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'Truth is Immortal':
Balthasar Hubmaier (c.1480-1528) and the Church Fathers

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Glasgow
College of Arts

March 31, 2011

Abstract

Hubmaier's appeal to the fathers was inspired by humanist principles, especially *ad fontes*, restitutionism, and rejection of scholastic syllogism and glosses in favour of full, humanist editions of the fathers based on an improved focus on grammar and philology. However, Hubmaier confessionalized Humanism by commandeering its disciplines, principles, and accomplishments to advance a reforming program that centred around credobaptism and freedom of the will. This confessionalization of Humanism is reflected also in the way Hubmaier exploited a perceived Nicodemism in the disparity between Erasmus' private and public statements on baptism and appropriated his endorsement of the *docete–baptizantes–docentes* baptismal sequence in Mt. 28:19 and defence of free will. Further, Hubmaier's Catholic, nominalist, and humanist academic background ensured that study of the fathers was an intuitive activity as his Anabaptist convictions developed. His nominalist education under the mentorship of Johann Eck also seems to have factored into his moderate Augustinianism and use of the African bishop in defence of free will against the hyper-Augustinianism of Luther.

Hubmaier used carefully selected, amenable patristic theologians and historical witnesses to verify that credobaptism was preserved by the fathers in continuity with the practice of the apostolic era, while infant baptism was introduced only later and gradually accepted in the second to fifth centuries until definitively ratified by Augustine and universally embraced by the Catholic, papal "particular church." This increasing confusion during the patristic era was thought by Hubmaier to reflect the hesitant acceptance of paedobaptism in his own day especially by Zwingli and Erasmus, which inspired his desire for a new ecumenical council to decide the correct form of baptism on the basis of Scripture and supporting patristic exegesis. Ultimately, Hubmaier not only cognitively accepted the teachings of the fathers on baptism and free will, but embraced them as co-affiliates with himself in the one, holy, apostolic *ecclesia universalis* in protest against the errant papal *ecclesia particularis* as per the composition of his ecclesiology.

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Prof. Ian Hazlett, for the time and energy he spent inspecting my thesis at the various stages of its development, suggesting ways to make it better, pointing me to important sources I missed, helping me with Latin translations, and fine-tuning its format and presentation. I valued also his vision for the final product as a readable yet rigorously researched piece, encouragement during the inevitable trials of doctoral studies, and hospitality toward my family and I whenever we were in Glasgow. As well, I deeply appreciate the advice and recommendations of Prof. Irena Backus and Dr. David Bagchi that helped me revise many sections of my thesis.

I would also like to express gratitude to the numerous conversation partners I have had during this process, especially Thomas Finger, H. Wayne Walker Pipkin, and Peter Erb, who have given me greater insight into my topic and its attendant research questions, and allowed me access to a wealth of experience and familiarity with the various issues related to the subject of my thesis.

I am grateful also for the unrelenting support of my parents and in-laws and to my family, friends, colleagues, and students for their intermittent check-ins on my progress, and especially to Ron Dart for his unabating encouragement, taking a strong interest in my research, and insisting on the importance of my topic.

To my children, Charlie, Ida, and Elliot, thank you for giving me good reason to take a break and refresh throughout the process. Finally, there is no way I could have completed this research project without the love and support of my wife, Laurie-Jane, whose patience and quiet strength behind the scenes have made this thesis a reality.

To Laurie-Jane

Contents

	Abstract	ii
	Acknowledgements	iii
	Dedication Page	iv
	List of Maps	x
	List of Tables	x
	Abbreviations	xi
Chapter 1	Introduction—'Truth is Immortal'	1
1.1	Introductory Comments	1
1.2	Research Setting	2
1.3	Aims and Objectives	5
1.4	Thesis	8
1.5	Methodology and Scope of Research	12
Chapter 2	Review of Scholarship and Historiographical Issues	16
2.1	Review of Scholarship	16
2.1.1.	Antonia Lučić Gonzalez's Thesis on Balthasar Hubmaier and Early Christian Tradition	16
2.1.2.	Anabaptism and the Church Fathers	28
2.1.3.	Hubmaier and the Church Fathers	32
2.2	Historiographical Oversights to Avoid	37
2.2.1.	Believing that Anabaptists were Ahistorical	37
2.2.2.	Searching Exclusively for Chronologically Immediate Influences	37
2.2.3.	Underestimating Literary Means of Communicating Transformative Ideas	38
2.2.4.	Underestimating the Pervasiveness of Patristic Thought	39
2.2.5.	Playing the "Polemical Card" Too Readily	39
2.2.6.	Failing to Account for Hubmaier's Presuppositions	40
2.2.7.	Anachronistic Minimization of Hubmaier's Catholicity	40

	2.2.8. Misunderstanding of "Authority"	41
2.3	Historiographical Considerations	41
	2.3.1. How does a polygenesis or monogenesis historiography impact our thesis?	41
	2.3.2. Did Hubmaier's life and writings leave an impression on the Anabaptist movement?	42
	2.3.3. What compelled Hubmaier to read the Church fathers?	43
	2.3.4. How do we determine whether components of Hubmaier's thought are uniquely patristic?	43
	2.3.5. What circumstances allowed Hubmaier to cite the Church fathers?	44
	2.3.6. What impact do characteristics unique to Hubmaier's life make on his use of the Church fathers?	44
Chapter 3	Hubmaier's Humanist Education and Initial Exposure to the Church Fathers	46
	3.1 The Rise of Anabaptism and the Confessionalization of Humanist Methods	46
	3.2 Biographical Outline	52
	3.3 Hubmaier's Academic Background: Scholastic, Humanist, and Patristic	55
	3.3.1. Scholarly Recognition of Hubmaier's Catholic and Humanist Education	55
	3.3.2. The Coexistence of Scholasticism and Humanism in North European Universities	58
	3.3.3. Personalities, Professors, and Fellow Students	60
	3.3.4. Humanist Elements in Freiburg and Ingolstadt's Curricula	65
	3.3.5. The Church Fathers at Freiburg and Ingolstadt	67
	3.3.5.1. <i>Decretum Gratiani</i>	68
	3.3.5.2. Peter Lombard's <i>Sententiae</i>	70
	3.3.5.3. <i>Glossa Ordinaria</i>	72
	3.3.5.4. Humanist Editions	72
	3.4 Johann Eck's Humanism and view of the Church Fathers	74
	3.4.1. Hubmaier's Relationship with Johann Eck	74
	3.4.2. Eck's Humanism	77
	3.4.3. Eck and the <i>Auctoritas Patrum</i>	81

Chapter 4	Hubmaier's Humanism and the Church Fathers	84
4.1	Hubmaier's Humanist Contacts	85
4.2	Hubmaier's Knowledge of Contemporary Humanist Literature	90
4.3	Hubmaier's use of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic	93
4.4	Hubmaier's Adherence to the <i>Ad Fontes</i> Principle	98
4.5	The Nature and Significance of Hubmaier's Restitutionism	102
4.6	Hubmaier's Conciliarism: Desire for Ecclesial Unity and Consensus	108
4.6.1.	Hubmaier's Catholicism and the Unity of the Church	109
4.6.2.	Doctrinal Ambiguities and Hubmaier's Conciliar Solution	113
Chapter 5	Hubmaier's Access to Patristic Texts and Use of the Greek Fathers for the Issue of Baptism	118
5.1	Circumstances Engendering Hubmaier's Access to the Church Fathers ..	118
5.1.1.	Hubmaier's Personal Library	119
5.1.2.	Libraries as Possible Sources for Hubmaier Exposure to the Church Fathers	120
5.1.3.	The Possibility that Hubmaier and Zwingli Collaborated	124
5.1.4.	Zwingli and the Church Fathers	132
5.2	Features of Hubmaier's Baptismal Theology with Patristic Support	134
5.3	Analysis of Greek Patristic References in Hubmaier's Writings	142
5.3.1.	"Clement of Rome" († c. 101) [<i>Canones Apostolorum</i>]	143
5.3.2.	Theophylact, bishop of Ohrid (c. 1050/60 – 1107)	149
5.3.3.	Origen (c. 185 – 254)	158
5.3.4.	Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 263 – c. 339)	173
5.3.5.	Athanasius (c. 293 – 373)	183
5.3.6.	Basil of Caesarea (330 – 379)	189
5.3.7.	John Chrysostom (c. 348 – 407)	198
5.3.8.	Cyril of Alexandria (c. 378 – 444)	206
Chapter 6	Hubmaier's Use of the Latin Fathers for His Understanding of Baptism .	215
6.1	Analysis of Latin Patristic References in Hubmaier's Writings	215
6.1.1.	Tertullian (c. 160 – c. 220)	215

	6.1.2. Cyprian of Carthage († 258)	223
	6.1.3. Ambrose (c. 337/40 – 397)	241
	6.1.4. Jerome (c. 347 – 420)	246
Chapter 7	Hubmaier's Use of Augustine of Hippo	265
7.1	Augustine of Hippo (354 – 430)	265
7.1.1.	Hubmaier's References	265
7.1.2.	Hubmaier's Sources	266
7.1.3.	Evaluation of Augustine	268
7.1.3.1.	Middle Ages	268
7.1.3.2.	Humanists and Erasmus	270
7.1.3.3.	The Reformation	276
7.1.4.	Hubmaier's Use of Augustine	278
7.1.4.1.	Gratian's Decree	278
7.1.4.2.	<i>Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti</i>	285
7.1.4.3.	<i>De natura et gratia</i>	287
7.1.4.4.	<i>De doctrina Christiana</i>	290
Chapter 8	Hubmaier's View of the Church Fathers For His Understanding of Free Will	299
8.1	Hubmaier's Understanding of Free Will	299
8.1.1.	Epochal Sequence	300
8.1.2.	Hubmaier's Anthropology	303
8.2	Factors affecting Hubmaier's Patristic Understanding of Free Will	306
8.2.1.	The Debate between Erasmus and Luther	306
8.2.2.	Eck's Nominalism	309
8.2.3.	Eck's Use and View of Augustine	312
8.3	Free Will and the Church Fathers	315
8.3.1.	Augustine of Hippo (354 – 430)	316
8.3.2.	Fulgentius of Ruspe (468 – 533)	320
8.3.3.	Origen (c. 185 – 254)	321
8.3.4.	Jerome (c. 347 – 420)	322

Chapter 9	Hubmaier's View of the Church Fathers	324
9.1	The Church Fathers and Scripture	325
9.1.1.	Hubmaier's Hermeneutical Conflict with Zwingli and Fabri	325
9.1.2.	On the Believers' Baptism of the Church Fathers Themselves	334
9.1.3.	Hubmaier's Preference for Greek Patristic Commentaries	337
9.2	Hubmaier's Acceptance of the Church Fathers over Scholasticism	344
Chapter 10	Conclusion: The Church Fathers as Co-affiliates with Hubmaier in the One, True <i>Ecclesia Universalis</i>	348
10.1	The Intellectual Setting for Hubmaier's Patristic Scholarship	348
10.2	The Patristic <i>Ecclesia Universalis</i> and the Wayward Papal "Particular Congregation"	351
10.3	The Ecclesiological Verification of the Church Fathers' Membership in the <i>Ecclesia Universalis</i>	353
Bibliography	358

List of Maps

Map 5.1.	Hubmaier's Meeting with Zwingli	127
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List of Tables

Table 5.1.	Comparison between Zwingli's Patristic Library and Hubmaier's Patristic References	130
Table 9.1.	Comparison of Greek and Latin Fathers	338
Table 9.2.	Grouping of Greek and Latin Fathers	340

Abbreviations

- ACW* - *Ancient Christian Writers*. eds. J. Quasten and J. C. Plumpe. 60 Vols. (to date). New York: Newman Press / Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1978- .
- Allen* - *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*. eds. P. S. and H. M. Allen, 6 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1906-1958.
- ANF* - *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 9 Vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004.
- ASD* - *Opera omnia Des. Erasmi Roterodami*. ed. C. Reedijk, *et al.* Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1969- .
- AS* - *Erasmus von Rotterdam: Ausgewählte Schriften: Lateinisch und Deutsch*. ed. Werner Welzig, 8 Vols. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968-80.
- AW* - *Desiderius Erasmus Roterdamus: Ausgewählte Werke*. eds. Hugo Holborn and Annemarie Holborn. Munich, C.H. Beck, 1964.
- BAO* - *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads: zum vierhundertjährigen Jubiläum der Basler Reformation*. ed. Ernst Staehelin. 2 Vols. Leipzig: Eger & Sievers, 1927–34.
- BBR* - *Der Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, eds. Adalbert Horawitz and Karl Hartfelder. Leipzig, 1886; rpt 1966.
- BDS* - *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften*, ed. Robert Stupperich, 13 Vols. (to date). Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1960- .
- BHRef.* - *Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica*. 63 Vols. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1971- .
- BSB* - *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* (Munich, Germany)
- CE* - *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. eds. Charles G. Herbermann et al., 16 Vols. New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1907-14.
- CEBR* - *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*. eds. Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas Brian Deutscher. 3 Vols. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.
- CIC* - *Corpus iuris canonici*. ed. Emil Friedberg. Lipsiae: Tauchnitz, 1879-1881.

