The Yoke of Christ:
Martin Bucer and Christian Discipline

The Frank S. and Elizabeth D. Brewer Prize Essay of the American Society of Church History
The Yoke of Christ:
Martin Bucer and Christian Discipline

Amy Nelson Burnett
Volume XXVI
Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies
This book has been brought to publication with the generous support of Northeast Missouri State University

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The yoke of Christ: Martin Bucer and Christian discipline / Amy Nelson Burnett.
p. cm. — (Sixteenth century essays & studies ; v. 26)
“The Frank S. and Elizabeth D. Brewer prize essay of the American Society of Church History”
Includes bibliographical references and index.
I. Title. II. Series.
BV740.B87 1994 93–47542
262.9'84'092—dc20 CIP

Copyright© 1994 by Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, Inc., Kirksville, Missouri. All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any format by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher. Printed in the United States of America.

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American Standard for Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials Z39.48, 1984.
Contents

List of Abbreviations ................................................. vii
Acknowledgments ....................................................... xi
Introduction .............................................................. 1
1 Penance, Discipline, and the Reformation ....................... 9
2 The Theological Foundations: Penance, Church Discipline,
and the Power of the Keys, 1523–1530 ......................... 26
3 The Effect of Experience: Church Discipline
and Church Order, 1531–1534 .................................... 55
4 The Power of the Keys, Christian Discipline,
and “True Pastoral Care,” 1535–1538 ......................... 87
5 Christian Discipline in Confrontation
with Catholic Theology, 1539–1549 ......................... 122
6 Christian Discipline and the Attempted Reformation
of Cologne, 1542–1545 ........................................ 143
7 A Prophet without Honor? Bucer and Christian Discipline
in Strasbourg, 1539–1546 ........................................ 163
8 The “Christian Fellowships” in Strasbourg, 1546–1549 .... 180
9 The Ministry of Discipline in England, 1549–1551 ........... 208
Conclusion ............................................................ 217
Bibliography .......................................................... 225
Index ................................................................. 237
Abbreviations


ARG Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte.

AST Archives du Chapitre de Saint-Thomas, in the Archives Municipales of Strasbourg.

BCor Correspondence de Martin Bucer. Martini Buceri Opera Omnia, Series III. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979–.


viii  The Yoke of Christ


RP  Ratsprotokolle. Minutes of the Rat und XXI in the Archives Municipales of Strasbourg.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviations</th>
<th>ix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td><em>Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke</em>. Ed. E. Egli et al. Corpus Reformatorum 88–. Berlin/Leipzig/Zürich, 1905–.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgments

This book could not have been written without the support of both individuals and institutions. It began as a dissertation under the guidance of Robert Kington at the University of Wisconsin; both as his student and since, I have benefited greatly from his sage counsel. A year spent at the Bucer-Forschungsstelle in Münster not only increased my familiarity with Bucer’s works but also enabled me to profit from the expertise of Marijn de Kroon and Hartmut Rudolph. Dr. de Kroon’s careful reading of an earlier draft of the manuscript helped enormously in the process of revision. In Strasbourg, Jean Rott graciously helped me decipher the nearly illegible minutes of the Strasbourg City Council sessions and pointed out other documents in the Archives municipales of Strasbourg which were pertinent to my research. The staffs of the Archives municipales and the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire in Strasbourg, as well as those of the Staatsarchiv Zürich, the Zentralbibliothek Zürich, and the Basel Universitätsbibliothek were always extremely helpful and very efficient in making the resources of their institutions available to me. In this country, Terrance Dinovo, curator of the Lutheran Brotherhood Foundation Reformation Research Library, has worked with the interlibrary loan staff of Love Library at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln to provide me with microforms of Bucer’s works.

The original research for this book was supported in part by a Fulbright-Hays fellowship and a Charlotte W. Newcombe Dissertation Fellowship. I would also like to thank both the Oecolampad-Stiftung of Basel, Switzerland, which helped underwrite the original dissertation, and the Brewer Prize Committee of the American Society of Church History, whose award of the Brewer Prize in 1991 has helped make publication of this book possible.

Last but certainly not least, my husband, Stephen, has been an invaluable critic, willing sounding board, and patient proofreader since I first began work on Bucer. Without his support this book would not have been written. Katy and Daniel have helped in their own way as well, by reminding me that there is more to life than Reformation scholarship. To the three of them I dedicate this book.
Matthew 18:15-20

15Moreouer, if thy brother shall trespasse against thee, goe and tell him his fault betwene thee and him alone; if he shall heare thee, thou hast gained thy brother.

