate and fortunes of the Gnesio-Lutherans. He asked for help at the time of the partition of Mecklenburg into two principalities, Schwerin and Güstrow, in 1556. Representing the Schwerin portion, Johann Albrecht sponsored the Colloquy of Coswick. He consulted with Flacius, Gallus, and Wigand. When the position of Superintendent in Wismar was vacant, due to the death of Johann Freder (1510-1562), and when Wigand was left without a position because of his resignation from Jena and because of the rejection from Magdeburg, the young duke expedited a call to Wigand and conferred with him.

Wigand arrived in Wismar around Michaelmas of 1562 and preached his first sermon in St. Mary's on 7 October.[3] Thus, he was not in the city of Magdeburg in those last days and hours, when key opponents of the City Council were summarily expelled, including Heshusius and Judex.

---

[2]Karl Schmaltz, *Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburgs* (Schwerin: Friedrich Bahn; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1935-1952), II, 123ff. This is the indispensible modern survey of the Reformation in Mecklenburg.

[3]Schlüsselburg, *Oratio*, p. 22.

Wigand thereafter retained a better--though surely not good--relationship with several highly placed officials in Magdeburg, at least better than Heshusius and Judex. His first effort in Mecklenburg was to pacify the City Ministerium and the larger community of Wismar, which had been deeply disturbed and divided over questions of Anabaptism, Sacramentarianism, and political non-participation through most of 1561 and 1562. Wigand's other notable peace-making efforts concerned the long-term strife between the city of Rostock and the Mecklenburg dukes about--among other things--rights and prerogatives in the University of Rostock.

Wigand settled the issue of his own expectations vis-a-vis the Wismar clergy in the paper "Pia conjunctio ministrorum verbi Dei in Ecclesia Wismariensi" (9 October 1562),[4] which he and all the ministers subscribed. Thus he and his colleagues agreed beforehand on procedures for settling disputes and on a body of agreed expectations for his own and their ministries. It was a credit to both Superintendent and parsons, that Wigand never had to resort to the full process of forced arbitration. The articulation of expectations in the "Pia conjunctio" was not far different from the specification of duties as the centuriators produced their early guidelines on methodology, in terms of clear definition of roles and responsibilities.

---

[4] Dietrich Schröder, *Kirchen-Historie des Evangelischen Mecklenburgs vom Jahr 1518 bis 1742* (Rostock: Christian Müller, 1788), II, 382-383 (the Latin text). A German text was also made and widely circulated, carefully prepared in the Mecklenburg dialect. Wigand frequently set himself to mastering local dialects, so that he could write and speak with extra dimensions of familiarity with common people.

The "Pia conjunctio" ought to be read in conjunction with the Anabaptist trials and "examina," whose protocols were reproduced in full (ibid., II, 344-382); a ducal commission conducted hearings in Wismar in 1561 and 1562. Thus, the clergy were relieved by Wigand of responsibilities that exceeded their ability to effect.

The history project blossomed. Letters to Oporinus were more frequent and more reliable. Schedules were agreed, often met, occasionally even exceeded. New staff members were added, especially two young assistants who would see through the Magdeburg Centuries as far as they were ever published, 1574, to Century XIII. Judex took a more active role in the correspondence; his distinctive concerns were communicated, even in his own words, in letters of Wigand's autograph. Not only did the Magdeburg Centuries prosper, however. Work on the *Corpus doctrinae veteris Testamenti*, the Old Testament portion of the *Syntagma*, had been brought to a state of near completion in Magdeburg. It was polished, fair-copied, and "tied up" in short order (the bundles of handwritten fascicules "tied up" with twine). Wigand and Judex collaborated and worked individually on scores of tracts and speeches and opinions and scholarly works. Not that they were free to pursue unencumbered such scholarship. They were embroiled in conflicts and struggles: in the Mecklenburg courts of the ducal brothers with the emerging Evangelical ecclesiastical polity, in Magdeburg with their former colleagues in matters of restoration for archiepiscopal government, in all of Germany against the Adiaphorists/Philippists. They were striving to define what was to become a freshly articulated normative Lutheran theology, in which post-Luther problems of doctrine and rite could be reconciled. Their concerns were profoundly rooted in history, their own history and the history they were creating. They left an immense legacy of organized records and documents, in breadth and scope and size almost without precedent in this age as a store of personal papers. The

collection is identifiable within the larger library, that is, the "Bibliotheca Wigandiana" within the Herzog August Bibliothek of Wolfenbüttel.[5]

New staff had to be secured and trained in Wismar. Ties to Magdeburg were, to be sure, very strained, but old friendships were strengthened and the association of the centuriators with the printing firm of Wolfgang Kirchner became indispensable. The Gnesio-Lutheran movement had developed a massive communication network in Germany, from the Bavarian north to the coastal cities of the Hansa, from Prague and Königsberg to Strassburg and Amsterdam.

On 27 February 1563, Judex told Oporinus[6] that the move to Wismar was completed. The *Syntagma veteris Testamenti* would soon be fair copied, and then sent by the usual messenger, Martin, before Easter. The centuriators asked that all accounting procedures be more precise and strictly ordered. Judex had no ecclesiastical or political appointment ("nondum certam sedem"). If he and Wigand were not to live in close proximity, accounting and procedural problems would have been aggravated. Thus, both Oporinus and the centuriators needed help with some of the recordkeeping. The extra help came in the person of Conrad Agrius, who had been with Wigand for a

---

[5]The carefully organized document sets were disrupted and disheveled, not by war or calamity, but by pennywise and poundfoolish binders. See the tipped page in the "Augusteer Katalog: Alphabetisch" (the so-called "Leibnitz Katalog"), s.v., "Wigand," titled, "Indiculus manuscriptorum Wigando-Schwarcekopfiana ut plurimum." The organization and collection were much more systematic than the present Codices extravagantes, where they were eventually accessioned. These resources were last surveyed by Christian August Salig, in the contribution of the Wolfenbüttel ducal family to the bicentennial of the Augsburg Confession: here also the Wigand papers helped give not only documentary bases, but even a good structure to Salig's very narrative. The collection has not been thoroughly studied for almost two hundred and fifty years.

[6]Documents III, 11 [S637]. The first and last parts of the letter are clearly Judex' thoughts and words, even though the script is Wigand's.

long time and was listed as the amanuensis in the *Narratio* of 1558.[7] Later he became a teacher in the gymnasium of Hanau. Formerly, he had taken on various tasks for the centuriators beside secretary: he filled in for the messenger Martin, trudging to Frankfurt and back. Wigand and Judex asked Oporinus to work with Agrius in Frankfurt. Thus, one of the original team would always be present there, in person, to look after the purchasing from the book fair, to attend to regular meetings with Oporinus and the Hanau printer Peter Braubach. Wigand suggested to Beyer[8] that he avail himself of Agrius' services, who had become a skilled excerpter for the Magdeburg Centuries; he also asked that Beyer help to find a place of employment for the young man. Meanwhile, Judex promised Century VII to Oporinus by autumn, barring fresh calamities.

They succeeded in shipping the *Syntagma veteris Testamenti* on schedule, fifty days later, on 20 April 1563.[9] Less than four months after that, on 12 August 1563,[10] they shipped Century VII through their good

---

[7] See Chapter V, footnotes 53 to 55.

[8] Documents II, 16, also dated 27 February, Wismar. By content only the year 1563 would make sense, substantiated by the identical dating of the Oporinus letter.

[9] Documents III, 13 [S625]. The work was not in the form of a real fair copy, but rather in the form of loci folios, together with introductions. Loci folios were not appropriate for typesetting, because of the arrows, lines, crossouts, inserts, and corrections. Oporinus was asked to have a fair copy completed in preparation for typesetting. They asked for a quarto format, unlike the New Testament section, because of its size. But they hoped to rework the entire text into a larger folio edition of the entire Bible. The project was incomplete on Judex' death and did not concern Wigand later. But it was one of the projects proposed to Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg by Andreas Stangwald in 1585/85 (see Chapter XIII).

[10] Documents III, 14 [S639]. They appeared to have been "encouraged" by Oporinus in no uncertain terms. Oporinus probably had a capacity

friend and publisher, Wolfgang Kirchner of Magdeburg. Through the winter, Judex was to continue working on the revision of the New Testament "Corpus doctrinae." Work was also continuing apace on Century VIII, but they were suffering for lack of funds. They asked for more books. They feared being cheated: they asked for catalogs, for accounts, and for proper procedures. For their part, they made explicit the authorization for Conrad Agrius to purchase books for them and transship them to Wismar via Wolfgang Kirchner. How curious, that they did not include a single word about the joyous news of July 1563. They left only one small hint in the letter itself, deferring to the messenger to tell the full story face to face. The hint was the letter "D" appended to Wigand's name: he had been promoted in Rostock, on 12 July 1563, in a joyous celebration, to Doctor of Theology.

Doctoranda

As part of a general reorganization of the University of Rostock in 1563, David Chytraeus decided to have the six colleges of the academy conduct disputations every Sunday evening.[11] To initiate this new series of academic exercises, which were the intellectual lifeblood of the German universities of the day, he invited Wigand to preside at the first such event, the disputations of 10 July 1563. The celebration was extended through Tuesday evening.

On Tuesday, 12 July 1563, Chytraeus paid tribute to his former colleague and friend, Wigand's predecessor as Superintendent of Wismar,

---

to do much, fast typesetting at the time. The centuriators wrote: we understand from your letters that you desire it (Century VIII) "vehementer."

[11] Schröder, *Kirchen=Historie des Evangelischen Mecklenburgs*, II, 408, 410.

Johann Freder (1510-1562) in a formal oration.[12] In fact, the speech (pp. A2r-C1r) was both a tribute to Freder, whose son and namesake was in Chytraeus' household, and an introduction to Wigand's promotion. The Rostock theologian easily moved from the life of Freder, to a prayer of thanks that God sends pious pastors and teachers like Freder, to the appropriateness of honoring Freder's successor, Wigand. When Chytraeus cited the reasons why Wigand should be honored, he noted the "Methodus doctrinae Christianae" and "Historia ecclesiae omnium temporum." He proceeded then to present Wigand to his colleague, Simon Pauli, to carry out the customary rites of promotion. The full text was published of both rite and rubric: the proclamation of promotion was read by Chytraeus (p. C2v), the formal introduction to the rites (p. C3r), the cathedra (seated at the highest bench of the disputation lecturn) (pp. C3r-C4r), the opening and closing of the book (pp. C4v-C5r), the doctor's cap ("pileus") (pp. C5r-C6r), the fee ("annulus") (p. C6r), the embrace and kiss (p. C6v), and the final prayer. A banquet followed and leading citizens of Wismar offered testimonials, both to the prince and to the city and University of Rostock, how wonderfully Wismar had been honored and blessed with Johann Wigand.

The honors of Rostock did not pay the bills for full-time excerpters, however. Wigand wrote to Oporinus:[13]

> Nevertheless the hope keeps us going that there will be several puppies to lick poor Lazarus, as much as God helped us when we first began the work [on the Magdeburg Centuries].

Wigand was attempting to finance the project from Oporinus' subventions, from subscriptions of copies, from the sale of author's copies, and from

---

[12] Published by Augustin Ferber in Rostock in 1591. The full ceremony was recorded in notable detail (pp. C1r-C7r).

[13] Documents III, 14 [S639], 12 August 1563.

his own personal resources. This may have been the pattern of the work's financing since the time when Wigand and Judex went to Jena; but at least, in 1563 it is clear that this is the method of paying for the workers.

When the messenger returned from the autumn 1563 Frankfurt book fair, Wigand told Oporinus[14] how disappointed he was that the Old Testament *Syntagma* had not been printed. They could not fault their Basel publisher, of course, because of the condition of the text when they sent it to him. But they had all looked forward to a spring publication date. They hoped to complete Century VIII by spring also. Wigand noted once again their need:

> But never have we been in such peniury, now also harrassed, and unless God helps us individually for his mercy's sake, we do not know how our expenses are to be paid. Even apart from this, the writing is both difficult and protracted.

There had been some confusion about the dedication to Century VII. Wigand listed the names in a revised order, in the hope that this correction would reach Basel before the press run began, since dedications and title pages were usually printed at the very end of the printing schedule. Although the letter was posted on 28 November 1563, and although Century VII's colophon reads March 1564, the changes did not appear to have reached Basel in time.

Century VII Dedication	Wigand's Change (November 1563)
Christoph von Steinberg	Christoph von Steinberg
Hartwick von Werder	Ludolf and Joachim von Alvensleben
Joachim von Alvensleben	Hartwick von Werder
Andreas von Meiendorff	Andreas von Meiendorff
Heinrich von Asseburg	Heinrich von Asseburg
Achatz von Veltheim	Achatz von Veltheim

[14] Documents III, 15 [S627].

In the world of the patronized book, the difference may have been quite significant for the fortunes of the venture. Unfortunately, the significance is not obvious.

By February 1564, Wigand could report to Beyer that the church in Mecklenburg was at peace and that the university was thriving under Chytraeus' leadership.[15] To Gallus on that same day, Wigand wrote that he was unable to pay more than a quarter of the agreed stipends to the helpers of the project, and he pleaded for help.[16] And the 12 February 1564 letter to Oporinus[17] accompanied the complete Century VIII, as they had proferred in August 1563. They hoped to send Century IX in six months, and then hold to a two-centuries/year schedule thereafter. If they could increase the speed and numbers of published volumes, they could increase the available subventions and revenues from author's copies. Wolfgang Kirchner served again as their agent, and they requested that copies be transmitted to Wismar through him: fifty copies of each of Century VII and the *Syntagma veteris Testamenti*. Wigand indicated that he had recently communicated with Flacius:

> We add also this: we have written to Illyricus, that if he wants, he may put in some order the names of those to whom we dedicate Century VIII, and he may prescribe that directly to you. If he does so, you may easily change the order; but if not, then you will observe our order.

They asked, in addition, that copies of Century VII be shipped directly: to Augsburg, four copies for Johann Baptist Heintzel and Achilles Pirmin Gas-

---

[15] Documents II, 15.

[16] Documents III, 16 [S640].

[17] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 23, 86: Sed quod extreme inopia praemium ita vt proximo quadrantj operarijs nostris soluere stipendia non potuerunt. quaesimus te vt aliquos pios excites ad hoc opus. toti Ecclesiae Christi necessarium adiuuandum.

sar and friends; to Regensburg or Nürnberg, two copies for Flacius. They also included letters to be sent with these gift copies and asked that the gifts be substracted from the numbers due to them. There is not the slightest indication of further involvement by Flacius than arranging names of the dedication. His participation would appear to be very limited, indeed, if he had to depend on receiving a "gift copy" from the authors.

Century VII was the first to appear with the legend on the title page:

IN DVCATV MEGAPOLENSIVM PRINCIPVM
AB AVTORIBVS CONTEXTA.

Century V had been composed "partly in Magdeburg, partly at the University of Jena." And Century VI read: IN EXILIO PER AVTORES CONTEXTA. The dedication of Century VII addressed six noblemen. With the exception of a few words in the first two paragraphs, the body of the dedication sounds like a speech on the two major heroes of that century, Constantine "Pogonatus," and Honorius. Near the end of the dedication (p. b3v) the text even says:

> ¶ Nunc ad uos, Nobilissimi uiri, pietate, uirtute, prudentia, fortitudine praestantissimi, nostra sese conuertit oratio.

That is, the body of the dedication stands quite independent of the formal addressing at the end. Four reasons are given to account for the dedication to the six noblemen: (1) To honor them. After all, they set aside hours of the day for reading. Though men of arms, they were not only men of arms; they hoped that their gift would not go unacknowledged ("ingratam"). (2) To respond to the fact that they were men "of true and sincere religion and confession." They called the noblemen to heed their history, as the centuriators were themselves ministers of the uncorrupted word. (3) To set forth examples and lessons for men who deal with the governance of the

church as an almost day-to-day, common matter. (4) To call upon them to become patrons of the history project.

The August 1564 letter to Oporinus is not extant. It is sorely missed. In the postscript to his letter to Beyer of 21 August 1564,[18] Wigand noted that Judex had died on 15 May 1564. He did not discuss the matter at length in the letter, however; perhaps it was the messenger's sad duty to relate the news. In Andreas Schoppe's biography, one can almost hear the grief of Judex' widow, Anna:

> The interval from Magdeburg to Wismar, where he spent the rest of his life is this long: he got there on 30 October 1562, and on 15 May 1564 in Rostock he died in the Lord. Moreover, he did not have a regular position there and no salary, by which he could feed himself and his household, even though the most Illustrious Mecklenburg princes held out the hope of a calling to him. But God in his mercy took forethought for nothing more than his daily bread and wanted him to carry on in exile as a private person, so that he could more readily collect and compose the Centuries of Ecclesiastical History and the *Syntagma veteris Testamenti*. So it was that he was dedicated to the Lord in these and other useful labors for the church, steadfast and patient, until God called him from this position to his heavenly fatherland. About him, the Rector of the Rostock University wrote the following, as appended to the speech about his death on 16 May 1564.[19]
>
> > He came to the University on 5 May, Master Matthaeus Judex, Exile, to participate in person in the public act of promotion; on the following day he was seized by a serious illness and began to fail dangerously. But when he understood the danger, he prepared himself completely for the move to the heavenly university and fatherland; he ordered his mind with pious discussions and talks; in his illness twice he joined in the Lord's Supper; he taunted death; he said he commended himself soul and body to Christ, who is the resurrection and life of all the pious. Then with an ardent prayer, he commended himself to the Son of God and once again he repeated these sayings: For me Christ is life, but to die is gain; and, I am the resurrection and the life, whoever believes in me, even though he would die, lives. Very peacefully, with his eyes fixed on heaven, he yielded his soul to the hands of the eternal Father--on Monday about the ninth hour in the morning.

---

[18] Documents II, 17.

[19] The quoted passage is also to be found in *Scripta in academia Rostochiensi publice proposita, ab anno Christi 1560. vsque Octobrem anni 1563. & inde ad initium anni 1567...* (Rostochii: Jacobus Transylvanus, 1567), pp. 295v-296.

> Moreover a funeral was held for him on the same day at the church of St. Jacob. So we urged our hearers that they gather in a crowd for the funeral procession in front of Caspar Leunculus'[20] house. Also each one of them ought to attend the service for Master Judex because of his erudition and outstanding contributions to the church, which are especially evident in the writing of ecclesiastical history and in the outstanding body of heavenly doctrine by himself and other learned and pious men, composed from the true and clearest sources of the Holy Scripture of New and Old Testament.[21]

Simon Pauli, the author of the university's official announcement and also the preacher of the funeral sermon, stressed repeatedly the distinctive contribution of Judex: the ecclesiastical history and the systematic theology.

Judex had come to the University of Rostock to be promoted to Doctor of Theology. The speeches of appreciation and honor were rewritten overnight to funeral orations. For the occasion, Hieronymus Mentzel, Superintendent in Mansfeld--Wigand's home town--wrote a poem to comfort his predecessor as Superintendent in Mansfeld and also his long-time friend. Christopher Irenaeus composed verses, saying that dear Matthaeus had experienced the ultimate promotion, God's doctorandum.[22]

---

[20]See Table III. Leunculus, one of the "operarii" on the Magdeburg Centuries in 1558, came to Rostock and matriculated in 1560; he was promoted to Master in the Easter term of 1564 and died of the plague in September 1565. The specific duties of Leunculus were not spelled out. But what a sad reunion for old friends.

[21]The last sentence of the university's announcement (see above, footnote 19) continued with one more sentence, not quoted by Schoppe: Et nos & totum coetum Scholasticum Filio Dei commendamus, ut coelos Deo plantemus.

[22]*Luctus et testimonia ecclesiae quae est in comitatu Mansfeldensi de obitu reuerendi viri D. Matthaei Iudicis. Adiecta sunt epitaphia sanctae matronae Annae uxoris, reverendi et clariss: Viri D. Doctoris Til: Heshusii* (Eisleben: Urbanus Gubisius, 1565), p. A2vff. In addition to Judex' death, poems in this volume also commemorated the deaths of the wives of Heshusius, Johann Sagittarius, and Matthias Flacius.

Changes in Staff

Within the year of Judex' death, Wigand had petitoned the City Council of Wismar to allow the Superintendent to replace Judex with Andreas Corvinus.[23] The petition was dated St. Matthew's day (21 September) 1564.[24] The other key man on the new staff was Thomas Holtzhütter.[25] He was known to have come from Rostock to Wismar no earlier than 20 November 1565.[26] These two continued the work of Judex, finishing the drafts up to the eleventh century, and composing the history for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

On 27 November 1564, Wigand responded to a letter from Gallus.[27]

---

[23] Corvinus matriculated in the University of Wittenberg in August 1556 as "Andreas Coruinus Mansfeldensis" (*Album*, I, 321). From there he went to the University of Jena in the Easter term of 1557 (*Matrikel*, I, 63). He attended the University of Rostock in August 1567 and was one of five to receive a bacchelor of arts degree on 10 September 1567 (*Matrikel*, II, 163). The connection between Wigand and Corvinus--beside Andreas' later marriage to Wigand's daughter--was their common origins in Mansfeld.

[24] Schröder, *Wismarische Prediger=Historie*, pp. 74-75.

[25] Holtzhütter also came originally out of the University of Wittenberg, matriculating there on 9 November 1554 as "Thomas Holtzhütter, Gripswaldensis" (*Album*, I, 299). He signed the great register on the day after four young Magdeburgers enrolled, including a von Embden and an Alemann. In 1557 he is known to have been in Ribnitz with Johann Isensee (Karl Schmaltz, *Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburgs* [Schwerin: Friedrich Bahn, 1935-1952], II, 87).

[26] Schröder, *Wismarische Prediger=Historie*, p. 69.

[27] Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 23, 65, lines 12 to 28: ....quod vero indicas, vt viduae Judicis certa summa donetur, id executj sumus iuxta nostrum iudicium, quibus omnia sunt, quibus omnia sunt fere pactiora hisce in rebus quam vobis, & fere tamen vestrae voluntati satisfecimus. Debuimus autem operarijs stais magnam summam, ac nisi id beneficium nobis contigisset. operarijs alia fuissent ineunda consilia. Nam qui

Apparently Gallus had been moved by Wigand's earlier letter of February 1564 and did, in fact, send money. It was Gallus who suggested that a sum of money be given to Judex' widow, and that further settlements be made with those who had worked at considerable sacrifice. The work was going forward, Wigand reported, with two assistants and four collectors. And he ended with the sigh: Would that somehow I be allowed to extricate myself from such work as this!

Immediately after Judex' death, in the winter of 1564/1565, Wigand continued to make good headway on the Magdeburg Centuries, so that he could send Century IX via Kirchner on 9 March 1565, as he had hoped in the earlier letter to Gallus. Although he cast his letter of 9 March 1565 to Oporinus[28] in the first person, he did not name his co-workers. They were busily composing Century X and Century XI, on the basis of loci copybooks that had been brought to a state of completion and preparation for final editing. Little by little, material for Century XVI was already being gathered.[29]

---

gratis velit laborare, raro inuenias. Jtaque et solutio facta est ab ea pecunia, & donatio nobis magnam partem abripuit, & deinceps hactenus inde & de Augustana datum est operarijs, quid igitur sit residimus aestimare libebit.

Nunc quidem duos habeo, quae opera libenter vellem uti in leuioribus materijs conuectendis, eisque paulo liberalius sapen sapiendui (?) est dandum, Deinde 4 collectores alo, iam fiat coniectura quid illis singulis quadeantibus sit inunerandum. Nam materia quae postea in historia obuia est, vndique ex angulis quasi conuercenda est, id quod optime intelligis.

Nouam Cent. vti spero trademus typographo ad Ver proximum. Et ad reliquas etiam iter affectamus. Deus noster eos iuuet. Mi frater, creberrime ad portum prospicio & anhelo. Vtinam aliquando ex tantis laboribus eluctarj daretur.

[28]Documents III, 17 [S628].

[29]Scheible, "Der Plan," pp. 121-205, Chapter III, "Die Fragmente der 16. Zenturie." The remnants in Wolfenbüttel are carefully examined.

The German version of Century IV was to be issued soon, after which the project was to be transferred from Rebhardt to the Oporinus firm. The sharpest complaint that Wigand ever wrote against the printing of the Magdeburg Centuries, he wrote to Oporinus in connection with teh publication of Century VIII:

> The fact that Century VIII was produced without an index has caused harm and I ask that for our friendship's sake you not publish any [volume] without an index after this. An index simply cannot be distributed easily to buyers at a later date. Nevertheless, I wish that eight indices of Century VIII be sent to me.

The contemporaneous letter to Beyer[30] was full of news, but did not contain any more information about the editing of the Magdeburg Centuries after Judex' death.

Century VIII was dedicated to several patrons of the two cities of Augsburg and Nürnberg whose aid and support were vital for the success of the history project. The two cities, together with Strassburg and Frankfurt, were the cultural and artistic jewels of the third quarter of the sixteenth century in Germany. The two Augsburgers were famous humanist-physicians, confidants of imperial courtiers, high officials of the city, and the Fugger circle: Johann Baptist Heintzel and Achilles Pirmin Gassar.[31] The Nürnbergers were not academic lights and were unknown in the world of science and letters: they were businessmen, tradesmen, financiers. Their names were: Christopher Harsdörffer, Johann Meienschein, Jakob Peck, Thomas Irtemberg, Andreas Ortel (Örtel), and Bartholomaeus Schober. They were

---

[30] Documents II, 18.

[31] Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Achilles Pirmin Gasser: 1505-1577*: Arzt und Naturforscher, Historiker und Humanist (Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler [1970-1975]), I, 179-180. For the relationship between Heintzel and Gassar, ibid., I, 166ff. Both men were also in contact from early days with Nidbruck; they were in frequent correspondence with Gallus, and letters are scattered in the Flacius papers in Wolfenbüttel.

men of commerce: dealers in iron (Peck) and linen (Ortel, Irtemberg), financiers (Harsdörffer).[32] The connection between these people and the centuriators is very difficult to trace. But at least three possibilities can be proposed: first, through Wigand's early experiences when he was a teacher in the St. Lorenz school, whose parish was known as the "commerce church"; second, through contacts with businessmen and financiers who did shipping from Regensburg and Frankfurt, particularly those accustomed to handling freight; and third, through the connection of the printer, Johann von Berg (Montanus), with Flacius and the centuriators. As further research is done in Nürnberg materials, the precise answer will be found. The relationship of Waldner to Gallus and Flacius may also prove to be an important source of contacts between Nürnberg and Regensburg.

The historical essay of the dedication, in its first part, rehearsed once again matters of governance, especially concerning distinctions between secular and ecclesiastical political power. The theme of the imperial papacy and of its Biblical foretelling recurred next, as expected. The centuriators wrote suprisingly little about the eighth century as such--except for the "Dromo," the Apostle to the Germans, St. Boniface. The final dedication did not call upon the men of Augsburg and Nürnberg to support the project; they were asked simply to accept the dedication, as honoring them for their avid interest in reading and learning from history.

---

[31] Johann Ferdinand Roth, *Geschichte des Nürnbergischen Handels* (Leipzig: A. F. Böhme, 1800-1802), I, 305, 335, 351; Ludwig Veit, *Handel und Wandel mit aller Welt*: Aus Nürnbergs grosser Zeit (München: Prestel [1960]), p. 23, 25, et passim; *Nürnberg-Geschichte einer europäischen Stadt*, hrsg. von Gerhard Pfeiffer ([München] Beck [1971])1 p. 301 (in the chapter on business from 1555 to 1648 by Hermann Kellenbenz). The two most famous names of the list were Harsdörffer and Ortel: members of city commissions and holders of office for long periods of time. In his work on Gassar, Burmeister, *Achilles Pirmin Gasser*, III, 283-284, could idtneify only a few of the names. Burmeister, ibid., III, 261-284, reprinted and translated (into German) the entire dedication of Century VIII.

The first recorded evidence of Andreas Schoppe's participation in the history project was recorded in March 1565, in a letter from Karl von der Voert to Joachim Westphal.[33] Schoppe said that he was encouraged by Wigand, Chytraeus, and others to marry Judex' widow; hence his visit to Hamburg, to find an ecclesiastical appointment. Schoppe also said that he had assisted Wigand "in historia ecclesiastica colligenda," that is, in excerpting literature for the Magdeburg Centuries. Later, he joined Wigand in Jena, after 1568.[34]

The letters of 28 February 1566 to Frankfurt[35] described a very bad winter. Wigand was deeply involved in the church visitations of 1565 and 1566 in Mecklenburg; his time was also consumed by preparations in Rostock for examination of the parishes.[36] The secretary could not be responsible for the final drafting of Century XI on his own, and two collectors had died of the plague. Perhaps one of them was Caspar Leunculus of Rostock. Century X and Century XI lay incomplete in Wismar. Wigand

---

[33] *Briefsammlung des Hamburgischen Superintendenten Joachim Westphal aus den Jahren 1530 bis 1575*, bearb. und erläutert von C. H. W. Sillem (Hamburg: Lucas Gräfe & Sillem, 1903), no. 263, pp. 507-508.

[34] Schoppe appeared in the records of Rostock (*Matrikel*, II, 144a, October 1561; magister artium, II, 147a, 21 May 1562) and Jena (*Matrikel*, I, 292: 1569b 9). The Martin Kloke (Kluck, Kluge) noted by Scheible, *Die Entstehung*, p. 57, footnote 92, citing Westphal, *Briefsammlung*, no. 224, pp. 439-441, was not associated with the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries. Kloke noted to Westphal that he was living in Wigand's house. A student in both Jena (*Matrikel*, I, 55: 1560a 24) and of Rostock (*Matrikel*, II, 145; April 1562), he was perhaps one of the two unnamed messengers: Franciscus and Martinus.

[35] To Conrad Agrius, Documents II, 19; to Hartmann Beyer, Documents II, 20.

[36] Schlüsselburg recalled (*Oratio*, p. 24) how Wigand preached restraint and repentance to the armed and impatient Johann Albrecht in the face of Rostock's intransigence; how the duke accepted prophetic reproof, made peace, and treasured Wigand's friendship and courage all the more.

mentioned to Agrius, however, that Andreas Corvinus had been made a chaplain of St. Mary's church, Wigand's parish.

A February 1566 letter of Wigand to Oporinus is not extant, although it is likely that the Superintendent wrote to the publisher at the time of the Frankfurt book fair. Wigand would have received his copy of Century IX in autumn 1565 or spring 1566. Yet there is no word about his reaction to it. Century IX--like Century VIII--appeared as a joint publication effort of Oporinus and the firm of Johann Herwagen (+1564).[37] Through over-expansion, indebtedness, and legal problems with the city of Basel, Oporinus had become more and more over-extended and could not meet his obligations. Cooperation with Herwagen on these two centuries was probably a necessity, simply to capitalize the investment in materials.

Century IX was dedicated to several princes of Saxony: Hugo and Wolfgang (?) von Schönberg, Herren zu Glauchau und Waldburg, Georg II von Gleichen-Tonna, and Heinrich ("der Friedsame") and Heinrich ("der Junge") Reussen von Plauen. They all had in common their earlier support of the Thuringian princes; they were all frequent participants in the ducal counsels of court. And they all suffered for their loyalty to the Gnesio-Lutheran religious program, but the worst of all the noble Reussen von Plauen. The dedication indicated that the centuriators considered Century IX the dawn of the dark ages, with four reasons why divine punishment was visited on mankind: (1) Too much love of human writings. The theologians were too dependent on non-biblical materials, compendia of theology; and human, philosophical authorities were superseding divine, biblical author-

---

[37] Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker*, p. 38. Century VIII had the name of Johann Herwagen on the title page; Century IX, also on the title page, "haeredes Ioan. Heruagij."

ities. (2) Prosopolepsy. The active and passive authority of the papacy attempted to rule monarchically over all, as one pastor over all pastors. (3) Adiaphora. The introduction of innovative human ceremonies and rites moved apace, the prayers and teachings of the church--like the ceremonies--suffered grievously from superstition and ignorance. (4) The oppression of the right-thinking. The widespread and large-scale persecution of the faithful began in this age and increased through the following centuries. The four arguments were rehearsed a second time, however, in a skilled rhetorical twist. They showed that the present time (i.e., the 1560's) were not much different from the dawn of the ninth century. The same four problems persisted; this time, however, the culprits were not only Antichrist and his legions, but also.... The centuriators resented the power and prominence of the "Praeceptor." "Praeceptor said this, thought that, wrote so: therefore, it is true." (The "Praeceptor Germaniae," as any contemporary reader would have known immediately, was the honorific designation among many for Philipp Melanchthon.) They resented the enhanced position of Aristotle. Higher and higher he rose in the pulpits as his philosophy --the politics, the ethics--supplanted biblical injunction. Likewise, from Plato as well as Aristotle, from Homer, Euripides, Pindar, Sophocles, and others, the preachers of the day were capturing memorable phrases and even something of their pagan message. (The centuriators made no mention of Cicero, however, and did not reconcile their frequent use of "Deus Optimus Maximus," the pagan, Ciceronian designation for God.) The church was burdened with those who persecuted to secure once again the rites and ceremonies of Antichrist. And the pious suffered. The centuriators recommended three remedies: (1) renewed fear of God and fervent prayer that sins be forgiven and calamities be averted; (2) unity among the pious and faithful, bearing

witness to the truth by suffering; and (3) magistracies that fulfill their ordained functions. They recalled fondly their friend Bartholomaeus Rosinus (1520-1486) who had been the chaplain of the court in Weimar, and their old colleague Christopher Mengwein, designated to become the Superintendent of Tonna.

The next two years flew by quickly, without any major, long-term concentration by Wigand on the Magdeburg Centuries. Without his first-hand participation, the project was stalled again. Once the visitations were completed and new church orders were in the hands of the responsible ecclesiastics, Wigand and Chytraeus accompanied Duke Ulrich of Mecklenburg to the Augsburg Reichstag of 1566.[38]

On this journey to Augsburg, Wigand had opportunities to meet with supporters of the history project and to make new acquaintances with opponents of Philippism. He wrote to Oporinus that he sought to correct and update both of the *Syntamata* in new editions, a task that he planned to do for many years but never actually completed. The letter to Oporinus concluded with a curious postscript:

> I saw two pagelets of Illyricus' response to Braun's criticisms. If it can be arranged, I would wish that copies of this booklet be sent to me as soon as possible, when it is once completed. Perhaps, if it comes to Dr. Achilles [Pirmin Gassar], he can get it to Nürnberg through Thomas Irtemberg, so that he can forward it to me.

The book to which Wigand here alluded was Flacius' refutation of the attack by Konrad Braun.[39] It was printed in 1566 (the colophon has the month June)

---

[38]The letter to Oporinus (13 May 1566, Documents III, 18 [S629]) stressed how preoccupied Wigand was with duties for his prince and for the City Ministerium of Wismar; the letter had not one word about the history.

[39]*Refvtatio invectivae Bruni contra Centurias Historiae Ecclesiasticae: in qua simul recitantur amplius 100 Historica, maximique momenti Papistarum mendacia: Authore Matthia Flacio Illyrico....* (Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1566).

with an introductory letter dedicating the work to Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg, closing with the place and date: Regensburg, 24 February (i.e., St. Matthias' day). The 280-page book contained eighty-three pages of newly published material; the rest was previously printed, not all of the writings by Flacius. The copy dedicated to the Regensburg City Council with an inscription in Flacius' hand did not have any additional dating information; but this copy does help to remind the modern observer that the work was written also for the immediate audience of Bavaria.

This introductory and dedicatory letter by Flacius is so important for the history of the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries that it is translated below in full. Not only has information been quoted frequently from this letter, but facts are cited out of context, most commonly as background for the origins of the Magdeburg Centuries. The letter surely contains information about the Magdeburg Centuries from the 1550's; but even more, it reflects certain attitudes and impressions about the work as of 24 February 1566: attitudes and impressions that Flacius desired, for his own unexplained reasons, to nurture in the minds of his readers.

> This apology of our Ecclesiastical History and this index of papists' lies I hereby send to you, illustrious Prince, because the History has found refuge in Your Highness' region and patronage after being buffeted about in different ways.
>
> Actually, as I think about it, I am forced to acknowledge and marvel at God's striking providence and goodness, which I detect in this effort and in this work. He it was who urged for the plan and work, first of all, the distinguished man, D. D. Caspar von Nidbruck, C. M. counselor, and me also, His most unworthy servant: he consulted now and again with many learned men about this entire work; he also began to acquire books, the brief use of a few of which befell us. He conferred also with me both face-to-face and through letters, very frequently, diligently, since some former acquaintance existed between us, in that he heard my lectures on Aristotle's "Politics" in Wittenberg.

But he--ah, grief!--was snatched away from us all too soon. Next I --or rather God himself did it--attached to me several others, who worked on and promoted the project much more diligently, whose names are known in God's church both from this work and from the very learned and equally useful other monuments.

In the beginning, in a whole year, the work was in vain, in no small part for lack of resources. Nevertheless, if it can be said that it was in vain, that attention was directed to the attempt whether it went on correctly or incorrectly, and that the idea of the whole work was better refined--as they say in the Italian maxim, "Gustando si impara," imperfect as it was, they set out to do the job.

Also, opponents were not lacking, both papists and their collaborators. Actually, among them one prophesied in a printed tract that he would never see that History. These same people heaped on the most conspiratorial and most impudent lies also, about the large sums of money collected under the pretext of carrying out this work, and spent. Let the opposite stand as the record: that very often as many as ten helpers--for excerpting, defining, distributing, and narrating of the entire work which had to be collected and produced from all known authors--were supported, who had to earn enough to eat thereby. Also, this is the truth! that no single person, either prince or citizen, except for Lindau,[40] offered anything for the project--at least, as far as I know. Few persons of those to whom the dedications are addressed were even moderately liberal, to yield to the sustenance of those who bore the chief burden and heat of the whole day. Therefore, private persons--and indeed as few of them as there were--paid any of the subvention. Indeed, I never got anything from it, except--as long as I was working in Magdeburg--the travel money when I made a journey for the sake of collecting books. Soon after the beginning, five very responsible men were involved, witnesses of all receipts and debts; all of them together with the secretary were accustomed to giving [a report about] whatever was received. There was never any money in my control, even from the beginning. And I did not allow any of it to be sent to me from the time when I left Magdeburg until now, almost ten full years.

But since the leaders and co-workers themselves of the work in Magdeburg--no one more trustworthy than they--when I was already in Jena, edited an apology against their detractors, it is not necessary that I treat this matter any farther.

I return to the statement about the wonderful providence of God about this work: that it was defended or sustained or even cherished without a single powerful Maecenas' patronage; and what is more, it has had so many virulent enemies and detractors that nothing else is being served up and promoted in so many rejections and exiles of divines.

---

[40]The help of Lindau camein mid-November 1553, in a letter of credit signed by "Matthias Roth, Georgius Neckerus, Tobias Rupius" (Cod. guelf. 61.1 Helmst. f. 73 [Henitzel's accompanying letter of 10 November 1553, fl. 74]). The source is no mystery: Gassar's connections were critical.

Now, therefore, as by the beneficence of almighty God, this history has progressed, so that it has all but passed over the deepest sea and seems to spy or behold--albeit from afar--if not the port itself, at least the harbor markers, even up to the mountains on dry land.

But would that God had granted a longer life and heartier health to the fine man, D. M. Matthaeus Judex. No doubt, this history would have been farther along and many other writings would have come out into the light of day with the finest advantage of truthfulness. Indeed, there were in this more constant confessor of Christ, or rather martyr, the highest genius, a precise knowledge, a fiery zeal for true piety and the house of the Lord, patience in suffering, unbroken courage in truth-speaking, and finally outstanding constancy. Unworthy as this world is, it is more ungrateful to such ministers of God who, as it were, point their finger most faithfully and clarly toward the true way to eternal life. Wherefore, the prophecy is fulfilled (Isaiah 57:1): the just man dies, and there is no one who understands in his heart; and pious men come to their own conclusions, and no one perceives that the just man is taken away because calamity is coming.[41] Now this is the highest wisdom of the wise and powerful: not to tolerate the faithful keepers of the God in whom we trust, of the simple Gospel, who defend with fiery zeal the sheep of Christ against all the snares of all the wolves. They all cry out with one voice to the prophets and seers: Do not desire to see and perceive what is right; tell us flattering things; see errors; withdraw from the way; go back from that path; and see to it that Israel stays calm, away from our face. But now I drop this complaint, which together with my innumerable similar warnings in the form of my protestantion, I wish to be taken care of in the Last Judgment of the Son of God. I return to the History.

Actually, that History could and ought to be the task of some king or very high monarch, because of its tremendous difficulty and utility, not of some few little Christian triflers who sustain exiles and the furious hatred of the whole world and persecutions on account of the simple truth. Paul (Romans 8:20) correctly writes that the nature of things has been subjected to vanity and the world does not do anything for the glory of the Son of God and the evidence and promotion of his religion, or deal lightly with it. But rather, all carefully try to impede and block this very work of God, and similarly the entire preaching of the Gospel, with want, hunger, and even final persecution, so that for this reason Christ will be opposed very rightly by the damned, because they neglected him, exiled, needy, and bare and thirsty. Even so, on the other side, the truly pious magistrates who will be the ultimate nurturers of the Gospel, He will adorn with the alternative praise and add His own reward.

---

[41]The Latin Biblical quotation is not derived from the vulgate. It is very close to the Hebrew original, but is not very clear in Latin. While the vulgate version is not as faithful to the Hebrew, the meaning is more obvious.

> Therefore, when all pious people discern the exquisite usefulness of this divine work, let them give to the work, chiefly, by their prayers, next also by their books, and finally (whoever can) by their support, so much as they can to help the effort, so that this work, by the grace of God, obviously unfinished as it is, may also be completed by that same grace.
>
> You also, Most Illustrious Prince, in whose land this work of God is now being perfected, you who can also be a most reliable witness simply that this matter be dealt with, safeguard it with every effort and promote it and you shall receive both here and in the other life the highest rewards by Christ the Savior.
>
> May the Lord Jesus rule and keep Your Illustrious Highness for the public good and for these outstanding works of promoting true piety, discipline, letters, common peace, and justice. Amen. Regensburg, on the Apostle Matthias' day, divinely selected for Betrayer Judas' lot, for the propagation of the truth.

The brief "refutation" itself (pages 9 to 18) contained only one specific reference to Johann Wigand.

> But I am not at liberty to prolong the refutation of this very virulent invective [of Konrad Braun], both because [the invective] has not been established with any reasonable arguments, and because I [Flacius] hope that my most beloved brother in Christ, Johann Wigand, will do it much more energetically ("multo nervosius") (page 15).[42]

After struggling with the task of composing the Magdeburg Centuries for over twelve years, Wigand received in this dedicatory letter but a nod from Flacius, because he worked "multo nervosius." Indeed! Wigand did not mention Flacius' self-inflating work again to Oporinus.

Taken without other contemporary witness, one would be led to believe by Flacius that the two prominent figures in the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries had been himself and Matthaeus Judex, with early assistance from Caspar von Nidbruck, with some unspecified contribution by "energetic" Wigand. This dedicatory epistle for Flacius' response to Konrad Braun's attack upon the Magdeburg Centuries has served to make of him, in the eyes of subsequent historians and histories, not only the

---

[42]For more information about Konrad Braun, see Chapter XII.

original conceiver and supporter and defender of the work, but also one of the two principal authors, outliving his faithful partner. It is barely possible to assess how much distortion has been wrought, not by what this dedicatory epistle said, but by what it failed to say. Apart from any motives, whether they be innocent or malicious, Flacius was either unwilling or unable to recount an accurate history of his own involvement in the origins of the Magdeburg Centuries, when he wrote this epistle in February 1566.

During the weeks of accompanying the Mecklenburg ducal party in and around Augsburg, Wigand collected more material for Century XVI.[42] He told Beyer of his activity and asked to receive information about Jews in general and about the legal toleration of Jews in Frankfurt. Wigand seemed to be rekindling his own personal collecting interests: he asked for help among members of the Frankfurt City Ministerium and he requested especially an autobiography from Beyer.

On 16 February 1567,[43] a full year after his self-imposed deadline, Wigand sent Century X and Century XI to Basel, after which he expected instantaneous publication.[44] He insisted on indices for the first two volumes. He also asked that great care be taken in the binding of these tomes. For the first time, he mentioned to Oporinus in writing that Andreas Corvinus was helping him. And he asked to receive a copy of the four-volume French translation of the Magdeburg Centuries.[45] The July letter made a

---

[42] Documents II, 22 (Nürnberg, 17 July 1566). [43] Documents III, 19.

[44] Documents III, 20 [S631] (20 July 1567) also said that work was progressing on Century XII; no deadline or target date was given, however.

[45] When Peter Fränkel reviewed Scheible's major published work on the Magdeburg Centuries (*Die Entstehung*), in *Bibliothèque d'humanisme e*

special point of the Century XI dedication to Lindau: Oporinus should send one copy bound, one copy unbound, and Wigand would forward letters to Lindau through Basel.

Whereas Century VIII and Century IX were produced in close collaboration with the Herwagen presses, Century X and Century XI appear to have been both produced with the shop of Paul Queck.[46] Of the two title pages and two colophons, only the second colophon bore Queck's name; but the two were printed at the same time and both were dated September 1567. If the date of the printing was actually that late, and if Oporinus' presses were actually used at all, then these were some of the last printings of the Oporinus firm when it was in Johann Oporinus' control. The historical record of the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries was seriously disrupted when Oporinus sold his presses and publishing enterprise to a syndicate of printers and businessmen.[47] While he kept in touch with operations until his death a few months later, he did not manage the affairs of the new Officina Oporiniana thereafter. With his departure came a break in the valuable epistolarium; further correspondence between Wigand and the new Basel

---

renaissance, 29 (1967), 266-268, he noted how significant a contribution could be made in a detailed analysis of the original text, the German translation by the authors, the French translation by François Bourgoign (Paul Chaix, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Génève de 1550 à 1564* [Geneve: 1964], p. 106), as well as the later Latin edition by Ludwig Lucius.

[46] Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker*, p. 39.

[47] Martin Steinmann discovered the draft of the final sale agreement, dated 1567 without specific day or month. The complete document is also transcribed in "Aus dem Briefwechsel des Basler Druckers Johannes Oporinus," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 69 (1969), 103-203, esp. pp. 197-203. Not surprisingly, with his business setbacks, adventurous approach to publishing, and continuing legal problems, Oporinus left his business deeply in debt--in excess of 15,000 gulden (ibid., p. 104).

company has not been identified. Of the three new owners of the Oporinus press--Balthasar Han, Polycarp Gemusaeus, and Hieronymus Gemusaeus--Wigand had dealings with the second, as his letter to Beyer of 4 March 1569 shows.[48]

Century X and Century XI would have appeared at the book fair together in 1567, produced at a time when Flacius himself was in Basel to supervise the printing of several important historical works. Nevertheless, there is no indication or evidence that his pen or person were involved with the two volumes of the Magdeburg Centuries then in process of being printed. The workmanship of Century X was decidely different, though not necessarily better or worse, than the preceding volumes: new large initials were used for the dedication and first chapter; different capital letters, but not a new and unused font, were used for paragraph initials below the chapter level and were set on a new margin alignment. If errata were any indication, Century X had more typographic errors than any single century before it, and more than Century I-II-III combined (p. [K7r]). But Century XI had even more errors than Century X (p. [N7r]). The signature of Flacius at the close of the dedication of Century IX had been spelled, "Matthias Illiricus," as printed by the heirs of Herwagen. Previously, the Oporinus printings always had the name in the form of "Matthias Flacius Illyricus." In 1567, the dedications of Century X and Century XI had his name in the form "Matthias Illyricus." While our Illyricus was surely the most famous, the form "Matthias Illyricus" was not a distinctive name. Three men bore that name: Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, jr., and Matthias Garbitius Illyricus. For the last time, in Century X and Century XI, the familiar dolphin and Hermes were the printer's device in the

---

[48] Documents II, 29. Peter Perna and Hieronymus Gemusaeus were working for an imperial privilege in these years; the last two volumes of the Magdeburg Centuries did not bear such a mark, however.

simple, unadorned form, graced the title page of the Magdeburg Centuries.

The dedication of Century X is very confusing. The title of the dedication addressed Adolf Hermann Riedesel, Hessian nobleman of Eisenbach. But at the end of the dedicatory epistle, the statement was made that the volume was being dedicated both to him and to Eberhard von der Tann, Thuringian counselor, jurist, and humanist. The dedication itself was nowhere near the quality of earlier centuries in terms of rhetorical refinement and form. Biblical witness was called upon, to attest to the marks of the church--an old issue much more thoroughly and scholarly in the first volume. The entire dedication contained not one memorable phrase, aphorism, apothegm. The reason for the centuriators' dedication to Riedesel was that they wanted to acknowledge the fact that he read history and had a decidedly intellectual bent. While there were close ties between the centuriators and Eberhard von der Tann in the Jena years, there was no documented close relationship to Riedesel.

The dedication of Century XI addressed the city of Lindau, for which there is, of course, an important relationship and connection, refreshed just a year earlier in Flacius' dedication to Johann Albrecht of a refutation against Konrad Braun. The original letter from Lindau that authorized payments for the Magdeburg Centuries was signed by three men.[49] The dedication made reference to one of them, Georg Necker, and to the aged city councilor and political leader, Hieronymus Pappus. The first half of the dedication was an extended essay on the nature and definition of two types of powers: ecclesiastical and political. The second half discussed the eleventh century and what it held relevant for the "modern" man.

In the first half, the powers of governing and ruling were defined

---

[49]See above, footnote 40.

in Biblical terms. When the ministers of the Word of God transgress into areas outside their ordained sphere, the result is clear: observe the end of Thomas Müntzer and Nicolaus Storch, the anabaptist revolutionaries of 1524/1525. When magistrates transgress into areas outside their secular sphere, then the church is distorted: the magistracy can be and must be part of the church, but cannot be the whole church, without distorting the message of God in Christ.

In the second half, the rule of Emperor Henry IV was contrasted with the rule of the "ecclesiastical king," Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII. The abuses of the emperor and the suffering of the church were called "tragedies." The rule of Gregory VII was said to be the beginning of the "mystery of iniquity." In answer to the challenges by papal defenders and partisans of "the old faith," who said that the church's leaders were responsible for the maintenance of God's temporal goods and gifts, the centuriators pointed to the behavior of iniquitous bishops, consecrated by either a tragic emperor or an iniquitous pope. The pope, however, clearly violated the limits of his ordained powers, when he raised a universal revolution against the emperor. And God allowed the disobedient emperor and the unfaithful church to be put under the yoke of iniquity, under the hands and feet of the Antichrist. The latent evil of the papacy, Antichrist from the start, by God's leave was unleashed on an iniquitous world. Why God would suspend his protecting hand and shield is not known: it is a divine mystery. Hence, the "mystery of iniquity."

The contrast in style and quality between Century X and Century XI is so obvious and so striking, that an explanation needs to be ventured. Century IX was the last to have as a signator to the dedication Matthaeus Judex. And Century X and Century XI were the first to have the name of

Andreas Corvinus. It is known that most of the work for Century X was done in Judex' lifetime. Three possible explanations for the change in style and quality from Century X to Century XI can be posited. The material for the dedication to Century X may have consisted in notes and suggestions by Judex, the "collectanea" for an introduction, incomplete and poorly composed. That appears to be the likely cause for its poor quality. To explain more about Century XI, consider the following. First, with the dedication to Century XI Andreas Corvinus may have asserted himself and composed an introduction which was further embellished by Wigand. But that seems to be the least likely possibility; the style and manner are very different from the few other pieces of authenticated prose by Corvinus. Second, Wigand may have taken pen in hand and written the entire dedication. While this explanation is surely possible, it is less likely than the third. A third reconstruction seems to take into account all the known factors. Wigand may have drafted an original introduction, containing many of the ideas and directions of the first half of the final dedication, with the major distinctions drawn for the second half. The work could have been sent to Flacius, to compose the last part of the dedication to the city of Lindau, since Flacius had recently mentioned their unique gift for the promotion of the Magdeburg Centuries. Flacius not only specified the dedication to Lindau (specifically singling out Necker and Pappus and making precise remarks about the church in Lindau with which he was so familiar), but he embellished in extenso the rest of the introduction. He included several themes that were uniquely his: the use and definition of the term "mysterium iniquitatis," the repetition of the word "peccant," with which he was almost obsessed at the time, and the close connection between Thomas Müntzer and Nicolaus Storch, the

prophetic revolutionaries of Zwickau.[50] Whether Flacius was or was not called upon to contribute to the dedication of Century XI, the fact remains that the centuriators had run out of the treasures that had been stored up in the workshop of Matthaeus Judex. From Century XI, the centuriators were on their own.

In March 1568,[51] Wigand reported to Beyer that he had been requested by the Duke of Saxony to return to Jena. And in August 1568,[52] he asked that historical material or biographical material, collected by Beyer for the Magdeburg Centuries, be sent to him.

The Wismar years wound down with the obligation still hanging over Wigand's head to complete the work that he had set out to do fourteen years earlier. He moved once again to the eye of the theological storm, the last major battle to make explicit and distinctive the future of Philippism and Flacianism in the Lutheran church. As Wigand's person loomed larger and larger, as a major figure and leader among Lutherans, his contribution to the completion of the Magdeburg Centuries waned smaller and smaller.

---

[50] Both Flacius and Marx Wagner had a deep interest in the Zwickau movement and in the revolution of 1524/1525. Near the end of his life, Wagner published what he had collected about Storch in *Einfeltiger Bericht Wie durch Nicolaum Storcken die Auffruhr in Thüringen, vnd umbligenden Revir, angefangen sey worden....* See Schulte, "Beiträge," pp. 132-133. Wagner's collection has remained the major source of materials on Storch.

[51] Documents II, 26. He also noted the probable reluctance of the Mecklenburg dukes to allow him to leave Wismar. He was correct, but the problem was resolved in time.

[52] Documents II, 27.

CHAPTER X

BACK IN JENA: THE FILLING OF THE SEVEN YEARS[1]

Wigand left Wismar in the fall of 1568, to participate in the Altenburg Colloquy.[2] For the next several years, the politics of the city of Wismar and of the City Ministerium, as well as relations between the ministers and the theological faculty in Rostock, were in constant turmoil. After Wigand, the superintendents of Wismar were:

Wolfgang Peristerus	1570-1575
Basilius Michael	1575-1578
Andreas Corvinus	1578-1582

That is, a decade after Wigand had left Wismar, another centuriator was serving as Superintendent, Andreas Corvinus. What happened in Wismar is important for the history of the Magdeburg Centuries, even though Wigand moved to Thuringia, because the history project remained in Mecklenburg, as is to be shown below.

To review briefly the history of the Wismar superintendency and Wigand's connections with it, the modern observer is struck again and again by the fact that official ecclesiastical stations were precarious and that a man's office depended on his beliefs as codified in predetermined forms with predetermined conclusions. Wolfgang Peristerus was appointed at the

---

[1] Wigand's entire autobiography ("Leben," passim) was told in segments of seven years. When he was dismissed from Jena after twenty-two months of work, said Wigand, his next appointment in Thuringia gave him an opportunity to "fill" or "fulfill" a disrupted seven-year segment.

[2] Documents II, 28; 4 March 1569, a letter of Wigand to Beyer written during the actual colloquy.

the request and by the promotion of Duke Ulrich. Previously serving as Superintendent of Schwerin, Peristerus was already at that time known as a "gradualist" in the reformation of Mecklenburg. When he articulated his eucharistic theology and when that formulation was successfully challenged, he was forced to demit. Holtzhüter and Wigand were outspoken opponents of Peristerus.[3] The next Superintendent was Basilius Michael. His colleagues were close friends and associates of Wigand: Johann Isensee and Thomas Holtzhüter. When the Mecklenburg clergy were called upon to subscribe unconditionally to the Formula of Concord, Michael, Holtzhüter, and Isensee refused and were thereby forced to demit.[4] The arguments and

---

[3]Schröder, *Wismarische Prediger=Historie*, pp. 86-90. See also the two letters of 1571 by Holtzhüter to Joachim Westphal in Westphal, *Briefsammlung*, nos. 320-321, pp. 631-637. Trained in Königsberg, with a long career in the service of the Mecklenburg dukes, his major area of strength was in philosophy and philology. The dedication of Century IX, concerning the influence of the Praeceptor and of pagan literature in the pulpits of Lutheran churches, was directed not only at the partisan Philippists, but also at classicists like Peristerus.

[4]The fate of Holtzhüter is not altogether clear. The confused historical witness may be without conflict, assuming that the two major sources each have a single important lapse. That is, Otto Friedrich Schütz, *De vita Davidis Chytraei commentariorum libri quatuor* (Hamburg: Johann Wolfgang Fickweiler und Christian Wilhelm Brandt, 1720-1728), II, 453, wrote:

> Thomas denique Holtzhuterus itidem Ecclesiae Antwerpiensi praefectus, sed postquam cum Collegio Flacianis, Beato et Eggerdesio, de substantia peccati originis acrius disputaverat, etiam ibi dimissus officio est.

On the other hand, the record by Schröder, *Wismarische Prediger=Historie*, p. 72 (the probable souce for Wagenmann's article in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 13 (1881), 30-31), had it:

> Worauf es denn geschehen, dass mehrgedachter Holtzhüter sich erstlich nach Stralsund begeben/ und von dannen nach Pritzwalck gereiset. Doch er ist anno 1583/ auf fleissige Recommendation E. E. Raths zu Wismar/ von Ihro Hoch=Fürstl. Durchl. selbsten/ zu Gadebusch als Pastor wiederum angenommen.

dissensions caused by the codification of theology in the Book of Concord were bitter and vengeful, indeed, and lasted for several years.[5] Next, Andreas Corvinus served as Superintendent until he died of the plague on 27 October 1582.[6] Small wonder, then, after so many years' strife and struggle in Wismar that the duke attempted to lure Wigand back to Mecklenburg from Liebemühl in Pomezania in 1583.[7]

Also within a few months after Wigand's departure from Wismar--in the spring of 1569--the controversy surrounding Johann Saliger (Beatus) erupted.[8] Again, at this early moment after Wigand's leaving, Corvinus and Johann Isensee supported Beatus, against the theologians of Rostock, Chytraeus and Pauli. In this precarious position between Wismar and Rostock, Wigand could only afford to offer quiet encouragement to Corvinus.

It is assumed that he could manage to sign the Book of Concord unconditionally by 1583. It is surprising that Wismar gave a recommendation, when one considers Holtzhüter's leaving. He, Michael, and Isensee wanted to remain in Wismar, rented quarters, and lived as private citizens; but they were ordered out of the city on 21 October 1578 for conducting conventicula in their household (Schröder, ibid., p. 72). Notice of his death (he died of the plague) was dated 14 July 1585.

[5]Schütz, *Vita Davidis Chytraei*, II, 420-453.

[6]Schröder, *Wismarische Prediger=Historie*, p. 77.

[7]Schlüsselburg, *Oratio*, p. 27; Schröder, *Wismarische Prediger=Historie*, pp. 64-65.

[8]Caspar Heinrich Starck[e], *Lübeckischer Kirchen=Historie* (Hamburg: T. C. Felginer, 1724), pp. 255-156, footnote (f), noted a three-volume manuscript acta of the Rostock church history that contained the primary documentation for this struggle in Tom. III, ff. 10-45. There is much more primary material than has been surveyed to date (e.g., by Salig), also in the Wigand library in Wolfenbüttel, in uncatalogued portions of the Cod. guelf. 64. Extra. 2°.

Progress in Wismar

In order to understand why Wigand claimed repeatedly that he was consumed by responsibilities and obligations in the University of Jena, one must look not only to the teaching loads and the administrative duties for the Thuringian church, but also to the very nature of student life and the problem of that age with students. An analysis of student life in Jena was composed for the third centenary of the University of Jena by Richard and Robert Keil.[9] They pointed out that the basic style of students, that is, the model that students sought to emulate, was that of the jousting, fencing, boisterous nobility with their deadly "Ehrenkampf." Beer and wine for students were tax exempt; they had their own confined drinking quarters from which they would occasionally erupt in devastating violence.[10] They were armed, moved about in gangs, and delighted in defying orders of the city fathers, housemasters, and advisers. While the problem had persisted for some time, the University of Jena was most populous precisely in the decade 1566 to 1576, when there were between 1,000 and 1,100 students in

---

[9] *Geschichte des Jenaischen Studentenlebens von der Gründung der Universität bis zur Gegenwart (1548-1858)*: Eine Festgabe zum 300. Jubiläum der Universität Jena (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1858), esp. pp. 46-84.

[10] Such havoc, for instance, as the storming of the "Collegium Flacianum" in 1563, when Flacius' house was wrecked and when he lost many valuable papers and possessions. In 1569 there was a particularly dangerous gang, headed by Matthias Wesenbeck, Matthias Colerus, Ludwig Sturm, Friedrich Wiedebramus, Adam Lyssander, Aegidius Salius, and Friedrich Pensold, who were--not students, but--professors (see Keil, ibid., pp. 83-84). Wigand told Corvinus after Wigand's arrival in Jena that these men had been forced to demit from the university's faculty (Schlüsselburg, *Studium ecclesiae Filij Dei...Hoc est, Epistolarum clarissimorum quorundam theologorum volumen* [Rostochii: J. Haller (M. Saxonii), 1624], epist. LXVII, pp. 211-214).

the city at any given time when the academy was in session. Wigand was brought back to Jena by the Thuringian duke, to exercise not only his considerable powers of theological reasoning, but also his abilities to bring peace and concord. The pacification concerned not only the churches of Ducal Saxony, but also the university itself, where death by duel was commonplace.

Wigand did not bring the Magdeburg Centuries with him to Jena in 1568. Before October 1569--that is, before Heshusius and Ellinger had been called to the University, but before they had actually arrived--Wigand wrote to Corvinus. The passaged translated below contains an interesting mixture of singulars (noted with ^{s}) and plurals (noted with ^{p}):

> I return your^{s} book. I still really wish to have these two confessions of Johann Beatus, which I ask you^{s} to have copied for me. For the commentary on the Prophet Hosea, God help you.^{s} See^{s} whether something of a commentary is in my library. Work^{p} diligently^{p} on the writing of the history, I ask, and report^{p} to me how far you^{p} have brought the matter. You^{s} may receive a chest of books as soon as I can send them, but you^{s} will not get all that you^{s} want. For Conrad [Agrius?] collected poorly in the recent fairs. Now we might as well be dumb: there is a time to be silent and a time to speak.[11]

The information about the library of Wigand and about the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries is thoroughly explicit: Wigand's library remained in Wismar; the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries was proceeding under the immediate direction of Corvinus with the requirement that he report to Wigand regularly. What is more, Wigand was not only storing his books in Wismar, but also adding to the collection there.

Wigand nowhere indicated that he was building a collection for himself in Jena. The fact that his library was not at his immediate disposal

[11] Schlüsselburg, *Studium ecclesiae*, epist. LXVII, pp. 211-214.

may have prompted him to satisfy his needs another way. Instead of depending on his own vast collection, Wigand was setting out to gain support for the library of the University of Jena in the summer of 1570.[12] The official request contained provision for both collecting and binding books. Two other events would seem to be more than idle coincidence: the Jena printers were obligated by law to deposit one copy of every printing in the university library,[13] and on 22 June 1570, the first catalogue of the collection was begun.[14] At least in part through the efforts of the collector-scholar Wigand, three key elements for a successful library were provided that would hold the University of Jena in good stead for centuries to come: a regular acquisition and binding budget, a depository law, and a catalogue of the collections.

Even from a distance, however, Wigand continued to direct and provide for the collecting and composition of the Magdeburg Centuries. In order to unearth more information from throughout all Germany, Wigand sent a messenger, Christian Colzovius,[15] who had been co-rector of the Wismar

---

[12] *Geschichte der Universitätsbibliothek Jena*, p. 133.

[13] Ibid., p. 66.

[14] Ibid., p. 53. The original catalogue was nine folio volumes of blank paper, columned, called simply, "Index librorum Bibliothecae." As in countless other instances, however, there was no clearcut division between personal favors for Wigand and the more "public" generosity of the prince. Wigand made special provision at that time that theological works could be purchased from the Basel printers.

[15] Schröder, *Kirchen=Historie des Evangelischen Mecklenburgs*, II, 517. He came to Wismar with a letter by Simon Pauli (15 March 1567), characterizing him as a very learned man in philology and philosophy, an experienced teacher. He first appeared in the matriculation of the University of Rostock in February 1560: Christian Koltzov Rostochiensis (*Matrikel*, II, 138). He no doubt accompanied Wigand to Jena and appeared next in the Jena lists (*Matrikel*, I, 59: Christ. Colzovius, Rostochien,

school, cantor in the parish Wigand served--St. Mary's--and a student at the University of Jena. The letters that he carried contained slight information about what was happening in the University of Jena or about his actual mission at the time.[16] Wigand said in his letters of introduction that Colzovius would tell the recipient face-to-face what was going on at the University "if you wish to ask him." Wigand also encouraged those to whom the letters were addressed to make their wishes and desires known to Colzovius and to help to sponsor his long journey. Unfortunately, there has not been discovered a journal or report of Colzovius' journeys of 1570. In all likelihood, it was the last major attempt by Wigand to collect materials for the last remaining centuries.[17]

1569a 25). In 1572--presumably after his journeys--Coltzovius returned to the University of Rostock where he became a member of the faculty (*Matrikel*, II, 175: Mgr. Christianus Coltzovius).

[16]Documents II, 10 and 29, of July and August 1570. The Hamburg copy of the Beyer epistolarium spelled his name, in the two places, "Roltzovius."

[17]My repeated letters and messages to the University of Rostock, to the city of Wismar, and to the district archives for Schwerin and Güstrow have been feckless in getting either basic information about holdings or in getting permission to make a personal visit to search for information about Wigand and Coltzovius.

Dismissal from Jena

As a result of their virulent attacks against the alleged "Cyp-to-Calvinist Cathechism" of Wittenberg and as a result of their critisms of the University of Wittenberg during and after the Colloquy of Altenburg, the members of Jena's theological faculty were perilously exposed. Once Elector August of Saxony decided to move with force against Ducal Saxony--with encouragement by the imperial court in Vienna to do so--he unleashed his fury against Wigand and Heshusius. For Wigand and Heshusius had become close colleagues at the University of Jena and they joined together to seek God's will for themselves before and after the seizure of Thuringia by the Elector. Before the summer of 1573, they had joined forces both against the Wittenberg faculty and against their former colleague, Flacius. Against Wittenberg, they unmasked the treachery of those who would conspire to unify Lutherans along lines prepared by the Calvinists. Within a year after their departure, Elector August became convinced that the Gnesio-Lutherans were correct in their assessment of Philippism. The year 1574 has been called "the darkest epoch" in the history of the Wittenberg theological faculty, with wholesale dismissals and even imprisonments.[18] Against Flacius, both Wigand and Heshusius had published many pamphlets and booklets, as well as dissertations and major treatises on the matter of original sin, refuting Flacius' claim that original sin is of the substance of man. After August's

[18]Kurt Aland, "Die Theologische Fakultät Wittenberg und ihre Stellung im Gesamtzusammenhang der Leucorea während des 16. Jahrhunderts," *450 Jahre Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* (Wittenberg: 1952), I, 155-237; esp. p. 180.

personal emissary arrived in Jena, when Counselor Lindemann gave Wigand and Heshusius four days to clear their houses and be out of Saxon lands, the two theologians continued to seek their futures together.[19]

Joachim Mörlin had served as Bishop of Samland, one of the dioceses of Ducal Prussia, until his death on 23 May 1571. The Prussian court tried to woo Martin Chemnitz from St. Martin's church of Braunschweig to the Kneiphof cathedral in Königsberg. Chemnitz declined the invitation. Instead he recommended a consistorial ecclesiastical form of governance for Ducal Prussia--which the court and duke politely refused. Thereupon he recommended Heshusius for the bishopric. Negotiations were protracted and made unnecessarily complicated because Duke Johann Wilhelm of Saxony, Heshusius' lord, refused permission to leave. On 3 March 1573, however, Johann Wilhelm died. Elector August occupied all the borders and highways. As Wigand and Heshusius departed from Jena, they turned to their old friend and supporter in the difficult days at Magdeburg, when they served successively as Superintendent of the City Ministerium: Andreas Meiendorff von Ummendorf. From Meiendorff's home they wrote to the City Council of Braunschweig for permission to reside in the city. Permission was granted, if the two theologians promised to publish nothing, private or public. Negotiations now moved apace. On 6 July 1573, Valerius Fidler (or Fiedler) of the Ducal Prussian court wrote to Heshusius and Wigand. The official letter calling them to Königsberg was sealed with ducal authorization on the

---

[19]The story--and documents--are to be found in Alfred Nicolovius, *Die Bischöfliche Würde in Preussens evangelischer Kirche*: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des evangelischen Kirchenrechts (Königsberg: August Wilhelm Unzer, 1834), pp. 78-82, with the appropriate documentary "Beilage." Here find the references and annotations to the classic work by Christophor Hartknoch (*Preussische Kirchen=Historia* [Frankfurt am Mayn und Leipzig: Simon Beckenstein (Dantzig), 1686]).

next day, 7 July 1573, with the bold signature of Albrecht Friedrich. Wigand and Heshusius moved to Königsberg and were installed in their positions with appropriate solemnity and festivity on 25 September 1573: Johann Wigand as "Professor theologiae primarius" on the theological faculty of the University of Königsberg; Tilemann Heshusius as Bishop of Samland, holder of the cathedra and prebends of Kneiphof.

In the discussions and negotiations of both 1571 and 1573, as Johann Wigand pondered his personal future and the possibility of a call to Ducal Prussia, no special provision was made for the history project, except the oft-repeated note that Wigand had been instrumental in the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries. He had no special plan for the Magdeburg Centuries in Jena or in Königsberg, because he did not have to bother with the problem. The Magdeburg Centuries were still in Wismar.

Century XII and Century XIII

The last two fully published centuries were the twelfth and thirteenth. The publication date of Century XII, the title page year (there was no colophon), was 1569. The dedicatory epistle is fully dated: 18 February 1569. Therefore one might assume an actual publication scheduled for the autumn Frankfurt book fair of 1569.

The colophon for Century XIII gave the date, January 1574. The latest writing of the volume was done, consequently, in late 1573, including the undated dedicatory epistle to Anargk Friedrich von Wildenfels-Ronneburg.

The critical four lines of the title page that identified the authors varied only in the inconsequential line break of the third/fourth

line. Thus, the title pages of Century XII and Century XIII have:

IN DVCATV ILLVSTRISSIMORVM
Principum ac Ducum Megapolensem, in ciui=
tate Vuismaria,
PER AVTORES CONTEXTA

Therefore, by the time Century XII was published, Wigand had been gone from Wismar for over a year; by the time Century XIII was published, he had been gone for almost five years. Nevertheless, the title page continued to note that the work was being composed in Wismar. Thus the physical descriptive information about the volumes is in total agreement with the evidence from Wigand's letter to Corvinus.[20]

As historians and commentators have not ceased to note, the dedication of Century XIII is the only one of the complete Magdeburg Centuries that does not have Flacius' name. The signatures for Century XII and Century XIII are:

Century XII	Century XIII
M. Matthias Illyricus.	D. Iohannes Vuigandus
Ioannes Vuigandus, D.	M. Andreas Coruinus.
M. Andreas Coruinus.	M. Thomas Holthuter.
M. Thomas Holthuter.	

In late 1573, for an unexplained or at least undocumented reason, the name of Flacius was finally dropped from the dedication. Flacius was still alive: he died on 11 March 1575. But he had been condemned and declared a heretic as a result of the Colloquy of Altenburg. By 1573, Wigand had written several pamphlets and theological treatises against Flacius for four years, to refute his Manichaean doctrine on original sin as the substance of man. The letter to Beyer of 3 April 1574[21] also indicated that

---

[20] Above, footnote 11.

[21] Documents II, 30.