- CRR* - *Balthasar Hubmaier: Theologian of Anabaptism*. eds. and trans. H. Wayne Pipkin and John Howard Yoder. Classics of the Radical Reformation, vol. 5. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1989.
- CWE* - *Collected Works of Erasmus*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974- .
- FC* - *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*. 117 Vols. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1947- .
- HS* - *Schriften*. eds. Gunnar Westin and Torsten Bergsten. Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer, vol. 9. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1962.
- IDLH* - *International Dictionary of Library Histories*, ed., David H. Stam, 2 Vols. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2001.
- IDUH* - *International Dictionary of University Histories*. eds. Mary Elizabeth Devine and Carol Sommerfield. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- JQ* - *Patrology*. ed. Johannes Quasten. 4 Vols. Notre Dame, IN: Ave Maria Press, 1995.
- LB* - *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia*. ed. Jean Leclerc, 10 Vols. Leiden: 1703-1706.
- LF* - *Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*. eds. E.B. Pusey et al. 48 Vols. Oxford: Parker, 1838-1885.
- ME* - *The Mennonite Encyclopedia: A Comprehensive Reference Work on the Anabaptist-Mennonite Movement*. eds. Harold S. Bender and C. Henry Smith. 1-5 Vols. Hillsboro, KS: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1955-9, 1990.
- NPNF1* - *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers: Series I*. eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 14 Vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004.
- NPNF2* - *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers: Series II*. eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 14 Vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004.
- NS-H* - *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*. ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson. 13 Vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1950-4.
- PG* - *Patrologia Graeca Cursus Completus*. ed. Jacques Paul Migne. 161 Vols. Parisii: Vives, 1857-1866.
- PL* - *Patrologia Latina Cursus Completus*. ed. Jacques Paul Migne. 221 Vols. Parisii: Vives, 1844-1890.

- SSA* - *The Sources of Swiss Anabaptism*. ed. Leland Harder. Classics of the Radical Reformation, Vol. 4. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1985.
- TRE* - *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. eds. Gerhard Krause et al. Teil I, Band 1-17 und Registerband. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993.
- WA* - *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. eds. J.K.F. Knaake, G. Kawerau, et al. 65 Vols. Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1883-1966.
- ZB* - *Zwingli and Bullinger*. ed. G.W. Bromiley. The Library of Christian Classics: Ichthus Edition. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1953.
- ZBZ* - *Zentralbibliothek Zürich* (Zürich, Switzerland)
- ZSW* - *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*. ed. Emil Egli et al. 14 Vols. Corpus Reformatorum. Vols. 88-101. Berlin / Leipzig / Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1905-1956.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION—'TRUTH IS IMMORTAL'

1.1 Introductory Comments:

Balthasar Hubmaier (c. 1480-1528) concluded many of his treatises with the phrase, *Die Warhait ist vntödlich*, or "Truth is Immortal." This is, for instance, how he closed the monograph that was most concerned with the witness of the Church fathers, *Der uralten und gar neuen Lehrer Urteil* (1526), which he printed two versions of during his final sojourn in Nikolsburg, Moravia.¹ No historian doubts that Hubmaier placed Scripture within the parameters of this immortal truth. For instance, near the beginning of his dialogue with Oecolampadius, entitled *Von der Kindertaufe* (1525 [1527]), Hubmaier implores the Basel Reformer to defend his views "with bright and clear Scripture, or you will truly come to shame in the matter, however scholarly you are. For truth is immortal."² But, if truth is immortal, is it not reasonable to suggest that this truth was preserved even beyond the era about which the New Testament was written? Might not this truth also belong to the fathers of the Church who wrote their own treatises and biblical commentaries on the backs of the apostles whom Hubmaier so revered? The affixation of his famous aphorism to the *Urteil* would seem to suggest as much, but several apposite factors must be considered as well for a fuller and more precise picture to emerge.

¹ "Urteil: I," In *Schriften*, eds. Gunnar Westin and Torsten Bergsten, Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer, Vol. 9 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1962) [hereafter *HS*], 240.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 255.

"Urteil: I," In *Balthasar Hubmaier*, eds. and trans. H. Wayne Pipkin and John Howard Yoder, Classics of the Radical Reformation, Vol. 5 (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1989) [hereafter *CRR*], 264.

² "Kindertaufe," *HS* 259; *CRR* 277.

1.2 Research Setting

As a historical investigation into Hubmaier's use and view of the Church fathers, this study aims to answer the above questions. Hubmaier, who was the only *doctor theologiae* in the early stages of the Anabaptist movement, is an ideal candidate for such a study. Yet, in Anabaptist historical scholarship, there has been a detectable reluctance to investigate the use and view of the Church fathers among sixteenth-century Anabaptists. Within the past decade, however, there has been a resurgence of interest in the voices of early Christianity for theological objectives. Among Evangelicals generally, the *ressourcement* and *paleo-orthodox* movements, led by historians Daniel H. Williams,³ Craig Allert,⁴ Ronald E. Heine,⁵ Robert E. Webber,⁶ Bryan Litfin,⁷ Thomas C. Oden,⁸ Richard J. Foster,⁹ Andrew Purves,¹⁰ and Christopher A. Hall,¹¹ aim to inform denominational statements of faith with guidance from the Church fathers. Moreover, Anabaptist historians and theologians such as A. James Reimer,¹² Karl Koop,¹³ Alan Kreider,¹⁴ and Thomas Finger¹⁵ have also appealed to Classical Christianity as a way to reclaim a creedal consciousness that is often missing from Mennonite theological considerations.

In addition to the recovery of the Church fathers for shaping contemporary theological inquiry and modifying modern confessional stances, scholars have been

³ Williams, *Evangelicals*; Williams, ed., *Free Church*; Williams, *Primer*; Williams, *Ancient Church*.

⁴ Allert, *High View*.

⁵ Heine, *Ancient Church*.

⁶ Webber, *Ancient-Future Faith*.

⁷ Litfin, *Church Fathers*.

⁸ Oden, *Rebirth of Orthodoxy*.

⁹ Foster, *Christian Faith*.

¹⁰ Purves, *Pastoral Theology*.

¹¹ Hall, *Reading Scripture*; Hall, *Learning Theology*; Hall, *Worshipping*.

¹² Reimer, *Dogmatic Imagination*; Reimer, *Dogmatic Foundations*.

¹³ Koop, *Anabaptist-Mennonite Confessions*; Koop, ed. *Confessions of Faith*; Koop, Bergen, and Doerksen, *Creeks and Conscience*.

¹⁴ Kreider, "Conversion and Christendom."

¹⁵ Finger, "Unexpected Similarities," 67-91; Finger, "Pilgrim Marpeck," 53-77; Finger, "Way to Nicea," 212-231.

interested in the reception of the Church fathers during the Reformation as a strictly historical investigation for more than half a century. For instance, studies have been conducted on the reception of the Church fathers by such notable figures as Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c.1455-1536) and his circle,¹⁶ Erasmus (c.1466/9-1536),¹⁷ Johannes Oecolampadius (1482-1531),¹⁸ Martin Luther (1483-1546),¹⁹ Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531),²⁰ Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547),²¹ Thomas Cranmer (1498-1556),²² Martin Bucer (1491-1551),²³ Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560),²⁴ John Calvin (1509-64),²⁵ Andreas Musculus (1514-1581),²⁶ Theodore Beza (1519-1605),²⁷ and in the *devotio moderna*.²⁸ Studies on the transmission of the fathers into the Reformation era generally *via* humanist efforts have also emerged.²⁹

Although nothing comparable exists in Anabaptist scholarship, some theologians and historians have acknowledged the value of investigating the reception of the Church fathers by Anabaptists. In a 1976 review of Kenneth Davis' *Anabaptism and Asceticism*, Peter Erb writes:

[O]ne must not fail to review the abiding influence of the Fathers, chief among whom were Augustine and Gregory. The analysis of ascetic teaching within their works was present to pastors in every age. They came to the late Middle Ages in full texts (Erasmus' Patristic studies are not the beginning of editorial works on the Fathers),

¹⁶ Rice, "Humanist Idea," 126-160.

¹⁷ Backus, "Erasmus," 95-114; Boeft, "Erasmus," 537-572; Olin, "Fathers," 33-47; Peters, "Erasmus," 254-61.

¹⁸ Dyck, "Oecolampadius," 22, 25-29; Old, "Greek Fathers," 239-50.

¹⁹ Schulze, "Martin Luther," 573-626.

²⁰ Aliverti, *Huldrych Zwinglis*; Backus, "Zwingli," 627-660; Köhler, *Huldrych Zwinglis*; Pleasants, "Zürich," 77-99; Schindler, *Kirchenväter*; Usteri, "Initia Zwinglii," (1885): 607-702; 59 (1886): 95-159.

²¹ D'Amico, "Beatus Rhenanus," 37-63.

²² Walsh, "Cranmer," 227-46.

²³ Backus, "Patristic Tradition," 55-69; Burnett, "Martin Bucer," 108-24; Thompson, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*.

²⁴ Fraenkel, "Revelation," 97-133; Fraenkel, *Testimonia Patrum*; Meijering, *Melanchthon*.

²⁵ Lane, *John Calvin*; Oort, "John Calvin," 661-700.

²⁶ Kolb, "Patristic Sources," 105-23.

²⁷ Backus, *Historical Method*, 173-8.

²⁸ Staubach and Greig, "*Devotio Moderna*," 405-469.

²⁹ See, for instance, Backus, "Reformation," 291-303; Backus, *Historical Method*; Brann, "Humanism," 123-155; D'Amico, "Humanism," 349-379, esp. 355-7, 365, 370-3; Haaugaard, "Renaissance," 37-60; Kristeller, "Classical Antiquity," 5-16; Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 74-5, 80-2; Rice, "Patristic Scholarship," 380-411; Spitz, "Humanism," 140; Stinger, *Church Fathers*, 226, etc.

florilegia and in pastoral literature of many other kinds. ... Trained in a society which no longer reads, we are often too quick to leap to the closest chronological similarity for a source, being unaware that Augustine's monitions were much more familiar to our sixteenth-century ancestors than they are to us ... that a study of early Christian literature as a source for ascetic forms for Anabaptists would be of value.³⁰

Jonathan Seiling, in his review of Geoffrey Dipple's book, *"Just as in the Time of the Apostles": Uses of History in the Radical Reformation*, also laments, "While it remains focused on the central question of the Radicals' vision and use of history, his study does not include significant analysis of the Radicals' use of patristic writers either for arguments of doctrine or ordinances," while noting that Dipple's study nevertheless, "serves as a helpful point of departure for further studies that may now emerge on the path Dipple has cleared."³¹ Again reflecting an increasing awareness of the value of the Church fathers for theological development, Chris Heubner suggests, "Mennonite theology too often skips directly from the New Testament to the sixteenth century. ... We should recall that patristic and medieval sources are part of our tradition—if there is such a thing—too."³² Also, Andy Alexis-Baker recently presented a paper in which he observes, "To date, what has been lacking ... is a critical study of the way Anabaptists used patristic literature," while challenging historians "to do this work."³³

Some early attempts to draw attention to Hubmaier's use and view of the fathers and to present some preliminary conclusions can be found in standard, yet somewhat antiquated, biographies by Johann Loserth³⁴ and Carl Sachsse,³⁵ as well as in more current biographies by Torsten Bergsten³⁶ and Christoph Windhorst.³⁷ Sachsse in particular identified the

³⁰ Erb, Review of *Anabaptism and Asceticism*, 254f.

³¹ Seiling, Review of *Uses of History*, 106.

³² Heubner, "Mennonites" 12.

³³ Alexis-Baker, "Creeds," 1.

³⁴ Loserth, *Hubmaier*, 143ff.

³⁵ Sachsse, *Hubmaier*, 33-8.

³⁶ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 280-4, 345-5, 361-6, 392-4.

sources of Hubmaier's patristic citations but limited this project to Hubmaier's *Urteil*. Windhorst also includes a helpful analysis of Hubmaier's *Urteil I* and *II* as a stand-alone chapter in his biography. Henry Vedder's biography of Hubmaier is conspicuously devoid of attention to Hubmaier's interaction with the Church fathers, save two very brief unsubstantiated negative assessments.³⁸ Later, contributions came from Gunnar Westin and Torsten Bergsten's critical edition of Hubmaier's *Schriften*,³⁹ Rollin Armour's chapter on Hubmaier in his study of Anabaptist baptism,⁴⁰ and in the annotations by Wayne Walker Pipkin and John Howard Yoder in their edition of Hubmaier's writings in English translation.⁴¹ However, apart from any thorough research into the innumerable attendant issues, these conclusions may be premature and are based on too scant information. Nevertheless, they do provide a reference point and permit collaboration with secondary literature that at least exhibits some interest in the matter. In the next chapter, we will offer a more comprehensive review of scholarship on the reception of the Church fathers among Anabaptists and by Hubmaier specifically, and explore some historiographical considerations that are germane to this past scholarship.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

This study aims to uncover those events and intellectual trends in the life of Balthasar Hubmaier, whose imprint on nascent Anabaptism was more significant than once thought,⁴² that motivated and shaped his reading of the Church fathers when he began developing his Anabaptists convictions. Specifically, I will evaluate both Hubmaier's *use* of the Church

³⁷ Windhorst, *Täuferisches Taufverständnis*, 108-121.