16But if he will not heare thee, then take with thee one or two or more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, euery word may be established.

17And if he shall neglect to heare them, tell it unto the Church: But if he neglect to heare the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man, and a Publicane.

18Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall bee bound in heauen: and whatsoeuer yee shall loose on earth, shall bee loosed in heauen.

19Againe I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall aske, it shall bee done for them of my father which is in heauen.

20For where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them.

—Holy Bible—1611 Edition, King James Version
Introduction

Near the end of his life, the exiled reformer Martin Bucer expressed his fervent prayer that the Strasbourg church "would willingly accept [the Lord's] most easy yoke, i.e. his discipline, without which the church will certainly not be able to last." The "discipline of Christ," he continued, consisted in this,

that all the members of Christ recognize and embrace each other most intimately and lovingly, and that they build one another up in the knowledge of and obedience to the son of God most zealously and efficaciously, and that the ministers of the churches know, care for and tend the individual sheep of Christ, as the chief pastor Christ set the example. . . . In countless places in Scripture, the Lord described and set forth for us this [discipline] which we also have proclaimed so clearly for so many years in life and writings and sermons.¹

Bucer had indeed devoted much of his life, writings, and sermons to establishing a system of discipline in Strasbourg and elsewhere which he believed would conform to the teaching of Scripture. The system of Christian discipline which he advocated was much broader than simply the punishment of sinners.² As his words imply, discipline was the means by which the entire life of each and every Christian was shaped and guided. It included not only excommunication but contained other elements, such as catechetical instruction and confirmation, which together formed an integrated system for religious instruction, moral oversight, and pastoral care. The goal of this system was the internalization of religious values and moral norms which would ultimately lead to a new, Christian society whose members lived in accordance with evangelical teachings.

Bucer’s understanding of Christian discipline, like other aspects of his theology, evolved over the course of his career. It grew out of certain fundamental theological convictions expressed in his earliest writings, but it was also shaped by his long experience as pastor, teacher, and church organizer. From childhood he was exposed to two powerful intellectual currents, humanism and the teachings of Thomas

¹CO 13:237–238 (no. 1177, April 26, 1549).
²For this reason I use the phrase "Christian discipline" to describe Bucer’s system and limit "church discipline" to the measures applied by the church specifically for the correction of sinners.
Aquinas, which would shape his later thought. Born in 1491, Bucer probably attended the famous Latin school in his home city of Schlettstadt (Sélestat) in Alsace before entering the Dominican order at the age of fifteen. As a Dominican friar he was thoroughly grounded in Thomist theology, but he retained his early humanist interests and was an avid admirer of Erasmus. A list of books in his possession in 1518 includes most of the works of the Dutch humanist along with Thomas' *Summa Theologiae*, his commentary on the *Sentences*, and several of his commentaries on Aristotle.

Bucer's encounter with Martin Luther started the young Dominican down a new path. In April 1518, Bucer attended Luther's disputation at the University of Heidelberg; he enthusiastically described both the disputation and his subsequent meeting with Luther in a letter to Beatus Rhenanus written a few days later. Bucer's staunch support for Luther made his position within the Dominican order untenable, and in the spring of 1521 he obtained papal dispensation from his religious vows. He served briefly as chaplain to the Count-Palatine Friedrich, then became a parish pastor in territory under the jurisdiction of Franz von Sickingen. During this time he testified to his evangelical convictions by marrying Elisabeth Silbereisen, a former nun. In early 1523 Bucer took the post of evangelical preacher in the small city of Wissembourg and remained there until May, when he was forced to flee after von Sickingen's defeat and death. He took refuge in Strasbourg, where his father was a citizen.

In the months following his arrival in Strasbourg, Bucer published his first works—a summary of what he had preached at Wissembourg, a self-defense in response to charges brought against him by the bishop of Strasbourg, and a pamphlet entitled, *That No One Should Live for Himself but for Others, and How We May Attain This*. The pamphlet reflected not only Bucer's commitment to the evangelical message of justification by faith alone, but also his deep concern for the responsibility of
each Christian for others. “God has created all things according to his will,” the treatise began, and “because he has created us and all creatures so that his goodness becomes known, . . . we, his creatures, should be of service to him in the administration of his goodness. That is, each created being is to serve all others for good with all that God has made and given it.”7 The original harmony of the created order was broken by sin, but through faith in Christ it could be restored. As a consequence of this restoration, “we serve and accede to God gladly in all acts of love towards our neighbors, which he has demanded above all from his people. Because we are ourselves saved as children and heirs of God, it is certain that we will suffer no lack here and in the future life; we also have this requirement to serve our brothers in all true and unadulterated love from faith.”8 Bucer’s emphasis on love for one’s neighbor and the responsibility of each Christian to serve others remained a hallmark of his theology, and it played a central role in his understanding of Christian discipline.9