Wigand and Beyer had not been in contact for a long time, that the interests of Wigand now lay elsewhere than in writing history, and that he would in all likelihood contact printers through Beyer if he had a need to do so for the Magdeburg Centuries. As of 4 March 1569, Wigand had begun to deal with the new Officina Oporiniana, with Polycarp Gemusaeus, through Beyer.[22] Although it is known that letters continued to be exchanged with Conrad Agrius--by this time, pastor in the town of Rottenbach --an Agrius epistolarium has not been discovered to date, to fill in the many missing pieces. By the time the last published volume appeared, Century XIII, an ironic twist to the history of the Magdeburg Centuries had occurred, in that the name of one non-participant was removed from the dedication and was replaced with the name of another non-participant; there is no evidence that Wigand was involved in the composition of Century XIII.

Century XII was dedicated to Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. It was the ducal library of Braunschweig-Lüneburg that eventually acquired the most important extant manuscript evidence for the Magdeburg Centuries. In their dedication, the centuriators pointed out that there were two kinds of rules of God, one based on the wrath of God ("ex ira") and one based on the mercy of God ("ex misericordia"). The evil that happens in the world, specifically in the world of ruling and governing, has come about because God mysteriously permits iniquitious things to happen. The good that happens in the world, on the other hand, has come about because of God's intimate, creative involvement. The existence of iniquity is a mystery. The

---

[22] Documents II, 28.

authors then sketched out the three hierarchies or rule or hegemony in this world: ecclesiastic, politic, and economic. This was a division that was to be maintained throughout the systematic theologies of the seventeenth century among Orthodox Lutherans. Finally, the centuriators commended the Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg and said: Continue, Julius, to do what you instituted from the very beginning of your rule a pious reformation of your churches. And they commended also his following of the models and exemplars to be found in the pious men of Braunschweig, who had been the contestants in the decades-long struggle between the city and the dukes.

Century XIII was addressed to a nobleman-student of the University of Jena, who heard the history lectures and enjoyed chiefly their ability to teach lessons for life: Anargk Friedrich von Wildenfels-Ronneburg.[23] The most important issue of the day, said the centuriators, was the double threat of papacy and Turk (Islam), both representing heretical abominations gone mad. While the threat may have been considered serious, the knowledge about Islam was thin indeed: Century XIII had fewer than two columns of text on the subject (i.e., cols. 1300_{52} to 1302_{33}). They noted that the thirteenth century was the age of scholasticism and characterized scholastic theology in eight points: (1) Academic theology was conducted in the custom of the skeptics. (2) Questions had no shape or purpose: questiones served merely to become bases for further questiones. (3) Superlative degrees of subtlety and intricacy and profundity formed seas of quaestiones where human geniuses swam and then drowned in fatigue. (4) Philosophy and theology were thoroughly confused. (5) The study of languages was neglected.

---

[23] Jena, *Matrikel*, I, 364: Wiltenfels, Anarchus Frdr., baro in et dn. in Ronnenburg. 1569a 3.

(6) The liberal arts and culture were also neglected, leading to the barbarian development of meaningless neologisms. (7) The papacy was idolized and venerated universally. (8) The chief Christian doctrines descended into the shadows; some doctrines, like faith, were extinct. Coming from the pens of theologians who were to be called "scholasticizing Orthodox Lutherans," their analysis raises interesting questions about the authors' understanding of their own methods and purposes in using the "methodus" and syllogistic argumentation. On the other hand, their analysis also raises questions about the appropriateness of the term "scholastic" in connection with "Orthodox Lutheran."

The scene of action for Wigand shifted from Thuringia to Prussia: within six months, he was forcibly removed from one professorship and honorifically installed in another. He had every opportunity at the age of fifty to begin a new career, free of the all the grief and persecution of Saxony. In all his life, he had wandered all that far from his native Mansfeld. Now, in autumn 1573, he found himself on the eastern shore of the Baltic, in a new and exciting place, highly favored by the ducal court, working in a new partnership with an old colleague, Heshusius.

CHAPTER XI

THE FINAL YEARS

In Königsberg and Liebemühl

The last years of Wigand's life were lived out in the regions of Ducal Prussia. Once he had arrived in Königsberg, he settled quickly into the academic routines. On the death of Georg Venediger, Bishop of Pomezania, on 3 November 1574, Wigand was elected by the Cathedral Chapter and confirmed by the duke's commissioners to succeed Venediger, was consecrated by Heshusius, and set out for his episcopal duties in Liebemühl.

A controversy was precipitated, however, between Wigand and Heshusius. The division has come to have the name Schisma Prutenicum, the Prussian schism, thought by many contemporaries to be unnecessary and, if culpability were to be assessed, the fault of Johann Wigand.[1] Heshusius had written a booklet in 1574, *Assertio testamenti Christi*, against several Calvinist exegeses of eucharistic and christological passages of the New Testament. Using distinctions of "de abstracto" and "in concreto," Heshusius said that one ought to go beyond the minimal statement that the man Christ "in concreto" is almighty, omniscient, and worthy of adoration, to the stronger statement that the humanity of Christ or the human nature

---

[1] Nicolovius, *Die Bischöfliche Würde*, pp. 83ff.; Hartknoch, *Preussische Kirchen=Historia*, pp. 463-471. Both of these works need to be consulted. While Hartknoch recorded many of the primary materials in his survey, Nicolovius picked up what was missing. From Heshusius side, the major work is Johann Georg Leuckfeld, *Historia Heshusiana* (Quedlinburg und Aschersleben, Gottlob Ernst Struntz, 1716), pp. 129-192.

of Christ "de abstracto" is almighty, omniscient, and worthy of adoration.

Benedict Morgenstern, a chaplain in the Kneiphof cathedral, resisted Heshusius' assertions and brought to his side others, including Johann Weidmann (court preacher to the ducal family), Hieronymus Mörlin (pastor of Löbenicht, son of Heshusius' predecessor, Joachim Mörlin), and Conrad Schlüsselburg (chaplain at Löbenicht who had been brought to Prussia by Wigand from Jena). On 13 December 1574 they filed charges against the bishop, alleging that the thesis about Christ's human nature "de abstracto" is false if it does not take into account some qualification based on the divine hypostatic union: else Christ would have two persons almighty, omniscient, and worthy of adoration, one by natural characteristics and the other by divine characteristics. Heshusius stood firm and countered that the allegations of his opponents sounded suspiciously Calvinistic. The pastors appealed to other theologians for opinions: to Martin Chemnitz and to Timotheus Kirchner. Kirchner, later to become Heshusius' most ardent defender, was in the beginning his sharpest critic.

Wigand refrained from getting involved until April 1576, when he spoke mildly against Heshusius with a view to restoring unity in the Ducal Prussian church. Wigand was charged with the responsibility of presiding at a synod, held in Königsberg on 16 January 1577, in which Heshusius refused to participate or cooperate. The duke himself had called the synod and had delegated authority to three secular judges, with the Pomezanian bishop presiding. Heshusius was summarily condemned by this synod and officially removed from office on 27 April 1577. Shortly thereafter, Wigand assumed the administration of the Samland diocese, in addition to holding the cathedra of Pomezania, thus leaving himself open to the charge of pluralism.

For his actions against Heshusius, Wigand was soundly condemned by one leading theologian and theological faculty after the other--all of them former allies and colleagues. One of Wigand's partisans in the terrible Schisma Prutenicum was his brother-in-law, Conrad Schlüsselburg. Fourteen years later, Schlüsselburg sought to rehabilitate Wigand's reputation in Germany with a series of publications: the biographical speech delivered in the most hospitable place left for Wigand, Wismar; the speech by Chytraeus about Freder and the promotion of Wigand at the University of Rostock twenty-seven years after the event itself; the compilation of correspondence that was begun at this time (published in 1624); a series of scholarly histories in collaboration with the firm of Henning Grosse of Leipzig. But that was far and long after the Schisma Prutenicum: after 1577, Johann Wigand the Bishop was repudiated on every hand, condemned by individuals and groups, and thoroughly isolated in the Prussian wilderness.

For the first--and only--time in his life, he did not fight back. Long concatenations of possible motives have been proposed to account for Wigand's behavior,[2] his seemingly blind rage against Heshusius, his acceptance of the devastating condemnation of his work and personality and character, his eventual ruin. They range from Wigand's "support of Heshusius' opposition" in the Königsberg court to embarrass Heshusius publicly, to Wigand's "jealousy" of Heshusius' cathedra and residence in the bustling capital of Ducal Prussia while Wigand was in the Pomezanian heath, to Wigand's innate contentiousness--and many, many more. The early analysts did not conjecture that Wigand opposed Heshusius because he thought that Heshusius was wrong.

---

[2]Hartknoch, *Preussische Kirchen=Historia*, pp. 480-481.

Wigand paid dearly for his actions, no matter what the motives were. It is with this immediate background in mind that one must understand how isolated he was. As he said to Corvinus in a touching letter of 11 August 1579:

> Now I rarely receive letters because of the distance of the place, and if anyone does write, and the letters are passed on through less than honest men, I am not receiving anything. Actually, I am not ignorant of the fact that several writings of friends have been intercepted. That is the sort of age we are living in. My labors go on, by the grace of God--I am not really at my leisure--but you are more aware of the books than I am. For books from Germany come here late.[3]

He was busy, he said, but isolated. On the other hand, Corvinus was happy and lucky, surrounded by friends and good company, close to the University of Rostock (whose theological faculty had also joined in condemning Wigand for his part in the Schisma Prutenicum!). Wigand was deceiving himself: his old friends and colleagues were not put off by the distance from Königsberg to Mecklenburg or Saxony in the first two years of his work in Ducal Prussia; contacts were frequent and warm and wholesome. If Wigand believed sincerely what he had written to Corvinus, he was fooling only himself: the Bishop of Pomezania could not acknowledge that he had been condemned on every side by men whom he loved and respected for over a quarter of a century. Heshusius had been welcomed with open arms in Braunschweig-Lüneburg, hailed as one of the leading theologians of the day, and given the prémier chairs of the new University of Helmstedt: Professor theologiae primarius. It was--at least, in Wigand's perception--faulty mail or dishonest messengers or distance and isolation that caused him problems, not the fact that he had been deemed a rogue and scoundrel by men whom he still loved, who once loved him, but now thought that he was not only mistaken in his theology,

---

[3]Schlüsselburg, *Studium ecclesiae*, epistol. L, pp. 204-207, especially pp. 205-206.

but also malfeasant in discharging the duties of his episcopal office. He continued to delude himself. And meanwhile, not one word about the Magdeburg Centuries.

Not that Wigand had discontinued any historical or theological studies of his own. He continued to work by himself, and he encouraged Schlüsselburg to do research, particularly in "the errors of the Sacramentarians" (i.e., the Zwinglians).[4] Wigand continued to use his tried and true method of collecting (i.e., excerpting), distributing (i.e., classifying the material), and composing.

Wigand's Role and the Final Years

Six magnificent tomes of historical scholarship were published in these years. They were all printed in Leipzig, the first three by Georg Deffner, the second three by Zacharias Bärwald. But it would be a mistake to look too closely to the printing, rather than the publishing of these works. They all bear distinct marks of the firm of Henning Grosse. Unfortunately, Grosse has become much better known for his contribution to the German national bibliography through his Leipzig book fair catalogues, less well known for his own publishing. He was deeply involved in the so-called "Second Reformation," the age of "Crypto-Calvinism" in Saxony.[5] It is not known how the contacts were made for the publication of the Wigand volumes: Wigand himself, Corvinus, Schlüsselburg.[6] The six volumes contain the raw materials of Century XVI, together with "refutations" of the

---

[4] Ibid., epistol. LIII, pp. 240-242, especially p. 240.

[5] Thomas Klein, *Der Kampf um die Zweite Reformation in Kursachsen: 1586-1591*, Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, 25 (Köln, Graz: Böhlau, 1962), p. 146.

[6] The most likely is, of course, Schlüsselburg. Archives in Mecklenburg or in Leipzig that have been inaccessible can answer this question.

respective heresies:

De Anabaptismo (1582)
De Sacramentarijsmo (1584)
De Stancarismo (1585)
De Schvvenckfeldismo (1586, 1587)
De Maiorismo (1586)
De Osiandrismo (1586)

In the last of this series, *De Osiandrismo*, the young Superintendent of Wismar, Andreas Corvinus, dedicated his work to Duke Ulrich of Mecklenburg, describing important details about the manner in which the work came into being:

> I have materials in my possession of the Reverend Doctor Johann Wigand, who is now occupying the bishopric of Pomezania in Prussia, my father-in-law and a very dear friend of mine, and held in highest respect. They are the "collectiones" about the controversy of Osiander which he once gathered when he was in Magdeburg and Wismar, a careful work composed of published and printed writings and certain other annotations. I have not believed that they should be handed over to Vulcan or to Neptune and buried in perpetual oblivion, but that rather they should be communicated to the entire present church and to her posterity. I do not doubt that this my plan will be graciously received by good and learned men; to the contrary, it will serve well because of its own reasonableness. For the entire Osiander controversy is placed before your eyes in this little work, plainly, clearly, and with the very nerves of the materials. And not a few believe that it either helps them, or illuminates many very important matters. The largest article about justification of sin before God is neatly treated in this work. And it is asserted and retined with its original and proper sources. I shall say nothing at the present time about the judgment and reliability of the author, because I think that this must be reserved for its own special place.
>
> Moreover, I know and I have sufficiently ascertained that Dr. Wigand will not disapprove of this publication, not of my own, but his own work, because he has allowed me very free control of it.[7]

Wigand's name appeared on the title page as the author, in a very special way: studiously and faithfully collected by Wigand and published for the

---

[7] *De Osiandrismo*: Dogmata et argumenta, studiose ac fideliter collecta per D. Iohannem VVigandum Episcopum Pomezaniensem, & publicata per M. Andream Coruinum, Superintendentem VVismariensem, ad Ecclesiae usum ([Leipzig]: 1586), pp.)(3v to)(4r.

use of the church by Corvinus.

The 1586 date is not to be considered the date of the collecting or of the composing of *De Osiandrismo*: Wigand became Bishop of Pomezania in May 1575, but Corvinus died in October 1582. The completed fair copy probably lay untouched for many years before it was printed in Leipzig, most likely by a printer who produced the work for Henning Grosse. As the dedication to Duke Ulrich indicated, Corvinus did not have Wigand's explicit permission to publish the work on Osiander, but relied on the fact that he would not disapprove. Not only did Corvinus have access to the "collectiones" of Wigand, but he also had "very free control"--"liberrimam eius potestatem"--of Wigand's manuscripts. The Wigand manuscripts were therefore, not in Ducal Prussia, but in Wismar, at least until 1582. In the last six months of Corvinus' life, in an admittedly undated[8] but datable[9] letter, Wigand wrote to his son-in-law:

> Doubtless you will be seeing rather quickly how the Basel people pester me vehemently for the rest of the Centuries. Would that I had a faithful co-worker. But I am not occupied with trivia, and to the extent that I am able, I apply myself to the task. But March and some part of April afflicted me, so that occasionally I had to take to bed. But my life is in God's hands, and I cannot work unless God grants me strength.

Why would Wigand say to Corvinus that he would soon see how the Basel printers were bothering him, except that Wigand had directed the Han/Gemusaeus firm to contact the Wismar Superintendent Corvinus? The actual contact that might have been made between the Officina Oporiniana and either

---

[8]Scheible, *Die Entstehung*, p. 60, footnote 106.

[9]Schlüsselburg, *Studium ecclesiae*, epistol. LXVI, pp. 208-211, especially pp. 210-211. The letter can be dated by internal evidence to have been written sometime shortly after 8 May 1582.

Wigand or Corvinus has not been identified or documented--if it ever did happen.

Why would Wigand insist in his letter to Corvinus that he was not working on trivia, except that Wigand was, in fact, doing research projects that had nothing to do with theology, with the church, with history? He was conducting many experiments in the countryside of Pomezania and on his own property in Liebemühl. According to Kurt Wein,[10] Wigand was not only "the first Prussian botanist," but also "the father of Prussian botany." The posthumously published natural history edited by Johann Rosinus,[11] according to Wein, gave magnificent evidence of Wigand's scientific knowledge of both botanical taxonomy (pages 172-191) and Renaissance horticulture (pages 192-205): Wigand was clearly in touch with the most advanced botanical studies of his day. No expert on the history of zoology has commented on Wigand's understanding of the Prussian elk: the Pomezanian Bishop wrote a natural history of the denizen of the Prussian swamps, included in the work edited by Rosinus. His observations were those of the

---

[10] "Johannes Wigand (1523-1587) Preussens erster Botaniker," *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften*, 35 (1942), 160-205. Johannes Abromeit, the renouned natural historian of Prussia, spoke in October 1893 (he never published a paper on the topic), discussing Wigand's scientific contributions. Abromeit corrected earlier negative assessments of Wigand's work (chiefly that of Kurt Sprengel), making possible such an unprejudiced and appreciative approach by Wein.

[11] The work by Rosinus carried the title: *Vera historia de succino Borussico, de alce borussica et de herbis in Borussia nascentibus. Item de sale creatura Dei saluberrima, consideratio Methodica et Theologica per Ioannem Wigandum....iam vero primum in studiose iuuentutis gratiam in lucem edita studio et opera Iohannis Rosini* (Ienae: 1590). Parts of this collection had been produced earlier (*De alce, De sale*), but the several works as a group were a very striking mass of scientific research and codification. The experts in botany and horticulture have assessed only parts of this larger work, specifically those elements that had to do with nomenclature and the scientific achievements of the Renaissance gardeners.

familiar expert, not the dabbler. Wigand also did careful observations of birds, resulting in "not uninteresting results...in folklore and ornithology."[12] The carrying out of such scientific inquiry necessitates long hours of observation and meticulous recordkeeping. Unlike poetry or song or literature, the written result represents only a small fraction of the time involved in investigation and organization of observations. What amounted to marvel, in Wigand's eyes, at God's marvelous creation was deemed by others to be trivial.

Even after Corvinus died, Wigand did not return to his work on the Magdeburg Centuries. The Wigand bibliography was produced both by Wigand and by Schlüsselburg in slightly revised form. In Schlüsselburg's list, under the heading "Libri Historici," three lines were added to the notation for the Magdeburg Centuries:

> Ecclesiasticae historiae, centuriae tredecim, quas vna cum alijs Synergis, Matthia Flacio Illyrico, Mattheo Iudice, Basilio Fabro, Andreo Coruino, & Thoma Holthutero, collegit, Basileae impressae, Anno 1559.& sequentibus.
> Centuria 14.
> Centuria 15.
> Centuria 16. in aliquot Tomos distincta.[13]

The sixteenth century was "distincta" in several volumes, of manuscripts, one must assume. By "distincta," Schlüsselburg meant much more than to say simply that Century XVI was separate from, or distinguished from, the other two centuries. Century XVI was finished. Century XVI was completed in several volumes, that is. What Scheible (and before him, Massner)

---

[12] Hugo Hildebrandt, "Ein vergessener vogelkundlicher Schriftsteller des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Journal für Ornithologie*, 78 (1930), 269-273, based on Wigand's *De Cuculo: Umbra nocturna: Capella coeliesti: Bubone et Margarita. Historiae observationes quaedam. Johan. Wigand....* (Regiomonti: Georgius Osterberg, 1586).

[13] *Oratio*, p. 74.

found in Wolfenbüttel, Cod. guelf. 6.5 Aug. 2° and 11.20 Aug. 2°, were indeed the fragments,[14] but the complete, "polished" work was at one time in several volumes either in draft or--more likely--fair copy form. The fragments that came to Wolfenbüttel were from Wigand's workshop, of course, since he began very early to collect for this period. They contain extensive editing and embellishment over secretarial copy. They are sufficiently "polished" to be used for fair copy in almost every instance. On the other hand, Schlüsselburg said nothing further about Century XIV and Century XV. The preparatory work of Cod. guelf. 11.6 Aug. 2° for Century XIV (not Century XIII, as the von Heinemann catalogue has it) had gone beyond listing and identifying names: the copybook represented by 11.6 Aug. 2° was struck in many cases. The preparatory work for Century XV in Cod. guelf. 11.11 Aug. 2° was likewise far along, but also far from "distincta."

Because of the numerous errors in cataloguing (chiefly the von Heinemann registers), because of the treatment of the materials by archivists and binders in the distant past, and because of the difficulty in tracing provenance with precision, but especially because the second half of the sixteenth century has not received priority treatment by scholars or librarians in Wolfenbüttel for two hundred and fifty years; one cannot be surprised with new discoveries and/or corrections of old records. Much more of the drafted materials for the Magdeburg Centuries came to Wolfenbüttel than the catalogues indicate: these materials are incorrectly labeled, lost, or purposely discarded at an earlier time.

---

[14] Scheible, "Der Plan," pp. 121ff.

Wigand died a very painful death of kidney failure, on 21 October 1587, in Liebemühl. The last rites were performed by the local parson, Johann Campius, and his remains were put to rest in the humble cathedral of Liebemühl where they lie undisturbed to the present time.[15]

The administrator of Ducal Prussia, Georg Friedrich, received a report of the death of Johann Wigand on 4 November 1587.[16] Immediately there was a concern about what constituted episcopal property and what constituted personal or private property: that is, what belonged to the diocese and state, and what belonged to the family and heirs. A series of hearings was held, with a final resolution reported to Georg Friedrich on 14 June 1588; the report arrived in court for disposition six days later, on 20 June.[17] An agreement had been reached: the inheritance fees had to be paid, of course; the partition of property had been made to everyone's agreement; and final authorization awaited a signature from the court and administrator, reported Asmuss von Rottenburg, Burggraf. The answer was returned on the same day when the communiqué was received: 20 June 1588. The property of Wigand that belonged to the family was

---

[15] Schlüsselburg, *Oratio*, p. 57. For those interested in the medical aspects of his death, Schlüsselburg included his diagnosis: Hippocr. Aphoris. 36. Gal. com. 6. in Aphoris. Hippoc. Suffice it to say that the ailment was incurable.

[16] Göttingen, Das Preussische Archivlager, Herzogliche Briefarchiv J2:1012 (1582-1587).

[17] Göttingen, Das Preussische Archivlager, États-Ministerium, 39a: no. 14. In neither of the two great collections of Prussian archives is there evidence to show that the princes supported Wigand's research, either in history or theology, or in natural history.

to be sent to Danzig. Wigand's son-in-law, Heinrich Schröder (or Schröter), "Patricius Dantisticus," tended Wigand's widow and presumably also took the Bishop's "Nachlass" with him into his own household.[18]

The presence of Wigand's library in the Schröder household is further attested with two bits of historical evidence.

The handbook on heresies by Conrad Schlüsselburg, *Catalogi haereticorum liber i[-xiii]*, published from 1597 to 1599, is a compend of works earlier produced by Wigand, some of them finished and published, and others incomplete on the death of the Pomezanian Bishop. They are:

i De Antitrinitariis (1597)
ii De Secta Manichaeorum (1597)
iii De Sacramentariis (1597)
iv De Antinomiis (1597)
v De Synergistis (1598)
vi De Osiandristis (1598)
vii De Maioristis (1599)
viii De Iesuwitis (1599)
ix De Stancaristis (1599)
x De Stenckfeldistis (1599)
xi De Servetianis (1599)
xii De Anabaptistis (1599)
xiii De Adiaphoristis (1599)

The first dedication, in the first volume, was addressed to Heinrich Schröter on the ninth anniversary of the death of Johann Wigand, 21 October 1596. The dedication of the third volume was addressed to leading citizens of Wismar. In the first six volumes, Schlüsselburg made very few references to Wigand.[19] In the seventh volume (p. 20), Schlüsselburg stated that his faith was founded on the confession by Johann Wigand of 1582. Then, in

---

[18]Schlüsselburg, *Oratio*, p. 58. In association with the breakup of Wigand's household (ibid., pp. 58-61), Schlüsselburg had no other word about either the hearings of the Burggraf or of the library of Wigand.

[19]The exception is the reference to a common relative, Schlüsselburg's brother-in-law and Schröter's father-in-law, Johann Wigand, in the dedication of the first volume (p. A2v).

the eighth volume (p. a3v), he credited Wigand with a series of reasons ("aliquot illustriores causas...consignatas") for opposing the Jesuits. The dedication of the eleventh volume, addressed to two printers, recited a history of printing which Schlüsselburg borrowed from Matthaeus Judex ("ex libro vtillissimo D. Matthaei Iudicis mei preceptoris," p. B1r). The clearest expression of dependence, however, came in the twelfth and thirteenth volumes. In the twelfth, Schlüsselburg called the "argumenta" for infant baptism Wigand's (p. 5). Finally, in the thirteenth, on Adiaphorism, Schlüsselburg went so far as to say that the very words of the text were not his own, but those of Johann Wigand.[20] The fact remains, however, that page after page of text in the catalogue of heresies came directly out of Wigand's copybooks, whether the material had been previously published or not. Schlüsselburg must have had access to the Wigand library to write the catalogue of heresies.

Some parts of the Wigand library passed through the hands of his son-in-law Schröter, of a Pastor Tilesius, and of a Pastor Lilienthal, whence they found their way into the Königsberg Stadtbibliothek.[21] At

---

[20] Recitabo autem his non mea verba, sed repetam ea de re iudicium & sententiam preceptoris, & affinis mei D. Doctoris Iohannis Wigandi, Episcopi meo tempore, Pometzaniensis, in Borussia, fidelissimi, prout eam, ex illius ore, olim publice exceptam chartis consignavi....(xiii, p. A3r).

[21] *Acta borussica ecclesiastica, civilia, literaria, oder Sorgfältige Sammlung allerhand zur Geschichte des Landes Preussen gehöriger Nachrichten/ Urkunden/ Schrifften vnd Documentation* (Königsberg und Leipzig: Christoph Gottfried Eckart, 1730-1733), I, 149 (footnote):

> Auf der Bibliotheck des Altstädtischen Raths und Ministerii, ist under denen MSCtis in Folio eins anzutreffen, sub titulo: D. Iohannis Wigandi, Clari Viri Theologici, worinn dieser Pomesanische Bischoff mit eigner Hand die Lebens=Beschreibungen der vornehmsten Theologorum die im Seculo Reformationis gelebet haben/ aufgezeichnet hat. Dies Manuscript hat her Preusch=Holländische Ertz=Priester, Herr M. Tilesius, aus der mit Wigando verwandte Schrödersch. Famil. in Dantz. erhalten, und an

least two volumes found their way into the Danzig Stadtbibliothek.[22] But the largest known, extant portion of the library found its way to Wolfenbüttel and to the Herzog August Bibliothek. And it would appear that the materials came in two portions: one earlier, thoroughly incorporated into the Helmstedter and Augusteer collections, and one later, arriving through the efforts of Johann Schwartzkopf, incorporated into the Extravagantes collection. The detail of the individual transactions, if they are extant, continues to elude scholars, not because of the paucity of remaining evidence, but rather because of the seemingly endless unindexed letter and official archives.

With further research, in the untangling of the story of Wigand's library, the history of the Magdeburg Centuries in the last phases will also surely be unraveled.

Wigand had times and opportunities to work farther on the Magdeburg Centuries, but he did not. I suspect that he did not want to finish the task. I suspect that he did not feel obligated to continue the work. I

---

den Altstädtischen Pred. M. Lilienthal überlassen, der es zusamt andern MSCtis Prussicis, ad usus publicos auf die Bibliothec gegeben hat. Herr Prof. Bayer hat sich dieses raren MSCti gebraucht, da er der ersten Preussischen Reformatorum D. Johannis Brismanni und Ioh. Poliandri Leben, im Erleuterten Preussen, Tom. II. p. 297 & 432 geschrieben. Vor-itzo communiciren wir aus demselben Manuscript dem Leser das Leben Morlini, darinn viele particularia vorkommen/ welche in Adami vitis Theologorum und andern Biographis nicht angeführet werden.

[22] Ms. 1246 and 1247, Otto Günther, *Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek* (Danzig: L. Saunier, 1902-1921, in five volumes), II, 163-174. Ms. 1247 contains much information about Benedict Morgenstern and Burckhardi, see below, Chapter VIII, footnote 11. The detailed information about Schlüsselburg's work in Löbenicht and in Königsberg is also to be found in Ms. 1247.

suspect that he considered his role to be at an end after Century XIII and passed the work along to others, even in his own lifetime. I suspect that the volume of materials that had been collected for Century XV and for Century XVI, which had been built up for many years in copybooks and correspondence, exceeded the capacity of the methodology to deal with a myriad excerpts. I suspect that the task had exceeded the methodology that had been developed to cope with the materials, also in terms of the themes and loci. It is ironic that the last published volume appeared within a year of Flacius' death and that no more was published that bore the name "Magdeburg Centuries." Could it have been, that the compulsion to continue the work was felt by Wigand to be his own personal obligation, to carry out the promises and commitments made in his name by Flacius? and that, when Flacius died, those promises and commitments died also? In the 1580's the theologians of Germany abandoned Wigand and condemned him--the same theologians who earlier had continuously encouraged Wigand and told him how important and useful his history writing was for their own scholarship and for the church. In response, Wigand abandoned them and the project to write a history from the time of Christ "to the present." Instead, he chose to study the marvels of God's creation in nature and became the first truly scientific natural historian of Prussia.

PART FOUR

THE SEQUELA

The tradition of the continuators is interesting historically, because several lives and careers were touched by the continuing project to complete the Magdeburg Centuries. So many people became involved at one time or another that one should have predicted that at least one project would succeed. But it was not to be. The Magdeburg Centuries were born in heat and controversy, in exile and summary judgment, in the world of fiats by princes and princelings. To suspect that time and leisure, libraries and generous subventions, were the real requirement was a false premise in every instance. Those who would write history on a monumental scale need to have, not a freedom from other responsibilities, but a fiery zeal and goals that are simply not to be denied. After the Formula and Book of Concord, 1577 to 1579, such fire no longer burned in the Lutherans of Germany who had won a position of dominance.

Before that story of the futile continuators can be told, however, some summary remarks must be made about the Catholic response. While the papal partisans began to work on a refutation of the Magdeburg Centuries, their counter-histories were also characterized by a distinct cooling, once the authors were assured that no easy subsidies were available.

CHAPTER XII

THE CATHOLIC RESPONSE[1]

Peter Canisius (1521-1597) assessed the perniciousness of the Magdeburg Centuries already in 1560, the year after the first edition of the first volume. The pious preacher-catechist of Augsburg developed a three-pronged attack against the centuriators and Flacius. He enlisted the support of Bishop Stanislaus Hosius (1504-1579) of Ermland, at the time papal nuncio to the imperial court of Emperor Ferdinand (1503-1564), to help in two ways: first, to encourage Rome to organize an adequate scholarly refutation, and second, to relay his support of that idea to Hosius' former school companion and Canisius' bishop in Augsburg, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (1514-1573).[2] The Dillingen press,[3] which Truchsess

---

[1]This research was done without the excellent recent volume by Jose L. de Orella y Unzue, *Respuestas Catolicas a las Centurias de Magdeburgo (1559-1588)*, Publicaciones de la Fundacion Universitaria Espanola, Monografias, 23 (Madrid: Seminario "Suarez," 1976). Scores of new documents from the Vatican have been edited and commented on, in addition to exhaustive chronologies of papal congregations.

[2]Peter Canisius, *Epistulae et acta*, colligit ac adnotationes illustravit Otto Braunsberger (Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder, 1896-1923), III, 29-31. This information became one of several starting points for the work of Paul Maria Baumgarten in 1927 (see below, footnote 12).

[3]The Bishop purchased the equipment and assets of Sebalt Mayer in 1560, but Mayer continued to operate the firm for Truchsess von Waldburg--Otto Bucher, *Bibliographie der deutschen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*: Teil 1: Dillingen, Bibliotheca bibliographica, 5:1 (Bad Bocklet, Wien, Zürich, Florenz: Walter Krieg, 1960), pp. 1-32 (hereafter cited as Bucher, "Dillingen").

von Waldburg purchased in 1560, did in fact print the first major refutation.[4] The author, Konrad Braun (1491-1563),[5] changellor to Truchsess von Waldburg, laid himself open to ridicule for his alleged pomposity and ignorance of historical detail. He was hardly a challenge: Flacius' response[6] was sufficient to establish a counter-position to Braun's. Yet the assessment by Braun of the larger context needed to be reviewed then and warrants careful study now, because it has struck such a common chord with co-religionists and with modern ecumenists.

According to Braun, the Magdeburg Centuries were further historical evidence and witness to the pestilence and fraud of Evangelicalism. They were not unique, that is, an isolated disease or plague, but rather a symptom of the pandemic sickness of Protestantism. The Magdeburg Centuries constituted an additional assault, not an unexpected attack, on yet another bastion of tradition and human experience. That was why opponents like Braun made such a major point of the methodological innovations (pp. B2r-D4r). The detail was of far less interest than the "novum": Braun listed nine themes on the slogan "novi scriptores" and "veteres historici" (pp. D4r-H8r). He would not even give the centuriators the credit and title of "historici." The centuriators could refute particular historical arguments with counter-arguments, but they had transgressed against the agreed methods and procedures.

---

[4] *Adversus novam historiam ecclesiasticam* (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1565). The work was printed two years after his death. The introduction (pp. *2r-A8v) was entitled, "De vita et scriptis clarissimi viri D. Conradi Bruni jurisconsulti"; the author was not named. See Bucher, "Dillingen," no. 202.

[5] N[ikolaus] Paulus, "Dr. Konrad Braun: Ein katholischer Rechtsgelehrter des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Historisches Jahrbuch [der Görres-Gesellschaft]*, 14 (1893), 517-548, especially pp. 544-548.

[6] See Chapter IX, footnote 39.

The Catholic response, Braun wrote, could not deny historic data or historic evidence. But canons of historiography required appropriate methodologies. If the canons were transgressed, as in the Magdeburg Centuries, then the authors ran the risk of being rejected out of hand. After all, the historic perspective depends more on the historian and less on the historic witness. The history of the empire, for instance, had been thoroughly relativized; all the historians used the same historic evidence, but the Italian was far different from the German, and they both from the French histories of the Holy Roman Empire. If tradition is rejected and if history is only relative, Braun asked, then where does the theologian direct the simple Christian? to what standards of belief? to which historians? to which perspectives? Is it remotely reasonable to assume that--in all the wide, wide world--only in Jena was God's Word being taught in truth and purity? against all tradition and all authority, both history and precedent? Are the minorities --the seven thousand--or the heretical minorities necessarily correct?

Braun described the Catholic view of the "Typus et idaea Lutheranae & Illyricanae Ecclesiae" (pp. N5v-O3v). First, the true Catholic dogma of the church ("vera & catholica Ecclesiae doctrina") was rejected, to be replaced by the personalities and thoughts of Luther and Flacius. Then, the sacraments, as instituted by Christ, were not observed (chiefly, an in this order: penance, confirmation, orders, matrimony, eucharist and baptism). Ecclesiastical magisteria were either abrogated or turned over to secular authorities. The goods and gifts, belonging to the church as given to God by the pious of all previous ages, were turned over to the secular authorities who refused to observe the purposes for which the goods and gifts were originally given.

Canisius was rather specific in his recommendations that Rome organize a scholarly response to the Protestant church history. Rome would be the best suited place to work, he thought. Someone could be chosen to write a history of the popes, for instance. The church was disorganized and Truchsess von Waldburg could be convinced to assist in the production of new catechisms and postilles, but the pope himself would have to get involved to choose men suited to writing such material that would highlight the church's doctrine. Hosius decided to address the question of an adequate refutation to Guglielmo Cardinal Sirleto (1514-1585),[7] he said in a letter to Truchsess von Waldburg.

---

[7] In his review of "Johannes Janssen, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters, Bde. 7 & 8, erg. und hrsg. von Ludwig Pastor, 1893-1894," in *Historisches Jahrbuch [der Görres-Gesellschaft]*, 17 (1896), 73-100, esp. pp. 79-87, Joseph Schmid correctly identified both the critical persons and the critical sources for unraveling the whole story. He showed Sirleto's key role in refuting the Magdeburg Centuries for the first time; Sirleto had a special relation to the Manutian press in Rome, and he had special ties to, and status in, the papal court. Schmid cited key sources in the Vatican library, all of them in sections of the collection whose catalogues remain unpublished: Cod. vat. lat. 3933, 6185, 6189, 6192, 6201, 6411; Reg. 2020, 2023. Schmid observed that the efforts of Eisengrein and Alan Copus were major foci, and he noted several points--but overall sketchy information--about a Franciscan Fra Luigi of the Cloister Ara Coeli, about a learned Caselli of Rossano, the historian Carlo Sigonio of Bologna, and an unknown Jacobus Aemilius.

In his edition of Canisius' letters, Braunsberger pointed out that the Canisius-Hosius fragment had not been included in earlier Canisius or Hosius collections, because it had been only recently identified by Vincentio Nardoni in Cod. vat. lat. 6417, f. 167r. Nardoni published his discovery in 1896. The fragment was titled in Sirleto's own hand, "Sopra la Historia Ecclesiastica," and further identified for persons and place, also properly dated.

Unfortunately, neither Schmid nor Braunsberger returned to this subject, so far as can be detected in their remaining published works. There may be unpublished notes or even an essay in the papers of either of these two scholar-priests.

The contacts between Sirleto and Wilhelm Eisengrein (1543-1584) have also been documented.[8] Eisengrein's attack on the centuriators, *Centenarius I [II]...aduersus nouam historiam Magdeburgensium*,[9] was the most ambitious attempt at the time to refute the actual historical content: a complete reworking of the original Magdeburg Centuries along faithfully papal lines was the principal intent of Eisengrein. In that it immitated the form and, to a certain extent, content of the Magdeburg Centuries, it was much like his immitation of the previous year, *Catalogus testium veritatis locupletissimus omnium orthodoxae matris ecclesiae doctorum*....(Diklingae: Sebaldus Mayer, 1565).

Eisengrein failed, however, to get financial support in Rome, fell ill, returned to Germany, and continued to plead for subventions for his scholarship in the services of the "old faith." In the end, the two published volumes of *Centenarii* were worse than a poor imitation, even to name and format. They were so badly written that they might have been mistaken for parody, were it not for the contemporary critical evidence. Sirleto's failure--or, more likely, refusal--to endorse the project was understandable.

---

[8] Luzian Pfleger, "Wilhelm Eisengrein: Ein Gegner des Flacius Illyrikus," *Historisches Jahrbuch [der Görres-Gesellschaft]*, 25 (1904), 774-792, especially pp. 782-792.

[9] Ingolstadii: Alexander et Samuel Weissenhorn, 1566. The second printing was, Moguntinae: 1568. The fact that the Dillingen press printed Eisengrein's earlier work, the *Catalogus*, but did not print the *Centenarius* might have raised interesting questions at the time about the quality of the respective works. There is little doubt that people were very eager for some refutation of the content of the Magdeburg Centuries, going well beyond the methodological confrontation of Braun, so that a second printing was even deemed desirable or necessary.

A full decade after the first, original attempt to organize a refutation, Canisius himself contributed to his cause with the publication of his *Commentarii de Verbi Dei corruptelis*,[10] trying unsuccessfully to achieve a major impact like that of the centuriators. It was a book for the laity, not for the expert: a catechetical help, not a theological thesis. As such, it went through many editions and comforted troubled hearts and souls, but did not cause a major change in the thinking of the Protestants.

The major organized effort to refute the Magdeburg Centuries continued for a long time after Canisius' initial explorations. On 3 March 1571, in a secret conclave, Pope Pius V (1504 P1566-1572) went so far as to appoint a cardinal commission, charged with the responsibility to refute the Augsburg Confession and the Magdeburg Centuries.[11] The centuriators would have been proud to share the opprobrium of the cardinals with the Augsburg Confession, had they known about it. The commission did not get under way before the death of Pius V, however; afterward, the members' energies were directed elsewhere. Sirleto, for instance was named Cardinal Librarian on 8 March 1572, just forty-three days before the death of Pius V. From then on, the question of succession overshadowed all other concerns.

---

[10] Dillingae: [Sebald Mayer] 1571, 1572; Ingolstadii: [Weissenhorn] 1577, etc.

[11] The manuscript Cod. corsin. G47, f. 35, was the basis of Schmid's conclusion (see below, footnote 7, page 83). The members of the commission included Hosius, Sirleto, Marcantonio Maffei (Archbishop of Chieti), Felice Peretti Montalto (General of the Franciscans, later to become Pope Sixtus VI), and Vincenzo Giustiniani (General of the Dominicans). Surely a group as powerful and influencial as this would not spend time in secret sessions discussing church history at a time when the papal cathedra was vacant! Johann Andreas Schmid took note of the ope's activities from other sources in Caspar Sagittarius, *Introductio in historiam ecclesiasticam....curante Io. Andr. Schmidio* (Jena: Johann Felix Bielkius, 1718), II, 278-279.

The fragmentary material that had been studied earlier, especially by Joseph Schmid--concerning Miguel de Mdeina and Fuentiduena, concerning Benedictus Arias Montuanus' correspondence with Philipp I of Spain in 1575/1576, and concerning organized refutations of the Magdeburg Centuries in Spain--was brilliantly summarized and extended by Paul Maria Baumgarten,[12] in a brief but brilliant essay on Spanish and Roman archival sources. After an excellent, though partisan, introduction, Baumgarten opened his report with the speech of Ludovico Cardinal Simoneta to Pius V in early May 1564. He traced then the careers and polemical works of Miguel de Medina and the subsequent polemical works of Fuenteduena under the guidance of the cardinals. Finally, however, monies were assessed and approved after all but interminable delays; a committee was appointed (Fuenteduena, Benedictus Arias Montuanus, Francisco Torres, and Villipando). Access to the library of Alcala de Henares was approved, in order that the authors might read "forbidden" materials, and--as Baumgarten noted repeatedly--absolutely nothing happened. Miguel de Medina died at an old age, but not of old age: after five years' imprisonment by the Inquisition, not even his fellow monks could pull him through, when the court admitted that there was not one shred of evidence of wrong-doing. He expired on 1 May 1572. As for the rest, their interim reports and proposals gathered dust, thanks to what Baumgarten summarized trilingually:

> Red tape nennts der Engländer,
> rond de cuire nennts der Franzose, und
> Amtsschimmel nennts der Deutsche (page 4).

---

[12] *Hispanica IV*: Spanische Versuche der Widerlegung der Centuriae Magdeburgenses, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, 6 (Krumbach: Franz Aker, 1927).

Another proposal for a concerted refutation of the Magdeburg Centuries is to be found in the document now reposing in the Vatican Archives (Var. polit. XIII [E.2404], f. 827ff.). The effort should be constituted, the author said, as a three-pronged attack: an exposure of the Magdeburgers' true intentions (i.e., insurrection); a new systematic theology (acknowledging the power of chapter four, "On doctrine," and of the *Syntagma*); and a proper church history (i.e., an institutional history). The author doubted that people could be found readily, who had the requisite industry, intelligence, and sincerity to make a successful refutation of the Magdeburg Centuries.

Many individuals also attempted to refute the ecclesiastical history of the north. To indicate at what levels of scholarship and rank in the church the debate was being pursued, just a few examples are offered here. The French chronologer, Gilbert Genebrard (1537-1597),[13] and the renouned scholar of Roman antiquities, Onofrio Panvinio (1530-1568),[14]

---

[13]The Regius Professor of Hebrew at the University of Paris, but more famous for his historical studies, Genebrard composed his shorter work on the Mass against the Lutherans, and specifically against the centuriators, *Traicte de la liturgie ou s. messe selon, l'usage et forme des apostres, & de leur disciple Sainct Denys, apostre des François, 2. ed.* [corrected by the author] (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1594). But in his most extensive chronographical studies, he noted that the French--like the Romans--had great libraries and weighty responsibility to write history, "but expecially to confirm the truth and progress of the church and of catholic doctrine against the fakeries of the Magdeburg rhapsodes" (dedicatory epistle of *Chronographiae libri quatuor....vniuersae historiae speculum, in Ecclesiae praesertim saeculo, a mendaciis, malis, imposturis Centuriatorum, aliorumque haereticorum detersum* [Paris: 1584, 1600])--note the full subtitle. Finally, Heinrich Hurter noted that Genebrard left behind, when he died, many other works in manuscript form against the Centuriators (*Nomenclator literarius theologiae catholicae* [Oenipontae: Wagner, 1903-1913], III, 269-271, especially p. 270).

[14]Burckhardt, *Johannes Basilius Herold*, pp. 56-60 (also pp. 65-70). In the posthumously published (by Marcantonio Cardinal Columna) *De primatu Petri et apostolicae sedis potestate, libri tres*...nunc primum

were involved in the general goal of offering a positive corrective to the noxious sentiments of the Magdeburg Centuries. The impact of the Magdeburg Centuries on Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621) was decisive: the refutation gave shape and impetus to his lifelong scholarly activities.[15] And finally, Cesare Baronio (1538-1607), persuaded by Philip Neri to refute the Magdeburg Centuries with a monumental counter-history, produced his *Annales ecclesiastici*, thereby paying the centuriators their ultimate compliment: while he refuted their history with a massive study of his own, he never mentioned their name.[16]

---

editi contra Centuriarum auctores (Veronae: H. Discipulus, 1589; Venetiis: Franciscus Senensis, 1591), the refutation was a point-by-point analysis and counter-argument. It would be naive, however, to suppose that the great *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* (Coloniae: Maternus Cholinus, 1568; Lovanii: Joannes Bogardus, 1573) did not use the heretical historical studies of the Magdeburgers, despite disavowals. In that great chronicle, Panvinio noted, under the year 1560--a slim year for good news--

> Auctores Magdeburgenses falsae & perniciosissimae historiae tres primas centurias, Matthia Flacco Illyrico auctore confectas, publicarunt.

[15]E. A. Ryan, *The Historical Scholarship of Saint Bellarmine*, Recueil de travaux publies par les memberes des Conferences d'Histoire et de Philologie, 2° Serie, 35° Fascicule (Louvain: Universite de Louvain, 1936), summarized brilliantly the background of the Magdeburg Centuries (pp. 8-12). Throughout the work, Ryan correctly identified the way in which the several chapters ("capita") and commonplaces ("loci") of the Magdeburg Centuries gave shape and direction to Bellarmino's counter-arguments, both in terms of content and in terms of methodology. See also Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius*, III, 91-94, especially p. 93.

[16]Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius*: Counter-Reformation Historian (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press [1975]), misrepresented the intent of the centuriators (p. xii) and the background material for the Magdeburg Centuries (drawing only on Pontien Polman): thus, he could not help but go awry (pp. 49-52), as he discussed Baronio and the Magdeburg Centuries. The story, according to Pullapilly, was one of personal persuasion by Neri on Baronio, to refute the Protestant history, quite disconnected from the official work of the curial court. Very hard to imagine such isolation, when all the principals were in Rome! Thus, the leads given by Joseph Schmid and Paul Maria Baumgarten for new areas of exploration in the Vatican library and archives were not taken up: neither of these two works was even cited.

In conclusion, three summary observations can be made. First, if the quality of one's enemies indicates anything about the significance and value of one's work, then the significance and value of the Magdeburg Centuries were major problems for the Catholic ecclesiastics and scholars of the end of the sixteenth century. Some of the best minds of the age pondered the weighty arguments of the centuriators and responded themselves in ponderous tomes. Second, the opponents' assessment of the position of Flacius in Protestantism of the north is also significant. The most telling example was the first one, that of Konrad Braun, who joined the names of Luther and Flacius repeatedly. So far as the Bavarian intellectuals and court were concerned, Flacius had become the heir and exponent of Luther's cause and thus the Illyrian shared in Luther's opprobrium. Third, one might quibble with the title given by Andreas Burckhardt to the period 1552 to 1560: "Vorspiel zu den Magdeburger Centurien."[17] It is always dangerous to prefix the names of movements with "pre-" or "proto-." But historiographically one can posit the proposition that the refutation of the Magdeburg Centuries gave direction, shape, and even content (in the negative sense) to the Catholic histories and history writing of the last third of the sixteenth century. Thus, the "Nachspiel zu den Magdeburger Centurien" is the story of the Catholic ecclesiastical history tradition, far more successful in its refutation than the Protestants or Lutherans were in the continuation of the Magdeburg Centuries.

---

[17] *Johannes Basilius Herold*, p. 19.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONTINUATORS

The tradition of continuing the Magdeburg Centuries to a state of completion began in Wigand's lifetime with the "Stangwald project." So far as can be determined from the records, nothing came of this project. Next, the task fell to several historians of the seventeenth century, with no tangible results. The final major attempt to continue the Magdeburg Centuries did result in the beginnings of a new edition, from 1757 to 1766, the Nürnberg edition: alas, also incomplete. This was the last attempt made to continue the original work, an attempt that already found itself severely criticized.

The Stangwald Project

Andreas Stangwald is an important, though enigmatic, figure in the history of the Magdeburg Centuries.[1] His name was closely related to

---

[1]Little is known about Stangwald. His eponym was: Candidatus theologiae et Borussicus (or variant of the same, occasionally the final word Prutenus). He matriculated in Königsberg in the summer of 1557 (*Die Matrikel des Alberts-Universität zu Königsberg in Preussen*, hrsg. von Georg Erler [Leipzig: Dunker & Hemboldt, 1910-1917]), as: Andreas Stangenwald Hollandinus; and in Jena in the winter of 1569 as: Andr. Stangwald, Holandien. (*Matrikel*, I, 314). Holland was a village in Prussia.

The entry in the Helmstedt matriculation dated 14 May 1580, as edited by Paul Zimmermann is: Michael Stangewalt, Prutenus (*Album Academiae Helmstadiensis*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hannover, Oldenburg, Braunschweig, Schaumburg-Lippe und Bremen, 9[1] [Hannover: 1926], p. 27 [the accompanying index volume has not been published]). The entry can be explained in one of three ways. First, the man named Michael might have

Flacius, through a misreading of Preger's biography of the Illyrian,[2] in encyclopedia and dictionary articles. The key source for the analysis of Preger was the letter of Philipp Nicolai to Schlüsselburg, as printed in the Schlüsselburg epistolarium and "rediscovered" by Thomas Crenius (i.e.,

---

been a relative of Andreas Stangwald; that is, there were two men, one named Michael and one named Andreas. Second, the name might have been misread: Michael for Andreas; that is, there was only one person, Andreas, whose name was mistaken in the matriculation. These two conjectures are, however, unlikely. The third conjecture is quite persuasive: the original text might have had only the letter "M," as Stangwald occasionally signed his name "M. Stangwald"; that is, there was only one person and the edition of the matriculation is in error. The original matriculation has been lost. The edition has been made from a copy with all names spelled in full; it is unlikely that all names in the original were written in full. The specially commissioned "Studienlisten für Herzog Julius" of August 1582 listed in position 357, July 14, "M. Stangwolt Borussus." No further clarification has been possible, because there is no other reference to either a Michael or to an Andreas Stangwald in the official records of the University of Helmstedt, even though it is known that Andreas paid at least four, if not more, visits to the Julian Academy.

[2] In Preger's biography (*Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, II, 428), the full connection of the extant letter to the context of the history is lacking. Preger, after all, was blinded to other possibilities; he said: Flacius hat an der dreizehnten Centurie nicht mehr mitgearbeitet. He could not imagine another possibility and the thought that Flacius had not worked on the first twelve was unthinkable. The sense of these words by Preger was, in part, perpetuated in the article, "Flacius," in the *Realencyclopädie der Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3. Aufl. (6 [1889], 82-92), by G[ustav] Kawerau. On the one hand, Kawerau said (p. 90):

> Die Centurie 7.-13. wurden hauptsächlich durch Wigand in Wismar ausgearbeitet. Wigand und dann Stangewald haben hernach an den 3 noch ausstehenden Centurien gearbeitet ohne sie zum Abschluss zu bringen....

The corrective was already there in this part of the Kawerau article. On the other hand, Kawerau was inconsistent: he repeated Preger's thoughts about the composers of the last published volume. He said (also p. 90), when discussing the volume numbers and dates of publication: die 13. [Centurie]--an der Fl[acius] wegen des Erbsündenstreites nicht mehr gearbeitet hat--1574. With that inconsistency, it was always easy to retrofit the other information of the Preger biography that spoke of Flacian participation in the composition. Thus, through the complete biography of Preger, and through inconsistency in the most widely used German encyclopedia article, the impression has been given that Flacius remained involved for a long time, that Wigand cooperated with Flacius, and that Stangwald succeeded Flacius and Wigand.

Crusius).[3] While Preger cited only the first six lines, the letter is of such major importance for the fate of the Magdeburg Centuries, that it warrants a full translation:

> ...Many years have elapsed since Andreas Stangwald was with us and indicated to you that a deal had been made at that time on behalf of the famous Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia, namely, that he would finish the last three centuries of the Magdeburg church history, nearly completed and almost ended by the authors, and that he would accurately prepare them for printing.
>
> Indeed, that report was for me by far the happiest thing to hear; actually, I have used that work with a sense of gratitude for almost forty years. I had no greater preference than that there be a continuation through the last three centuries long ago, or that it be continued [beyond that]. But since I have no further word about a plan of continuation, except that hardly a moment afterward [after the plan was made known], our Stangwald was reported to have spent his [last] day. And a specially designated successor to the task has not replaced him. I was always sorry, with you, when you made your journey there and had very kindly invited me for dinner, that this was not discussed at greater length. But as that fellow said: sufferings [are my] teacher.[4] And the saddest fates of great men tender us much efficacious advice about things that we would otherwise hardly take thought to ponder.
>
> Therefore, I ask you--please do not be vexed--that you at your earliest opportunity tell me: Where does the matter rest? And is that very well ordered library still safe, set up as it was for these purposes by the authors in D. Wigand's home? And those last three centuries, not yet published, are they finished? Or do they appear to be near the day

---

[3] Preger noted that Thomas Crusius had printed the letter of Nicolai to Schlüsselburg; in Crusius, *Animadversiones*, VI, 72-72, the full text of the letter is to be found; in Schlüsselburg, *Studium ecclesiae*, epistol. CLV, pp. 501-503, the first printing is to be found. It was on the basis of the "rediscovery" by Crusius that Sagittarius made a special point of the connection between the Magdeburg Centuries with Stangwald (*Introductio*, i, 240-282). Crenius' suggestion that Nicolai was the author is substantiated by Schlüsselburg's index (*Studium ecclesiae*, p. A5r), even though the letter is not fully addressed. Scheible, "Der Plan," p. 121, footnote 1, noted simply, "N.N. an Schlüsselburg, o.O. 1605."

[4] The saying, "παθήματα μαθήματα," is, of course, not new; it was used often by Plato. But it was made famous by the Lydian Croesus pondering his end in Herodotus (I, 207).

> of publication? We do see and read the compendium of Lucas Osiander. But it is not what we really want. I often deplore the Prussian Schism [the split between Wigand and Heshusius]. And I know, at least in part, how much it damaged the public weal. But I think that these interruptions and burdens are not the least of the very serious problems of that work that really deserves immortality. Cesare Baronio, the Cardinal (shortly perhaps to become Pope, as they rumor it), in his Annals, endeavors to strengthen the idols of his old papacy from every ancient cranny. Among us, there seems to be a number of outstanding [scholars] who are also to be numbered among those who could counter-argue Baronio's instults and corruptions of true history, based on pious antiquity.

The date of the printed text, 1605, was substantiated by the reference to the rumor that Baronio was being promoted as a candidate for the papacy. But caution: when Nicolai said that he benefitted from his reading of the Magdeburg Centuries for "almost forty years," one must pause, realizing he alleged to have begun reading the tomes in 1565, at the age of nine.

Several features of the letter concern relationships and events between Nicolai and Schlüsselburg not documented elsewhere. At an undefined time, Schlüsselburg paid a visit and had dinner with Nicolai, after Stangwald had died,[5] presumably when Nicolai was the pastor of St. Katherine's in Hamburg and Schlüsselburg was in Stargard or Wismar. The matter was discussed, but not at length. Nicolai was also in Wigand's home often and saw there a good part of the library that had been used for the Magdeburg Centuries. On the one hand, the information is very instructive; on the other hand, it is too sketchy to be determinative about the contents of Wigand's library or precisely where it was located.[6]

---

[5]The expression "suum diem obijsse" probably means that he spent his last day on earth, i.e., met his appointment with death. The possibility cannot be eliminated that Nicolai, the poet, was speaking metaphorically, that Stangwald had met obligations to Wigand, but had not died.

[6]An intimate personal connection between Wigand and Nicolai has not been documented; the home may have been in Wismar, Jena, Königsberg, or Liebemühl--or even Wigand's former house in Wismar after he had left.

An actual contract, agreement, commitment, or official exchange with the Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia, and Stangwald has not been located either in the "Herzogliche Briefarchiv" or in "États Ministerium" of the Prussian ducal archives in Göttingen through the use of the "Findbücher." If the information is there, it is either not indexed or indexed incorrectly. The irony is that the Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia, was a nephew of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Sigismund, also a Brandenburg Margrave. If the Prussian Margrave actually supported the continuation of the Magdeburg Centuries, then the patronage had come full circle: the history was originally begun in part to refute the Adiaphorist and Interimist claims that put the Magdeburg Margrave on the cathedra, but was to be supported to its completion by the Prussian Margrave.

As Nicolai was describing the consequences of an incomplete Magdeburg Centuries, he immediately made reference to the "Schisma Prutenicum," the terrible controversy between Wigand and Heshusius.

In 1576, until 1577 and perhaps 1578, Wigand worked on Century XVI in Liebemühl.[7] In one of the rare bits of personal information about Stangwald,[8] the following points were made. First, he was a student at

---

[7] Scheible Stangwald, "Der Plan," pp. 117-119, based on evidence of Cod. guelf. 6.5 Aug. 2°.

[8] The document is a letter by Andreas Stangwald to Wolfgang Ewart (Wolf Eberhardt), a member of the court of Julius, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. The letter itself was wrapped around a document, "Testimonia," a letter of reference for Stangwald signed by the Rostock theological faculty: Simon Pauli, Lucas Backmeister, David Chytraeus, and Valentinus Schachtius, and dated 29 May 1582. The Stangwald letter is an autograph, Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, 2 Alt 14942, ff. 4, 8. The two manuscripts (14942 and 14943) are hereafter cited as "Editiones I" and "Editiones II," the binder's title. The old numbering scheme (used in old indices and references) is: Landesverwaltung bis circa 1666: XVI. Religionssachen, 16 (for both volumes; the second volume does not have a separate or distinctive numbering in the old form).

the University of Jena, corroborated by the matriculation. Second, he spent many years in the "Schola Bartstenensi" under the patronage of Urban Wunderlich, "consulem Reipub. Bartstenensi."[9] Third, he was in the household of Achatius Redichius.[10] And fourth, he had come from there to Henricopolis, i.e., to Wolfenbüttel.

The undated letter of Stangwald, wrapped around the "Testimonia" of the University of Rostock, belongs to the early correspondence with the secretary of Duke Julius of May 1584. Stangwald had worked with or for Wigand in the late 1570s. According to the first major theological periodical, *Unschuldige Nachrichten*,[11] Andreas Stangwald was announcing very ambitious

---

[9]The town "Bartstenensis" (adjectival form) is, no doubt, Bartstein. The other designation for Stangwald, "Hollandinus," is a reference to the town of Holland. Both of these towns are in the diocese of Pomezania, and in both of them Wigand conducted church visitations and conferences for the subscription of the Book of Concord.

The person to whom Stangwald referred, Urban Wunderlich, has not been identified in other contemporary information about the town or about other relations of the Bishop of Pomezania with his flock.

[10]The form of the name, "Redichius," suggests that something was lost or added in the process of latinization. If it is Achatius Redlich, then this is perhaps the same person who matriculated in 1563 at the University of Rostock (*Matrikel*, I, 150) with the eponym, "Prutenus." If Stangwald was a school teacher, as seems to be the case from the Ewart letter, then it is possible that Redlich was a colleague in the town school.

No bibliographical references of any kind and no other mention in the town's records for this period--they are quite rare--have been found to validate the name Achatz Redlich or Stangwald's work and/or relationship with him. Efforts have also been made with variations on the name Redlich (e.g., Redichius, Redlichius, Rediger, Rhediger, Rödiger, Rhedinger, Rhödinger, etc.).

[11](Leipzig: 1708), pp. 149-150. The review article was reprinted, complete and unchanged, as the article on Andreas Stangwald in the so-called Zedler Lexicon (*Grosses vollständige Universal-Lexikon*, 39 [Leipzig/Halle: Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1732-1750 {1754}], cols. 1154-1155). Through the publication of the article in the Zedler Lexicon, the name Stangwald has been brought into modern encyclopedias and dictionaries, but with only the one piece of information. A copy of the booklet, *Historia et acta eorum, quae de religione a Luthero usque sunt agitata* (1582), has not been discovered in either American or European libraries.

intentions, indeed. No later than 1582, he proposed to publish a seven-volume history of the sixteenth century, about which the author of the review article--probably the editor of the journal, Valentin Ernst Löscher --said, "it was surely a shame that at least this very last useful volume did not come to be." The material was divided by Stangwald into the following parts ("tomi"): (1) To 1530; (2) To 1546; (3) To 1582; (4) The acts of the Council of Trent; (5) Martin Chemnitz' *Examen*, together with the *Supplementa* and *Apologia*; (6) On the Interim and Synergism, together with a "harmonia" of the papacy, Judaism, and paganism; (7) On the Augsburg Confession (the earliest Latin and German texts), the Apology of the Augsburg Confession with its variants, the papal Confutation, Luther's Apology of the Confession, the Hebrew translation by Johannes Clajus (1533-1592) and the Greek translation by Paulus Dolscius (1526-1589), the verse translation by the poet Ludwig Helmboldt (1532-1598), the history of the subscribing to the Augsburg Confession, research on difficult passages in the Confession and Apology, a refutation against Caspar von Schwenckfeld (1489-1561) and Andreas Fabricius (+1581), specifically Fabricius' *Harmonia confessionis Augustanae doctrinae evangelicae consensum declarans* (Coloniae: Maternus Cholinus, 1573),[12] and the Württembergian, Thuringian, Magdeburgian, Radzivilian, and Antwerpian Lutheran confessions. Although the editor of the review in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* suggested a Helmstedt imprint for the pamphlet by Stangwald, the University of Rostock's theological faculty signed the "Testimonia" for Stangwald on 29 May 1582.

Stangwald approached the Braunschweig-Lüneburg court for financial

---

[12] The "consensus" Fabricius was attempting to reach was not an ecumenical agreement, but rather agreement about the refutation of evangelical doctrine by Johann Cochlaeus, Johannes Hoffmeister, Jehan van Deventer, and Alfonso de Virves, staunch opponents of the Augsburg Confession.

support in the summer of 1584.[13] Through the good offices of the "Dechanat" Johann Malsius and of the court secretary Wolfgang Ewart, letters were exchanged for thirteen months, but most of it from May to August 1584. The collected bits and pieces of correspondence and the supportive documentation have not been cited heretofore, perhaps because the material in the archives was incorrectly labeled in the indexes as relating to Bible editions and Stangwald himself was indexed as a Bible translator.[14] The most important single document in the exchange is the "Elenchus," part of which is also to be found in the collection of the Manuscript Division of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, labeled as a probable Flacius autograph![15]

---

[13]The introduction to Ewart was done by Johann Malsius (Malzius). "Editiones I," ff. 1r-v (28 May 1584), 10r-v (17 [18] July 1584), Wolfenbüttel. An opinion was given by the "Decanus & Professores facultatis theologicae" of the Helmstedt University on 9 July 1584; the names on the document are ("Editiones II," ff. 19-24): Tilemann Heshusius, Malsius, Daniel Hofman, and Basilius Satler (original spelling). Malsius was not on the faculty at this time in an official capacity.

[14]The archivist's title on the packet of papers is: M. Andreas Stangwald aus Preussen vorhabende correctn editiones der Bibel, auch Lutheri, Melanchthonis und anderer Theologen Schriften it. einige von ihm selbst verfertigte Bucher betrf. wobey Bedencken von Chemnitio und der theologischen Fakultät zu Helmstedt über diesen Institution a. 1584.-1585. Two words might be troublesome: the word "editiones" is ambiguous in this context, meaning either "books" or "a collection of books on display"; and the word "institution" might mean either a "plan" or "an organization or institution that implements a plan."

[15]The Göttingen manuscript is Hs 265, ff. 72ff. The full text of the "Elenchus" is given in Documents IV, 4. The annotations in the Göttingen copy appear to be those of Ewart, but further on-site verification must be done before that conjecture can be established with precision. The full text of the "Elenchus" is in a secretarial hand with interlinear and marginal corrections in the hand of Stangwald. The hand of the "Elenchus" is surprisingly similar to other materials in the Wigand library that is today to be found in Wolfenbüttel, but further verification is necessary.

The most important part of the "Elenchus" is the fifteen-part "Praecipuae classes Editionum mearum praecipuarum" (f. 34r ff.). There are no reliable dates in the original manuscript holograph or in the drafts of parts of the holograph. All of the seven-part proposal of 1582 can be subsumed under the larger fifteen-part plan.

By 1584, Stangwald's project had become expanded almost beyond recognition, a fifteen-part enterprise that would have necessitated a special research institute, access to library and documentary materials, availability of large numbers of trained scholars. The title of the project itself, "Praecipuae classes Editionum mearum praecipuarum," might imply that this is but part of an even larger enterprise! It is also clear, however, that Stangwald was discussing not only a research institute and library that had to be provided for him, but also materials that he himself possessed or had access to for copying purposes either at the time or earlier in his career.

As a mere token of the riches to which he had had access and also as a token of the gratitude to the Braunschweig-Lüneburg prince, Stangwald gave Duke Julius on 10 August 1584 a wonderful gift: the fourteenth-century manuscript, "Descriptio metrica et prosaica diversorum animalium interiectis picturis" and "Biblia pauperum latine vel registrum concordancie V et N Testamenti," now known as Cod. guelf. 35a Helmst. 2°.[16] The dedication, in Stangwald's hand, was made on 10 August 1584, corroborated with other exchanges of the same day. The generous Duke gave Stangwald 10 Dalar (thaler) for travel purposes, for which Stangwald signed a receipt and tendered effusive thanks.[17] Among his many credentials, Stangwald carried along on this

---

[16] In the von Heinemann catalogue (*Die Handschriften*, I.1, p. 27), one reads: Nach einer f.1 befindlichen Notiz ward "diese Antiquitet" am 10. August 1584 dem Herzoge Julius von Andreas Stang, "Borussus und Candidatus," verehrt. On 20 February 1912, Gustav Milchsack (at the time, librarian of the Herzog August Bibliothek) correcte d the transcription in the von Heinemann catalogue to "Stangwald." The original manuscript's dedication cannot be read with the naked eye, but the critical portion--the beginning of the third line--stands out clearly and distinctly with the help of ultraviolet light.

[17] "Editiones II," ff. 41, 49A, and 49B. There had been a colloquy with the faculty in Helmstedt (25 May 1584) and an opinion (4 August 1584).

particular meeting with Duke Julius some persuasive references and papers by David Chytraeus.[18]

The fact that there had been earlier contacts between Stangwald and Chytraeus is substantiated on three grounds. First, Chytraeus made specific reference to such a relationship in his own hand.[19] The content does not help further, in Chytraeus' letter, to understand the substance of their interaction. Second, Otto Friedrich Schütz, Chytraeus' biographer, noted specifically that Chytraeus was involved with Stangwald in working out the materials of recent, i.e., sixteenth-century, history.[20] Chytraeus possessed a magnificent library himself, both books and manuscripts. And third, a letter by Polycarp Leyser (1552-1610) to Lucas Osiander (1534-1604), dated 11 June 1591, sheds light on the matter.[21] While it might be

---

[18]"Editiones I," ff. 17-22, 23-28, also ff. 5-7. It is very difficult to say what Stangwald put into Duke Julius' hands at this time. Of course, the materials in the Lower Saxon Archives are from the Duke's own chancery; it is not certain, however, when they came into the Duke's possession. The interesting correspondence is between Chytraeus and Johann Witzendorff of Lüneburg. The materials have not been edited or published to date, but deserve careful research for the biography of Chytraeus.

[19]*Epistolae nunc demum in lucem editae a D. Chytraeo authoris filio....* (Hanoviae: Wechel [apud haeredem J. Aubrii], 1614), p. 910.

[20]*Supplementa historiae ecclesiasticae imprimis lutheranae ad dimidium secul. xvi quatuor libris exposita, quibus continetur Dau. Chytraei vita....* (Hamburg: Christian Guilielmus Brandt, 1720-1728), III, 252. The material covered in the early parts of "Editiones I" seems to have been available to Schütz, but it cannot be ascertained whether the particular copies in the ducal chancery of Braunschweig-Lüneburg were actually used. The Chytraeus-Witzendorff correspondence in Wolfenbüttel is the original autograph epistolarium.

[21]Ludwig Melchior Fischlin, *Memoria theologorum Wirtembergensium*, h.e. biographia praecipuorum virorum, qui a tempore Reformationis usque ad hanc nostram aetatem partim in Ducatu Wirtembergico Verbum Domini docuerunt, partim extra suam hanc Patriam vocati Ecclesiae Christi aliis in terris inservierunt.... (Ulmae: Georg Wilhelm Kühn, 1709), II, 322-324.

dangerous to put too much stock in the precision of recollections years after an event, Leyser appeared to use Stangwald's own words, or at least paraphrase as closely as he could, when he said:

> [Stangwald planned] to produce for the public a history of the public meetings, held in [pursuit of] *the controverted causes of religion* between the Protestants and the Pontificials, from the beginning of the purged doctrine [e.g., Luther].

While this may have been only part of a larger plan, Leyser--and presumably also Stangwald--did not say so. That was a far cry from the seven-part project that was proposed in 1582 and the fifteen-part project that was proposed in 1584. Leyser also noted that he was alerted six years earlier (i.e., in 1585), to an attempt by Stangwald to review and make recommendations on the original project, with signatures from the theological faculty of the University of Rostock, at a time when Stangwald was in Chytraeus' household ("in aedibus Chytraei"). Either the time interval was mistaken, for Rostock had made recommendations in 1582; or the theological faculty acted twice, in 1582 and in 1585. Leyser was politely skeptical that Stangwald could carry out the project to completion. At that moment, it was Stangwald's plan to seek a subsidy from the Württemberg court and to get letters of reference ("promotoriales") to gain access to the papers of the Weimar archives. Leyser asked for Osiander's intercession in Stangwald's behalf and for Osiander's own review of the project, that is, of the notion that the Magdeburg Centuries or the history of the sixteenth century should be brought up to date and completed. Finally, one can safely sum up Leyser's communication as something far less than a wholehearted endorsement of the project and an unequivocal prediction of its eventual success. At the same time, that leaves unanswered the question whether Leyser's suggestion to Lucas Osiander was in any way instrumental

in prompting Osiander to produce or finish his own *Epitomes historiae ecclesiasticae*, based on the Magdeburg Centuries, the first volume of which was completed and published in 1592, the year after the letter by Leyser.[22]

The evidence is incomplete, but a picture emerges whose lines may be blurred, but whose images begin to be distinguishable. Stangwald's projects, in their many forms, were more or less continuous; they are all proposals to work on the history of the sixteenth century, more or less extensively. But there is no explicit connection with Johann Wigand, or even a single mention of his name by Stangwald, early or late, although it was acknowledged by others that Stangwald was working for Wigand on the Magdeburg Centuries. There are two important observations that can be made about this strange silence by Stangwald.

First, when Stangwald approached Duke Julius, he was proposing a major project to the very man who first sheltered Tileman Heshusius after he was forced from Prussia: Duke Julius made Heshusius Professor theologiae at the new Academia Julia, the University of Helmstedt.[23] Both the ministerium of Braunschweig, led by Chemnitz, and the theological faculty of the University of Helmstedt, led by Kirchner, condemned Wigand for the Prutenic Schism. It would have been sheer folly and a sign of political naiveté--if not affront--on Stangwald's part to request assistance for continuing a project of Heshusius' enemy, the Bishop of Pomezania, Johann Wigand.