³⁸ Vedder, *Hübmaier*, 179f., 183.

³⁹ Bergsten, *HS* 224-255.

⁴⁰ Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 49-54.

⁴¹ See in particular the editorial annotations on Hubmaier's, "Old and New Teachers on Believers Baptism," *CRR* 245-74.

⁴² See, for instance, Leth, "Catholic Exegesis," 103; Snyder, *Anabaptist History*, 63f., note 13; Dipple, *Uses of History*, 128-37; Williamson, *Erasmus*, 11ff.; Windhorst, *Täuferisches Taufverständnis*, 2f.

fathers—*viz.*, the manner in which he interacts with their writings—as well as his *view* of them—*viz.*, his motives for citing them and appraisal of their worth. To disclose the precise nature of his use and view of the Church fathers, I will argue that Hubmaier, as interpreter and reader of a select number of fathers, was inspired to read patristic sources through the emphases of his academic preparation and the guidance and contrivances of North European Humanism. His Catholic education prepared him for study of the fathers as an Anabaptist theologian, shaped the way he understood their value and authority, and made his study of patristic sources an intuitive activity. Overlapping his period of academic preparation, but also extending beyond his matriculation, Hubmaier exploited humanist methods, activities, attitudes, and perspectives along confessional lines to carry out his reforming program by using the Church fathers as allies, especially taking advantage of the patristic printing achievements of his humanist contemporaries and predecessors.

To demonstrate the veracity of this thesis, specific relevant research questions must be answered. Accordingly, my objective is to uncover and analyze those components of Hubmaier's academic preparation at the universities of Freiburg-im-Breisgau and Ingolstadt that affected his use and view of the Church fathers and, by examining his use of each father individually and explicating his understanding of their value and authority collectively, show how these components of his academic background combined to form a unique appropriation of patristic sources; these components include: (1) Hubmaier's initial acquaintance with the fathers, especially through library inventories and his theological training, to evince the ubiquity of the fathers that essentially guaranteed his recourse to patristic texts throughout his life; (2) the compulsory Catholicism that remained tied to his ecclesiology in particular, influencing his understanding of baptism, free will, and excommunication and allowing him

to accept the fathers' membership, or co-affiliation with himself, in the one, true *ecclesia universalis*; (3) the portrayal of the *auctoritas patrum* in tandem with Scripture's authority in the standard university texts, the *Decretum Gratiani* (1140) and Peter Lombard's (c. 1100-1160) *Sententiae* (c.1150); (4) the introduction of the *studia humanitatis* curriculum at both universities he attended, exhibited in his professors, fellow students, lectures, the university statutes, disciplines, textbooks, and especially the gradual usurpation of scholastic glosses and syllogistic exercises by humanistic principles and disciplines; and (5) his mentor, Johann Eck's (1486-1543) humanism, nominalism, which we will discover factored into his use and view of Augustine on the issue of free will, and understanding of the *auctoritas patrum*.

A further objective is to outline in what specific ways Hubmaier's appreciation of Humanism affected his use and view of the Church fathers. Notably, Paul Kristeller observes that "the humanistic study of the Bible and of the Church Fathers led to new interpretations of early Christian thought, that are characteristic of the Renaissance and Reformation period," further noting that both Humanist and Reformer alike formulated their re-interpretation of early Christian thought by bypassing "the context and superstructure of scholastic theology."⁴³ For Hubmaier, his re-interpretations of early Christian thought reinforced his teachings on credobaptism and free will specifically, and his recourse to Scripture and patristic commentaries together was indeed an attempt to evade the trappings of scholastic methodology. I will therefore demonstrate that the way in which Hubmaier adopted humanist characteristics and took advantage of the patristic scholarship and activities of prominent Humanists influenced his use and view of the Church fathers in at least ten specific ways: (1) his development of a historical consciousness that led to the adoption of the *ad fontes* and *restitutio* principles and a trajectory toward the classical era; (2) his tri-

⁴³ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 82.

lingual knowledge and use of grammar, rhetoric, and an amended form of dialectic that impacted how he read Scripture and the fathers; (3) his disdain for Scholasticism, its glosses, and *florilegia*, which he replaced with Scripture and full humanist editions of the Church fathers; (4) access to Zwingli's patristic library for his exposure to the Church fathers, all humanist editions, when formulating his Anabaptist convictions; (5) his use of Scripture and patristic commentaries in tandem; (6) a clear preference for the Greek fathers and for Jerome in the manner of Erasmus; (7) a similarity between some elements in his and Erasmus' understanding of the Great Commission, which involved patristic support, and apparent ambiguity about the legitimacy of paedobaptism, illustrating the uniqueness and laudability of the fathers in Christian history after one thousand years of paedobaptism as the sole practice; (8) his approval of the consensus of the fathers as a challenge to papal supremacy—i.e. the jurisdictional monopoly of the See of Peter over all of Christendom; (9) his concern for morality especially reflected in his use of the fathers to defend the freedom of the will; and (10) a confessionalization of humanist principles and objectives demonstrated in his manipulation of patristic content in service of a reforming agenda centred around credobaptism and free will.

1.4 Thesis

Although there are other more peripheral reasons for which Hubmaier invoked the Church fathers, such as his use of Augustine to defend a proper use of rhetoric for teaching and manipulation of Chrysostom to placate accusations that he is sectarian, his primary purpose for enlisting select patristic voices is to provide historical support for his understanding of baptism and free will. A further factor affecting this understanding is his application of the ban or excommunication, which appears also to have been modeled after

the early Christian practice. That said, Hubmaier's conscription of the fathers in his defence has as its underlying motive the vindication of his own continuity with the historical Church and loyalty to the one, true *ecclesia universalis*, for which acceptance of credobaptism is a pivotal criterion. Therefore, I aim to demonstrate that, for the most part, Hubmaier genuinely believed that the fathers of the Church fulfilled this criterion, which sanctioned their assimilation into this one, true *ecclesia universalis* as the more authentic alternative to the erroneous papal *ecclesia particularis*.⁴⁴ When we analyze Hubmaier's view of the Church fathers or appraisal of their value, function, and authority, mere doctrinal accord is less the crucial exigency than co-affiliation with the fathers in the "one holy universal Christian church" and a mutual allegiance to the "one Lord, one God, one faith, and one baptism,"⁴⁵ the latter being of course the credobaptist kind. For, it is Hubmaier's ecclesiology that stimulates his recourse to the patristic oeuvre—the manner in which one is grafted into the Body of Christ through the rite of baptism and the anthropological prerequisite for *accepting* baptism rather than receiving it *impositionally*, as portrayed in his espousal of free will. Therefore, Hubmaier does not believe that the Church fathers innately possess any unilateral authority of their own, but are instead faithful exegetes of Scripture and historical collaborators with its teachings, which reveals their affiliation with the one, true *ecclesia universalis*, all of which Hubmaier would also say of himself. Moreover, this perspective is not very different from the view expressed in some quarters of the Roman Catholic Church of the era, and by Eck and Erasmus specifically, as well as by Zwingli.

Hubmaier invoked the Church fathers to expose his opponents to the historicity of credobaptism, for which the Great Commission (Mt. 28:19) and the figure of the ark and

⁴⁴ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 315; *CRR* 351f.

⁴⁵ "Die zwölf Artikel," *HS* 218; *CRR* 238.

flood (1 Pt. 3:20f.) were his primary scriptural proofs as exegeted by amenable patristic texts. Further, Hubmaier enlisted the fathers, mostly Greek, to verify by historical means that the baptisms of John and Christ were not the same against Zwingli's conflation of the two. His objective in doing this was to demonstrate that a new, Christian, believers' baptism was initiated at the Great Commission and in no way preserves a link with the covenantal ritual of circumcision performed on infants as prescribed in the Old Testament. A combined concern for the correct conception of original sin, not as a stain to be removed but as a transgression to be repented of later in life, and objection to Augustine's teaching on the eternal damnation of unbaptized infants also motivated his recourse to other Church fathers. Hubmaier realized Augustine was unique in espousing this latter belief and therefore believed that it was not a pervasive early Christian teaching, legitimizing for him the baptism of certain Church fathers beyond infancy, which Hubmaier does explore, since a delay in baptism is reasonable by virtue of an infant's non-damnable status. These elements of Hubmaier's baptismal theology grow out of a conception of the human will, the positive movement of which he defended with the assistance of Origen and Jerome. For, a human will must be free if it is to synergistically cooperate with divine grace to comply with moral standards prescribed by God and *decide* to accept the baptism that obligates one to fulfill this moral prescription under threat of the ban.

Hubmaier's interest in the historical survival of credobaptism since the time of the apostles follows a pattern and chronology that stems from his allegiance to the supremacy of Scripture. The following chart illustrates this pattern or the set of principles governing Hubmaier's train of thought that motivated his recourse to the Church fathers:

1.	Scripture describes clear examples of the credobaptist practice only.
2.	There can be only <i>one</i> baptism and <i>one</i> faith. ⁴⁶
3.	Credobaptism is the one true baptism of the one true Church; therefore, the church of the "papists" is an erroneous <i>ecclesia particularis</i> that administers a "counterfeit" baptism, or simply "no baptism" at all. ⁴⁷ (i.e. Hubmaier's own orthodoxy is paramount to the veracity of his convictions)
4.	If (a) credobaptism is the only form represented in Scripture and (b) there can only be one baptism and one faith (Church), this credobaptist form <i>must</i> have been, or it is at least preferable that it was, preserved beyond the apostles and continued into the patristic era. Therefore, to oppose and neutralize the hermeneutical approach that recognizes the beliefs and customs of the Church that are <i>not denounced</i> in Scripture, which intuitively takes for granted the current beliefs and customs of the Church by virtue of their historical survival, it is necessary to demonstrate the historical survival through patristic means of the beliefs and practice that are <i>only expressly commanded</i> in Scripture—i.e. credobaptism.
5.	Although both forms (credo- and paedobaptism) existed during the patristic era, credobaptism was a direct continuation of the apostolic practice, while paedobaptism was invented <i>after</i> the close of the apostolic era and popularized until it became the Church's sole practice since the time of Augustine.
6.	If the Church fathers practiced and taught credobaptism, they belonged not to the heretical papal church, but to the one, true <i>ecclesia universalis</i> .
7.	For the most part, the Church fathers, save Augustine, were unique in their espousal of credobaptism through faithful exegesis of Scripture compared to later generations of scholastic theologians and papal canon lawyers, even though the fathers were also occasionally confused by the <i>introduction</i> of infant baptism during their time until Erasmus again theorized about an interpretation of Mt. 28:19 that facilitated a credobaptist conviction and Zwingli contemplated implementing credobaptism.
8.	Moreover, the Church fathers' refusal to claim, except for Augustine, that unbaptized infants are damnable left open the possibility for credobaptism, which could not be said of the papal church from the time of Augustine.
9.	Therefore, it is imperative that the Church call a new ecumenical council to authorize the true form of the baptismal rite on the basis of Scripture.
10.	By virtue of the Church fathers' fidelity to Scripture, their written witness is not only deemed a legitimate and worthy contribution to such a council that decides whether credo- or paedobaptism is the <i>de jure</i> practice of the Church, they are themselves co-affiliates with Hubmaier and the entire Anabaptist movement in the one, true <i>ecclesia universalis</i> .

⁴⁶ Ibid., HS 218; CRR 238.

⁴⁷ "Form zu Taufen," HS 352; CRR 392.

These are the principles and this is the pattern that we will establish as Hubmaier's mindset when he appealed to the fathers of the Church.

1.5 Methodology and Scope of Research

We will fulfill these objectives and corroborate this thesis by using past opinions on Hubmaier and the Church fathers, usually constituting a minor component of a broader monograph, as our points of reference. My own research and conclusions will therefore amend or otherwise fill out areas that Mennonite and Baptist historians have hitherto treated only casually, failing to take into account the breadth of relevant issues that could not have realistically been considered in a work whose primary objectives lay elsewhere. To build the case that Hubmaier's recourse to the fathers was cultivated by his academic background and stimulated by his appreciation of Humanism, we will also rely on past scholarly consensus on the nature of university education in Northern Europe, and specifically Freiburg-im-Briesgau and Ingolstadt where Hubmaier attended, and on relevant humanist characteristics and achievements. Our resources will therefore be those scholars who represent the fields of medieval and early modern university foundations in Northern Europe; early modern university curricula, statutes, disciplines, exercises, textbooks, and library indices; the purveyance and collection of patristic manuscripts and preparation of editions during the Quattrocento and by Humanists in Northern Europe; and the intellectual currents and principles of North European Humanism. We will then utilize a combination of secondary and primary literature to explore the manner in which Hubmaier's appeal to the fathers was shaped by these two factors—education and Humanism—and consult compositions by close colleagues such as Zwingli, Erasmus, and Johannes Oecolampadius to uncover those characteristics that may have guided Hubmaier's recourse to the fathers.