Bucer quickly became involved in the turmoil of events which led to Strasbourg’s acceptance of the Reformation. In the spring of 1524, the parishioners of St. Aurelien chose him as their pastor in a landmark case which resulted in the city council’s assuming control of pastoral appointments in the city. Over the next several years Bucer became the unofficial leader of the Strasbourg church. During the early years of the Reformation, he directed his energies against the remnants of Catholic worship in Strasbourg. Although the city was essentially Protestant by 1525, the mass continued to be read in the collegiate churches until, after years of petitioning by the pastors, the magistrate finally abolished it in 1529. In the meantime a new threat had arisen in the form of various Anabaptist and sectarian groups which had spread to the city. Bucer attacked the positions held by these radicals both in popular pamphlets and in the biblical commentaries he published during the later 1520s. Gradually he became convinced that the city’s church needed an officially recognized creed and a fixed institutional structure in order to withstand the challenges posed by the radicals. Accordingly, he helped direct the Strasbourg synod of 1533, which resulted in the city’s first ecclesiastical ordinance.

Bucer’s importance for the Strasbourg church was reflected by the positions he held within it. In 1531 he was appointed pastor of St. Thomas, a large and important parish church in the center of Strasbourg, whose college of canons was the only one in the city to accept the Reformation. Ten years later he was elected to the chapter of St. Thomas, and in 1544 he was chosen as its dean. That same year his place as leader of the Strasbourg church was officially recognized when he was named president of the Kirchenkonvent, the body of pastors and assistants which met biweekly to discuss the needs of the church.

7BDS 1:45.13, 29–46.4; cf. Greschat’s description of the work, Martin Bucer, 68–70.
8BDS 1:63.1–10.
Outside of Strasbourg Bucer became known for his role in the eucharistic controversy which dominated the 1520s. Although his earliest works reveal his debt to Luther, the outbreak of the controversy made Bucer aware of his affinities with Ulrich Zwingli through the common bond of Erasmian humanism. In works published during the 1520s Bucer upheld the Swiss interpretation of the sacrament against the Lutherans. Nevertheless he was convinced that agreement on the issue of the Lord’s Supper was possible. In 1529 he attended the meeting at Marburg between Luther and Zwingli, and after obtaining Luther’s grudging consent at the time of the Diet of Augsburg, he devoted himself to bringing about a reconciliation of the two parties. His efforts finally achieved partial success in the signing of the Wittenberg Concord in 1536.

Bucer’s theology was thus elaborated in response to Catholic, Anabaptist, and Lutheran positions, and his interaction with these different groups led to a significant evolution of his own views. This evolution is best demonstrated by his changing conception of the relationship between internal and external. In his earliest writings Bucer stressed the internal working of the Holy Spirit on the individual believer and criticized external rituals and practices as useless or even harmful because they promoted reliance on one’s works. He also emphasized the spiritual and invisible nature of the church as opposed to the institutional and visible structure defended by Catholic theologians. The dichotomy of internal/spiritual and external/institutional affected other areas of Bucer’s theology as well, including his understanding of the sacraments. However, the extreme spiritualism of many of the Anabaptists he encountered during the later 1520s caused Bucer to rethink his position and to place more emphasis on the link between external sign and internal significance. His growing rapprochement with the Lutherans on the issue of the Lord’s Supper during the early 1530s both made possible and was a result of his increased appreciation of the concept of sacramentality. The greater importance which Bucer was willing to grant to external actions had implications for his system of Christian discipline.

By the mid-1530s Bucer was one of the most prominent Protestant churchmen in Germany. The Strasbourg magistrate relied on his theological expertise at meetings of the Schmalkaldic League and at several imperial diets, while Landgraf Philip of Hesse came to regard him as one of his most trusted advisors. During the 1540s Bucer worked actively to reunite the German church, representing the Protestant side at the religious colloquies held between 1539 and 1541. His support for concord led to an invitation from the Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann von Wied, to participate in the reformation of the territories under his secular jurisdiction. Despite the eventual failure of the Cologne reformation, Bucer continued to advocate the reform.