Second, the letter by Nicolai would prompt the observer to go even

---

[22] See below,

[23] Helmstedt, *Album*, pp. 372-374, also p. 16. There did not appear to be a moment's hesitation on Julius' part to offer a position to Heshusius nor a moment's hesitation on Heshusius' part to accept. After Michaelis 1577, Heshusius was dean of the theological faculty.

further. It is not enough to say that Stangwald did not claim to assist Wigand because of the conflict between Wigand and Heshusius. The famed hymnographer of Hamburg deplored the Prutenic Schism: it had harmed the common weal. The context is clearly Stangwald's historical work. Pomezania did not support Wigand unequivocally. Some pastors resisted the "solutions" of Königsberg in 1577.[24] Both Bartstein and Holland, familiar ground for Stangwald, resisted Wigand and required extensive negotiation and transfers to be pacified. The words of Nicolai make sense only if Stangwald was among those who turned against Wigand and joined with Heshusius. Then the rest of the detail falls into place: Chytraeus had also spoken on behalf of Heshusius at the time of the "Schisma Prutenica"; Stangwald approached Heshusius' protector and got opinions from Heshusius' university to convince Duke Julius that he deserved support. If Stangwald had made early commitments to the Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia, then those commitments were abrogated; papers are not in the files where one expect to find them and may have been removed when the conditions of an agreement were no longer valid.

---

[24] Christophorus Hartknoch, *Preussische Kirchen=Historia/* Darinnen Von Einführung der Christlichen Religion in diese Lande/ wie auch von der Conservation/ Fortpflantzung/ Reformation und dem heutigen Zustande derselben ausführlich gehandelt wird....(Franckfurt am Mayn und Leipzig: Simon Beckenstein [Dantzig], 1686), pp. 479-485. The Heshusius support is only detailed so far as the pastors are concerned (p. 486). The pastor of Holland was among those that were forcibly removed from office and replaced by someone favorably inclined to Wigand (p. 483).

The Prutenic Schism was reviewed at the Colloquy of Quedlinburg, 31 January 1583, where Johann Malsius and Wolfgang Ewart--as well as Heshusius, Nicolai, Leyser, Corner, Selneccer, Kirchner, Hofmann, Sattler, and others were in attendance. It is tempting to suspect that this was one possible moment when the Stangwald project could have been proposed to members of the Braunschweig-Lüneburg court. See Leonard Hutter, *Concordia concors:* De origine et progressu formulae concordiae ecclesiarum confessionis augustanae....(Witebergae: Clemens Berger [Meissner], 1614), f. 313r.

The Seventeenth Century

The effort to continue the Magdeburg Centuries was joined, in part with the professorship of ancient history at the University of Helmstedt, thereby creating issues and controversies with the rivals and opponents of that chair from time to time. The tradition was not, however, limited to that place and to that office or officer. And, as noted below, the tradition remained a living challenge for scholars of history until well into the eighteenth century, at Helmstedt and elsewhere.

Gebhard Theodor Meier (1633-1693) became a theological professor at Helmstedt at the age of twenty seven (1660) and taught a total of thirt nine years at the Julian University. He was honored with the abbacy of Klosterbergen in 1686 for his learning and piety.

One of his first major scholarly tasks was to prepare for publication the full two-volume epitome of ancient history by Christopher Heidman (+1627), a history textbook of wide acclaim and use, based on the four monarchies (Vol. 1, monarchies one to three; Vol. 2, monarchy four),[25] a work that had previously been published only in truncated form (monarchy four, only). His major contribution as a historian, according to Friedric Ulrich Calixt, was in the field of historical theology, as he developed an appropriate hermeneutic on which he could base an ecclesiastical theology.

---

[25] Christopher Heidmann, *Prima [Secunda] pars epitome historicae....* cura Gebhardi Theod. Meieri (Helmstadii, In Typographo Calixtino, 1660). The second volume carried no indication on the title page--or elsewhere--that Meier had anything to do with the content or publication.

[26] The published version of the funeral services and orations for Meier, *Die dem Rechsten schuldige Liebens= und Lebens=Pflicht....bey der*

Although part of Meier's salary was derived from a chartered obligation to continue the Magdeburg Centuries, he did not appear to have taken that condition of his professorship seriously. And there is no indication that he made a major effort to meet that obligation, thereby leaving himself open to the barbs and ridicule of his rivals in Jena.[27]

Not long after his death, proposals to rework and extend the Magdeburg Centuries were made, at about the same time, in both Danzig (1696) and Helmstedt (1700).[28]

In Danzig, Johann Gottlieb Möller reviewed his work, already in progress, on the Magdeburg Centuries. His first examination of the actual text of the Magdeburg Centuries was prompted in part by his previous analysis of the Ludwig Lucius edition (Basel: 1624), a critique that he had

---

*BeErdigung des weiland Hoch Ehrwürdigen und Hochgelahrten Herrn, Herrn Gebh. Theodori Meiers....*vorgestellet von Johanne Rittmejern....(Helmstädt: Georg-Wolffgang Hamm, 1694), Oratio, pp. R2v-T2v (the entire oration by Calixt, pp. Q1r-V2v).

[27]Sagittarius, from Jena, could not resist tweaking his rival, *Introductio in historiam ecclesiasticam et singulas eius partes....*([Jena] Henrici Christophori Crückeri, 1694), p. 182 (incorrectly paged, for 282):

> Denique lectorem benevolum celare nequeo, quod jam a compluribus annis, celebris Theologus Helmstadiensis, D. Gebhardus Theodorus Meierus, in continuandis Centuriis Magdeburgensibus occupatus sit, & ut eo fortius Ducum Brunsvvico-Luneburgensium liberalitate sublevari mereatur. Annuat Deus Opt. Max coeptis istis, faciatque, ut tam egregius labor brevi finiatur, magnumque Ecclesiae nostrae commodum afferat.

It is an added irony that Johann Andreas Schmid let this passage stand in the second edition, unchanged, when Meier had been dead for twenty-five years.

[28]Johann Andreas Schmid explained the coincidence: Post haec, nondum a me visa Molleri recensione laudata [ad hunc enim terrae angulum dissertationes & scripta remotiorum academiarum & gymnasiorum raro, imo rarissime venire solent], in Sagittarius, *Introductio*, 2. ed., II, 135-136. Schmid also said: Interea reliquis hujus viri laboribus, in historiae recensione exhibitis, nihil quicquam detractum volumus, sed ei potius sequentia tempora plurimas debere gratias lubentis profitemur (*Consilium*, p. 10; see below, footnote 9).

published three years earlier.[29] In these theses of 1693, Müller had said that he had begun a historical-critical analysis of the entire Magdeburg Centuries, but had abandoned the effort because of other pressing academic affairs.[30] When he became the city librarian of Danzig, he was encouraged and supported in his efforts by a generous city council.

Müller properly identified as one of the major historical sources for the writing of the Magdeburg Centuries the pamphlet *De ecclesiastica historia* (Magdeburg: 1558). He appreciated also the role and literary work of Marx Wagner. Other observations by Müller were made on the basis of surface evidence, bibliothecal citations and annotations, relating to both the Magdeburg Centuries and related later works. At the end of the dissertation (pp. 19-21), he laid out his full plan for a two-volume treatment of the history and contents of the Magdeburg Centuries, including extended biographical studies on the major participants and patrons of the work. Müller's two-book treatise was never written, so far as can be determined, and further information about Müller's literary manuscripts--if any survive--is lacking.

Kaspar Sagittarius (1643-1694), the historian and librarian of the University of Jena, prepared for the work of continuing the Magdeburg Centuries, but never got beyond the very earliest steps.[31] His companion and

---

[29] *Observationum miscellanearum decadem....benevole censendam offerunt Joh: Göttlieb Müllerus...& Hartmannus Hermannus Müllerus* (Rostochi: Jacob Richel [1693]).

[30] Müller was involved in both the gymnasium and city politics of Danzig; thus he secured the position of city librarian. Note that Wigand's son-in-law brought some of the Bishop's personal library to Danzig (see below, Chapter XI, footnote 13).

[31] Lotte Hiller, *Die Geschichtswissenschaft an der Universität Jena in der Zeit der Polyhistorie (1674-1763)* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1937), p. 74ff.

junior colleague described what had happened to Sagittarius' plan, as he wrote shortly after Sagittarius' death:

> Thirty years ago, the sainted Kaspar Sagittarius, the Saxon historian, at the time my closest colleague in the University of Jena, had pondered proposing the continuation of some centuries and to his very end, he set out to publish his plan for organizing the task, including even other men's ideas. He had commended the entire task to some people with a drafted sample of the fourteenth century--some chapters, that is --to add to those whom he had stimulated to the group already involved [in history writing]. But such were the destinies of the bright ones that the attempts of the young men were scorned, and for those who either were distracted by weightier duties or already had one foot in the grave, such burdens were imposed that they could not carry on, always to the sure and certain detriment of this literary effort. In the preface to the reader, Baronio confessed that he was almost beardless when he began his work, that finally he did the writing when he was sprinkled with gray. If the sainted Sagittarius had had an overseer or promoter at the time when he was inclined to these labors, he would surely have made felicitous advances. He was really a man of firey genius, such that he would rather not undertake a new work than see something through to its completion. From that time on, he wrote and embellished many other works, so many that it hardly seems believable that they were done by one man, occupied at the same time with all kinds of other duties. Nevertheless, lest the thoughts of this man come to naught, I shall not delay showing next these ideas in their complete form, just as he once told me when I was engaged with him in some scholarly work.[32]

It is impossible to say how far Sagittarius had come in the time period of "thirty years ago," i.e., 1670, and his death in 1694.

The year after Sagittarius' death, in 1695, this same young friend, Johann Andreas Schmid (1652-1726), left for Helmstedt, to become Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities and Theology, later also Abbot of Marienthal (in 1699). Thus he was heir to both the Helmstedt continuation tradition of Meier and to the Jena rivalry of Sagittarius. Surely something would come of his efforts! Schmid proposed his plan ("Consilium") as a proposal to bring to completion the original venture of Sagittarius.[33] The thirty-

---

[32] *Consilium quo omnibus protestantium ecclesiarum eruditis Centuriarum Magdeburgensium emendationem, defensionem atque continuationem de meliori nota commendat* (Helmstadi: Jo. Melchior Sustermann, 1700), pp. 2-3.

[33] In his additions to Sagittarius, *Introductio*, that is, to the second edition of the second volume, published in 1718, Schmid said:

four page plan was much more than a call for patronage or assistance, although it was also that. He delivered the plan as an oration on 22 December 1700 in the Museum Hall of the University of Helmstedt. It was a first major assessment of the Magdeburg Centuries within a much larger historical and historiographical framework: origins, progress, destiny, opposition, mistakes, commendations. When viewed in conjunction with his great teacher's description,[34] an impressive amount of information about the Magdeburg Centuries was known, at least in broad outline, by 1700. Schmid saw as the immediate background for the writing of the Magdeburg Centuries, the centuriators' apologetic on the reconciliation of innovation: How could Christian doctrine entertain the introduction of new or novel ideas (pp. 1-2)? The answer, said Schmid, was to assemble the full weight, the larger picture, of the church's history, which the centuriators did, and to show by the fuller story what constituted genuine innovation. The details of the background and biography were precise and well documented (pp. 3-10). He then sketched the Catholic adversaries' writings against the Magdeburg Centuries and the assessments of scholars in the intervening hundred and forty years (pp. 10-20). The history of the continuators, he said, began with Andreas Corvinus, then with Andreas Stangwald, Ludwig Lucius, and Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649)--all of whom failed to produce what they had promised. The story ended with Sagittarius.

The final plan itself was quite brief (pp. 24-34). He enumerated the major points, twenty nine of them. They were not steps or phases in a proposal for action, but rather principles to which people could subscribe

---

specialitim de B. Sagittarii consilio, quod de suscipienda centuriarum continuatione conceperat (*Introductio*, 2. ed., II, 136).

[34] Sagittarius, *Introductio*, I, 240-282 (same in both editions) and II, 134-151 (2. ed. only). See also Hiller, *Die Geschichtswissenschaft*, p. 74.

who agreed with Schmid and who desired to become participants in the project. Where the principles dealt with matters of texts and documents, little change can be detected from the centuriators' own working principles. The effect of the first nineteen points, however, requires further comment.

The basic theme or purpose was proposed to be: the glory of God, the edification of His church, the propagation of reliable learning, the assistance of young men in their studies, not vain honor or private gain or some human advantage. Points two to nineteen were intended to put an end to partisanship in the writing of ecclesiastical history and to let the truth shine forth, based on the finest textual and bibliographical effort that could be put forth: pure, impartial erudition. The statement of purpose had no contact or commonality with "the decline of the church and the steadfastness of the seven thousand who forever detested the abominations of Antichrist," as Flacius proposed almost one hundred and fifty years earlier.

Thus, the basic character of the work was to be severely altered. Combining the chapters on peace and persecution of the church with martyrs was perhaps trivial, at most, a misunderstanding of the general/special rule of the centuriators. Restructuring and radical redefinitions were proposed, however, for the chapters on doctrine, on heresies, on schisms, on the councils, on bishops and doctors, on miracles, on Jews, and on political changes. The result would have been a history structured chiefly around biographies and explications of narrative historic texts, with summary statements of official or corporate documents. These options were precisely those that had been examined in detail, discussed thoroughly, proposed openly, and then rejected by the original centuriators as highly undesirable.

Schmid's ultimate plan was a three-part effort, as already indicated in the title of the printed version: (1) to correct what had been found to

to be in error, (2) to defend the work agianst those who ridicule and object, and (3) to continue, that is, complete Century XIV, Century XV, Century XVI, and Century XVII. Schmid solicited assistance and scholarly contributions so that his printer--and, in the modern sense, literary agent--Sustermann could attend the Frankfurt and Leipzig fairs, presumably to seek subscriptions for the final publication.

Earlier Schmid had noted the example of Baronio: a whole man and a whole life, freed from other cares, not burdened with debt to survive and sufficiently instructed in the use of libraries, texts, and manuscripts. He appeared to appoint himself, at the encouragement of friends, of course, when he said:

> If God grants me life and strength and if patrons of this work send me their work right away, I shall see to it that the Magdeburg Centuries, printed so long ago, added to until now, will go forward in its own time with whatever diligence can be mustered, bono cum Deo.

Thus, he concluded his plan with encouragement and an invitation to scholars, that they rally and participate in the project.

In the second edition of Sagittarius' magnificent *Introductio*, Schmid had remarked about Simon Johannes Arnold, *Decus Magdeburgense*.[35] He barely managed to mention the existence of this little work.

The reason for Schmid's silence is obvious. Arnold taunted Schmid for his insufferable arrogance and unwarranted claims. With concentration on completing the four unfinished centuries, Arnold offered a modest, but substantial, contribution to the history of the fourteenth century.

---

[35] Ibid., II, 136ff. The full title of Arnold's little work is: *Decus Magdeburgenses, seu Centuriae Magdeburgenses, cum exercitatione ad centuriam decimam quartam* (Magdeburg: 1715; with three additional "exercitationes" of 1716, 1717, and 1718).

Although there was little chance that someone could be found to work on the complete Magdeburg Centuries, Arnold hoped to attract support in part through hometown pride, in part through his own leadership as pastor of SS. Ulrich-Levinus, Johann Wigand's own former parish in Magdeburg for the seven years after 1553. He sought great scholars from throughout Europe, to work with generous support and quiet leisure. He set out as examples several recent monumental histories. Arnold felt that he could take on some of the task himself, because once again peace had been restored to the church. He appeared to be totally ignorant of the fact that the original Magdeburg Centuries were born in war, siege, strife, dissension, exile, and even death. He sought the very conditions that would prevent the energies of committed men from being fired; he sought the conditions that spelled the very malady of which the Magdeburg Centuries project died incomplete.

There is no evidence that the efforts of Möller, Meier, Sagittarius, Schmid, or Arnold ever resulted in printed pages of text that could be called a continuation of the Magdeburg Centuries. The Nürnberg edition of the Magdeburg Centuries was a refreshing departure from the stories of proposal and promise.

The Nürnberg Edition

Fifty years after the last completed century was published, a new edition of the Magdeburg Centuries was printed: the edition of Ludwig Lucius (Luz) (1577-1642). The title was: *Historia Ecclesiastica, integram Ecclesiae Christianae conditionem, inde a Christo juxta seculorum seriem exponens....nunc denuo per Ludovicum Lucium, fideliter recensita.* The early debated centered on the second-last word of the title: fideliter. Johann Gottlieb Möller had attempted to prove in a dissertation of 1693 that the Lucius edition was tainted--and hence, also noxious--by Calvinism.[36] Thereafter it became all the more obvious to orthodox Lutherans that they had to undo the potential damage of the Calvinist Lucius version of their monumental history of the church. Precisely why Lucius, who had a decade's experience as rector of gymnasia (Baden, Weingarten, Heidelberg, Amberg, St. Gallen) and over three decades' experience as a university professor (Basel), decided to reissue the Magdeburg Centuries is unknown.[37] That he reinterpreted important theological issues along Calvinist lines is both understandable and defensible; it is not clear that he intended to confuse the Lutherans, as he was so often accused after Möller.

---

[36] See below, footnote 29.

[37] More about Lucius' intentions is sure to be discovered on the basis of his papers, of which two volumes are preserved in Schaffhausen (Codices 134 and 135, p. 14 in *Die Handschriften der Ministerialbibliothek zu Schaffhausen*, im Auftrag eines W. E. W. Ministeriums verzeichnet von H. Boos [Schaffhausen: Brodtmann, 1877]). The University and library archives of Basel offer very little additional information to what is known.

The Nürnberg edition did not get under way, however, until almost one hundred twenty-five years after the Lucius edition; by that time, there was no direct line of intent, that the Nürnberg edition should refute the Lucius edition. The Nürnberg edition had precious little to do with the history of Nürnberg, but rather came out of the University of Halle and its greatest historian, Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten (1706-1757).

Like the original edition, the eighteenth-century version of the Magdeburg Centuries is very difficult to research because it was not brought to an end or even to an announced stopping point. In the course of its publication, there was no dramatic denunciation of the editors, nor a defense of their purposes and methods. And since it was terminated incomplete, there were no participants to take pride and pleasure in describing, years later, how the project was organized and triumphantly finished. Even bibliographically this edition is a "swamp," to borrow Wigand's term. In Heinsius' bibliography, no editor is mentioned;[38] in Kayser's later work, the effort is attributed to Justus Jakob Hauck.[39] The history of this edition is the history of another teacher-student relationship, much like that of Sagittarius and Schmid. But in this case, the student, Johann Salomo Semler (1725-1791) did not even mention the project in his autobiographical work, confusing even his most exhaustive biographers.

---

[38]Wilhelm Heinsius, *Allgemeines Bücher-Lexikon* [1700-1810] (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1812), I, 524: Centuriae Magdeburgen. seu hist. eccl. N. Text. 4 Vol. s. 8 pts. 4 maj. Nrnbrg. Lange. 757-766.

[39]Christian Gottlob Kayser, *Vollständiges Bücher-Lexicon* [1750-1832] (Leipzig: Ludwig Schumann, 1834-1835), II, 60: Centuriae Magdeburgens. seu hist. eccles. N. Text. ed. Just. Jak. Hauck IV. Voll. s. VIII ptes. 4 maj. Nürnb. 757-66. Lange. Kayser noted that Hauck died on 19 June 1801; no other published works of Hauck have been identified or located.

Analyses of Semler's contribution to the history of Protestantism generally and also to ecclesiastical history have not seen his role as an editor of the Nürnberg edition of the Magdeburg Centuries as a significant factor--or even as *a* factor.[40] Late in his career, as he wrote an apologetic autobiography,[41] Semler reviewed his relationship to Baumgarten in the more journalistic first volume (pages 202-220), his presence in Baumgarten's home working and enjoying close ties to the family (pages 230-234). When he traced his philosophical-theological-historical development or odyssey in the second volume--especially in the section on church history (pages 154-178)--he again began with his presence and experience in Baumgarten's study and household. In Semler's very negative characterizations of available orthodox Lutheran historical writings (pages 154-156), he asserted that his reading of Gottfried Arnold's *Unparteyische Kirchen= und Ketzer=Historie* was a decisive turning point in his life, and he spent most of the chapter reviewing the history of heretics and heresies. All this he reviewed without a single, explicit statement or even hint that he and Baumgarten edited, at least in part, the Magdeburg Centuries in the Nürnberg edition.

In his final scholarly activities, the fatally ill Baumgarten included valuable information about the Magdeburg Centuries and about a new edition, scholarly papers that were published about four months before his death.[42] Baumgarten called attention to Schmid's *Consilium* and to the

---

[40]The most important modern work on Semler's historiography does not mention the Magdeburg Centuries, either in the narrative, or in the allegedly complete biobibliography (pp. 56-83, 251-287): Gottfried Hornig, *Die Anfänge der historisch-kritischen Theologie:* Johann Salomo Semlers Schriftverständnis und seine Stellung zu Luther, Forschungen zur systematischen Theologie und Religionsphilosophie, 8 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht [1961]).

[41]*Lebensbeschreibung von ihm selbst angefasst* (Halle: 1781-1782).

[42]*Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern*, 11 (1757), 230-254 (especially pp. 241-244) and a special appendix to the March 1757 issue of the journal

failure of the Helmstedt theologians and historians to produce results. He announced his intention of having the Lange publishing concern in Nürnberg produce a new edition. The terms of subscription[43] and the scope of the work were announced in an appendix to these papers.[44] The project involved much more than issuing the original text of the centuriators. Rather, it was a five-part project: (1) the text itself on good paper in "Medianquart" format; (2) new introductions to each volume; (3) the continuation of the history from the fourteenth century "to the present time"; (4) the improvement of the history and a defense against its Romish detractors; and (5) a new three-way index in a special volume. The title of the new edition was to carry the expression (and it did, in fact, contain the very words): Supplementa emendationum, defensionum illustrationumque--the very words of Johann Andreas Schmid's *Consilium*.

(i.e., pp. 281-282). The works themselves that Baumgarten described in his learned bibliographic, bibliothecal journal can be surveyed also through the use of the auction catalogue: most of his library was sold in public auction on 5 August 1765, and the remaining stocks plus the French library and many manuscripts were sold on 6 April 1767 (*Bibliotheca Baumgartenianae pars I*[-*II*] [Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer, 1765-1767]). Presumably, Baumgarten's copy of the Magdeburg Centuries was sold in the first auction (ibid., I, 265). His was one of the great libraries of the century. One of Semler's first tasks in Baumgarten's household was to annotate work of Baumgarten for publication. Small wonder that it "required two to three hours to verify a single line and study through the night into the morning hours without a sense of having exhausted the resources available in the Baumgarten private library" (*Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 204).

[43]The success of the subscription can be seen in the "Syllabus eorum fautorum et amicorum" (signed, α-$\gamma^4\delta^2$, 28 unnumbered pages), in some copies of the first volume of the Nürnberg edition, from which it is known that 484 copies were subscribed, that Johann Friedrich Gleditsch of Leipzig was the most active book dealer with 48 subscriptions, that Johann Justus Gebauer of Halle (the printer of the pietists) and Christian Friedrich Weygand of Helmstedt (the printer of the University) each had eleven, and that the corrector was Kaspar Gottlieb Rucker ("Dominus Caspar Gottlieb Rucker, reu. Minist. Candidatus, et Corrector Centuriarum Norimbergensis" [β^4r]).

[44]*Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern* 11 (1757), 281-282.

Of the many students who had frequented Baumgarten's home and library with a quickened sense of history and desire to read afresh from the original sources, then requesting further help after they had left the University of Halle, the young pastors of Franconia were the most insistent that their needs be met.[45] Justus Jakob Hauck (+1801), pastor of the village church of Alfershausen, a holding of the Brandenburg Margraves belonging to Onoldsbach, near Nürnberg, made arrangements with Johann Leonard Lange to publish the first part of the project in Nürnberg, a fresh full text of the Magdeburg Centuries with new introductions. The resulting published introductions[46] were neither those that Lange had announced earlier[47] nor those that Baumgarten had promised (I:1,)()(1r-)()(2r). The original assignment for Semler had been to write the history of the sixteenth century, employing the same plan that the original authors had used in earlier centuries (I:1,)(4r). He appeared to follow

---

[45] The title of the Nürnberg edition was: *Centuriae Magdeburgenses: seu, Historia ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti, cum variorum theologorum continuationibus ad haec nostra tempora....* (Norimbergae: Ioannes Leonardus Langius, 1757-1765), hereafter cited as, "Nürnberg ed." Attempts continued to complete the work with other publishers, without success. The Franconian students appeared prominently in Baumgarten's first--and only --introduction, Nürnberg ed., I:1,)(2r.

[46] The introductions by Semler in the Nürnberg edition are:

I:1	)(1-4, 18 October 1757,)(1-4, 1 May 1758 [16 pages];
I:2	*1-2, 8 May 1578 [4 pages];
II	a-d4, 16 October 1578 [32 pages]; and
III	a-b4, 1 May 1760 [16 pages].

The original dedications to the first volume were changed; note the instruction to the binder ("Nachrichten an dem Buchbinder," I:2, p. 1116). Only one tipped version of the dedication has been identified, so that it is unknown how this might differ from the original.

[47] A copy has not been located of Lange's *Conspectus, quo adcurata sistitur notitia nouae centuriatorum magdeburgensium editionum...*, or its German version, *Verbesserung und Fortsetzung der Centuriarum Magdeburgensium....* (see *Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern*, 11 [1757], 281-282).

the very same plan in accord with his instructions: eodem consilio atque instituto, quod sit auctorum centuriarum conscribenda. Thus, he had to organize a collegium of his own, to oversee the work, including both younger scholars and dependable senior officials, such as Johann Tobias Carrach (1702-1775), a native of Magdeburg, jurist, teacher of law in Halle, for many years Director of the University--and for many years Semler's landlord.[48] Younger colleagues included Johann Friedrich Gruner (1723-1778), at the time Rector of the Coburg gymnasium and later (1764) on the theological faculty of Halle; the instructor Johann August Noesselt (1734-1807), who returned later to Halle from Göttingen as a professor of theology; and Johann Ludwig Schulze (1734-1799), theologian-orientalist-numismatist of Halle (I:1,)()(3r-v). The arrangement proved to be unworkable. It may have been these men to whom the title referred in the expression, "with continuations of various theologians" (I:1,)()(4r).

Semler reported that he had also secured cooperation from his senior colleague, the philosopher-bibliophile Johann Friedrich Stiebrig (1707-1772), Prorector of the University (I:2, *1v). He pointed to his own progress and to the progress of many others in carrying out plans to go well beyond the Magdeburg Centuries, both in scope and in content (I:2, *2r).

With the second half of the first century, Semler's name took the prominent position on the title page, replacing Baumgarten. The printing of the first half was perhaps begun while Baumgarten was alive, but was not completed in his lifetime. With the second published volume, Semler

---

[48] *Lebensbeschreibung*, I, 287. Semler took the opportunity in his autobiography to note the fact that Carrach was his landlord, but not the fact that they had collaborated in any project like the Magdeburg Centuries.

clearly took charge of the project. In a rambling introduction, full hermeneutical principles (II, a3v-b3r) and a sharp response to Honoré de Sainte-Marie, *Reflexions sur les regles et sur l'usage de la critique touchant l'histoire de l'Église* (Paris: C. Jombert, 1713) (II, b3r-c3v), he added his own plans for a five-part division for the future continuation of the Magdeburg Centuries (II, d4r-v). (1) The first set of "supplementa" were to appear soon, he said, for the first three centuries. Comparisons of his descriptions with the contents indicate that this was his *Historiae ecclesiasticae selecta capita* of 1767. (2) The promised "annales exegetici" were recast into "tabulae," which accompanied each century of *Selecta capita.* (3) The "indices dogmatici" were again promised in 1769, in the introduction to the last volume of the *Selecta capita*, now to be in the form of "rerum index quasi lexicon ecclesiasticum." (4) The "defensio centuriarum aduersus Romanorum accusationes" was a recurrent theme in Semler's future introductions, but received no separate attention in a comprehensive historical or historiographical work. (5) The "animadversionum continuarum per diuersa centuriarum capita breuissima collectio accedit," that is, the actual continuation of the Magdeburg Centuries, proved to be as difficult and as elusive as ever. The promised fourth volume of his *Selecta capita* has to be extended to three physical tomes to reach the end of the sixteenth century. But the Nürnberg edition was stalled.[49]

Semler's role at the University and his personal priorities changed after 1770, so that he never returned to the encyclopedic study of church

---

[49]The full title and contents of the work are: *Historiae ecclesiasticae selecta capita*, cum epitome canonum excerptis dogmaticis et tabulis chronologicis: Tomus primus, sex seculorum [secundus, secul. VII-XI.; tertius, secul. XII-XV.] (Halle: Johann Gottfried Trampius, 1767, 1769, 1769).

history. He had spent sixteen years, from 1754 to 1769, deeply involved in ecclesiastical history, forming a basis for his later theological explorations. The Nürnberg edition project, imposed on the unwilling junior scholar by his senior colleague and benefactor, proved to be formative.[51] The major role that Gottfried Arnold's *Unparteyische Kirchen= und Ketzer= Historie* played in Semler's development also constitutes evidence that the Magdeburg Centuries could provide a mighty impetus, as mediated and derived in Arnold's history, modeled as it was on the Magdeburg monument.[52] The reasons for the sudden disruption in the publication of the Nürnberg edition are so far unknown. In his autobiography, Semler gave no further hints. Gottfried Hornig has pointed out, however, that Semler's hermeneutic had developed between the two extremes of Flacian/Gnesio-Lutheran and Pietist,[53] that Semler's philiosophical base could not accept the radical separation of theology and philosophy (pp. 130-132), and that Semler saw himself as a "modern day Melanchthonian," in the tradition of the Philippists who were "the true heirs of Luther" (p. 147). Finally, Semler's first definitive work against Flacianism was completed the year after his work on the Magdeburg Centuries was suspended.[54]

---

[51] Ferdinand Christian Baur, *Die Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung* (Tübingen: Ludwig Friedrich Fues, 1852), pp. 133-134, attributed Semler's encyclopedic knowledge of ecclesiastical history to diligence in his work and to faithfulness in carrying out Baumgarten's posthumously published historical works--but not one word about the Nürnberg edition.

[52] *Lebensbeschreibung*, II, 155ff.

[53] *Die Anfänge*, pp. 141-142.

[54] *Historische und kritische Sammlung über die so genannten Beweisstellen in der Dogmatik* (Halle, Helmstedt: 1764-1768).

CHAPTER XIV

MODERN RESEARCH

The past two centuries of technical research in ecclesiastical historiography is not surveyed here, because the scope of such a survey is itself beyond the comprehension of abbreviated summary and because virtually all of them are deeply flawed by misunderstandings about the history of the Magdeburg Centuries' composition. Rather, there is a series of important studies on the Magdeburg Centuries; they are cited in almost every secondary treatment of the topic. Since the authors have given reasons for their interest, and since the qualities and contributions of each deserve special attention; these studies are treated here seriatim.

Modern historical research on the origins, development, composition, and methodology of the Magdeburg Centuries can be dated from a report by Johann Wilhelm Schulte, published in 1877 in the nineteenth "Bericht der Philomathie" of Niesse.[1] That is, Schulte began the *sifting* of primary historic evidence: published materials, literary archives, epistolaria, and other contemporaneous records of the centuriators. His was the first major contribution since the brief survey of Christian August Salig, who himself

---

[1] *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien*, 19. Jahres=Bericht der Philomathie (Niesse: Graveur [G. Neumann], 1877), 50–154. The study also appeared with separate page numbering, 1–99. Some copies of the separately issued and numbered edition do not have the "Nachträge" (pp. 149–154) with its endless "corrigenda." Once one has gone to the trouble of correcting the first one hundred pages, the significance of Schulte's study is heightened; but the inconvenience and confustion brought on by these "corrigenda" has always detracted from the use and application of Schulte's work.

had surveyed the remains of the Magdeburg Centuries in Wolfenbüttel.[2] Schulte came upon the topic, he said, as he researched the source and age of the Old-Saxon Heliand, specifically the information published in Flacius' second edition of *Catalogus testium veritatis*, published in 1562. Schulte made no apology for publishing incomplete results to date, based on information and resources available to him in Breslau, Göttingen, Leipzig, and the pastors' library of Niesse. He was in contact with Adalbert Horowitz of Vienna and had copies of letters from the Viennese court library, specifically Caspar von Nidbruck's epistolarium (Cod. vind. pal. 9737b, i, k). Schulte's introduction traced the history of bibliophily, the history of learning and of history writing and of collecting from the late fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century (pp. 2-10). He also sketched the development of the plan to compose the Magdeburg Centuries with the correspondence and records of Nidbruck and Hartmann Beyer as the major sources (pp. 10-17). Schulte's major interest was in the collecting of books and manuscripts that provided the centuriators with the literary resources from which they could compose a history (pp. 17-39), together with a little background about the dissension and bitterness between Wittenberg and Magdeburg (pp. 19-20). He also attempted to assess the roles of Nidbruck (pp. 20-21) and the Burgundian courtier and spy, Hubert Lanquet (pp. 21-25); he noted briefly the significance of the collegium's founding and operations (pp. 39-40). Most of the work by Schulte, however, concerned the companion, secretary, collector, friend of Flacius, Marx Wagner (pp. 45-79), focusing on the twelve Wagner-related letters from Cod. vind. pal. 9737k, ff. 110-121, and on Wagner's own publications (pp. 79-84). Further remarks about

---

[2] *Vollständige Historie der augspurgischen Confession*, III, 278-289.

Wagner's subsequent career--after he parted company with Flacius and the other centuriators--rounded out this study (pp. 84-97).

Despite the age and limited access to archival materials, despite the problems with printing accurately the texts and documents of his research, and despite the absolutely maddening "corrigenda," Schulte's work stands as one of the most important contributions to modern research on the Magdeburg Centuries. Thus, for over a century, it has been clear that the Viennese tomes, Cod. vind. pal. 9737b, i, k, are an important key to a proper understanding of the origins and composition of the Magdeburg Centuries. For this and other reasons (e.g., the history of the reign of Maximilian II), research and publication are bound to suffer until a complete edition and index of this marvelous epistolarium are made.

Auguste Jundt, of the Protestant Faculty of the University of Paris, addressed his new colleagues on the theme of the Magdeburg Centuries in 1883.[3] Jundt wanted to raise the horizons of both French and German Protestantism to see the larger landscapes of European reform, and to see them clearly with the proper use and application of ecclesiastical history. Comparing the centuriators with Eusebius, he pointed to their heroic efforts to focus attention on what they saw as the central drama of history, the word of the Gospel as the light against the darkness of the Roman Antichrist (p. 3). He described the Magdeburg Centuries as the culminating piece, after a series of historical texts and studies, of Flacius (pp. 5-12). The collecting activity to support the research and composition of the Magdeburg Centuries was viewed in the context of the emerging humanist bibliothecal

[3] *Les Centuries de Magdebourg:* ou la renaissance de l'historiographie ecclesiastique au siezieme siecle (Paris: Fischbacher, 1883).

interests of Northern Europe (pp. 12-19). The planning and organizing effort (pp. 19-20) and Marx Wagner's tours (pp. 20-21) were noted briefly. The publication of the Magdeburg Centuries was so closely scaled to the person, theology, and odyssey of Flacius (pp. 21-41), that Jundt's analysis has been rendered almost useless if the Magdeburg Centuries are not the product of Flacius' pen. The political inferences drawn from the centuriators' correspondence with François Baudoin was thoroughly unwarranted.

The work by Jundt has influenced virtually all French encyclopedias and dictionaries, surveys and secondary histories. Jundt's study was, as a matter of historic fact, a significant event in the Protestant Faculty in Paris, but more because of its inspirational rhetoric than because of its exacting historical analysis and contribution.

In 1898 two important works were published. Viktor Bibl produced "Nidbruck und Tanner: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien und zur Characteristik König Maximilians II."[4] Ernst Schaumkell completed his *Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien.*[5] Four years later, in 1902, Theodor Gottlieb reviewed these two works together, basing his assessment also on Schulte's earlier contribution.[6]

Bibl had brought together the important strands of Viennese and Swiss bibliophily, that of Nidbruck and Amerbach, as Tanner set about to

---

[4] *Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte,* 85 (1898), 389-430; the work was also separately produced and numbered.

[5] (Ludwigslust: Hinstorff, 1898).

[6] *Göttingsche gelehrte Anzeigen,* 164 (1902), 444-465. Gottlieb admitted that he was drawn to the idea of reviewing these two works, because he had special interest in the same group of Viennese manuscripts that Bibl had used. Bibl was a Protestant; Gottlieb was a Catholic.

collect and survey catalogues of libraries in Northern Italy for his patrons. The exchanges with Flacius and Wigand were faithfully noted, but with incomplete citation and transcription of materials to see the complete picture.

Schaumkell had promised a full monographic study, based on this modest "report" (p. iii), a study that remained, like the Magdeburg Centuries, incomplete. Schaumkell's major exposition rehearsed the Nidbruck story with little, if any, new information (pp. 20-44); the exposition was based on an extended introduction that discussed the Smalcald War and Interim, the imperial settlements political and religious for Germany. In his closing paragraphs, Schaumkell managed to throw some light on the composition of the Magdeburger's history, but he did not alter the larger picture.

The immediate backdrop for Schaumkell's history was the German nationalism of the end of the nineteenth century that saw a special destiny in the Germanizing/Lutheranizing of the pagan world: i.e., colonization. Schaumkell lionized the no-nonsense, no-compromise stance of the Flacians and Gnesio-Lutherans.

Gottlieb scrutinized Bibl's work very closely and found it wanting at every major point, every substantive conclusion, most aspects of archival and paleographical science. As he was working on this research, Bibl had also been publishing the Flacius/Nidbruck correspondence,[7] intensifying the rivalry between the two Viennese historians. Gottlieb tried in every way to mitigate the major conclusion of Bibl: that Maximilian had become the patron of both the Magdeburg Centuries and of Protestantism on the basis of deep convictions; Gottlieb insisted that Maximilian had been tricked by

---

[7] See Chapter III, footnote 1.

perfidious courtiers. While the two historians played point/counter-point, the Nidbruck epistolarium remained unindexed and without detailed surveys and catalogues.

To the extent that Pontien Polman personalized the history of the Magdeburg Centuries and identified its significance with the career of Flacius in two works of 1931 and 1932,[8] his studies have been counter-productive for the eventual working out of the history of the Magdeburg Centuries' composition. Like Jundt, his assessment tried to take a very positive view of Flacius' contribution to theology and the church, and opened the historiography of German Gnesio-Lutherans to the French-speaking and French-reading world. Polman understood the common origins of the Magdeburg Centuries and Flacius' *Catalogus testium veritatis*, but went several steps too far in drawing conclusions based on insufficient evidence.

To the extent that Joachim Massner reduced the Magdeburg Centuries to a religio-political statement by the so-called "Flacius Circle," he also interpreted the centuriators, mighty men of action, in a narrow world of abstract ideas.[9] The definition of the "Flacius Circle" was mistaken (pp. 12-13), if the intent is to make the centuriators into uncritical partisans with Flacius. The major arguments about the "Flacian" authorship of the Magdeburg Centuries--if not all of them, at least the introductions--were specious (pp. 83-87). The identification of the issue of authority

---

[8]"Flacius Illyricus, historien de l'eglise," *Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique*, 27 (1931), 27-73; and *L'Element historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e siecle* (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1932), with or without the special designation "Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis: Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica consquendum conscriptae, Series II. Tomus 23."

[9]*Kirchliche Überlieferung und Autorität im Flaciuskreis.*

was, of course, a proper one; to make of it the single most important issue of the age was to open the door to reductionisms that do injustice to the historic characters and to the complex issues that plagued the church.

The dissertation by Heinz Scheible in 1960 at the University of Heidelberg,[10] which he reworked into a brief monograph,[11] made a fresh, new start on the technically historical issues concerning the plan and composition of the Magdeburg Centuries. The dissertation treated four important themes: the historiography of the Reformation age (pp. 1-32), the plan of the Magdeburg Centuries (pp. 33-120), the fragments of the unpublished Century XVI to be found in Wolfenbüttel (pp. 121-205), and an evaluation of Century XVI in its fragmentary and unpublished form, and of the entire Magdeburg Centuries (pp. 206-243). The second theme and the second half of the fourth theme are treated in the monograph. The two correctives that need to be made to Scheible's study are these. First, the fuller appreciation of Flacius as a propagandist and bibliophile does not diminish his importance or contribution. To be sure, he was a man of insight, with keen perception of the religio-political opportunities and traps that lay before him. He formulated or help to formulate very important ideas and principles--in liturgics, in church discipline, but most of all in the matter of adiaphora. At the same time, the story of Flacius' activities and knowledge in matters of books and libraries has remained untold. Second, the bibliothecal focus for the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries needs to be moved from Flacius to Wigand. The

---

[10] "Der Plan der Magdeburger Zenturien."

[11] *Die Entstehung der Magdeburger Zenturien.*

catalogues and indexes and surveys of the Herzog August Bibliothek of Wolfenbüttel--as well as the priorities for research, stipends, and publication --have not been oriented to ecclesiastical or theological topics since the days of Salig.

The reviews of Scheible's work welcomed his valuable research, without exacting analysis of documentation or assumptions.[12] Any modern work on the Magdeburg Centuries will have to be based, at least in part, on Scheible's studies.

Johannes Burkhardt built an interesting case for the modern idea of "century," based on earlier research by Karl Heussi.[13] The use of the century as an arbitrary, though thoroughly commodious, arrangement of time has left many historians and literary critics puzzled. Although Burkhardt did not seem to get beyond the introductions of each volume of the Magdeburg Centuries, he gave a thoroughly reasonable explanation, true to the time and need of the sixteenth century.

Zeugnis und Gericht: Kirchengeschichtlichen Betrachtungen bei Sebastian Franck und Matthias Flacius, by S. L. Verheus,[14] brought no new historical evidence to light. The style of the translation[15] and the many

---

[12]Peter Fraenkel, in *Bibliotheque d'humanisme e renaissance,* 29 (1967), 266-268; R. C. Holbrook, in *Church History*, 36 (1967), 477-478; H. Sandblad, in *Lychnos,* 1967/8 (1969), 270-271; and W. Neuser, in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 93 (1968), 126.

[13]*Die Entstehung der modernen Jahrhundertrechnung:* Ursprung und Ausbildung einer historiographischen Technik von Flacius bis Ranke (Göppingen: Alfred Kümmerle, 1971) in the series "Göppinger Akademische Blätter, 43." Heussi, "Centuriae," in *Harnack-Ehrung*: Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1921), pp. 328-334.

[14]Bibliotheca humanistica & reformatorica, 1 (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1971).

[15]The work is a translation of the dissertation (Arnhem 1958), "Kroniek en Kerugma."

typographic errors were critically noted by one reviewer.[16] The noncommittal review of Jörg Baur[17] and the generally favorable review by Rollin Armour[18] did not come to grips with the problematic. Verheus' historiography was itself ahistorical. The identification of the Magdeburg Centuries with Flacius--in plan and content--made immediate problems for the analysis. Finally, the "comparison" of Franck's and Flacius' historiography, then the "preference" of one to the other (p. 110), made for a strange kind of analysis.

The serious student of the Magdeburg Centuries is well advised to take the work of Schulte and Scheible, together with the magnificent histories and historiographies of the eighteenth century, as the best bases for future work. Twenty-five years before the Nürnberg edition of the Magdeburg Centuries, Salig saw with a clear eye and a brilliant observation, that there ought be no more continuation. The age of the Magdeburg Centuries was over: scholarship had moved so far beyond the centuriators with new histories, new texts of the ancient fathers, new texts of ancient liturgies and chronicles and annals.[19] One plants well in the furrows plowed by Salig.

---

[16] H. Faulenbach, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 85[1] (1974), 126.

[17] *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*: Literaturbericht, Beiheft 2 (1973), 41-42.

[18] *Church History*, 44 (1972), 544.

[19] *Vollständige Historie der augspurgischen Confession*, III, 288.

PART FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

To conclude this study is to open several new areas for further research. Whenever a particular research project is closed, the historical and documentary landscape seems to grow back to its wild state, like ~~an untended field or garden plot.~~ Before the ~~terrain~~ reverts to its native wildness, some pointers should be noted and summarized. "From Thought to Action" (Chapter XV) takes into consideration several conclusions about how the centuriators moved from plan to implementation. A few observations are then made about the documentation of the period 1550 to 1575. And finally, some reflections are offered about the meaning and importance of the Magdeburg Centuries.

The "Bibliography" (Chapter XVI) has several divisions to help in the presentation of a very complex set of primary and secondary materials. The bibliography is introduced with a few brief notes about the materials that were used for this research.

CHAPTER XV

FROM THOUGHT TO ACTION

The Magdeburg Centuries was developed through two distinct stages of methodological considerations: a proposal and a plan. The proposal was an exploration of the options and alternatives, while the plan was a defined set of chapters and topics (the basic outline).

From 1552 to 1556

The development of the plan to write an ecclesiastical history did not suffer major reversals, diametric changes in perspective or emphasis, or radical shifts in location and personnel, from 1552 to 1556. Flacius seemed to be unable to develop the plan, but moved time and time again to the composition of the church history without a detailed outline. He produced two, perhaps three, proposals for such a plan. Three good reasons can be argued to account for Flacius' behavior.

First, Flacius himself was not an organizer. He could not direct the action of others or delegate responsibility. His work with Marx Wagner was more the relationship of employer to employee than of colleague. The events surrounding the Colloquy of Coswick showed much about the way in which the Magdeburgers worked and struggled together. The superintendents who came to Coswick agreed with Flacius on the basis of deep religious conviction and of realistic political analysis. The case of Flacius was not to be determined by a confrontation of the Illyrian and Melanchthon; in fact, they did not meet face to face in January 1557, but were

represented by mediators. The superintendents insisted that the issues were theological and political, not personal and literary. Wigand was the real leader of the moment, as a simple examination of the extant documentation indicates. And Lanquet's analysis--that Melanchthon suffered a severe setback in these months because a new initiative had been seized by his enemies--was incorrect in identifying Flacius as the principal political leader (there was none), but correct in assessing the low state of Melanchthon's prestige and reputation. In all his battles and achievements, Flacius stood very much alone, both to his glory and to his grief.

Second, Flacius seemed to be incapable of sustained systematic thought. Of the Magdeburg circle of the mid-1550's, Flacius was uniquely unqualified to work with a commonplaces technique. Gottschalk Praetorius proved to be a bungling pedant. Basilius Faber proved, later on, to be a fine, accomplished lexicographer, but was apparently the cause of several false starts. Matthaeus Judex proved to be an industrious compiler. Johann Wigand proved to be a masterful systematician. Compare Flacius' tract on unity (*Von der Einigkeit*) and its twenty-one points, with the schema "De doctrina," chapter four of the Magdeburg Centuries, or with the entire *Syntagma*. Flacius' progress of thought and organization of materials on the problem of restoring unity were, at best, a numerically listed stream of consciousness: twenty-one statements in length, ranging back and forth across political, theological, and ethical themes. Wigand and Judex developed in their rules for chapter four a very sophisticated hierarchy of concepts and historical data, of priorities and relationships, of orders of significance and polarities of thought. In Wigand, the systematic process went another major step: he learned to join a remarkable precision in commonplaces organization with a facility

in syllogistic (or, rhetorically more exact, enthymematic) debate. By comparison, Flacius' ability to develop theses betrayed an almost willful disregard for such formalism, at the risk of poor communication and even total misunderstanding.

Third, Flacius' interests lay elsewhere. He was, in the 1550's, a very busy man, indeed; but he was also, as he reminded friends, a private man, living on his own resources, not a clergyman, not a civil servant, not in the employ of humanist patrons of Augsburg or Nürnberg or Frankfurt. He chose his own directions, and his inclinations had in very high priority the collecting of books and manuscripts, the producing and marketing of Anti-Interimist literature, and the publishing of ancient texts. Scores of manuscripts and authors were rescued and became known through him: Latin, Greek, Gothic and German, and Slavic. To say that Flacius was not an accomplished historian like Baudouin or Sleidanus or Sambuccus is not to say that he was a failure. His age and all history would have been much the poorer without his lively, spirited polemics, written in an adopted language that he made ring with memorable alliterations and metaphors and neologisms. His recovery of ancient liturgical texts injected the Lutheran tradition with a pluralism and latitude and richness and catholicity that has remained an object of even envy in an ecumenical age. His treasuring of old books, manuscript and printed, and his care for them were fortuitous links in the tenuous and fragile links of provenance that have vouchsafed to our day the enjoyment and enrichment of his library. The purchase of his collection by Duke Heinrich-Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg secured access to Flacius' books for a vigorous young university, in Helmstedt, and after its closing in the cruel Napoleanic times, for the modern world of scholarship. Had Flacius

bound himself to writing desk and quill and copy book to write church history, he might never have become the adventurer traveling across Europe, to become one of the brightest and strongest bibliophiles of all time.

From 1556 to 1559--And After

The development of the plan to write an ecclesiastical history did exhibit major changes in emphasis and priority, location and personnel, from 1556 to 1559. Michael Helding's ignorant provocation--that the liturgy of 1548 in "the old churches of the old faith" had remained unchanged since the days of the Apostles--kindled the fires of Flacius' virulent polemic. When Flacius proposed writing a church history in 1552, he placed as first of his sources the ancient liturgies. The suffering minority inside a persecuting church was also an important, enduring focus. But the priorities were switched. After 1556, as the finishing touches were being put to the methodology, "De ritibus et ceremoniis" had fallen to chapter six, but the position of the church ("De loco Ecclesiae") had become "caput II.," next in line after the brief introduction of each century.

The centuriators were not great historians as they approached their task; they became foremost experts of their day as they moved their minds and pens with a great sorting and sifting of all identifiable remains of the church of antiquity. Not only did they master a difficult field as amateurs; they created new disciplines as they went along. The most important was Dogmengeschichte: it was their creation. Beyond that, the scientific historical study of the liturgy reached a new and unprecedented height in their work. They mastered the auxiliary disciplines of

history: the authentication of ancient texts and authors, codicology and paleography. To point to the large number of errors and false attributions in their work becomes a mute point, when it is also noted that they were the first writers in modern times to cite scores of ancient texts and authors.

The movement from an emphasis on liturgics to an emphasis on dogma was precisely the movement in religion from 1550 to 1560. It was the movement in emphasis from "Kirchenordnung" to "Corpus doctrinae." The Anti-Interimists in time won the day. The point was not a mass vestment here, a liturgical form there, and a compromise formulation of a confession to achieve harmony. The question arose: Does theology have an integrity and identity of its own, such that the theological formulations and ecclesiastical practices of the day could have verifiable criteria, whereby one could decide whether a thought or rite was correct or incorrect, right or wrong? Or, does theology borrow its identity and definition from princely and imperial courts with their advocacy (the orators and rhetoricians), from the high bench, from the consistorial chamber? The centuriators were not following a trend; they participated in creating it. They came to the conclusion that they had been saved from dungeon and death by God's hand and by God's chosen agency, the God-fearing magistracy. In the eternal scheme of things, in the checks and balances of power, God placed a buffer between man in the state and man as head of state: the magistracy and the lesser orders of nobility with their limited sovereignty. The first half of the published Magdeburg Centuries celebrated, both in dedications and in narrative text, the magistracies that saved the believing, persecuted church and then the believers persecuted by the church, anticipating fuller development later by Gottfried Arnold, Johann

Lorenz Mosheim, and modern heresiology.

Wigand's experiences after 1563, however, changed that perspective. The civic magistracy--read now the City Council of Magdeburg--could and did persecute like the best of them. The Brandenburg princes and princelings in the cathedral chapter of Magdeburg could and did pervert God's careful order. The court and consistory of Thuringia, hearth and home of the great Gnesio-Lutheran religious program, could and did exile its intellectual heads and religious consciences. The tone and emphasis changed in the Magdeburg Centuries: chaos moved across the land and across the memories of history--Century XI, filled with fable and vision; Century XII, confused and almost anarchic.

After 1577, however, Wigand discovered not only that he was a very powerful bishop and adviser to princes and kings, but also that he was thought by many to be a persecutor (of Heshusius), a tyrant, an ogre, defended and protected by magistracies and lawyers and princes, even Brandenburg margraves. He could no longer raise his hand to write church history, because he was too busy--but not so busy that he could not write about elk and succulents, developing botanical taxonomies, managing the formal gardens of Liebemühl, observing meteorological and arboreal phenomena in the swamps of Pomezania. The Magdeburg Centuries lay incomplete on his death, at least in part because he had become the object of the Magdeburg Centuries' own inner political polemic, especially of the earlier volumes.

The Implementation of the Plan

The group of historians who wrote the Magdeburg Centuries was uprooted and transplanted, first in 1559, and several times after that.

The first three centuries were the special responsibility of Basilius Faber. When the work was completed, as Wigand and Judex moved on to Jena, they bade farewell and godspeed to their former colleague. There is no evidence that they attempted to bring him along to Jena. Special responsibility devolved upon Pancratius Veltbeck for the compilation of Century V. Although no special note was made in the printed version of Century IV (the accompanying letter with the fair copy to the printer is not extant), this volume was probably also one individual's special responsibility. In terms of content, style, clarity, presentation, and polish, Century IV was the most magnificent of all the published centuries.

With the change in physical and personnel organization from Magdeburg to Jena came a change in methods of compilation. The work table and cupboard-like shelves in Wigand's home in Magdeburg with places and spaces reserved for copybooks and logs and reports and partially completed work, with meeting places and working spaces--when this familiar and congenial setting was changed, something important changed in the organization of the work. The brief return to Magdeburg after Jena, where one volume was produced, was not especially or surprisingly unanticipated. The sudden volume of finished work was a surprise. And the stream of completed compilations that poured out in the next two years of Judex' concentrated work in Wismar proved that despite an earlier lack of

organization and supervision and historical raw materials, immense cumulations of resources had been stored in readiness and reserve.

All of which proved once again that the production of finished copy for the typesetter did not depend on leisure or relief from other responsibility. When the centuriators were hectically occupied with other problems and issues, with writings and meetings, in the heat of so much additional work, their history work also seethed and brewed.

The lapses in time between Century XI and Century XII--again, between Century XII and Century XIII, the largest of the thirteen printed volumes--can be accounted for: deaths by plague of partially trained staff and the lack of intimate familiarity and experience by the two successors to the project in Wismar, Andreas Corvinus and Thomas Holtzhüter. Less so Corvinus, more so Holtzhüter, the fires that sparked the earlier volumes flared and burned once again in Wismar, but only briefly. When the heat of controversy and the urgency of partisan action burned hottest, the historiographical engines and flywheels spun also.

After 1577, no amount of historiographical stunting or genius, production or aesthetic, could convince his former colleagues that Wigand could be restored to his former position of honor. His good name was ruined, his good intentions were suspect, his good deeds were seemingly disingenuous. The life and liveliness of the church, in history or in experience, no longer burned in Wigand's heart and mind as they once did. Yet he remained a bishop. And he became thereby what he despised in other men when he himself was a young man: he had become an ecclesiastical functionary. He reworked old copybooks when he felt compelled to produce something. When the life and liveliness of the church no longer captured

his mind and spirit, he turned to the forest and garden and swamp and he sought to understand God's marvelous creation. He was in intellectual full retreat and he never again rose to fuel German theology with his genius as he did in the third quarter of the century.

At the same time, he did not have to fuel German theology. He had helped to create a monument, an incomplete monument, like an unfinished triumphal arch. By the time he had reached the age of fifty, Gnesio-Lutheranism had come of age. With the help of Wigand's scholarship and industry, Gnesio-Lutheranism matured and took command, from outsider to insider, from movement to institution. And this movement needed its monuments; this movement had to pass through the arch. And it did. Unfortunately, the Gnesio-Lutherans passed through that monumental arch while it was still unfinished. But once they had gone past it, once they had gone through that much of their newly created history, once they had developed a sense of their own past that could direct them to a realizable future, it was no longer necessary to put the last stones on the top of the arch. And so it stands today. The Magdeburg Centuries was that incomplete monumental arch through which a movement and an age had to pass.

CHAPTER XVI

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography is divided into several sections: sixteenth-century books, university matriculations, library and manuscript catalogues, primary documents, and secondary literature. Only a few very important biographical articles are cited from the major tools:

Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie: Auf Veranlassung und mit Unterstützung seiner Majestät des Königs von Bayern Maximilian II, hrsg. durch die Historische Commission bei der Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875-1912; repr., Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1967-1971.

Neue Deutsche Biographie: hrsg. von der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953-

Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche: begründet von Johann Jakob Hauck, 3. verl. und verm. Aufl., hrsg. von Albert Hauck. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1896-1913.

Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft, 3. völlig neu bearb. Aufl., in Gemeinschaft mit Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen...hrsg. von Kurt Galling. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1957-1965.

In the case of the last two, the earlier editions remain important tools for historical studies. The many other encyclopedias and bibliographical or biographical dictionaries that are so important for the study of the late Reformation age are too numerous to mention: the Zedler and Ersch-Gruber encyclopedias, the Jöcher biographical dictionary with its many supplements, the work of the Walch family of scholars, as well as of Budeus, Cyprian, Löscher, Baumgarten, and Semler. They are all known, oft cited, here acknowledged.

Similarly, one could simply cite all the same catalogues and bibliographical tools that were noted by Paul Oscar Kristeller, in Wolfenbüttel, Braunschweig, Göttingen, Frankfurt, Munich, Basel, Vienna, Augsburg, Regensburg, and the Vatican. Suffice it to say that centuries of effort by librarians, bibliographers, and catalogers are indispensible for the study of the Reformation: the sheaf catalogues of Wolfenbüttel and Göttingen, the annotations in the copy of von Heinemann's catalogue in the reading room of the Herzog August Bibliothek, the notes and helps on cards and in sheaf catalogues in all these great libraries.

Throughout, the manuscripts are cited with their usual abbreviations:

Cod. guelf.: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek
Cod. mon.: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Cod. vat.: Vatican, Biblioteca Vaticana
Cod. vind.: Vienna, National Bibliothek

The papers in the Regensburg Stadtarchiv are arranged in numbered boxes and the Beyer collection in Frankfurt is likewise loose; hence these two groups of documents do not have real codex numbers.

The bibliography of Schottenloher has also been indispensible. Since it would not be a major effort to simply record once again the contents of that work, the secondary literature has been chosen and selected with care, to be representative not only of the best scholarship of our age, but to reflect the best scholarship since the end of the sixteenth century. Therefore, it is to be hoped that the secondary literature itself indicates a certain historiographical sweep.

E C C L E S I A S T I C A
HISTORIA, INTEGRAM ECCLESIAE
CHRISTI IDEAM, QVANTVM AD LOCVM
Propagationem, Persecutionem, Tranquillitatem, Doctri
nam, Haereses, Ceremonias, Gubernationem, Schismata,
Synodos, Personas, Miracula, Martyria, Religiones extra
Ecclesiam, & statum Imperij politicum attinet, secundum
singulas Centurias, perspicuo ordine complectens: singu-
lari diligentia & fide ex uetustissimis & optimis
historicis, patribus, & alijs scripto-
ribus congesta:

Per aliquot studiosos & pios uiros in urbe
Magdeburgica.

TYPOGRAPHVS LECTORI.

*Hoc opere nullum aliud ab Orbe condito, eiusdem quidem argumēti, Rei=
pub. Christianae & utilius et magis necessariū, in lucem esse editum, aequus
atq; sinceri iudicij Lector, uel ex Praefatione, qua etiam contexendi huius
causae exponuntur, adiectaq; in primis historici operis Metho=
do ac singulorum capitum metis generalibus,
facile deprehendet.*

Accessit etiam cum Rerum uerborumq; in singulis Centurijs praecipue
memorabilium, tum Locorum Scripturae explica-
torum copiosus ac geminus INDEX.

[device]

*BASILEAE, PER IOAN-
nem Oporinum.*

Signed: α-γ, a-t^{6}. 382 numbered columns from p. a1r.

Printer's announcement: title-page verso.

Dedication: To Christian and Friderick Christian of Denmark, and to Maximilian, King of Bohemia and Archduke of Austria: α2r-α4r.

Praefatio in historiam Ecclesiasticam: α4v-β2v.

Methodus historici operis ac singulorum capitum metae generales: β3r-γ6r.

Historiae Ecclesiasticae Centuriae primae Liber primus: cols. 1-382.

Locorum scriptorum...index: r1r-r5r.

Rerum et verborum...index: r5v-t6r.

Colophon:

*BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA PARTIM
IOANNIS OPORINI, PARTIM IACOBI PARCI,
Anno Salutis humanae, M. D. LIX.
Mense Februario.*

The other three sections of the first volume do not have separate full title pages. But they do have titles indicated:

PRIMAE CENTVRIAE LI=
Secundus

Signed: $**^4$, A-Z, Aa-Kk^4. 672 numbered columns from p. Alr.

Dedication: To Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich and Elector August of Saxony: **2r-**4r.

Primae Centuriae Liber Secundus: cols. 1-672.

Locorum scriptorum...index, Ff1r-Ff5v.

Rerum et verborum...index, Ff6r-Kk5r.

SECVNDA CENTV-
RIA HISTORIAE EC-
clesiasticae.

Signed: aa-mm^6, nn^4. 248 numbered columns from p. bb1r.

Dedication: To Johann Friedrich, Johann Wilhelm, and Johann Friedrich junior, Dukes of Saxony; to Johann Albrecht and Ulrich, Dukes of Mecklenburg; To Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt: aa2r-aa4r.

Secunda Centuria historiae Ecclesiasticae: cols. 1-248.

Locorum scriptorum...index, mm3r.

Rerum et verborum...index, mm3r-nn4v.

TERTIA CENTV-
RIA HISTORIAE EC-
clesiasticae.

Signed: $***^4$, aaa-rrr^6. 320 numbered columns from p. aaa6r.

Dedication: To Wilhelm, Count of Nassau; to Günther, Count of Schwartzburg; To Gebhard, Albrecht, Johann Georg, Johann Albrecht, Wolrad, Christopher, Counts of Mansfeld; and to Ludwig, Heinrich, Albrecht Georg, Wolfgang Ernst, Bodo, Johann, Heinrich, Counts of Stolberg: ***2r-***3v.

Historiae Ecclesiasticae Centuria tertia: cols. 1-320.

Locorum scriptorum...index, ooo1r-v.

Rerum et verborum...index, ooo1v-rrr5v.

Concerning later editions, see pages 178-184.

Quarta Centuria
E C C L E S I A S T I C A E
HISTORIAE, CONTINENS DESCRI
PTIONEM AMPLISSIMARVM RERVM IN RE-
gno Christi, quae quarto post eius natiuitatem seculo ac-
ciderunt, cum Imperium Romanū gubernarent C O N-
S T A N T I N V S M A G N V S, eius filij, Iulianus, Io-
uianus, Valentinianus, Valens, Gratianus, Theodosius ma
ior, & multa praeclara lumina Doctorū in Ecclesia Chri
sti fulgerent: eodem illustri ordine ac ueritate, quo prio-
res Centuriae, ex uetustissimis & optimis histo-
ricis, patribus, & alijs scriptori-
bus contexta:

Per aliquot studiosos & pios uiros in urbe
Magdeburgica.

*Accessit Rerum uerborumq; in hac Centuria praecipue memorabi-
lium, tum locorum Scripturae explicatorum
geminus INDEX.*

[device]

*BASILEAE, PER IOANNEM
Oporinum. 1562.*

Signed: a-z, A-Z, Aa-Zz, AA-DD^{6}, EE^{8}. 1574 numbered columns from p. b1r.

Dedication: To Elizabeth, Queen of England: a2r-a6r. (a2v, numbered 4, to a5v, numbered 10.)

Historiae Ecclesiasticae Centuriae Quartae [Caput I]: cols. 13-1574.

Locorum scripturae...index: pp. Xx1v-Xx3r.

Rerum et verborum...index: pp. Xx3v-Ee7r.

Colophon:

*BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA IOAN-
NIS OPORINI, ANNO SALVTIS
humanae M. D. LXI. Mense
Septembri.*

Quinta Centuria
E C C L E S I A S T I C A E
HISTORIAE, CONTINENS DE-
SCRIPTIONEM AMPLISSIMARVM RERVM
in regno Christi, quae quinto post eius natiuitatem secu-
lo acciderunt: cum Imperium Romanum guvernarent
Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius, Valentinianus, Martia-
nus, Leo, Zeno: & multi praeclari Doctores, inter quos
sunt Chrysostomus, Augustinus, Cyrillus, Hesychius, Iu-
nilius, Primasius, Eucherius, Salonius, Prosper Aquitani-
cus, Sedulius, Saluianus, & similes, in Ecclesia Christi pas-
sim fulgerent: eodem ordine, diligentia & fide, quo supe-
riores Centuriae, ex uetustis & probatis histori-
cis, patribus, & alijs scripto-
ribus:

Partim in urbe Magdeburgica, partim in Acade-
mia Ienensi contexta.

*Accessit Rerum uerborumq; in hac Centuria praecipue memorabi-
lium, tum locorum Scripturae explicatorum
geminus INDEX.*

[device]

*BASILEAE PER IOAN-
nem Oporinum.*

Signed: α, a-z, A-Z, Aa-Zz^{6}. 1526 numbered leaves from p. alr.

Dedication: To Eric, King of Sweden: α2r-α6v.

Historiae Ecclesiasticae Centuriae Quintae [Caput I]: cols. 1-1526.

Locorum scriptorum...index: Tt1r-Tt2v.

Rerum et verborum...index: Tt3r-Zz3r.

Colophon:

BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA IOAN=
NIS OPORINI, ANNO SALVTIS HVMA-
nae M. D. LXII. Mense Martio.

Sexta Centuria
E C C L E S I A S T I C A E
HISTORIAE, CONTINENS DESCRI-
PTIONEM AMPLISSIMARVM RERVM IN RE-
gno Christi, quę Sexto post eius natiuitatem seculo accide-
runt: cum Imperium Romanum guvernarēt, Anastasius
Iustinus senior, Iustinianus, Iustinus iunior, Tiberius &
Mauricius: & Doctores in Ecclesia praecipui eminerent,
Fulgentius, Ferrandus, Auitus Alcimus, Maxentius, Hor-
misda, Boetius, Euodius, Iustus Origelitanus, Fortunatus,
Cassiodorus, Grēgorius Magnus, Olympiodorus, Andre-
as Hierosolymitanus, Gildas, Rusticus, & alij quidam: eo-
dem ordine, diligētia & fide, quo superiores Cen-
turiae, ex uetustis & probatis historicis pa-
tribus, & alijs scriptoribus:

IN EXILIO PER AVTORES CONTEXTA.

*Accessit rerum uerborumq; in hac Centuria praecipue memora-
bilium, tum locorum Scripturae explicatorum
geminus INDEX.*

[device]

*BASILEAE, PER IOAN-
nem Oporinum. 1562.*

Signed: a-z, A-T^{6}. 872 numbered columns, cols. 15 from b2r.

Dedication: To Barnim, Johann Friedrich, Boluslav, Ernst Ludwig, Barnim, Casimir, Dukes of Stettin, Pomerania, etc.: a2r-b1r. (a2v, numbered 4, to b1r, numbered 13.)

Lectori [on translating the Magdeburg Centuries]: b1v.

Sextae Centuriae Historiae Ecclesiasticae [Capus I]: cols. 15-872.

Locorum Scripturae...index, P1r.

Rerum et verborum...index, P1r-T5v.

Colophon:

BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA IOANNIS
OPORINI, ANNO SALVTIS HVMANAE
M.D.LXIII. MENSE MARTIO.

Septima Centuria
ECCLESIASTICAE
HISTORIAE, CONTINENS DESCRIPTIONEM AMPLISSIMARVM RERVM IN REgno Christi, quae Septimo post eius nauitatem seculo acciderunt: cum Imperium Romanum gubernarent Phocas, Heraclius, Constantinus eius filius, Heracleonas, Constans, Constantinus Pogonatus, Iustinianus Secundus, & Leontius: & Doctores in Ecclesia praecipui eminerent, Iohannes Episcopus Constantinopolitanus, Isidorus iunior Hispalensis, Clemens Arelatensis, Adelhelmus, Iulianus Pomerius Toletanus, & alij quidam: eodem ordine, diligentia & fide, quo superiores Centurię, ex uetustis & probatis Historicis, Patribus, & alijs Scriptoribus,

IN DVCATV MAGAPOLENSIVM PRINCIPVM
AB AVCTORIBVS CONTEXTA.

Accessit rerum uerborumq; in hac Centuria praecipue memorabilium, tum locorum Scripturae explicatorum geminus INDEX.

[device]

BASILEAE, PER IOANnem Oporinum. 1564.

Signed: a-z, A-K^{6}. 668 numbered columns from b5r.

Dedication: To Christopher von Steinberg, Hartwig von Werden, Ioachim von Alvensleben, Andreas von Meiendorff, Heinrich von Asseburg, Achatz von Veltheim: a2r-b4v. (a2v, numbered 4, to b5v, numbered 20.)

Septimae Centuriae Historia Ecclesiastica: cols. 21-668.

Locorum scripturae...index: F1r-F1v.

Rerum et verborum...index: F1v-K5v.

Colophon:

BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA IOANNIS OPORINI,
ANNO M. D. LIIII. MENSE MARTIO.

Octaua Centuria
E C C L E S I A S T I C A E
HISTORIAE, CONTINENS DESCRI-
PTIONEM AMPLISSIMARVM RERVM IN RE-
gno Christi, quae octauo post eius natiuitatem seculo ac-
ciderunt: cum Imperium Romanum gubernarent, Absi-
marus, Iustinianus, Philippicus, Artemius, Theodosius,
Leo Isaurus, Constantinus Copronymus, Leo filius eius,
Constantinus & Irene: & Doctores in Ecclesia praecipui
excellerent, Beda, Iohannes Damascenus, Albinus, Apo-
nius, Bonifacius Moguntinus episcopus, Paulus Aquileien
sis, & alij quidam: eodem ordine, diligentia & fide,
ut superiores Centuriae, ex uetustis & probatis
Historicis, Patribus, & alijs Scri-
ptoribus,

IN DVCATV ILLVSTRISSIMORVM PRIN-
CIPVM AC DVCVM MAGALOPOLENSIVM,
in ciuitate Vuismaria,
PER AVTORES CONTEXTA.

*Accessit rerum uerborumq; in hac Centuria praecipue memora-
bilium, tum Locorum Scripturae obiter expli-
catorum INDEX.*

[device]

*BASILEAE, PER IOANNES
Oporinum & Heruagium.*

Signed: α, a-z, A-S^{6}, T^{8}. 942 numbered columns, from a1r.

Dedication: To Johann Baptist Heintzel, to Achilles Gassar, to Chris-
topher Hardorffer, to Johann Meienschein, to Jakob Peck, to
Thomas Irtemberg, to Andreas Ortel and Bartolomaeus Schober:
α2r-α6r.

Errata: α6v.

Octauae Centuriae Historiae Ecclesiasticae [Caput I]: 1-942.

Rerum et verborum...index: R1r-T8r.

Colophon:

BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA IOAN-
NIS OPORINI, ANNO SALVTIS
humanae M. D. LXIIII. Men-
se Septembri.

Nona Centuria
E C C L E S I A S T I C A E
HISTORIAE, CONTINENS DESCRI-
PTIONEM AMPLISSIMARVM RERVM IN RE-
gno Christi, quae Nono post eius natiuitatem seculo acci-
derunt: cum Imperium Romanum gubernarent, Caro-
lus Magnus, Ludouicus Pius, Lotharius, Ludouicus secun
dus, Carolus Caluus, Carolus Crassus, Arnulphus: & Do-
ctores in Ecclesia praecipui excellerent, Hincmarus, Hay-
mo, Angelomus, Rabanus, Remigius, Ionas Aurelianen-
sis, Pascasius, Bertramus, Idiota, & alij quidam: eodem or
dine, diligentia & fide, ut superiores Centuriae, ex
uetustis & probatis Historicis, Patri-
bus, & alijs scriptoribus:

IN DVCATV ILLVSTRISSIMORVM PRIN-
CIPVM AC DVCVM MEGAPOLENSIVM,
in ciuitate Vuismaria,
PER AVTORES CONTEXTA.