For our analysis of Hubmaier's study of each Church father individually, his reasons for conscripting their collective witness, and appraisal of their value and authority, his own small corpus of twenty-six treatises, apologias, theses, devotionals, pamphlets, dialogues, a few letters, and the transcript of his interrogation by Johann Fabri (1478-1541) in Vienna, entitled *Adversus Pacimontanum Defensio* (1528), will be our guide and be given comprehensive consideration. Gunnar Westin and Torsten Bergsten's critical edition of Hubmaier's *Schriften* in the original languages from the *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer* series and the English translation by H. Wayne Walker Pipkin and John Howard Yoder published in the *Classics of the Radical Reformation* series will be our primary resources for Hubmaier's works. Upon comparing the volume and chapter divisions and folio numbers of the patristic editions that Hubmaier provides in his writings with those editions we know were available to him, we will also be able to decipher with reasonable certainty precisely which editions he read. These editions, most of them humanist achievements printed between 1506 and 1524 chiefly from the presses of Froben, Cratander, and Amerbach in Basel and Badius, Hopyl, and Merlin in Paris, will be a focus of our study when determining the origin and nature of Hubmaier's interface with the fathers as he was forming Anabaptist convictions. As I will argue that Hubmaier accessed Zwingli's patristic collection, these editions constitute a portion of his extant privatbibliothek in the spezialsammlungen of the Zentralbibliothek in Zürich, Switzerland. However, we will, for the most part, examine the more accessible digital copies of these same editions made available by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in München, Germany.

Our aim is to strike a balance between Hubmaier's mindset and level of sincerity when citing the fathers on the one hand and both the corrective and corroboration of modern

scholarship on the other. In the father-by-father analysis, therefore, we will begin by outlining the writings of each Church father that Hubmaier read and the humanist editions to which he referred. Next, we will mine the ambit of modern scholarship on each Church father, analyzing only the components that are relevant to Hubmaier's patristic citations. Finally, we will explore Hubmaier's use and interpretation of each father. Here, we will give attention to either his proper use or mismanagement of patristic insight, the majority of which relates to baptism. But to situate Hubmaier as the subject of our investigation, accent will be placed on his evaluation of the fathers despite (and sometimes in light of) his oversights. Methodologically, this also entails that I use Hubmaier's patristic citations as a point of reference for my own inquiry into the writings of the fathers. As a result, this investigation does not have as a basis for evaluation the entire corpus of patristic literature from which I might ascertain conceivable influence on Hubmaier, but instead catalogues the references to the fathers that he cites explicitly in his own writings. Hubmaier's patristic citations, therefore, prescribe which writings of the Church fathers I will consider and which writings I will disregard.

On a technical note to facilitate easier navigation and reading comprehension, this thesis is written using the *Chicago Manual of Style* (15th ed., 2003) for its presentation of bibliographic information, specifically applying the humanities rather than author-date method. Footnotes rather than endnotes are given on each page so that the reader may consult the work cited or additional related material without having to constantly flip back and forth. However, to cut down on excessive footnoted material and ensure a simplified, cleaner presentation, all source material is given in its abbreviated form: author's last name, shortened title, and page number if necessary. The bibliography at the end of the thesis (pp.

358-86) provides the full bibliographic information for all sources contained in the footnotes. Because the author of this thesis is from Canada, in compliance with the North American style, double quotation marks will be used for all quotes, and single quotation marks will be used for a quote within a quote. Finally, concerning the organization of this thesis, to accommodate more straightforward allusions to its sections, the numbering depth will follow the "Legal" or "Decimal" format, for which main headings in chapter one are numbered as 1.1, subheadings as 1.1.1., and second-level subheading as 1.1.1.1., the initial number reflecting the chapter in which the heading is located.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF SCHOLARSHIP AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ISSUES:

2.1 Review of Scholarship

To better account for the assorted issues one must consider in a study of Hubmaier and the Church fathers, it is helpful to survey the contributions of past scholarship. Therefore, we will first outline some scholarly assessments of Hubmaier's appeal to the Church fathers. Next, we will provide an overview of the common oversights that historians have occasionally made in the past. And finally, we will suggest how to be more attentive to the many attendant historiographical issues.

2.1.1. Antonia Lučić Gonzalez's Thesis on Balthasar Hubmaier and Early

Christian Tradition: Our first task, however, is to consider the thesis by Antonia Lučić Gonzalez entitled, *Balthasar Hubmaier and Early Christian Tradition*, which was completed in 2008—two years after I began researching and writing my own thesis. Although some aspects of her study complement my research and parts of her conclusion reflect my own, Gonzalez's central thesis is unique to her study, our respective objectives are different, the main components of my argument are absent from her thesis, and my analysis of Hubmaier's use and view of the Church fathers is more comprehensive and in several places corrects, often in significant ways, her analysis. It is nevertheless prudent to first acknowledge the fine contribution Gonzalez has made to our understanding of Hubmaier and his continuity with the Tradition that preceded him. In her thesis, she maintains that "the major portion of this research is dedicated to Hubmaier's still undefined relationship to early Christian

tradition, including the early fathers, creeds and councils...," which will position us to "also ask important questions regarding the place of Christian tradition in evangelical Anabaptist theology at large."¹ However, Gonzalez does not conduct her study as a straightforward historical investigation into the reasons why, catalysts that shaped how, and manner in which Hubmaier read the Church fathers.

Instead, her study seeks to determine where Hubmaier is positioned on Heiko Oberman's spectrum of interpretations of Tradition in the sixteenth century: *Tradition I*—"a single source theory of doctrine, based on Scripture and traditional Scriptural exegesis as expressed in the fathers and Creeds" endorsed by the Reformers—and *Tradition II*—"a two-source theory of doctrine that allows for an extra-biblical oral and written tradition" ratified at the Council of Trent (1546).² Specifically, Gonzalez takes issue with Alister McGrath's categorization of Anabaptists as falling within *Tradition 0*—the radical outright rejection of any extra-biblical sources:

Whether *Tradition 0* is defined as a category for those holding to *sola scriptura* principle fully, or for the Radicals of the spiritualist bent who considered individual revelations authoritative (McGrath's view), we will here ask whether Hubmaier, along with a number of Swiss Anabaptists, ought to be placed within it, or whether he should share some place with the Reformers in the *Tradition I* category.³

In her thesis, Gonzalez notes that Oberman does not indicate where Anabaptism is situated in his paradigm.⁴ Therefore, her objective for the entire thesis is to fill this void in Oberman's study by simultaneously correcting McGrath's placement of Anabaptism outside Oberman's spectrum.⁵ Her central argument, therefore, is that Hubmaier does indeed appeal to extra-

¹ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 1.

² *Ibid.*, 38f. As a secondary consideration, Gonzalez also attempts to position Hubmaier on the radical-conservative and left-right scales (29).

³ *Ibid.*, 67. See also pp. 61f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁵ See *ibid.*, 61-5. Examples of this objective in action occur, for instance, in her analysis of Tertullian, Jerome's *Adversus Luciferianos*, and Augustine (130, 170f., 216f.).

biblical sources, which demonstrates his placement in the *Tradition I* camp on Oberman's spectrum.⁶

Three emphases exist in Gonzalez's study to support her central argument: (1) a revisionist interpretation of past scholarship that emphasizes Anabaptism and Hubmaier's "radical biblicism and his alleged radical rejection of Christian tradition" or adherence to the *sola scriptura* principle, and therefore the need to better nuance Hubmaier's approach to Scripture as including recourse to extra-biblical sources;⁷ (2) a commonality between Hubmaier's and the Magisterial Reformation's understanding of Tradition as *Tradition I* on Oberman's spectrum;⁸ and (3) a continuity with his Catholic past that exhibits continuity with the single-source understanding of Tradition that existed until the codification of a two-source Tradition at the Council of Trent (1546), which separated Scripture and Tradition.⁹

Regarding the first emphasis, Gonzalez begins her conclusion by averring, "The goal of this research has been to explore the accuracy of scholarly claims that Anabaptist theologians were radical biblicists, without exception," putting to the test "a number of widespread and unqualified assertions about the Anabaptist supposedly exclusive commitment to the Word of God."¹⁰ Regarding the second emphasis, Gonzalez devotes an entire chapter to examining "the development of the concept of tradition as a source of doctrinal authority, culminating in the sixteenth-century Reformation assertion of the primacy of Scripture and the response to that call by the Council of Trent."¹¹ Gonzalez therefore seeks to "describe and categorize sixteenth-century views on Christian tradition" to

⁶ Ibid., 38f.

⁷ Ibid., 29. See also pp. 2, 13ff., 22.

⁸ Ibid., 22f., 29, 32-70.

⁹ Ibid., 30, 71-93.

¹⁰ Ibid., 293.

¹¹ Ibid., 29.

better understand "Hubmaier's context ... by comparing [his views] with his contemporaries."¹² This allows Gonzalez to position him on the radical-conservative scale. Finally, regarding the third emphasis, Gonzalez looks "into particular aspects of Hubmaier's theology that exhibited smaller or larger traces of specifically Catholic doctrine or scholarly methodology."¹³

Although Gonzalez is to be congratulated on her achievements and the example she has set for future Anabaptist historians and theologians,¹⁴ the differences between Gonzalez's and my thesis are significant and several. We will first look at how my thesis differs from her central argument and how my objectives diverge from the three emphases in her thesis described above. Then, we will outline the numerous components of the two studies that guided us to our respective conclusions, all of which are unique to each study. First, Gonzalez's central argument that Hubmaier adheres to the *Tradition I* interpretation on Oberman's spectrum creates a very particular framework within which to analyze Hubmaier's appeal to Christian tradition and is unique to her thesis. This framework directs her research at every move, dictates her objectives, and nuances her conclusions in ways that differ from my own. As my central argument is that Hubmaier viewed the Church fathers as co-affiliates in the one, true *ecclesia universalis* by virtue of their fidelity to Scripture and witness to the preservation of credobaptism beyond the apostolic era, it is not demarcated by specific prescriptions of a modern study but instead examines Hubmaier's use and view of the fathers on its own terms. In addition, while my focus is on Hubmaier's encounter with the fathers from an ecclesiological standpoint, not mere doctrinal agreement but as co-affiliates in the

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., 30.

¹⁴ Gonzalez, for instance, hopes that "[p]lacing Hubmaier on the spectrum of Scripture and tradition will in turn ... open the door to further examination of other evangelical Anabaptists' writings." Ibid., 70.

same Church, Gonzalez's claim that Hubmaier "*relied* on the teachings of the Creeds, the early fathers, and Church councils"¹⁵ is too strong a statement for me to support and requires, I believe, a more meticulous nuance. To this end, Gonzalez elsewhere more appropriately suggests that Hubmaier "deferred to the fathers when disputes about the correct scriptural interpretation came to an impasse, looking for the way the Scriptures had traditionally been interpreted by these trustworthy sources."¹⁶

It is Gonzalez's objective to demonstrate *that* Hubmaier deferred to extra-biblical sources by analyzing *how* he made use of these sources. Therefore, whereas she is primarily concerned to show that Hubmaier's recourse to extra-biblical sources actually occurred, her analysis of the manner in which he appealed to patristic texts is somewhat incidental—with emphasis on the seriousness and extent of Hubmaier's use of Tradition rather than on the actual content and nature of his reading and implementation of patristic support for his teachings. It is nevertheless true that Gonzalez acknowledges that Hubmaier's "use of Church fathers and creeds is evident from even the superficial reading of Hubmaier's works" and dedicates a large portion of her thesis to examining "the nature of his appropriation of those sources."¹⁷ However, she performs this task to "nuance his placement within the sixteenth-century authority grid,"¹⁸ and the many absences in her analysis of Hubmaier's appeal to the fathers, which we will highlight in chapters five to eight, suggest that this analysis itself was not her primary concern.

Regarding Gonzalez's second emphasis, because her primary concern is to show that Hubmaier—and by extension, Anabaptism—represents *Tradition I* rather than *Tradition 0*,

¹⁵ Ibid., 27 (emphasis mine).

¹⁶ Ibid., 29.

¹⁷ Ibid., 69.