10 The importance to Bucer of his pairing of internal and external, especially in his early years, is discussed in most studies of his theology; see especially Johannes Müller, Martin Bucers Hermeneutik, Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte 32 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1965), 169–178; René Bornert, La réforme protestante du culte à Strasbourg au XVIe siècle (1523–1598): Approche sociologique et interprétation théologique, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 306–322.
and reconciliation of the entire German church, publishing pamphlets and participating in colloquies until the outbreak of the Schmalkaldic War in 1546. With the defeat of the Protestants and the imposition of the Augsburg Interim, Bucer was forced to leave Strasbourg. He went to England at the invitation of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and was appointed Regius Professor of theology at Cambridge. The constant theme of his preaching and teaching there was the need for discipline.

A topic so central to Bucer’s theology as discipline has frequently been discussed in more general studies of the reformer’s life and thought. At the turn of this century August Lang drew attention to the evolution of Bucer’s theology, including his understanding of the church’s ministry and the power of the keys as reflected in the three editions of his commentary on the Gospels. Some three decades later Jaques Courvoisier published his study on the development of Bucer’s ecclesiology which highlighted the important place Bucer gave to church discipline in his mature theology. Most recently, Willem van’t Spijker has discussed the power of the keys and church discipline as important elements in Bucer’s understanding of church office. Because these works have examined Bucer’s views on discipline in the context of a larger topic, whether his theology as a whole, his ecclesiology, or his view of the ministry, they have not been able to give the reformer’s understanding of discipline as much attention as it clearly deserves.

Erich Roth, in Die Privatbeichte und die Schlüsselgewalt in der Theologie der Reformator, has considered one element of Bucer’s system of Christian discipline more directly. Roth’s book focuses primarily on Luther and includes shorter sections on the Swiss reformers Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and Bullinger, and on Bucer and Calvin. His analysis of Bucer’s understanding of confession and the power of the keys, based on two works from the later 1530s, presents only a partial picture of the Strasbourg reformer’s views. Roth does not discuss how Bucer’s ideas developed before 1536, nor does he show how they continued to evolve during the 1540s. This is a significant shortcoming, given the extent to which Bucer’s views on Christian discipline changed over time. Moreover, Roth’s analysis of Bucer is severely hampered by his use of Luther’s theology as the standard against which all else is measured. Bucer and Calvin are depicted as taking the “middle ground” between Saxony and Switzerland, but Bucer receives a fair amount of criticism for not having attained the enlightenment of Luther with regard to the power of the keys and private absolution.

13 De Ambten bij Martin Bucer, 2d ed. (Kampen: Kok, 1987), passim.
14 Erich Roth, Die Privatbeichte und die Schlüsselgewalt. . . (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1952.)
15 Roth uses extracts from the third edition of Bucer’s Gospels commentary published in 1536 and from the 1538 treatise Von der waren Seelsorge contained in a nineteenth-century collection of loci communi drawn from the writings of the reformers.
Bucer, Martin (continued)
theological evolution of, 46, 120–21, 151, 216–17
works of, 26, 40, 87
Bericht auß der heyligen geschrift, 72, 78–80
Bestendige Verantwortung, 151–62
catechisms
1534, 80–81
1537, 104–5
1543, 170–73
Strasbourg (1534), 72
commentaries
Gospels (1536), 88–96
John (1528), 45
Psalms 1529, 40–44
Regensburg colloquy (1541), 132
Second Gospels (1530), 45
Concilium theologicum, 127–29
De Regno Christi, 208–9, 213
Defensio adversus axioma catholicum, 72–73, 77
Der neue glaub, von den Doctoren zu Louen . . . fargegeben, 136–37
Die andere Vertetigung und erklärung der Christlichen Lehren, 145–46
Furbersetzung zum Concilio, 72–77
"On the Christian Ban," 59–62
Quid de baptismate infantium iuxta scripturas Dei sentiendum, 72, 78
Ratio examinationis canonicae, 168–70
Sixteen Articles, 67–68
"A Summary of the Christian Doctrine and Religion Taught in Strasbourg over the Last 28 Years," 207
Von der Kirchen mengel unnd fähl, 181–87
Von der waren Seelsorge (1538), 105–13
miscellaneous (1544–1545), 134–35
in England, 211
instruction in, 60, 66, 68, 84, 99–101, 164, 191, 214
Catechumens, 66, 69–70, 117, 214, 219–20
Catholic church
 ceremonies of, 127–28
in Cologne, 151–62
 corruption in, 159
 criticism of, 224
 discipline in, 9–18
 doctrine of, 26, 122–23, 152
 and the early church, 133
 reconciliation with, 122–42
Ceremonies, 127–28, 210
Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, 137
Children, See also Confirmation
discipline of, 99–100
instruction of, 115–16, 147
and the Lord’s Supper, 84
Christ, 138, 145
Christian fellowships, See Fellowships, Christian
Christians, definition of, 64–65
Christliche und Catholische Gegenberichtung, 151–62
Church fathers, See also Early church
authority of, 89–90
on binding and loosing sins, 94
and confession, 154
influence of, 126–27, 150, 152–53, 156–57, 218–19
practices of, 123–24, 130
Church membership, 29, 39, 64–65
City councils, See also Ordinances
authority of, 190
in Basel, 57
and excommunication, 160, 162
punishment of sins by, 109
responsibilities of, 105–6
role in church discipline, 196
in Strasbourg, 66, 72
authority of, 164–67, 175
and clergy, 72, 166–67, 192–94
disciplinary measures of, 99–101, 163–64, 192
and fellowships, 188, 202, 206–7
and the Kirchenpfleger, 173–74, 176
and morals, 176–77
in Ulm, 61
Clergy
Catholic, 90
Protestant, See Pastors
Colloquies
at Hagenau, 127
at Leipzig, 124–25
at Regensburg, 129–33
at Worms, 127
The Colloquium, 88
Cologne, 143–60, 162