*Accessit rerum uerborumq; in hac Centuria praecipue memora-
bilium, tum locorum Scripturae obiter explica-
torum, INDEX.*

[device]

*BASILEAE, PER IOAN. OPORINUM
& haeredes Ioan. Heruagij.*

Signed: a^6, b^4, a-z, A-E^6, F^8. 640 numbered columns, from p. a1r.

Dedication: To Hugo and Wolfgang von Schönberg, Herren zu Glauchau und Waldburg, Georg II von Gleichen-Tonna, and Heinrich ("der Friedsame") and Heinrich ("der Junge") Reussen von Plauen: ^{1}a2r-^{1}b4r.

Nonae Centuriae Historiae Ecclesiasticae [Caput I]: cols. 1-640.

Locorum scripturae...index: E1r.

Rerum et verborum...index: E1r-F7r.

Colophon:

BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA IOAN-
NIS OPORINI, ANNO SALVTIS
humanae M. D. LXV. Men-
se Septembri.

Decima Centuria
E C C L E S I A S T I C A E
HISTORIAE, CONTINENS DE=
SCRIPTIONEM AMPLISSIMARVM RERVM IN RE-
gno Christi, quae Decimo post eius natiuitatem seculo
acciderunt: cum Imperium Romanum guvernarent,
Ludouicus tertius, Cunradus primus, Heinricus primus:
Otto primus, dictus Magnus: Otto secundus, & Otto ter-
tius: & Doctores in Ecclesia praecipui excellerent, Gilber-
tus, Ansbertus, Rudolphus, Theophylactus, Smaragdus,
& alij quidam: eodem ordine, diligentia & fide, ut supe-
riores Centuriae, ex uetustis & probatis hi-
storicis, patribus, & alijs scri-
ptoribus:

IN DVCATV ILLVSTRISSIMORVM
Principum ac Ducum Megapalensium, in ciui=
tate Vuismaria,

PER AVTORES CONTEXTA.

Accessit Rerum uerborumq; in hac Centuria praecipue me=
morabilium, tum Locorum Scriptorae explicato-
rum, geminus INDEX.

[device]

BASILEAE, PER IOAN-
nem Oporinum. 1567.

Signed: a-z, A-I^{6}, K^{8}. 722 numbered leaves.

Dedication: To Adolph Hermann Riedesel: a2r-a3v. (a2v, numbered 4, to a3v, numbered 6.)

Decimae Centuriae Historiae Ecclesiasticae [Caput I]: cols. 7-722.

Locorum Scripturae...index: H1r-H5r.

Rerum et verborum...index: H5v-H7r.

Errata: H7r.

Colophon:

BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA IO-
ANNIS OPORINI, ANNO SALVTIS
humanae per CHRISTVM partae,
M. D. LXVII. Mense Se=
ptembri.

Vndecima Centuria
E C C L E S I A S T I C A E
HISTORIAE, CONTINENS DE=
SCRIPTIONEM AMPLISSIMARVM RERVM IN RE-
gno Christi, quae Vndecimo post eius natiuitatem seculo
acciderunt: cum Imperium Romanum gubernarent,
Heinricus secundus, Cunradus secundus, Heinricus ter-
tius, & Heinricus quartus: & Doctores in Ecclesia praeci-
pui excellerent, Berno Augiensis abbas, Algerus, Bruno
Herbipolensis, Petrus Damianus, Leo nonus, Lanfran-
cus, Anselmus Cantuariensis, Iuo, Mehinhardus, &
alij quidam: eodem ordine, diligentia & fide, ut supe-
riores Centuriae, ex uetustis & probatis hi-
storicis, patribus, & alijs scri-
ptoribus:

IN DVCATV ILLVSTRISSIMORVM
Principum ac Ducum Megapolensium, in ciui-
tate Vuismaria,

PER AVTORES CONTEXTA.

Accessit Rerum uerborumq; in Hac Centuria praecipue me-
morabilium, tum Locorum Scripturae explicato-
rum, geminus INDEX.

[device]

BASILEAE, PER IOAN-
nem Oporinum. 1567.

Signed: a-z, A-M^{6}, N^{8}. 766 numbered columns.

Dedication: To the city of Lindau: a2r-b1v. (a2v, numbered 4, to b2v, numbered 14.)

Vndecimae Centuriae Historiae Ecclesiasticae [Caput I]: cols. 15-766.

Locorum sacrae Scripturae...index: K4r-K6r.

Rerum et verborum...index: K6v-N7r.

Errata: N7r.

Colophon:

BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA PAV=
LI QVECI, SVMPTIBVS IOANNIS OPORINI, AN-
no Salutis humanae per CHRISTVM partae,
M. D. LXVII. Mense
Septembri.

Duodecima Centuria
E C C L E S I A S T I C A E
HISTORIAE, CONTINENS DE=
SCRIPTIONEM AMPLISSIMARVM RERVM IN RE-
gno Christi, quae Duodecimo post eius natiuitatem se-
culo acciderunt: cum Imperium Romanum guberna-
rent, Heinricus quartus, Heinricus quintus, Lotharius
Saxo, Cunradus tertius, Fridericus Barbarossa, Heinri-
cus sextus: & Doctores in Ecclesia praecipui excellerent,
Petrus Alfonsus, Honorius Augustodunensis, Hugo S.
Victoris, Rupertus Tuitiensis, Bernhardus, Richardus,
Petrus Cluniacensis, Petrus Lombardus, Hugo Heteria-
nus, Iohannes Salesburiensis, Anselmus Auelbergensis,
Potho presbyter, Berengosius, Eckbertus, Hildebertus
Cenomanensis, Petrus Blesensis, Petrus Cantor, & alij
quidam: eodem ordine, diligentia & fide, ut superio-
res Centuriae, ex uetustis & probatis historicis,
patribus, & alijs scripto-
ribus:

IN DVCATV ILLVSTRISSIMORVM
Principum ac Ducum Megapolensium, in ciui=
tate Vuismaria,

PER AVTORES CONTEXTA.
Accessit Rerum uerborumq; in hac Centuria praecipue me-
morabilium, tum Locorum Scripturae explicato-
rum, geminus INDEX.

[device]

BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA OPO-
RINIANA. 1569.

Signed: a-z, A-Z, Aa-Zz, AA-QQ^{6}. 1930 numbered columns.

Dedication: To Julius, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg: a2r-a4v. (a2v, numbered 4, to a4v, numbered 8.)

Duodecimae Centuriae Historiae Ecclesiasticae [Caput I]: cols. 9-1930.

Locorum Scripturae...index: MM5v-NN1v.

Rerum et verborum...index: NN2r-QQ6r.

Decimatertia Centuria
E C C L E S I A S T I C A E
HISTORIAE, CONTINENS DE-
SCRIPTIONEM AMPLISSIMARVM RERVM IN
Regno Christi, quae Decimotertio post eius natiuitatem seculo acciderunt: cum Imperium Romanum gubernarent, Philippus Barbarossae filius, Otto quartus, Fridericus secundus, Cunradus, Rodulphus, Adolphus: & Doctores in Ecclesia celebres essent, Gulielmus Parisiensis, Ioachim Abbas, Alexander de Ales, Innocentius tertius, Bonauentura, Thomas de Aquino, Albertus Magnus, Egidius Romanus, Iohannes Duns Scotus, Hugo, Iacobus de Vitriaco, & alij quidam: eodem ordine, diligentia, fide, ut superiores Centuriae, ex Historicis, patribus, & alijs scriptoribus:

IN DVCATV ILLVSTRISSIMORVM
Principum ac Ducum Megapolensium, in ciuitate Vuismaria,

PER AVTORES CONTEXTA.

Accessit Rerum uerborumq; in hac Centuria praecipue memorabilium, tum Locorum Scripturae explicatorum, geminus INDEX.

[device]

BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA OPORINIANA. 1574.

Signed: a-z, A-Z, Aa-Pp^{6}, Qq^{8}. 1378 numbered columns.

Dedication: To Anarck Friedrich Wilfenfels von Ronneburg: a2r-a4r. (a2v, numbered 4, to a4r, numbered 7.)

[Poem] Vera Dei Ecclesia nunquam penitus deleri potest: a4v.

Decimatertiae Centuriae Historiae Ecclesiasticae [Caput I]: cols. 9-1378.

Locorum Scripturae...index: Nn1v-Nn2v.

Rerum et verborum...index: Nn3r-Nn7v.

Colophon:

BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA OPORINIANA,
Anno Salutis humanae M. D. LXXIIII.
Mense Ianuario.

Sixteenth-Century Books

Braun, Konrad. *Aduersus novam historiam ecclesiasticam....* Dillingae: Sebaldus Mayer, 1565.

Canisius, Peter. *Commentarii de Verbi Dei corruptelis....* Dillingae: Sebaldus Mayer, 1571, 1572; Ingolstadii: Weissenhorn, 1577.

Copus, Martin. *Mercurius triumphans.* Magdeburg: Johann Franck, 1600, 1601.

_____. *Das Spissglas Antimonium oder Stibium genandt/* in ein Glas gegossen/ es sey Geel oder Rodt/ das man Vtrum Antimonij nennet/ ein wärhafftige Gifft vnd gantz gefehrliche schedliche Artzney sey.... s.l.: 1569.

Eisengrein, Wilhelm. *Catalogus testium veritatis locupletissimus omnium orthodoxae matris Ecclesiae doctorum....* Dillingae: Sebaldus Mayer, 1565.

_____. *Centenarius I II ...aduersus nouam historiam Magdeburgensium.* Ingolstadii: Alexander et Samuel Weissenhorn: 1566; Moguntinae: 1568.

Faber, Basilius. *Christliche/ nötige vnd nützliche vnterrichtungen/ von den letzten hendeln der Welt.* Leipzig: Vögel i.e., Hans Steinmann , 1572.

_____. *Thesaurus eruditionis scholasticae.* See Chapter VIII, footnote 21.

Flacius, Matthias. *Apologia matthiae Flacij. Illyrici ad Scholam Vitebergensem in Adiaphororum causa. Ejusdem Epist. de eadem materia ad Phil. Mel. Item quaedam alia eiusdem generis.* Magdeburg: Michael Lotter, 1549.

_____. *Catalogus testium veritatis, qui ante nostram aetatem reclamarunt Papae. Opus varia rerum, hoc praesertim tempore scitu dignissimarum, cognitatione refertum, ac lectu cum primis utile atque necessarium....* Basileae: Johann Oporinus, 1556.

_____. "Narratio actionum et certaminum," in Conrad Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus haereticorum,* XII, 802-857. Manuscript copy in Regensburg Stadtarchiv, Eccles. I, 21, 32 149 . Translation in August Detlev Twesten, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, pp. 64-93.

_____. *Refvtatio invectivae Bruni contra Centurias Historiae Ecclesiasticae*: in qua simul recitantur amplius 100 Historica, maximique momenti Papistarum mendacia.... Basileae: Johann Oporinus, 1566.

_____. *Vermahnung Matt. Flacij Illyrici zur Gedult vnd Glauben zu Gott....* Magdeburg: Christian Rödinger, 1551.

_____. *Von der einigkeit/ so für vnd wider die Adiaphora in vorgangenen Jaren gestritten haben/ Christlicher einfeltier bericht/ sehr nützlich zu lesen/ durch Matth. Flac. Illyricus.* Magdeburg: 1556.

_____. *Zwey Capitel Polydori Virgilij von Namen und Stiffern der Mess ....* Magdeburg: Christian Rödinger, 1550.

Genebrard, Gilbert. *Chronographiae libri quatuor....vniuersae historiae speculum, in Ecclesiae praesertim saeculo, a mendaciis, malis, imposturis Centuriatorum, aliorumque haereticorum detersum.* Paris: Aegidius Gorbinus (Martinus Iuuenis), 1580.

_____. *Traicte de la liturgie ou s. messe selon, l'usage et forme des apostres, & de leur disciple Sainct Denys, apostre des François,* 2. ed. Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1594.

Helding, Michael. *Brevis instructio ad christianam pietatem secundum doctrinam catholicam....* Mainz: Ivo Schöffer, 1549. Most bibliographies cite only 1550; my personal copy is dated 1549.

_____. *Von der hailigisten Messe:* Fünffzehen Predige, zu Augspurg aff dem Reichstag/ im Jar M. D. XLVIII. gepredigt.... Ingolstadii: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1549.

Heshusius, Tilemann. *D. Tilemanni Heshusij andere notwendige verantwortung/ wieder der verfolger vnnd falschen Prediger zu Magdeburg grausame Schmachschrifft/ vnter dem vermeinten titel Nothwehr aussgangen....* s.l.: 1564.

_____. *Antwort Doct. Tilemanni Hesshusij auff der Lügenprediger von Magdeburg vermeinte vnnd vngegründte Apologia.* s.l.: 1564.

_____. *Assertio sacrosancti Testamenti Iesu Christi contra blasphemam Calvinistarum exegesin sine authoris nomine editam....* Regiomonti: Joannes Daubmannus, 1574.

_____. *Gründliche vnd bestendiger widerlegung/ der grausamen vnartigen Calumnien M. Siegfridi Lügensacks/ Magdeburgischen Schulmeisters. Doctor Tilemannus Hesshusius Exul.* s.l.: 1564.

_____. *Gründliche widerlegung des falschen vnnd selbst angemasten vermeinten vrtheils/ Herrn Niclassen von Ambsdorff/ in der Magdeburgischen sache....* s.l.: 1564.

_____. *Gründtliche wiederlegung der abwitzigen vnnd Lesterlichen Protestation Doct. Frantzen Pfeil syndici der alten Stadt Magdeburg....* s.l.: 1564.

_____. *Des Raths der alten Stadt Magdeburgk Bericht/ Aus was beweglichen vrsachen sich itziger zeit/ etzlich hendel zugetragen/ Sampt zngehengter Christlicher bitt/ ermanung vnd erbietung.... D. Tilemanni Heshusij notwendige entschuldigung/ vnd grůndliche verantwortung/ Wider den ertichten Bericht/ des Raths der alten Stad Magdeburgk/ von der Ausfůhrung der Prediger daselbst ....* s.l.: 1562.

Judex, Matthaeus. *Einfeltiger vnterricht fůr die Christen in Magdeburgk/ was von des Herrn Amssdorffij vormeintem Vrteil nach Gottes Wort vnd dem heiligen Catechismo zu halten sey/ Gott zu ehren vnd zeugnuss der warheit geschrieben....* s.l.: 1563.

_____. *Ein vnterricht vnd Trostschrift/ an die betrůbte/ vnd von inwendigen geistlcihen feinden beengstigete Kirche zu Magdeburg.* s.l.: 1563.

Luther, Martin. *Die letzte Predigt Doctoris Martini heiliger gedechtnis/ so ehr gethan hat zu Wittenberg/ am andern Sontag nach Epiphanias Domini den xvij Januarij. Jm M. D. xlvj. Jhar.* Magdeburg: 1549.

Magdeburg. *Antwort der Schuldiener in der lůblichen Alten Stadt Magdeburgk wider die vngegrůndete verleumdung D. Tilemanni Hesshusij Vesaliensis.* s.l.: s.d.

_____. *Apologia. Entschuldigung vnd warhafftige verantwortunge etzlicher Pfarherrn vnd Prediger der Christlichen Kirchen in der Alten Stadt Magdeburgk wieder der Vnchristliche vnd vngegrůndte schmahe vnd Ehrenruhige schrifft/ so vnter dem Namen D. Thilemanni Hesshusij Vesaliensis wieder Magdeburgk ausgangen.* s.l.: s.d.

_____. *Des Radts der Altenstadt Magdenburgk. Bericht/ aus was beweglichen vrsachen sich jtziger zeit/ etzlich hendel zugetragen/ sampt angehengter Christlicher bitt/ ermanung vnd erbietung....* Magdeburg: 1562.

_____. *Bericht/ Confession vnd Bekentnis des Raths/ aller Pastorn/ Prediger vnd Schuldiener der altenstadt Magdeburg/ der Lehr/ so daselbst zu diesen zeiten/ von Gottes gnaden noch vnuerruckt in Kirchen vnd Schulen gefurt wirdt.* Magdeburg: Joachim Walden, 1563.

_____. *Notwehre Des Raths vnd Syndici/ auch etzlicher Pastorn/ Prediger vnd Schulrectorn der Altenstadt Magdeburgk/ Wieder das geuehrliche/ ehrruhige vnd lesterliche/ doch vngegrůndte Buch/ so vnlangst vnter dem Namen vnd Scheintittel D. Tilemenni Heshusij Nothwendiger entschůldigung vnd verantwortung/ etc. Auff obgenante Raths Bericht von ausfůhrung etzlicher Prediger daselbst/ etc. Meuchlings abgedruckt vnd ausgesprengt worden.* s.l.: 1562.

_____. *Von ausfůhrung etzlicher gewesener Prediger zu Magdenburgk. Warhafftiger abdruck zweier Zeugebrieff/ Daraus klerlich zuersehen/ das den beiden damals regierenden Bůrgermeistern/ Bernharden Losen vnd Marcussen Gercken/ von jren abgůnstigen mit vngrund zugemessen*

wirdt/ Als solten sie dieselbigen hendel vor sich alleine geübt/ vnd die Prediger mit dem Lünenburgischen Edict wider die billigkeit bedrangt vnd beschwert. s.l.: s.d.

_____. *Von enturlaubung vnd Ausführung D. Tilemanni Hesshusij/ vnd etzlicher andern gewesenen Prediger der Altenstadt Magdenburgk/ warhafftige gegründte erzelung/ der geschicht vnd vrsachen/ wie/ wahero/ vnd warumb dieselbe anfenglich erstanden vnd ergangen sey/ Jtzo newlich im Druck ausgegengen....* s.l.: 1564.

Merkel, Heinrich. *Wahrhafftige Aussführlicher vnd gründlicher Bericht/ von der Altenstadt Magdeburgk Belagerung....* Magdeburg: Paul Donat, 1587.

Panvinio, Onofrio. *Chronicon ecclesiasticum....* Coloniae: Maternus Cholinus, 1568; Lovanii: Joannes Bogardus, 1573.

_____. *De primatu Petri et apostolicae sedis potestate, libri tres* ...nunc primum editi contra Centuriarum auctores. Veronae: H. Discipulus, 1589; Venetiis: Franciscus Senensis, 1591.

Pfeil, Franz. *Der Altenstadt Magdenburgk Syndici D. Frantzen Pfeyls Notwendige Protestation/ Kegenbericht vnd Erklerung wider D. Tilemanni Hesshusij Schmachbuch/ so vnlangst vnter dem Titel Nothwendiger entschuldigung/ etc. Wider einen Erbarn Rath gemeldter Stadt ausgesprengt worden....* s.l.: 1563.

Praetorius, Zacharius. *Luctus et testimonia Ecclesiae quae est in comitatu Mansfeldensi de obitu reuerendi viri D. Matthaei Iudicis. Adiecta sunt epitaphia sanctae matronae Annae, uxoris reverendi et clariss: Viri D. Doctoris Til: Meshusii.* Eisleben: Urbanus Gubisius, 1565.

Rostock. University. *Scripta in academia Rostochiensi publice proposita, ab anno Christi 1560. vsque Octobrem anni 1563. & inde ad initium anni 1567....* Rostochii: Jacobus Transylvanus, 1567.

Schlüsselburg, Conrad. *Catalogi haereticorum liber I[-XIII]....* Francofurti: Joannes Saurius, 1592-1599.

_____. *Oratio funebris, de vita et obitu reverendissimi viri, pietate, doctrina, humanitate et constantia praestantis D. Ioannis Wigandi ....conscripta & habita in schola Vuismariensi.* Francoforti ad Moenum: Ioannes Spies, 1591.

Schoppe, Andreas. "Oratio de vita M. Judicis," in Matthaeus Judex, *Epistolarium festivalium...explicatio* (Eisleben: Andreas Petri, s.d.), pp. [8r-n8v; and in Thomas Crenius [Crusius], *Animadversiones philologicae et historicae* (Lugdunum Batavorum, etc.: F. Haring, etc., 1695-1720), VI, 49-74.

Weimar Disputation. *Disputatio de originali peccato et libero arbitrio, inter Matthiam Flacium Illyricum & Victorinum Strigelium publice*

Vinariae per integram hebdomadam, praesentibus illustriss. Saxoniae Principibus, anno 1560 initio mensis Augusti habita.... s.l.: 1563.

Wigand, Johann. *Ein Brieff Doctoris Johannis Wigandi an Herrn Nicolaum Amssdorff.* s.l.: 1563.

_____. *Confessio, oder Bekandtniss reiner Lehre....* Erffurt: Esias Mechler, 1582.

_____. *De arguendis falsis dogmatibus et doctoribus....* Erfordiae: Esias Mechler, 1580.

_____. *De cuculo: Umbra nocturna: Capella coeliesti: Bubone et Margarita. Historiae observationes quaedam. Johan. Wigand....* Regiomonti: Georgius Osterberg, 1586.

_____. *De ecclesiastica historia: quae Magdeburgi contexitur, vera narratio, contra quorundam diffamationes, a gubernatoribus et operariis eius historiae aedita.* Magdeburg: 1558.

_____. *De manichaeismo renouato....* Leipzig: Henning Grosse, 1587.

_____. *De osiandrismo....* Leipzig: 1586.

_____. ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑ, *seu corpus doctrinae Christi ex N. T. tantum, methodica ratione, singulari fide et diligentia congestum....* Basileae: Johann Oporinus, 1560.

_____. *Vera historia de succino Borussico, de alce borussica et de herbis in Borussia nascentibus. Item de sale creatura Dei saluberrima, consideratio Methodica et Theologica per Ioannem Wigandum....*iam vero primum in studiose iuuentutis gratiam in lucem edita studio et opera Iohannis Rosini. Ienae: 1590.

Wittenberg. *De ecclesiastica historia: quae Magdeburgi contexitur, narratio, contra Menium, et Scholasticorum Wittenbergensium epistolas, a gubernatoribus et operariis eius historiae edita Magdeburgi. Cum responsione scholasticorum Witebergensium ad eandem.* Wittenberg: 1558.

_____. *Epistolae, editae contra Matthiam Flacium Illyricum,* anno M. D. LVIII. quibus respondetur ad toties cum fastidio impudentissime repetitas virulentas & falsas crimationes Flacii, aduersus harum regionum Ecclesias.... Wittenberg: Johann Schwertl, 1571.

University Matriculations

Frankfurt an der Oder. *Aeltere Universitäts Matrikeln*: I. Universität Frankfurt an der Oder, hrsg. von Ernst Friedländer. Publicationen aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven, 32, 36, 49. Leipzig: G. Hirzel, 1887-1891.

Helmstedt. *Album Academiae Helmstadiensis*, bearb. von Paul Zimmermann, Band I., Album Academiae Juliae, Abteilung 1: Studenten, Professoren etc. der Universität Helmstedt von 1574-1636. Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hannover, Oldenburg, Braunschweig, Schaumburg-Lippe und Bremen, 9[1]. Hannover [Hildesheim: August Lax; Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz], 1926.

Königsberg. *Die Matrikel des Alberts-Universität zu Königsberg in Preussen, 1544-1829*, hrsg. von Georg Erler [und E. Joachim]. Publikation des Vereins für die Geschichte von Ost- und Westpreussen. Leipzig: Dunker & Hemboldt, 1910-1917.

Rostock. *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock*, mit Unterstürzung des Grossherzoglich Mecklenburg-Schwerinschen Ministeriums und der Ritter- und Landschaft beider Mecklenburg, hrsg. von Adolph Hofmeister [und Ernst Schäfer]. Rostock: Stiller (G. Nusser), 1889-1919.

Wittenberg. *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, ed. Carolus Eduardus Foerstmann. Leipzig: Carolus Tauchnitius, 1841-1905.

Library and Manuscript Catalogues

Baumgarten, Siegmund Jakob. *Bibliothecae Baumgartenianae pars I[-II]*. Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer, 1765-1767.

Boos, H. *Die Handschriften der Ministerialbibliothek zu Schaffhausen*, im Auftrag eines W. E. W. Ministeriums, verzeichnet von H. Boos. Schaffhausen: Brodtmann, 1877.

Chaix, Paul. *Les livres imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600*. Nouvelle édition, revue et augmentée par Gustave Moeckli. Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance, 86. Genève: Librairie Droz, 1966.

Günther, Otto. *Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*. Danzig: L. Saunier, 1902-1921.

Heinemann, Otto von. *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*. Wolfenbüttel: Julius Zwissler, 1888-1913.

Heinsius, Wilhelm. *Allgemeines Bücher-Lexikon [1700-1810]*. Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1812.

Kayser, Christian Gottlob. *Vollständiges Bücher-Lexicon [1750-1832]*. Leipzig: Ludwig Schumann, 1834-1835.

Lehmann, Paul. *Eine Geschichte der alten Fugger Bibliotheken*. Schwäbische Forschungsgemeinschaft bei der Kommission für Bayerische Landesgeschichte, Reihe 4, Band 3: Studien zur Fuggergeschichte, 12. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1956-1960. The second volume contains important catalogues for the Vatican library, chiefly materials originally in the possession of Ulrich Fugger and/or Ottheinrich of the Palatinate.

Seraphim, A. *Handschriften-Katalog der Stadtbibliothek Königsberg i. Pr.* Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek Königsberg i. Pr., I. Königsberg: 1909.

*

Paul Oskar Kristeller. *Latin Manuscript Books Before 1600*: A List of the Printed Catalogues and Unpublished Inventories of Extant Collections. 3d ed. New York: Fordham University Press, 1965.

Primary Documents

Acta borussica ecclesiastica, civilia, literaria, oder Sorgfältige Samlung allerhand zur Geschichte des Landes Preussen gehöriger Nachrichten/ Urkunden/ Schrifften vnd Documentation. Königsberg und Leipzig: Christoph Gottfried Eckart, 1730-1733.

Acta Reformationis Catholicae: ecclesiam Germaniae concernantia saeculi XVI. Die Reformverhandlungen des deutschen Episkopats von 1520 bis 1570, hrsg. im Auftrag und mit Unterstützung der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum von G[eorg] Pfeilschifter. Regensburg: Pustet, 1959-

Arnold, Simon Johannes. *Decus Magdeburgense*: seu Centuriae Magdeburgenses, cum excercitatione ad centuriam decimam quartam. Magdeburg: 1715 (1716, 1717, 1718).

Das Augsburger Interim von 1548: Nach dem Reichstagsakten deutsch und lateinisch, hrsg. von Joachim Mehlhausen. Texte zur Geschichte der Evangelischen Theologie, 3. Neukirchen/Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970.

Bibl, Victor. "Die Briefwechsel zwischen Flacius und Nidbruck: Aus den Handschriften 9737 b, i, und k der k. u. k. Hofbibliothek in Wien," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich*, 17 (1896), 1-24; 18 (1897), 201-238; 19 (1898), 96-110; 20 (1899), 84-116.

Burmann, Petrus. *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum tomi quinque....* Leidae: Samuel Luchtman, 1727.

Canisius, Peter. *Epistulae et acta, collegit et adnotationibus illustravit Otto Braunsberger.* Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder, 1896-1923.

Chytraeus, David. *Epistolae nunc demum in lucem editae a D. Chytraeo authoris filio....* Hanoviae: Wechel [haeredes J. Aubrii], 1614.

Crenius, Thomas. *Animadversiones philologicarum et historicarum pars I[-XIX]*. Lugduni in Batavo: Abraham de Swart; Roterodami: Isaac van Ruznen, 1695-1720.

Fischlin, Ludwig Melchior. *Memoria theologorum Wirtembergensium:* h. e. biographia praecipuorum virorum, qui a tempore Reformationis usque ad hanc nostram aetatem partim in Ducatu Wirtembergico Vrbum Domini docuerunt, partim extra suam hanc patriam vocati Ecclesiae Christi aliis in terris inservierunt....: Ulmae: Georg Wilhelm Kühn, 1709.

Horawitz, Adalbert. "Beiträge zu den Sammlung von Briefen Philipp Melanchthons," *Sitzungberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philologisch-Historische Classe*, 76 (1874), 299-324 (also published separately, Wien: Karl Geold's Sohn, 1874).

Hortleder, Friedrich. ...*Von den Ursachen des Teutschen Kriegs Käiser Carls des Fünfften, wider die Schmalkaldische Bundts Oberste.* Frankfurth am Mayn: Hartmann Palthenius, 1617-1618; Gotha: Endters, 1645.

Hus, Jan. *Opera omnia*, nach Handschriften hrsg. von Wenzel Flajšhans [und Marie Kominkova]. Prag: J. Bursik, J. R. Vilímek, 1903-1907.

Melanchthon, Philipp. *Epistolae, iudicia, consilia, testimonia aliorumque ad eum epistolae quae in Corpore Reformatorum desiderantur.* Undique ex manuscriptis et libris editis collegit et secundum seriem annorum dierumque disposuit Henricus Ernestus Bindseil. Halle: Gustav Schwetschke, 1874; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1975.

_____. *Opera quae supersunt omnia.* Edidit Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider [et Henricus Ernestus Bindseil]. Halle [Braunschweig]: C. A. Schwetschke, 1834-1860.

Schlüsselburg, Conrad. *Studium ecclesiae Filij Dei*....Hoc est, Epistolarum clarissimorum quorundam theologorum volumen.... Rostochii: J. Haller [M. Saxonius], 1624.

Schottenloher, Karl. *Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich und das Buch*: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Evangelischen Publistik, mit Anhand: Das Reformationsschrifttum in der Palatina. Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 50/51. Münster in Westf.: Aschendorff, 1927.

Steinmann, Martin. "Aus dem Briefwechsel des Basler Druckers Johannes Oporinus," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 69 (1969), 103-203.

Stintzing, Rudolf von. *Georg Tanners Briefe an Bonifacius und Basilius Amerbach, 1554-1567*: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Novellen-Editionen, hrsg. und erl. von Rudolf von Stintzing. Bonn: Carl Georgi, 1879.

Westphal, Joachim. *Briefsammlung des Hamburgischen Superintendenten Joachim Westphal aus den Jahren 1530 bis 1575*, bearb. und erläutert von C. H. W. Sillem. Hamburg: Lucas Gräfe & Sillem, 1903.

Wigand, Johann. "Leben D. Joh. Wigandi, von ihm selbst, mit eigner Hand geschrieben aus dem Original der Königsbergischen Stadt=Bibliothek," *Fortgesetzte Sammlung von Alten und Neuen theologischen Sachen, Büchern, Urkunden, Controversien, Veränderungen, Anmerckungen, Vorschlägen, u.s.w. 1738* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Braun, 1738), 601-620.

Secondary Literature

Aland, Kurt. "Die Theologische Fakultät Wittenberg und ihre Stellung im Gesamtzusammenhang der Leucorea während des 16. Jahrhunderts," *450 Jahre Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* (Wittenberg: 1952), I, 155-237.

Baumgarten, Paul Maria. *Hispanica IV*: Spanische Versuche der Widerlegung der Centuriae Magdeburgenses. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Krumbach: Franz Aker, 1927.

Baumgarten, Siegmund Jakob. *Nachrichten von Merckwürdigen Büchern*. Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer, 1752-1758.

Baur, Ferdinand Christian. *Die Epoche der kirchlichen Geschichtsschreibung*. Tübingen: Ludwig Friedrich Fues, 1852. (Also in *Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, hrsg. von Klaus Scholder [Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Friedrich Frommann (Günther Holzboog), 1963], II, 1-281.)

Benzing, Joseph. *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im Deutschen Sprachgebiet*. Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 12. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963.

_____. "Der Drucker Cyriacus Jacob zu Frankfurt am Main 1533 (1539)-1551," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 3 (1961), 1-18.

Bibl, Victor. *Maximilian II, der rätselhafte Kaiser*: Ein Zeitbild. Hellerau bei Dresden: Avalun, 1929.

_____. "Nidbruck und Tanner: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien und zur Characteristik König Maximilians II.," *Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte*, 85 (1898), 379-430.

Bollnow, Hermann. "Die Pommerschen Herzöge und die heimische Geschichtsschreibung," *Baltische Studien*, N. F. 39 (1937), 1-35.

Brandi, Karl. *Kaiser Karl V*: Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches. München: F. Bruckmann, 1939-1941.

Brecher, Adolf. s.v., "Gallus, Nicolaus," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 8 (1878), 351-356.

_____. s.v., "Wigand, Johann," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 42 (1897), 452-454.

Bröder, Paula. *Georg Cassanders Vermittlungsversuche zwischen Protestanten und Katholiken.* Marburg: L. Schwann, 1931.

Bucher, Otto. *Bibliographie der Deutschen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*: Teil I: Dillingen. Bibliotheca bibliographica, 5:1. Bad Bocklet, Wien, Zürich, Florenz: Walter Krieg, 1960.

Burckhardt, Andreas. *Johannes Basilius Herold*: Kaiser und Reich im protestantischen Schrifttum des Basler Buchdruckers um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 104. Basel und Stuttgart: Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1967.

Burkhardt, [C. A. H.] "Druck und Vertrieb der Werke Luther's: I. Die Jenaer Gesammtausgabe, 1553-1570," *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 32 (n.F., 26) (1882), 456-469.

Burkhardt, Johannes. *Die Entstehung der modernen Jahrhundertrechnung*: Ursprung und Ausbildung einer historiographischen Technik von Flacius bis Ranke. Göppinger akademische Beiträge, 43. Göppingen: Alfred Kümmerle, 1971.

Burmeister, Karl Heinz. *Achilles Pirmin Gasser, 1505-1577*: Artz und Naturforscher, Historiker und Humanist. Wiesbaden: G. Pressler, 1970.

Calixt, Friedrich Ulrich. *Die dem Rechsten schuldige Liebens= und Lebens=Pflicht...bey der BeErdigung des weiland Hoch Ehrwürdigen und Hochgelahrten Herrn, Herrn Gebh. Theodori Meiers....*vorgestellet von Johanne Rittmejern. Helmstädt: Georg-Wolffgang Hamm, 1694.

Church, Frederic C. *The Italian Reformers, 1534-1564.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1932.

Clemen, Otto. "Kleine Mitteilungen: Kaspar von Niedbruck als Büchersammler," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 59 (1942), 168-169.

Dolan, John Patrick. *The Influence of Erasmus, Witzel, and Cassander in the Church Ordinances and Reform Proposals of the United Duchies of Cleves during the Middle Decades of the 16th Century.* Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 83. Münster in Westf.: Aschendorff, 1957.

Eckstein. s.v., "Faber, Basilius," *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* (Ersch-Gruber), I 40 (Leipzig: J. A. Brockhaus, 1844), 12-13.

Elzer, Theodor. *Geschichte der Protestantischen Bewegung und der Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinde in Venedig.* Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1883.

Fischer, A[lbert] "Die Ordnung der evangelischen Gottesdienste in der Metropolitankirche zu Magdeburg zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*, 7 (1872), 129-146.

Geschichte der Universität Jena: 1548/58-1958: Festgabe zum vierhundertjährigen Universitätsjubiläum, im Auftrag von Rektor und Senat verfasst und hrsg. von einem Kollektiv des Historischen Instituts der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, unter Leitung von Max Steinmetz. Jena: VEB Gustav Fischer, 1958-1962.

Geschichte der Universitätsbibliothek Jena, 1549-1945. Claves Jenenses, 7. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1958.

Götze, Ludwig. "Magdeburger und Hallenser auf der Wittenberger Universität 1502-1560," *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*, 4 (1870), 125-152.

Gottlieb, Theodor. Review: "Schaumkell, Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien, Ludwigslust 1898....Bibl, V., Nidbruck und Tanner. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien und zur Characteristik König Maximilaisns II. Wien 1898," *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 164 (1902), 444-465.

Grimm, Heinrich. "Die Buchführer des Deutschen Kulturbereichs und ihre Niederlassungsorte in der Zeitspanne 1490 bis 1550," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 7 (1967), 1153-1772.

Häusle. s.v., "Centurien, Magdeburger," *Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon*, 2. Aufl., 3 (1884), 7-11.

Harnack, Adolf von. *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3. Aufl. Freiburg i.B. und Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1894-1897.

Hartknoch, Christophor. *Preussische Kirchen=Historia....* Franckfurt am Mayn und Leipzig: Simon Beckenstein [Dantzig], 1686.

Heidmann, Christopher. *Prima [Secunda] pars epitome historicae....*cura Gebhardi Theod. Meieri. Helmstadii: In Typographo Calixtino, 1660.

Heussi, Karl. "Centuriae," *Harnack-Ehrung*: Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte ihrem Lehrer Adolf von Harnack zu seinem 70. Geburtstage (7. Mai 1921), dargebracht von einer Reihe seiner Studenten (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1921), pp. 328-334.

_____. *Geschichte der theologischen Fakultät zu Jena*. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1954.

Heyden, Hellmuth. *Kirchengeschichte Pommerns*. Osteuropa und der deutsche Osten, Reihe 3, Buch 5. Köln-Braunsfeld: Rudolf Müller, 1957.

Hildebrandt, Hugo. "Ein vergessener vogelkundlicher Schriftsteller des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Journal für Ornithologie*, 78 (1930), 269-273.

Hoch, Erhard Ernst. *Disquisitio de Chronici, quod extat sub nomine Ioannis Carionis, vera et genuina origine*. Guelpherbyti: Johann Christoph Meisner, 1755.

Hiller, Lotte. *Die Geschichtswissenschaft an der Universität Jena in der Zeit der Polyhistorie (1674-1763)*. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1937.

Hoffmann, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Geschichte der Stadt Magdeburg*: neu bearb. von Gustav Hertel und Friedrich Hülse. Magdeburg: Albert Rathke, 1885.

Holtzmann, Rudolph. s.v., "Niedbruck, Kaspar von," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 52 (1906), 621-629.

Hornig, Gottfried. *Die Anfänge der historisch-kritischen Theologie*: Johann Salomo Semlers Schriftverständnis und seine Stellung zu Luther. Forschungen zur systematischen Theologie und Religionsphilosophie, 8. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961.

Hurter, Heinrich. *Nomenclator literarius theologiae catholicae....* Oenipontae: Wagner, 1903-1913.

Irmisch, Th[ilo]. *Beiträge zur Schwartzburgischen Heimatskunde*. Sondershausen: Friedrich August Eupel, 1905-1906.

Janicke, K[arl]. "Verzeichnis der Magdeburger Bürgermeister und Kämmerer von 1213 - 1607," *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*, 2 (1867), i, 276-289; ii, 393-406.

Joachimsen, Paul. "Loci communes: Eine Untersuchung zur Geistesgeschichte des Humanismus und der Reformation," *Luther-Jahrbuch*, 8 (1926); also in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*: Beiträge zu Renaissance, Humanismus und Reformation, zur Historiographie und zum deutschen Staatsgedanken (Aalen: Scientia, 1970), pp. 387-442.

Jundt, Auguste. *Les Centuries de Magdebourg, ou la Renaissance de l'historiographie ecclésiastique au siezième siècle*. Paris: Fischbacher, 1883.

Kawerau, G[ustav]. s.v., "Flacius, Matthias," *Realencyklopädie des Protestantischen Theologie und Kirche*, 3. Aufl., 6 (1889), 82-92.

_____. s.v., "Wigand, Johannes," *Realencyklopädie des Protestantischen Theologie und Kirche*, 3. Aufl., 21 (1908), 270-274 [a revision of the article in the second edition by Julius Wagenmann].

Keil, Richard. *Geschichte des Jenaischen Studentenlebens von der Gründung der Universität bis zur Gegenwart (1548-1858)*: Eine Festgabe

zum 300. Jubiläum der Universität Jena, von Richard und Robert Keil. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1858.

Klein, Thomas. *Der Kampf um die Zweite Reformation in Kursachsen, 1586-1591*. Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, 25. Köln, Graz: Böhlau, 1962.

Kleinstäuber, Christian Heinrich. "Ausführliche Geschichte der Studien-Anstalten in Regensburg, 1558-1880," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins von Oberpfalz und Regensburg*, 35 (1880), 1-152.

Klöss, Erhard Heinrich Georg. "Der Frankfurter Drucker-Verleger Weigand Han und seine Erben: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Buchgewerbe im 16. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 2 (1960), 308-374.

Külb, Philipp Hedwig. s.v., "Judex, Matthaeus," *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* (Ersch-Gruber) II 27 (Leipzig: J. F. Gleditsch, 1886), 347-349.

Lehmann, Paul. "Geisteswissenschaftliche Gemeinschafts= und Kollektivunternehmungen in der geschichtlichen Entwicklung," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Jahrgang 1956, Heft 5 (also in *Erforschung des Mittelalters*: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze [Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1941-1961], 4, 353-385).

Leuckfeld, Johann Georg. *Historia Hamelmani*.... Quedlinburg und Aschersleben: Ernst Gottlob Struntz, 1720.

_____. *Historia Heshusiana*.... Quedlinburg und Aschersleben: Ernst Gottlob Struntz, 1716.

Loesche, Georg. *Johann Mathesius*: Ein Lebens= und Sitten=Bild aus der Reformationszeit. Gotha: Friedrich A. Perthes, 1895; repr., Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1971.

Lütge, Friedrich. *Geschichte der Jenaer Buchhandels, einschliesslich der Buchdruckereien*. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1929.

Massner, Joachim. *Kirchliche Überlieferung und Autorität im Flaciuskreis*: Studien zu den Magdeburger Zenturien. Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums, 14. Berlin und Hamburg: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1964.

Müller, Johann Gottlieb. *Observationum miscellanearum decadem*....benevole censendam offerunt Joh. Gottlieb Müllerus...& Hartmannus Hermannus Müllerus. Rostochii: Jacob Richel, 1693.

Moldaenke, Günther. *Schriftverständnis und Schriftdeutung im Zeitalter der Reformation*. Teil I: Matthias Flacius Illyricus. Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte, 9. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1936.

Münch, G[otthard]. "Das Chronicon Carionis Philippicum: Ein Beitrag zur Würdigung Melanchthonis als Historiker," *Sachsen und Anhalt*, 1 (1925), 199-283.

Nadolski, Bronisław. *Ze studiów nad życiem literackim i kulturą umysłową na Pomorzu w xvi i xvii wieku.* Wrocław, etc.: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1969.

Nicolovius, Alfred. *Die Bischöfliche Würde in Preussens evangelischer Kirche*: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des evangelischen Kirchenrechts. Königsberg: August Wilhelm Unzer, 1834.

Nolte, Maria Elisabeth. *Georgius Cassander en zejn oecumenisch streven.* Nijmegen, Centrale Drukkerij, 1951.

Nürnberg-Geschichte einer europäischen Stadt, hrsg. von Gerhard Pfeiffer. München: Beck, 1971.

Olson, Oliver. "The 'Missa Illyrica' and the Liturgical Thought of Flacius Illyricus," Ph. D. dissertation, Hamburg University, 1966.

_____. "Theology of Revolution: Magdeburg, 1550-1551," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 3 (1972), 56-79.

Pallmann, Heinrich. *Sigmund Feyerabend.* Frankfurt: K. Th. Völker, 1881.

Paulus, N[ikolaus]. "Dr. Konrad Braun: Ein katholischer Rechtsgelehrter des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Historisches Jahrbuch [der Görres-Gesellschaft]*, 14 (1893), 517-548.

Pfleger, Luzian, "Wilhelm Eisengrein: Ein Gegner des Flacius Illyricus," *Historisches Jahrbuch [der Görres-Gesellschaft]*, 25 (1904), 774-792.

Piepkorn, Arthur Carl. "Matthias Flacius Illyricus: A Biobibliographical Sketch Related to FRR's Extensive Holdings," *Bulletin of the Library*: Information about Collections and Resources of the Foundation [now, Center] for Reformation Research, 4, 4 (December 1969), 37-38, 46-47.

Platzhoff, Walter, "Die Gesandschaft Hubert Languets als historische Quelle und als Spiegel seiner Persönlichkeit," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 113 (1914), 505-539.

Polman, Pontien. *L'Élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e siècle.* Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis: Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica consequendum conscriptae, Series II. Tomus 23. Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1932.

_____. "Flacius Illyricus, historien de l'église," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 27 (1931), 27-73.

Preger, Wilhelm. *Matthias Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit.* Erlangen: Theodor Blässing, 1859-1861; repr. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1964.

Pullapilly, Cyriac K. *Caesar Baronius*: Counter-Reformation Historian. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1975.

Rehtmeyer, Julius Philipp. *Historiae ecclesiasticae inclytae urbis Brunsvigae....*oder: Der berühmte Stadt Braunschweig Kirchen-historie. Braunschweig: L. Schröder, etc., 1707-1720.

Ritschl, Otto. *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908-1927.

Ritter, Johann Balthasar. *M. Matthiae Flacii, Illyrici, Ehemahls berühmt- und gelährten Theologi in Teutschland Leben und Tod....* Franckfurth und Leipzig: Johann Conrad Maximilian Ziegler, 1725.

Roth, Johann Ferdinand. *Geschichte des Nürnbergischen Handels.* Leipzig: A. F. Böhme, 1800-1802.

Rotscheidt, W[ilhelm]. "Georg Cassander: Ein Rheinischer Ireniker des 16. Jahrhunderts, von W. Rotscheidt und F[riedrich] Nippold," *Monats-Hefte für Rheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 12 (1918), 105-122, 310-313.

Ryan, E. A. *The Historical Scholarship of Saint Bellarmine.* Recueil de travaux publiés par les memberes des Conferences d'histoire et de philologie, 2° Série, 35° Fascicule. Louvain: Université de Louvain, 1936.

Sagittarius, Caspar. *Introductio in historiam ecclesiasticam et singulas eius partes....* Jenae: Henricus Christophorus Cröckerus, 1694.

_____. *Introductio in historiam ecclesiasticam....*curante Io. Andr. Schmidio. Jenae: Johann Felix Bielckius, 1718.

Salig, Christian August. *Vollständige Historie der Augspurgischen Confession und derselben Apologie....* Halle, Renger, 1730-1735.

Scharlemann, Martin H. "Lutheran Scholarship at Work (The Magdeburg Centuries)," *The Lutheran Scholar*, 6 (1949), 34-43.

Schaumkell, [Ernst]. *Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien.* Ludwigslust: Hinstorff, 1898.

Scheible, Heinz. *Die Entstehung der Magdeburger Zenturien*: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der historiographischen Methode. Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, Nr. 183, Jahrgang 72. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1966.

_____. "Der Plan der Magdeburger Zenturien und ihre ungedruckte Reformationsgeschichte," Doctoral dissertation, Heidelberg University, 1960.

Schlegel, Christian. *Ausführliche Bericht von dem Leben und Tod Caspari Aquilae*. Leipzig und Frankfurth: Michael Gottlieb Greissbach (Eisenach), 1737.

Schmaltz, Karl. *Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburgs*. Schwerin: Friedrich Bahn, 1935-1952.

Schmid, Johann Andreas. *Consilium quo omnibus protestantium ecclesiarum eruditis Centuriarum Magdeburgensium emendationem, defensionem, atque continuationem de meliori nota commendat*. Helmstadi: Jo. Melchior Susterpannus, 1700.

Schmid, Joseph. "Johannes Janssen, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters, Bde 7 & 8, erg. und hrsg. von Ludwig Pastor, 1893-1894," *Historisches Jahrbuch [der Görres-Gesellschaft]*, 17 (1896), 73-100.

Schottenloher, Karl. *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 1517-1585*: Im Auftrag der Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation. Leipzig [Stuttgart]: Karl W. Hiersemann [Anton Hiersemann], 1933-1966.

Schröder, Dietrich. *Kirchen=Historie des Evangelischen Mecklenburgs vom Jahr 1518 bis 1742*. Rostock: Christian Müller, 1788.

Schütz, Otto Friedrich. *De vita Davidis Chytraei commentariorum libri quatuor*. Hamburg: Johann Wolfgang Fickweiler und Christian Wilhelm Brandt, 1720-1728.

_____. *Supplementa historiae ecclesiasticae imprimis Lutheranae ad dimidium secul. xvi. quatuor libris exposita, quibus continetur Dau. Chytraei vita....* Hamburg: Christian Guilielmus Brandt, 1720-1728.

Schulte, Johann Wilhelm. "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien," *Jahres-Bericht der Philomathie* (Niesse), 19 (1877), 50-154 (also issued as a separate [Niesse: Graveur (G. Neumann), 1877]).

Semler, Johann Salomo. *Historiae ecclesiasticae selecta capita*: cum epitome canonum excerptis dogmaticis et tabulis chronologicis: Tomus primus, sex seculorum [secundus, secul. VII-XI.; tertius, secul. XII-XV.]. Halle, Johann Gottfried Trampius, 1767-1769.

_____. *Historische und kritische Sammlung über die so genannten Beweisstellen in der Dogmatik*. Halle, Helmstedt: 1764-1768.

_____. *Lebensbeschreibung von ihm selbst angefasst*. Halle: 1781-1782

Skalweit, Stephan. *Reich und Reformation*. Propyläen Bibliothek der Geschichte. Berlin: Propyläen, 1967.

Smith, Preserved. *The Age of the Reformation.* New York: Henry Holt, 1920.

Springinsguth, Daniel. *Wismarische Prediger=Historie,* oder Verzeichniss der h. h. Prediger, so vom Anfang der Reformation des Papsttums in Wismar das Evangelium geprediget....Fortgesetzt und ausgeführet von M. Dieter Schröder. Wismar: Andreas Seb. Winckler, 1734.

Starcke, Caspar Heinrich. *Lübeckischer Kirchen=Historie....* Hamburg: Theodor Christoph Felginer, 1724.

Steinmann, Martin. *Johannes Oporinus*: Ein Basler Buckdrucker um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 105. Basel und Stuttgart: Helbing & Lichtenbahn, 1967.

Stern, Alfred. s.v., "Carion, Johann," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* 3 (1876), 781.

Strobel, Georg Theodor. *Miscellaneen literarischen Innhalts.* Nürnberg: Johann Jakob Bauer, 1778-1782.

Twesten, A[ugust Detlev]. *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*: Eine Vorlesung. Mit autobiographischen Beilagen und einer Abhandlung über Melanchthons Verhalten zum Interim von Hermann Rossell. Berlin: G. Bethge, 1844.

Veit, Ludwig. *Handel und Wandel mit aller Welt*: Aus Nürnbergs grosser Zeit. München: Prestel, 1960.

Verheus, S. L. *Zeugnis und Gericht*: Kirchengeschichtliche Betrachtungen bei Sebastian Franck und Matthias Flacius. Bibliotheca humanistica & reformatorica, 1. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1971.

Weber, Hans Emil. *Reformation, Orthodoxie und Rationalismus.* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1937-1951. [Incomplete]

Wein, Kurt. "Johannes Wigand (1523-1587): Preussens erster Botaniker," *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften,* 35 (1942), 160-205.

Wiggers, Julius. *Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburgs.* Parchim und Ludwigslust: Hinstorff, 1840.

Wilkens, L. A. "Theologen und Buchdrucker in Jena 1572: Aus dem Autograph Wigand's in Cod. Augusteus Manuscr. fol. XI.9 der Wolfenbütteler Handschriften mitgetheilt," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde,* 4 (1860), 238-242.

Ziegler, Hildegard. *Chronicon Carionis*: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtschreibung des 16. Jahrhunderts. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1898.

PART SIX

DOCUMENTS

Introduction

The material transcribed in "Documents" is comprised of larger holographs in almost every case; there are no brief excerpts or compends. When it has been necessary to quote from an item in only a brief paragraph or sentence, when only a few words or lines are of significance, the original text is cited in a footnote with or without a translation in the narrative text.

"Documents" are divided into four chapters. In two of them, the second and third chapters, archival document sets have been kept together--including archival numbering schemes--so that new arrangements and/or numbers would not have to be introduced.

What is provided below is not an edition of the archival materials, but rather a simple transcription. Examination of the originals together with texts provided by Victor Bibl, in the case of Viennese papers, convinced me that a more editorially neutral transcription is to be preferred to an edition with all its emendations and textual conjectures. Transcription is preferred to the usual edition for these documents because most of them were never intended for publication; most are private communications or drafts in one stage or another of development. Those that are real fair copies are not in need of extensive editorial treatment and are better left alone. Editions tend to emend text too far,

normalize orthography and abbreviations too much, change the visual layout of sentences and paragraphs and outlines; that is, editions tend too often to confuse rather than clarify the meaning of the words on the original page. Therefore, legible strikeouts are typed as strikeouts, with hyphens through the letters. Insertions are enclosed in virgules. Illegible strikeouts are transcribed as three hyphens; illegible words are transcribed as "xxx." Marginalia are placed at the end of a document, because the text is often so extensive that it cannot be fitted on a typed page; marginalia fitted to the appropriate place on the page would be far superior, in my opinion, but can only be accommodated with good typesetting and a large page format. The lines of the transcription correspond to the lines of manuscript in every case.

The original orthography is preserved to the extent that it is possible with a modern typewriter. The several forms of "s" cannot be duplicated and digraphs cannot be reproduced. Words are spelled "plene" in cases of macronned "n" or "m" or vowel. Abbreviations are spelled out in full when ligatures cannot be reproduced. Nevertheless, the resulting typescript remains quite close to the original handwritten page. The lining and spacing of outlines, indentations and spacing of paragraphs, and other minor points of style are highly irregular, because the originals do not follow any patterns. The principle has been applied that it is better to allow inconsistency than to enforce uniformity on irregularly produced documents.

Concerning hands, some warnings and some advice are warranted. Each of the authors in "Documents" had several different handwritings. In general, one could say that each author had four hands: early and late,

German and Latin. Very, very few manuscript pieces are truly caligraphic in "Documents." They are, with a few exceptions, personal or recordkeeping hands of the historic characters themselves or of their secretaries ("amanuenses," or "domestici"). The manuals for Reformation-age handwritings are of little use when it comes to the secretarial hands; the handbooks are too interested in Luther, Melanchthon, Erasmus, and Eck. The handwriting of known secretaries and messengers has not been gathered and pictured anywhere, to my knowledge, presumably because paleographers have followed the priorities of collectors and editors who prize the autographs of famous men far out of proportion to the value of the less famous and of the fair copies made by faithful secretaries and scribes.

The dating of material by Flacius is very difficult in general, because most times and places have to be verified from internal evidence. He rarely dated or located his letters consistently and he frequently used pseudonyms and false locations and dates. The itinerarium that one can construct out of Preger's biography of Flacius is not sufficiently detailed or accurate to serve for dating or locating materials in the years when the Illyrian was traveling extensively in the mid 1550's.

DOCUMENTS I

MISCELLANY

As this research on the Magdeburg Centuries was begun six years ago, the Flacius letters in the Hartmann Beyer epistolarium were assumed to be critically important. After study of the letters in great detail, including transcriptions of all forty-seven of them and an index of names and places, the only reasonable conclusion was that Flacius was either not involved in the composition of the Magdeburg Centuries, or not telling Hartmann Beyer anything about his involvement. A few of the early letters are transcribed in "Documents I," and a complete list of the Flacius/Beyer correspondence is given at the end of "Documents II."

Likewise, the collection of letters in Cod. guelf. 361 Novi 2° was assumed to be very important for the history of the Magdeburg Centuries. They are, for the most part, letters to Flacius or to Flacius and one or two others, at a critical time in the development of the methodology for the church history project. The letters do include information about the religio-political issues of the time and--extensively--about book collecting and libraries. In the end, however, the only three critically important letters were those by Wigand to Flacius, after Flacius had left Magdeburg for Jena.

Materials in the Regensburg Stadtarchiv have proved to be very valuable, indeed. Regensburg, like Frankfurt, was a major communication

and trade center of the times: the highest port for heavy river transport on the Danube. The materials of Regensburg's "Ecclesiastica" are not indexed and there is no subset of the larger body of material that could be brought together within a reasonable amount of time. The archives' own finding list appears to be a copy of an earlier work or of a drafted calendar of papers; but it is not accurate, poorly indexed, and conjectures incorrect dates. Excerpts from materials in Regensburg are given in the footnotes of the text. The one spectacular addition to research in the Magdeburg Centuries is the copy of the letter to the centuriators from Maximilian, King of Bohemia, Archduke of Austria.

The collection titled "Supellex epistolarum," formerly of the Stadtbibliothek of Hamburg, now in the manuscript museum of the combined city and university library, has a complete copy of the Hartmann Beyer epistolarium. In a few instances scholars have used this collection with its unique numbering scheme. Where the Beyer materials are listed in "Documents II," for both Wigand and Flacius, equivalent numbering and foliation of the Hamburg copies are also given. There is not, however, a collated text, even though the Hamburg text has many curious readings.

Documents I

Documents I, 1	Flacius to Beyer, 7 March 1553, Magdeburg Frankfurt, SUB, BBS, No. 44 (201), ff. 237r-238v
Documents I, 2	Lanquet to Nidbruck, 1 December 1553, Wittenberg Vienna, NB, Cod. vind. pal. 9737i, f. 64r-65v
Documents I, 3	Gallus to Nidbruck, 2 December 1553, Regensburg Vienna, NB, Cod. vind. pal. 10364, f. 15v-16v
Documents I, 4	Lanquet to Melanchthon, 18 September 1556, Frankfurt Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. guelf. 79 Helmst. 2°, f. 130r-131v
Documents I, 5	Wigand to Nidbruck, 18 August 1556 [Magdeburg] Vienna, NB, Cod. vind. pal. 9737k, f. 64r-v
Documents I, 6	Nidbruck to Wigand, 19 October 1556, Regensburg Vienna, NB, Cod. vind. pal. 9737k, f. 171r-v
Documents I, 7	Wigand to Nidbruck, 19 November 1556 [Magdeburg] Vienna, NB, Cod. vind. pal. 9737k, f. 159r-v
Documents I, 8	Nidbruck to Wigand, 18 December 1556, Regensburg Vienna, NB, Cod. vind. pal. 9737k, f. 171v-172r
Documents I, 9	Wigand to Nidbruck, 5 May 1557 [Magdeburg] Vienna, NB, Cod. vind. pal. 9737k, f. 214r-215v
Documents I, 10	Nidbruck to Wigand, 12 July 1557, Regensburg Vienna, NB, Cod. vind. pal. 9737k, f. 222r
Documents I, 11	Wigand to Flacius, 10 August 1557 [Magdeburg] Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. guelf. 361 Novi, ff. 167r-v
Documents I, 12	Wigand to Flacius, 8 February 1558 [Magdeburg] Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. guelf. 361 Novi, ff. 168r-v
Documents I, 13	Wigand to Flacius, 16 November 1558 [Magdeburg] Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. guelf. 361 Novi, ff. 169r-170v
Documents I, 14	Maximilian to the Centuriators, 22 October 1559, Vienna Regensburg, SA, Eccles. I, 20, f. 15.
Documents I, 15	Judex to Wigand [August 1560, Jena] Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. guelf. 11.7 Aug. 2°, f. 458r-v
Documents I, 16	Catalogus lectionum in Facultate Theologica [Jenense] Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. guelf. 75 Helmst. 2°, ff. 156v-157r

Flacius to Beyer
7 March 1553, Magdeburg

f. 238r S. Charissime Hartmanne, etsi de facie nobis mutuo ignoti simus, tamen de spiritu nobis mutuo & notissimos & amicissimos esse non dubito, ut non sit necesse me iam uel longis exordijs uel obliquis astutusque insinuationibus tuam beneuolentium captare. Scis prodiisse sub autumnum ferme blasphemum quendam libellum contra Euangelium Iesu Christi occasione proximi belli, sub titulo Marani, sed ab Augustano monacho, ut mihi inde scribitur, compositus. Ei rogatus a quibusdam Augustanis fratribus hanc meam qualemcunque responsiuncu= lam opposui & quia non dubito istic passim circa Rhenum blasphemias illas sparsas esse, ideo effeci non sine meis magnis sumptibus, ut hic ad uos 400 exemplaria perferret, una cum alijs quibusdam scriptis. Qui, quoniam istic ignotus est, & talia scripta proculdubio aliquatenus istic prohibita sunt, uehementer te oro ac propter Christum obsecro, ut ei in quarunque re demum poteris auxilio & consilio adsis. Rogaueram aliquando D. D. Alberum, qui iam noui Brandeburgi in Mechelburgia superintendens est, ut te oraret per literas, ut diligenter uelles cum Lugdunensibus mercatoribus agere, si qui istuc ad nundinas uentitarent, ac pij essent, ut uelint curare sedulo inquiri in suis bibliothecis, si quae uel historica de Waldensibus uel aliqua scripta eorum illic reperiri possint. Nam ibi primum orti sunt ante 400 annos. Id credo dudum effecisse. Quod si nindum fecesti, ut iam primo quoque tempore facias maximopere oro, fortassis Oporinus Basiliensis nobis in ea re inseruire posset. Quem eo uersus negociari audio. Non autem sine causa id a te peto. Magna enim quaedam ac sane longe supra meas uires conor, quae tamen eximiam utilitatem Ecclesiae Dei afferre possint. Primum cupio catalogum conscribi omnium eorum, qui ante R. D. D. Mart. Luth. piae memoriae aliquid scripserunt, dixerunt, aut senserunt, contra Papam eiusque errores. Deinde etiam optarim scribi integram historiam Ecclesiae inde a Christo usque ad nos, sicut consilium meum aliquanto clarius in hac scheda exposui. Catalogum ego utcunque congessi magis quam conscripsi. Is aliquando, fortassis breui, prodibit. Caeterum

f. 238v historiae scriptionem alicui doctori, styloque ualenti commendari uelim, uel non uni potius, sed tribus aut quatuor, quorum duo materias undiquaque conquirerent & comportarent, tertius omnia illa congesta scriptione pertexeret, ut ita quasi Apum quandam politiam melificationemque imitarentur. Ad hunc porro conatum cum alia infinita auxilia sunt necessaria, tum euro illud ante omnia, ut diligentissime conquirantur omnia uetera monumenta, quae qualiacunque uestigia historiae Ecclesiasticae comcomstrare possent, praesertim autem quae ueritatis aliqua uesti qui puriorisque doctrinae ostendere possent, seu quae speluncas, ut ita di=

cam nobis indicarent illorum septem milium omnibus
temporibus ob metum Romanae istius Iezabelis seu Thaidis
latitantium, & tamen genua ei non incuruantium sic inquit
undiquaque ex imis, ut ille pilosophys dixerat pueis ac foueis
emenda esset ueritas historiae puriorisque religionis, quo eam
non tantum tempus rerum edax & uetustas inuidiosa, sed etiam
Antichristi atque adeo ipsius tenebrarum Principis Satanae furor
fugauit & abstrusit, opprimendo dammosas sibi historias & piorum
scripta, quod abunde indicarant uetusta commentaria supra Apoca=
lypsim olim cum praefatione Lutheri impressa. Ad hanc ergo in=
quisitionem, si quod omnino consilium aut auxilium tu afferre
potes, oro te per Christum obtestor, ut id seculo dummoque stu=
dio facias. Verum uide, ne unquam facile hoc consilium meum com=
munices, nisi fido, ac adiuuare uolenti. Se enim papistae olfece=
rint, tanto studiosius omnia occultabunt, ut iam quosdam facere
intelligo. Praesertim autem meum esse hoc consilium sciri nolim.
Nam me praeter caeteros hoc tempore oderunt. Postremo oro
ut mihi secundum hanc insertam schedam gratificeris, nempe
ut alterius catalogi librorum tantum precium explores, al=
terus uero libros emas. Precium pro eis iste idem, quem tibi
commendo, exponet. Aut si ille non uolet, credo Chilianum
Viteb. bibliopolam, si modo ei indicatum fuerit, persoluturum.
Vale in Domino foeliciter. Madeb. 7 Martij 1553.

T. Jllyricus

The hand of the letter, with the exception of the last half line, appears to be that of Marx Wagner. The last half line and signature are Flacius autographs. The letter was published by Ritter in his biography of Flacius (pp. 64-67), with major emendations. The letter contained a copy of the "Scheda" (see Documents IV, 1).

Documents I, 2

Lanquet to Nidbruck
1 December 1553, Wittenberg

f. 65v

Clarissimo viro generis nobilitate
eruditione ac omni genere
virtutum ornatissimo Domino Doctorj
Gaspari a Nydbruk Regiae maies.
Ro/ Hung. boim./ & c/ consiliario
Domino meo perpetua observantia
colendo
Viennae

f. 64r

Clarissime Domine datis ad te literis in vallibus Joachimicis sic iter meum instituj, vt per Lipsiam transirem: sperans me ibj confecturum quae mandaueras. Quod non potui, et quot abesset Homelius, cum quo mihi praecipue agendum fuit. Erat qutem profectus in suam patriam. Non potui scire an fascem librorum acceperit ab hospite Naumburgensi. Nolui illud iter suscipere nisi eo prius conuento: ne forte id frustra facerem. Retinui apud me tuas ad eum literas: Vbi scivero eum rediisse eas statim mittam, & ad eum scribam, vel etiam illuc proficiscar: ut commodius tua negotia conficere possim. M. Gaspar accepit ab eo duos portugallenses ducatos Aberat etiam Dominus Camerarius: quare non potui per eos agere de indice Lipsensis bibliothecae ut mandaras. Egi tamen de hac re cum Paceo: qui dixit se habere partem illius, & curaturum vt reliqum habeat. Ille detinuit me per triduum cum diceret se velle ad te scribere, & etiam aliquid ~~scribere~~ mittere. Tandem dedit literas, & tabulam, quam ad te mitto. Ille videtur mihi habere satis magnam cognitionem antiquitatis: quare (meo iudicio) opera eius posset valde utilis ad id opus quod instituitis. Cum nullum haberem Lipsiae cui commode possem committere negotium emendi quae ibi eduntur, aut diebus festis venduntur, hoc commisi Paceo: qui pollicitus est se velle id curare per filium. Ad hoc dedi ei dimidium thalerum. Descripsi ei id quod a te habui de scismatibus, & etiam catalogum eorum librorum quos desideras. Pollicitus est se daturum operam vt in omnibus ijs tibi gratificetur. Commisit mihi aliqua seria sua negotio hic procuranda: quod facit vt credam eum non daturum mihi verba. Cum Lipsia huc venissem fui occupatus per diem integrum in reddendis literis quas ualde multas habebam. Hoc facto statim me contulj Magdeburgam: unde hero [23r] vesperj redij. Quamvis altissime essent niues volui tamen illuc properare, quia Illyricum ibj esse audiebam, & cogitare de discessu. Vtinam mihi Vienne clarior aperuisses id de quo mihi cum eo agendum fuit. Tradidi ej literas tuas quibus lectis cepimus deliberare, quonam pacto sit procedendum in negotio

de quo agis. Totum triduum in hoc insumpsimus. Tandem
in hoc convocimus ut iudicaremus melius esse scribere
perpetuam historiam ecclesiasticam a tempore Apostolorum, quae
etiam imperatorum
mutationes, & politica contineat: & hoc sine acerbitate: & ea
modestia fiat ut non videatur opus consulto directum aduersus
Papam. Cum autem hoc sit immensum opus, & ad quod
plures requirantur qui scribenti materiam suppeditent, & etiam
undecumque antiquos authores conquirant & evoluant, necesse
est constituj stipendium ab aliquo principe quatuor aut quinque
viris doctis qui se totos huic operi addicant. Putat Illyricus
Henricum Otthonem Palatinum Rheni aliquid in hac re
praestare velle. Sperat Joh de Johan/Frideric/ si ad aliquam
partem suorum redierit quod spes est breuj futurum. Nam
rex Daniae, & multi alij principes sedulo agunt de transigenda
ista controversia inter ipsum & ducem Augustum: &
dicitur negotium pene confectum esse. Quod ut credam
f. 64v eo adducor, quod Dux Augustus praesidia ex omnibus
oppidis suae ditionis dimittit. Magdeburgae dimissa sunt,
cum ibi essem. Hodie hinc dimittentur. Prior pars historiae
usque ad eversionem imperij Ro.j. videtur futura minus operosa
quia eorum temporum scriptores luculenti valde multi extant
Quare si nunc constitueretur stipendium ducentorum, aut
trecentorum florenorum, posset scriptor cum uno aut altero
rem aggredi. Ne vero sit scriptor Illyricus dicit se impediri et
humilitate stili, & multis occupationibus. [23v] certe ea res vacuum
& totum hominem requirit. Delectus est autem ad hanc rem
Gotscalcus Praetorius Magdeburgensis scolae moderator &
in linguis doctissimus, & in historiis bene versatus. Preterea
iuuenis est, & ultra quam dicit possit laboris patiens. Stilus
eius est purus, & satis splendidus. Aliquoties nobiscum
fuit cum de hac re deliberaremus. Rogavimus eum ut ad te
scriberet, aut aliquid nobis exhiberet tanquam specimen quod
ad te mitteremus. Respondit se breuj velle edere declamationem
quam ad te missurus sit. Poteris melius iudicare de stilo ex
nonnihil elaborata oratione. Meo iudicio ille poterit aliquid
praestare. Idem putat Illyricus qui quantum poterit eum in hac
re iuuabit. Spero idem facturos multos bonos viros ubi negotium
inceptum audiuerint. Magdeburgam putat Illyricus locum
aptum ad hanc rem: quod si tibi videtur, rogat ut ea monumenta
quae in Boemia, & alibi conquisivisti illuc mittas. Mihi
videretur haec ciuitas valde apta ad hanc rem si Illyricus
hic posset aut vellet esse. Ego enim in hoc negotio magnifico
iudicium Domini Praeceptoris, & aliorum doctorum virorum, qui
hic sunt: a quibus etiam promoverj opus posset. Preterea si
ex hac academia prediret maior esset eius apud omnes
bonos authoritas. Sed tamen hoc absque Illyrico (meo iudicio)
commode fieri non posset: qui vix adducj poterit ut ad huc veniat.
Dedit mihi suum Catalogum nondum impressum, & aliquos
indices ad te mittendos. Ea mitto cum tabula Pacej, Indice
librorum qui apud Oporinum inveniuntur, & indice
bibliothecae in Hassenstein, quem ea nocte quae praecessit

discussum meum ex vallibus misit ad me Baro Philippus
ab Hassenstein qui me prius ad bibliothecam deduxerat.
eum dissolutum curari per aliquot adolescentes describj
(properabat enim ad suum herum tabellarius) a quibus est
mendosissime descriptus. Noluj tamen eum emendare cum
nihil haberem preter coniecturas, quas tibi integras
relinquo. Non scribo de monumentis antiquis quae sunt
apud Illyricum: quoniam puto [24r] eum hoc facere. Dedi
ei negotium ut per otium videret, an posset aliquid haberj
excessum Magdeburgae a septem, aut octo annis, quod
non sit in catalogo tuo quem ej reliqui. Dedi etiam ej indicem
eorum librorum quos cupis habere. Catalogus visus est illi
tanta diligentia collectus ut diceret, se non credere nunc
posse inveniri tertiam partem librorum qui in eo continentur,
si nunc esset colligendus: se tamen diligenter omnia conquisiturum
dixit. Voluj ej dare pecunias ad hanc rem: sed nullo modo
potui ab eo impetrare ut acciperet. Verum rogavit me ut
aliquos libros ej hic emerem: quare curabo ut fiat aliqua
compensatio. Clarissime Domine ut possem voluntati
tuae satisfacere condonarj tibi meos affectus. Nam ita
versatus sum cum Illyrico vt putem me nihil commisisse
f. 65r quo potuerit animus eius a te abalienari. Ille me humanissime
excepit, & mecum de multis rebus egit, de quibus cum quouis
agere nollet. Is visus est mihi industrius, diligens, & certe
doctus. De pietate iudicare nollo: siquidem nullo modo animum
eius erga D. Preceptorem probare possum. Cum vellet me indicere
in sermones de istis contentionibus, potuit intelligere quam eas
non probarem: nam dixi ej satius esse multo doctos et pios
viros imponere finem istis contentationibus ob quas apud
omnes male audit ipsa veritas: & exercere ingenium in
refutandis horrendis heresibus quae nunc pullulare incipiunt
vidi enim nuper librum sine titulo in quo horribiles, & plusquam
Arrianae blasphemiae in filium Dei continebantur. Existimo
~~eum Serveti esse, qui dicitur~~ hoc anno sparsis suis venenis
Lugduni venisse Genevam ut idem faceret. Sed delatus ad
senatum coniectus fuit in carcerem ubi adhuc detinetur. Idem
dicitur moliri Stancarus in ea parte Polonie quae accedit
ad Marchiam Brandenburgensem. Sed ut ad Illyricum redeam
ille accepto a me hoc responso postea mecum de ijs rebus non
egit. [24v] Cum Magdeburgam irem dicebam me illuc proficisci
ut acciperem nomine cuiusdam aulicj regis Ferdinandi quinque
& viginti Hungaricos qui ibi ej debebantur: hoc modo cupiens
celare quid ibi negotii haberem. Quare te quantum possum rogo
ut istam meam excusationem confirmes, & caueas ut
Dominus Praeceptor, aut aliquis ex suis, possit suspicari me
aliquid habere commercij cum Illyrico, & non candide amicitiam
colere. Deus est mihi testis me tanti facere, & fecisse Dominum
Praeceptorem, ut eius causa patriam, parentes, & amicos omnes
reliquerim, rem familiarem contempserim, & in maxima pericula
me conieçerim: primo ut ad eum venirem, postea ut redirem.
Vide igitur an iuste timeant ne eum offendam quem tanti facio,
cum praesertim sciam quod me non oderit: immo putem quod
me diligat. Tuae igitur erit prudentiae cavere ne veniam

in aliquam suspicionem conventionis cum Illyrico. Experientia didicj nullam gentem ita suspiciosam esse ut est Germanica: maxime cum est ej negotium cum exteris: quos omnes iudicat esse minus simplici ingenio (ut certe sunt plurimj) Ego hac cupio uti dissimulatione, non ut alicuj noceam, sed ut sine cuiusquam offensione quibus potero inserviam. De Illyrico satis De biblicis Germanicis scribet M. Gasparus. Existimat membranas posse commode compararj in nundinis Lipsensibus. Cum literas tuas traderem Domino Praeceptori, iussit ut ei iudicarem quando ad te scripturus essem: dicebat enim se velle mihi dare ad te literas quas meis insererem: sed hoc nunc fieri non potuit cum ante biduum peregre profectus sit. hodie autem vesperi tantum mihi significatum sit hic esse tabellarium ex vallibus Joachimicis. Licet nondum satis cogitassem quid ad te scriberem, tamen cum haberem quod ad te mittenda, nolui hanc occasionem praetermittere: cum presertim adesset tabellarius cui quidvis tuto committi [25r] posset. Quicquid venit in mentem nullo ordine scripsi quae postea succurrent, scribam ubi primum potero. Conscribuntur exercitus in Saxonia. Dux Mekelburgensis dicitur habere ad mille equites bene instructos, & aliquot cohortes peditum. Milites qui dimittuntur a Duce Augusto confluunt ad Voleradum Mansfeldensem qui nuper redijt e Galliis. Trahit etiam ad se quoscunque potest,
f. 65v Christophorus Aldenburgensis. Existimant illos exercitus collegi Marchioni qui ubi sit hic prorsus ignoratur. Rogo ne has literas cuiquam ostendas. Poteris scribere per Paceum mittes. Deus servet te incolumem.
Vitebergae Calend./ Decemb/ 1553.