¹⁸ Ibid.

the background she provides reflects this specific concern. This betrays her objective to uncover among Reformers in the sixteenth century the understanding of Tradition as a single-source explanation that seeks to preserve Scripture's integration within an all-encompassing Tradition. Not only is this a distinct undertaking from what I seek to execute in my thesis, but our different objectives and emerging conclusions oppose each other as a result. Whereas Gonzalez wants to underscore the identical conceptions of Tradition by both Hubmaier and the Magisterial Reformers, my research demonstrates that differences in their appeal to the fathers, Hubmaier's dissimilar use of Augustine to that of the Magisterial Reformers being the most noteworthy example, exist due to the unique pedigree of Hubmaier's intellectual background. Further, although Gonzalez's survey of the sixteenth-century conception of Tradition has some merit considering her objectives, her approach has left her vulnerable to some historiographical oversights. For instance, in her second chapter, which specifically addresses this background, Gonzalez provides an excessively generalized discussion of Reformation and Catholic views of Tradition and the timeframe within which she works seems too liberal. For instance, instead of focusing on Hubmaier's religious, academic, intellectual, and geographical context and the specific period within which he lived, Gonzalez defers to the Council of Trent, whose decree on Scripture and Tradition was issued on 8 April 1546—approximately eighteen years after Hubmaier's baptism by fire—as an interpretative grid,¹⁹ and she appeals to Martin Chemnitz's (1522-1586) reinterpretation of Tradition in the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁰ Gonzalez even admits that "The main protagonists of the Swiss Anabaptist movement were already long dead at the time the

¹⁹ Ibid., 29, 33, 39, 40-44, 57, 62, 67, 69, 72, 238, 280, 309.

²⁰ Ibid., 57f.

Catholic Church finally legitimized and carefully worded its dualistic view of tradition."²¹ Moreover, this portion of Gonzalez's study looks at figures with whom Hubmaier had no direct personal contact, such as Luther and Calvin, devoting twelve pages²² and one page²³ to each respectively, while Zwingli, a very close colleague, is allotted a single paragraph,²⁴ and other instrumental figures in Hubmaier's life such as Johann Eck, Erasmus, Johannes Oecolampadius, various humanist colleagues, professors, and fellow students are completely absent from her analysis. Gonzalez's study is therefore a comparison of unrelated subjects to show that Hubmaier shared a perception of Tradition with his contemporaries and immediate successors, but she does not establish a lineage that accounts for those people and circumstances that caused, encouraged, cultivated, and stimulated his study of the Church fathers. This, however, is an important and unique contribution of my own research.

Finally, regarding the third emphasis, whereas Gonzalez looks at Hubmaier's Catholic past, though very briefly using extracted summary statements from secondary descriptions of his education, to establish the extent to which he complies with the single source understanding of Tradition that survived from the apostolic fathers until the fourteenth century, my study includes a detailed exploration into Hubmaier's Catholic past to uncover those people and characteristics that cultivated his recourse to the fathers throughout his life and to reinforce his self-perception as being in continuity with the historical Church. Not only do these divergent emphases again show that my study is much more concerned than Gonzalez's thesis with what happened *before* Hubmaier began to reacquaint himself with the fathers as his Anabaptist convictions were evolving, but it reveals another important

²¹ Ibid., 67.

²² Ibid., 45-54.

²³ Ibid., 55.

²⁴ Ibid., 55.

difference: Gonzalez's thesis is more concerned with early Christianity's understanding of Tradition, and my thesis is more concerned with Hubmaier's understanding of the Church fathers. This is to say, Gonzalez's main objective is to present the dominant *understanding of Tradition* from the patristic era until the fourteenth century as a "single source theory of doctrine,"²⁵ with which Hubmaier also complied as evident by his use of Scripture and traditional, extra-biblical sources *together*. It is not what the Church fathers taught—about baptism for instance—that is Gonzalez's main concern, it is what the Church fathers taught about Tradition itself. Gonzalez, for example, claims that "Tradition came to be understood [by the 14th c.] as a separate and distinct source of revelation, in addition to Scripture. It is precisely this *understanding of tradition*," continues Gonzalez, "that prompted the Reformers to raised their objections."²⁶

Gonzalez's central concern, therefore, is not Hubmaier's use and view of the fathers in all its facets and nuances, as the concern of my thesis is; rather, her only concern is to show that the manner in which Hubmaier uses the fathers consigns him to the single source, *Tradition I* camp. To accomplish this, she argues that the Reformers, including Hubmaier and the other Anabaptists, desired a return to the inseparability of Scripture and Tradition, as it was conceived in the early Church, in opposition to the separation of the two that they observed in their own day and the perceived "growing authority of tradition over Scripture" that Wycliffe and Hus had witnessed.²⁷ This is why Gonzalez's outline of the understanding of Tradition by Luther, Calvin, and Chemnitz makes sense only within her unique objectives, but would be out of place in my own study. Consequently, Gonzalez devotes eight pages to outlining the Church's understanding of Scripture and Tradition from the time of the

²⁵ Ibid., 38f.

²⁶ Ibid., 36 (emphasis mine).

²⁷ Ibid., 38.

apostolic fathers until the eve of the Reformation.²⁸ Signaling that her emphasis is on the early Christian *understanding of* Tradition rather than Hubmaier's use of early Christian sources, Gonzalez describes the early Christian conception of Scripture and Tradition as an inseparable unity, as stipulated in Oberman's survey of how Tradition was conceived from the apostolic fathers until the Reformation: "In the early Church, Oberman argued, tradition was not understood as an addition to the revelation contained in Scripture, but rather as the handing down of that same revelation in living form."²⁹ *Tradition I* on Oberman's spectrum reflects the understanding of Tradition *of* the fathers rather than one's recourse *to* the fathers. The latter, however, is the unique focus of my thesis.

Ultimately, the content of my thesis itself will demonstrate how and to what extent our studies differ, but it is helpful to note some of the more significant other ways in which my research makes a distinct contribution. As my thesis is a straightforward study of Hubmaier and the Church fathers, it invariably includes components that are absent from Gonzalez's thesis because they do not relate to her objectives or central argument. For instance, since my thesis explores the guiding principles and intellectual background of Hubmaier's use and view of the Church fathers, I also address more thoroughly his academic background, including his indebtedness to Eck, and receptivity to Humanism, designating two chapters of seventy-two pages in total, to uncover his early cultivation of patristic literature so we may better decipher why and how he read the fathers as he began embracing Anabaptism. As an aspect of the *ad fontes* humanist principle, my thesis also considers in greater detail and a more thorough manner Hubmaier's understanding of the decline of the Church and appropriation of the *restitutio* principle. Indeed, my examination of Hubmaier's

²⁸ Ibid., 32-9.

²⁹ Ibid., 34.

use of each Church father individually in the father-by-father analysis has as a primary focus the verification of the connection between his attraction to Humanism and conception of the Church's decline and his use and view of the Church fathers.

Understandably, since her objectives are different than my own, Gonzalez only cites brief summaries from past scholarship on Hubmaier's education by Mabry, Moore, Steinmetz, and Armour,³⁰ and provides a brief one-paragraph description of his education within the context of his wider biography and retention of Catholic theology.³¹ Regarding Hubmaier's humanist sensitivities, Gonzalez merely invokes Littell's research to claim that Humanism contributed to Anabaptism's restitutionism;³² cites Goertz to demonstrate that Anabaptists made reference to "works of reformers and humanists, from medieval theology, from late-medieval lay devotional movements" in their bid to search out extra-biblical sources,³³ and limits her description of Hubmaier's humanism, specifically as it shaped his understanding of free will, to a single paragraph.³⁴ Further, her brief attention to Hubmaier's embrace of restitutionism was only to demonstrate that this did not automatically suggest a departure from Tradition.³⁵ Therefore, my objective to determine the point at which Hubmaier believed the Church began its sharp decline (with Augustine's popularization of paedobaptism), his consequent positive view of the fathers *before* this point in time, and exploration into the fathers as second-generation scriptural exegetes much like Hubmaier himself, is absent from Gonzalez's study.

³⁰ Ibid., 76-8.

³¹ Ibid., 73f.

³² Ibid., 8-10.

³³ Goertz, *Anabaptists*, 133. Cf. Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 15f.

³⁴ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 80f.

³⁵ Ibid., 7-9, 19f..

In keeping with the encompassing theme of my thesis to ascertain the intellectual currents that account for why and how Hubmaier appropriated the fathers, I explore Erasmus' interpretation of the Great Commission (Mt. 28:19), especially in his *Paraphrase*, as a catalyst for Hubmaier's exploration into the fathers on the practice of credobaptism. I also argue that Hubmaier accessed Zwingli's patristic library for his knowledge of the fathers about baptism and consider in much greater detail the patristic editions that he studied,³⁶ usually with indisputable evidence exhibiting complete certitude and often resulting in different conclusions from those in Gonzalez's thesis. As a result of this comprehensiveness, for nearly every Church father whom we both address, I analyze at least one patristic writing that Gonzalez omits from her analysis even though Hubmaier references them in his works. Moreover, as a reflection of our differing central arguments,³⁷ I consider more intentionally (devoting an entire chapter of twenty-four pages and much of the conclusion) how Hubmaier viewed the authority and general worth of the fathers. Comprising this evaluation are important considerations regarding Hubmaier's use of Greek patristic commentaries and attention given to the believers' baptism of the Church fathers themselves, both of which are of little value to Gonzalez's thesis.

I also devote an entire chapter of twenty-five pages to Hubmaier's use of the Church fathers for his defence of free will, which Gonzalez does not explore. Instead, she offers only a brief description,³⁸ in which she omits mention and analysis of the two patristic works that are most germane to Hubmaier's teachings on free will—Fulgentius of Ruspe's *Ad*

³⁶ In nearly every instance, Gonzalez's description of the patristic editions that were available to Hubmaier is taken straight out of brief overviews in the *ANF* and *NPNF* series, which are all incomplete (since they do not pretend to be complete) and do not have Hubmaier specifically in mind, thus failing to take into consideration geography, contacts, dates, and Hubmaier's general biography (education, humanism, travels, etc.).

³⁷ Gonzalez's examination of Hubmaier's appraisal of the fathers is limited to his understanding of authority and is only two-and-a-half pages in length. Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 299-301.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 79-82.

Monimum and Augustine's *Contra Julianum*. Further, without locating or reading the passage in Jerome's *Commentary on Philemon* that Hubmaier cites, Gonzalez claims that "[i]t is, to say the least, a strange choice of scriptural argument" since the "text hardly resolves the debate regarding the freedom of human beings to choose or reject the offer of salvation,"³⁹ but I demonstrate clearly, after having located the passage in question, that Hubmaier's citation of Jerome is entirely appropriate. Gonzalez also claims that "Hubmaier's interest in Origen extended only to the issue of baptism,"⁴⁰ but I uncover and analyze his use of Origen in support of the freedom of the will.

Lastly, Gonzalez argues that it was Hubmaier's aim to convince his opponents that "only adult baptism was practiced by the early Church,"⁴¹ and that, for instance, "in Jerome's day infant baptism was not practiced."⁴² My thesis is more nuanced, allowing Hubmaier, being fully cognizant of the patristic statements that accept infant baptism, to admit that *both* paedo- and credobaptism existed during the patristic era, as errors had slowly penetrated the Church even during the apostolic era. The fathers, though occasionally bowing to the confusion evident in their time, nevertheless *predominantly* upheld credobaptism and were themselves baptized beyond infancy, which fashioned them as Hubmaier's spiritual ancestors and secured their co-affiliation with him in the one, true *ecclesia universalis*. Further, though barely mentioned in Gonzalez's study, Hubmaier's desire for an ecumenical council to resolve the issue of baptism on the basis of Scripture, due to the ambiguities that had existed since approximately the second century, constitutes an important element of my thesis, as his criteria for a legitimate council confirms the fathers as worthy participants due to their

³⁹ Ibid., 178.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 103.

⁴¹ Ibid., 143.

⁴² Ibid., 173.

fidelity to Scripture even in the face of ambiguities that distorted the correct baptismal practice throughout Christian history, including the patristic era. In reality, the central argument, primary objectives, and content of every chapter, apart from our respective analyses of Hubmaier's appeal to each Church father individually (wherein several variations nevertheless exist between our studies), are all unique to our separate theses. My intention is not to improve on Gonzalez's study, as her central argument and objectives are made narrow by the parameters of Oberman's paradigm, but in the end, each will inevitably complement the other.

2.1.2. *Anabaptism and the Church Fathers:* Although Gonzalez's study provides the most apposite material on Hubmaier and the fathers to date, other attempts to evaluate the patristic content of works by Anabaptists generally and Hubmaier specifically also exist. Robert Friedmann's early assumption, now corrected, that Anabaptists "never went to theological schools" underpins his estimation that they "had a very sporadic knowledge of the teachings of the church fathers."⁴³ Further, Friedmann's much respected seminal study, *The Theology of Anabaptism: An Interpretation* (1973), published twenty-three years later nevertheless still maintains that Anabaptists "were hardly familiar with the Church Fathers," adding only the modest claim that their analogy of the manifold constituents of the single loaf and cup representing the Church was possibly derived from the *Didache*, which "seems to have been popular in the sixteenth century."⁴⁴ Yet, this betrays how much Anabaptist historians were not conversant with this issue since the *Didache* was not even extant in the sixteenth century.⁴⁵

⁴³ Friedmann, "Anabaptism and Protestantism," 17f.

⁴⁴ Friedmann, *Theology of Anabaptism*, 140. See also Littell, "Restitution," 47.