Commentaries
See under Bucer, Martin, works of
Communion, See Excommunication; Lord’s Supper; Precommunion examination
Conciliation, See Reconciliation
Concilium theologicum, 127–29
Concordia Sacri Ministerij (1542), 167
Confessio Tetrapolitana, 50–53, 67–68, 77
Confession, See also Penance, 40–42, 53

and absolution, 183
auricular
    criticism of, 18–20, 27, 46, 76
    Erasmus on, 18–19
    functions of, 17–18
    history of, 13–25
    illegitimacy of, 32
    as indoctrination, 15–17
    and Lutheranism, 18–20, 22–23
    Oecolampadius on, 20
    priestly procedures in, 15
    rationale for, 14
    benefits of, 140
    and catechization, 161
    and the church fathers, 154
    and civic ceremonies, 194
    criticism of, 21
    definition of, 35
    and divine law, 43
    and education, 44–45, 85, 93, 139, 155
    in England, 211
    Erasmus on, 18–19, 49
    and faith, 214
    and the Lord’s Supper, 13, 22–23, 148
    mandatory, 48–51, 97, 161
    and politics, 223
    private, 19, 40–41, 47–48, 220
    mandates for, 42–43
    versus public, 20–21, 212
    purposes of, 44, 154–55
    voluntary, 44–45
    Protestant replacement for, 100
    public, 20–21, 212
    purposes of, 41, 44, 146, 154–55
    rationale for, 126
    at the Regensburg colloquy, 129–30
Confession (continued)
sacramentality of, 153–54
of secret sins, 83, 139
and sin, 94, 184
in Strasbourg, 48–52
teaching role of, 85
in theologies compared
    Catholic/Protestant, 92–93, 129–30, 153–54
    Protestant/Protestant, 9–10, 21–22, 45–46, 85
types of, 31–32
    value of, 53
    voluntary, 44–45, 49–51, 83–84, 97, 161

Confession, Augsburg, 51
Confession of Faith, 102–3
Confessionalization, 223
Confessors, 41–42, 44, 51
Confessors’ manuals, 15
Confirmation, 79, 84
    ceremony for, 219–20
    of children, 103, 115–16, 147–48
    in Christian fellowships, 189
    content of, 140
    criticisms of, 136
    defense of, 145–46, 166
    in the early church, 182
    examination for, 147–48
    as expression of obedience, 172–73
    instruction for, 126
    and the Lord’s Supper, 165
    origin of, 138–40
    prerequisites for, 128, 147–48
    public, 178
    role of, 213–14
    sacramentality of, 129, 154
    Scriptural basis of, 166
    in Strasbourg, 103, 120, 165, 178
Conformity, 16, 18
The Constitution, 99
Contrition, 11, 35
Courts, ecclesiastical, 160