Hubertus Languetus
Burgundus

Marginalia:
f. $64r_{14}$: Val. Pacaeus
f. $64v_{9-12}$: Illyricus se excusat, de scribend. Historia. Gots. Praetorius
f. $64v_{35}$: Biblioth. Hassensteiniae Index
f. $64v_{56}$: De Illyrici morib.
f. $65r_{12}$: Serueti Blasphemiae.
f. $65r_{16}$: Stancarus.
f. $65r_{25-26}$: Langueti eximius affect. in Melanthonem.
f. $65r_{51}$: Exercitus conscribantur.

The autograph letter is in comparatively good condition, except that the top edge is badly worn. Thus, the copy of the letter in Cod. vind. 10364, ff. 22v to 25r, is both welcomed and necessary for the transcription of every line. The copy is much more heavily punctuated than the original, and attempts to correct incorrect grammar (f. 64r, ℓ. 20, instituistis for ~~in~~institutis; ℓ. 48, idem for Joh; f. 64v, ℓ. 13, dici for dicit). The copy has two clear errors: f. 64v, ℓ. 2, divisa for dimissa; f. 65r, ℓ. 16, revertam for redeam. Only two words were dropped: f. 65r, ℓ. 1: a te. The ending of the copy, however, is much different. After the last words of f. 65, ℓ. 3, the copy has: *negotiatores, quem ad nundinas Lipsenses venient literas ad Witembergae.* I have found no literary source for this information. It may have been a message relayed in person by the messenger, intentionally to replace the last sentence of the missive.

Gallus to Nidbruck
2 December 1553, Regensburg

f. 15v Salute in Christo. Cum te quamvis facie ignotum, vir clariss. amarem juxta ac colerem propter ingenii et animi dotes plurimas, quas tali loco collacatus praecipue et conferre ad juvandam Rempub. literariam et Christianam cum posses, tum velles, beneficio me affectum singulari arbitrabar, missis nuper abs te humanissimis literis. Quarum occasione, ut honestiss. mihi aditum fecisti, ad tui non tantum notitiam, sed et amicitiam, ita ne quid in hoc genere mutuj officij, cum publica utilitate nobis conjunctj, jure desiderari in me queat, summa mihi da= bitur opera. De historico Illyrici instituto, quod scire cupis, tantum habeo. Collegit primum autores, Veteres ac Recentes haut paucos, ac seor=
f. 16r sim annotavit, quis quid quolibet tempore reprehenderit sub Ponti= ficibus in tota gubernatione Ecclesiae. Quem libellum nondum aeditum ego vidi, et legi adhuc rudem, cumque edetur, dabit occasionem tibj et aliis similia consignandj. Alterum Illyrici propositum est, texere perpetuam Ecclae historiam, a Christo ad nostrum usque hoc secu= lum, alteri non prorsus dissimile. Nam et in ea historia praecipue hoc spectabitur, Ubi quolibet tempore, et apud quos fuerit vera do= ctrina et ecclesia, a quibus defensa et obscurata. Sed eum ad hanc rem passim conquirendi sint vetusti codices, convenientes proposito materiae excerpendae, judicio excerptae in ordinem redigendae, gravi et non ineleganti oratione explicandae, facile tu quidem intelligis pro summa prudentia, tempus, sumptum, et pluriam, quam unius operam requirj, teque ut quod potes, sanctum et utilem Ecclae conatum, per tuo i eam studio, omnibus his rebus adjuves, ipsa te pietate tua monerj. Literas in Martio redditas per me accepit Illyricus, et quod jusseras respon= sum Wittebergam ad Eberum misisse arbitror. Quas nuper Home= lius abs te attulit, ad Calendas Januarias, si prius non poterit nec te accipiet. Imponis mihi negocium rerum verarum quasi judicem quen= dam ac methodum faciendi in Veterum scriptis, quod etsi longo est supra meas vires, tamen vix etiam tentare sinunt reliquae occupationes. Ita= que nihil fere polliceri in hac re possum, quantum vis velim. Sin autem brevi aliquid miseris, furtivis operis hoc saltem praestabo, ut cum expectariori satisfacere haut queam voluntati morem geram. Rapsodias in Gala= tas jam vix agnosco, ex quibus si quid publice profuturum speras, epistolae totius dispositionem, ac breves praecipuarum rerum summas velut indi= ces promitto. Accipe jam primam concionem, non nostris tantum sed toti pene ecclesiae scriptam. De Coena Domini propediem dabo praefa= tionem contra novos Zwinglianos, cum sententiis veterum a Philip. Mel. de hac re collectis, et olim editis. Paro pro mes=

f. 16v suram mei doni methodicam expositionem Catecheseos, quae jam pro Con= cione recitatur in hac mea Eccla, ac judicio piorum in hoc fortasse aedetur vt rudiores etiam complecti animo summam ac methodum quandam totique Christianae doctrinae possint. Operantes donum Galat. inquit

Paulus non defatigemur, tempore enim suo metimus indefessi. Quod ut tu tuo loco prae ceteris uberrime potes, ita feres prae caeteris manipulos post sationem hanc in messe uberrimos. Bene Vale, nosque ut coepisti, porro complectere. Salutem vicissim opertant D. Hiltnerus, Zolnerus et Tilianus, Tuj amantiss. atque observantiss. Ratisponae iiij nonas. Decembr. Ao, 1553.

The text of this copy is corrupted in part: f. 16r, l. 29 to f. 16v, l. 1 probably read: *Paro pro mensa mei domi methodicam expositionem Catecheseos.* The critical passage about Gallus' involvement in the history project, however, seems to be clear enough. The salutations are not given in this series of copies, only the legend above the letter that says: *Nicolaus Gallus ad Eundem a Nydbrugk.*

Documents I, 4

Lanquet to Melanchthon
18 September 1556, Frankfurt

f. 130r

Ad Reuerendum Ph. M.

Reuerende domine, putabam me aliquid in hoc intinere visurum, quod si non mederj, saltem lenire posset illum dolorem, quem ex discessu a vobis conceperam. Sed dum vulnerj remedium paro, illud ita exulie= rari, vt nam nulla sit spes salutis poterat forte prius vulnus sanarj consideratione tuae virtutis ac beneuolentiae erga me, et recordatione temporis ita apud vos exacti, vt me nusquam nisi Witebergae vixisse putem. At cum posteriores causae sunt calamitates pub: et praesertim Ecclesiae harum consideratio nihil est, nisi ipsius doloris materia, cum ij, a quibus remedium merito expectare debueram, omnem eius spem praecidere ~~nolis~~ videntur

Accessi Magdeburgae Illyricum, qui licet parum aman= ter me exceperit, volui tamen cum taedio aliquam diu cum ipso versari, vt expliscarer quid haberet animi. Quoniam autem potuisti quam diu apud vos fui, stultam meam libertatem in loquendo ferre puto mihi licere, non tantum quid viderim, aut audierim, sed etiam quid suspicer ad te scribere.

Dicam igitur quam ob causam putem Illyricum nuper ista simulata actione de pace, occasionem aduersus te scribendi captasse. Credo ipsum cum institueret istam scriptionem historiae Ecclesiasticae, non satis rei magnitudinem aut perpendisse, aut intellexisse aut initio sperasse successurum. Antequam vero irem in Italiam, contulit mecum de toto negocio et dedit mihi legendum nescio quid temere con= gestum sine iudicio, quod dicebat esse initium

f. 130v illius historiae. Id ego non probaui, et multa ei dixi de difficultate illius instituti. Ab illo tempore visus est mihi multum remittere ab illo ardore scribendi et totius in illud incumbere, vt multum pecuniae hinc inde corraderet, quod non infeliciter successisse puto. Cui autem contulerunt, iam incipiunt flagitare, vt aliqua pars operis tanquam specimen edatur. Sed vide quonam pacto illud praestare possint. Dede= runt mihi mandatum, Vt in Belgico inquiram de aliquo, qui videatur esse idoneus ad inchoandum scri= ptionem ab initio. Vbi talem nactus fuero, oportet

me curare, vt is ad eos scribat diligenter, vt ex scripto eius ferant iudicium, et inter se deliberem an sit accersendus. Vide obsecro quando hoc quando hoc perfici poterit. Itaque, non dubito, ~~quin~~ /quod/ Illyricus ~~iam~~ nihil minus cogitet ~~cogitet~~, quam scribere historiam. Quod autem multum pecuniae habet ex hoc conijcio quod undique aureos Hungaricos pro ~~thderis~~ taleris conquirit, et multos noui, quos ea de re precunctatus est. Cum autem videat huiusmodi factum diu latere non posse. et adesse iam aliquos, qui dicant, eos si nihil edant, non debere saltem grauari ostendere, in quas res tantum pecuniae sit insumptum. Excogitavit istam actionem de pacificatione, vt inde occasionem omnia miscendi acciperet, et credo, siue respondeas siue non respondeas, eum non facturum finem incessandi te et alios, et forte aliquos principes, donec Magde= burga expellatur, vt habeat aliquid quod praetexet infamiae, quae in impendere videtur.

Vidi epistolas, quas de hoc negotio ad Godescalcum misit, quibus nihil virulentius scribi potest. Nec definit animus Godescalco in respondendo. Nam licet modestius agat, vocat tamen eum impudenter audacem, ac popularis aurae captatorem ineptum. Jam per totam Germaniam

f. 131r sparsa est fama, te ad eius calumnias responsurum. Quare non videtur tibi integrum omittere scriptionem, in qua re vtinam tuo iudicio tantum vtaris. Mihi discenti nec gratias quidem egerunt pro susceptis laboribus et periculis et sumptibus de meo factis, et tamen multa mandata mihi dederunt, quae licet de rebus manibus esse sciam, quanta tamen potero diligentia et fide ea exeguar. Gratae admodum fuerunt tuae literae D. a Lasso venerabili et mansueto senj, in quo videntur mihi elucere pietas et multae aliae virtutes. Cum ei contuli de conuentu, sed eius rei spem omnem mihi ademit. Nam Brentius de cuius modestia aliquid sperabas omnia turbat, et per suum principem egit, vt Ottho Heinricus omnem de ea re cogitationem deponeret. Oporinus optimus vir dixit se scire excudi Brentij opus de coena domini. Credo eum iudicare non esse consultum deserere sententiam Magistri, cuius laudationibus ad istam autoritatem peruenit. Liber Westphali ab omnibus ~~sane~~ /fere/ Germaniis Typographus reiectus clam excuditur Argentinae, vbi cum Caluinus in Ec= clesia Gallica concionari uellet prohibitus est a Se= natu.

Illyricus scribit ad suos te expetere conuentum, vt parum causam sacramentarijs prodas. Quare cum nihil

prorsus ~~supersit~~ spei conuentus et multo minor con=
cordiae etiamsi conuentus fiat, tuum est et aliorum
piorum cogitare, quibus remedijs, haec Ecclesiae vul=
nera, si non sanari saltem lenirj possent. Non
dubito ingentum esse dolorum quem istarum rerum

f. 131v cogitatio in tibi in hac ~~sententia~~ sapientia et senecta parit
cum mihi qui stulticia et iuuentute a talibus cogita=
tionibus auocor, nihil incommodi in rebus priuatis
accidat, quod non moderatius ferre possem.
Puto iam peruenisse ad uos famam disputationis inter
nostros misereatur, et pudeat. Velsius videtur mihi
esse bonus vir, sed perturbato animo, et habere aliquis
confusum ex sua philosophia Platonica, ad quam
totam fere nostram religionem refert. Nostri cum
pene sint rej, sibi ius decernendi sumere volunt
Velsius in ijs absurdis quaeque profert vult viderj
sentire tecum et binas tuas literas in publico confessione
legit. Deus qui solus potest medeatur istis ingenti
bus malis. Mitto tibi Fastos Romanos, et sigerj
doctissimi Virj in eos commentarios, puto aliquid
in eis haberj quod libenter legas. Sleidanus edidit
libellum de quattuor Monarchijs, eum misissem, si
potuissem nancisci, sed exemplaria tam cito diuendita
sunt, vt ne vnum quidem viderim. Deus conserua
te, et tuos omnes. Francoph: 14. Cal. Octob.
Anno 1556
T. Hubertus Languetus Burgundus

The several corrections and insertions are in the hand of Johann Wigand; the secretarial or copyist hand is not identified. This is part of a larger set of documents about the Coswick Colloquy, the negotiations and discussions leading to the actual meeting in January 1557.

Documents I, 5

Wigand to Nidbruck
18 August 1556 [Magdeburg]

f. 64r S. Clarissime vir & amice colende. Sicut nos es hortatus, vt in coepto opere grauiter perge= ramus, ita etiam iustamus operj, quantum omnino virium Deus nobis suppeditat. Adiunximus plures sicut ex Dn. Jllyrico intelliges, vt nonnihil progredi possimus, peto igitur vt quemadmodum coepisti huic instituto faueas, ac necessarijs Instru= mentis nos iuues. Ipsi enim Christo, cuius Spiritua= le regnum nobis describendum venit, praecipue gratificeberis, qui erga te non erit ingratus. Caeterum cum forte non ignores, nos desiderare hominem mediocriter Methodicum & ad scriptionem idoneum, ideo te summis precibus oro, vt aliquem recto iudicio praeditum, ac stylo vtrumque valentem nobis indices. Non enim dubitamus quin in hisce tuis quasi perpetuis peregrinationibus plures explores & noris, quam nos perpetuo in vno loco commorantes. Thanerum nobis proxim= um adesses valde praedicasti, nec sane dubitamus quin necessarijs rebus ad hanc scriptionem in= structus /sit/. Te igitur oramus, vt ej persua= dere coneris, vt huic nostro operj sese adiungat, suaque praeclara dona inprimis ad eum glorificandum & ornandum conferet, a quo ista accepit, forte autoritate tua adhuc posset vt consentiret, posses etiam de mediocrj stipendio nostro nomine cum ipso, vt arbitror transigere. Scriptionis ea est ratio, vt si volet, sicut omnino necesse est fierj, sese nobis accommodare, facilime eam consequi deo dante possit. Hoc ipsum forte D. Jllyr. pluribus ad te perscribet. Mihi propterea hasce breues literas adijcere visum est, vt intelligeres totum collegium a te hoc officium petere. pollicemur autem nos aeternam memoriam tuorum beneficiorum attenturos esse. vale 18 Augusti 1556

T. Johannes Wigandus

Part of the letter (lines 11 to 36) was reproduced by Bibl ("Nidbruck und Tanner," p. 426) with several departures from the original text and orthography. The letter is an autograph, and was incorrectly dated by the archivist, "1556, 18 April s.l."

Documents I, 6

Nidbruck to Wigand
19 October 1556, Regensburg

f. 171r

Domino Joanj Wigando amico
charissimo

S. P. accepi clarissime vir & amice colende, quas
18 Augusti dedisti, et pergratum certe fuit quod signifi=
cas vos progresu opere historico adiunxisse, etiam /vos/ nonnullos
Quem ego habeo illae certe lubens, vt hactenus feci, ita etiam
in posterum communicabo, quod ad illum scriptorem methodicum
attinet, miror sane, quod nihil mihi respondeat,
scripsi enim ter iam, et miror quid conscripsitque.
nullum accipiam responsum, habes hic copiam eius ---
--- epistolae quam ea de re misi, adhuc hodie
instabo vt respondeas et agam cum ipso diligenter
ea de re, nam unico hoc historicum opus promotum cupio
hoc tamen summopere rogo vt affectibus temperatis quantum
~~nimium~~ vlla ratione fieri potest quo is libre etiam
aperte --- extros venum exponi queat, ~~non judicat~~
~~addite judicia~~ et hoc cauete ut dum veterum scripta
recensetis, ne quod aspersum sit de novo, relinquite lectorj
iudicium, ne inania aliqua introductio siue
allegatio antiqui autoris, reliquo operi auto=
ritatem atque fidem detrahat, in capitibus et titulis vsita=
tis vocabulis utendum censeo, & generalibus:
atque secundum annorum numerum recensenda, omnia
an uero singulis quinquaginta annis /plus minusue/ suum
librum tribuere velitis, ~~operis magnitudine et~~ materiae
vobis cogitandum permitto, notastis qui cum coram esse
pro mea sententia indicarem. Spero φίλον brevi
huc venturum cum intelligam in itinere ipsum esse
& ad Elect. Palat: /profecturum unde forte tum vos/ dum cum N.G.
de integro consultationem inibimus & tota ratione
scriptionis pergite interea strennue et si ~~vnque~~
loci tractationem ad me miseritis forte non ita absentie=
rit, quo aliquot diuibus id ostendere et hortari
ad promotiotores possim, Recte huc ad Comita M.N.
G. mittetis, ex meis libris remitti cupio illos
quorum vobis nullus amplius usus est, ita me quoque
alacriorem reddetis, si quem huc velitis mittere
instituti vestri quorumque meis /antiquis scriptis excerpere
quod velit, librum vobis

f. 171v

est nam non ita opus erit hinc inde plaustra librorum
transuehere et forte in hisce regionibus quod inueniet ab instituto
opere non abhorrens, modo diligens sit et peritus eius indaga=
tionis, φιλῳ iam nihil scribo quia illum vel hic exiret.
Valete in domino et salute collegii vestri amicos meos
Datum Ratisponae 19. Octobris anno 56.
de dato 18 Octobris 56.

Of the four types of letters and handwritings that Nidbruck himself used (i.e., caligraphic, fair copy, rough draft, and outline) for his own files, this is the worst of the rough drafts. Many words seem to be perfectly legible, but do not seem to make sense when they are joined in sentences. It would appear that Nidbruck observed the same thing. At the left margin, folio 171r at line 4, he wrote: *correcteres*. This is a draft of a letter that was later composed and sent to Wigand: the precise form of the final letter is not known. It is always speculative to use drafts in the rough form that this represents for evidence of communciation: the final version may very well have been far different. Lacking the final copy or the original letter, however, the wording of this form must be used--but with caution.

Documents I, 7

Wigand to Nidbruck
19 November 1556 [Magdeburg]

f. 160v τῷ φίλῳ
hae dentur
literae

f. 159r S. in Christo. De nostris laboribus atque progressu
in opere historico forte D. Jllyricus accuratius
perscribet. Ex me breuissime sic habeto, nos quotidie
operj instare, quantum quidem Deus uirium suppe=
ditat, et sperare faciliores progressus multa enim
inter tractandum sese nobis offerunt, quae specu=
lationibus antea non potuerunt comprehendj. Tuarum
commonefactionum erimus memores, teque rogamus, vt
pro eximia tua pietate etiam deinceps nobis
consilia tua suggeras. Nam, vt semper iudicauimus
tale ac tantum opus non potest vnius ingenio
vel etiam paucorum regi, nihilque nobis
vtilius experimur, quam plurimorum iudicia audire,
eaque cum nostris conferre. Faceres igitur nobis
omnibus rem longe gratissimam, si quid ex doctis
viris, ad quos te scripsisse aiebas, cum apud
nos esses, accepisses, nobis cum communicares.
Magnum sane saxum coepimus voluere, itaque
optamus alios quoque auxiliares manus admouere
rogamusque. ipsum filium Dej, cuius est negocium
in quo sumus vt ipse spiritu suo sancto
regat hanc nauigationem totam secundosque ventos aspiret.
Caeterj de Thamero nuper facta est mentio
agitque tuae praestantia collegiolum nostrum gratias
quantas maximas, quod tam diligenter ad eum
scripseris, ac petit sibj indicarj, quantum
gratiam per negocia tua, quae procul dubio multa
sunt, licet, quid denique rescripserit vel effectum
sit. Collectores sane satis industrios habemus
& satis multos, sed architectum adhuc vnum
cuperemus adiungi, quo expeditius negocium
procederet. Cum autem de te diuinitus ad

f. 159v uuandum hoc institutum excitatum esse non
dubitemus. & hactenus pietatem tuam
multis egregijs officijs erga nos declaratis,
magna fiducia ad te scribere audemus,
ac speramus te in posterj quoque ---
istos conatus adiuturj esse. Senties autem
vicissim benedictionem & compensationem ab
eo, ad cuius gloriam maxime hoc insti=
tutum spectat, et nos miserj ho=
munciones ac terra perispemata,

Nosti enim tales esse homines, qui Christum
seruiunt) perpetuam gratitudinem polli=
cemur. Optime in Christo Jesu
Vale. die Elisabeth 1556.

T P D
Johannes Wigandus

Some indication of the care and thought of Wigand in this letter is shown be the fact that there is one brief crossed word (f. 159v, line 5) and no interlinear insertions, no marginal corrections. It is not only a fine, expressive missive; it is also a beautiful example of a well-penned letter.

Documents I, 8

Nidbruck to Wigand
18 December 1556, Regensburg

f. 171v S. P. Accepi quas die Elisabethae scripsisti, et quod initio literarum tuarum, significas uos quotidie operi insta= re pro uiribus & sperare faciliores progressus, pergratum certe fuit, hoc autem uos rogatos uellem, in unius locj tractatione per singulas centurias ad me mitteretis transcriptam non tam mea causa, quam aliorum, quibus specimen aliquod exhi= bere & ad operis illius historicj promotionem incitare possum. Quod ad meas cogitationes cogitationes attinet de Me= thodo conscribendae hijstoriae, libenter eas cum N.G. & viro atque altero qui in hoc sunt conuentu uiris pijs conferam & quod ita nobis tribus aut quatuor in percurrenda Methodo uidebitur, uel augerj uel corrigi, aut emendarj posse per= scribetur ad uos, aliorum consilia nondum percepj, ad quod xxx scripseram. expecto tamen nonnullorum iudiciam.

Tannerus rescripsit, in ex extracto hisce incluso, cognoscer= em autem hactenus nullam esse oblatam, neque adhuc esse huiusque rej eum patronum sibi conciliandi, quam

f. 172r tamen ad hoc & longe augustiora promouenda inclina= tum sciam, & nullo tamen pacto desperandum, quin commo= dum Patronum aliquando habiturus sit, & ne aliam con= ditionem suscipiat sed interes temporis suas rationes cum meis coniungat, & fruatur mecum ijs quae Dominus largiet me ipsi non defuturum, Jn Patria nullo pacto id fierj aut conficj posse, quia non sint ad manus, qui materia suggerem, coniunctas oportere esse operas. Vos occasione huius extradj, scribite ad ipsum & rationem consilij vestrj plenissime exponite, quid ipsi agendum, quantum ad sum= mum in singulos annos a uobis certo sibj pollicerj debeat uictus ratione, addent ad res supra facultates uestras ipsi necessarias, amicj quod poterunt, re sumptuum difficultate deterreatur, Jtem intra quod tempus abvoluere possit, & operam praestare uobis debeat. Et qi quae sint praeterea, haec omnia quam primum scribite ad Tannerum & inuitate as hystoriae illius compositionem. Literas ad me mittite una cum copias ut et ego in eandem sententiam ipsum hortarj atque commo= nefacere quaedam: Optime in Christo Valete: Datum Ratisponae. 18. Decembris 1556.

Gasp. à Nydbruck

The letter is a secretarial copy written on the verso (and following leaf) of the drafted letter, transcribed here as Document I, 6. The last word of line 20, f.171v, is not legible because of the tight binding. Other readings can be ascertained without serious problem.

Wigand to Nidbruck
5 May 1557 [Magdeburg]

f. 215v

Clarissimo viro D.
Philonj ad manus
proprias

f. 214r

S. in Christo. Amicum nostrum M. Jllyricum Jhenam profectum esse, ut ibi Theologiae pro= fessorem agat, non ignoras. nihilominus tamen eum summus instituti operis historici guberna= tor futures est. Alimus modo collectores septem in officina nostra, scriptorem vnum, cuj adhuc alterum adijciemus post pentecostes festum iam tum a nobis certo stipendio conductum idque propter eam causam, vt aliquanto expe= ditius progrediamur. Optime intelligis nos in immenso pelago versarj, quod emotirj breui temporis spacio ac sine laboribus non possumus. Sylvae solummodo collectio nuda ex tot libris plurimis nobis negotij parit. Sed vnde tot operatores quibus carere non possumus, siquidem institutum recte vrgere volumus, alamus fere non habemus promisit aliquid Rex Daniae sed illud valde incertum est, nec sufficit ad tantos sumptus qui necessario faciendi sunt. Si igitur bonos aliquos viros impellere posses, vt ad opus Domini aliquid conferrent, praeclare faceres, quamuis tua promptitudine fere abuti videmur, qui alias consilio ac libris. nobis benigne ades.

Nobis adhuc sic constitutum est, omnino conarj quantum Deum virium concesserit, vt coeptum laborem continuemus, ac si nihil aliud saltem diligentiam omnibus bonis totique posteritati probabimus. Agimus Deo

f. 214v

gratias pro monstrata Methodo eiusque resolutione quam veluti cynosuram in collectione materiarum totoque contextu sequimur, & quotidie ipsa tractatio plus lucis suppeditat, adeo vt confidamus, non prorsus impossibilem fore conatum hunc nostrum vt multi initio suspicati sunt, modo nervj rerum gerendarum, sumptus minimum, nos non destituamus Reliquit autem M. Jllyr. quosdam libros, quorum partes aliquam iam restituimus altera ad necesa= rios usus retinimus adhuc aliquandiu bona fide & eos libros iusto tempore redditurj. Rogamus autem obnixe, vt pro tuo iudicio --- acutissimo & alios quos & habes libros nobis communices, quos nobis vsuj futuros esse petes praesertim si alicuius sunt momenti, & vetustati

sapiunt, qua de re Jllyr. diligentius scripsit
scio. In comicijs proximis credo te acce=
pisse initia 2. & 3. Centuriae, de quibus
iudicium atque informationem vt sic dicam tuam
libentissime audiremus. Magni enim facimus
dollectiones doctissimorum virorum, praesertim eorum qui
in ~~talibus rebus~~ tales res plurimum studij &
operae posuerunt. Quartum Centuriam Deo
dante post pentecostem inchoabimus. Haec de
nostro foro ad te scribenda esse duxi clare
vir & amice colende tum quod pars non
minima huius societatis sit, qui in hoc
tam sancto opere construendo laborant, tum
quod alias sciatur, te pro tua excellenti pie
tate --- eiusmodi res libenter cognoscere.
praeterea vt communi nomine rogem, ne coeptas

labores deseres. Sed quibus potes studijs iuures,
sicut hoc omnino nobis de te persuademus
Bene & fortiter Vale. 5 Maij 1557.
T. Johann: Wigandus

Like Document 1.7, the letter in Wigand's hand is a fine, almost caligraphic piece.

Documents I, 10

Nidbruck to Wigand
12 July 1557, Regensburg

f. 222r Ion. Wigando

Redditae sunt quas 5. Maij ad me scripsisti, et quod in immenso pelago nos versari significas, quod quidem ipse credo, tentarj ~~adhue~~ /apud/ multos num sumptus nobis suppe= titarj possint, sed frustra hactenus, nam qui habent, nolunt qui uellent non habent, forte aliquando dabitur maior occasio ~~hae re~~ id proparandi, Magistratus illustris compellandus esset qui praebendam vnam atque allorum suis beneficiis Ecclesiasticis vt volant redditus ad hoc conferret, hoc profecto Euangelicos maximo daret/ Sed friget hoc studium apud potentes Ciuitates etiam ~~eupi~~ iuuare possent Item comites, quia in magnorum aulis hec a paucis /et intelligitur ut/ curatur, pergite nihilominus strennue,
~~erit merees vtrm si non hic eerte~~ ego coeptos labores non deserarij sed iuuabo pro vivibus, mittam etiam & communi lubenter quam habeo, ego profecto consultum puto vt aliquid --- /quo/ ~~reliq~~ illj viri docti eo magis ad consimules labores incitentur
De methodo praescribes meum iudicium ad vos breuj,
Valete per Dominum & de progressu vestro subinde me certiores reddite per dominum M. Nic. Gallum: Bene & foeliciter vale.
Datur Ratisponae. 12 Julij 1557.

A Konzept, in Nidbruck's hand, with several problems in grammar and orthography. The intent is, however, clear in every case. The sheet on which this was written has no other indications on it to help associate it with a time or place. It is, in its present position, quite without a context other than the date and place.

Documents I, 11

Wigand to Flacius
10 August 1557 [Magdeburg]

f. 167v, 5

Vigilj Ecclesiae Christi
d. Magistro Matthiae
Jllyrico suo fratri
Jhena

f. 167r S. Toties ad te scribo, vt non mirum sit, si fastidium tibi paniam? Sed cum interdum quaedam sint scitum necessaria & sperem tibi tot meum officium probarj, ideo scribere non desinam ac si quaedam ineptiora inciderint, tuum erit, ignoscere. Sed valeant pickelfedderes. Spero te ex Marco omnia, quae tradidi accepisse. ~~Jam~~ proximo nuncio iudicium tuum dedi, de Franc: Synodo. Nunc per Pancrat. nostrum mitto caetera. Addidi copiam eorum quae D. Westphal. his diebus ad me. Nam hoc eum velle intelligebam. Vide mihi generalitates istius qui Sacramen= tarios [illegible]lerandos ~~esset~~ censet. pulchri est pallium, quod peregrinj, nec sint Anabaptistae. Sed an non peregrinos simul mores in= vehunt? an non contagium suum alijs quotidiano suo commercio affricare possunt? Scilicet, auferte malum ex vobis, ipsis Adiaphoran est. Sed parat iste bonus socius haud dubie Hardenbergio & reliquis sacramentarijs immuni= tatem, & fundamentum eis stabilit. Fatetur aperte, se tantum de summa rej docere, ergo de genere tantum docet, non explicat species.

An abieret p. ad collationem illam amicam & familiarem inter Antichristi ministris, nescio. certe Synodum auium hoc est. pasquillum audio ipso adhuc praesente euolasse. Faceretis autem meo iudicio non inepte Jn. Amsd. & Gal. si etiam hac de re coniunctas hieras ad nostros theol., qui wormaciae ~~essent~~ erunt mitteretis. Fascinantur omnes libris & litteris Ph., quasi essent pacis cupidiss., plagas non aliter ac patientissimae ouiculae pateremur, interea tamen lectionibus, picturis, scurri= libus pasquillis incendio faces submouent alios ac materiam suggerunt.

Intelligo ex scripto tuo, te habere ea, quae Nic. Gallj Francofordiae proposuit. Quaeso te mitte nob: propter historiam eius copiam. Mitte etiam Acta Coswicana.

Librum tuum Stenckfeldianum non habemus neque ego neque iudex, libentiss. ac prmptiss. restitueremus. Nihil enim nobis vsui istae sordes esse possent. Quam de caeteris libris, quib. his vtimur, quaeso ne dubites. Misimus tibi indicem omnium librorum, quos habemus, inde tibi tuos nota. Nos ne syllabam quidem retinebimus, quae tua sit, & quam carere nolis, hoc tibi sancte recipimus. Quid vis amplius?

Librorum autem curam ad scriptionem cuperem te habere aliquanto diligentiore. Nam siue libris frigemus, ae --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- Tuorum librorum indicem non generalem, sed superstitiosam omnium etiam paginorum requirimus. Vide igitur si quid habeatur ad priores Cent. iam ad 4. 5. etiam. Nam posteriora posterius erunt mittenda.

Quid agit glossa? Quaeso mittatur ad nos vnum caput /ut specimen videamus./
Ac de Methodo a vobis componenda iterj monemus iudex & ego. Die Laurentij 1557.
T. Wig.

The letter is an autograph, once in Flacius' possession, gathered in a collection that was accessioned in the Wolfenbüttel library long after it was first brought there. There are no problems with the readings. The words under the strikes are not legible.

Wigand to Flacius
8 February 1558 [Magdeburg]

f. 168v Fratri suo dilecto D. Magistro
Matthiae Jllyrico, professorj
Jhenensi.
Jhena.

f. 168r Mitto etiam transponam ad Gallum. Metuo ne a pluri=
mis in hac causa deseramur. Hic e Senatoribus nemo
est, qui nostram rigidiorem sententiam approbet.

Vehementer miratus sum, quante tam diu nihil scripse=
ris ad me. Nam nuper ab Andrea accipiebam literas a te
per aurigam Islebianum. Sed a te prorsus nullas.

Non remittis Centur. primam. Neque /eam quam/ Augustae fuerat
recipimus.

Cum typographo erit agendam quam rem tibi
committimus, vt inde eo transigas.

Necesse erit peius ab eo accipere rursum quam
Centurias mittamus. Vbi condixerit operam & pollicitus
fuerit se curaturus omnia. circa pentecosten eo mitti
potuerunt per proprium nuncium. Citius fierj non poterit.
Emendamus & scribimus iam plus quam nostrae viris ferant.

Praefationem te necesse erit adornare.

Catalogum Centuriarum habes, ideo libros vide
quibus indigeamus. Nos in 6. 7. 8. et caeteris facimus collecti=
ones & libris destituimur. Quod si non habituri sumus
libros, cogemur desistere. Quid enim sine instrumentis?
ac nescio sane si iam non continuabimus, quid alio tempore
efficj possit.

Indicem librorum qui Francofordia venerunt
Monachus describet & proxime mittet. Iam ab angustiam
temporis fierj non potuit. Solutio eorum qui proxime venerunt
sine tuo incommodo fiet.

Mitto tibi aginos plures.

Mitto etiam 1/2 riess meae tabulae &
1 riess contra Maiorem. accepi autem a Wolfgango
vnum librum non aliter vult diuendere quam 26
nostrae monetae. Jd Jd si forte tibi videtur minimum
solue quantum volet, ego superfluum dabo.

Scripsi ad M. Nicolaum Gallum, literas
vt opinor Noribergam mittere poteris, vt in quamprimum
Ratisponam veniant.

Hac hora accepi litteras a Buscoducense
dum haec scribo, qui indicat se impetrasse adhuc 200
taleros, quos ad quam de re aget imo debeamus petere a ciue
quodam Lubecense, & nihil se spej habere in posterum
quod non sit semper futurum in aulae amplius, & calumnia,
totes valde nos ibi grauerit, hortatj etiam vt quemdam perdeant.

f. 168v Quaeso te remitte Centuriam .1. sed emendatam.
Scribe etiam de caeteris rebus.

Miror corruptelas non aedj. sive quibus tamen
alia non plene dicuntur. Plurimj eas desiderant.
Bene vale. Proxime vbi tu plura & nos plura dabimus
8. Febr. 1558.

T. Wig.

Justitia ad te aliquid mittit, vt videtur
para nobis hospicium M. Spiritus sese
exerit. ora pro nobis.

De nostris rebus tamen secreto scribo ad te. Non
enim libenter nostros diffamo. Sed breuj res ipsa
magis patefiet.

The original letter was a full leaf, folded once. The first half of the letter is missing (there is no salutation; the first line of f. 168r begins in the middle of a thought). The letter is a Wigand autograph with no major problems in transcription.

Documents I, 13

Wigand to Flacius
16 November 1558 [Magdeburg]

f. 170v

Vigilj Ecclesiae Christi D.
Matthiae Jllyrico, suo fratrj
charissimo

f. 169r S. Galatinum nuncio tradidi, qui Brunschwigam missus erat, is dicebat se per compendium ad vos rediturum. Spero autem te nunc accepisse

Libros quos modo misisti accepimus, agoque tibi pro honesto dono gratias incorruptables. Mei librj omnes seruiunt operj historico, adeo vt propter quotidianam illam tot manuum tractationem dimidio fiant viliores quam fuerunt antea. Sed publicum commodum huic meo damno est praeponendum.

Parisio, vt iubes, scribemus Deo dante, est nobis notus, quia me aliquoties inuisit, quem hac tansijt.

Palatini & Wirtenb. Bedencken de vestro, te habere, Aurifaber mihi significarat. ideo petebam.

Quod P. ad N. non misit hactenus, eo factum est, quod suspicatus sum, te eiusmodi materias multo citius accipere quam nos.

De filii generatione non magnum auctuarium mittimus, quia valde parce patres de ea disserunt, vt nosti, quae tamen potuimus, annotauimus. Nos quidem putamus (forte enim rej necessitatem non satis perspicium.) hanc descriptionem posse aliquanto mitius agi, vel etiam parum per seponj. Nam praeterquam quod vides patres pro & contra habere sententias, etiam Viteberg. experimur parcius hac formula uti, licet per Neminem & alios Nycticoraces odiose pungant. Si autem omnino debet aliquid aedj, vellemus te accurate primum hypotheses de filio Dei coessentiale patrj, deque logo recensere, vt & beneuolj & malevolj au lectores clarissime cernerent, in quo puncto contentio haereret, ne daretur vel male suspiciandi, vel etiam cauillandj occasio. Nam id inprimis solenne est sophistis, a statu causae ad vicinos locos, in quibus plausibiliter tumultuarj possunt transilire, id quod in hac ipsa causa satis superque experitus es. Vellemus etiam distincte proem constituj, quid in doctrina de generatione filij vel concedatur vel oppugnetur & quatenus crede nobis lectores non sunt vnius generis.

. 169v Etiamsi nonnihil suspenderetur ista disputatio, vt Calum=
niatoribus ausa cauillandi amputaretur, tamen postea ne=
cessitate vrgente reassumj & latius explicarj posset.

Splendidius aliquanto, nostra quidem opinio=
ne in expolienda definitione Euangelij versabetis. Argumentum
illi habent vnicum.

Ex puris negoti: et si maxime Maior sit. Vniuers. affir= tum in -1- fig. Minor existit negoti:

Quidquid lex non reuelat, non arguit
Non credere in Christum lex non reuelat, quid lex ignorat Christi beneficium, sed hoc tum est /Evangelio proprium
Ergo neque id lex arguit.

Rp. ad Ma: aliud reuelat lex explicite, aliud im= plicite. Nam genera stringit, & species sub se compre= hendit /innumeras/ licet eas non omnes enumeret. Jtem speciej enumerum vbicumque in sacris literis occurrant, ad ista genera sunt referenda. Minor: explicite quidem non reuelat sed tamen implicite. Vtrum hoc obscurum viderj possit & simul expositum cauillationibus, ideo monendum, doctrinam de ~~vera Dej noticia~~ Deo vero, quod sit pater, filius & S.S. non tum Euangelio, sed et legj conuenire. Lex autem in genere voluntatem Dej exponit, & in genera taxat omnia peccata quae cum reuelata Dej voluntate non congruunt. Eaque ratione etiam incredulitatem erga filium Dej, licet implicate & obscurius reprehendit. Jnsuper nonne hae duo doctrinae, lex nempe & Euangelium mutuas sibi ope= ras tradunt, & Euangelium quidem legem illustrat & irradiat, speciemque incredulitatis, quae alias in genere in lege comprehenditur, ostendit, vt ita voce legis hoc malum opus arguatur. An ista solutio, sit commoda, ignoramus sane, meliorem non habemus iam in promptu, & tum eo consilio, visumque est recitare, vt audi= remus tuam solutionem, quam petimus ut in proximis literis nobis exponas, nosque edoceas. Non enim dubi= tamus te ex collationibus cum vestris habere magis perspecuas.

Tabellario dedi quadrantem talerj, sicut scripsisti. venit huc ante prandium circiter 9. et mansit trantum eum diem.

Apud Viteb. est altum silentium, forte iam meditantur aliquid, quod tamen non intellexi ex studiosis.

. 170r Mitte quaeso, si qua habes ad 8. 9. 10. Nam collecti= onj instamus, qua facta, postea feliciter esset scriptio totaque administratio.

Nostrae res hic adhuc fluctuant. Baalitae quidem boant, & secreto missificant, nondum dum sua peragunt Ecclesiam cathedralem audent aperire, idque tum propter nostros clamores. Admodum nuper cursus Episcopus

noster nos accusauit, quod nimis atrociter in Baalitas inuehamur, se iuraturus ne Missae celebrantur neue canantur ea quae sunt disputabilia. Sed nugae, fabulae, non curant Canonici hac in re Episcopum.

Vocatus fuerat M ab Augusto, vt recens nato infanti ad baptismum adstaret, Magnam igitur pompam adornarat, verum his diebus nuncius aduenit, infantem esse vnortuum. sic periirunt pompales sumptus. Marchio aliquamdiu aduersa valetudine conflictatus est, nescio an conualescat.

Molendinarius iterum Senatu urgente illi haud inuiti me vrgent & praemunt, vt magno Deo M videantur gratificarj. Haerent enim iam inter scopulos cum sua metallica & carbonaria causa, in qua mirum Dei iudicium videmus, sed paucj attendunt.

Nostri fratres, qui in causa sacrificulorum variant, passim corrogarunt clam suffragia. Bonus etiam Vitebergam eam ob causam ~~mit~~ /excurrit/. Ego dissimulo, et tibi clam haec indico. Animaduerto tamen ipsos pauca pro suis palatis conficere. Sarcerius ~~male~~ causam nobis & initio perdidit, & adhuc non facit nam meliorem. misi ad hominem nostra argumenta solutiones contrariorj. Sed responsione extorquente possum nullam, interea cuius male= dico ex nostris ad ipsos venienti & criminanti pro= pemodum fidem, quod hic sit dictum, habent. M. Andreas interdum iacula quaedam, accepta ab ipso emittit, quae paulo grauius & liberius retundo, ita tamen vt spe= rem ipsos amicos mansuros esse. Subium iactat ~~Seh~~ Sarc. Si Schnepfium suae sententiae adstipulantem habere, etc. Bene in Domino. Vale 16 Nouember 1558

T. W.

Salutat te Justicia.

Marginalia: f. $170v_{34-39}$: Si Oporinus Balej catalogum misit, vt ad uos proferatur, curabis vt accipiamus.

The letter is a Wigand autograph. There are several orthographic and ligature problems in the transcription. At f. 169r, line 38, the word *proem* has a long macron. The intent of this word is not clear. The letter was more hurriedly written than many others, making the -tur, -ntur, -urus, and -orum endings difficult to distinguish at times.

Documents I, 14

Maximilian to the Centuriators
22 October 1559, Vienna

v Den ersamen, hochgelerten, vnd
vnser besonder lieben N. den Auf=
sehen vnd Regierern des wercks
der Kirchenhistorien, welche zu Magde=
burg zusamen gewagen wird,
sament oder sonderlich.

r Maximilian von Gottes
gnaden Khunig zu Behaim
Ertzhertzog zu Osterreich.
Ersam, hochgelert besonder lieben. Wir haben
ewer schreiben vom vierzehenden tag negst
vergangenen monats Aprilis, vnd darbey das
brief des ersten Centurien der Kirchen historien,
welches ir vnserm Namen dedicirt vnd zuge=
schrieben, empfangen, auch vns zum teil, souiel
wir siderher stat vnd weil gehabt, darinnen
ersehen, vnd ewern christlichen getrewen vleiss
muhe vnd arbeit, so ir in zusamen tragung
soliches grossen werckes erzaigt vnd bewiesen,
darinnen befunden, vngezweiffelt dasselbige
zuerbawung des heiligen Euangelij vnd rechten
Gottesdiensten, so wol auch euch selbs, zu Eer
vnd reumb geraichen werde. Derhalben
lassen wir vns solches werck vnd dero de=
dication nich allain gnadiglich wolgefallen, son=
dern womit wirs (neben verleihung gottlicher
hulff) befurdern vnd in volligen schwunch
richten helffen mochten, zu demselben vnd auch
ewere personen sament oder sonderlich, knuff=
tiglich mit gnaden zubedencken, warn wir
vorder wol geneigt vnd gewogen. Des

v wir euch also auff berurt ewer schreiben
zu antwort gnediger vnd geneigter mei=
nung nicht wolten verzalten, Vnd
nach dem euch bewust, das weilend der
Ersam, gelerte vnser getrewer lieben Caspar
von Nidbrug der Rechten Doctor, vnser
Ratt, euch verschienens sechs vnd funffzigisten
Jars, zu obbemeltem wercke, von Re=
genspurg aus ein anzall Bücher, aus vnser
Bibliotecn, laut eines Jnuentari, mit vnserer
gnedigsten bewilligung, lehens weise zusten

lassen, so ist vnser gnedigs gesinnen, da
ir derselben nicht mehr bedurfftig, Jr wollet
sie vns mit dem Khisten widerumb behen=
digen vnd eruolgen lassen. Als wir dan
nicht zweiffeln, ir one das thun werdet.
Geben zu Wien am zweyvndzween=
zigsten tage Octobris, Anno etc. jm neun vnd
funffzigsten, vnsers Behamischen Reichs jm
Ailfften.
Maximilian

The letter is a secretarial copy, made in Regensburg (the same hand as several other copies of important papers in Gallus' files).

Documents I, 15

Judex to Wigand
[August 1560, Jena]

f. 458v

reuerendo viro
do. Mag. Joan
ni Wigando
compatri suo
carissimo.

f. 458r

S. P. Thomas Rebartus postulat
prefationem in tertiam centuriam
ego tam inter tuos libros quaesivi
sed non ex/re/perio. Thomas narrat
se nuper vinariis tibj eam reddi
disse. Quamobrem hunc ad te
abligat et reportet. Si habes totam
des ej aut si perijt indica vbj
exemplum possit inuenirj et iterum
describatur. festinat enim propter
nundinas francofordianas. Aut
aliam si prior amissa est compo=
nite. velim te Rebarto scribere
et ea quam nobis debet exemplaria
de 2. et 3. centuria vel eo modo
et exemplaria primae suscipiat, aut
francofurtinum /nostris sumptibus/ vehat vbique vna distra=
hat, post dium hunc abibit
corpus doctrinae germanice et alius
imprimat consentit, quid si vel
per montanum vel oporinum tentemus
an vellem? Bene vale. Saluta Do.
Max. et Joan. Stosselum et reliquos συνερ
γους sed non συνεργιστας.

The letter was clearly written during the Weimar Colloquy, where Wigand was in constant attendance. The letter is a Judex autograph. The letter was listed by von Heinemann in his catalog as *Literae diversae ad Wigandum* (II, 1, 299). The Greek pun at the end was a reference to Wigand's greeting the co-workers, but not the Synergists (Victorin Strigel, participant in the Weimar Colloquy, was accused of being a Synergist).

f. 156v

CATALOGVS
lectionum in Faculta
te Theologica

Quia res ipsa & discentium vtilitas postulat, vt Theologiae studiosis corpus aliquod doctrinae caelestis proponatur, vt integra synopsis concipiatur in animo, & res ordine discantur: Et praeterea etiam enarrentur scripta veteris & noui Testamenti, ideo hoc tempore M. Johannes Vuigandus legit corpus doctrinae ex nouo Testamento congestum ab ipso & M. Matthaeo Iudice, idque diebus Mercurij & sabbathi hora IX. D. Simon Musaeus enarrat Genesim, diebus Lunae, Martis, Iouis & Veneris hora VII. M. Matthaeus Iudex die Mercurij & Saturnj Matthaej Euangelium Graece. M. Matthias Flacius Illyricus diebus Lunae, Martis, Iouis & Veneris hora 1. Epistolas Paulj.

f. 157r

Ac ut studiosi Theologiae Euangelia dominicalia explicare discant, hoc anno singulis diebus dominicis a Domino Magistro Iohanne Wigando hora V. Euangelium tractabitur, quo elapso, /M. M. Iudex/ ~~alius~~ ej succedet, quitidiem per annum eam lectionem sustinebit. Celebrabunt etiam singuli statis temporibus, secundum leges eius Facultatis publicas disputationes, & maxime de locis hoc tempore controuersis.

The codex from which this is taken was the third volume of a set of Flacius papers, presumably in the library purchased by Duke Heinrich Julius, that is, part of the original Flacius library.

DOCUMENTS II

LETTERS OF WIGAND TO BEYER

At an early date, the letters of Beyer were put into an arrangement whereby the individual leaves were numbered, and the individual letters were also numbered. In the process, two letters were put into the set that were not actually written to Beyer, but were letters of reference for Beyer, namely No. 19 (Conrad Agrius) and No. 25 (Hermann Hamelmann). Although there was an attempt to set the pieces in chronological order, three are definitely out of place (No. 10, No. 16, and No. 23). There is, however, far less to be gained by introducing another numbering scheme, far more to be gained by retaining what is available with minor adjustments.

The original foliation can also be shown to have had a rationale: the three letters that were undated were originally put at the end (No. 9, No. 10, and No. 16).

The stamps on the letters indicate that they were once part of the magnificent Frankfurt Stadtbibliothek. They are now in the combined city and university library, in the manuscript division.

The copy of the letters in the Uffenbach-Wolf Sammlung, like the originals, was in a great city library, that of Hamburg; and like the originals, they are now part of a combined city and university library. A table is given for the complete numbering schemes of both the originals

and the copies, because a few scholars have used extensively these copies. Variant text has not been noted in the transcriptions, except in a few cases where earlier confusion needs to be corrected (e.g., spelling of names, nonsensical readings).

At the end of this section, there is also an index and comparative table for the Flacius/Beyer correspondence. The letters are already transcribed and are being readied for publication. They are not relevant for this research; but because there has been some confusion with the double numbering schemes, a correlative table can help unravel mysterious references.

Column A: Set number of the originals
Column B: Location and date
Column C: Original running number of originals
Column D: Folio numbers of the originals
Column E: Set number of the copies
Column F: Folio numbers of the copies
Column G: Page numbers of the copies

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	Mansfeld, 28 Sep. 1551	298	361r-v	LVIII	57r-58r	111-113
2	Magdeburg, 24 Mar. 1555	299	362r-v	LIX	58r-59v	113-115
3	Magdeburg, 15 Mar. 1558	300	363r-v	LX	59r-v	115-116
4	Magdeburg, 28 Aug. 1558	301	364r-v	LXI	59v-60v	116-118
5	Magdeburg, 14 Nov. 1558	302	365r-v	LXII	60v-61r	118-119
6	Magdeburg, 28 Dec. 1558	303	366r-v	LXIII	61r-62r	120-121
7	Magdeburg, 2 Mar. 1559	304	367r-v	LXIV	62r-63r	121-123
8	Magdeburg, 19 Mar. 1560	305	368r-v	LXV	63r-v	123-124
9	Jena, 14 Mar. 1561	324	387r-v	LXVI	63r-65r	124-127
10	Jena, 27 Jul. 1570	325	388r-v	LXVII	65r-v	127-128
11	Jena, 30 Aug. 1561	306	369r-v	LXIIX	65v	128
12	Magdeburg, 8 Mar. 1562	307	370r-v	LXIX	66r-v	129-130
13	Magdeburg, 25 May 1562	308	371r-v	LXX	66v-67r	130-131
14	Magdeburg, 1 Sep. 1562	309	372r-v	LXXI	67v	132
15	Wismar, 12 Feb. 1564	310	373r-v	LXXII	68r-69r	133-135
16	Wismar, 27 Feb. 1563	326	389r-v	LXXIII	69r-v	135-136
17	Wismar, 21 Aug. 1564	311	374r-v	LXXIV	69v-70r	136-137
18	Wismar, 9 Mar. 1565	312	375r-v	LXXV	70r-72r	137-141
19	Rostock, 28 Feb. 1566	8	12r-v	LXXVI	72r-v	141-142
20	Rostock, 28 Feb. 1566	313	376r-v	LXXVII	72v-73v	142-144
21	Wildbad, 7 Jul. 1566	314	377r-v	LXXIIX	73v-74v	144-146
22	Nürnberg, 17 Jul. 1566	315	378r-v	LXXIX	74v-75v	146-148
23	Wismar, 20 Jul. 1567	317	380r-v	LXXX	75v-76v	148-150
24	Wismar, 16 Feb. 1567	316	379r-v	LXXXI	76v-77r	150-151
25	Wismar, 13 Sep. 1567	9	13r-v	LXXXII	77r-v	151-152
26	Wismar, 16 Mar. 1568	318	381r-v	LXXXIII	77v-78r	152-153
27	Wismar, 6 Aug. 1568	319	382r	LXXXIV	78r-v	153-154
28	Altenburg, 4 Mar. 1569	320	383r-v	LXXXV	78v-79r	155-156
29	Jena, 31 Aug. 1570	321	384r-v	LXXXVI	79r-v	156-157
30	Fulda, 8 Sep. 1570	322	385r-v	LXXXVII	79v-80r	156-157
31	Königsberg, 3 Apr. 1570	323	386r-v	LXXXIIX	80r-81r	157-159

Documents II.1

Wigand to Beyer
28 September 1551, Mansfeld

f. 361r S. in Domino. Cum nihil mihi sit iucundius, quam eruditorum et piorum hominum amicitiam et expetere & conseruare, saepe de occasione cogitaui, qua tecum quoque amicitiam mere inire possem. Vidi enim aliqua scripta a te aedita, in quibus Ecclesiae Christi utiliter servis, & cum amicis tuis saepe de te collocutus sum. Cum igitur iam quidam ministri ad nos venirent, quos & uicinos & familiares tuos esse audirem, intermittere non potui, quin breues eis literas ad te darem. Quod igitur hactenus exoptaui, nunc a te peto, vt me in tuorum amicorum numerum recipias. Non autem id multis rogo, W tantum puto homine erudito dignum esse, homines sui ordinis & professionis uicissim amanter complecti. Cum autem nostram amicitiam fortassis aliquo munere incipere debeam, ecce contrario modo in praesentia rem tentare uisum est, nempe petitione laboris & officij cuiusdam. Cum enim amicitiae officijs mutuis constent, putauj non prorsus alienum esse principium. Collegi quaedam ut uides de Neutralibus & Medijs, hoc est adhortationem cum ad amplectendum uerbum Dei sincerum, tum ad praestanda in illo ipso uerbo constantiam & confessionem, et modestissime de ipsa causa disputare uoluj, ne nimium mordax uiderer et personis peperci. Si igitur iudicares Ecclesiae Christi istud tenue scriptum usui esse posse; rogarem, ut si fierj posset, cum aliquo vestrorum typographorum de aeditione ageres. Si nihil aliud, saltem aliquot exemplaria donaret, quae amicis, quibus vellem ~~donare possent,~~

f. 361v dare possem. Sin impetrare apud vestros typographos non posses & alibi rem tentare velles, faceres, quod tibi uideretur optimum. Quae tua sit sententiae poteris uel per vestros mercatores, qui vel Islebiam uel ad nos--interdum profiiciscuntur rescribere, uel per Valentinum Sifridi, quem intelligo crebro Stolbergam habere homines, inde a D. Praetorio accipere possem. Vide quam audacter & quam multa tibi impona nouus amicus, Sed materiam tibi scribendi abunde praebeo. Peto igitur ne hanc meam impudentiam aegre feras. Ego tibi uicissim meam operam, studium, et gratitudinem promitto. Nostrae Ecclesiae, Dei

beneficio adhuc in mediocri statu sunt, Deum precamur, vt quam diutissime conseruet, & ~~vn~~ uicinum bellum componat. ~~Datur~~
Mansfeldij --- --- pridie Michaelis
1551
Johan. Wigandus

The earliest Braubach printing of *De neutralibus et mediis* (not, *et Suediis*, as in the Hamburg copy) that I have been able to find is Frankfurt: Peter Braubach, 1560; within two years this version was translated into English and appeared then in at least four editions. The work was also printed in Magdeburg in 1553, shortly after Wigand arrived on the scene--an imprint that has become very, very rare.

The Praetorius mentioned here is notknown: it is not Wigand's later dear friend, Zacharias Praetorius, who at the time was fifteen years old, and is probably also not his father who was usually known by the name Sebastian Breiter.

The letter itself is a holograph of Wigand. The address was probably on a separate piece of paper if there was one; since the words of Wigand were hand delivered, a separate address was not absolutely necessary.

Documents II.2

Wigand to Beyer
24 March 1555, Magdeburg

f. 362v

Doctissimo uiro, pie=
tate & constantia
praedito D. Mgro.
Hartmanno Beyer
Contionatorj verbi Dei
Francofordiae ad
Menum, Dno &
amico suo colendo.

Wo Hartmannus Beier nicht ver=
handen were, sol in seiner prediger
einer aufbrechen & vnd dem Boten
antwort sagen.

f. 361r

S. in Christo. Venerande vir, spero nostrum amicum D. Jllyricum in tuis aedibus, vel certe in vestra vrbe hoc tempore futurum esse. Quare te summopere oro, vt hasce literas ej tradas. Sunt enim de rebus maxime necessarijs ad eum scriptae. Si vero iterum a vobis discessisset, existi=mo tibi ab ipso significatum esse, quo decreuerit abire, ac peto, vt statim tuis meas includas, & hunc hominem horteris, vt quanto possit cursu eum consequatur. Si etiam tabellario aliqua pecunia opus fuerit, quaeso ej nu=meres, & nobis significes. tum curabimus tibi bona fide restituj. Ignosci etiam mihi peto, quod tantum tibi laboris ausim imponere. Spero enim te hoc amicitiae nostrae daturum esse. Quae sit nostrarum Ecclesiarum forma, haud dubie ex D. Jlly. cognouisti. Tuemur adhuc quantum Deus nobis virium ~~eonee~~ largitur. Euangelij purita=tem contra Maioristas, Osiandristas & alios fanaticos. Itaque plurimorum odia sustinere cogimur, quemadmodum & vos, sed nunquam desinet Inimicitias ponam & columnae Ecclesiae propemodum excussae sunt, Deus misereatur nostrj. Nostram ~~Nostri sacri~~ Ecclesiam & me tuis precibus commendo. Bene Vale. Magdeburgi 24 Martij 1555.

Johannes Wigandus
Pastor ad D. Vdalricum

Nuncius debet M. Illyricum sequi
vel Augustae vsque. Itaque peto vt ej
significes, vbi & apud quem inuenire
eum debeat.

The letter, a Wigand holograph, demonstrates the difference in handwriting between German and humanistic Latin texts: the salutation begins in Latin and ends in German; despite the tremendous differences in appearance, both are by Wigand.

Wigand to Beyer
15 March 1558, Magdeburg

f. 363v

Reuerendo & doctissimo
viro & magistro Hart=
mano Beiero, docentj
Euangelium, Jesu Christi
in vrbe Francofordensi
Domino & amico suo colendo

f. 363r

S. in Christo. Reuerende vir & in Christo dilecte frater, mittimus iam ad Oporinum partem historiae Ecclesiasticae, & huic studioso mandauimus, vt cum eo transigat. Cum autem indigeamus bonorum virorum consilijs & auxilio, ideo te maximopere rogamus, vt in hoc sancto opere promouendo nos etiam imo Ecclesiam Christi iuues. Nota tibi est procul dubio typographorum ratio, quomodo libros eiusmodi accipere & imprimere soleant, ideo petiunt, vt vna cum hoc studioso cum Oporino agas, tibique & huic Wilhelmo transigendj & statuendi potestatem permittimus, quid a nobis propositum sit, ex Wilhelmo intelliges. Afferet tibi ea res aliquid molestiae & laboris, sed speramus te hoc quidquid est officij, nobis non denegaturum esse, praesertim cum intelligas, eiusmodi librum paulo vtiliorem fore quam sint ingentia commentaria de migrationibus gentium & similes, id quod tamen citra iniuriam cuiusquam dictum velimus. Nos vicissim tibi nostra officia & studia deferimus, ac precamur Deum, vt te contra Sacramentarios tuos acriter dimicantem, Spiritu suo sancto iuuet. Quod in conuentu principum apud vos actum sit, & quo in loco sit vestra Ecclesia, cuperem scire vna cum alijs quibusdam bonis, ac peterem, vt ea de re pauca ad nos scriberes, nisi tibi prorsus incommodum esset. Bene vale. Magdeburgi 15 Martij 1558:

T. Johan. Wigandus

In Wigand's own hand, the Superintendent of Magdeburg charged the Superintendent of Frankfurt to work with Wilhelm [Eccius Radensis], the messenger, to get the best deal that could be negotiated with the printer of the Magdeburg Centuries, Johann Oporinus of Basel who would be attending the Easter book fair.

Documents II.4

Wigand to Beyer
28 August 1558 [Magdeburg]

f. 364r Salutem per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum.

Reuerende vir, ignosce nobis, quod toties tibi nostris ne=
gocijs sumus molesti necessitate enim coacti, et non spon=
te id facimus. Multos ad opus nostrum necessarios de=
syderamus libros, quod te facile existimare posse arbitra=
mur. Eos vero tum alibi passim, tum apud Bibliopolas
etiam vestros quaerere necesse habemus. Quam ad rem
proprios mittere legatos, sumptuum magnitudo, et penu=
ria aerarij nostri vetat. Mittimus ergo tibi dimidium
talerum, et rogamus vt eo, vel pluris etiam si necesse
est, restituemus enim id quantum exposueris insuper,
conducas idoneum hominem, vel collegam aliquem
in schola vestra, vel ministrum Ecclesiae siue alium
hominem studiosum, et hoc ei munus demandes, vt
omnia vestra perlustret Bibliopolia, et conquirat no=
bis autores in catalogo nostro annotatos, et quos
inuenerit D. Oporino indicet, vt fidem suam inter=
ponat, et nobis assignet, tum autorum nomina, tum
precium ipsum, et nostro Bibliopolae Wolffgango Kirch=
ner, exemplaria coempta tempestiue tradat, et vna in vas
includi curet. Hoc officium si suspicaremur te nobis
denegaturum prolixius, id peteremus. Bene vale et nos

f. 364v nostrosque conatus directos ad Ecclesiae vtilitatem, vt
coepisti iuua, nec mouearis maleuolorum calumnijs,
et si quid noui habueris nobiscum communica.
Datae 28 Augusti. Anno Domini 1558

T. Johannes Wigandus
Matthaeus Iudex
& caeterj ~~gubernatores~~
qui opus historicum
Ecclesiasticum pro=
motum cupiunt.

The handwriting of the original is a secretarial original; the signatures of Wigand and Judex are autographs. The bookdealer/publisher Wolfgang Kirchner became as valuable a partner to the centuriators for his forwarding and bookkeeping, as he was for publishing the Magdeburgers propaganda.

Documents II.5

Wigand to Beyer
14 November 1558, Magdeburg

f. 365v

Doctissimo et constantissimo
uiro D. Magistro Hartmanno
Beyer, docenti Euangelium
Christi Francofordiae ad
Menum, Domino et in
Christo fratrj suo colendo
Franckforth.

f. 365r

S. per Christum. Anxie mi frater expectaba=
mus e vestris nundinis libros, de quibus scripsera=
mus, sed praeter Alb. Magnj postillam, & exemplaria
de corp. doctrinae nihil prorsus ad nos perlatum est,
per te non stetisse certo scimus, sed quid Opori=
num impedierit, nescimus, forte propter suos labo=
res nobis gratificarj non potuit. Mirati etiam hoc
sumus, quod nullas prorsus a te literas acceperi=
mus, ex quibus rem omnem liquido potuissemus
cognoscere. Voluj igitur huic studioso literas ad te
dare, vt occasionem rescribendi haberes, et nos
doceres, missumne sit aliquid, quod nobis non
esset redditum? Proximis nundinis, si viuimus,
forte aliquem ex nostris studiosis mittere necesse
erit, qui rem librariam nobis expediat. Quan=
tos labores in nos receperimus nosti, qui quidem
sine libris recte fierj nequeunt.

Nunc adhuc vnum officium a te peto,
quod vt nobis praestes, amanter oro, nec feras quaeso
moleste, quod tantum tibj molestiae adferimus. Oporinus
corpus doctrinae nostrum satis mendose impressit, quamuis
ipse excusarj aliqua ratione possit, cum fuerit in ther=
mis impressionis tempore. Annotauimus autem errata,
quae eius literis inclusimus, ac vehementer cuperemus eum
corrigere, vt ad proximas nundinas correctura
impressis exemplaribus inseri posset. Jam non dubito vestros
mercatores Basileam nuncios habere. Quare peto
vt per certos homines roges & hasce literas
ad Oporinum perferrj. Nostram gratitudinem, quantam
possumus pollicemur. Bene in Domino. Vale. Magdeb.
14 Nouembr. 1558.

T. Johannes Wigandus

Wigand penned the letter. His reference to Albertus Magnus is mysterious: Beyer was either involved in acquiring a manuscript for the use of the centuriators, or knowledgeable about an imprint or manuscript of keen interest to Wigand.

Documents II.6

Wigand to Beyer
28 December 1558 [Magdeburg]

f. 366v

Dem Ehrwirdigen vnd
achtbarn hern Magistro
Hartman Beyer
preidger in Franckforth
am Meyn, meinem
lieben Hern zuhand
Franckforth

f. 366r

S. Venerande Domine Magister. misi per
quendam puerum ad te literas, quas an accepe=
ris ignoro. petebam certior fierj, quare
ex proximis vestris nundinis ~~nuntiis~~ nihil a vobis neque
librorum neque literarum missum sit. Nam praeter
exemplaria corporis doctrinae Christi, & Alb. Magni
quendam nihil ad nos perlatum sunt. Causa quare
cupimus ista scire, est, vt quid nobis proxi=
me futuris vestris nundinis agendum esset,
possemus statuere. Nam libros nos habere
necesse est, et forte studiosus mittendus
erit, qui tum haec tum alia nobis
expediat, qua in re spero te nos consi=
lio & opera adiuturum esse. Misimus
etiam ad te annotationem Erratorum ex corp.
doct., quaeso significa an ad Oporinum
miseris. Apud nos Dei beneficio omnia
sunt mediocriter tranquilla, nisi quod
Nemines Vitebergenses insaniunt, qui tetris
conuicijs conspicunt bonos viros. Deus ipsos
coherceat. Bene in Domino vale Die Innocent.
1559.

T. Johan. Wigandus.

Another Wigand autograph, the letter was addressed by another hand (unknown). The Hamburg copy ruined the joke in line 19, by reading *Homines* for *Nemines*.

Documents II.7

Wigand and Judex to Beyer
2 March 1559, Magdeburg

f. 367r S. per Christum. pridie Calend. Martij tuas acce=
pimus literas Reuerende M. Hartmanne. Scriptas qui=
dem a te 20 Decembr. die. Agimus autem tibi gratias
max. pro officijs nobis exhibitis, & agnoscimus
singularem tuam pietatem & erga nos quoque beneuo=
lentiam summam, quod deinceps quoque operam tuam
promittis.

Existimamus autem commodissimum & vtilissimum
fore nostris rebus, vt per proprium studiosum &
inquisitionem librorum, & expeditionem aliarum rerum cure=
mus, teque rogamus amanter, vt hunc studiosum,
quem nunc eo nomine misimus, tuo consilio iuues.
Audimus te quosdam collegisse libros in nostrum
vsum, quos vt hunc tradas amanter oramus, si
quid etiam nostro nomine exposuisti, rogamus
vt indices. Nam libenter satisfaciemus.

Bonorum iudicia de corpore doctrinae nobis gra=
ta sunt, ac cuperemus ipsorum commonefactiones cognosce=
re, teque oro, si quid deprehenderis, ~~ingen~~ libere
nos admoneas. Zoilos iuxta tuum consilium contemne=
mus. Si alij eam laudem ante nos affectassent,
nos sane eis nequaquem inuidissemus, & magno nos
leuassent labore.

Methodum meam Germanicam ante bienni=
um propemodum aeditam, rogatus a multis bonis
viris, latinam feci, ac defero vestro Brubachio.
Cuperem enim in vicinia imprimj. Sunt mere
dogmatica, & erit procul dubio materia ven=
dibilis. Quare amanter te oro, ne graueris
Brubachio libellum offere & cum eo agere, vt
hoc aestate imprimat. Vellem enim sub autum=
num in vestris nundinis prodire. Dono peto tum
50 exemplaria pro amicis.

f. 367v Si hic non posset aut vellet, quid si
Vrsellis petet impressio? Sed haec tuae fidei permitto,
iterumque roro, ne hoc pium officium mihi deneges.

Audio de bello Germanico, cum prodiret
ille Alemanus, qui Brillingero carcerem adferebat,
etiam Dialogum Germanicum eiusdem argumenti piae mani=
bus fuisse, verum illis tempestatibus quasi reiectum.
Cuperem autem eius exemplar videre, qua in re si me
iuuare poteris gratissimum feceris. Bene vale Magdeb.
2 Martij 1559.

Johannes Wigandus
Matthaus iudex

The signature of Judex is an autograph; the letter of Wigand is an holograph. There was, as yet, no indication that Beyer would offer much assistance to the Magdeburgers.

Documents II.8

Wigand to Beyer
19 March 1560, Magdeburg

f. 368v

Clarissimo et doctissimo
viro D. Magistro Hartmanno
Beyer. pastorj Francofor=
densis Ecclesiae vigilantissimo
Domino & amico suo
colendo.

f. 368r

S. per Christum. Reuerende & doctissime vir, frater colende, quid de sarcerio acci= derit, postque ad nos Magdeburgam profectus esset, credo te iampridem cognouisse. Nunc ego & meus collega Iudex vocati Jenam discedimus, quis vero nobis successurus sit, ignoramus. Historiae negotia omnia vna transferimus, ac speramus nos in Academia plures adiutores accepturos esse. Non enim deseremus tam pium & sanctum opus, si tantum mediocres sumptus habiturj sumus, idque ne fiat, sedulo adhuc Viteb. laborant. In nostris regionibus Dei beneficio, tranquilla sunt omnia, curca Ratisponam & Nornbergam audio colligi exercitus, verum ad quem vsum incertum est, nisi quod maximj tumultus impendent propter scelera & impoenitentiam hominum. Accepi ex amicorum literis, Turcicum Imp. liberum passum postulare per Poloniam, maximis re= munerationibus propositis, Petiturum enim se esse regnum Bohemiae. sed ista vestri mercatores procul dubio adferent, teque rogo vt, si quid habes otij, de istis alijsque rebus ad me perscribas. Bene vale. M. Matthiam rogo vt amanter meo nomine salutes. Magdeburgi 19 Martij 1560.