⁴⁵ The *Didache* was first published in 1883 after it had been discovered by Philotheos Bryennios in the 11th-c. manuscript, *Codex Hierosolymitanus 1056*. Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 1:1.

Walter Klaassen cites the emphasis by the Church fathers on the purity of the Church, but maintains that Anabaptism developed its ecclesiology solely from Scripture.⁴⁶ Similarly, Stuart Murray claims that Anabaptists dismissed the fathers as "interesting rather than authoritative and not on a level with Scripture," and for this reason "were much less inclined to" quote the fathers than their Reformation counterparts.⁴⁷ The dominance of Scripture seems to have likewise overshadowed the import of the fathers for Frances Hiebert, who contends that Menno Simons (1496-1561) believed "the teaching of the church fathers was 'accursed' unless it was supported by the Scriptures."⁴⁸ Harold Bender also claimed that the Church fathers had "taught [Menno] that children needed baptism to be cleansed from original sin," but that when he "compared this teaching with the Scriptures he found a clear conflict."⁴⁹

However, Abraham Friesen affirms the influence of Augustine and Eusebius on Thomas Müntzer's (1488/9-1525) apocalypticism and his description of the apostolic church,⁵⁰ but Geoffrey Dipple believes this contention is "radical."⁵¹ Dipple nevertheless points out Müntzer's annotations in editions of Cyprian and Tertullian affirming the Spirit-filled ancient faith, but views his criticisms of Tertullian, Gregory Nazianzen, and John Chrysostom as "a clear sign that he had broken with the humanist reform program."⁵² Dipple is further unable to adequately account for Conrad Grebel's (1498-1526) apparent assailing of "the church fathers Augustine, Tertullian, Theophylact and Cyprian for their endorsement of [infant baptism]," while elsewhere making reference to "Augustine and Cyprian to argue

⁴⁶ Klaassen, *Anabaptism*, 15-7.

⁴⁷ Murray, *Biblical Interpretation*, 45.

⁴⁸ Hiebert, "Atonement," 124.

⁴⁹ Bender, "Introduction," In Menno Simons, *Complete Writings*, 8. Despite Bender's claims, Menno betrays a clear appreciation of the fathers; see, for instance, pp. 137, 141, 248, 695f.

⁵⁰ Friesen, *Thomas Müntzer*, 40, 112, 168-70.

⁵¹ Dipple, *Uses of History*, 72.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 76.

that adult baptism was practiced for 600 years after the time of the apostles," citing indifference to the fathers as the likely reason for Grebel's volatility.⁵³ Dipple also notes that Peter Walpot (1521-1578) gathered patristic support in his *Grosse Artikelbuch*, citing the fifth epistle of the ps.-Clementine corpus, Tertullian, Jerome, John Chrysostom, Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, Augustine, Bede, papal decrees, Canon Law, and conciliar statements, apparently relying on Hubmaier for his information, to authenticate the community of goods and argue against infant baptism, the real presence, and welding the sword during the patristic era.⁵⁴ Dipple believes that Bernard Rothmann (c. 1495-c. 1535), Pilgrim Marpeck (c. 1495-c. 1556), and Melchior Hoffman (c. 1495-1543) also interacted with the Church fathers in a positive manner.⁵⁵

Without professing any historical lineage, Dennis Martin, in his examination of Catholic spirituality and the Anabaptist emphasis on discipleship, argues that Basil of Caesarea, like the Anabaptists, implored all baptized Christians to take up their cross, but claims he gave the Eucharist a more important role "as food for eternal life." Martin also invokes Pelagius as a paradigm of discipleship and Anthony of Egypt, the originator of eremitic asceticism, as a model monastic ideals for laity to emulate.⁵⁶ Thomas Heilke, however, acknowledges that "the Greeks and the Church Fathers may have had some influence on the few Anabaptist leaders educated in the classical curriculum of the day," while Scripture was nevertheless their preferred source.⁵⁷

⁵³ Ibid., 123.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 157-9. See also Williams, *Radical Reformation*, 651-4; Stayer, *German Peasants War*, 156.

⁵⁵ Dipple, *Uses of History*, 144f., 224.

⁵⁶ Martin, "Catholic Spirituality," 11-13.

⁵⁷ Heilke, "Moral/Political Economy," 210f.

The reading of the fathers by acclaimed Anabaptist theologian and ex-Catholic priest, Menno Simons, has received the most attention.⁵⁸ Unlike Bender's unqualified dismissal of the role the fathers played in the young Menno's life, Leonard Verduin acknowledged that he "became well-acquainted with ... the writings of the church fathers such as Tertullian, Cyprian and Eusebius,"⁵⁹ implying at least the prospect of influence, and J.C. Wenger recognizes a similarity between Menno's *Meditations on the Twenty-fifth Psalm* and Augustine's *Confessions*.⁶⁰ Additionally, Alvin Beachy believed that Menno Simons, Dirk Philips, and Schwenckfeld had a mutual reliance on Augustine's *Tractates on the Gospel of John* for their interpretation of John 6 and, without claiming genetic transmission, observed that they emphasized the recapitulation theory of atonement much like Irenaeus.⁶¹ Beachy also observes that Casper Schwenckfeld, although a Spiritualist rather than Anabaptist proper, claimed to have received the doctrine of the celestial flesh from his reading of Hilary of Poitiers and Athanasius.⁶² George Williams believes that Schwenckfeld's celestial flesh doctrine may also have had Apollinaris of Laodicea and Apelles as its source.⁶³

Perhaps one of the more intriguing proposals is Kenneth Davis' speculation that Tertullian's "political asceticism," opposition to military service, charismatic beliefs, and "ascetic emphasis on brotherhood, lay participation and holy living" may have inspired the reforming program of the Swiss brethren under the leadership of Grebel. Davis cites as evidence the copy of Rhenanus' edition of the Tertullian *Opera* (1521) that Grebel dispatched

⁵⁸ See, for instance, Augustijn, "Menno Simons," 497-508; Horst, "Menno Simons," 419-430; Martin, "Menno," 41-64.

⁵⁹ Wenger and Verduin, *Complete Writings*, 4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁶¹ Beachy, *Concept of Grace*, 117, note 185; 208.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 79. See also *ME* 4:1122.

⁶³ Williams and Mergal, *Documents*, 162.

to his brother-in-law, Joachim Vadian (1484-1551) (see 4.1).⁶⁴ Although he does not reflect further on its implications, Irving Horst professed the need for Anabaptist scholars to investigate Erasmus' theology more thoroughly to "throw light on the background of Anabaptist theology" since "much of his thought certainly has patristic origins."⁶⁵

2.1.3. *Hubmaier and the Church Fathers:* In the first chapter, we alluded to some abbreviated studies on Hubmaier and the Church fathers imbedded in biographies and critical editions of his works (see 1.2.). Unfortunately, as a general rule, the assessment of Hubmaier's appreciation for the Church fathers has been somewhat imprecise. Of particular concern is the narrow sample of patristic references from Hubmaier's writings that historians use to demonstrate his view of the fathers. Moreover, scholars seem to have gravitated toward the few qualified references to the fathers in Hubmaier's works and, without indicating why, interpreted them as negative appraisals. Both Klaassen and Murray, for instance, adduced Hubmaier's remark to Oecolampadius, "You speak to me much of Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Augustine, councils, histories, and old customs. I must somehow think that you lack the Scriptures, which do not want to come out of the quiver."⁶⁶ Although Klaassen concedes that Hubmaier "goes to some pains to produce a selection of citations from the works of the Church Fathers ... which refute infant baptism,"⁶⁷ he makes the unsubstantiated claim that Hubmaier "repeatedly denounces the appeal to the Church Fathers," presumably because he defends the "sole authority of Scripture ... against all other claims to authority."⁶⁸ Murray, moreover, attempts to distill Hubmaier's view of the fathers

⁶⁴ Davis, "Discontinuity," 38-40.

⁶⁵ Horst, *Erasmus*, 14.

⁶⁶ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 267; *CRR* 290f. Cf. Klaassen, "Speaking in Simplicity," 140f.; Murray, *Biblical Interpretation*, 46.

⁶⁷ Klaassen, "Speaking in Simplicity," 143.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 140.

without reference to his *Ein Gespräch auf Zwinglis Taufbüchlein* (1526) or *Urteil* and does not infer from the above comment by Hubmaier in his *Von der Kindertaufe* a desire for a scriptural argument from his colleague *in addition to* the fathers.

There has also been a concerted effort to override the impact of Hubmaier's education, as Klaassen, for instance, seems to exaggerate when he claims that Hubmaier "had grown very suspicious of the whole curriculum of theological education as he knew it since it did not accord the Bible its proper place."⁶⁹ We can sympathize with Klaassen's assessment, however, since Hubmaier demands that Scripture be studied unencumbered by scholastic training,⁷⁰ but if the 'whole curriculum' includes the fathers, internal evidence suggests otherwise. Therefore, Eddie Mabry's belief that Hubmaier regretted that his education in "the Fathers was greater than his education in the Bible and the Word of God"⁷¹ cannot be supported since Hubmaier never actually made this comparison in his academics specifically, and Mabry does not cite any primary source evidence. Moreover, Hughes Oliphant Old makes the unsubstantiated claim that Hubmaier "limited his investigation to a study of Gratian's *Decretals*," and continues, "This was a perfectly acceptable practice for a Scholastic theologian, but the new learning of the Christian Humanists expected much more."⁷² With the emergence of new printed editions of the fathers by humanist redactors, by comparison, "such scholars as Zwingli and Oecolampadius delved into the source documents themselves rather than relying on collections of quotations of the Fathers, such as those made by Peter Lombard and Gratian."⁷³ By contrast, Old maintains that Hubmaier "was in a different academic world, and his very old-fashioned attempt to reconstruct the history of infant

⁶⁹ Ibid., 142.

⁷⁰ "Achtzehn Schlußreden," *HS* 73; *CRR* 33.

⁷¹ Mabry, *Doctrine*, 6.

⁷² Old, *Baptismal Rite*, 102.

⁷³ Ibid., 102f.

baptism was not apt to impress his colleagues who had been so influenced by the new learning."⁷⁴ This sentiment perhaps best sums up the perception of Hubmaier and the Church fathers that my own thesis seeks to overturn, for we will surely be convinced by the close of this study that Hubmaier availed himself of the latest humanist printed editions of the fathers in every case, save his use of the Decree only when denouncing Augustine, and his patristic scholarship was most definitely inspired by his humanistic training and sensitivities. Indeed, Old might be surprised to find out that Zwingli's library is the most likely source for Hubmaier's use of the fathers.

Consequently, Rollin Armour is more equitable in his opinion that Hubmaier actually drew "on his training as *doctor theologiae*" for his references to the fathers.⁷⁵ Bergsten claims that Hubmaier wrote his *Urteil* "to show his fellow clergy in Nikolsburg and everyone else, as well, that the Scriptures and the Fathers and teachers of the Church were opposed to infant baptism."⁷⁶ Bergsten also lists each Church father that Hubmaier cited, allegedly for polemical reasons, against the paedobaptist stance of Zwingli and Oecolampadius and observes that Augustine and Jerome figure most prominently in his works, baptism being the foremost concern.⁷⁷ Another of Bergsten's more acute observations is that Hubmaier sought to maximize his conformity not only to Scripture "but also with the best tradition of the Church," and that, as explained in greater detail in chapter four (see 4.4), his recourse to the fathers "was a matter of great concern to him, since the Fathers of the Church, like himself and the other reformers, claimed to be nothing more than expositors of Scripture."⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Ibid., 103.

⁷⁵ Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 49.

⁷⁶ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 320.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 280-4, 345f., 392-4.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 281. Cf. p. 285.

Dipple suggests that Hubmaier's appeal to the fathers was to "shore up his argument for the pedigree of believers' baptism," which factored into his understanding of when the "fall" of the Church occurred.⁷⁹ Dipple also astutely observes that Hubmaier, although not afraid to disagree at times, especially with Augustine, enlisted the fathers to "make a distinction between the true church and 'the majority'" and "distinguish himself and his movement from the opinions of heretical groups in the early church."⁸⁰ To accomplish this, Hubmaier wrote his *Urteil* and *Von der Kindertaufe* to summon "patristic authors to prove that he was neither a heretic nor a schismatic and that the original practice of the early church had been believers' baptism."⁸¹ Pipkin likewise claims that Hubmaier wrote the *Urteil* "to make the point that [he] was neither schismatic nor heretical" since "believers' baptism is true to Scripture, and it is likewise loyal to the tradition and history of the church."⁸² Pipkin further opines it is reasonable to conclude that "the ancient practices of the early church fathers, councils and the canon law, as well as theologians and contemporary opponents, well enough substantiate Hubmaier's view that he was within the tradition of the church rather than outside it."⁸³ Darren Williamson notes that Hubmaier appealed to the Church fathers, Basil, Jerome, and Theophylact specifically for an exegesis of Matthew 28:19, whose insight was second in influence only to Erasmus' interpretation,⁸⁴ and Kenneth Davis remarks that Hubmaier shows "by several sympathetic references his knowledge of and affinity for Tertullian"⁸⁵

⁷⁹ Dipple, *Uses of History*, 132.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁸² Pipkin, "Baptismal Theology," 48.