D
De Regno Christi, 208–9, 213
Defensio adversus axioma catholicum, 72–73, 77
Der neue glaub, von den Doctoren zu Louen . . . Jurtegeben, 136–37
Die ander Verteydigung und erklärung der Christli-chen Lehr, 145–46
Diet of Augsburg, 49–50, 53, 137
Diet of Worms, 134
Discipline, Christian, See also Confession; Penance
  administrators of, 105
  and church reform, 38
  commissions overseeing, 99–101
  conceptions of, 1, 3–4
  conformity in, 56–58
  congregational role in, 53
  definition of, 210
  in the early church, 59
  in England, 209, 211–12
  establishment of, 217
  in German cities, See individual cities
  importance of, 172
  ordinances for, See Ordinances, disciplinary
  principles of, 61
  procedures explained, See also Ordinances, disciplinary, 36–38, 81–82, 115–20, 194–95
  for Bonn, 144–45
  for England, 211–12
  for Strasbourg, 185–86
  rationale for, 214, 218
  secular responsibility for, 7, 196
  source of, 39
  in Strasbourg, 99
  defense of, 199
  lack of, 173
  procedures explained, 185–86
  voluntary nature of, 168, 178–79, 185–86
  studies of, 5–7
  systems compared, 39, 222
  types of, 171
  voluntary nature of, 168, 178–79, 185–86, 217
Dominican order, 2
Duns Scotus, John, 11–12, 14

E
Early church, See also Church fathers
  appeal to practices of, 135–36
  and the Catholic church, 133
  confession in, 20
  confirmation in, 133, 166
  discipline in, 133, 212
  imposition of hands in, 219
  in the Leipzig articles, 125–26
  practices of, 123–24, 130
Ecclesiastical orders, 168
Education, See Instruction
Elders, 81, 119, 185–86, 194

England, 208–16
Erasmus, Desiderius, 18–19, 43–44, 49
Eucharist, See Lord’s Supper; Precommunion examination; Excommunication
Evangelical church, 176, 181–83, 208–9
Exclusion, Christian, See Ban; Excommunication
Excommunication, See also Ban; Lord’s Supper, 6, 10, 12, 18, 36–38, 53, 114, 221–22
abuses of, 165
  and admonition, 169–70, 221
  anathema and, 159
  in Basel, 56–57
  and civil punishment, 222
  in Cologne, 149, 161
  conditions of, 82
  criteria for, 64
  criticism of, 154
  as deterrent to sin, 183
  in England, 215
  in fellowships, 194–95
  in Hesse, 117–18
  history of, 12–13
  and imperial law, 160
  of individuals, 110–11
  major, 162, 222
  Oecolampadius on, 56
  and ostracism, 110–11, 159, 221
  penalties of, 161–62
  and penance, 110
  procedures for, 117–18
  public, 57, 117–18
  rejection of, 28–29
  secular and spiritual, 158, 160
  in Strasbourg, 56, 70–71, 218
  temporary, 159
  in theologies compared, 39, 157–60
  types of, 12–13, 158–59
  in Ulm, 59–62
  and Zwingli, 23–24