T. Johannes Wigandus

Wigand did not report in the letter itself the death of Erasmus Sarcerius (1501-29 November 1559), but he perhaps sent along a copy of the funeral sermon he preached at the occasion in Magdeburg. If Wigand did, in fact, pen the letter precisely on 19 March 1560, then he wrote it on either the last day or one of the very final days of his office in Magdeburg, the letter serving as a notification of a change of address.

Documents II.9

Wigand to Beyer
14 March [1561] Jena

f. 387r S. in Christo. Reuerendè vir & frater in Domino colendè, multj iam sunt vobiscum, qui de statu nostrarum rerum omnium vos certiores reddere possunt. Varia Adiaphoristae hactenus in lonquiquis regionibus de afflictionibus nostris sparserunt, vt mirer talium fabularum architectos, nec dubito etiam ad vos famam quaedam pertulisse. Haeremus his Dej beneficio, legimus & contionamur libere contra corruptelas. Victo: nondum restitutus est suo pristino loco, & ita est obfirmatus, vt cedere de sua synergia, & Adiaphoristicarum rerum palliatione ~~pr~~ et similibus rebus prorsus nolit. etc. Nisi Deus restituerit Adiaphoristicae turbae plurima doctrinae capita ~~inter~~ horribiliter obscurabuntur, & multi praeclari D. Lutherj labores damnabuntur. Nam nuper pfef. irrisit Lutherj librum de Seruo arb. ~~Vitebergenses~~ Alesius aediderat disputationem, in qua ex professo Maiorismum defendebat & asserebat homines non sola fide iustificarj. Vitebergenses subiiunde magis magisque cinglianismum suum prodiunt & lipsiae Alesius iam in eam sententiam libellum typographo tradide= rat, sed retractus est. Regiomontj, vt hoc ipso die ex Borussia literas vidj, eandem sententiam pau= latim incipiunt amplecti et profiterj. Sic mundus uniuersus implebitur varijs erroribus.

In numbergensi conuentu princ. --- de nullis erroribus audire voluerunt, & in noua praefatione Confes. illos duris verbis tractant, qui dixerunt eos aliquid in doctrina nutasse.

In Brunsuicensi Conuentu aliquid boni factu est, quod Brementis Sacramentarius Hardebergius est remotus ab officio et loco exactus, imo etiam interdictum ne in circulo Saxonico vt vocant. doceret.

f. 387v Haec reuerende frater de nostris rebus breuiter significare voluj. Scio enim te rebus Ecclesiae pie offici, & rogo vt diligenter pro Ecclesijs in his regionibus preces facias, sicut & nos pro vobis.

Postremo hunc M. Franciscum studiosum & familiarem nostrum amanter tibj commendo, ac peto sicubj tuo opus habererit consilio, digneris eum adiuuare. Doctus, syncerus & honestus est, dignus bonorum fauore. Expediet

apud vos sua quaedam beneficia negocia, & a nobis etiam quaedam habet in mandatis.

Si quid literarum ad me dederis, erit mihi pergratum. Bene vale. Jenae. 14 Martij.

T. Johannes Wigandus.

The archenemy for Wigand, Judex, and Flacius at Jena--mentioned at the end of line 9, had not yet achieved his former station in the university by this date; he did shortly thereafter. And the situation continued to crumble. The Naumburg *Fürstentag* began on 20 January 1561. The meetings of the Saxon Circle that were held in Braunschweig at which Hardenberg was condemned occurred in February 1561. Thus the 1561 date for this Wigand autograph is well fixed.

Documents II.11

Wigand to Beyer
30 August 1561, Jena

f. 369v

Doctissimo viro, pietate &
virtute praestanti D. Magistro
Hartmanno Beyer, pastorj
Ecclesiae Francofordensis
fidelissimo D. & amico
suo colendo.

f. 369r

S. per ~~misi~~ Christum. Misi D. Bru=
bachio libellum de Homine, quem spero
ipsum impressurum. Sed insuper et Narra=
tiunculam quandam breuem de Apostasia Step.
Agricolae, quam cuperem iam in nundinis
prostare. Vno arcu vel sesqui posset imprimi.
Ego etiam pro 1. R mox ab ipso emam.
Quare te vt fratrem colendum oro, vt
meo nomine etiam cum Brubachio ages, vt
hac in re se facilem praebeat. Intelligis
ipse, quod eiusmodj notoria exemplaria de
pluribus rebus Ecclesiam Dei commonefaci=
ant. Ideo vehementer cuperem iam
prodire. De caet eris rebus intelliges
forte plenius ex nostris, et hic meus
domesticus quaedam narrare poterit.
Bene in Domino vale. Jenae. 30 Aug.
1561.

T. Johannes Wigandus.

The R in line 7 is not a true letter: it is the ligature for floren, for which there is no adequate character in modern character sets. In this form, it was commonly used in Wigand's own hand, as this letter is an autograph of his. A book entitled *De homine* from this period has not been identified (there is a dissertation by that name published in Jena in 1570). Likewise a brief narrativelet about Stephan Agricola was not published at this time (earlier, in Magdeburg in 1553, Wigand published a *Confutatio* against this man). The Stephan Agricola of this letter ought not be confused with Stephan Agricola [Kastenbauer] (+1547), his father, the Rhineland preacher originally from Vienna. Wigand's letter is pointing to Stephan Agricola, pastor in Mansfeld and later Merseburg, early partisan on the Wittenbergers' side in the Majorism debate, and a celebrated convert back to the "old faith" under the influence of Michael Helding.

Documents II.10

Wigand to Beyer
27 July [1571] Jena

f. 388v

Reuerendo & clariss. viro
D. Magistro Hartmano Beier
docenti Euangelium Christi
in Ecclesia Francofordiano
suo Domino et amico

f. 388r

S. in Christo. Reuerende vir
& amice colende. Hic M. Christia=
nus Koltzouius meus est domesticus
qui ad visendas Ecclesias & resp.
ad quaedam Germaniae loca excurrit.
Cum autem etiam te vellet salu=
tare literis meis, vt sibj aditum
patefecerem ad te, amanter rogauit.
Est modestus & doctus iuuenis,
Theologis huius loci charus. Itaque
te rogo, si aliqua in re tuo
consilio indigeret, ne ej deneges.
De rebus huius Academiae poterit
coram narrare, si uoles eum
interrogare. Afflixerunt nos duo
inprimis, nempe maledicentiae effre=
nis eorum, quos de erroribus monuimus
et mirabile illius consilium, qui
veritatem cum mendacijs tentauit conci=
liare. Deum oro, vt suam Ecclesiam
seruet, ac te rogo, vt pro nobis
etiam ores. Bene vale. Jenae 27 Julij.
T. Joh. Wigandus.

The letter, an autograph by Wigand, was written on a poor quality paper with a poor quality ink; the writing is difficult to decipher because the ink spread. The date of the manuscript cataloging in the Frankfurt library is probably incorrect, in the conjecture that it was penned in 1561. More likely is either 1570 or 1571 (see also Documents II.29). What one is to make of the reading in the Hamburg copy again causes further confusion: the Uffenbach-Wolf copy reads *Roltzovius*.

Documents II.12

Wigand to Beyer
8 March 1562, Magdeburg

f. 370v

Reuerendo viro, pietate &
doctrina excellentj D. Magistro
Hartmanno Beyer, pastorj
Francofortensis Ecclesiae Domino
& fratrj suo colendo.

f. 370r

S. Scripsit mihi D. Brubach, te
bonam operam nauasse in impetranda aeditio=
ne mei libellj de lib. arb. spero igitur
eum prodire, tibique gratias ago maximas, quod
tantum laboris suscepisti. Quam enim haec
doctrina sit necessaria & quantarum rerum
explicationem contineat, non ignoras. Necesse est
igitur veritatem coelestem tuerj & ad posteri=
tatem propagare, ne omnia in pristinas tene=
bras relabantur. Impendere enim tristissima
tempora, imo iam passim grassarj omnes
pii cum magno dolore vident. Inter caetera
autem mala hoc vel maximum est, quod
Epicureismus & Phanatismus ianta potentia
loca omnia occupant. Vnica vero nos spes
tenet & consolatur, quod credamus, Deum
aliquam Ecclesiam tamen inter istas ruinas
mundj conseruaturum esse. Hac consolatione
erecti, faciamus nostros labores voce
& stylo, neque erunt irritj iuxta diuinam
promissionem

Caeterum Magdeburgum ego & M.
Judex redijmus, ex amicorum consilio, vbj
nunc in exilio absque functionibus degimus,
expectantes Dei voluntatem. Jn quamcumque
enim partem ~~nos ille~~ suae Messis nos ille
eduxerit, sponte ac lubenter sequemur.
Rogamus autem paramanter, vt nos quoque
consilio & precibus tuis adiuues. Bene in
Domino Vale. Magdeburgj 8 Martij. 1562.
T. Wigandus.

Wigand's book on free will did appear over Braubach's imprint, Ursell, 1562. The court favorites in Thuringia Wigand characterized as evidencing Epicureanism and Fanaticism, common charges of other Gnesio-Lutherans against the easy-living courtiers of Weimar. The letter, an autograph, shows signs of having been copied carefully from a draft, as so many others in this period (e.g., the strikes, the lapses, the occasional dittographs).

Documents II.13

Wigand to Beyer
25 May 1562, Magdeburg

f. 371v

Reuerendo viro, pietate
& doctrina praestanti D.
Magistro Hartmanno Beyer
Pastorj Francofortensis
Ecclesiae, suo in Domino
fratrj.
Franckfort

f. 371r

S. M. Petrus Eggerdes, quem opinor tibj notum esse, hasce apud me literas deposuit Rostochium in suam patriam proficiscens. Voluj igitur eas huic nuncio, vestram ciuitatem transituro tradere, ac peto vt humanitatis officium, quod a te flagitat, benigne prestes.

Nostrae res hic in Pristino sunt statu. Absque functionibus priuatam agimus vitam nostris sumptibus, donec iterum nos Dominus Deus in suam vnicam ve legitime vocavit, cuj nos nostraque omnia commendamus. Laborj= bus sanctis priuatum occupatj sumus, ac spera= mus nos operam ac fidem nostram Ecclesiae Dei probaturos esse.

Jenae per Cothurnum quendam Victori: reconciliatus Theologis dicitur. Nihil enim de synergia sua, quae cum sacris literis, & monumentis virj Dei pugnat, re= mittit, & tamen recipitur. Sed nihil est mirum, cum Adiaphoristicus spiritus nos excusse= rit. Nisi igitur Dominus exercitium Ecclesiam eius regionis gubernarit, male ea stabit plerique defensores Lutheranicae hac in re sen= tentiae in odio sunt, & in periculo exter= minationis, vt nos fuimus, singulis momentis versantur. Oremus Deum vt Adiaphoristico spirituj frenae inijciat, ne omnia in horribilem vastitatem redigantur. Iterum saevit Maior nouis inuectiuis, cuj Deus frena inijciet. Bene vale.
25 Maij. 1562. Magdeb.

T. Joh. Wigandus.

Si tantum habes otij quaeso vt huic tabellario adnotes iter Basileam versus.

The post-script to this autograph letter by Wigand shows that the letter to Oporinus (Documents III.9) of the same date was carried all the way to Basel. Victorin Strigel (line 16) was indeed reconciled to the rest of his colleagues at Jena for a time; because of his political and rhetorical skills, Wigand and Judex lasted less than two years at the University of Jena. Strigel was not a man with whom one would trifle without qualms and without jeopardy.

Documents II.14

Wigand to Beyer
1 September 1562, Magdeburg

f. 372r S. in Christo. Adhuc Magdeburgi subsistimus vir præstantissime, expectantes legitimas vocationes a Domino Messia, cuj hactenus seruiuimus. Apud Mega= polenses principes & in Bauariae quo= dam loco aliqua quidem nobis spes affulget, verum Deo euentum commen= damus. Ecclesiae in Saxonia tran= quillae satis forent. Verum nuper a Dominis circulj Saxonicj, opera quorundam Juristarum propositum est edictum prorsus Sacrilegum, nempe de intermit= tendis confutationibus errorum, & reprae= hensionibus flagiciosorum, deque nullis aeden= dis scriptis, nisi prius ab aulis approbatis. Huic igitur edicto sese pastores opponunt publice vt debent, quae res periculum graue creabit. Non enim consulto ore Dominj, hoc est absque Theologorum consilio & approbatione talia promulgant politij quae directe cum

f. 372v verbo Dej pugnant.

Quid de Bremensibus fiat non ignoras. Nam seditiosi sacra= mentarij Episcopo Bremensi secum collu= dentj arcem tradiderunt, in qua exules quidem Senatores fuerunt, tantum eo con= silio, vt Episcopus ipsorum partes foue= at, id quod facit strennue. Domini circulj Saxonici remisse agunt, quasi istud incendium esset valde exiguum.

Jn Lituania Rutenus cum Sueco pacis foedus ad plures annos iniit, & nunc Suecus cum Polonis bella gerit, vt nimirum suam praedam, quam ibi accepit confirmet.

Haec de rebus Septentrionalibus annotare voluj, nunc vicissim a te peto, vt mihi indicare non graueris, an apud vos breuj sit futurus conuentus, & quam ob causam. Varia enim in hisce regionibus sparguntur. Bene in Domino Vale. Magdeburgj Calend. Septembr. 1562.

T. Wigandus

25 Quaeso clariss. viro D. Hiero: Glauburgero meo nomine reuerenter salute dicas, & hasce ei monstres, quod otium iam non fuit ad eius humanitatem scribendj.

Wigand and Judex were, in fact, negotiating with both the princes of Mecklenburg and with the city fathers of Regensburg for new positions. The Saxon Circle's pronouncements on the subject of sacrilege eventually led to the ouster of Tilemann Heshusius and all his friends from Magdeburg--including Judex.

This Wigand holograph also has special mention in the post-script that Beyer should pass along greetings to Hieronymus Glauburg (or Glauberg). He was a member of one of the most powerful families of the city of Frankfurt (Adolf, Johann, Georg Glauburg), with whom Flacius seemed to have been on very good terms also.

Documents II.15

Wigand to Beyer
12 February 1564, Wismar

f. 373v

Reuerendo & clarissimo
viro D. Magistro Hartmanno
Beier pastorj Francofurta=
nae Ecclesiae Domino &
amico suo colendo.

f. 373r

S. per Christum. Reuerende vir, Domine & amice colende. Compater & amicus meus Doctor Simon Musaeus, qui iam in comitatu Schwerinensi, Jllustrissimorum principum ac Ducum Megapolensum, Superintendentem agit, suas quasdam contiones de Coena Domini, quas Bremae habuit, scripto complexus est. prodesset autem meo quidem iudicio eas contiones exta= re. Videmus enim quomodo contagiosa lues Sacramentariorum subinde latius serpat & progrediatur & apud admodum sunt, qui iam ex verbo Dei contra dimicant. Jdeo peramanter oro, vt tantum apud aliquem vestratem typographum efficias, vt hac aestate istas contiones impri= mat, atque autorj inde triginta exemplaria do= net, quae si ego acciperem, recte curarem exhiberj. Ea in re scio te Ecclesiae Dej haud grauatim operam tuam prestiturum esse. Et nos vicissim si qua in re possemus, gra= titudinem nostram erga te declararemus.

Quod ad Ecclesias in hisce regioni= bus attinet, Dej beneficio tranquillae sunt. Vicina Academia Rostochij, a qua absum tan= tum vnius diej itinere, crescit, praesertim D. Dauidis celebritate.

Bellum quod ad Arcton exortu est inter Danum & Sueuum, nondum est pacatum. Ora quaeso Deum nobiscum, vt propter suam Ecclesiam largiatur hisce regionibus tran= quillitatem. Bene vale. 12 Feibru. 1564. Wismariae.
T. Johannes Wigandus D.

The David for whom the University of Rostock was so acclaimed was, of course, David Chytraeus. In connection with the university, but without a single word in this letter of Wigand's hand, for the first time one finds the letter "D" after his signature.

Wigand to Beyer
27 February [1563] Wismar

f. 389v

Reuerendo viro, pietate
& doctrina excellenti D.
Magistro Hartmanno Beier.
pastorj Francofourtano
D. & amico suo Co=
lendo.

f. 389r

S. per Christum. Reuerende vir & amice colende, hic noster Cunradus tibi et rerum nostrarum conditionem, et alia --- huius loci, si quidem voles cognoscere, exponet. Commen=do autem tibi istum studiosum, ac rogo vt eum consilio & promotione adiuues. Decreuit Deo benedicente seruire Ecclesiae Dej, & nunc in vestris regionibus, propter patriam, functio=nem libenter susciperet, qua in re forte tu ipsi adiuuento esse potes. Juuenis est honestus, bonus & diligenter in studijs versa=tus. Magdeburgi & Jenae nos audiunt, ac spero ipsum salutare organon futurj esse. Vsus est aliquandiu stipendio comitum vobis propinquorum Hanauensium, & meo quidem iudicio non inutiliter collo=cauit. Tempus igitur et ipsius aetas flagitare videntur, vt etiam conditionibus paulatum adsuefiat. Spero autem te operam tuam ipsi non denegaturum esse, et ego polliceor ipsius nomine omnem gratitudinem. Bene in Domino vale
Wismariae 27 Febr.

T. Wigandus

Once again, the messenger can be shown to have carried more information than the letter. Cunradus the messenger was Conrad Agrius, on his way to Basel with a letter of the same date--and identical phrases in part--to Johann Oporinus (see Documents III.11). The cataloging of the Frankfurt library for this Wigand autograph mistook the year (the listing has 1565). But another clue is the lack of the letter "D" after Wigand's name.

Documents II.17

Wigand to Beyer
21 August 1564, Wismar

f. 374v

Reuerendo viro D.
Magistro Hartmano
Beier pastorj Franco=
furtensi ad Menum,
amico & Domino
suo colendo.
Franckforten.

Joan. Wigand.

f. 375r

S. Ago tibi reuerenter gratias Reuerende Domine & amice colende, quod ~~in praestntis~~ ex nundinis paschalibus mihi amanter significabas, te daturum esse operam, vt contiones Doct. Simo. Musej in lucem prodirent. Id si factum est, vti speramus, quaeso ne graueris cum cum typographo loquitur, vt ad minimum 30 exemplaria nobis mittas. Vide autem quantum nobis de tua erga nos beneuolentia polliceamur. Iterum mitto alterum eius librum, qui habet enarrationem Psalmj 91. directam contra pestem. Erit igitur meo quidem iudicio gratus & vtilis liber multis pijs. Rogo autem vt alicuj impremendum tradas, talj conditione vt ad ver proximum prodeat, & nobis etiam vt minimum 30 exemplaria communicentur. pro hac opera Musaeus & ego tibi gratitudinem pollicemur.

Bellum vicinorum regum adhuc durat. Spes pacis nulla est. Mare nostrum orientale Suecus propemodum obsidet. Non ita diu aliquot rursum onerarias naues Lubecensibus eripuit Suecus. Bene vale. 21 Augusti 1564. Wismariae.

Joh. Wigandus D.

Si D. Oporinus aliquos M. Matt. Iudicis (qui --- in Domino obdorminit 15 Maij) libros tibi tradet, quaeso te, vt cum Vrsellano loquaris & det, quaeso te, vt cum Vrsellano loquaris & conuenias, vt aedat. ~~Sin minus~~ Si vero is non volet imprimere, mihi restituantur. Iterum vale.

This Wigand holograph shows how materials that had been originally sent to Oporinus for possible printing were given over to Peter Braubach, who did publish several pieces for Judex posthumously.

Documents II.18

Wigand to Beyer
9 March 1565, Wismar

f. 375r S. per Christum. Reuerende Vir & amice colende. Tua pietate fretus, non vereor tibj aliquid molestiarum, efflagitationem tuorum officiorum, adferre. Rogo autem te per Christum, ne id mihj vertas vicio. Vicissim precabor Deum, vt tibj haec beneficia, quae mihj & alijs praestas abunde compenset.

Primum autem si illa sunt impressa quae nomine Doct. Simonis Musaej ad te misi, quaeso iuures nostrum Cunradum in Hanaw scholae collegam, vt aliquot ad nos exemplaria mittat, quae autor suis amicis donet.

Deinde mitto Enarrationes Euangeliorum, a me praeterito anno consignatas, quas bonj aliquot a me efflagitarunt, et rogo, vt cum Vrsellano agas; vt imprimat hoc insequenti anno. precium non aliud postulo, nisi exemplaria 50. De quo numero tamen tibj potestatem decernendj permitto.

Jnsuper mitto Analysin de libero arb. quam vna Vrsellano trades, ea conditione, vt ad ~~Miseles~~ Bartolomej diem proximum proferat, & mihi aliquot exemplaria mittat. Sine dubio exemplaria erunt vendibilia, & prodest Ecclesiam monerj de praestigijs, quae passim inualescunt.

Postremo et Admonitionem de Bonis & malis Germaniae exhibeo, quam trades cuj voles impremiendam, non vt ad Bartolomej aedatur. Optarim autem excudj in quarto, litera maiuscula, et etiam a senioribus facilius legi queat.

Quod si D. Brubachius postillam vel coniunctim cum Vrsellano, vel solus, vel suis impensis imprimeret! Verum ista tuo iudicio & necessitati permitto. Scripsi tamen Vrsellino, si is solus vellet aeditionem suscipere.

Dominus Deus ista omnia pro suo beneplacito & ad gloriam suj sanctissimj nominis dirigat & efficiat Amen.

f. 375v Jn ~~hisce~~ vicinis locis adhuc saevit cruentus Mars terra marique. Dominus Deus nobis optatam iterum pacem benigne concedat, ne maiora incendia, quae Diabolus haud obscure molitur, subsequantur.

Jn hoc Ducatu, quod ad Religionem, magno Magnj Dej beneficio adhuc omnia sunt integra. Sed Adiaphoristae antiquum obtinent. Et ludimoderator parthenopaeus testis mendacijs publicis scriptis saeuit. Nuper transposito connuersiae statu, ausus est plus quam meretricia fronte effutire, nos negare, Magistratum ullam ~~penitus~~ habere partem in vocandis aut constituendis ministris videlicet Dej. Id impium & luculentum mendacium Nebulo confinxit, vt magis hostes inflammaret. Tantum enim de tyrannide & abusu D. Tilem. et alij disserunt, & monent peccatores, vt vera conuersione in viam reuertantur. Sic decet nos coronarj a maleuolis. Sed est Deus, qui ista videt, & furiosis spiritibus modum statuet. Coniuncta sunt Confessio & crux. Et omnes pij omnibus in locis suos experiuntur colophisantes Cacadaemones. Oremus pro inuicem, vt infracta confessione tandem ex hoc maligno mundo eluctemur.

Officia tibi nulla vicissim praestare possum. Sed promitto animum memorem & gratum. Bene in Domino vale, & fideles commistros omnes reuerenter ex me saluta.
Wismariae. 9. Martij 1565.

T. Wigandus

Si est D. Heshus. vobiscum, aut potes ej hasce literas mittere, quaeso cures ej reddj.

Libros vt spero Magdeburgensis Bibliopola Wolfgangus Kirchner tradet. autem quaeso ab eo per famulum postas.

Scripta Vitteb. & Strigelij cupere subiungi meae Analysi

The reflections about the behavior of Magdeburger leaders in the struggle against Heshusius and friends are similar to Wigand's published tracts on the subject. The working relationship with the printers via Beyer and now via Conrad Agrius appeared to be working rather well; Wigand seemed to be happy, in this autograph letter of his.

Documents II.19

Wigand to Beyer
28 February 1566, Rostock

f. 12v

Pietate & doctrina
excellenti D. Cunrado
Agrio, collegae Scholae
in Hanau, suo amico.

f. 12r

S. in Christo. Mi Cunrade peramanter oro, vt velis proximis nundinis colligere mihj libros Francofordiae, & petere schedam ab Oporino nostro, cuj forte non missurus sum iam Centurias X. & XI. ratio est quia absum domo in visitatione accipiet vero proxime certe. Nam non potuit XI. describi ab amanuensi integre, quia pestis nobis impedimenta obiecit & duo collectores mortuj sunt. Mitte omnis generis libros, & quos nuper annotauj.

Jtem .2. partem meae postillae

Jtem exemplaria plura, aliorum meorum libellorum & Jud. spero libros de nouis Arianis. Jtem de bonis & malis Ger.ae Jtem contra synergiam Crellij, etc. esse aeditos etc. Quaeso sis diligens, ero gratus.

Meae Evae mitte ein gut gartenbuch & alia etc. And. Corui. factus est Capellanus Ecclesiae nostrae ad S. Virgine, Margareta enixa est puellulam. Jam Rostochij sum in visitatione Ecclesiarum cum alijs. ~~Bella~~ Et habent principes Megapolenses praesidium in hac vrbe, speramus autem quotidie meliora.

Vasi pecularj include meos libros, pecuniam si exposueris, reddam opt. fide. Mitte animo inter aliquid mercatore vel lubecensi, vel Hamburgensi, cum litteris vt ad me etc. vt si non aliter cum typographo Brunsuicensi, ~~si fort~~ & roges vt porto ad me etc. Si forte Wolfgangus ~~Me~~ Kirchner non veniret ad mercatum vestrum.

Quaeso scribas & de alijs rebus necessarijs. libris & alijs enim Bene vale 28 Febr. Rostochij 1566.

T. Joh. Wigandus

This is one of the few letters of Wigand, extant, to a former *domesticus*. From the references to private affairs--this is the only letter where Wigand's wife and daughter and son-in-law are mentioned in this series--it is clear that the domestics were part of the extended family. The packing and lading of materials were very important for Wigand; the other messages about routes and relations with merchants are all rather telegraphic.

Documents II.20

Wigand to Beyer
28 February 1566, Rostock

f. 376v

Reuerendo viro, doctri=
na & pietate praestantj
D. Magistro Hartmanno
Beyer, pastorj Franco=
furtano suo Domino
& amico.
Franckfort.

Accepi die 30 Maij
Lampertus bock -----
in --- ---

f. 376r

S. in Christo. Reuerende vir, ante paucos dies literas cuidam tabellario ad vos dedj, nescio tamen an sint redditae. Eandem igitur materiam repeto. Oro peramanter, ne graueris mihj proximo nuncio significare, quomodo se de meis /libellis, quos ad te excellentiam misi/ res habeat. Dein vt hae literae ad Cunradum, qui solet meos libellos conquirere & conuasare, tempestiue perferantur, quem spero adhuc collegam schola Hanouiensis esse, vel certe in vicino loco parochian tenere. Haec scribo in Academia Rostochiana, vbi nunc principum nomine visitationem Ecclesiarum instituimus. Res in hac ciuitate nunc in magnis sunt angustis constitutae. Nam dissensio intestina occasionem praebuit, vt armata manu principes sint ingressj, et adhuc vt nihil aliud dicam, rauco suo sonitu tympana ciues terri= tent, & parum commodj, plurimum vero detri= mentj adferam. Deum igitur oramus, vt pro sua immensa misericordia hanc crucem mitiget. Panicj terrores etiam nos contristant --- inde vsque ex comitijs. Audimus enim nouum Interim seu pandoram in scenam esse producendam, cuius inter alios et Cassander quoque Colon: parens, ac pingi tum alia tum inuocationem quoque sanctorum. Sed de talibus rebus ex vestris nundinis docerj cupimus. Bellum Septentrionale omnia efficit in his regionibus cariora & difficliora. Bene vale 28 Febr. 1566.

T. Johannes Wigandus.

The letter is a Wigand autograph, with a brief three-line receipt note by Beyer following the address.

Documents II.21

Wigand to Beyer
28 February 1566, Wildbad

f. 377r S. in Christo Jesu. Reuerende vir, frater in Domino colende. Cum meo principe Megapolense mihi Augustam ad Comitia fuit proficiscendum, & ijs absolutis, iam ultra mensem in Thermis ferinis, ipsius Celsitudinis coniunx cum sua aula haeret, interea ipse princeps longius excurrit, propediem ad nos reuersurus. Etsi autem mihj ista peregrainatio permolesta fuit, tamen principi hoc officij denegare non licuit. Cum igitur non sciam, an satis tempestiue domum reuerti queam, vt ad Oporinum & nostrum Cunradum Agrium scribam, ideo visum est hinc paulo tempestiuius literas ad Cunradum mittere, eumque rogare, vt quaedam mihj negocia expe= diat. Te igitur amanter oro, ne graueris, prima quaque occasione per homines fidos & certos, hasce literas ad Cunradum mittere, quem spero alicubj circa vestram ciuitatem habere

f. 377v functionem. Hoc tuum beneficium magni faciam, & si qua in re potero vicissim gratitudinem declarabo.

Lauat nunc in hisce thermis, etiam ipse princeps Wirtenbergensis, cuius egregium zelum pro veritate patefacta, aliquoties coram cum admiratione audiuj, ac precord Deum, vt istum heroa suae Ecclesiae diu saluum et incolumem conseruet. Coniunx ipsius Cels. in Badensibus est thermis.

Jn comitijs nihil admodum de reli= gione actum esse non ignoras. Cum Rhena= no Electore de re Sacramentaria fuit quaedam contentio. Nam Imp. ipse flagitauit, eo nomi= ne eum damnarj, sed qui serio confitentur veritatem pauci fuere. Frigent ac rigent passim summj & infirmj in religione. Do= minus Deus suam ipsius causam clementer et potenter tueatur. Bene in Domino vale. D. Glaubergerj meo nomine quaeso reuerenter salutes. Ex thermis ferinis 7. Julij 1566.

T. Johannes Wigandus

A Wigand holograph, the author showed that he had come a long distance from lowly Mansfeld to the princely baths of the Schwartzwald.

Documents II.22

Wigand to Beyer
17 July 1566, Nürnberg

f. 378v

Reuerendo et Clarissimo
viro D. Magistro Hartmanno
Beyer, pastorj Francofortensis
Ecclesiae, Domino et amico
suo Colendo.
Franckforth

f. 378r

S. in Christo. Reuerendè & clarissime
vir, Domine & amice colende. Rogo amanter,
ne graueris Cunrado nostro Agrio has inchisas
literas tradere, vel curare vt accipiat. Deinde
gratias ago, quod libellos meos de Deo, & de
bonis ac malis Germaniae, curasti in publicum aedj.
Augustae in comicijs multa exemplaria sunt distracta,
sed plerique legunt tantum, neque serio de reme=
dijs adferendis tantis malis cogitant. Sic omnia
in peius ruere etc. Nunc, si tantum posses
otij a tuis serijs negocijs suffurarj, peramanter
rogarim, ne graueris, mihj significare, quod agatum
de /mea/ refutatione Crellij. Iudico enim vtile esse,
retundj ipsorum superbiam, in confodienda Lutherj
imo ipsius Dej doctrina. Jnsuper mi
Hartmanne peto adhuc aliud consilium atque auxi=
lium. Cuperem habere simplicem & veram narrationem
quoto anno, et quibus potissimum organis tum politicis
tum Ecclesiasticis, vestra ciuitas abiecto papatu, sinceram
Euangelij doctrinam sit amplexa, quomodo ea res processerit,
qui maxime insignes ibj fuerint doctores Ecclesiae, &
quid propterea passi. Tum etiam quales vices ea in
re vestra Ecclesia huc vsque habuerit, quid passi ab
Jnterim, quid a Sacramentarijs. Haec non cupio /splendida ordine/
context
sed simpliciter & nude annotarj, id quod absque magno
labore fierj potest, et credo si tibi non vicat haec
annotare, te alij ex ministris idoneo id negocij
commendare posse, vt ad vestrum mercatum accipiam.
Finis est, Haec mihj ad 16 Cent. proderint, ad quam
nunc colligo, quanto possum studio. Quaeso etiam adiicite
qualis sit ratio cum Iudaeis. quonam pacto in vestra vrbe
tolerantur Judaej. Nam hoc quam nos scire plurimum refert.

f. 378v

Insuper a te peto, ne graueris mihj annotare tuos parentes,
preceptores, vbi studiceris, in quibus functionibus fueris, quos
libros aedideris,
quae certamina in ministerio sustinueris, idque ~~sine~~ simpliciter. Nam
& alij pij & docti virj hoc officij mihi prestant. Spero te non
habiturum esse causas denegandi, & cum tuj quoque facienda sit,
non dubito, te malle vera de te scribj, quam falsa. Haec omnia vt

dixi, cuperem ad vestrum mercatum accipere. Spero autem te promptiorem in hoc officij genere fore, cum non tam mihj quam Ecclesia Christi hac in parte inseruias. De reliquis, in alijs ad te literis scripsi. Bene vale. Nornbergae vbi nunc sum cum meo principe, adhuc hoc die longius iturj domum versus. Deus nos gubernet 17 Julij 1566.

T. Joh. Wigandus.

After the important meetings in Augsburg, after conferring with friends and associates in the South, after the warm baths in the Schwartzwald, Wigand's mind turned to the collecting and writing of Century XVI, he penned to Beyer.

Documents II.23

Wigand to Beyer
20 July 1567, Wismar

f. 380r S. in Christo. Reuerendo vir, amice colende, tua pietate excellenti fretus, iterum aliquid libellorum meorum ad te mitto, ac peto reuerenter, ne graueris eos tradere idoneis typographis. Adumbrauj doctrinam de communicat. Jdiomatum, vt amplissimam ita maxime necessariam in Ecclesia Dej, non tam vt alios docerem, quam vt ipse discerem. Secutus igitur sum vulgares illas metas. Adegerunt autem me amicj, vt aederem, ~~quantinet~~ quod forte alij excitarj possint hac mea simplicitate, vt aliquid de his tantis rebus explicatius Ecclesiae Christi communicent. Rogo igirur peramanter, ne graueris illud quidquid est libellj nostro D. Petro Brubachio tradere, vt is imprimat & proferat ad Vernum vestrum mercatum. Cuperem autem in 8° imprimj, litera maiuscula, vt aliquam meos Neutrales excudit. Optarim autem quam correctissime aedj propter aduersarios, qui veluti canes procul dubio in hunc quasi proiectum lapidem mordebunt cum fremitu. Quod si D. Brubach, id quod nescio quo obscuro rumore accepi, rebus humanis excessit,

f. 380v quaeso vt alij diligenti typographo tradas, tantum illa conditione, vt 50 exemplaria mittat. Erit autem materia, mea quidem sententia vendibi= lissima, hoc praesertim tempore. Vrsellano nolim tradj, quod tamen citra ipsius iniuriam apud te solum dico, quia meam postillam adeo corrupte & viciose impressit, vt me propemodum eius pudeat.

Alterum libellum quaeso exhibeas Sim. Huttero, cuj scripsi. Est autem me Germanica Methodus, antea aliquoties Magdeburgi excusa. Verum cum nulla super= sint exemplaria, eaque plures desiderent. Jdeo ex petitione plurimorum reuidj, & huic typo= grapho tradere voluj. Si tamen existimares eum fore negligentem, aut non venustas habere literas, facio tibi potestatem alij traden= di, modo vt ad Ver proximum certo prodeat.

Quo in statu sint res harum regionum, credo te ex alijs cognoscere. Nam bellum vicinum adhuc ardet. De Moscho narrant, quod expetat Suecj affi= nitatem. Jam legati Caesareani interce= dunt pro Rostochianis, vt recuperent suam pristinam libertatem.

D. Cunrado Agrio quaeso has literas matuře tradas, ut mihj colligat quosdam libros. Bene in Domino valeas. Wismariae 20. Julij 1567.

T. Wigandus

Both Beyer and Agrius were responsible frequently for representing Wigand's interests to the printers of Frankfurt, both to submit material and encourage publication and to complain about qualities of printing when they were bad--as this Wigand holograph gives ample evidence.

Documents II.24

Wigand to Beyer
16 February 1567, Wismar

f. 379v

Dem Ehrwirdigen Magistro
Hartmanno Beyer
vornehmesten Pastorn
vnd prediger in Franckfort
am Mein, meinem
lieben Hern, zukome
diese brief.
Franckforth
am Main.

f. 379r

S. in Christo. Reuerende uir & amice colende. hasce literas ut iterum ad nostrum Cunradum Agrium, quantocujus potes proferrj cures, amanter oro, quam ad rem 1/4 talerj inseruj, vt vel proprius conducatur tabellarius. scripsi enim de quibusdam libris perquirendis mihique mittendis. Quod si ille non adesset, vel aduenturus ad mercatum non esset, quaeso eius literas resignes, et schedulam, quae continet librorum, quos accipere cupio annotationem D. Oporino tradas, vt is mihi conquirj /curet/ et mitti ~~curet~~ per Webekindum Lubecanum, ciuem, qui uti spero vobiscum erit.

Deinde si tantum habes otij, peto mihi significarj vno aut altero verbo, quo liber meus contra Krellium peruenerit? ut sciam ubi haereat.

De nostris aliud nihil quod scribam habeo, quam vicinum bellum adhuc flagrare. Misit nuper Imperator legatos in Sueciam, verum parum spej ostenditur. Classes vtrinque maximis iuribus instruuntur, & prodigia non cessant. Dominus Deus gratam & salutarent restituat. Bene in Jesu Christo. Vale. Wismariae 16 Febr. 1567.

T. Johannes Wigandus

Clarissimum virum D. D. Hier.
a Glauburg reuerenter salute.

Wigand's own hand commissioned Beyer to represent him once again to the Frankfurt printers and also to Oporinus, who would be present for the Easter book fair.

Documents II,25

Wigand to Hamelmann
13 September 1567 [Wismar]

f. 13v

Clarissimo viro D.
Hermano Hamelmano
S. Th. Licenciato
suo in Christo
fratrj

f. 13r

S. in Christo Jesu. Iste noster Hermannus, viva erit epistola, ex qua statum tum do= mesticum meum, tum vniuersae Ecclesiae cognoscere potes. Nouit pleraque, quia fidelissimus meus amanuensis est, qui mea scribit omnia. Amo eum propter in= signem tolerantiam & fidem labo= rum, ac si quando possem eum iuuare, facerem, vt intellige= ret me ipsi esse beneuolum. Historia illa antuerpana, vti manet! Jam diu decebat eam in conspectu Ecclesiae versarj. Sed tempus plura scribendi non adest. Vale & cum viua epistola colloquere. 13. Sept. 1567.

T. Wigandus

The sound of this autograph letter of Wigand to Hamelmann would lead one to believe that there was a warm, close, familial relationship between the two. There is little evidence of such a relationship, however. It would be very good for scholarship if Wigand would have named the messenger who was also charged to be a secretary and who "wrote everything."

Documents II.26

Wigand to Beyer
16 March 1568, Wismar

f. 381v

Reuerendo & clarissimo
viro D. M. Hartmano
Beyer, pastorj Franco=
furtano Domino et amico
suo colendo.

f. 381r

S. in Christo Jesu. Reuerende &
clariss. vir, Domine colende, iterum
te meis literis grauo. Rogo autem
peramanter, ne iniquo animo feras.
Vsitata autem mea petitio est, ne graue=
ris hasce literas nostro Cunrado Agrio
tradere, qui mihj aliquid offjcij in
vestris nundinis praestabit. peto amplius,
vt literas ad nostrum Jllyr. &
ad D. Widenbachium aliquibus tradas,
qui in ea loca proficiscuntur, sicut
credo non defuturos idoneos homines.
Nostra haec loca, vt aliquid significem,
satis forent tranquilla, si absque
duobus malis esset. Primum infantum
illud bellum adhuc durat inter
septentrionales reges; quae res mari=
timis ciuitatibus grauis est. Alterum
malum est, quod Maior suis illis
Antichristi sponsis, in nomina sua
repetitione comptis & ornatis, Ecclesias
passim turbat. Oramus igitur Dominum
Deum vt tum Ecclesiam tum poli=
tiam benigne pacare dignetur.
Me reuocat Dux Saxoniae Wilhelmus
in Academiam, sed non scio an
me nostri Principes dimissurj sint.
Bene vale. Collegas tuos reuerenter
saluto. Wismariae 16. Martij 1568.
T. Wigandus

Such a letter of transmittal as this--although it is a Wigand autograph--would not be as significant as it is, were the other letter to Conrad Agrius extant. Sadly, the epistolarium of Agrius has not been found, if it is extant. Thus, such letters as this have far more signficance than their surface examination would indicate.

Documents II.27

Wigand to Beyer
6 August 1568, Wismar

f. 382r S. in Christo Jesu. Reuerende vir, amice colende, oro peramanter, vt oblata occasione, vel ex proximis nundinis vestris, non graueris mihj significare, quonam meus libellus de lib. arb. contra Crellium peruenerit? an iaceat apud te, an vero alicubj inter chartas Brubachij delitescat. Deinde si quid historicum, aut descriptiones personarum a te essent collectae, quae ad nostram historiam pertinere viderentur, rogo vt communices, nosque & posteros iuues. Postremo peto ne graueris hasce literas per occasionem mittere, quibus sunt inscriptae. D. D. Glauburgerum, deinde etiam comministros tuos reuerenter saluto. Be[illegible] in Christo Vale. Wismariae 6. Augusti 1568.

T. Wigandus.

Rogo vt Cunrado nostro, qui solet mihj libros in vestris nundinis colligere, istae literae mittantur ante nundinas.

Wigand repeated his request for biographical and topographical information (see Documents II.22), in this brief autograph letter. The amount of work that was done by Beyer or one of his associates (Matthias Ritter?) was surely considerable, as this letter again demonstrates.

Documents II.28

Wigand to Beyer
4 March 1569, Altenburg

f. 383v

Reuerendo et Clarissi=
mo uiro D. Magistro
Hartmano Beier,
Pastorj Francofordianae
Ecclesiae ad Moenum,
Domino et amico suo
colendo
Franckforth.

f. 383r

S. in Christo Jesu. Reuerende & cla=
rissime vir, frater colende amanter
oro, more solito, ne graueris efficere, vt
Cunradius Agrius pastor in Rotenbach
mature hasce literas accipiat. Deinde
peto, vt per famulum Polycarpo Gemu=
saeo, ipsi inscriptas literas tradas, quam
primum in vestram ciuitatem venerit.
Detinerj nos in colloq. Altenburgensi
iam fere semestre integrum, non
est tibj ignotum, quo vero id fructu fiat,
Deo dante euentus patefaciet et ostendet. Spero
his diebus non conclusuros esse 1. artic. de
iustificatione & bonis operibus. Postea de lib.
arb. et de Adiaphoris conferendum erit.
Scripta autem vtrinque permutantur tum latina
tum germanica, quae quidem res facit, vt
paulo tardius negocium succedat. Corruptelae
de quibus conferentur sententiae, tibj non
sunt ignotae. Rogo igitur vt tuis sanctis
precibus nobis adsit. Utinam veritas
consistat, & omnia falsa dogmata abo=
leantur. Sed procul dubio Deus ex
immensa misericordia, & semen sanctum
in terris seruabit, & lucem suae doctrinae
non penitus sinet extinguj. Bene in Christo
Vale. 4. Martij. 1569. Altenburgj.
D. D. Glauburgum reuerent
saluto T. Joh. Wigandus.

Polycarp Gemusaeus, son of Hieronymus Gemusaeus of Strassburg, was one of the publishers' agents from Basel often resident in the city of Frankfurt. He may have been the representative of the Officina Oporiniana for the centuriators at this time. This autograph letter of Wigand helps to identify the later location of Conrad Agrius, i.e., "Rotenbach."

Documents II.29

Wigand to Beyer
31 August 1570, Jena

f. 384v

Reuerendo & Clarissimo
viro, D. Magistro Hartmano
Beyer, docenti Ecclesiam
Francofordianam ad Menum
Domino et amico
suo colendo.
Franckforth.

f. 384r

S. in Christo. Reuerende frater,
veniet ad te M. Christianus
Kolzouius, meus domesticus, qui aliquot
ciuitates superioris Germaniae perlustra=
re vulujt, ej quaeso hasce tradas literas,
quia sic cum ipso conuenj, me apud
te literas depositurum, in quibus necessaria
quaedam cognoscet.

De nostris rebus nostrj Biblio=
polae vos docere potuerunt. Cupimus
per Dej gratiam, doctrinam a Luthero
traditam, confiterj & propagare, sed
qui in Cathedra eius sedent, nos
omnium maxime infestant, & subinde ma=
gis magisque discedunt a sanitate
eius doctrinae. Itaque orabis nobiscum
Deum, vt suam ipsius causam
regat, tueatur, obtineat. Bene vale
pridie Cal. Sept. 1570 Jenae.
T. Wigandus

For the first--and only--time in the lengthy extant exchange, Wigand put heavy stress on his own position vis-a-vis Luther's theology; with his own pen, he encouraged Beyer to be faithful to the real Luther tradition, not to those who at the moment sat in Luther's cathedra.

Documents II.30

Wigand to Beyer
8 September 1570, Fulda

f. 385v

Reuerendo viro, pietate & doctrina excellenti, D. Magistro Hartmano Beyer, pastorj Ecclesiae Francofordensis ad Menum, Domino et amico suo colendo

f. 385r

S. in Christo. Reuerende Domine amice colende, Sperabam me venturum esse Francofordiam, & coram te salutaturum verum meus Jllustriss. Dominus, quem nunc comitor ad Comitia, aliud iter instituit. Dominus Deus nobis benigne adsit. Amen. Equidem nihil de Religione in comitijs propositum esse audimus, noluit tamen noster Heros sine Theologo eo proficisci.

Has porro literas, quae sunt a nostro Heshusio scriptae, quaeso. siue mora exhiberj cures. Jntelligo enim ipsum de rebus necessarijs scripsisse. Rogo autem vt ~~huic, vnu~~ cum hoc viro, qui spirae ad nos veniet, vno tantum verbulo significes, an hasce & quas per bibliopolam Jenensem miserari accepe= ris vel non.

Si quid habes rerum nouarum, et voles communicare, gratissimum feceris. Bene in Christo vale. Fuldae. 8 Sept. 1570.

T. Joh. Wigandus.

With a visit of such a scholar as Wigand, one might expect him to say something about the libraries there to another scholar. In his autograph letter, Wigand did say that he was accompanying his duke, Johann Wilhelm.

Documents II.31

Wigand to Beyer
3 April 1574, Königsberg

f. 386v

Reuerendo et Clariss-
simo viro D. M.
Hartmano Beyer,
pastorj Ecclesiae Dej
Francofordiae ad
Maenum, Domino
& fratrj suo colendo

Franckfort
am Mein.

f. 386r

S. in Christo. Reuerende vir, frater cariss. peregrinantes sumus in hoc mundo aliquandiu, Deo sit disponente, donec in patriam commigremus, vnde nemo nos extrudet. Interea peto vt pro me & alijs ores, qui propter Nomen Domini exilia non admodum suauia sustinemus. Jam vero nomine haeredum Reuerendi & clariss. uirj, D. Joachimj Morlinj Episcopi huius regionis, beatae memoriae, /pauca quaedam scribenda sunt./ Habent quaedam monumenta sui parentis, ac saepe rogati sunt a bonis viris, vt ea in vtilitatem Ecclesiae in lucem aedant. Tandem igitur assensi sunt, meque rogarunt, vt ad te & D. Petrum Gedultio ea de re scriberem. Nam bonam de te spem concipiunt, te propter Ecclesiam tantillum laboris non defugiturum, Petunt autem ne graueris cum aliquo Francofurtano typographo, vel cum Vrsellano, vel Argentoratensi aut Basileensi, agere, vt impressionem suscipiat. Indicem mittunt, atque existimant duos tomos fores et non plures. Nam libri in secundo ordine sunt breues. De precio tibi & D. Petro liberum permittunt. Si typographus est inops credo contentos fore haeredes, si aliquot exemplaria accipiant, ac tibi potestatem transigendi permittunt, quot debeant dare, ac oportet sane liberalius darj exemplaria, si pecunia non detur. Quidquid vel ante prox. vestrum mercatum efficere poteritis, vel in eo, quaeso ad hos perscribite. Ecclesiae status Dei beneficio his est tranquillus, is porro moderetum omnia. Ego tantum professionj S. Theologiae in Academia hic opera do, quantum Deus iuuat. Vestram etiam Ecclesiam vt Deus clementer tueatur, ex animo oro. Bene vale. Regiomonte Prussiae 3. April. Ao. 1574.

T. Johannes Wigandus.

The letter, an autograph, gives explicit evidence that there was a long lapse between communications to Frankfurt by Wigand.

Letters of Flacius to Beyer

The letters of Matthias Flacius to Hartmann Beyer are an important source for the history of the Frankfurt book fair and of literati of the age. A complete transcription has been made and is being prepared for publication.

Places and dates are not conjectured in the following table. The letters are being used to help lay the groundwork for a thorough Flacius itinerarium. Until such an itinerarium for Flacius' career is fully developed, conjectured places and dates might add more confusion rather than clarify the situation. In general, Flacius' home address was known, but that has little or nothing to do with the place from which he wrote the individual letters.

A few brief notes: No. 4, 193v and 194r-v are blank. No. 12, No. 13, No. 14, and No. 47 are by Matthias Flacius Illyricus junior, a member of the faculty of the University of Rostock. The date of No. 16 was conjectured by Balthasar Ritter to be 1553. That is impossible, because of the phrase: Migrabo Jenam statim post pascha, ut tibi sim futurus vicinior. The probable date is 1557. No. 34, 226v and 227r-v are blank. No. 44, 238r is blank.

Column A: Set number of the originals
Column B: Location and date
Column C: Original running number of originals
Column D: Folio numbers of the originals
Column E: Set number of the copies
Column F: Folio numbers of the copies
Column G: Page numbers of the copies

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	Magdeburg, 7 Jan. 1555	160	190r-v	XVI	16v-17r	30-31
2	9 Jun. 1556	161	191r-v	XVII	17r-18v	31-34
3	6 Jun. 1556	162	192r-v	XVIII	18v-19r	34-35
4	Jena, 15 May 1557	163	193r-194r	XIX	19v	36
5	9 Mar. 1560	164	195r-v	XX	19v-20v	36-38
6	Jena, 1 Jan. 1562	165	196r-v	XXI	20v-21r	38-39
7	5 Sep. 1564	166	197r-v	XXII	21r-22v	39-41
8	Regensburg, 21 Apr. 1565	167	198r-v	XXIII	22v-23r	41-42
9	Regensburg, 25 Apr. 1569	168	199r-v	XXIV	23r-24v	43-45
10	3 Jan. 1569	169	200r-v	XXV	24r-25r	45-47
11	23 Apr. 1569	170	201r-v	XXVI	25r-26r	47-49
12	Rostock, 10 Jul. 1574	171	202r-v			
13	Rostock, 1 Aug. 1574	172	203r-v			
14	Rostock, 20 Sep. 1574	173	204r-v			
15		174	205r-v	XXVII	26r-26v	49-50
16	Magdeburg, 26 Mar.	175	206r-v	XXVIII	26v-27r	50-51
17	17 Jun.	176	207r-v	XXIX	27r-27v	51-52
18	28 Aug.	177	208r-v	XXX	27v-28r	52-53
19	18 Oct.	178	209r-v	XXXI	28r-29r	53-55
20		179	210r-v	XXXII	29r-29v	55-56
21	Magdeburg, 18 Feb. 1554	180	211r-212v	XXXIII	29v-31v	56-60
22	7 Sep.	181	213r-v	XXXIV	31v-32v	60-62
23	25 Dec.	182	214r-v	XXXV	32v-33v	62-64
24		183	215r-v	XXXVI	33v-34v	64-66
25	18 Mar. 1556	184	216r-v	XXXVII	34v-35v	66-68
26	3 Sep.	185	217r-v	XXXVIII	35v-36v	68-70
27		186	218r-v	XXXIX	36v-37r	70-71
28	25 Jan.	187	219r-v	XL	37r-37v	71-72
29	6 Jun.	188	220r-v	XLI	37v	72
30	Regensburg, 1 Sep.	189	221r-v	XLII	37v-38v	72-74

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
31	Exempla illustria	189A	222r-223v		38v-41v	74-80
32	10 Jul.	190	224r-v	XLIII	41v-42v	80-82
33		191	225r-v	XLIV	42v-43v	82-84
34	1 Feb. 1562	192	226r-227v	XLV	43v-44r	84-85
35	Regensburg, 9 Mar. 1562	193	228r-v	XLVI	44v-45v	85-87
36	Regensburg, 21 Aug. 1562	194	229r-v	XLVII	45v-46v	87-89
37	6 Jun. 1560	195	230r-v	XLVIII	46v-47r	90-91
38	29 Aug. 1558	196	231r-v	XLIX	47r-48r	91-93
39	26 Jan. 1564	197	232r-v	L	48r-48v	93-94
40	7 Jul. 1559	198	233r-v	LI	48v-49r	94-95
41	Magdeburg, 1 Feb. 1557	199	234r-v	LII	49v	95
42	10 Dec. 1553	200	235r-v	LIII	50v-51r	97-99
43	Utile esset	200A	236r-v		51r-52v	99-102
44	Magdeburg, 7 Mar. 1553	201	237r-238v	LIV	52v-54v	102-106
45	Magdeburg, 21 Aug. 1553	202	239r-v	LV	54v-55v	106-108
46	Magdeburg, 16 Aug. 1555	203	240r-v	LVI	55v-56r	108-109
47	Strassburg, 7 Oct. 1567	204	241r-v			

DOCUMENTS III

LETTERS OF THE CENTURIATORS TO OPORINUS

The "Briefverzeichnis" of Martin Steinmann (*Johannes Oporinus*, pp. 121-142) is a major achievement for bibliophilic scholarship. Most of the relevant material for the Magdeburg Centuries in the extant Oporinus epistolarium is to be found in the Frey-Grynaeus set, II, 9, of the University of Basel, Manuscript Division. The numbering scheme of Steinmann distinguished among the centuriators, Wigand, and Wigand and Judex, with different and separate numbering ranges for each. That is confusing. Yet a new numbering scheme without the Steinmann numbers would be redundant and even more confusing. The compromise used here is to number the letters chronologically, but to cite always the Steinmann number in brackets (e.g., Documents III, 8 [S634]). Those who cite information from the following transcriptions are urged to retain the Steinmann numbering, not the chronological numbering of this research.

THE CENTURIATORS/OPORINUS CORRESPONDENCE

The folio references are to the leaves of the Frey-Grynaeus, II, 9 of the University of Basel

1	[S481]	Magdeburg, 10 Jun. 1558	ff. 261^1r-261^2v
2	[S482]	Magdeburg, 28 Aug. 1558	ff. 262^1r-262^2v
3	[S483]	Magdeburg, 29 Aug. 1559	ff. 263r-v
4	[S484]	Magdeburg, 23 Nov. 1559	ff. 264^1r-264^2v
5	[S632]	Jena, 19 Mar. 1560	ff. 265r-v
6	[S633]	Jena, 14 Mar. 1561	ff. 266r-v
7	[S626]	Jena, 12 Jan. 1562	ff. 272^1r-272^2v
8	[S634]	Magdeburg, 8 Mar. 1562	ff. 267r-v
9	[S635]	Magdeburg, 25 May 1562	ff. 269^1r-269^2v
10	[S636]	Magdeburg, 1 Sep. 1562	ff. 268r-v
11	[S637]	Wismar, 27 Feb. 1563	ff. 270^1r-270^2v
12	[S638]	Wismar, 20 Apr. 1563	ff. 271^1r-271^2v
13	[S625]	Wismar, 20 Apr. 1563	ff. 280r-v
14	[S639]	Wismar, 12 Aug. 1563	ff. 273^1r-273^2v
15	[S627]	Wismar, 28 Nov. 1563	ff. 274r-v
16	[S640]	Wismar, 12 Feb. 1564	ff. 275r-v
17	[S628]	Wismar, 9 Mar. 1565	ff. 276r-v
18	[S629]	Augsburg, 13 May 1566	ff. 277r-v
19	[S630]	Wismar, 16 Feb. 1567	ff. 278r-v
20	[S631]	Wismar, 20 July 1567	ff. 279r-v

Collegium to Oporinus
10 June 1558, Magdeburg

f. 261[2]v Optimo et integerimo viro
D. Johannis Oporino, typo=
grapho Basiliensi, Domino
et amico suo colendo.
Basel.

f. 261[1]r S. Exhibuit nobis Wilhelmus noster transactionis formulam. Sperabamus autem nos aliquanto plus pecuniae praeter exemplaria accepturos esse, quantis enim sumptibus quantisque laboribus nobis huius histo= riae collectio constet, credimus te aliquantutum ex re ipsa aestimare. Neque uero de nobis magnopere labora= mus, sed ad communes sumptus tolerandos & opus continuandum profecto non parua pecunia sufficiet. Ne tamen tu quoque in tua inopia nimium uidea= ris grauatus, transactionj isti modo acquiescimus.

Porro iuxta conuentionem proprijs nostris sumptibus qua reliqua apud nos fuere, de tribus centurijs iam mittimus, nec dubitamus te in aeditione summam fidem & diligentiam adhibiturum esse.

Omnino opus erit perito & docto correctore, qui res etiam intelligat, ac distinctionum orationis, ac loco= rum rationem habeat. Index non praetermittatur, qui quidem absque negocio componj potest, in tanta rerum omnium perspicuitate.

Valde cuperemus tabulas Cosmographicas, quales in Hontoro sunt apponj, eam curam quaesumus ne abijcias.

Centuriam quamlibet singulatim imprimes. Nam id uidetur propter plures causas commodissimum, cuili= bet quoque suam dedicationem adierimus. Idem uelli= mus obseruarj in secundo primae centuriae libro.

Si quibusdam caput de doctrina, praesertim in prima centuria uidetur historicam breuitatem excedere, nihil refert. Nos enim nostrum ea in re habemus consilium. Neque amputarj ea in parte quicquam sinemus.

Quod de mutatione pecuniae scribis, optime Oporine, uehementer dolemus tuis laboribus non respondere premia. Sed nos quoque in summa inopia sumus,
f. 261[1]v et uix undecumque tantum colligimus unde opera= rijs huius negocij, & quidem admodum tenuiter

satisfaciamus. Ciues uero nostrj bello superi=
ori ita sunt exhaustj ut cum pauperitate prope=
modum extrema conflictentur. Scripsimus
autem ad communem amicum nostrum D. Illyri=
cum, diligenter, qui notitiam quorundam Augustanor
habet, ut ipse pro te intercedat. Quid effecerit,
culdubio ad te perscribet. Plura nos miserj si pos
mus libentis/sime/ praestaremus.

Corpus doctrinae ex prima centuria sicutj conti=
netur in primo & secundo eiusdem libro seorsim
& quidem quam primum aedi cuperemus in octauo ut
uocant litera cursiua.

Mittimus igitur titulum & prefationem praefigen=
dam. Ita autem imprimes. Incipies in
capite 4. primae Centuriae et fiat titulus. PRIMA
PARS DOCTRINAE CHRISTI EX EVAN=
GELISTIS. Postea initium fiat a titulo DE
SCRIPTVRA VETERIS TESTAMENTI.
et sic omnes locos dogmaticos usque ad finem subi
cies. Deinde rursus alius titulus inscribatur.
ALTERA PARS DOCTRINAE CHRISTI
EX ACTIS, EPISTOLIS ET SCRIPTIS
APOSTOLORVM. Et his statim a primo
articulo fiat initium, & adijciantur reliqua usq
ad finem.

Speramus autem te ad proximas nundinas Franco=
fordianas maturaturum esse, tum hunc libel=
lum tum etiam centurias.

Jam petimus nobis paginas mittj, quas hactenus
de hoc opere impressistj. Bene in domino Vale.
Magdeburgi 10 Junij 1558.

T. S. Gubernatores operis
Ecclesiastici in Magdeburg

f. 261^{2}r Caeterum id propemodum fueramus obliti
quia seorsim quoque aedimus doctrinae Corpus, id
speramus, te [[quoque --]] justum /et mediocrem/ eius libellj
nobis exemplarium numerum daturum esse,
sicut omnino aeguitas postulat. Jterum vale.

*

Marginalia:

f. 261^{1}r$_{1-3}$: De centurijs ecclesiasticis agitur.

f. 261^{1}r$_{17-18}$: Jndex regitur

f. $261^{1}r_{20-23}$: Tabulae Cosmo= graphicae

f. $261^{1}v_{11}$: Capite quarto

The body of the letter is a finely copied text, perhaps in the hand of Wilhelm Eccius, the probable messenger. The last line of the text ($261^{1}v_{33}$) and the signature are in the hand of Johann Wigand. The five-line paragraph ($261^{2}v_{1-5}$) is also in Wigand's hand. The marginalia are in the hand of Oporinus' secretary.

Documents III, 2 [S482]

Collegium to Oporinus
28 August 1558 [Magdeburg]

f. 262[2]v Integerrimo viro D. Johannj
Oporino, typographo Basilieensi
celeberrimo & praestantissimo
Domino & amico suo colendo.
Joan. Wigandus
Mathaeus Judex

f. 262[1]r S. P. D. Etsi matuissemus omnes tres Centurias adhunc mercatum Francofordianum prodire, tamen cum id commode fieri nequiuerit, et promittas te sum autumnum eas absoluturum, moram hanc minus moleste ferimus, praesertim cum corporis doctrinae aeditione, tuam beneuolentiam et promptitudinem satis euidenter declares. Cum autem sub autumnum Centuriae illae fuerint excusae, obnixe etiam atque etiam te rogamus, vt quam primum exemplaria illa 100 nobis promissa, Noribergam ad tibi notum aliquem mercatorem seu typographum mittas, qui curet et Lipsiam ad /Christophorum/ Newmeierum perferri, quem rogauimus vt nobis transmittat. Sumptus pro vestura si te nimium onerari ijs putes, nos exponemus. Numerum exemplarium corporis doctrinae, quod iam, vt speramus, edis, nobis dandum, tuae liberalitati permittimus, qua si nos inuitaueris ad gratitudinem, bene feceris. Multos enim passim habemus amicos, quibus distribuere et donare necesse habemus. Loquuti autem sumus cum nostro Wolffgango, vt nobis ea afferat, cui poteris dare. Catalogum librorum, quos nobis proxime Wolhelmus attulit, pro quibus tuam interposuisti fidem remittimus, et rogamus, si tibi non sit molestum, vt pro nobis satisfacias, et summam pecuniae expositae

f. 262[1]v annotatam nobis indices, quam a 100 taleris, quos nobis pro tribus Centurijs promisisti, vbi prodierint, subducemus. Rogauimus D. Hartmannum Beier, vt nostris sumptibus conducat apud vos idoneum aliquem hominem, qui pro nobis in Bibliopolijs Francofordianis passim inquirat autores, quos desyderamus, is tibi tradet Catalogum eorum quos inuenerit, pro quibus rogamus, vt etiam tuam fidem interponas.

Noster Wilhelmus cum Parisiensi & Coloniensi et alijs Bibliopolis egit de quibusdam autoribus, vt afferrent secum, et tibi traderent, quod vbi fecerint, nostro Wolffgango dabis, qui curabit ad nos aduehi. Quos praeterea etiam edis libros ad nostram historiam aliquid facientes et antiquitatem aliquam redolentes, curabis vt habeamus. Rogabis etiam et hortaberis

nostro nomine D. Lycosthenem et Balaeum, et alios Doctos, et bonos viros, vt iudicatione et communica= tione librorum nos iuuent.

Cum videremus quorundam odia, quibus inflammati sunt, aduersus D. Illyricum eo etiam sese efferre, vt nostrum conatum antequam quidquam vidissent deforma= rent, ad bonos abalienendum ne quid contribuerent, apposuimus eis narrationem veram & planam de toto negotio cuius exemplaria aliquot tibi mittimus.

f. $262^{2}r$ Contra eam prodijt canicularis et puerilis, et male sana sub titulo studiosorum Witebergensium, inscijs tamen studiosis et praeceptoribus, id quod certo exploratum habemus, in= uestiua, qua miris calumnijs et sarcasmis nos impetunt. Id uero scriptum, si ad vos forte etiam fuerit allatum, ad te et alios turbandum, quaesumus ne eo mouearis. Nam omnibus bonis displicent isti furores caniculares et ineptitates, et nemo se profitetur autorem, et studiosi Vitebergici indigne ferunt praestigiatores illos, suo no= mine abusos esse. Hoc cum Diabolus studeat opprime= re nostros conatus, Deus optimus maximus multo ma= gis promouebit. Nam cum illi antequam viderunt, iudicent, quod hominum furiosorum est, qlij excitantur vt cupide editionem expectent.

Honorium in psalterium iam transmittere non potuimus, sed alio tempore curabimus. Nos parum iuuare potuit propterea quod totus est consutus, ex alijs autoribus supe= riorum [[statum]] /aetatum/, et fere nihil de suo addat, quemadmo= dum ipse testatur, et apparet ex collatione autorum. Praefationes nonnihil limatas remittimus, quas poteris im= primere, si priores nondum sunt impressae. Sin vero illae impressae sunt, reseruabis has ad alteram aeditionem. In paginis quas nobis transmissisti, de prima et tertia centuria, quaedam mendose impressa sunt, quare si sub finem erratorum correctionem adijceres, non esset incom= modum.

f. $262^{2}v$ De impressione aeditionis germanicae, nobis etiam tuum animum /aperivj/ et consilium communicari petimus, iam enim in translatione versamur. Bene vale. 28 Augusti Akno 1558.

T. h. d.

Gubernatores operis historici

Marginalia:

f. $262^{1}r_{5}$: cor

f. $262^{2}r_{2-6}$: Caniculares ineptis Wite bergensibus studiosis fal= so adscrip= tae prodeunt.

f. $262^{2}r_{9-11}$: Per acci=
dens jureant
operanos.

f. $262^{2}r_{22-25}$: Centuriae
I.
III.
mendae.

*

The hand of the body of the letter is found frequently in the Wigand and Flacius collections of the Herzog August Bibliothek. The person is not identified. The marginalia are in the hand of the Basel secretary. The names of Wigand and Judex below the address are in the hand of Oporinus himself. The date, signature, and salutation are in the hand of Wigand.

Documents III, 3 [S483]

Collegium to Oporinus
29 August 1559, Magdeburg

f. 263v

Integerrimo viro D. Oporino,
impressione optimorum librorum
praeclare de Ecclesia Christj
merentj, Domino & amico
suo --- colendo.

f. 263r

Si potes defectus mittere, annotatos peculiari charta, quaeso nobis gratificare.

De Photio te acturus promisisti, quid de eo fit? Esset nobis ualde utilis.

Si Freculptium habes, des nobis usui.

Isidorum et Bedam si non attulisti, rogamus, ut nobis quam primum ad maxime necessarios usus saltem paginas, quotquot sunt in ijs impressae, mittas Augustam ad Heinzelium, is porro ad nos curabit proferri.

Supputationem eorum, quae accepimus tuo nomine omnino necesse est fieri. Cum autem tibi semper relictus sit a nostris ministris Catalogus, et moneta eius regionis tibi sit notissima, Ideo te amanter rogamus, ut facta supputatione nobis summam indices. Nos honeste ac pie et optima fide tecum, uolente Deo transigemus, ac non grauabimur dare confessionem de acceptis reliquisque.

Schedam nostro ministro ut des oramus, ut libros quosdam nobis inquirere, et comparare possit, In ea re quaeso benignitatem et humanitatem tuam declara. Bene in Domino vale Magdeburgj 29 Augusti. anno 1559.

Collegae operis
historici ibidem.

The text of the letter is in the hand of an unknown Magdeburg ary. The date, isgnature, and salutation are in Wigand's hand. Only theleaf, the right half, is extant of a longer letter.

Documents III, 4 [S484]

Collegium to Oporinus
23 November 1559, Magdeburg

f. 264[2]v Integerrimo & clarissimo
viro D. Johannj Oporino
typographo Basiliensi
celeberr: Domino & amico
suo colendo.

f. 264[1]r S. Quod nuncij nostrj missionem tam diu distulimus mi Oporine, ~~tu~~ partim aduersa valetudo quorundam ex nostris, partim quaedam mutationes, quae in nostris functionibus acciderunt, in causa sunt, ideo feres hanc moram aequo animo.

Etsi autem tam accuratam emendatio=nem priorum Centuriarum, quas recudendas susce=pisti, in tantae temporis angustiae, laborumque varie=tate & mole suscipere non potuerimus, tamen aliquas correctiones iam mittimus, quae vt suis locis recte & prudenter inserantur, tibi cura erit. Quaedam in priorj aeditione erunt omittendae aliaque substituenda, quaedam vero dum=taxat adiungenda & quasi adglutinandae.

Id quoque hac in parte monere operae precium visum est, ne in fronte historiae vilam facias mentionem vel recognitionis vel cor=rectionis, causae sunt, quia aliquando paulo accuratiorem emendationem instituemus, vbj plus orij datum fuerit, deinde qui priorem aeditionem emerunt, indigne ferrent, se non accepisse satis correcte & integra exemplaria, tertio ve=remur ne ea res plurimum nocitura esset aeditionum reliquarum Centuriarum, quae vel seorsim vel paucis coniunctis deo dante, prodibunt, Omnes enim alteram etiam in ipsis aeditionem, tanquam reuisam atque emendatam expectarem. Quam undique talj notae rursus in lucem veniant priores centuriae.

De tabulis id quod /nunc/ aliquoties orauimus, iam quoque oramus vehementer vt fiat. Caeterum quia petijsti proxime, vt quas tabulas quoque ratione fierj cupiamus, tibi significemus, paucis nostram sententiam exponemus.

f. 264[1]v Inspeximus Ptolemej & Munsterj tabulas quae verum non satisfaciunt nostrae historiae nostroque

instituto, ideo pleniores tabulae & ad lectionem histo=
riarum accommodatiores parandae sunt, ita videlicet, vt
ex Ptolemeo appellationes locorum petantur, & simul
ea quae in recentioribus tabulis, tum vetustis tum
recentibus appellationibus regionum atque locorum illustratis,
habentur, inferentur atque coniungantur
Tabulas porro istas putamus esse
necessarias.

1. Vniuersalem
2. Palestinam
3. Asiam minorem [[aut]] versus occasum
4. Asiam versus ortum, in quam & Persia & Jndia compraehenderentur.
5. Africae partem in qua Agyptus & reliquae anteriores partes
6. Africae partem versus occasum & Meridiem.
7. Hispaniam
8. Galliam
9. Jtaliam
10. Germaniam, quae si vna tabula compraehendj non posset, duabus, aut pluribus absolueretur
11. Septentrionales regiones
12. Poloniam Scythiam etc.
13. Vngariam, Daeciam etc. Nam vicinae regiones includerentur
14. Graeciam, Macedoniam etcm. cum Peloponeso
15. Siciliae /Cretae/ & Cypri peculiares descriptiones

f. 264^{2}r Picturae complecterentur integrum artum, seu
duo folia, vt concinnarj & compingi possent
sicut tabulae in Geographia Ptolomej aut
Munsterj. Extarit plurimae tabulae in Ger=
mania, Jtalia & Gallia aeditur, [[q]] ex quibus
istae pleniores tabellae facile conficj possunt.

Possent autem istae tabulae non tum
praefigi nostrae historiae, sed etiam seorsim
aedj, non tum ad vsum huius nostrae Ecclesiasti=
cae historiae, sed plane ad communem omnium
historiarum vsum. Jtaque non dubitamus quin
impensas facilime recuperare possis. Erunt
enim eiusmodj tabulae semper & vendibiles &
vtiles omnium bonorum iudicio. Verum vt doctus
aliquis delineet locaque recte describat, id
vel inprimis est necessarium. Et cum ea res
non tam cito possit absoluj, omnino petimus
vt quamprimum inchoetur.