⁸³ *Ibid.* Cf. Pipkin, "Introduction: [17] Old and New Teachers on Believers Baptism," *CRR* 245.

⁸⁴ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 103-5.

⁸⁵ Davis, "Discontinuity," 39.

Rollin Armour undertakes an extensive analysis and relatively careful itemization of Hubmaier's patristic references,⁸⁶ in which he suggests that although the witness of the Church fathers was not requisite for substantiating credobaptism, "he did hope to prove to his opponents that believer's baptism had been the early practice of the church."⁸⁷ Armour also contends that Hubmaier's use of Origen in his *Von der Kindertaufe* was for polemical purposes since he advanced the *non sequitur*, "[S]ince the early church baptized believers, it did not baptize infants," to evade Oecolampadius' argument in favour of the apostolicity of paedobaptism by using Origen.⁸⁸ The various theological and ecclesiological questions for which Hubmaier supplies patristic answers also comprises Armour's analysis. Hubmaier cites Ambrose, Basil of Caesarea, Jerome, and Theophylact to argue that "faith is necessary to a valid and efficacious sacrament,"⁸⁹ calls upon Cyril, who Armour erroneously identifies as the bishop of Jerusalem, and Basil of Caesarea to prove the distinction between the old and new covenants, and enlists Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, Jerome, John Chrysostom, and Theophylact "[t]o show the difference between the baptisms of John and Jesus."⁹⁰ Armour also insinuates that Hubmaier's espousal of three kinds of baptism—by water, Spirit, and blood—have patristic origins, and observes that although his *Urteil* contained some errors, "it did serve to call attention to one aspect of the early Christian practice, and ... show Hubmaier's desire to stand in continuity with the church of early times,"⁹¹ which is echoed also by Goertz⁹² and Dipple.⁹³

⁸⁶ Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 49-54, 157f.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 52.

⁹² Goertz, *Anabaptists*, 108.

⁹³ Dipple, *Uses of History*, see esp. 141f., 150, 154-8, 252-77.

Finally, Kirk MacGregor, in his very well researched study of Hubmaier's sacramental theology, asks, "[W]hich sources...led Hubmaier to conclude that believers' baptism comprised the practice of the early church?" Interestingly, MacGregory believes that "Hubmaier was brought to this inference as much, if not more, from the writings of the second through fourth century Church Fathers than from the New Testament," and claims that Hubmaier thought credobaptism was the "majority practice to the time of Augustine."⁹⁴

2.2 Historiographical Oversights to Avoid

What can we learn from this past scholarship and how do we proceed from here? Below are both the negative and positive lessons we can incorporate into our study of Hubmaier and the Church fathers. First, therefore, we will make brief comments about eight mistakes we will try to avoid in the following investigation and six historiographical issues to account for in an effort to carry out our study responsibly.

2.2.1. *Believing that Anabaptists were Ahistorical:* The most formidable challenge to the evaluation that Anabaptism was ahistorical is a recent study by Geoffrey Dipple.⁹⁵ Regarding Hubmaier specifically, his academic aptitude (see 3.3.1.); contacts and affiliation with leading Humanists (see 4.1); concurrent increasing appreciation for Humanism (see ch. four); consistent defence of his own orthodoxy and continuity with the historical Church (see 4.6.1.); *restitutio* and appending historical explorations (see 4.5); and interaction with the Church fathers, ecclesial councils, and creeds (see chs. five to eight) attest to a historical adeptness that dispels such accusations against him personally.

2.2.2. *Searching Exclusively for Chronologically Immediate Influences:* Earlier studies had originally dismissed medieval influences on Anabaptists, Friedmann claiming,

⁹⁴ MacGregor, *Hubmaier*, 108.

⁹⁵ Dipple, *Uses of History*. For Hubmaier specifically, see p. 150.

for instance, "[T]he connection [of Anabaptism] with mystical religion is not very striking."⁹⁶ However, through advancements in Anabaptist historiography, Friedmann's assessment has largely been revised in studies by Kenneth Davis,⁹⁷ Werner Packull,⁹⁸ and Alvin Beachy,⁹⁹ among others.¹⁰⁰ However, factors that are important to keep in mind are the greater amount of *explicit* references to the fathers in Anabaptist works than *implicit* echoes of medieval theological currents; the closer proximity of the fathers than medieval theologians to the apostolic era; that the patristic era antedated the point at which a sharp decline of the Church was initiated; the medieval, rather than patristic, theological inheritance that was itself the setting for the religious revolution in the sixteenth century; and the possible patristic origins of the medieval streams that can nevertheless be detected in Anabaptist thought.

2.2.3. Underestimating Literary Means of Communicating Transformative Ideas:

One must also not overlook the ubiquity of the literary culture within which theologically trained students like Hubmaier were exposed to ideas, theological assumptions, and scriptural exegesis from the patristic era, which had been reduced to documentary transmission by generations of separation, yet firmly absorbed into the cultural psyche of the intellectual elite. To Peter Erb's counsel, which we noted in the introduction, we may add Lewis Spitz's remark that "the Fathers are considerably less known to today's readers than they were to the literate population of the Renaissance and Reformation period."¹⁰¹ Indeed, moveable type and the printing press not only assisted the spread of Reformation programs, it expedited the

⁹⁶ Friedmann, "Conception," 354.

⁹⁷ Davis, *Anabaptism and Asceticism*, 218-92.

⁹⁸ Packull, *Mysticism*.

⁹⁹ Beachy, *Concept of Grace*, 214-17.

¹⁰⁰ See, for instance, Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 20f.; Bietenholz, *Basel and France*, 172-6; Davis, "Discontinuity," 33, 35; Estep, *Anabaptist Story*, 24-8; Finger, *Contemporary Anabaptist Theology*, 51-4; Kühler, *Geschiedenis*, 40-2; Lindsay, *Reformation*, Vol. 2, 445; Martin, "Catholic Spirituality," 5-25; Snyder, *Michael Sattler*; Zeman, "Medieval Themes," 259-71, etc.

¹⁰¹ Spitz, "Humanism," 401.

proliferation of patristic editions as it had the redaction of New Testament manuscripts from a similarly ancient period.

2.2.4. *Underestimating the Pervasiveness of Patristic Thought:* It is good practice to view references to the Church father as the "tip of the iceberg," especially if the submerged portion can be given lucid and comprehensive expression. Anthony Lane's study of Calvin and the fathers provides a caveat against equating citations with influence, but adds, "One cannot argue that Calvin knows no more of a writer than he quotes."¹⁰² The historian is obligated, therefore, to entertain the possibility of Hubmaier's fuller acquaintance with a Church father beyond the demarcation of his patristic references. John Oyer also criticizes the 'text-only' methodology in Quentin Skinner's classification of intellectual historians as 'text-only' and 'context-only', as it excludes other possibilities of intellectual transmission, typically reducing cross-fertilization to a few or even one person.¹⁰³ Oyer is correct in his criticism of the 'text-only' clan, as it implies that a historical figure under investigation is influenced only by those who (s)he has written to or been written from. Accordingly, with an ear to the setting or context in which Hubmaier thought and wrote, one may detect rumblings of patristic musings even where the fathers are not referenced overtly in his writings.

2.2.5. *Playing the "Polemical Card" Too Readily:* As we saw above, some scholars feel that Hubmaier's recourse was polemical—a dishonest appeal to the fathers in response to an unsolicited ambush by his opponents—yet this begs the question, Why did he not also enlist the support of scholastic theologians? It is important, therefore, to assess Hubmaier's sincerity when citing the fathers within the parameters of what was appropriate in

¹⁰² Lane, *John Calvin*, 9.

¹⁰³ Oyer, "Historical Methodology," 62-4. Cf. Skinner, "History of Ideas," 3-53.

his own day.¹⁰⁴ Lane suggests that historians should "look for citations with no obvious polemical motivation ... [and] authors or works not previously cited and to correlate this with the availability of new editions."¹⁰⁵ Further, Backus advises us that Zwingli sought to "harmonize his own reading of the Scripture ... [with] representatives of the Early Church,"¹⁰⁶ and Bucer, without requiring a *consensus patrum*, searched for patristic "doctrines that confirmed his own and those of other reformers."¹⁰⁷

2.2.6. *Failing to Account for Hubmaier's Presuppositions:* John Oyer warns against leaving unchallenged the self-proclamation by an Anabaptist leader of what did and did not influence and shape his own thought,¹⁰⁸ Scripture of course being the natural candidate. J. Denny Weaver also observes that the Anabaptist *restitutio* understanding of Christian history had led some Anabaptists to conceal other influences than the New Testament Church they sought to emulate.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, if Hubmaier's recourse is to historical developments in lieu of scriptural support, many of which we will discuss throughout the thesis, it is conceivable that his prototypical invocation of Scripture identifies merely his *preferred* source of authoritative teaching and not his *only* source.

2.2.7. *Anachronistic Minimization of Hubmaier's Catholicism:* Different from approaches that almost seem to portray Reformers as converts to a pre-existent set of doctrines and practices, it is more appropriate to consider Hubmaier's motives, writings, and actions through the filter of the Catholic Church in which he was reared.¹¹⁰ Walter Moore's astute observation that "[t]he precise limits of orthodoxy were not nearly as clear in 1519 as

¹⁰⁴ On this topic, see Lane, *John Calvin*, 3.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰⁶ Backus, "Zwingli," 640.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 650.

¹⁰⁸ Oyer, "Historical Methodology," 64.

¹⁰⁹ Weaver, *Becoming Anabaptist*, 42.

¹¹⁰ Friedmann, "Anabaptism and Protestantism," 14ff.

they became later in the century, after the Council of Trent" adds another dimension to Hubmaier's retention of his Catholicism.¹¹¹ Further, historians acknowledge that Anabaptism's separation from the Catholic Church was forced on them by "[l]ocal political and religious pressures" and was thus regrettable.¹¹² Alfred Hegler also believes that Hubmaier betrayed a temperance that "endeavored to keep the Anabaptist movement within moderate lines,"¹¹³ which allowed him to retain loyalty to the historical Church.

2.2.8. *Misunderstanding of "Authority":* Perhaps the most damaging oversight is the failure to properly adjudicate Hubmaier's understanding of "authority" as he applies it to the Church fathers (*auctoritas patrum*) and to Scripture (*auctoritas scripturarum*), and each relative to the other. There seems to be a bias in some scholarship, perhaps *via* modern interpretations of the *sola scriptura* principle and biblical inerrancy, that there can be only *one* authority which must be accurate in every respect for it to be designated an authority at all. However, it may be more appropriate to simply suggest some parameters within which to explain what authority meant to Hubmaier. How Hubmaier's close colleagues, Eck (see 3.4.3. and 8.2.3.), Zwingli (see 5.1.4.), and Erasmus (see 4.5 and 8.2.1.), understood the *auctoritas patrum* will shed more light on his own perception.

2.3 Historiographical Considerations

2.3.1. *How does a polygenesis or monogenesis historiography impact our thesis?*

Anabaptist historiography in the last thirty-five years has been dominated by the question of whether Anabaptist origins can be characterized as mono- or polygenesis.¹¹⁴ Although not

¹¹¹ Moore, Jr., "Remembering John Eck," 936.

¹¹² Snyder, *Anabaptist History*, 118.

¹¹³ See Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 34. Cf. Hegler, "Hübmaier, Balthasar," 298-304.

¹¹⁴ See, for instance, Bender, "Historiography," 88-104; Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 24f.; Goertz, *Anabaptists*, 3-8; Krahn, "Historiography," 182-209; Laube, "Radicalism," Lindsay, *Reformation*, Vol. 2, 430f., 437; Oyer, "Historical Methodology," 62-82; Roth, "Recent Currents," 523-36; Snyder, "Beyond Polygenesis," 43-7; Stayer, *Sword*; Stayer, Packull, and Deppermann, "Monogenesis to Polygenesis," 83-121, etc.

requisite for the acceptance of my study, a preference for either theory does impact *how* my conclusions are used and for what purposes. For example, if one accepts the polygenesis model, a mutual reflection on the Church fathers among the various Anabaptist strands might account for similarities where barriers in communication among the myriad of factions existed. The semblance between Anabaptist and patristic characteristics could also stem from comparable interpretations of Scripture, Anabaptism's being the result of a fresh reading after a medieval and scholastic hiatus and the fathers' being the earliest reading and therefore the most novel.