F
Fagius, Paul, 204–5
Faith, 89
Fathers of the church, See Church fathers
Felinus, Aretius, 40
Fellowships, Christian, 180–207
  administration of, 196, 203
  Catholic tendencies of, 196
  duties of members of, 203
  enrollment in, 187, 189, 203
  establishment of, 192, 201
Fellowships, Christian (continued)
evolution of, 204–6
excommunication in, 194–95
failure of, 202, 207
gatherings of, 190–91, 204–6
implementation of, 188
lay gatherings of, 198–200
limitations of, 206
and Lutheranism, 205
meetings of, 195, 198–201
political tendencies of, 202
purity of, 198
rationale for, 188–90, 193–94
role of, 220
secular parallels to, 189
structure of, 185–87
suspension of, 192–94
theology of, 202–3
voluntary, 203
Forgiveness. See also Confession; Discipline; Penance; Sins, binding and loosing, 89
and power of the keys, 96–97
and scholasticism, 11–12
in Strasbourg, 104
Furkereyung zum Concilio, 72–77
G
Gatherings, 204–6
Geneva, 206
Godparents, 165, 167
Government. See also City council, 112–13, 149
Gratian, 14
Gropper, Johannes, 144, 151–60
Guilt, 16, 18
H
Hammann, Gottfried, 6–7
Hedio, Kaspar, 199
Hesse, 113–20, 203
confirmation in, 120
excommunication in, 117–18
lay and pastors in, 119
Households, 186, 212–13
I
Imposition of hands, 135, 147, 153, 219
Instruction
absolution as, 184
catechetical, 104, 147, 161, 191
of children, 84, 115–16
in Christian fellowships, 188–89
in church doctrine, 15
Instruction (continued)
and confession, 44–45, 85, 93, 139, 155
for confirmation, 126
fellowship gatherings as, 205
function of, 213
and the Lord’s Supper, 60, 80, 164
opposition to, 201
precommunion examination as, 148
in Strasbourg, 66, 99–102, 104, 191
Interim, Augsburg, 137–40, 202, 207
Irenicism, 44–46
K
Kassel, 116
Keys, power of
in catechism of 1534, 81
and Christian fellowships, 181
and the church, 104, 217
and congregations, 37
and discipline, 61, 112–13
and forgiveness, 96–97
interpretations of, 28, 30–31, 53, 105
pastors’ possession of, 50, 94–95
and penitential discipline, 107
role of, 77
and scholastic theology, 73–74
in Strasbourg, 182
in Tetrapolitan Confession, 77
theological evolution of, 90–92, 97
in theologies compared
Catholic/Protestant, 155
Protestant/Protestant, 21–22, 31, 85, 96–97
Kingdom of Christ, 208–9
Kirchenkonvent, 3, 66, 71
Kirchenpfleger, 66–67, 69–72, 85–86
authority of, 177, 191–92, 197
duties of, 193–94
and pastors, 174, 176
responsibilities of, 67, 69, 167, 174, 185–86, 206
role of, 173–74
summoning by, 174–75, 197
Kniebis, Claus, 174
L
Laisy
Christian discipline among, 134, 209, 223–24
in fellowships, 196, 198–99
responsibilities of, 81–82, 119
supervision of, 69
Lateran Council, Fourth, 13–14
Law, 43, 160
Leipzig, 124–25
Leipzig articles, 125–27
Lombard, Peter, 14
Lord’s Supper, See also Excommunication; Precommunion examination
abstention from, 63–64
admission requirements for, See also Precommunion examination, 68, 165, 167–68, 215
and adultery, 23–24
benefits of, 150–51
and confession, 13, 22, 148
elements of, 88–89
exclusion from, 23–24, 28–29, 178
in Hesse, 118
importance of, 170
instructions for, 60
rules governing, 164–65
in Strasbourg, 164–65, 178, 182
views on, 4
Wittenberg Concord interpretation of, 87
Lutherans
and authority of pastors, 95
and confession, See under Confession, auricular
and fellowships, 205
precommunion examination of, 23, 101–2
in Strasbourg, 101–2, 205
theology of, 97–98
M
Magistrate, See City council
Manifest sin, 148, 158
Manuals, Confessors’, 15
Marsilien, Jakob Wetzel von, 174
Melanchthon, Philip, 123, 130, 147
Memminger Articles, 58–59
Ministers, See Pastors
Ministers of Christian Discipline, 59, 61
Moral code, 176–77
Münster, 78
O
Obedience, See also Discipline, 172–73, 219–20
Oecolampadius, Johannes, 20, 56
Omnis utriusque sexus, 13–14
Ordinances
disciplinary
in Basel, 58–59
in Cologne, 143, 146–62
in Hesse, 113–20
in Strasbourg, 68–72, 85, 99
in Ulm, 61–62, 70
in Ziegenhain, 113–20
liturgical, 116
Ostracism, 13, 82
and excommunication, 110–11, 159, 221
limits of, 56
and the Lord’s Supper, 117
of repentant sinners, 161–62
in Strasbourg, 176, 179
P
Parents, 100–101
Parishes, 189, 191
Parishioners, 102–3
Pastoral care, 105–13
Pastors
advice to, 64–65
corruption of, 42, 109
in Hesse, 119
and power of the keys, 94–95, 155
qualities of, 95
responsibilities of, 63, 66, 69, 71, 74, 80, 95–96, 110, 155, 209–12
counseling, 83
in Hesse, 119
in Strasbourg, 102, 163–65, 185
roles of, 21, 46–47, 50, 75, 98, 161–62
in Strasbourg
authority of, 164–67, 177–79, 191
and the city council, 192–94
complaints and requests of, 99–100
and the Kirchenpfleger, 174
religious instruction by, 101
responsibilities of, 102, 163–65, 185
supervision of, 66–67
in theologies compared, 95
views of, 217–18
Patriarchs, See Church fathers
Patriarchy, 195–96
Patristic church, See Early church
Pedagogy, See Instruction
Penance, See also Confession; Discipline administration of, 109
in Bonn, 146
Catholic, 10–11, 75–76
Index