Potest ad hoc institutum nostrum
inspici cap*ut* de loco, item de synodis, et praecipunt
in Tomis Conciliorum inuenientur plurima loca
eorum, qui Concilijs interfuerunt etc. Tantum
de tabulis, ac speramusque te Basileae doctorum
iudicio adiuuari posse.

Freculphum si non misisti Augustam,
huic tabellario trades. & Bedae libros qui
sunt impressi recens sicut audimus. Jsedori
historiam siue chronicon etiam desideramus, ac
si Jsidorj opera sunt impressa, ea rogamus
viam vt ad Vernum mercatum nobis adferas
eius Etymologiarum libros, item de summo bono, item
de Illustribus viris habemus.

Postremo huius missionis sumptus
speramus te expositurum mi oporine. Jta enim
aequum esse censemus, sed ad vernum
mercatum dabis nobis libros copiosius.

f. $264^{2}v$ Si absoluisti supputationem, quaeso vt nobis
per hunc mittas. Bene in Domino vale. Magdeb.
23 Nouembr. 1559.

T. Operarij in histori[ae]
Ecclesiasticae etcm.
quos nosti.

Marginalia

f. $264^{1}r_{12-15}$: Correctiones quae
adligantes quarum
Centuriarum

f. $264^{1}r_{25-}$: [The extended marginalia from the left margin wrapping around the bottom of the page are, in part, indecipherable, and, in part, missing.]

f. $264^{1}v_{11-13}$: Tabulae
chorogra=
phicae

f. $264^{2}r_{-1}$: Apellationes veteres
& recentes locorum
coniunctum ponantur.

f. $264^{2}r_{25-28}$: Freculph.
Bedae libri
Isidori htoriam

f. $264^{2}r_{33-34}$: Tabellarij
sumptus.

f. $264^{2}v_{1-3}$: Supputatio
si facta est
mittenda.

*

The text of the letter is in Wigand's hand; the nalia are in Oporinus' hand.

Documents III, 5 [S632]

Wigand and Judex to Oporinus
19 March 1560 [Jena]

f. 265[2]v Clarissimo & ornatissimo
viro D. Johannj Oporino,
typographo excellentissimo
Domino et amico suo.

Catalogi librorum
in nundinis a Magde
burensib. acceptorum

f. 265[1]r S. De rebus nostris breuiter scribemus
me Oporine, quia iam res nostrae nonnihil
per profectionem, quam adornamus cum oeco=
conijs nostris Jenam versus, vbi lectorum officio
deinceps, aspirante Deo, fungemur /turbatae sunt/. Eo enim
nos Deus pro sua voluntate, vocat & trans=
fert, quem etiam precamus, vt nos
sinat esse organa salutaria, idem tu pro
nobis orabis.

Huic studioso, quem superiorj etiam
anno ad vos misimus, vt tradas 50 exemplaria
quartae Centuriae oramus.

Jtem 15 exemplaria 3ae Centuriarum recursarum
15 exemplaria corp: doctrinae, quia
illis omnibus exemplaribus indigemus, ad compa=
randos aut conseruandos amicos seu fautores
atque promotores historicj negocij.

Annotauimus & alios libros, quos
noster legatus inquiret ac petet.

Pessime nos habet, quod Jenensis
typographus tam tardus est in proferrenda germa=
nica versione, ab ipso coram querelas, vt opi=
namur audies. Verum quid faciamus, cum
mutare non possimus? Quando protulerit,
hoc a te tanquam ab amico flagitamus, ne
mox germanicam impressionem imiteris. sicut
intelleximus te cupere idque ne in damno noster
Jenensis haereat /vel saltem/ ~~idque etiam~~ propter nos intermittas ~~facias~~

f. 265[1]v Nam ipsius damnum, etiam in nos exundaturum
esset, et quia iam Jenam proficiscimur, omni=
no cuperimus Thomae quam minimum damnj
inferrj. Jmo oramus vt etiam alijs dissuade=
as, ne intercipiant eius labores & praemia.

Quartam etiam Centuriam iam habemus
germanice versam commode, et nequaquam pati[e=]

mur, vt alius nobis praecipiat nostros sudore[s]
ac labores, ideo quaeso significes illis, qui ges[ta=]
rent irrumpere in versionis negocium, ne
aliena abripiant. Cogitent quam sit iniustum non
tanquam apiculas maximis laboribus ista comp[or=]
tare & alios fucos nobis mella fucarj,
vt opiculae inopia pereant. Sicut coepi[mus]
ita etiam in posterioribus centurijs, version[em]
nosmet ~~pe ip~~ per idoneos homines curabimus.
De impressionis autem maturatione, nos Deo
dante videbimus.

Supputationem speramus nos iam a[ccep=]
turos, vt sciamus, quid restet.

Quinta Centuria iam non potuit
mitti, quia profectionis molestiae nos impedie
runt. Speramus nos hac aestate perfecturos
tibique missuros. moram non nobis, sed mu[ta=]
tionibus nostrarum rerum imputabis.

Chartas quartae, iam remittes,
sicut pacti sumus. Nam eas propter grauiss[i=]
mas causas cecolligimus.

Si qua etiam noua ~~sunt in~~
ex tua officina prodierunt, siue theologica,
siue philosophica, quaesumus, vt communicare digneris

Basilium non traducimus suum
Jenam, ac speramus ~~nos~~ eum habiturum
honestam conditionem Quedlinburgi, vbi
studia Juuentutis reget, ad quos labores
natus quasi videtur. Cum bona gratia

f. $265^{2}r$ dimissus est, atque eum honorario honesto
donauimus. Fiet autem ista dimissio, vt
nos quidem opinamur, sine magna iactura
operis historicj. Plerosque alios habemus
istius profectionis socios, et in Academia pau=
lulum rebus nostris dispositis atque constitutis,
speramus aliquanto rectius omnia processura.
Bene vale. 19. Martij 1560.

T.
Johannes Wigandus
Matthaeus iudex

Marginalia: f. $265^{1}r_{4-8}$: Jenam abeunt ad novam vocationem

f. $265^{1}r_{11-13}$: Centuria IV. III.

f. $265^{1}v_{21}$: V.

The letter, a holograph by Wigand, was signed by Matthaeus Judex. The annotation following the address on folio $265^{2}v$ is in Oporinus' hand. The writing on the verso of the first leaf was written close to the edge of the paper, which has since then deteriorated. All line-ending conjectures are bracketed.

Wigand and Judex to Ops
14 March 1561 [Jena]

f. 266r S. per Chri: Integerrime Domine Oporine
amice colenariae sunt causae, cur hactenus
Quintam Cen, vti speraueramus, mittere
non potueriprima fuit, imitatio loci et
aedificatioriolorum in hisce locis peregrinis.
Nam Thyrigepriusquam huc Musae proficisceren=
tur, loceraumosas tantum domos incolue=
runt, ex qude ipsorum ingenijs facile est
aestumare. da fuit, quod hactenus plurima
inciderunt ia Ecclesiastica, quae animos
nostros in sae partes traxerunt, neque concesse=
runt nobis m ad historicas operas
otium. Tertit, quod tractatio rerum,
quae indicu hoc saeculum amplissima
et emendatificilima, et quidem multiples
fuit. /Quanit etiam xxx Judicis imbellitas valetudinis etc./
Feras ir nobiscum aequo animo,
quod mutar potuit. Nos enim tam
cuperemus c vasto pelago, ~~tandem~~ quam
primum elu quam quisquam mortalium, quia
onus grauia sentimus, & pene succum=
bimus, praim in hoc tempore ini=
quitatis &citatis. Vt autem videres
nos progre caepto opere, ac deinceps
aspirante et vita comite labores conti=
nuaturos eac simul intelligeres nos
ex animo tauere, partem Quintae
Centuriae,ue non minimam ad te iam

f. 266v mittere vos. Sunt autem capita 10.
Desunt ver6. 7. 14. 15. 16. capita, quae
quidem mag parte tractatae sunt, tamque describj
coeperunt,priora tria satis sunt prolixa,
propter marum redundantiam, quae nullo xxx
amptilarj :runt. Mittemus autem quamprimum vole[nte]
Deo poteri/vna cum illis, qui paucis quibusdam personalibus
xxx sJam tu nobis signica, an velis
vbi ea absimus proprio nuncio Basileam usque
tuis sumpiperferrj, an vero tantum Augus[tam]
ad Heinceiblegarj, vt is porro ad te, qu[i]
quidem desi tibi ita videretur, ad ipsum scribere
posses. Jta etiam Centuria coep=
ta est sco, ac si Deus aliquanto tran=
quilliorabra est daturus, quod optamus,
magis fert conatus.

De supputatione facienda nobisque mittendo saepius rogauimus, saepius a te promissiones certas accepimus. Jdeo petimus, vt tandem nostro desiderio, & expectationj satisfacias. speramus te iam ommino missurum. Grauissimae enim causae sunt, cur id fierj necesse sit.

Cunrado nostro des quaeso chirographo vt habeat potestatem petendi, si qui autores prodierunt, quos cupimus.

Si quae a te aedita sunt, mittes nobis exemplaria bina.

postremo Franciscus noster studiosus vendet tibi quendam librum, quem vt prop[ter] publicam vtilitatem promoueras, diligenter orat

Bene in Domino vale. 14 Martij 1561.

T. Johannes
Wigandus
Matthaeus iudex

Marginalia: f. $266r_{3}$: Centuria V.

f. $266v_{12-13}$: Centuria VI.

The letter, in Wigand's hand with Judex' signature, has had some deterioration on the right margin of the verso.

Documents III, 7 [S626]

Wigand to Oporinus
12 January 1562, Jena

f. 272[2]v

Ornatissimo et optimo uiro
D. Johannj Oporino ciuj
& typographo in Rep. Basiliensj.
Domino & amico suo colendo
Basile

f. 272[1]r

S. Voluit hunc ad te tabellarium excur=
rere Jllyr. noster, sicut ipsemet de rebus
omnibus scribit, teque rogo, vt publicum
Ecclesiae Dej bonum adiuues, sicut te facturum
esse omnino mihj persuadeo.

Si hic tabellarius gestare potest, vt
ego quidem opinor, quaeso 2 exemplaria Quintae
cent. & .3. germanicj Syntagmatis nobis
mitte, vt paulo tempestiuius ijs, quibus in=
scripsimus mittere queamus, idque sine tuarum
rerum incommodo fierj posse credimus. probe
autem contra tempestates muniantur.

Sexta Cent. Dej beneficio est absoluta /quod ad scriptionem,/
nisi quod iam correctionj incumbimus, & describen=
dam damus, ac si esset nobis tranquillitas, dare=
mus operam, vt proximus eam nundinis acciperes.
nunc vero nouae turbationes rerum nostrarum & migra=
tiones aliquid nobis impedimentj obijcient. Nam
improborum calumniae tantum effecerunt atque obtinue=
runt, vt ab hoc loco iterum sit. discedendum.
Non accusant nos de falsa doctrina aut inhonesta
vita, sed alios praetextus quaerunt ij, quibus
molestum fuit nos corruptelas Adiaphoristicas &
alias pro officio taxare. Jtaque tandem opt. nostro
principi persuaserunt, vt nos dimitteret.
passim enim Adiaphoristicus spiritus grassatur. Est
in maximis angustijs princeps, Sed quidam
Juristae & alij, sicutj semper synderis
Theologicis infesti /fuerunt et/ sunt, iam quidem votis suis
cum magno plurimorum bonorum dolore potitj sunt.
Nos quoque recta consciam erectj & munitj
istam fortunam, quam omnibus pijs omnibus saeculis
fuit communis, Dej beneficio moderate ferimus,
Deo rem omnem commendantes. Scribentes
& meditantes historiam Ecclesiae Christi cruci=
fixi, & nos decet ej conformes fierj, vt paulus
etiam monet.

f. 272[1]v

Witebergenses Adiaphoristae, cum nostris quibus=
dam clam consusurrantes, mox sine autoris aut loci

nomine famosam &dicam schedam curarunt
imprimj de nostr.missionis causis, eamque Lipsiae
& alibj ingentj upho sparserunt. Verum prin=
ceps noster clarstatus est, fierj nobis iniuriam
ab istis nebulon, & promisit se vindicaturum
esse nostram fameffecit etiam vt Lipsiae scheda
opprimeretur, lid paulo tardius fieret. Jntelligis
igitur conatus rominum tunc maleuolorum, sed ipsius
quoque adeo Diat Jmo non obscure animaduer=
tis quo tendat as, nempe vt nobis dissipa=
tis aut oppressiam, historicum opus distur=
bet, quot longo tempore istas machinas depre=
hendimus, quod erat summo studio & omnibus
machinis, quia hostes nostri nihil in
historia possin rehendere, imo potius loquntur
laudare eam, & is quod cupide eam
legant, tamen i Diabolicum conatum,
qui semper boni ribus est aduersus,
experirj cogimud benedictus Deus, qui
ita mitigas ist abolorum omnium machinationes,
vt sub vmbra ma suarum simus tuti, pro=
grediamur, & vsadeo non impediet nos,
vt etiam deinceiritu Dej adiutore, simus
celerius /in hila/ progressurj. Si igitur iam ad nundi=
nas non acceperextam, attamen mos
post pascha acs, vt eam hac aestate in lucem
dare possis. Qon parcemus laborj.

Hasce das etiam in tuum voluj
sinum effunderabis Deum vt nobis
afflictiones mit roburque adaugeat, ne
deficiamus in ssione veritatis & laboribus
Tabellarius po tibi aliquam significare,
Quo pu proficiogitauerimus, donec
illa tempestas seat, et legitimas vocationes
accipiamus.

f. 272[2]r Audimu dem princ. poenia ducj,
quod ita nos dirit, verum talibus est
cunctus, vt mu istas res nondum possit.
Fiat igitur vos Domini. Haec Academia /Jenensis/ nullum
iam habet Theum professorem, nec scio
an tam te cito acceptura.

Quaescaliquid habes cognitj, de
Gallicanis Eccjs aliquid ad nos perscribe.
Si alicubi Acas syncerjores vellent instituere,
forte & postrara possent vti.

Rationeso confice quantum potes,
& ad proximum atum adfer, vt omnia fiant
plana, quantuuam fierj possibile est.

Da etiastro tabellario 4 exemplaria
libellj Judicisurimj exemplaria desiderant.
Jdeo si qua adhabes, poteris Franc.
adferre procul o vendes, imo vt hoc facias
rogamus & horta Bene in Domino vale 12. Jan.
Jenae.

Johannes Wigandus

Marginalia:

f. $272^{1}r_{7}$	Centuria III. V.
f. $272^{1}r_{1}$	VI.
f. $272^{1}r_{2}$	Migrnt alio
f. $272^{1}r_{2}$	Spiritus adia phoristicus
f. $272^{1}r_{2}$	Juristę sinceris Theologis infesti.
f. $272^{1}v.$	Diaboli conatus.
f. $272^{2}r.$	VI.

This autograph letter b;and made explicit the actual problem, from Wigand's and Judex' point of vieth their dismissal from Jena.

Documents III, 8 [S634]

Wigand and Jıto Oporinus
7/8 March 15[6]agdeburg

f. 267[2]v

Optimo viro D. Johanni
Oporino, typographo doctissi=
mo et celeberrimo, Domino
suo colendo.

f.267[1]r

S.Christo. Tandem propicio Deo redijmus
Maırgum hisce diebus, ex illis saeuis tempesta=
tiquae nos Jenae exercuerunt. Nondum autem
restrae distributae, imo ne quidem omnes aduretae
suvt ad vsitatas operas reuerteramur. Impedi=
uis Cacadaemon illis turbis, ne potuerimus Sextam
Cevti proposueramus ad te mittere. Jtaque hic
landum est, vt eam primo quoque tempore, hoc
esi descripta emendataque fuerit accipias, ac si
fipotest vti speramus, had adhuc aestate eam im=
pı. Agimus autem hic priuatam
v:absque functione aliqua, expectantes vocationem
D[e]. Nam quocumque ille nos euocauerit, ipso
ite sequemur. Nam vt diu sine functione
vis, rebus nostris minime videtur consultum.
sld consiliij ea in parte habes, pro nostra
cactione & tua pietate communicabis.

quod ad supputationum chartas attinet,
intis distractionibus eas conquirere non licuit,
Jproxime aliquid mittemus. Tu si quid colle=
g interea ad nos dabis.

Hunc meum studiosum denuo
v est ablegare ad vos, vt et libros inquirat
&e ad nos daturus es, recte curet perferrj
I Centuria 50, & de Corp. germa.
{ trades, et 10 exemplaria Disputationis
t: quae est in maxima omnium expectatione.
Hliqua, iuxta ipsius catalogum. Diligenter autem
ıquidem ea quam accipimus, annotamus, vt
ıtatio fierj possit.

In Corp. Veteris Testa. nunc
s, ac si tranquillam habiturj sumus sedem,
rante Deo hac aestate finemus, & praelis
mus. Bene in Domino vale. 8 Martij. Magdeburg.

T. Johan. Wigandus
T. Matthaeus iudex

f. 267[1]v

Matthäus iudex Do:
ioanni oporino salutem

Si mei libelli exemplaria omnia distraxeris,
ac denuo latine imprimere volueris,
dabo operam vt accipias, et quidem cum apolo=
gia seu refutatione argumentorum, quam in
ea materia nobis obijci solent. Equidem
existimo nulla machine hodie magis par=
patum seu antichristum satis tam satis ex verbo
Dei demonstratum oppugnandum esse, quam
si totam ecclesiam Dei, et omnium membrorum
eius πανοπλίαν sancti ministerij, magistra=
tus, et pirorum omnium contra illum excitemus
Deus enim aliquando Lutheranum nobis lar=
gietus caesarem, quem huiusmodi scriptis
erudendum, et stimulandum esse, quis bene
cupiens veritati propagandę non censeat?

Annis circiter trecentis in prima ecclesia
pii, & constantes doctores magistratum monuerunt
de suo officio, et iure contra gentilium vanita[tem]
et tandem deus ostendit laborem ipsorum non
fuisse cum domino irritum. sic aliquando
nobis etiam exemtis res testatisti, et confessiones
et labores et crucem demquam ipsam, quam post[ea]
perpeti cogimur, non fuisse inutilem toti corp[oris]
ecclesia, imo tam nunc effectus cernimus

f. 267[2]r

Nam Magdeburgici propter quam senatum is
libellus scriptus est, idolatria /tanta xxx annos/ renouatam prorsus
deleuerunt canonicis etiam in augustanam
confessionem consentire promittentibus.
Augustae episcopatum Madisburgensem suo fili[o]
adscripsit, stolpensem imitauit tuisque exem=
plis alij imitaturi dicuntur. Quamvis
autem isti alios habeant fines nimirum
bona corporalia, tamen nobis voluptas
videre illud quod Lutherus praedixit. Defenso
res papae deuoratores eius.

O vtinam Deus mihi tam amplam
fautem, et tam capatem ventuculum con=
cessisset, quo possent integrum antichristum
cum omni sua idolatria, et diabolire
larua Romano imperio infusa, vno
haustu abligurire seu deuorare, et ad
nihilum concoquere, ne carbones perpe=
ditaret. Sed haec frustra optamus, cum
Dei voluntate, et delicti aliud praefini=
tum esse nouerimus 2 thess:2. bene vale
7. Martij Magdeburgi 1562.

Matth. iudex t.
mea manu

The recto of the first folio is a Wigand autograph, with the signature of Judex. The next two sides are autograph of Judex, both difficult to read (or, perhaps, decipher) and very crabbed in style.

Documents III, 9 [S635]

Wigand and Judex to Oporinus
25 May 1562, Magdeburg

f. 269[2]r

Optimo et integerrimo Viro
D. Johannj Oporino
typographo in inclyta
Basilea, Domino & amico
suo colendo

f. 269[1]r S. Patrj Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vna cum filio & SSto. gratias agimus ex toto pectore, quod hactenus opus historicum clementer gubernauit, & nunc quoque adiuuit, vt finem sextam Cent. imponeremus. Obstitit autem ista nostrarum rerum turbatio, vt paulo tardius eam ad te mitta= mus. potuisset enim Jenae absoluj, nisi Diabolus nos ita diuexasset. Sed nouit Deus, cur patiatur nos crucem degus[ta=] re paululum, nec dubitamus, quin omnia sint nobis in bo= num cooperatura. Rogamus autem amanter & obnixe, vt omnino eam nos praelis subijcias, & certo ad Bartolo= mej nundinas adferas. Nam vix dimidiae Quintae respondebit quantitas. Nec offendet te crassicies scripti exemplaris, quia habuimus scribam, qui pleroque descripsit qui paucissima in vnam paginam retulit, vt videbis ipse. Et plurimum refert ad promotionem negocij, vt videant ex reipsa omnes, nos serio laborare & progredi. Nam ~~laboramus in~~ destituimur necessarijs sumptibus. Adiaphoristici r nes omnium bonorum voluntates propemodum a nobis abalie= narunt, ideo necesse est labores nostros proponj. praeter ea cogitamus, si Dominus Deus benedixerit, Corpus Vet. Testamenti ad hyemem ad te mittere. Ideo cuperemus sextam nunc in Autumno prodire. Vide igitur vt expectationj nostrae, & omnium bonorum satisfacias. Ea enim ratione & nos excitabis, vt alacrius progressurj simus, quantum ni= mirum clementissimus Deus nos adiuuat.

Supputationem tuam nondum propter negocia inspeximus. Vnicum tamen monemus, nobis prorsus nihil esse negocij cum libris, quos Jllyrico misisti. Jdeo si quas cum ipso habes ratio= nes, potes cum ipso etiam transigere. Ratione nostri, de ratione historiae nobis mittis libros, & nihil habet Jllyricus hac in parte nobiscum commertij. Quare quae respectu historiae facienda est supputatio, tantum eam ad nos dirigas, non ad Jllyricum, neque vllj mortalium quicquam des respectu inquam historiae, quod quidem in nostram supputationem venire debeat, nisi a nobis habueris literas expresse ea de re loquentes. ~~Jdeo~~

f. 269[1]v Haec significamus, quis praetextu historiae aliquid a te flagitet. Cum nos deuo sumus in scriptione occupatj, missio lrum, quam a te accipimus, ad nos pertinet. Cur aute Jllyr nomen in aeditiones adscribamus, alia ratio est, de qua non necesse est dicere.

Nostras auschedas etiam conquiremus, & volente Deo communimus.

Praeterea llum quendam Germanicum mittimus, continernecessariam de nostris rebus excusat[io=] nem, eum vt cures imi, vehementer oramus. Eti= amsi autem forte ebitur typographus nomen suum adijcere, tamen na feret nomina, et ommino rogamus vt ad Bartolomej o tecum afferas. Potest autem impressi fierj in octauo la legibilj. Jterum autem atque iterum rogamus, ne eam on nobis deneges, quia ad vindi= candam gloriam De nostram famam, talis Apologia nobis est inprimicessaria. Jta vicissim nos tibj magis obligabis &c. Quotem exemplaria ~~nobis~~ nobis mitti cupia= mus, ad nundinas ificabimus. Si existimas tibi non conuenirt exemplaria proponas venalia, dimidiam partem ad nundinabis mittes, & alteram Jllyrico, & significabis illjobis, quantum vterque pro impressione exemplarium mittebeat, tantum ne negligas.

Mittit etJudex seorsim tibi libellos eum qui de typogia scriptus est, in octauo sed litera maius, & digna typographica tracta= tione, imprimj cis. Non dubium est, quin haec materia cuplegetur a pluribus.

Postremoi ad missionem Sextae attinet, non ign qualis sit conuentio nostra, quam te in hac e obseruaturum, nihil dubita= mus. Quantis enimptibus ista scribamus, vt taceamus de libus, & molestijs, dicj non potest, & tu tan homo pius & doctus facile intelligis.

Scribe co, quod alias ex praelis tuis proxime sibectandum, vt amicos excitemus. Si quid nouj vohittere, ~~vt~~ in tua sit potestate. Bene Vale 25 Mai562. Magdeburgi.

Johannes Wigandus
Matthaeus iudex

f. 269[2]v Martinum nostrubellarium habere in praesentia non potuimus, quia t peregre. Jdeo alius conducendus fuit, cui quidecesse fuit duos grossos pro miliarj vno conre. Sicuti autem fecisti prius, ita credimus te huioque pecuniam itineris soluturum esse. facies ig supputationem eique munerabis pro miliarum vt dix gr. Et ~~mihi~~ scribe nobis, quantum ej dederis. Itevale.

Marginalia: f. $269^{1}r_{4-5}$: Centuria
VI.

f. $269^{1}v_{9-13}$: Apologia
Germani=
ca Centu=
ratorum
edenda

f. $269^{1}v_{24-26}$: Judicis libellus
de Typogra=
phia scriptus

f. $269^{1}v_{29-40}$: Ne autem aliquid
dubij sit, et aliquam
postea difficultatem adferat,
diserte significamus, nos
etiam pro hac Secta Cent.
postulare quinquaginta tale=
ros & quinquaginta exem=
plaria. Aliter enim trade=
re & res nostrae & aequi=
tas non ferunt. Nec dubi=
tamus te hac in parte
[j]ustificam & aequitatem consi=
[d]erare. Essent quidem operarij huius magni
[next (last?) line not legible, cut off]

The entire letter (with wrapper) is a Wigand autograph, with a signature of Judex. The second leaf was not folded; it was a separate piece of paper. The lower edge of the letter was first worn, then cut off. It is not possible to determine if the last line of the fourth marginalia is the one, the tops of whose ascenders are visible; the note might have continued longer. There is no letter by Flacius of the same time, in order that one might determine precisely what the problem was to which Wigand was alluding in the relationship between Flacius and Oporinus.

Documents III, 10 [S636]

Wigand and Judex to Oporinus
1 September 1562, Magdeburg

f. 268r S. in Christo Jesu. Sextam Centuriam s:
mus te nunc Ecclesiae Christi proferre me
& excellentissime Oporine, cuius exempa trades
quinquaginta nostro Andreae. Oramus qu
vt septem adhuc exemplaria quintae Cenbis
ad vsus necessarios mittas, deque illiae
alias aedidisti bina. Septimae Centurionscriptio
inchoata quidem est, sed nostrae profnes
subindet aliquid impedimentj objciunrgamus
tamen adiuuante Deo strennue. /Doctri Corpus ex
veterj Testamento nunc quidem absoluj
potuit. Abfuimus domo pene quinque sei=
nas ego, et Judex meus apud Megapolen
peinc. qui nobis conditiones aliquas :t.
Verum an simus eas suscepturj, adhuc
ambigimus propter certas causas. Nisi
profectiones rerumque nostrarum transres
remoratae fuerunt, speramus circa natatem /aut paulo post/
opus integrum finirj posse ac mittj. i
sane boni expectant illis, & quotidia
pene literis a nobis flagitant. Verur
iniuriae horum temporum eiusmodj mora
putanda est, quas nos effugere non pc
mus, nobis neque diligam neque et sti
promouendi publ. bona. credo omnes bribu=
ent. Speramus quoque te illud german
cum scriptum de nostris rebus, quod
misimus proferre, cuius quidem exempi
cuperemus quinquaginta.

f. 268v Supputationem nondum potuimus nunc re
propter verum nostrarum iactationem. paululum
substiterimus volente Deo, & eam paura=
bimus.

Andreae nostro dabis schedulvt
possit inquirere aliquos libros, nobecessarios.

De rebus nostris omnibus
Andreas noster te poterit educare. Itum
est, an simus in hac rep. hyematurj.
offeruntur enim nobis quaedam condis.
verum an simus eas accepturj, non=
dum plane constituere possumus. Dom
Deus nos clementer gubernet, ad suj
nominis gloriam. Bene in Domino
Vale. Magdeburgj. cal. Septembr.
1562.

Johannes Wus
Matthaeus

Marginalia: f. $268r_{3-8}$: Centuria VI.

V.

VII.

The letter, a Wigand autograph, is clear and readily legible with no problems of ligature of doubtful readings. The signature of Judex is in his own hand.

Documents III, 11 [S637]

Wigand and Judex to Oporinus
27 February 1563 [Wismar]

f. 270[2]v

Optimo et doctissimo
uiro D. Johannj Opori=
no, typographo praeclare
merito de Ecclesia
Christi, Domino et
amico suo colendo.

f. 270[1]r

S. per Christum. Optime Domine opori=
ne amice colende, non ignoras quantam
molestiam adferat carni & sanguini, toties
mutare loca habitationis. Sed quia Deo
parendum est, nos etiam paulatim
magis magisque ne voluntatem eius cognoscim
& nos ipsi commendamus. Consedimus
tandem in littore maris Balthici, vbi
ego quidem Wigandus Superintendens constitu=
tus sum Wismariensis Ecclesiae, sed ego
Judex nondum certam sedem assecutus sum.
Deus pro sua immensa clementia peor porro
euentum guvernet. Fecit autem ista
peregrinatio, & nostrarum rerum iactatio, v
non potuerimus optatat inchoatas operas ita
finire, quemadmodum instituerамus, id
quod ipse sine dubio intelligis

Deduximus tamen ad optatum finem
Dej. singularj fauore, & auxilio Corpus
doctrinae veteris Testamentj, diu a pluri=
mis efflagitatum & desideratum, ac voluisse
mus cum mercatoribus nunc quidem
tibi mittere. Verum pauca quidam a
nostris amanuensibus non potuerunt tam

f. 270[1]v

subito describj. Jtaque Deo volente per no
Martinum, nuncium tibi notum, statim exalt
ferijs paschalibus integrum ad te volumen
mus, et rogamus amanter, vt hac aestate
typis excudas, et in lucem proferas. Cupid
enim a plurimis bonis expectatur, qui prop
modum nos suis crebris scriptionibus eneca
ecquando tandem ipsorum votis nostrisque p
sionibus satisfaceremus. De forma autem
impressionis, hoc est litera, & modo, vbi
liber ad te perferetur, Deo iuuante signif
cabimus.

Si Francofurti ~~habes~~ haberes, qui librum a Martino tabellario acciperent, & sine omni mora ad te perferrj curarent, non quidem nobis ingratum foret. Sed veremur ne amici quoque eiusmodi negocia sequius curent, & impressionem remorentur. Jtaque nostro quidem iudicio tutius, commodius et rectius existimamus, vt recta ad te vna et eadem opera perferat, vt nimirum matu= re accipere praelisque subijcere conas. Dimid itineris precium, si ita voles nos solue= tionem istud damnj egregie compensatu= ram esse.

Huic ~~contra~~ Conrado rogamus vt schedulam tradas, qua possit libros nobis colligere. Necessitas postulat, vt

f. $271^{2}r$ cogamur quosdam libros petere, quorum vsus esse possis, si ~~Dni~~ ego Judex per aliquot miliaria a Wigando abfuero. Nam alias difficilis foret librorum communicatio.

Septimam Centuriam omnino spera= mus Deo auxiliante nos ad proximum autumnum tibi missuros, nisi nos aliqua noua calamitas impedierit, id quod Deus ne fiat, prohibeat.

Rogamus diligenter ne graueris nobis respondere, & quaedam etiam de bellic: motibus in Gallijs exortis, & alijs rebus vtilibus communicare. Bene vale
Wismariae 27 Febr. 1563.

Johannes Wigandus
Mattheus iudex

An autograph written by Wigand, the original text was ubt written by both men (Judex signed the letter); each wrote phrases whey called themselves "I".

Marginalia: f. $270^{1}r_{6-14}$: Migrat Wi= gandus ad littus maris Balthici. -Wismariensis Ecclesiae an= tistes con= stituitur.

Wigand and Judex to Oporinus
20 April 1563, Wismar

f. 271[2]v Optimo viro et de
literaria praeclare m
D. Johannj Oporir
ciuj Basileensj, D
& amico suo Colen

f. 271[1]r S. in Christo Jesu. Integerrime o=
rine, amicè colende, tandem benete
Deo, Corpus doctrinae ex Veterj mento
ad diu desideratum finem deduximaria
nobis hactenus impedimenta obiecnt. Sed
dominus dedit, vt ea nunc superant.
Quod igitur Ecclesiae Christi, r&
tibj quoque faustum sit ac salutmitti=
mus tibi nunc hoc Opus, quale D
Deus ipse nobis largitus est. Sque autem
te & omnes bonos viros mediocrer
dustriam & diligentiam in eo perurum
esse. Ordo ipse elucèbit, grauiaru
amplitudo & maiestas rerum, in iis
folijs occurret. Nunc igitur hoe
petimus, vt hac aestate describue in
lucem proferrj cures. Sine omnjtatio=
ne hac in re laudem ipsius Dei
braturus & magno tibi beneficioersam
Christi Ecclesiam obstricturus.m autem
libri volumus esse in quarto, p bono
& latiorj, per columnas, literaiua
vel talj, qualj syntagma aeditu, idque
propterea quia veremur in octaurimi

f. 271[1]v non posse, vt unico volumine abtur. Plura
autem fierj nolumus. praeterea uidem initio
volumus in folio imprimi. Rogaitur vt in
quarto, ~~queema~~ vt diximus, nundem excudatur,
tum vt in vno libro haberj queam vt illj qui
Corpus nouj /Test./ habent, & emere facilius possint.
Vbi autem nunc semel fuerit fapressis,
poterit fierj pro tuo tamen iu, cuj hac,
in parte plurimum tribuimus ae in folio,
& coniungi Corpus Vet. & Nouj ientj
iusto volumine, qua de re Deo te hac
aestate adhuc conferemus. Confs autem
omnino te daturum esse operam,d proximas
Bartolomej nundinas prodeat, itibi quoque pro=
futurum esse arbitramur.

Correctionem rate fierj curabis procul dubio, & si interdum grammatice nostrj amanuenses descripse emendabis. Ea quae in foliorum summitat tribenda sunt, recte applicentur, vt respant materijs, quae in singulis folijs exponur Nos quidem curauimus adscribj, sed vbi impressio necesse erit see crebro mutarj. quoque plenus adijcia= tur, qui quidem fac: concinnarj poterit, prae= sertim cum omnia sinspicuo ordine distri= buta.

Pactio autem er nos ista erit, statim ad Bartolome bis trades Franco= furtj Centum exempl. quae, cum pecu= niam a te exigere pstris laboribus non ausimus, nobis scumque honorarij loco sint, & necess nos plurima

f. 271[2]r exemplaria amicis, od non ignoras, distri= buere, ac speramus stam conditionem non grauiatim recepturse. Existimamus certe non iniquum esse, si abc opus tradendum esset, vt midiocre honora postularemus, praesertim cum magnis sumptibu laboribus constiterit, vt tu pro tua exim udentia & doctrina recte aestimare po

Missionis ratio haec est. Nos dimidium itineris um, tu itidem dimidium solues, & si voles orarium pro gestationem addes.

Trades etiic tabellario iam exemplaria corporitrinae nouj Testamenti recentissi= mae aeditionis, quae aestate Deo dante per= curremus, emendabi tibique restituemus. Idem facturj de veteris. corpore, vbi prodierit vt postea in vno ine ad proximo anno Deo guvernante aevbi prius exemplaria priora distracta esse anterteris, vel seorsim pro arbi= btis deinceps aedon enim dubitamus sem= per istum librum vendibilem, quot non com= menta hominum sedula Dei proponit, & harmoniam sacrosa scripturae commenstrat.

Si quid elia habes nouj, com= munica nobiscum. ptentrionem rursum furit Muscouita, n terminis Poloniae nuper diuitatem ota occupavit. Et Aaniae atque Sueciae rexiles parant exercitus. Deus istos motus , & concedat nobis salutarem pacem. in Domino vale.
20 April. 1563. Wiae.

ohannes Wigandus
Matthaeus iudex

Marginalia: f. $271^{1}r_{3-8}$: pus doctri
: ex veteri
:tamento
ıpletum
.unt edj.

The letter, again, an autogpf Wigand with Judex' signature, has no major orthographic or ligatcoblems.

Documents III, 125]

Wigand to Oporinus
20 April [1563], Wismar

f. 280v

Integerrimo
D. Johanni
no, uiri, Ba:
ensi suo
& amic

f. 280r

S. De miserabilj statu Magden=
sium, credo ad te perlatum eExpute=
runt enim prorsus nullis caused mera
maleuolentia inflaminatj, vioctrina & spiritu
Dei praestantem D. D. Tilemaeshusium, et
homines praeterea alios verb ministros, idque
fecerunt paucj tantum, hominuenes, omnis
pietatis & honestatis expertui contritionem
Joseph non nouerunt, neque iigunt miraculam
Dej. Cum autem amem eam Ecom,
in qua ad annos 7 verbum De essus
sum, ideo breue ac bene scriadorna=
uj, rogatus a plurimis in ibsa repub.,
quo & moneo & instituo ipsoquibusdam.
Cum autem in his regionibus arae aut
nullae propemodum sint typolae, ideo te per
nostram amicicism rogo, ne cis hoc breve
scriptum excudere in quartoera non nimis
magna, sed talj vt in .2. pel
ad summum 3. totum hoc scrimprimatur
& statim tradas tabellario, xemplaria secum
apportet. Hanc ad rem mittoisce
literis tres taleros, & petmihi hoc
officij deneges. Bene vale. April.
Wismariae.

T. Johan: dus.

Marginalia:

f. 280r$_{3-7}$: Magdebues
quidam=
nes mai
expellx
urbe at
verbj mi-
nistrc

f. 280r$_{11-15}$: Scriptuve
ad eius=
siae intio
nem ed

f. $280r_{25f}$: [L]itera tabellarius opus
[ ]os moram trahat,
[ ] donec imprsseritis p

The original letter and the last four-line marginal anno: are by Wigand. The letter is undated, listed as undated in Steinmann, b:t be assigned to the year 1563 (Wigand and Judex arrived in autumn 156Wismar). The unidentified pamphlets by Wigand and Judex on the situati Magdeburg that look suspiciously like Oporinus' work were indeed his, as letter demonstrates.

Documents III, 14 [S639]

Wigand and Judex to Oporinus
12 August 1563, Wismar

f. 273[2]v

Ornatissimo uiro D. Johannj
Oporino, typographo Basileensj
celeberrimo, Domino & amico
suo colendo.

f. 273[1]r G. per Christum Ornatissime vir, amice colende, mittimus iam 7 cent. historiae, quam benedicente Domino ideo magis maturuimus, quia intelleximus ex literis tuis, te eam vehementer cupere. Accipies igitur eam a Wolfgango Kirchnero, Bibliopola Magdeburgensi nostro amico. Mittimus autem eam eadem conditione, vt rèliquas.

Corpus doctrinae Vet. Testamentj, si vlla ratione fierj potuisset, optassemus iam prodire, verum quia forte id tibj impossibile fuit, ideo vt eleganter et emendate in lucem veniat, sedulam vti speramus operam nauibis. Certe in magna expectatione est, quia materiam complectitur multis usuj futuram, praesertim redoctis omnibus ad Methodj partes, quae ratio ad discendum & docendum plurimum habet moneentj, vt probe nosti. Si quas paginas vt in literis significabas te facturum esse cum attulisti, communicabis nobis, vt initi videamus.

Caeterum quod attinet ad correctionem corporis Noui Test., impeditj fuimus maturatione 7. Cent. vt non potuerimus absoluere, & existimauimus, te nunc in aeditione istorum duorum librorum satis occupatum ista hyeme futurum. Jnterea nos

f. 273[1]v Deo aspirante & hoc nouj Test. corpus emendabimus, & ad vernum mercatum, si vixerimus, ad te ablegabimus. Orabis intere Deum, vt nos in 8 Cent. clementer adiuuet, si forte vna vti speramus, sed in manu Dej tamen haec sunt omnia, mittere possemus. Velis remisque quod dicitur omnib ad portum contendimus, sed non modo rerum amplitudine & varietate, verum etiam inopia sumptuum extrema impedimur. Nihil

enim superest amplius, vnde collectores alere possumus. Spes tamen nos fouet, aliquos fore catellos, qui Lazarum lingent. Quantum nos Deus iuuerit, in coepto opere progrediemur.

Postremo hoc rogamus optime oporine, ne graueris deinceps ad nos mittere Jndicem /suntaxa ut vocant/ eorum librorum, quos singulis nundinis aliquis siue studiosus ve siue alius nobis conquirit, ne videlicet aliquis sub nostro nomine sibi libros colligat et referret, teque & nos decipiat, eumque Jndicem semper talj collectore ignorante tuis includes literis, vt ab ipso etiam annotationem accipiamus, & videamus an concordet. Haec diligentia tibi quidem aliquid laboris parit, verum tibj, & nobis necessaria, & vtilis erit.

Jam quidem rogauimus literis nostris Cunradum Agrium tibi notum, qui in vicino oppido Hanaw hypodidasca= lium agit, vt aliquos nobis libros colligat, & Wolfgango bibliopolae tradat, qui ad nos cura= bit recte perferrj. Bene in Domino vale. Wismariae 12 Augusti 1563.

Johannes Wigandus D.
Matthaeus iudex

Marginalia: f. $273^{1}r_{2-3}$: Centuria VII.

f. $273^{1}v_{4}$: VIII.

An autograph letter by Wigand with Judex' signature, the message to Oporinus coincides with the letter to Beyer of identical date.

Wigand to Oporinus
29 November 1563, Wismar

f. 274v

Dem Erbarn vnd
Nahmhattften Joha
Oporino, buchdrucke
zu Basel, meinen
lieben hern vnd fre
zuhand.
Basel

f. 274r

S. per Christum. omnino sperabam
ex prox. nundinis accepturos esse as pagillas
corporis nostrj, verum cum id fie potuerunt,
te excusatum habemus, modo corre odeat ad
ver benedicente Domino. Nos omni ramus,
nisi aliquid repentimum malum inierit, nos
8. Cent. ad prox. nundinas esse os, vt
videant omnes, nos hactnus medioidhibu=
isse operam. Verum numquam tanta a sumus.
conflictatj atque nunc, ac nisi ios pro
sua clementia singulariter iuuem scimus
vnde sumptus sint sumendj. Nam a illis
& difficilis & tarda erit scripted viuit Deus,
quem nobiscum inuocabis. Sperandlaborandum
est. Caeterum quod nunc scribo ita
est, quia moniti sumus de ordinem, quibus
7. cent. inscribimus, & vnus ex lio amicorum
adijcitur. Quaesumus igitur, ne ris talj ordine
istos nobiles collocare, retentijs titulis, qui sunt
annotati prius

Nobiles:
Christophorus a Steinberg
Ludolphus et Joachimus ab Aleue fratres.
Hartwicus a Werder.
Andreas a Meiendorff.
Heinricus ab Asseburg
Achacius a Velthem.

Hac in re poteris facile nobis gicarj.

Rogamus etiam vt librum dchristo simul
imprimas, quem speramus te impet a censoribus etc.
bene vale. Wismariae Dom:1. adue1563.

oh. Wigandus

Marginalia: f. 274r$_{7-8}$: Centu-
ria VIII.

f. 274r$_{28-30}$: Liber de
antichri-
sto edendu

The letter by Wigand, an autograph, did not arri Frankfurt or Basel in time to allow for the rearrangements of the name he dedication to Century VII.

Documents III, 16 [S640]

Wigand and Judex to Oporinus
12 February 1564, Wismar

f. 275r S. in Christo: Mittimus tibi Oporine carissime iam per Wolfg: Kirchnerum Magdeburg= gensem Octauam Centuriam, ijsdem plane con= ditionibus, quibus priores, sicuti iustum est. Nam quantis sumptibus res tam variae con= quirantur, & in vnum corpus redigantur, tu opti= me intelligis: Omnino autem petimus, vt hac aestate impressio fiat, & ad proximum Bartolomej, in lucem proferatur, neque reijciatur ad longius tempus vllo modo. Nonam quoque Centuriam, vt circa illud tempus accipias, omnem operam, Deo gubernante adhibebimus. Si Dominus Deus tranquillitatem benigne lar= geretur, & sumptus nos non destituerent, in reliquis etiam Cent. maturandis, diligentiam nostram Ecclesiae Dei probaremus.

Septimae Centuriae 50 exemplaria nostro nomine Wolfg. Kirchnero trades.

Jdem Corporis doc. ex vet. tes.to exemplari eidem trades, quotquot literis ante annum pacti sumus.

Corpus Nouj Testamentj correctum, ad Bar= tolomej remittemus, vbi satis mature ad te veniet.

Schedam non grauaberis Cunrado tra= dere, vt is libros, quos petimus nob. colligat. Si is nos adesset, minister tuus hac in re nobis operam prestaret. Sed speramus Cunradum esse affuturum.

Illud etiam adijcimus. D. Jllyrico scripsimus, vt ille si velit, eorum nomina alio ordine ponat, quibus Octauam hanc inscribimus, idque ad te mature perscribat,

f. 275v id si fecerit, facile ordinem mutabis, sin minus, nostrum ordinem obseruabis.

De exemplaribus septimae Centuriae ~~quaeso~~ te quae nobis mittenda erunt, quaesumus te separa 4. exemplaria, quae per aliquos Augustanos D. Joh. Heincelio Consulj & D. D. Achillj Gassaro vna cum nostris literis mitte.

Jtem D. Jllyrico mitte duo exemplaria eiusdem septimae Centuriae, cum nostris literis.

credimus enim te, vel per Bibliopolam Ratisem, vel Nornbergensem posse eo mittere. H sex exemplaria e nostro numero subtrahantui= qua nostra omnia accipiat Wolfgangus Kirchene in Domino vale. Wismariae 12 Febr. 1564.

Js Wigandus
us iudex

Jndicem eorum, quam nob. colliguntur vt fecisti proxime, quaeso tuis literis inclusum mitte.

Rogamus te tui Oporino, hasce inclu= sas literas, ita tuis rursum circumducti vna cum .2. exemplaribus .7. Septimae Ce de nostro numero substractis, D. Illyri cures perferrj.

Marginalia:

f. 275r$_{10}$: IX

f. 275r$_{17-25}$: VII.
1
Corpus doctrinae ex veteri Testamento.
2
Jtem ex novo Te= stamento

f. 275v$_{3}$: VII.

The letter, a Wigand autograph, sent specific instrs for the transshipment of the Magdeburg Centuries. The role of thenger and of the Magdeburg printer, Kirchner, was carefully deli.

Documents III, 17 [S628]

Wigand to Oporinus
9 March 1565, Wismar

f. 276r S. in Christo Jesu, Vnico nostro seruat praestantissime Domine Oporine, amice c Wolfgangus Kirchner parthenopaeus, tibj xhibebit Nonam Centuriam, quam sililj condit vt priores accipies, & ad Bartolomej nu dinas, Deo benedicente, in lucem profer

Jn Decima & 11. coepimus res co re, & quantum licet progredimur, quas D dante simul habebis, vbj fuerunt absolu tempore. Pauli enim breuiores erunt, vt opinamur, quia tenebrae inualerunt, & p surgit Scholasticorum tempestas, quae rnostrae cunbulae plus negociorum creabit.

Malefactum est, quod 8ua Cent: : Jndice proditur, & rogo per amiciciam nostram, vllam absque Jndice posthac aedas. Non otest commode postea Jndex emptoribus distrit

Mihi tamen 8. Jndices octauae Cae mitti cupio.

50. corporis nouj Test ex pacto spero te mihi missurum esse: et

50 de Ena-rationibus in prophet minores. Omnia veniunt in donationes am.

Si iam vti spero Tho. Rebart 4. Cent. Germanicam, quam nimis diu pre ipse quoque paupertate oppressus /prohur/, deinceps de Germanicis Centurijs tecum volente Deo ag transigam, licet alij eas expetant.

Cunrado des schedulam, vt libr inquirat.

Paulatim etiam ad .16. colligei est. Jtaque in ea re quaeso nos adiuuea= ueram Lycosthenem, vt aliquot doctorum num

f. 276v colligeret, qui hoc seculo vixisset. Jn tempore imitates vestrae et in vicinis locis Edium amplexae essent, & per quos ministros veper= natae. Sed cum is huic mundo sub tract auaeso vt per alium id cures fierj, sal ann[o=] tentur res nude, quae postea nobis suo re vsuj esse potuerunt.

Quomodo se res habent cum libellis Judicis,
Suntne Hartmano, aut Vrsellano tradit? quaeso ne sit
tibi hoc graue, mihi significare. Bene in Domino
Vale. Wismariae 9. Martij 1565.
T. Wigandus.

Marginalia:
f. 276r$_{4-8}$: Centuria IX. X. XI.
f. 276r$_{14}$: VIII.
f. 276r$_{25}$: IV. Germanica
f. 276r$_{31}$: XVI
f. 276v$_{2-4}$: Res Helvetię Ecclesię petuntur.

An autograph letter of Wigand, inquiries about the sixteenth century's history went to Oporinus, as they were going to others; Wigand also asked about materials of Judex that were to be posthumously published.

Documents III, 18 [S629]

Wigand to Oporinus
13 May 1566, Augsburg

f. 277r S. in Christo. Clarissime Domine Oporine, amice colende, profectus ad haec Augustana comitia, cum meo principe Vlrico Duce Megapolensj in via passim inspexi bibliopolia et auide quaesiuj de meis Annotationibus in prophetas minores, quas omnino sperabam a te impressas, his proximis nun= dinis Francofurdanis, prolaturum fuisse. Sed cum dolore depraehendo, te eas nondum excudisse, meaeque petitionj & desyderio tam longo non satisfe= cisse, addo quod praeter molestiam, etiam incommo= dum mihi quoddam accedit. Quae vero sit istius tam longae dilationis cause, ignoro sane. Quod si omnino noluisses imprimere, mihique restituisses, dedissem operam, vt ex alio quodam loco in publicum venissent. Quare propter nostram ami= ciciam te oro, ne graueris libellum imprimere, atque enitj, vt ad proximum Autumnum prostet. Hac ratione & me efficies alacriorem in agendis ijs, quae ad historiam pertinent. Cupio etiam scire, quid de corpore nouj Testamentj, ante annum a me correcto agatur. Vetus quoque, horis succisiuis inspicio, ac suo tempore mittam. porro non est necesse, vt respon= sionem tuam huc mittas. Existimo enim nos

f. 277v breuj redituros esse domum. Tantum vero te oro, vt in aeditione huius libellj mihi gratificeris, sicut omnino. Spero, te facturum esse. Quae in comitijs agantur, ex alijs procul dubio intelligis. Conuiuia sumptuosa quotidie fere habentur. Vtinam exitus sit bonus. Bene vale Augustae 13. Maij 1566. Saltem tibj precatur D. Dauid Chytraeus, qui mecum vno curru huc venit.

T. Johannes Wigandus

Vidi duas pagellas de responsione Jllyr. ad Brunj con= uicia. Si quam rem fierj posset, cuperem mihj exemplaria libellj istius quamprimum mitti /bti fuerit absolutus./ Forte si ad D. Achille veniret, is Noriberga per Thomam Jrtenbergium posset curare, vt ad me perferretur.

Marginalia: f. $277r_{4-6}$: Jo. Wigandj annotationes in prophetas minores excudende

The autograph letter of Wigand matched the same type of correspondence that he was sending at this time to Frankfurt.

Documents III, 19 [S630]

Wigand to Oporinus
16 February 1567, Wismar

f. 278v S. per Christum. Ornatissime Domine Opo=
rine, amice colende. Praeter omnem voluntatem
meam accidit, quod tua expectatione serius
duae istae Centuriae 10 et 11 ad te veniunt.
Nam & domo abfuj cum molestia satis diu
& vbj domum venj, exceperunt me visitationis
& alia negocia, quae excutere non licuit. Praeter=
ea proprio tabellario misissem libenter. Verum
inter hosce Saxones, seu saxeos potius homines
non potuj habere, qui tale pondus humeris suis
ad vos perferre vellet. Habebis igitur me excu=
satum, quod non tantum tuis, sed meis quoque
votis non potuerint prius satisfacere.

Quod uero ad publicationem istarum cen=
turiarum /attinet/ amanter oro, vt hac aestate typis excudantur,
vt desiderio piorum aliquomodo satisfiant. Vndique enim enim
vrgemur precibus & importunis quoque extorsionibus.
Deinde peto ne uendantur deinceps vnque absque Jndice
praesenti. Nam Jndices non possunt ita substitutj
illis qui emunt, si serius proferantur. Et magnum
incommodum ea res dabit venditionj, atque adeo vni=
uersae historiae, si quod semel atque iterum factum
est, saepius Jndices omittentur & in alijs nundinis
proferentur. Si itaque nos amas, & si toti operj
voles gratum facere, oramus ne posthac vllam
Centuriam absque indice diuendas. Tertio peto, vt
obseruentur chartae illigatae, ne quid amittatur,
quando liber excinditur & locatorj traditur. Nam
necessitas nos coegit, chartas quasdam subinde
inserere. Obseruent etiam locatores scripturam,
quia non potuimus vti vnius dumtaxat opera

f. 278r Valde mihi molestum fuit, quod tuas literas
ex nundinis proximis accepi nullas. Quidam librj
ad me venerunt.

XII. Cent. inchoata est. Deus addat
successum. Meus And. Coruinus me fideliter adiuuat.

Cunradum spero mihi aliquid librorum
collecturum. Quod si is non adesset, tu procul
dubio curabis mej rationem haberj.

Quid uero agitur de corpore
nouj Testamenti? Esne etiam vetus recusurus,
vt corrigam prius?

Audiuj 4. Cent. Gallice aeditam esse, quod si ita est, quaeso vt exemplaria nobis perferrj cures.

Hic in pristino statu versantur omnia. Reges vicini ardent mutuis odijs, & suecus quidem 60 naues dicitur producturus in mare Balthicum ad Ver primum, Nactus est Scoticos quosdam nautas, quot peste plurimos in suis ter= ris amisit. Rex Daniae quoque parat nouam Clas= sem, & Lubecanj dicuntur 16 Naues egregias adornare. Haec bella in maritimis nostris locis magnam caritatem rerum omnium gignunt, id quod facile gotitatu est. Dominus Deus largiatur nobis pacem. Bene in Domino Vale & rescribe. Wismariae 16. Febru. 1567.

Johannes Wigandus

An autograph letter by Wigand, the author retraced the other letter in which he complained bitterly about the lack of an index in Century VIII. He seemed to have cooled his temper by this time, however.

Documents III, 20 [S631]

Wigand to Oporinus
20 July 1567, Wismar

f. 279v

Ornatissimo & optimo
viro D. Johannj Oporino
typographo Basiliensj
omnium clarissimo, Domino
& amico suo charissimo.

f. 279r

S. per Christum. Omnino speramus optime D. Oporine, amice colende, te iam prolaturum esse X & XI centurias, quas in vere exhibuimus.

Rogamus autem, vt mox cures vnum exemplar ligarj, et lindauiensibus, quibus inscripsimus nostro nomine mittas. Es enim in viciniorum loco, & speramus te hoc officiolum nobis denegaturum non esse. Adijcias et vnum exemplar, non ligatum. Eam ob causam literas nostras ad Lindauienses scriptas ad te simul mittimus.

Jn XII laboramus quidem, sed quem finem suum visura sit, non indicare tam exacte possumus, ac maluimus-aliquam mittere, quam vanam spem facere. Laboramus sane, quantum licet. Tardius procedit res, quot sumptus deficiuit, et idonej adiutores non sunt multi.

Si Kirchnerus aut Leuinus nostro iussu apud te postularit exemplaria Centuriarum, beneuolentiam tuam erga nos declarabis.

Libros, quod scis paucos accipimus, Jdeo oro, vt Cunrado, quem solet libros colligere mandes, vt plures, qui nobis vtiles & grati videntur, colligat & mittat.

Nos Deo dante pergemus, et si Dom. Deus voluerit, etiam aliquanto magis, quam hactenus. sed homo proponit, Deus disponit. Bene vale celerrime. Wismariae 20 Julij 1567.

T. Wigandus

This last extant letter of Wigand, an autograph, with the two letters preceding it, indicate that the Oporinus firm was experiencing many difficulties. His many debts had begun to overwhelm him and he was negotiating the sale of the firm in precisely these months.

DOCUMENTS IV

PLANNING DOCUMENTS

The planning documents for the Magdeburg Centuries are separated into three parts. The first is the earliest proposal, the "Scheda." The second is the contribution by Gottschalk Praetorius: an essay on the writing of ecclesiastical history. The third, the largest, is a series of documents that concern the methodology: the proposals leading up to, and the critique after the composition of, the "Methodus."

Each of the three sections has a separate introduction. For the entire set, however, it is important to note the commentary by Heinz Scheible in the dissertation, "Der Plan der Magdeburger Zenturien," pp. 39-80.

Documents IV, 1

The "Scheda"

The text of the "Scheda" has been published three times: in Johann Balthasar Ritter's biography of Flacius (pp. 51-53) from the Frankfurt copy; in Schulte, *Beiträge* (pp. 65-66) and in Bibl, "Briefwechsel" (Beilage to no. 1, 17, 8-9) from the Vienna copy. The two manuscripts are: the Frankfurt Hartmann Beyer Briefsammlung, no. 43 (200A), f. 236r-v (basically, the Ritter edition); the Vienna copy is Cod. vind. pal. 9737k, ff. 296r(317r)-297v(318v). There is also a copy of the Vienna version in Cod. vind. pal. 10364, ff. 4-5.

Ritter used the Frankfurt manuscript, as he noted; but the typographic style of his day caused major changes in orthography in the printed version. Schulte used Ritter's printed version together with the original, repeating some mistakes and making new ones. Bibl used basically the original manuscript in Vienna, but with Ritter's edition and the Vienna copy of Cod. vind. pal. 10364: Bibl at p. 8, line 28, used the form "veteris," which was in the Ritter version and the Vienna copy, but not in the Vienna original of Cod. vind. pal. 9737k. None of the three transcriptions preserves the original paragraphing or punctuation.

The hand of the two originals of Frankfurt and Vienna is the same. The Frankfurt version is a full folio page; the Vienna version is

folded to quarto. Neither of the two is the "original original": both are copied from another draft or fair copy. Because of the differences in wording of the two--and because the Frankfurt copy has a missing line on its first page--one can safely assert that there is another document behind both of them. The hand can be identified as that of Marx Wagner, based on autographs in the Regensburg Stadtarchiv.

Frankfurt UB BBS no. 43 (A200A), f. 236r-v

f. 236r Vtile esset scribi historiam Ecclesiasticam, in qua ordine per temporum successionem monstraretur, quomodo vera Ecclesia eiusque religio ab illa prima puritate et simplicitate, quam Apostolorum tempore habuit, paulatim successione temporum et hominum crescentibus falsitate & erroribus declinavit in peius, partim ob negligentiam & inscitiam, partim etiam ob malitiam impiorum, contra etiam quomodo subinde per aliquos vere pios nonnihil instaurata sit, atque ita veritatis lux iam clarius fulserit, iam tenebris impietatis ag augescentibus, obscurata plus minusve sit, quoad tandem hisce postremis temporibus, cum delata ferme penitus veritas esset, ingenti Dei Beneficio uera pietas penitus sit in integrum restituta. Hac enim historia uere monstrari posset, quod omnibus temporibus fuerint, qui veritatem hanc religionis, quam iam pii amplectuntur, tenuerint et sequuti sint, Quod inquam semper fuerint septem milia Antichristum eiusque abominationes detestantium & Christum eiusque pietatem pure amplectentium qua opera tum aliae plurimae consolationes piis pararentur, tum etiam occurreretur, unico ferme isti papistarum argumento qui semper clamitant Ecclesiam et doctrinam Christi veram nuper ante annos 30 natam, suam semper fuisse. Ergo ipsos, non nos esse illam veram catholicam et perpetuam Dei Ecclesiam.

Ad hanc porro rem praeter alios impressos libros hi potissimum quaerendi essent: primum agendae vetustissimae quae ante Gregorium in usu fuerunt;

deinde inquisitiones et processus contra pios homines ante haec tempora facti;

tertio scripta a piis hominibus contra Antichristum, aut eius abominationes composita, quorum multa adhuc in veteris bibliothecis inveniuntur;

quarto libri scripti a papistis contra recte sentientes, Nam et ex illis aliquid sumi posset, quod ad historiam

f. 236v faceret;

quinto inspiciendae essent chronicae seu annales singulorum locorum, in quibus etiam certaminum religionis mentio saepe fit Denique explorandum esset e senibus an meminerint, se audisse alicubi olim aliquem recte sentientem aut docentem vel in tota religione vel in aliquibus eius partibus fuisse.

A full line of the original was missed in the copying. What should be f. 21 is: *nunquam defecisse, sed semper omnibus temporibus fuisse, nostram vero Ecclesiam esse novam,* as taken from the Vienna version. That and the missing word *passim* at the beginning of f. 31 indicate that the Vienna copy is a better copy than this. On the other hand, the missing line (f. 21) does not appear as a line in either the Vienna or Frankfurt copy; the two are both copies of an original, very likely a folio like the Frankfurt version where both *nuper* and *nunquam* are at the beginning of the line--hence the error. This Frankfurt version does not make sense as it stands. What did Beyer make of it when he read it? He did not say.

Documents IV, 2

"De utilitate ecclesiasticae historiae"

The rhetorical work on the usefulness of ecclesiastical history by Gottschalk Praetorius is being prepared for publication. It is to be found in an original, autograph fair copy (Cod. guelf. 11.20 Aug. 2°, ff. 128-136) and in a scribal copy (ff. 71-76). The work is important beyond its immediate application for the development of the Magdeburg Centuries. The refusal of the centuriators to adopt the usual rhetorical approaches to history and to history writing left them open to criticisms from two sides: the the so-called Wittenberg "scholastici" and from the Catholic opponents (chiefly, Konrad Braun). While Heinz Scheible ("Der Plan der Magdeburger Zenturien," p. 48) was correct that the work by Praetorius was "without real original thoughts," the lack of true originality was precisely the point.

It must be noted that the recurring phrase, "secundum seriem" or "secundum seriem temporum," as found in the many exchanges between the principals before the "Methodus" was fully composed--and then also even after the "Methodus" was drafted and used--means "chronologically." The "secundum seriem" (and its equivalents) were meant to replace the proposal that the historical references and quotations be distributed ("dispositio") by commonplaces.

Documents IV, 3

"Methodus"

The eleven documents fully transcribed are:

Documents IV, 3.1	Iudicium de methodo historiae (Cod. guelf. 11.20 Aug. 2°, ff. 120r-126v)
Documents IV, 3.2	Methodus historiae ecclesiasticae (ff. 12v-14v)
Documents IV, 3.3	Admonitio rectoris (ff. 27r-v)
Documents IV, 3.4	Articuli proponendi scriptori et collectori historiae (ff. 28r-29v)
Documents IV, 3.5	De collectione ex historicis et patribus regulae generales (ff. 29v-32v)
Documents IV, 3.6	Causae quare necesse sit fierj accuratam dispositionem historicam singulorum capitum Regulae generales in dispositione historica obseruanda (ff. 33r-$34v_{13}$)
Documents IV, 3.7	Admonitiones quaedam de collectione (ff. $34v_{14}$-36r)
Documents IV, 3.8	De dispositione quarti capitis quaedam declarationes (ff. 36v-$38r_{9}$)
Documents IV, 3.9	Ad modum colligendi regulae iudicandi & explorandi, an librj, qui tribuuntur saepe autoribus, vera eorum sint (ff. $38r_{10}$-38v)
Documents IV, 3.10	Regulae Francisci Balduini (ff. 39r-41r)
Documents IV, 3.11	Consilium meum extemporate in scribenda historia ecclesiastica (Cod. vind. pal. 9737k, f. 257r[207r])

About these first eleven, two points need to be made. First, the arrangement in Cod. guelf. 11.20 Aug. 2° is, to a certain extent, the result of the binder's discretion. At the same time, however, it must be stressed that the work by Flacius, "Iudicium de methodo historiae" was

far separated from the other works on methodology. Not this work, but the "Consultatio" (see below) was the starting point for the centuriators. Second, the next major task to be done in this field is a complete, collated edition of the catalogue of commonplaces. The three versions need to be brought together: the first draft, the second draft, and the final printed version. The paleographical problems are not to be underestimated, however.

The scheme of topics presented in the final version of the "Methodus," as printed in Century I[1], was used for such a long time, so extensively and so intensively, that one supposes that this catalogue of commonplaces always existed or that it had been borrowed wholesale from some other source. They were, however, developed through a long series of meetings of the collegium or inspectors of the Magdeburg Centuries.

In his otherwise meticulous and far-ranging analysis of the Wolfenbüttel library, Christian August Salig (*Vollständige Historie der Augspurgischen Confession und derselben Apologie*, III, 278-289) did not mention Cod. guelf. 11.20 Aug. 2°, when he discussed the background of the Magdeburg Centuries--he did mention 11.6, 11.7, and 6.5. It is to Heinz Scheible's credit that he called attention to the significance of these documents. The existence of the material has been known since the von Heinemann catalogue was published in 1895.

The important starting point for the methodology was "Consultatio de conscribenda accurata et erudita historia Ecclesiae, in qua potissimum doctrinae ac religionis forma, quo tempore ac loco qualis fuerit, diligenter exponetur," Cod. guelf. 11.20 Aug. 2°, ff. 4r to 11v. The work was edited by Karl Schottenloher (*Ottheinrich und Das Buch*, pp. 147-157) from the

copy sent to Ottheinrich of the Palatinate; the original is in the Vatican Library, the Palatine collection. The copy in Rome is in the hand of Marx Wagner.

There are twenty-five variations in the text of Schottenloher and of Cod. guelf. 11.20 Aug. 2°. Rather than reproduce the text here, the variants are listed.

1. p. 148, line 1: W lacks "a Christo usque ad nos"
2. p. 148, line 30: W adds "doctrinae" after "simplicitate"
3. p. 148, line 30: W has ". Utra quae" for "multaque"
4. p. 150, line 8: W has "circa" for "circum"
5. p. 150, line 11: W has "quamquam" for "quam"
6. p. 150, line 15: W has "magna" for "magnam"
7. p. 150, line 16: W has "iudicandi" for "indicandi"
8. p. 150, line 24: W has "ei" for "eis"
9. p. 151, line 31: W has "re tanta" for "tanta re"
10. p. 151, line 37: W has "Postremo" for "Postrema"
11. p. 152, line 9: W lacks "episcopum"
12. p. 153, line 1: W has "in genere" for "generaliter"
13. p. 153, line 29: W has "autem" for "vero"
14. p. 154, line 11: W has "eligere" for "seligere"
15. p. 154, line 19: W has "quae" for "quoniam"
16. p. 154, line 22: W has a dittograph for "aut defensa aut corrupta"
17. p. 154, line 33: W has "cum" for "tum"
18. p. 154, line 40: W has "flores" for "floribus"
19. p. 155, line 16: W lacks ", ut opinor, sufficient. Sic tanta summa vix 500 florenos"
20. p. 155, line 19: W has "praeditibus" for "praedivitibus"
21. p. 155, line 19: W has "unquam" for "usquam"
22. p. 155, line 29: W has "maximopere" for "maxime vere"
23. p. 155, line 40: W has "quae" for "quod"
24. p. 155, line 34: W lacks the entire paragraph
25. p. 157, line 2: W has "neminem" three lines later after "facimus"

Therefore, one concludes that the Vatican version is very close indeed to the form to be found in the Wolfenbüttel library (indicated above as "W"). Since the edition by Schottenloher is commonly available, transcription is not included here.

ILLYR. IVDICIVM

DE METHODO

HISTORIAE

f. 120r Quaestio ac deliberatio est, an historia Ecclesiae, quam conscribendi cupimus sit in partes seu loca quaedam ita distribuenda, vt, cum vnus aut dvo= rum saeculorum res explicandae sunt. Primum verbi gratia, de pon= tificibus, episcopis, verisque doctori= bus, deinde de seductoribus, tertio lo= co de concilijs, quarto de viris exi= miae pietatis laude excellentibus (quos sanctos vocamus) eorumque mira= culis &c dicatur: An vero potius om= nia vno quasi corpore vnaque idea compraehandenda lectorique propo= nenda ~~sit~~ sint, sicut Lucius Sabel= licus & alij plaerique historicj ple=

f. 120v rumque per annorum successorum vni= us gentis aut ciuitatis res tum politi= cas tum domesticas vno quasi fluxu, cursu aut impetu exposuere.

Distributio illa duo videtur potissimum commoda secum afferre quo= rum alterum est, quod scriptorem ip= sum plurimum subleuat, dum in vnam rem intentus facilius eam & ani= mo complecti & sermone explicare potest. Alterum quod & lectorj omnia promptiora paratioraque sunt, adde etiam memoratu faciliora, si in certos quosdam e locos sint comprae= hensa, cum illa multarum rerum copia, varietas & quasi confusio non aliter & scriptorem & lectorem per= turbet, dubiumque efficiat quam imperi= tum viatorem triuia incertum ani= mique anxium quid sequatur tene=

f. 121r at, aut fugiat solent.

Verum contra etiam illa altera ratio qua tota res simul compraehen= ditur, simulque lectoris oculis ac menti

subijcitur sua secum commoda affert
Omnes enim maiori desiderio voluptate ac fructu rem totam simul veluti
synopsi quadam compraehendimus
animoque complectimur, quam singulas
partes separatim consectamur & omnino ipsam quasi speciem huius sponsae videre cupimus & perpendere,
quam alias formosior ornatiorque, quam
alio tempore fuerit. Quod si rudiori auditori, quales plerique sane sumus, ex diuersis partibus, vna
quaedam forma ideaque rei animo
colligenda comprehendendaque erit,
nae ipsi aut labor conduplicabitur
aut etiam plane frustra sumetur.

f. 121v Hic vt ego in re, vt dubia
ac difficili, ita longe maximi momenti sententiam meam dicam, Spatio omnino omnes res, quorum integritas ex
minutioribus quibusdam vel partibus
vel speciebus vel elementis constat quasdam proprietates toti communes, quasdam vero singulis proprias habere.
In quorum rerum genere ipsa nos methodi
ratio cogit, vt prius illa quae toti generi seu corpori conueniunt simul diligenter explicemus postea demum singularum partium naturas consectemus.
Alioqui teste Aristotele, cum maximo laboris ac temporis dispendio, eadem
subinde repetere iterareque cogemur.
Huc accedit, quod in hoc genere etiam singularum rerum seu partium
propria, cum alijs coniuncta commixtaque sint, Vt non satis commode ac integre de piroum doctorum sententia
scriptis ac laboribus dicere possis, nisi

f. 122r simul etiam seductorum, contra quos
illi propugnauerunt historiam narres
Nam conciliorum quidem vel causas
vel dogmata perfecte explicaueris
nisi ibi tum veros doctores tum seductores adiunxeris. Habent enim
ista omnia, sicut & multa alia suas
rationes inter sese coniunctissimas seu
implicatissimas, quarum aliae siue alijs
nec esse nec dici nec etiam cogitarj
possent. Quomodo quaeso hic res a
personis distraxeris, cum tantum ideo
de personis dicatur, quo res explicen=

tur cumque nihil ferme habeas, quod de personis dicas, nisi res earum gestas vel malas vel bonas recenseas?