Penance (continued)
- church fathers and, 152
  - in Cologne, 161
- criticism of, 34, 75–76, 108, 136
- defense of, 146
  - as discipline, 107–10
- evolution of, 11
- in fellowships, 195
- functions of, 9
- history of, 10–12
  - in the Leipzic articles, 125–26
  - in the medieval church, 220
- necessity of, 112
- oversight of, 108
- private, 11, 107–9, 161
- public, 10–11, 107–9, 161, 169–70
  - in the Regensburg Book, 129–30
- role of, 139
- sacramentality of, 27, 52–53, 153–54
- in Scripture, 106–7, 153–54
- severity of, 108
  - in theologies compared, 72–77, 157
- use of, 10–11
- Penitents, requirements of, 15–16
- Politics, See also City councils, 202, 223
- Power of the keys, See Keys, power of
  - Precommunion examination, 52, 52 n. 86, 79–80
    - in Basel, 24–25
    - in Cologne, 148
    - defense of, 80
    - in Hesse, 118
    - Lutheran, 23, 200
    - purpose of, 161
    - in Strasbourg, 101–2
- Presbyters, 169–70
- Priests, See Pastors
- Profession of faith, 213
- Propaganda, 222

Reformed Church, 176, 181–83, 208–9
- Regensburg Book, 129–33
- Regensburg colloquy, 129
- Repentance, See Penance
- Roman Catholic Church, See Catholic Church

S
- Sabbath, 175
- Sacraments, See also under individual sacraments
  - administration of, 167
    - eligibility for taking, 185
    - list of, 160–61
    - number of, 138, 153–54
    - penance and absolution as, 52–53
- Satisfaction
  - definition of, 35
  - guidelines for, 126, 128, 130
  - and the Regensburg colloquy, 130
  - source of, 137
  - in theologies compared, 76–77, 129–30, 156
- Schenckbecher family, 175, 175 n. 50
- Scholasticism, 11–12, 34–35, 73–74
- Schultheiss, Wolfgang, 174–75
- Scripture, 153, 159, 211–12
- Seelbinger, 105–13, 194–95
- Shame, 16, 18
- Sins
  - binding and loosing of, See also Absolution;
    - Penance, 30–33, 70, 73–75, 81, 83, 94, 104, 129–30, 136–37, 184–85
    - church authority over, See also Keys, power of, 130
    - methods of, 170–72
    - in theologies compared, 155
    - through confession, 92–93
  - deterrents to, 183
  - examination of, 103
  - and exclusion, 161–62
  - forgiveness of, See also Confession, 89, 96
    - penance for, 107–9
    - private, 161
    - public, 82–83, 161
    - satisfaction of, 156
    - secret, 83, 139
- St. Thomas, chapter of, 168
- Strasbourg
  - absolution in, 184
  - Anabaptists in, 67–68
  - the ban in, 55–56, 71, 104
  - confession in, 48–52

Q
- Quid de baptismate infantium iuxta scripturas Dei sentendum, 72, 78

R
- Ratio examinationis canonicae, 168–70
- Reconciliation
  - Catholic/Protestant, 141–42
  - difficulties with, 131, 137
  - of Protestant churches, 44–45, 56–57
  - role of Bucer in, 4–5, 26–27, 44–45, 122–42, 223
244 The Yoke of Christ

Strasbourg (continued)
conversion of, 3
discipline in, 66–72, 85–86, 99–104, 149–50, 163, 217–18
fellowships in, 180–208
Lord’s Supper in, 149–50
ostracism in, 176–79
power in, 164
reform of church discipline in, 185
synods held in, 67, 163–67
“A Summary of the Christian Doctrine and Religion Taught in Strasbourg over the Last 28 Years,” 207
Summoning. See also Admonition
to fellowships, 203
justification of, 196–98
in Strasbourg, 175–77
Synods
second Strasbourg, 163–67
of Strasbourg, 67
of Ziegenhain, 113

T
Tasch, Peter, 114–15, 119
Teachers, 100–101
Ten Commandments, 194–95
Tetrapolitan Confession, 50–53, 67–68, 77

U
Ulm, 59–62, 70
V
Vespers services, 164, 167
Visitations, 186
Von der Kirchen mengel unnd fähl, 181–87
Von der waren Seelorge (1538), 105–13, 164
von Marsilien, Jakob Wetzl, 174
von Weid, Hermann, archbishop of Cologne, 143–44, 162

W
War, 137
Wied, Hermann von, archbishop of Cologne, 143–44, 162
Wittenberg Concord, 87–88
Witzel, Georg, 124–25
Women, 195–96
Works, 76–77
Worms, Diet of, 134
Worship, 39–40, 167, 175

Z
Ziegenhain, 113, 115–20
Zurich, 23–24
Zwingli, Ulrich, 21, 23–24