Primum igitur sumantur singulorum librorum tituli aut materiae, vt de vita Christi, De apostolorum temporibus, aut de primitiua Ecclesia post Apostolos, ibique statim de forma

f. 122v ipsa religionis, ceremoniarum & reliquae politiae Ecclesiasticae dicatur, dicatur & de Locis, vbi viguerit, propagata, illustrata, diminutaue sit & per quos homines, quibusue rationibus alterutrum sit effectum. postea demum dicatur sane aliquid breuiter & de singulis vel rebus vel viris, quod ante praeterumissum in communi totius illius quasi corporis formae aut idaeae descriptione dici non potuit. Narratio fiat secundum temporum seriem, sed tamen accedet aliquando, vt necesse sit vnius alicuius vel Ecclesiae vel Haereticj vel controuersiae narrationem longiorem pertexere, longiusque quasi ex ordine & acie procurrere, neglectis alijs, & eo peracto demum ad illa redire, quo eius integra expositio simul habeatur.

f. 123r Sed vt adhuc aliquid clarius de mea sententia dicam, quo melius intelligatur, oportet in hac historia a generalioribus ad specialiora progredi, oportet singulorum librorum duas quasi quasdam primarias partes fierj. In quarum priori forma seu idaea seu species Ecclesiae eius temporis, historico cohaerentique stylo depinguatur, ibique omnia ea dicantur, quae ad scriptionem seu picturam totius corporis aut ad eam rectius cognoscendam pertinent. Prima enim ac praecipua cura est nobis formae seu ideae Ecclesiae vniuscuiusque temporis. In secunda parte dicenda erunt omnia specialiora, quae magis proprie ad singulos aut pios aut impios doctores, sanctos concilia, aut singulares aliquas controuersias seu casus pertinent, eoque tanquam spe=

f. 123v cialiora in illa generali tracta=
tione sine perturbatione ordinis
dici non potuerunt. Si igitur
prior pars erit perpetuus qui=
dam stylus seu filum orationis
historicae, vt est Liuiana & ple
raeque aliae vno cohaeretentique cor
pore constantes posterior vero
pars erit concisior, singulas res,
magisque speciem vel indiuidua
potius attingentes, more ferme
Suetoniano pertractans. Atque in
hac posteriori erit locus illis vel
partibus vel locis, in quae alij
historiam hanc partiendam puta=
runt. Nam in priori postquam pro=
positae erunt metae temporum
quorum historiam scribere volu=
mus, ante omnia dicendum erit
quinam fuerit status Ecclesiae,
nempe malus quidem quod ad
corpus attinet. Fuisse enim per=

f. 124r secutiones, sed bonus quod ad spi=
ritualia vel contra vbi mos
exponemus, quae fuerit forma
Ecclesiae in plerisque locis, quam di=
cemus vel bonam vel malam vel
mediocrem vel primum bonam
postea malam fuisse, aus eo
tempore nonnihil degenerasse,
hic etiam de propagatione Eccle=
siae agetur. Hoc cum breuiter
dixerimus nos erit ad partes
formae Ecclesiae descendendum
quarum prima est doctrina.
Secunda ceremoniae. Tertium
politia seu regimen Ecclesiae &
praesertim doctorum, id est, quis
superiori aut inferiori loco inter
doctores fuerit, quis cui obedierit,
qui gradus ministrorum in Ec=
clesia, qui reditur, quae paupe=
rum ratio sit habita.

f. 124v primum igitur doctrinae for=
ma indicabitur, qualis vt pluri=
mum tunc fuit, cui statim ad=
iungentur variationes per loca
aut tempora illius ipsius de quo
agetur, saeculi, vbi aut quando
purior aut impurior fuerit,
per quos homines aut concilia

& vbi ac quia ratione vel illus=
trata vel obscurata. Eodem
modo & de ceremonijs ac regi
mine seu politia Ecclesiae dice
tur, sub finem harum trium
partium formae Ecclesiae dice
mus etiam de externo statu eius
pace aut bello fauore aut odio
politicorum gubernatorum &c.
Hoc expedito tractabuuntur
illi alij specialiores loci de conci=
lijs, de Episcopis, doctoribus, seduc=
toribus, martyribus, miraculis,
liberationibus piorum & paenis
impiorum &c.

f. 125r Hic autem diligenter obser=
uandum est alia in hisce ipsis per=
sonis aut concilijs in illa priorj
parti dicenda esse, alia in posterio
rj. Generaliora & ad totum cor=
pus vel idaeam Ecclesiae perti=
nentia in ipsa formae seu status
Ecclesiae descriptione. Specialiora
vero postea in singularum parti
um seu personarum tractatione
vt cum ad Augustini tempora
peruentum erit, in descriptione
Ecclesiae necessario indicandam erit
& quae vulnera seu plagas Eccle=
siae pelagius, Manichaei, Dona=
tistae, &c. inflixerint, seu quomo=
do doctrinam eius corruperint
& ciuitatem disciderint & quomo=
do ac quibus emplastas eam Au=
gustinus aut alij sanauerunt.
Coeterum quae Augustini specialio=

f. 125v ra sunt, vt quibus sit parenti=
bus, & vbi ac quando ortus, vbi
edoctus, ac educatus, quando con=
uersus, vbi factus Episcopus, quam
diu viserit, in quibus minutiori=
bus articulis rectius aut incom=
modius senserit, quibus paralogis=
mis deceptus, quot scripta & con=
tra quos scripserit &c. Haec in=
quam omnia sunt in vitam Au=
gustini, sicut et pelagij propria
in suam reijienda. Idem & de
Athanasio, Petro Alexandrino Epis=
copo & Ario, alijsque dicendum erit

quin & de concilijs. Nam quod Nicaena synodus Arium damna= uit, Symbolum condidit, coniugi= um Sacerdotum comprobauit, metropolitanis prouincias distribuit, ad expositionem sormae Ecclesiae pertinet. Quando vero, vbi &

f. 126r cuius autoritate congregata sit, quis in ea praesederit, quot & qui patres fuerunt, quot & quos canones condiderit, an omnes ha= beamus cuius sit authoritatis &c. Haec omnia in specialj loco de concilijs dicenda erunt.

Duas igitur normas seu regu= las in ordine totius huius operis seruare cogemur. Alterum vt se= cundum tempora, vt solent historiae progrediamur, alteram vt generaliora prius, specialiora posterius dicantur. Quae nos ra= tio eo producet, vt cuiusque libri qua= si duas quasdam primarias par= tes constituere cogamur, quarum altera sit veluti plena Vindemia aut messis historico stylo, filo, fluxu ac impetu facta, altera vero sit veluti racematio quae= dam reliquorum bororum seu

f. 126v cadentium spicarum collectio. Dominus Jesus qui ad hoc ip= sum ascendit in coelum & sedet ad dexteram patris, vt pios doctores varijs charismatibus ad aedifica= tionem vtilibus instructos Eccle= siae suae donet, adsit huic suo operi & nobis, perficiatque quod operarj incepit. Amen.

In collectionibus & scriptione subinde adscribantur autores seu testes. Nam alioqui nobis non credetur, vbi librorum autores ignorantur, indicetur forma li= brj, quo, si postea autor deprae= hensus fuerit, adijci suo loco possit. Vitentur nimij affectus & inuectiuae aut nimia praeco= nia, ne nobis fides apud lecto= res minuatur.

Simplex sit veritatis sermo.

The format of the sheet is quarto, two full sheets folded twice (f. 127 is blank). The hand is secretarial and has not been identified. There are two crossouts and two corrections: f. 121v, ℓ. 9, the *-rum* of *quorum* is crossed and *rerum* is added; f. 126r, ℓ. 22, *bonorum* is corrected to *bororum*.

The marks by Johann Wigand are critical. The red lines at f. 122v, ℓℓ. 2-6 in the right margin and at f. 124r, ℓ. 4. In the left margin at f. 124r, ℓℓ 12-14 are the words:

Hic facile
est opus in
capita distingue=
re

And then, above the words *doctrine, ceremoniae,* and *regimen* are the numbers 1, 2, and 3. Finally, after the last line of the last page are these words:

Mense Martio 1555.

Documents IV, 3.2

f. 12r

METHODVS HISTORIAE ECCLESI= ASTICAE

Totum opus distribuetur in Tomos quatuor aut quinque prout vel copia rerum vel etiam varietas tulerit. Ita vt primus tomus forte vsque ad constantini tempora vel vsque ad Nicaenam synodum extendatur. Secundus vsque ad carp= lum magnum. Tertius vsque ad Heinricum 4 aut circi= ter. Quartus vsque ad Wiclefum aut Hussum. Quintus vsque ad nostra tempora. Singulis enim istis temporibus aut aetatibus suam quandàm propriam formam Ecclesia ac religio habuisse videtur, quae mos in aliam degene= rauerit, declinaueritque, aut etiam plane commutata sit, vt merito singuli Tomi singulis statibus vel formis Eccle= siae tribui possent.

Tomi porro singuli in libros diuidentur, qui vel sin= gulas annorum centurias vel alia spacia, certa ratione ac causa sumpta complectentur. Singuli quidem librj in sua quaedam capita pro materiarum verietate distribuentur, sed ita, vt duae quasi primariae partes vniuscuiusque librj potissimum esse videantur. In quarum priore dicentur ea quae quasi generaliora sunt, & ad totum corpus seu for= mam Ecclesiae pertinent. In posteriore vero ea quae sunt specialiora & ad singulas vel personas vel loca, vel eti= am concilia aut sectas. Sunt enim in vnaquaque requae= dam generaliora omnibus alijs partibus necessario connexa

f. 12v

& quasi ad constituendum totum corpus pertinentia & quaedam specialiora: postulat vero methodus, vt primum generaliora tractentur, postea singularum particularum propria ex hac ipsa nostra materia desumptis, declarabo.

Generaliora & ad totam Ecclesiam pertinentia sunt scire vbi potissimum locorum fuerit ac viguerit Ecclesia. Num pace, commodisque magistratibus sit fructa aut per= secutiones perpessa. Qualem formam doctrinae, cere= moniarum & reliquae politiae seu administrationis suae circa ministros, scholas, pauperes &c habuerit. Specia= liora vero sunt dicere accuratius de singulis doctoribus, haereticis, consilijs, disputationibus &c.

Primae ergo partis singulorum librorum haec ferme capita sunt post praefationem. De locis ac propagatio= ne Ecclesiae. De pace externa ac persequutione Ecclesiae

De doctrinae forma. De erroribus ac haeresibus, De cere=
monijs, de schismatibus ac certaminibus leuioribus. De
reliqua politia ac regimine Ecclesiae rerumque.

In secunda libri parte dicetur primum de concilijs
Secundo de Episcopis celebriorum locorum, Romae Antiochiae
Alexandriae, Hierosolymae &c. Item de insignioribus
Doctoribus, attributis singulis personis (si ita materiae
copia postulet) singulis capitibus. Deinde agetur de
seductioribus seu haereticis per singula itidem capita
de singulis si multum sit, quod de eis scribatur.
Quarto agetur de Martyribus seu celebrioribus sanctis
qui Doctores non fuerunt. Quinto de miraculis, sed
cum delectu quodam, ne quasuis aniles monachorum

f. 13r faculas ac somnia scribere videamur. Sexto de rebus Ju=
daicis, quod tamen tantum in primo forte tomo fiet.
Nam in posterioribus, cum res Judaicae & obscuriores erunt,
& minus Ecclesiae negocij facescent, minusue eam attingent,
hoc caput omitti plane poterit, nisi forte vtile viderj possit,
semper sub singulorum librorum fine dicere de religionibus
extra Ecclesiam, vt de Ethnica, Mahometica &c.

Quonam vero in hisce capitibus posterioris partis, quod
specialiora & velut particulariora esse diximus, quaedam
sunt quae nihilominus ad totum genus seu formam totius
Ecclesiae pertinent, vt exempli causa in Arrio, qualis eius
error fuerit, quibus argumentis firmatus, quam late spar=
sus, vbi & per quos potissimum & quibus rationibus op=
pugnatus aut damnatus &c. Ideo haec omnia in pri=
mam partem in locum de Doctrina & haeresibus refer=
rentur. Quae vero magis propria ac specialia sunt
Arrij, vt ubi natus aut educatus, quo ingenio, quibus mo=
ribus, quae eruditione praeditus, qua causa aut occasione
tantum incendium excitauerit, quos adiutores habue=
rit, qualia scripta ediderit, quibus fraudibus sua vene=
na hominibus obtruserit, vbi vitam egerit, quomodo perie=
rit &c. Haec omnia tanquam specialiora in proprium
caput de Arrio per quandam veluti praecisionem
reijcientur. Idem & de Athanasio & alijs vel docto=
ribus vel seductoribus, quin & de concilijs fiet.
Nam & in concilijs alia sunt generaliora & ad
totam Ecclesiam pertinentia, vt quae dogmata ac sen=
tentiae vel probatae vel improbatae sint in Nicaena

f. 13v Synodo. Alia vero specialiora, aut magis aut ipsas singu=
las res attingentia, vt quot patres in Nicaeno concilio
fuerunt, qua concordia aut dissensione sua decreta con=
cluserint, quis praesederit, quis conuocauerit, quid quaeque
praecipue ~~ibi~~ personae ibi egerint aut dixerint, quam
diu vna fuerunt, quot canones sanxerint, quanta eo=
rum canonum autoritas fuerit &c. haec omnia tanquam pla=
ne particularia in ipsum proprium caput de concilio Ni=
ceno congerentur.

Quoniam autem quaedam materiae in longius tempus, quam quantum vnius libri erit, extenduntur nec tamen semel & simul in vno loco sine confusione methodi exponi possunt, vt exempli gratia, controuersia de paschate, Arrianismus, certamen de primatu inter Constantinopolitanum & Romanum Episcopum, ideo cum ea solum in vnoquoque libro de vnaquaque re dicta fuerunt, quae tempus propositum feret, reliqua siue illa sint initium negotij, siue progressus siue finis breuissime attingentur, lectorque ad eum librum vbi & illa reliqua exponuntur, remittetur, sicque & methodus seruabitur, dum in vnoquoque libro ea tantum dicentur, quae illud tempus feret & lectoris desiderio satisfiet, dum ei simul reliqua quoque membra caput aut pedes eiusdem negotij, latius sese exporrigentia breuiter commonstrabuntur, totumque negotium vleuti biblicis quibusdam concordantijs ac indicibus sub oculos proponetur. Idem fiet etiam cum de singulis personis aut rebus necessitas compellet gene-

f. 14r raliora anticipare in eodem libro & specialiora postponere, vt exempli causa exposita in anteriore parte 5 librj, haeresi Arrij, eiusque progressu & damnatione, tandem adijietur, quis porro ipse Arrius fuerit, quaque occasione tantum in Ecclesia Dej incendium excitauerit, reliquaque eius personam proprius attingentia. Postea in sequenti huius librí parte in capite de Arrio prolixius explicabuntur. Eadem ratione & cum ad illa specialiora in capite de Arrio peruentum fuerit, breuissime quasi per Transitionem initio dicetur. Qualis fuerit error Arrij, quantumque damni in Ecclesia Dej dederit, quomodo item vnanimiter a tota Ecclesia damnatus sit, superius suo loco indicauimus, iam igitur restat, vt de ipsius Arrij persona quaedam in hoc ei proprio capite dicamus &c.

Sic igitur fiet, vt & ea solum in vnoquoque loco dicantur, quae ratio methodj feret, necdum vnum aliquid explicare integre volumus, reliqua negligamus, atque ita lectorem perturbemus, & tamen simul lector (si desiderat) scire possit, vbi reliqua de eodem negotio integre explicata inuenire queat. Nam in tam multarum materiarum tractatione, quae in idem tempus incident, vnus quidam perpetuus fluxus narrationis, qualem Ethnicae historiae sequuntur, qualemque etiam Sledanus hoc tempore sequi conatus est, haud quaquam recte seruarj sine aliquarum rerum neglectione potest: tametsi & ipse sledanus cum quidem ferme tantum Lutherj & Electoris historiam ex professo tractet, subinde tamen intermissa serie ad aliquarum rerum aut personarum vberiorem expli-

f. 14v cationem, quas breuiter & solum quantum aliae coniunctae res patiebantur, attigerat, diuertere, ac veluti ex instituto cursu & itinere declinare cogitur.

Singulis historiolis, sua testimonia adijcentur ob duas potissimum causas, quo historia fidem habeat & vniusquisque prolixius in ipsis fontibus, si ita libuerit singula negocia cognoscere possit. Stylus erit latinus, purus, perspicuus, & simplex, omissio vehementioribus affectibus, declamationibus & digressionibus, propemodum iuxta Atticam legem ἀνευ παθων καὶ προοιμιων.

Verum quo aliquando clarius liquidiusque appareat, quid in hac tota methodo praecipiamus, quasue res, seu materias ac quo ordine tractarj velimus, quaestiones aut indices sententiarum in singulis capitibus comprehendendarum, veluti diligentius totam hanc methodum resoluentes ordine certo apponemus, qui simul & de rebus & de serie duplicem vsum praebentes scriptorem monebunt, ne quid vel omittatur vel perverso ordine tractetur. Nec tamen in tanta necessitate hic ordo indicum sequendus praefinitur quin interdum vel rerum vel styli commoditas eum nonnihil immutare possit. In singulis ergo capitibus hasce sententias seu res ordine, vt sequitur, tractarj cupimus.

The format of the sheet is full folio, the same hand as the *Consultatio* and the *Iudicium*. The date is given in the left margin of f. 14v at lines 20/21:

anno 1556 in
februario

The hand of the date is unmistakably that of Matthaeus Judex.

Documents IV, 3.3

f. 27r

ADMONITIO

RECTO=

RIS

1.

Narrationes aut sunt chronicae, aut cosmo= graphicae, aut personales.

2.

In chronocis requiritur conueniens distribu= tio rerum & temporum.

3.

In cosmographicis praestanda sunt distributio nationum, & in qualibet natione ordo rerum & temporum.

4

In personalibus rhetoricus ordo seruatur, qui constat partium aetatis distributione, & eate= nus etiam secundum seriem temporis procedit.

5.

Generaliter igitur in omnibus narrationibus praestandum est, vt vnaqualibet secundum temporis sui rationem instituatur.

6

Artificium dispositionis non Dialectice, nec Rhetorice, sed historice, hoc est, secundum cur= sum historiarum institui debet.

7

Narrationes historicae non debent esse coacer= uationes locorum communium, nec capita cen= tonium esse debent.

8

Distributio secundum locos communes haec habet incommoda -1 caret exemplo sacrarum vel eccle= siasticarum narrationum -2 caret exemplo historicorum Ethnicorum -3. turbatur ordo re= rum gestarum -4. Sequuntur distractiones, in= uersiones, anticipationes & confusiones tem= porum & annorum -5. Contradictio titulj.

f. 27v

9

Ego scriberem cum ordine temporum Generalia in fine subiungerem, quasi coroni= dem constantem & accommo= datione, Vel si in principio deberet fierj, vterer ijs quasi prooemio vel argumento se= quentium

Although the penstrokes and ink are quite different from the *Consultatio* and *Methodus* of Cod. guelf. 11.20 Aug. 2°, this seems to be the very same hand. Perhaps it was the first of all the documents in this set. The date, in Wigand's hand in the right margin of folio 27r, line 3, is:

12 Febru.
1556

Documents IV, 3.4

f. 28r Articuli proponendi scriptori et collectori historiae:

1. Vt aliquid huius iam maiori studio aut conatu fiat agaturque, id non aliqua singulari curiositate, aut importunitate fieri statuat. sed urgente officio, conscientia, et multorum minime mollibus admonitionibus. Quo tamen ipsi maiori conatu aut studio, nihil penitus cogitent contra eum suscipere, aut ei imponere, nisi quod in conuentione contineatur, uicissimque ab eo petant, ut conditiones conductionis diligentissime seruet.

2. Vt quantum omnino per valitudinem potest, huic rei uacet, et quam minime ocij feriarumque sumat, iuxta conuentionem, cogitans, se in hac re Deo, non hominibus, idque in re praegrandi, et multis difficultatibus laborante seruire.

3. Vt methodon eiusque resolutionem diligentissime cognitam perspectamque habeat, et in scribendo sese ad eam, modis omnibus accommodet.

4. Vt sicut diuersissime sunt res: jnuenire, disponere et eloqui Sic et ipse aliam operam collectioni, aliam dispositioni, aliam denique elocutioni tribuat, in qua re, Rectoris exemplum cum utiliter monere potest.

5. Vt authores, eorumque libri ac capita, diligenter notentur in collectione, distributione, ac scriptione.

f. 28v 6. Vt sylua uniuscuiusque libri, quamprimum fuerit collecta, statim alterum quoque exemplar describatur, ex exhibeatur inspectoribus.

7. Vt dispositionum exemplar per scribam descriptam, tradat inspectoribus priusque manum adhibeat scriptioni, uel non multo post.

8. Vt scriptor, absoluto uno capite, vel ad summum duobus curet hoc describi, et inspectoribus tradi.

9. Vt uterque, et scriptor et collector, singulis hebdomadis suas operas inspectoribus die sabbathi ~~exhibeant~~ ante meridiem ostendant, oportet n. iisque tantas pecunias conferunt, aliisque petentibus exactam rationem aliquando ocij operarumque reddere. Quare hebdomadatim labores in certo libro diligenter ac ordine annotentur.+

10. Vt uterque sua dubia annotet, et inspectores crebro consulat, quo in illi cogitare, et, si necesse sit, etiam absentes perconctari queant.

11. Vt scriptor tres libros uacuae chartae in promptu habeat, in quorum uno annotet omnia parum liquido explorata ac peracta, et quoquomodo ulteriori deliberatione indigentia, praesertim uero, quae nondum satis absoluta iam in scriptionem relata sunt. in secundo consignet omnia ea, quae ipsi incidunt, ad libros uel praecedentes uel consequentes pertinentia. jn tertio signet omnia experimenta seu compendia, tum ad facilitorem inquisitionem, tum ad scriptionem facientia, quae experientia et usus quotidianus eum docent. Simile quod et collector faciat.

f. 29r

12. Sylvae collectae in fine catalogus addatur autorum omnium ex quibus collectum est ad quemlibet librum.

13. Vt inspectoribus omnino demonstrent. Fraterna enim collectio, et, ut ita dicamus, collaboratio, ubi sola ratio ac ueritas regnet, instituitur.

14. Das ihr solche vnsere sorge, fleis, vnd furnemen, in keinem Wege also verstehen oder vernemen solt, als wolten wir euch vber das, so man einmahl eins worden ist, beschweren, oder was aufflegen, sondern das wir dabey auffs gnawest stehen vnd bleiben wollen, vnd euch alles gentzlich biss auff das geringste halten, was wir euch verheissen haben, verstehen vnd begeren auch dergleichen von euch widderumb. Gott weis vnser hertz, das wir euch vnd diese gantze sache von hertzen meinen:.

The hand is a secretarial one; although paragraph 14. appears to be a different hand, it is the same person writing in German with the appropriate shift in formation of the letters. A conjecture can be made, on the basis of Regensburg autographs: the hand might be that of Marx Wagner.

There were several changes made in the original document: (1) *ante meridiem ostendant* was added in Flacius hand and the previous word was struck at f. 28v, ℓ. 10; (2) f. 28v, ℓℓ. 11 and 12 were added, in the original hand, after the document was completed.; (3) paragraph 14., in German, appears to have been added.

Wigand added a date at the top of f. 28r: 16 Febru. 1556. And Wigand also inserted a marginale at f. 28v, ℓℓ. 10-13:

praestabit haec res & illud
commodj, vt inspectores
semper totique negocii statu
scientes melius tu[m] de
agendis tum de differendis
aut etiam omittendis cogita=
re & in medium
consulere possint.

Documents IV, 3.5

f. 29v

DE COLLECTIO=
NE EX HISTORI=
CIS ET PA=
TRIBVS

REGVLAE GENERALES

I. Primo collectores institutum seu scopum operis ideamque eius exactissime cognitam habeant, quod ex consultatione & methodo consequi possunt. Fine enim cogito, teste Aristotle, semper rectius conuertuntur eo media, veluti sagittarij sco= po conspecto, tela eo dirigere possunt, alioqui in incertum ac temere sagittant.

II. Deinde resolutionem methodj perfectissime perspi= ciant & pernoscant, atque adeo memoriter, si fieri potest, perceptam teneant. Quo sine omni dubitatione in promptu eis sit, quid ex tantis rerum aceruis & varietatibus collige= re debeant, nihilque vtile temere praetereant.

III. Quare capita, in methodi resolutione notata, sibj proponant & mente teneant, quid ad quodlibet referendum sit.

Jndex capitum

1 De loco & propagatione
2 De tranquillitate & persecuutione
3 De doctrina & doctoribus pijs. Huc omnium doctorum nomina, quorum mentio fit, notentur, & alia vt ha= bet resolutio 4 capitis.

f. 30r

4 De haeresibus & erroribus, indeque
5 De ceremonijs & ritibus.
6 De schismatibus leuioribus
7 de politia seu gubernatione Ecclesiae, rerumque & personarum Ecclesiasticarum
8 De concilijs
9 De paenis persecutorum & praemijs nutriciorum
10 De Episcopis & doctoribus specialia, vt in resolutione notata sunt.
11 De haereticis specialia
12 De martyribus, qui non fuerunt Doctores, sed alioquin illu= stres, vt in resolutione.
13 de miraculis, superstitiosa, & vana, vno aut altero verbo annotentur
14 de rebus Judaicis
15 de alijs religionibus extram Ecclesiam vt ethnica & Mahometica
Romani partitiones, translationes, dominationes pontificis Ro= manj &c. defectiones, vastationes, &c

IIII. Jn hisce capitibus & circumstantiae omnes diligenter obseruentur, & collectio ad eas quoque accommodetur, vt est in resolutione methodj annotatum.

V. Non pigeat collectorem ea, quae ad plures locos spectant, ad eosdem sigillatim breuiter notare, vt cum mentio sit alicuius Doctoris, plerumque locus vbi docuerit, vnde oriundus, quos Haereticos refutauerit & similes circumstantiae conuertuntur, ibi quaslibet ad suum locum reponi necesse est, & prorsus nihil intermittendum est, quod quoquomodo ad hoc institutum pertinere videtur.

VI. Jn collectione & hoc obseruandum & annotandum est, quod ad priores libros, vtpote historiam Christi vel Apostolorum pertinere videbitur, & detur ej rej peculiaris liber. Jtem quae ad sequentes libros faciunt, quae in idem volumen sub diuersis tamen titulis referantur.

f. 30v VII. Autores, librj, Episcopi aut ministrj haereticorum aut aliorum nomina, quae citantur assignentur.

VIII. Autores vnde est collectum & eorum librj & capita non confuse adscribantur, sed distincte, & in textu, non in margini ne scirj possit, quid quo pertineat. Jtem qui consentiunt alijs, eis debet addj idem sentit. Qui uero addunt, vel in personis vel historijs vel dogmatis describendis, itidem clare & non perplexe addatur.

IX. Collectores ita scribant, vt legi possit. Nam cum sylua materia scriptionis sit, necesse erit eam a pluribus legj et pluries inspicj.

Modus colligendj ex historicijs.

X. Porro quia in historicis per Jmperatores colligitur, ideo haec videtur ratio commodissima praescribj posse. Plura autem ipse vsus suppeditabit. Singula folia in duas columnas ~~diuidantur~~ frangantur, & in vnam aut plures titulus capitis & postea Jmperatoris notetur, & quidquid sub isto Jmperatore occurrit, quod ad illud caput pertinet, adscribatur, habita ratione autorum, qui idem dicat, qui plenius narrat qui tantum vnam atque alteram circumstantiam temporis aut loci &c adijciat, & qui variet in circumstantijs, & ab alijs diuersum dicat, exemplo gratia. Si volo colligere ad tertium librum ex historicis sic ago. Accipio aliquot arcus papyri, his inscribo caput, De loco & propagatione, idem facio in alijs capitibus, vt de persecutione, De doctrina, de haeresibus &c. postea frango arcus in columnas, vni inscribo De loco & propagatione sub Traiano, alterj de loco et propagatione sub Hadriano, tertiae de loco & propagatione sub Antonino Pio, & sic deinceps, Si plures habeo imperatores colligendos, Deinde percurro Eusebium, Nicephorum aut alium quemlibet autorem & ex

f. 31r eo annoto, quidquid occurrit, quod ad caput de loco & propagatione pertinet sub suo Jmperatore, percurro vno autore sumo

alium, videó an eadem cum priorj, aut diuersa aut plura aut clariora dicat. Haec omnia diligenter vna cum loco & pagina adijcio, idem facio per reliqua capita, persecutione & sequentibus. Si qua historia occurrit, quae locj meminit, vbi Ecclesia tum fuit, adijcio huic capiti. Si etiam de persecutione habet aliquid, tum ad secundum caput similiter, quod eius capitis est refero diligenti habita ratione, ne quid praetermittatur, quod ad id caput pertinet, iuxta resolutionem methodj.

XI. Annotanda etiam interdum sunt illa, quaequalemcumque coniecturam de rebus cuiusque capitis praebent. Nam interdum res maximae paucis & obscure indicantur, seu perstringuntur tantum, vt ex antecedentibus posteriora vel econtra satis certo diuinarj possunt. Sagaces ergo nos inuestigatores solertesque coniectores, vti sunt venatores, in quaerendis feris, esse oportet.

XII. Dogmatica etiam ex ipsis historijs accurate annotentur.

De modo colligendj ex patribus.

XIII. De modo colligendj ex patribus. Patres historica breuiter interdum attingunt. Quare ea diligenter & attente annotanda & obseruanda sunt.
Jn patribus vero praecipue duplices locos fierj oportet Historicos & Dogmaticos.
Historicorum capita sunt eadem, quae in resolutione methodj habentur. Porro quia ea interdum leuiter attinguntur, accurata observatio fierj debet, ne quid negligetur. Sunt etiam cuiuslibet patris specialia, quae in

f. 31v capite de doctoribus in resolutione notantur, diligenter obseruanda, vt cum origenem lego, inter alia historia obseruo, quis origenes fuerit, vbi & quomodo docuerit quem articulum illustrarit &c. quae argumenta Haeresiorum refutarit, quorum doctorum meminerit, quos libros scripserit, qua phrasi vsus &c. quales ipse vel priuatas vel cum alijs communes opiniones habuerit.

Dogmatici loci sunt loci Theologicj, quorum catalogus extat in resolutione cap. 4. ac debeant dogmata omnia diligenter & quodammodo curiose annotarj.
Jn collectione igitur ex patribus aliquot arcus accipiantur, iisque genus inscribatur. Locj historici ex origene aut aliorum columnis singulis, prout videtur capiosa materia occursura, distribuantur capita, vt de loco & propagatione, de persecutione, de doctrina. Huc tantum historica communia referuntur, vt si aliquando dicatur Doctrinam puram aut impuram eo tempore fuisse & similia. Nam infra in dogmatica loca dogmata alias habent sua receptacula. Jtem de haeresibus. Huc etiam generalia historica referantur. Specialia enim ipsius seductoris ad caput de singulis haereticis

pertinent. De ceremonijs & ritibus Ecclesiae, de schismatibus, de politia & gubernatione Ecclesiae, de concilijs, de paenis persecutorum, De Episcopis & doctoribus specialia, de haereticis, de martyribus, de miraculis, de rebus Judaicis, de religionibus Ethnicis & Turcicis. De mutationibus politicis. Quae vero materiae in haec capita singula referenda, id Resolutio monet & docet.

Deinde ad locos dogmaticos similiter aliquot arcus accipiantur, ijsque genus inscribatur. Loci dogmatici & postea singulis aut pluribus columnis capita inscriban-

f. 32r tur, vt sunt de Deo, de Trinitate, de personis singulis De Creatione, de angelis bonis & angelis malis, De homine ante, de homine post lapsum, de libero arbitrio, de praedeterminatione, de peccato, de lege, de Euangelio, de discrimine legis & Euangelij, de iustificatione, de sola fide iustificante, De iustitia coram Deo gratuita, De operibus quae opera & in quem finem, de poenitentia, de Baptismo, de clauibus, De coena dominj, de libertate Christiana, de oratione, de inuocatione sanctorum, de statuis, de cultibus & peregrinationibus &c. De Ecclesia, de primatu in Ecclesia, De votis & consilijs & ordinibus, de traditionibus humanis, de coniugio, de magistratu, de gladio magistratus defendente Christianos, De regno Christi, de Antichristo, de extremo iudicio, de resurrectione mortuorum, de inferno de loco animarum post mortem, de purgatorio, de indulgentijs, de Magia, de Astrologia, de martyrio dogmatica, Jn haec capita omnia quae passim occurrunt, referantur & maxime ostendatur, quid de istis capitibus vel bene vel male erronee, perspicue vel obscure vel etiam periculose, inepte etiam vel absurde dixerint & senserint.

Ex autoribus non semper integra, prolixa praesertim loca, de verbo ad verbum describj necesse forte erit. Nihilominus summa & praecipua capita vera cum circumstantijs accurate debent annotarj, inprimis autem doctrinae controuersae eo tempore sedulo obseruentur.

Ex collectione ex patribus non tantum dicendum est, quod bene vel male de Deo, de peccato & aliis locis senserint, sed & integrae sententiae sunt assignandae breuiter, vt scirj possit, quid docuerint de illis locis. Quod si autem tractatio minus esset prolixa

f. 32v & inprimis elegans folium notaretur, ac lector eo remitteretur. Superius regula quarta dictum est non debere pigere collectorem, vnam rem ad plura capita pertinentem in pluribus annotare. Jd eo compendio fierj poterit, vt si res vno loco prolixius sit annotanda, in alio tanto breuius annotetur, lectorque pleniorem annotationem in alio capite inspicere iubeatur

Vtile fuerit collectores sylvam singulis diebus aut cir=
citer percurrere, vt sciant, quid collegerint, maiorique iu=
dicio alia illis prioribus similia, diuersa vel aduersa
obseruare & adijcere possint.

Sicubi sententiam autorum adsequi non possunt, prop=
ter obscuritatem, aut mendam, vel alios consulant,
vel etiam si aliter fierj non potest, rem cum sua
dubitatione annotent, vt alius vel alias diligentius
iudicare possit, nec temere scriptorem falsa affir=
matione tamque putrj fundamento decipiant.

The hand is the same as that of the *Consultatio*. At the top of f. 29v, in Wipsnd's hand is inscribed the date:

16 Februarij Anno 1556

There are no marginalia.

Documents IV, 3.6

f. 33r

CAVSAE QVARE NE=

cesse sit fierj accuratam dispositionem

historicam singulorum capi=

tum.

1. Vt fiat delineatio, non minus obscura, totius scriptio=nis, ac forma quaedam seu idaea conspectui pateat.
2 Vt scriptor ipsam materiam in suo ingenio quasi perco=quat & maturet.
3 Vt meliorj ordine singula membra collocentur, quod in tam multis rebus, nisi talis distributio sit facta, non potest obseruarj.
4 Vt facilius, rectius, neruosius ac significantius omnia exponantur.
5 Vt collegae in hac communj opere accuratius omnia per=spicere, considerare & de rebus necessarijs monere in tempore & adiuuare possint.
6 Vt non sit necesse totius rex retexi vnam materiam
7 si qua occurrunt adijcienda, ex sequentibus aut praece=dentibus libris, vt sine magna difficultate addj possint.
8. Cogitandum omnino est, diuersa esse officia inuenire, disponere & eloqui, vt Rhetores non frustra tradunt, & cuilibet parti suam curam & diligentiam esse necessario tribuendam, si modo aliquid vel mediocriter elabora=tum sibique constans aut consonans debeat conficj.
9. Summa, & intellectus & memoria dispositionem flagitant. Nam cum collectio non summo iudicio quod ibi adhiberj non potest, res comportet, ad haec variorum autorum diuersa, & nominum etiam pug=nantia testimonia annotet, necesse est vt aliquando tandem illa omnia diligentissime iudicentur, excu=

f. 33v

tiantur & exanimenter. Hoc vero alias, nisi in distribu=tione, fierj haud quaquam potest. Nam in scriptione intel=lectus in verborum & sententiarum delectu & collocatio=ne est occupatus, vt alijs vacare minime recte possit. Tum ita memoria, cum tam multas varias minutasque res per tam multas chartas dispersas, anti si habeat, & adhoc in cura verborum sententiarumque versetur, ne=cessario multa obliuiscitur & praeteruolat. Experi=entia id nos quotidiana docet, cum etiam in vna re, eaque crassa aut conspicua exponenda versamur. Multa enim subinde praeclara in mentem aliud agenti veniunt, quae nisi protinus annotes, mox non facile reditura auolant.

REGVLAE GENERA=

les in dispositione historica ob=

seruanda.

1. Distributio debet omnino plene fierj, ita vt & sub= iecta & praedicata clare ac perspicue ponantur, id est, tum res de qua agere volumus, tum id quod de ea vel affir= mare vel negare vel dubitare, tum denique ipsa, vt vo= cant, copula, id est, vt simul pronunciemus &c. vt sic tandem membra singula, quae in scriptionem referrj debent, non obscure delineentur, & ideam scrip= tionis vtcunque exprimant.

2. Generalia si qua sunt, priorj loco ponantur specialia vero debito ordine subijciantur.

3. Item quantum fierj potest obseruetur ordo tem= poris, ne ea, quae prius facta sunt, posterius collocentur.

f. 34r 4. Non solum praesentes scriptorum narrationes reci tandae sunt, set etiam ratiocinandum, a priorj & posterio= re, aliaque veritatis vestigia sunt sagaciter consectanda.

5. Circumstantiae & res, quae deesse videntur, debent annotarj vt materia cogitandj, inquirendj & obser= uandj praebeatur.

6. Analyseos capita accurata obseruentur, quantum omnino possibile est.

7. Materiae diligenter & cum iudicio secandae sunt, vt suo quoque loco referantur.

8. Item propter affinitatem, quaedam in vno loco breuius, in altero prolixius recitanda erunt, indicata per cifras symphonia, vt in Biblijs.

9. In distributione solicite & curiose, singulj autores idem dicentes, aut diuersum, item librj, capita debent annotarj.

10. Item ea quoque in distributionem assignabuntur, quae putarit scriptor referenda, & additis quibusdam ra= tiunculis, quare? idque propter iudicium & collationem sententiarum quam saepe fierj & necessarium & vtile est, ac potest in margine nota penj, vt videant collegae, haec esse ociosa & amputanda.

11. Item nodj sequi occurrunt sunt annotandj, vt de ijs tempestiue conferrj possit, ne in vacuum laboretur.

12. Temporum supputationes inter se discrepantes, secundum autores etiam indicentur.

13. Cum historiam Ecclesiasticam scripturj simus, opera danda est, vt non prorsus ethnice, sed Ecclesiastice etiam tractemus, nempe vt interdum de vtilitate partium historiae, de consilio Dej in gubernatione, conserua=

f. 34v tione & liberatione Ecclesiae lectorem admoneamus ac Epiphonematis historicam narrationem ornemus. Monachi qui sub papatu historias scripserunt, habent

fere prorsus ethnicas, inanes ac melancolias nar=
rationes. At nos in tanta Euangelij luce, omniumque
artium flore, faculas quasdam seu viua citatem
narrationj, quantum poterimus, addemus.

Judicamus necessarium & vtile fore, ne scriptor
tractationem alicuius capitis suscipiat, priusquam
eius dispositio a collegis fuerit perspecta & ap=
probata.

The hand is the same as that of the *Consultatio*. At the head of the first line, in Wigand's hand, is the date:

14 Martij 1556

and at the bottom of the article, ll. 12 and 13 of f. 34v, also in Wigand's hand:

Specialia dispositionis formam Analysis
monstrat.

Documents IV, 3.7

f. 34v

ADMONITIONES QVAEDAM DE COLLECTIO= NE

1 Necesse est omnino & extra omnem controversiam Ar= chitectum habere materiam scribendam, quam maxime & diligentissime cognitam ac perspectam, suisque proprijs manibus, vt ita dicamus subactam, agitatam aut molli= tam, vt videlicet sicuti architectus dum coedit materiam vel eam praeparat, iam ideam non tantum generalem alicuius domus, verum singularum etiam partium, ac si iam coram astaret tota centiguatio, in mente habet,

f. 35r

Ita & scriptoricus architectus, vt sic loquamur, non tantum quandam generalem ideam totius operis in mente circum= ferat, sed cuiusque librj, eiusque capitum formam quandam sibj in mente fingat, & antequam scribat, praecogitet. Item sicuti architectus non subito, nec vna tantum cogitatione omnia assequitur, iam de ista mox de alia idea cogitat, donec collatione omnium tandem pulcherrimam concipiat, & postea velut pariat combinandis & construendis materijs Ita scriptor de rerum optima collocatione & quasi forma= tione singularum partium, diligenter cogitet ac recogitet, priusquam ad scriptionem se accingat. Quare omnino ri= detur consultissimum esse, aut etiam plane necessarium, vt ipsemet Architectus quam maxime plenos hisce rebus autores cognoscat, indeque suo instituto conuenientia colli= gat, collectoribus vero tradat aridiores, seu magis vacuos, ac vnde pauciora aut etiam incertiora, maiorique labore colligenda restant.

2 Quare oporteret scriptorem Ecclesiasticas historias Eusebij & Nicephorj aliquos breuiores ac meliores patres, concilia & quosdam de praecipuis chronicis perlegere, alia vero collectores Atque huius rej gratia, habet scriptor proprium Eusebium.

3 Dubitatio quoque est quae scripta sint prius posteriusue colligenda. Ac iudicamus omnino quod vetustiora, plenio= ra & magis authentica praecedere, alia subsequi debeant. Causa est, quia ex illis tanquam fundamentum aut corpus

f. 35v

materiae colligitur, exalijs vero vel consensus vel di= uersitas, & veluti concordantiae aut accidentia quae dam vel circumstantiae solummodo accedunt.

4 Quapropter si quidem recte res progredj debent, ne=
cesse est vt in postremum initio vniuscuiusque librj Archi=
tectus cum inspectoribus constituat, primum qui au=
tores sint ad illum librum potissimum per uoluendj.
Deinde quis, quos, postremo quo ordine, vt omnia cer=
ta ac ordinata quadam ratione peragantur. Si qua
etiam in prioribus collectionibus non recte collecta fue=
runt, de modo meliorj semper diligenter & amanter
conferendum & conveniendum est.
5 Est praeterea etiam valde necessarium, vt quoniam in=
spectores quoque adiuuare commune opus, quantum om=
nino per suas vocationes licet, volunt, singulis saba=
this in colloquio omnes huius operis adiutores sibj
inuicem exponant, quid ea hebdomada singuli per=
fecerint, & quid sequenti, deo volente & iuuante
perficere cogitent, quae res & necessaria est & multi=
plicem fructum afferet, nec vlla causa est, quare
quis hac in parte tergiuersarj vel velit vel possit.
6 Permagnum quoque est discrimen inter eum qui colligit &
inter eum qui sibimet studet & consulit. Nam qui
sibi studet, illa omnia vult intelligere, pleraque etiam
ediscere, si non ad verbum, saltem, vt ita dicamus, ad
sensum. Quare non prius ad alia progreditur, quam
priora perspexit, & quasi memoria comprehendit.
eoque saepe vnum locum terque quaterque relegit &
trutinat. At qui colligit, ille celeriter oculos vol=

f. 36r uendo, id modo primum quaerit an ibi agatur de re ad
suum institutum, aut, vt ita dicam, mellificationem per=
tinente. Si non tum mox eum lôcum praeterit, quantumuis
pulchrj in eo flores existant. Quod si est materia
sui institutj, dat operam, vt eam mediocriter intelligat,
& mox annotet, non id magnopere laborans, vt eam
penitus suae memoriae infigat, & mox ad aliud festi=
nat.
7 Vtile etiam videtur esse, vt pr in colligendo primum inte=
ger liber aut caput percurratur, & paucis punctis loca
annotanda consignentur. postea demum omnia ordine
describantur.
Duae huius rej sunt causae, altera quod tam crebra
mutatio operarum moram & turbationem quandam
cogitationum affert, altera quod perspectis materijs
totius libellj, meliorj consilio seu harmonia postea
omnia annotarj, & excerpi possunt. Verum haec
ipsa res facile etiam oculariter breui exemplo de=
monstrarj potest.

The hand is that of the *Consultatio*. There are no marginalia. Wigand dated the piece, between f. 17 and 18:

28 Martij 1556

Documents IV, 3.8

f. 36v

*DE DISPOSITIONE 4^ti^*

capitis quaedam declarationes

1. Differentiam inter hos locos doctrinales quales scriptor die Sabbati exhibuit, & dispositionem ipsam.

Hi loci doctrinales sunt adhuc tantum rudis quaedam sylua, quae continet nudas concordantias dogmatum ex autoribus collectas, ad hos fines, primum vt liquido cernj possit in quo puncto doctores Ecclesiae conveniant, vti & qui varient ad discordent. Deinde vt illustrissima testimonia exturba concordantium meliorj iudicio ac ordine seligi, & in distributionem scriptionemque transferrj possint.

At distributio ipsa continet integram & copiosam & ordinatam delineationem totium scriptionis, hoc est omnium membrorum rerum ac sententiarum, quae postea in hoc capite coniungi & vnicj & quasi vestrj connenientj oratione debent.

Quare inter hos locos & distributionem ipsam fere tantum interest, quantum inter colores pictoris & eiusdem delineationem primam, quando videlicet lineis & vmbris quibusdam designat, quid, quibus partibus, qua proportione velit pingere. Colores sunt haec sylva locorum. At delineatio pictoris cum coloribus, est applicatio huius syluae ad distributionem capitis, vbi iuxta Analysin quodlibet in suum locum responditur, & quantitas ac qualitas designatur istius corporis, quod contexi debet. Ipsa picturae perfectio, nempe qua delineatio prius facta mox viuis coloribus illuminatur, ac prodit tandem venustissima Helena, in hac materia est, accurata & polita tractatio huius capitis iuxta omnia membra.

f. 37r

2 Quid igitur ex quomodo faciendum. R/

Iuxta praescriptam Analysin, totum caput doctrinae, quid, quo ordine, quomodo velit tractare scriptor, clare & expresse annotet. Primum quid velit pro exordio ponere. Deinde qualem propositionem velit constituere, & quas rationes vbique, quas gnomas, quas figuras adhibere, vbi velit esse contractior, vbi vela dare ventis, & paulo liberius aliquam materiam tractare. posthaec catalogum Doctorum, iuxta orbis terrae patres, & maxima insignes & celebres recitet. Addat causam, quare id faciat tantum breuiter.

His absolutis ad expositionem
doctrinae accedat.

Primum autem generalia praemittat, vt testimonia autorum & coniecturas alias, tum temporis doctrinam Ecclesiae aliquanto puriorem fuisse quam postea, licet quaedam nebulae inciperent sese paulatim ac sensim attollere.
Testimonia ex sylva huc adscribantur & addatur, haec volo in scriptionem referre, haec non, & hoc aut illo modo de eis statuere ac pronunciare.
Coniecturae & collectiones ex antecedentibus. vt quod adhuc quidam Apostoli in viuis &c haec expresse huc scribantur, vt vel hae coniecturae possint iudicarj sufficientes, vel aliae vel plures quaerantur.
Deinde specialis quoque tractatio, iuxta articulos institua=tur, vbi haec obseruentur.
1. Bono ordine articuli digerantur & tractentur.
2. Summa cuiusque articulj recitetur perspicue & ita, vt nonnihil alludere videamus ad phrasin Doctorum eius temporis.

f. 37v Huic summae testimonium vnum aut alterum, maxime illustrem & doctrinis plenum, ex Doctoribus eius saeculj adscribatur. Cum autem in his concordantiis cogmatum cuiusque articuli, testimonia quaedam sint annotata, ne laborem iterare & denuo describere cogatur, signet tantum rubrica ea testimonia, quae volet suo iudicio citare, & hic in dispositione tantum dicat, Vtar autem in hoc articulo testimonijs, quae in sylua concordantiarum rubrica notauj &c.
Item si qui doctores variant ab hac communj forma doctrinae in eodem articulo, expresse hic indicetur, & locus ac verba citentur.
Et sub finem cuiuslibet articulj citentur autores, librj, capita, vbi iste articulus fusius explicatur. Causa est, vt consensus probetur, & lector remittatur ad locos plenio=res. Hoc pacto procedantur per singulos articulos.
Interdum vnus articulus plura habet membra seu par=tes quam vnam. Id quoque obseruetur & ordine praelibet tractentur, vt de Deo, quod vnus, de trinitate, de Christo, eius diuinitate, humanitate, &c. Sic in alijs.
De naevis item summa ponatur, testimonia citentur allegentur autores, loco. Ac hoc in loco omnium sententiae, ex quibus naeuus colligi potest, videntur assignandae, adiecta annotatione, tantum ponam, hoc omittam, idque hoc consilio &c.
His expeditis iudicium de libris canonicis & Apocryphis quantum historiae horum temporum suppeditant, tractare, Recenseatur rationes quare?
postea specialis enumeratio.
Huc adscribantur quae ex historicis & doctoribus collecta sunt, in sylva. Item qualis libris

f. 38r frequentissime & cum autoritate vsi sint Doctores huius saeculj.
postremo loco & de versionibus Bibliorum de 70 ex vbi iudicia aliorum etiam recitanda erunt.

5 Generalia

Hic in dispositione addat, de hac re consentiunt isti seu historicj seu doctores, hoc libro, hoc capite, vbiquis addit aliquid, itidem notetur, discordantiae similiter. Dubia ad marginem adsignet.

The hand is that of the *Consultatio*. There are no marginalia. Wigand titled the work and wrote the first five lines (hence the italic). Above line 1 is the date, also in Wigand's hand:

19 Aprilis 1556

f. 38r

AD MODVM COLLIGENDI

REGVLAE iudicandi &
explorandj, an libri, qui
tribuuntur saepe autoribus
vera eorum sint

I.

An stylus conueniat cum ijs libris /autoris/, de quibus non est dubium, quod sint eius? ~~autoris~~ Ad stylum autem pertinent verba, phra=ses, compositio, et tractatio & similia, quae sunt illj autorj vulgaria.

II.

An res conveniant cum ijs, de quibus ple=rumque solet loqui autor, suo quodam certo modo & ratione, an vero res prorsus sint alienae & diuersae, nec alludant ad autoris ingenium & consuetudinem?

III.

An Circumstantias alias contineant, vtpote temporis etiam, - item an historias commemorent, quae post ~~ipsorum~~ /autorum/ aetatem sint factae, quae arguunt eos libros esse suspectos & suppositicos.

IIII.

Testimonia /vt censurae/ aliorum probatorum autorum, qui vel catalogos scripserunt librorum, in quibus illi librj

f. 38v

qui assignantur autorj, non inveniuntur, vel alijs attribuuntur vel etiam ~~in libris suis aliâs adducunt in alibj in~~ alias suum iudicium de illis tulerunt.

V.

Videndum an contineant naeuos, qui fuerunt ej ~~saecuio~~ autorj vulgares, aut contrarij. Item an ij naeuj etiam istj saeculo fuerint noti, in quo autor vixit.

The entire piece is in Wigand's hand. It follows logically with the preceding, and therefore might be assigned the same date of 19 April 1556; that is, there is no good reason to suppose that this piece was composed significantly earlier or later than the previous piece.

Documents IV, 3.10

f. 39r

REGVLAE BALDVINI

I Colligenda est ueteris Ecclesiae memoria, ita ut coniungatur et facti et iuris cognitio

II Narratio debet modis omnibus esse uera factorum actionumque et qualium cumque denique rerum, quae ad Ecclesiae historiam pertinent

III Narrationi porro factorum aliarumque rerum debet accedere sana et recta dijudicatio, ne res tota in obscuro ac incerta relinquatur

IV Diiudicatio rerum factorumque non adeo difficilis est, quia ius est finitum et apertum, sed an factum, actio aut res quaecumque demum acciderit, factaue sit, magna est dubitatio. Nam quid olim factum sit, non modo in certa plerumque est diuniatio, set etiam est obscura, et non raro nulla memoria.

V Testes igitur factorum gestarumque rerum expendendi sunt, ut scire possimus quatenus eis fides haberi debeat, aut non.

VI Regula est uetus testibus non testimonijs credendum esse & iudendum non tam quid quaue ratione dicatur, quam quis testetur, an sit bonae malaeue fidei, rei de qua testatur peritus uel imperitus esse.

VII perpendenda quoque est fides testimonij, quod integrae frontis homo dixerit, quod et in eo error hallucinatione esse potest, ut infra ius prolixius dicetur.

VIII Multi et laruali et mirabiliter tecti testes, sed falsi occurrunt praesertim in Ecclesiastica historia.

IX Nihil certe ab historia praesertim sacra magis alienum esse debet. qia, fabula, nihil tamen ei magis affine est.

X Imprimis igitur uidendum, quantum omnino fieri potest, ut testium testimoniorumque delectus habeatur, diligentissimeque perpendatur, tum quis dicat, tum quod dicatur.

XI Vt multae ad fallendum artes sunt, et sunt multa genera falsi et stellionatus, multiplex denique impostura sicetiam omnibus temporibus multae fraudes fuerunt in libris praecipue ecclesiasticis vel supponendis, vel

f. 39v

interpollandis, uel corrumpendis. Et quid tandem facilius quam adulterari scriptura potest.

XII Interdum fingitur atque obtenditur aliquod nomen ficti autoris inauditum plane, multisque laudibus scriptum ornatur. Saepe etiam nobilis autoris nomen obtenditur alieno ignobili aut etiam noxio scripto.

XIII Intollerabile plane est in religionis causa eos autores interdum falso obtendi, quorum casit autoritas ut non modo eorum testimonium ad facti probationem ualeatur, sed et factum dictumue ad iuris rationem.

XIIII Magna est et incomparabilis iactura quod tot ueteris Ecclesiae monumenta interierunt: Sed maior et magis indigna illa iniuria, quod loco eorum multa sunt suppo=sita adulterina monumenta, de qua iniuria testatur simul et quaeritur Arnobius, Tertullianus, qui Marcionis falsarias manus uocat. Epiphanius qui saepe quaeritur et in Ebione narrat quomodo Clementis libros corruperit.

XV Sed peruidit uetus Ecclesia fraudes istas impiorum, ideoque omnem curam cautionemque adhibuit, ut nostrae religionis libros canonicos ab Apocryptis discernerent. Hinc tot pseudoeuangelia reiecit, tot de Apostolis confictas fabulas repudiauit, tot etiam catalogos et indices Ecclesiasticorum monumentorum confecit.

XVI Valde dolendum est nostra quoque aetate, renatas esse et longe lateque sparsas multas naenias, apostolicis uiris impudenter inscriptas, ut sunt primorum paparum decretales epistolae, ex quibus putidis figmentis, Platina Sabellicus, Volaterranus, et Polydorus, ueteris illius aetatis ecclesiam describere conantur.

XVII Dolendum item est indies ex officinis alioqui nobi=lissimis prodi re suppositiția et impura scripta, ut sunt Iustini responsiones, quarum Eusebius et Hyeronimus non meminerunt, et tenebricosus Abdias, aniles fabulas continens.

f. 40r XVIII Cum ueteris Ecclesiae memoriam requirimus, non solum religiosi, sed et prope timidi, minime certe creduli esse debemus, et illud Epicharmi me minisse μέμνυσο ἀπιστεῖν

XIX In ipsis etiam optimis et clarissimis historicis, bonaeque fidei scriptoribus, occurrunt interdum fabulosa, quae caute ca=uenda et dijudicanda sunt, ut quod Epiphanius scribit Iustinum sub Adirano esse mortuum, cum uix dum esset annorum 30. Et quod Socrates scribit, Polycarpum temporibus Gordiani imperatoris martyrem fuisse.

XX Multa dijudicari possunt, an uera, falsaue sint, ex obser=uatione temporum, locorum et aliarum circumstantiarum

XXI Reiectis falsis testibus nihilominus adhuc multi boni supersunt, de quibus illud uetus dici possit: aut hoc testium satis, aut nescio quid sit satis.

XXII Vnicumque scriptori seu testi magis de sua aetate, deque rebus quas ipse quasi coram spectauit credendum est, quam de aliena.

XXIII Potest igitur ope istorum ducum seu testium aliqua univer=sae ecclesiae informatio colligi, nec deerit diligenti scriptori bona materia.

XXIIII Ego cum aliquid huiusmodi congessissem, existimaui totum opus in quindecim libros diuidendum, ut libris singulis singulae annorum centuriae darentur, sicut in singulis saeculis insignis aliqua mutatio cernitur.

XXV Singulorum porro librorum partitio erat, ut primum quaererem ecquis tum status fuisset rei publicae in cuius ueluti sinu coalescebat Ecclesia.

XXVI Statum illum ciuilem rerum publicarumque, partim ex historijs prophanis, partim ex illorum temporum legibus describebam. Nam id primum esse necesse intelligebam, ut quo iure, quaue conditione ecclesia eius loci temporisque fuisset recte intelligeretur.

XXVII Posterior libri pars debebat ipsius Ecclesiae statum propius contemplari, quae religionis doctrina, quae
f. 40v caeremoniarum forma singulis temporibus fuisset, ut sic in Ecclesiae tamquam animam, corpus ac faciem intuerer.

XXVIII In utroque gener quid rectum syncerumque esse uidebatur primum notabam. Deinde quid uiciosum, seu publice receptum, ut in corpore morbos atque etiam naeuos notare solemus.

XXIX Postea quae illius Ecclesiae certa mina fuissent, et quo modo illa sese domi forisque gessisset obseruabam, si quae quaestiones motae, si quae haereses ortae, si qua propter ea concilia coacta essent, si cum Iudaeis, si cum philosophis contentiones fuissent, et quae nam ac quales, discebam

XXX Postremo. Martyria ac certamina cum tyrannis describebam. Sic enim Ecclesiam ~~in~~ cum mundo Luctante intuebar.

XXXI Audiebam etiam prophanorum iudicia, ut Senecae, Plinij, Suetonij, Taciti, Plutarchi, Galeni, Luciani Vlpiani et similium, ex quibus multa haberi utilia possunt.

XXXII Cum Imperatores Christiani esse caeperunt, multa in suis constitutionibus de Ecclesia et rebus Ecclesiasticis apposuerunt. Multa ergo ex Theodosiano docide, et Iustiniani libris colligi possunt, quae alioque non habentur

XXXIII Circa quingentesimum et sexcentesimum domini annum, multa subsidia memoriae deesse incipiunt, et ueluti densa quaedam caligo oboritur, sed tamen codex Iustiniani, epistolae Gregorij et Sydonij multa suppeditare nobis possunt.

XXXV Circa 700 domini annum, denuo ecclesiae forma magis conspicitur, sed plane noua et pontificia, sublata penitus veteri, sicut et politiae prorsus alia ratio, alij hominies, alij mores succedunt. Bellici tumultus post 500 Domini annum Ecclesias in Britannia, Germania, et multis alijs locis delenerant, sicut et in Gallia

f. 41r XXXVI Post Caroli Magni tempora non perinde laboramus, aut in tenebris haeremus, multa enim monumenta eorum temporum habemus. Nec sane etiam aliqua insignis mutatio a Carolo usque ad nos accidit in Ecclesia

XXXVII Sicut autem tum uera in mea historia narrare cogitabam, sic etiam tantum ea quae alicuius momenti essent, omissis alijs leuibus et manibus.

XXXVIII Collatio quoque Iudaicae Ecclesiae quae ante Christum cum nostrae declinationibus multa mihi illustrabat, sicuti etiam politiae Romanae, nam et similitudo est multarum rerum

in Iudaismo, cum Ecclesia, et etiam diuinitus praeordinata significatio

XXXIX Sicut Polybius integrae historiae conscriptionem flagitat, eiusque perpetuam, ut appellat, ἀναπόκλωστον sibimet lucem afferre statuit: Sic et integra ecclesiasticae historiae horma semet ipsam illustrat.

XL Assert haec Ecclesiae historia religiosis animis longe maiorem oblectationem, si recte rem perpendant, quam prophanarum, politicarumque historiam lectio. Neque enim hac consideratione quicquam maius esse potest ad animos nostros, uel uera religione imbuendos, uel perpetua consolutione confirmandos, uel recto denique iudicio, et rerum diuinarum humanarumque iusta cognitione perfundendos.

XLI Verius Flaccus apud Aul. Gellium scribit, Historiam esse, quod ab eo, qui interfuerit, describitur. Et uero, si scriptor sit bonae fidei, ea demum bona certaque historia est. Verum proxime illa accedit, quae colligitur ex monumentis τῶν αὐτοπλῶν. Neque dubito, quin quantum fieri possit, hoc agatis, hacque fiducia opus hoc susceperitis.

XLII Suadeo ut uestram consultationem, Methodum et analysin aedatis, quoquam plurimos, ut uobis operam ferant alliciatis

At the head of the title is the date, in Wigand's hand, f. 39r:

Mense Iulio 1556

The work might have been titled later also. But the body of the text is an original holograph, in the hand of Balduinus. The verso of folio 41 has a secretarial copy of one of Balduinus' letters, and it is addressed to: CLARISS. VIRIS MART. COPO, IOH. WIGANDO. MATH. FLACCIO, GODES. PRAETORIO. & MATTH. IVDICI FRANCISCVS BALDVINVS S.D., that is, to the collegium.

Documents IV, 3.11

f. 257r

Consilium meum extemporate

In scribenda historia Ecclesiastica

Totum opus historicum secundum certos locos communes instituendum censeo, ita ut alter cum altero non confundatur. Sed inuicem sese consequantur secundum annorum seriem, et lector cuiusquam loci historiam sine impedimento reliquarum materiarum ab initio ad finem vsque perlegere et percurrere possit, hoc autem fiet meo iudicio, ~~et si~~ si certi vt determinati loci ab initio constitutam de doctrina in genere, quam de ritibus, cultibus, moribus, atque personis deinde politicibus praelatis &c exempli causa.

Item De doctrina christiana in genere a Christo vsque ad

quid apostolici docuerint. Huc referes quicquid circa dogmata a tempore Christi vsque in hunc diem populo propositum sit. Tam circa articulos fidei, quam circa Sacramenta. idque quam breuissime. Huc falsa quoque dogmata referes, adiuncta refuta[ta]

In quo consylio autem quibus error ille circa dogmata sit damnata Huc refer quo tempore coepeat doceri per suggestum. de purgatorio et de alijs imposturis. Item quod tempore Rabani quatuor omnia sacramenta in Ecclesia numerata fuerint, & huius modi alia.

Marginalia: ll. 9-11: Loci communes et sedes materiarum

ll. 14-16: remittendo tum lectores ad illum locum

The one-page opinion is blank on its verso, is undated, and is an autograph by Nidbruck. There is no context within the bound volume to help locate it in the collection. There are no references to the document in other papers of the Nidbruck epistolarium.

f. 33r

ELENCHVS
Institutarum mihj editionum magnarum et
praecipuarum circa praecipuas res et Thesauros
Ecclesiae

Vixit paulo ante Lutherj tempora in Collegio Issenacensj Vir sanctus Joannes Hiltenius, qui inter alia uaticinia (quorum passim in scriptis suis meminit Philippus) de paulo post subsequutura inclinatione Regni Pontificij, et et repurgatione Ecclesiae et Religionis (vt testatur Philippus in Apologia Confessionis Augustanae) uaticinium tale manu sua scripta reliquit: Anno D. 1516 fiet reformatio Clerj, et post haec triginta annis erit Regnum Christianorum. Jam si ab eo tempore, quo primum Lutherus papatus Idolomanias et uoce et scriptis conuellere coepit, a decenio septimo nimirum /anno/ post millesimum, et quigentesimum a Christo nato, anno triginta numeres/sequentes/ annos /adnumeres,/ ad quadragesimum sextum ferme, quo ipso curriculum suum sanctum clausit Lutherus, peruenies,
Breuj eo tempore curriculi Lutherj uere fuisse Regnum Christianorum, hoc est, Ecclesiae et Religionis statum florentissimum manifestius est, quam ut a quoque usi scelerate ingrato negarj possit. Quanta per Lutherum suae Ecclesiae contulerit beneficia, pro immensa sua misericordia et bonitate Deus, quis dicendo consequj potest? Luther/o/ eodem tempore, in repurgatione doctrinae et Ecclesiarum constitutione, fidelem adiutexit παραστατην

f. 33v

Clementissimum Deus D. Philip. Melanch: cuius itidem in Ecclesiam extant merita praeclarissima. Ex Lutherj deinde et Philippj schola magno numero prodierunt Virj doctrina et pietatis zelo praestantissimi, qui et ipsi viva uoce et scriptis Ecclesiam erudierunt. Dulcissimus tunc et pulcherrimus omnium in hisce ecclesijs quae amplexae sunt confessionem Augustanam, ducentium fuit consensus, dum Lutherj et Philip: uestigijs omnes fideliter insisterent, inter Lutherum uero et Philippum fraterna annorum esset coniunctio. Neque ullo alio tempore in Ecclesia prodierunt plura scripta, plena solidae, simplicis, planae et explicatae doctrinae, sine vixarum, logomachiarum sophismatum & labyrinthis, quam /eo/ et ipso tempore Regnj Christianorum, de quo & in uaticinio Hiltenij.

Ab eo nitore ex integritate in quantum deiectae sunt Ecclesiae nostrae, inde a felici ex hac aerumnosa uita commigratione partis Lutherj, quam cum gemitu et lachrymis non cognoscit? Ac fatendum sane est, tam procul ab ea integritate remotas nunc esse ecclesias nostras, ut uere de nostro illo Regno usurpare possimus Poeticum illud: Fuimus Troes. Omnibus itaque pijs, quos aliqua saltem tangit cura Religionis, ecclesiae, posteritatis, adnitendum est, ululam, de qua dixj, integritatem, ecclesiae nostrae cum postliminio

reducantur, defectus earum suppleantur, uulnera sanentur, Concordia ~~servietur~~ /sarciatur/. Ad hunc scopum ego meo loco sacros hosce labores cum instituterim sacrumque hoc ~~factum omnibus~~ /saxum/ multos nunc annos nocturna et diurna manu voluerim, reuoluerim: Spero meum hoc studium omnibus soiis et ~~uere~~ /recte/ judicantibus non improbatum irj. Pro autem filium Dej, custodem ecclesiae suae, ut ipse clementer sanet uulnera nostra, hisque sanctis laboribus per Spiritum suum benedicat: ut aliqua sibj grata, et ecclesiae eius salutaria fiant Amen. Amen.

f. 34r

Praecipuae classes Editionum

mearum praecipuarum.

1. Sacra Biblia Elenchum Biblicarum editionum habes infra seorsim Titulo talj.

2. Confessio Augustana.
   Confessio Augustana, eiusdemque Apologia et Repetitio cum Harmonia & uarietate editionum etc. Vide infra in historia et actis publicorum conuentuum, de religione contro= versa inter protestantes et Pontificios etc. Quae et sola Historia tota ad hanc classem pertinet.

3. Corpus doctrinae Catholicum in usum Ecclesiarum Confessionis Augustanae etc.
   Synopsin huius Corporis habes in sequentibus Titulo talj.

4. Confutatio Papatus, aliarumque sectarum, errorum, corruptelarum
   Editiones huc pertinentes habes in sequentibus seorsim titulo talj.

5. Constitutio Ecclesiae
   Editiones huc pertinentes habes in sequentibus seorsim titulo talj.

6. Postillae ordinariae
   Appendix ad Ecclesiasticam postillam Lutherj habens eius historiam
   Epanorthosim & complementum.
   Ecclesiasticae Postillae Lutherj nova et Catholica Editio habens Harmoniam Operationum postillarium Lutherj Tomi 2: German:

f. 34v

   Eiusdem operis Latina, quoque editio propter exteras nationes Tomis 2.
   Postilla ex scriptis synchrónῶν Lutherj, Regij, Pomeranj, Jonae, etc.
   Postilla ex concionibus tectissi: sigillatim editis, uiuo Luthero et post mortem eius.
   Postilla ex antiquitate Orthodoxa, Tomi duo, Vnus super Epistolas
   Alter super Evangeliae.

7. Mystica Theologi/a/
Magnum opus Mysticae Theologiae. Lat: et German:

8. Practica Theologi/a/.
Magnum opus: Militia hominis super ~~eertam~~ /terram/: et in eo Antidotum aduersus omnis generis tentationes etc. Lati: & Germa:

9. Antiquitas Orthodoxa.
Thesaurus Locorum communium. seu Corpus doctrinae, ex antiquitate orthodoxa. Tomis 3.
Vnus ex Graecis scriptoribus
Vnus ex solo Augustino
Vnus ex reliquis Latinis scriptoribus.
De Postilla ex patribus supra classe 6.

10. Bibliotheca Regni Christianorum, in quam ueniunt scripta Lutherj, Philippj, et Synchrónõn
Jn sequentibus titulo tali.

11. Historia.
Historia ecclesiae
Historia miraculosa nouissimj seculj: in sequentibus titulo talj.

12. Scholia:
Schola seu Consilium informandae iuventutis: formandorum in Jtem studiorum in --- artium, disciplinandum, linquarum genere:

f. 35r Constituendarum denique scholarum universalium & particularium etc.
Historia et acta Academiarum aliarumque scholarum Christianarum, seu repurga/tae/ religionis.
Encyclopedia Willichiana, Tomo integro.

13. Germania
Jmperium et libertas Germaniae. Latin. & Germa.
Farrago seu Syntagma Reformationum /Ordinationum/ et constitutionum politicarum in Germania. Tomus aliquot
Florilegium Germaniae Poesearum.

14. Patria Borussia.
Historia acta Controversiae Osiandricae, Vide infra inter editiones Elenc/ticas/ aduersus Papatum, et alias sectas.
Miscellanea rerum Prutenicarum Lat. & Germa.
Commentaria rerum Prutenicarum Lat. et Germa.
De Encyclopedia Willichaiana supra classe 12^{a}.

15. Mixtae et uariae editiones.
Duo tomj selectarum orationum seu declarationum recentium, praeter Vitebergenses, quae ante id extant.
Duo tomj selectarum thesium ad disputationes circulares propositatarum, aliarumque. Vnus tomus sacrarum, alter profanarum.
Intimationum in Academijs propositarum ex magno acerno selectarum, Tomus integer.
Praefationum recentium selectarum Epler Lutheranas et

f. 35v Philippicas de quibus infra [B]ibliotheca Regni Christianorum Tomj duo, Vnus sacrarum Alte[r]anarum.

Partitionum et schematum selectorum Tomj duo Vnus sacrarum profanarum.

The writing of the entire piece (ff. [1]-80v: Editiones I [2 Alt 14942]) is in a large, legible secretarial hand; [c]orrections are in the hand of Andreas Stangwald. The parts of the en[t]ork, of which only the introduction is transcribed here, are in lettered [p]arts, "A" to "K". The titles and foliation are:

A ff. 33r-36v (f. 36, blank): [Pra]ef. Elenchus...(the full text transcribed above.

B ff. 37r-38v: Biblicae Editiones [i]nstitutae

C ff. 39r-50v (f. 39v and 50v, bla[nk]): CORPVS DOCTRINAE CATHOLICVM | Ecclesiarum Augustanae Confes[sio]nis | Ad ueram, solidam, et salutem [om]nium Concordi= | am praesentis [et] posteritatis.
f. 45ff. is the fourth part[i]s further subdivided into
(1) Methodus doctrinae [tra]duta breuissime comprehensa....
(2) Confutatio errorum [et] corruptarum doctrinae sparsarum in Ecclesiae
(3) ...ratio Concordi[ae]
Ratio consilij.

D ff. 51r-56r (f. 56v, blank): Co[n]cilio Papatus aliarum heresi= | um sectarum, errorum et corru[p]tarum | doctrinae....(f. 51r).
Consilium de conscribendo [Ca]tholico | Theologiae Papistarum (f. 55r).

E ff. 57^1r-65^2v (ff. 57^1v, 57^2r-w, 59^2r, 65^1v, 65^2r-v, blank):
PAPA EXARMATVS | Rationes [e]sae cur oporteret primo | quoque tempore aliquod justum vo[l]| in defensionem nostrae doctrinae religio= | nisque & oppugnem Papisticae evulgari (f. 58r).
Forma aut delineatio plen[a]is in | defensionem verae & oppugnationem | falsae religionis [d]iciendi (f. 59^2v).
[This section was interlea[v]ed extensively reworked; the final result was not, however, [c]opied.]

F ff. 66r-67v: Ad CONSTITVTIONEM [Ec]clesiasticarum | pertinentes Editiones.

G ff. 68r-71v: Bibliotheca Regn[a]litianorum, in | quam veniunt scripta: | 1. Lutheri | 2. Philippi [Sy]nchrónōn Lutheri & Philippi

H ff. 72r-74v: HISTORICAE Editio[n]hi institutae

I ff. 75r-76v: Historia & Acta [Co]rum Conuentum | de religione controversa inter protestantes [P]ontificios, ~~deque~~ /seu/ articulis Confessionis Au | gustanae[C]mis aliud distributa.

K ff. 77r-80v: APOLOGETICA | D. ij | etc.

f. 80v: Andreae Stangwaldus | bende Editiones | Pfarrei wolffb. | 28 Maij 1584.