2.3.2. *Did Hubmaier's life and writings leave an impression on the Anabaptist movement?* Hubmaier's Anabaptist status has long been questioned due to his divergent views on the sword and role of the state,¹¹⁵ yet his use of the fathers is more significant if he enjoyed an influential career. To this end, C. Arnold Snyder remarks, "Hubmaier probably did more to define an early theological core of Anabaptist teaching than did anyone else,"¹¹⁶ and has thus been "unfairly marginalized" by Anabaptist historians. Bergsten likewise concludes, "Hubmaier's view on baptism, the Lord's Supper, church discipline, and freedom of the will exercised a considerable influence for a long time over a wide area among all Anabaptists" and calls him a "pioneer of the Anabaptist movement ... [whose] work is indissolubly bound up with the subsequent history of the Anabaptist movement."¹¹⁷ Indeed, Eck, Fabri, Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575), Oecolampadius, and Erasmus all believed he was instrumental in the rise of Anabaptism,¹¹⁸ and scholars acknowledge the

¹¹⁵ See, for instance, Yoder, "Swiss Anabaptism," 5-17.

¹¹⁶ Snyder, *Anabaptist History*, 63f., note 13. See also Dipple, *Uses of History*, 128-37; Friedmann, *Theology of Anabaptism*, 19; Friedmann, "Anabaptism and Protestantism," 21; Leth, "Catholic Exegesis," 103; Windhorst, "Hubmaier, Balthasar," 613; Windhorst, *Täuferisches Täuferverständnis*, 2f.

¹¹⁷ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 397f. See also, pp. 384f.

¹¹⁸ Bergsten, *HS* 9-11; Williamson, *Erasmus*, 12f. Cf. Eck, *Enchiridion*, 209; *LB* 9:871E.

impact of his appeal to the Church fathers on subsequent generations of Anabaptists,¹¹⁹ his *Urteil* garnering the attention of later opponents.¹²⁰

2.3.3. *What compelled Hubmaier to read the Church fathers?* An inquiry into *why* Hubmaier appealed to patristic literature assists in interpreting his motives and basic disposition towards the fathers before we examine his citations. Therefore, his academic background and increasing affinity for Erasmian Humanism plays a major role in this study. Accordingly, Franklin Littell observes that Hubmaier, among others, accomplished much "in the university world, a world inspired by the new Humanistic studies."¹²¹ However, he must ask ourselves, How can one measure the impact of Humanism on Hubmaier compared to the impact of the fathers to which it points? Did Hubmaier's understanding of free will develop through his reading of Erasmus's *De libero arbitrio diatribe sive collatio* (1524) or his encounter with Origen to whom Erasmus makes reference in this monograph? Where does the influence of Humanism end and the inspiration of the fathers begin?¹²² These are questions that we must answer.

2.3.4. *How do we determine whether components of Hubmaier's thought are uniquely patristic?* It is therefore important to discriminate between the direct influence of the Church fathers and immediate late-medieval and early modern teachings that resemble and proliferated what was originally patristic. For instance, Lane observes that striking parallels exist "between Calvin and Augustine ... but it is hard to prove that Calvin reached his Augustinian positions through the direct influence of Augustine rather than through the

¹¹⁹ See Begsten, *Hubmaier*, 384f.; Dipple, *Uses of History*, 157-9.

¹²⁰ See Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 389, 393, 396f.; Mabry, *Faith*, 132.

¹²¹ Littell, *Origins*, 61.

¹²² Cf. Williamson, *Erasmus*, 103f.

Augustinianism of others."¹²³ For his part, Hubmaier could have derived his understanding of the ban from the contemporary practice of excommunication, Scripture (Matthew 18), or the practice of the early Church.¹²⁴ Whether his understanding of free will is nominalist, humanist, or patristic is another example (see ch. eight). It becomes necessary, therefore, to identify the irregularities in patristic thought compared to immediate intellectual currents.

2.3.5. *What circumstances allowed Hubmaier to cite the Church fathers?* It is helpful to also consider the circumstances that allowed Hubmaier to cite the Church fathers. Did Hubmaier quote from memory or directly from patristic editions and *florilegia* available to him? Did he have access to the patristic library of a colleague? Or, even more intriguing, did Hubmaier himself own a personal library that contained writings of the fathers?¹²⁵ If it is possible to determine the source of Hubmaier's patristic references, we might learn more about his motives for employing the witness of the fathers. That he appealed to the fathers at all is itself significant when the option to ignore them altogether is considered, but if he used them without being provoked, the initial impulse would of course be his own.

2.3.6. *What impact do characteristics unique to Hubmaier's life make on his use of the Church fathers?* If one considers the patristic citations in works by Hubmaier's contemporaries, a temptation to make incongruous comparisons might arise. It should be remembered, however, that Hubmaier's life was cut short in 1528, his reforming program spanning only five years after his arrival in Waldshut and his Anabaptist career having a duration of a paltry three years. This circumstance of course limited the volume of his literary output, which paled in comparison to such admirers of the fathers as Erasmus, Rhenanus, Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Bullinger, Calvin, and Beza, among others, who

¹²³ Lane, *John Calvin*, 15. See also pp. 15ff., 67.

¹²⁴ See "Lehrtafel," *HS* 313f.; *CRR* 349.

¹²⁵ For similar questions, see Dipple, *Uses of History*, 32.

each enjoyed longer lives. Hubmaier wrote only twenty-six relatively short treatises, devotionals, and pamphlets, in addition to the few letters, recantations, and apologies that are extant. While he did not devote energy to translating and printing patristic editions, neither did he for Scripture—the work of others perhaps stalling his ambitions. Also, Hubmaier's life was in constant danger; his forcibly nomadic lifestyle therefore restricted his access to the fathers for any sustained period.

CHAPTER THREE

HUBMAIER'S HUMANIST EDUCATION AND INITIAL EXPOSURE TO THE CHURCH FATHERS

3.1 The Rise of Anabaptism and the Confessionalization of Humanist Methods

Since we will focus on the humanist characteristics of Hubmaier's academic background that stimulated his appeal to ancient forms of Christianity, it is important to briefly note in what ways the spirit of Humanism was operative in his education. Although historians have laid emphasis on various characteristics of Humanism in their own definitions,¹ we will use the helpful definition of Geanakoplos, who draws attention to Humanism's "study of the writings, especially literary, of the ancient authors, the recovery of manuscripts of lost or rare texts,"² in tandem with Rüegg's observation that "humanism was not so much a rediscovery of Antiquity as that it was a new attitude towards ancient authors."³

Throughout our exploration into Hubmaier's academic preparation we will emphasize three humanist traits that nearly all scholars agree comprised the humanist spirit in sixteenth-century Northern Europe and which I will demonstrate were influential components of Hubmaier's education. First, Humanism showed a dissatisfaction with the dialectical acrobatics and glosses of Scholasticism, favouring instead the *direct* study of the Church

¹ See, for instance, Brann, "Humanism," 123f.; Friesen, "Impulse," 37; Hall, "Possibilities," 151; Joachimsen, "Humanismus," 419; Kreider, "Anabaptism," 123; Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 8f.; Näf, "Humanismus," 214; Spitz, "Humanism," 381.

² Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, 19.

³ Rüegg, "Themes," 24.

fathers *via* the grammatical and philological principles taught in the pagan classics.⁴ Second, Humanism, and specifically Erasmus, wanted Scripture to remain "unhampered in its living and inspiring power by the obstacles of dialectic"⁵ and instead consult the fathers to avoid subjective exegesis.⁶ And finally, Humanism's adherence to the *ad fontes* principle and a renewed interest in history, which meant drinking from the fount of ancient Christianity by reaching "back across the Middle Ages, a period of decay, to the theology of the first centuries,"⁷ or as Erasmus stated it in his *Ratio seu methodus* (1518/19), to consult "the sources and those writers who drank immediately from the sources."⁸

Scholars have also long noted the impact of Humanism on the Reformation.⁹ However, rather than creating a mere amalgam of unique impulses that eventually triggered the Reformation, a new humanistic constitution developed whose composition initially so closely resembled the reforming programs of Luther, Zwingli, Bucer, Oecolampdius, and Hubmaier among many others, that it had the effect of assuaging the abruptness of some of their demands. Essentially, Humanism exposed the relative imprecision of what constituted "orthodoxy" in the Catholic Church, exploited by, for instance, Lefèvre and Clichtove,¹⁰ while at the same time providing a "diversion" that could allow the more abrupt program of the Reformation to progress. There is no shortage of insight on the influence of Humanism on Anabaptism either. Ever since Walther Köhler declared that "the profound spiritual father

⁴ D'Amico, "Humanism," 355f.; Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 78; Nauert, "Pre-Reformation Controversies," 14; Pabel, "Reading," 470; Stinger, "Humanism in Florence," 186.

⁵ Boeft, "Erasmus," 545.

⁶ D'Amico, "Humanism," 372; Jarrott, "Erasmus," 119-21; Levi, *Renaissance*, 250.

⁷ Augustijn, *Influence*, 188. See also Bejczy, *Erasmus*, 18-24, 41, 192; Fraenkel, *Testimonia Patrum*, Pabel, "Reading," 474, etc.

⁸ *AS* 3:492. Cited in Friesen, "Impulse," 29-45. Cf. Peters, "Erasmus," 255.

⁹ See, for instance, DeMolen, "Reformation," 17; Hyma, *Christian Renaissance*; Nauert, "Pre-Reformation Controversies," 3-5; Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 4f.; Spitz, *German Humanists*; Spitz, "Humanism," 382, 402-5, etc.

¹⁰ DeMolen, "Reformation," 17.

of the Anabaptists was Erasmus,"¹¹ other historians have taken up investigations into the matter,¹² noting, for instance, the many personal contacts between Anabaptists and prominent Humanists,¹³ the influence of Erasmus by way of the *devotio moderna*¹⁴ and in Anabaptism's interpretation of the Great Commission,¹⁵ their mutual adoption of the *restitutio* principle,¹⁶ the influence of humanist teachings on free will,¹⁷ a shared concern about the moral standards (*Tatchristentum*) of clergy,¹⁸ a similar spirituality that avoided the "rigid dogmatism" of Zwingli and Luther,¹⁹ and the "profound influence" of Humanism on Anabaptism's "methods and attitudes."²⁰

However, Erika Rummel advances a thesis in her book, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany* (2000), that can help us navigate the inner dynamics of the relationship between Humanism and the Reformation, and Hubmaier's loyalties in particular. Rummel expatiates on some important facets of the Humanist-Reformation relationship that refine my own presentation of the way Humanism factored into Hubmaier's teachings on free will and baptism and his concomitant use of the Church fathers. Rather than focus on the influence of Humanism on the Reformation, which Rummel does not deny, her study "reverses the question, asking: How did the Reformation affect humanism? ... [T]he dynamics of the relationship," Rummel claims, "are better described by saying that

¹¹ Köhler, "Wiedertäufer," 1918.

¹² See, for instance, Augustijn, "Menno Simons," 497-508; Davis, *Anabaptism and Asceticism*, 266-92; Friesen, *Erasmus*; Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 68-97, esp. pp. 69-72, etc.

¹³ See Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 13; Fast, "Dependence," 111; Hall, "Possibilities," 149.

¹⁴ See Kühler, *Geschiedenis*, 40-2; Muralt, *Wiedertäufer*.

¹⁵ See Friesen, *Erasmus*; Williamson, *Erasmus*, 52-4, 59-61, 65-89.

¹⁶ See Littell, *Origins*, 180, note 13.

¹⁷ See Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 13; Hall, "Possibilities," 150; Hillerbrand, "Origins," 152-180. Cf. Spitz, "Humanism," 384, 402.

¹⁸ See Davis, "Progenitor," 164; Friesen, "Impulse," 37; Muralt, *Wiedertäufer*, 6f.

¹⁹ Huizinga, *Erasmus*, 177f. See also Horst, *Erasmus*, 10-13.

²⁰ Kreider, "Anabaptism," 140.

humanism was co-opted, perhaps even exploited, in the religious debate."²¹ By trading "on the popularity of humanism to promote their cause among young intellectuals," Reformers "who had been trained in the *studia humaniora* plucked from its cornucopia what was useful for the advancement of their cause and transformed or suppressed what was unsuited to their purpose."²² When we apply this thesis to Hubmaier, we must recall that he was a Humanist first before he joined the Reformation, and so it is prudent to explore whether he too commandeered humanist emphases in a confessionalizing manner.

In the pages that follow, we will explore the humanist character of Hubmaier's education and post-university activity, paying particular attention to how it contributed to his use and view of the Church fathers, and there is much in Rummel's study to ruminate on in light of my own research. For instance, several Humanists mounted criticisms against "the reformers who seemingly embraced humanistic studies [but] used them for their own purposes" and denounced the "ideological straitjacket they placed on education."²³ One example involves moral education, wherein "[t]he humanistic ideal of self-realization ... was not suited to the Protestant anthropology of the sinner redeemed by grace alone."²⁴ Interestingly, Hubmaier actually embraces the self-realization of Humanism necessary for synergistically cooperating with divine grace, thus aligning himself with Erasmus' preservation of free will in service of moral ends against the "Augustinian anthropology" of the Protestants "that place emphasis on the correction of faults rather than on self-fulfillment."²⁵

²¹ Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 3.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, 44. See pp. 30-49.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 6. See also pp. 46f.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 47. Cf. "Freiheit des Willens," *HS* 396f.; *CRR* 447.

Rummel also examines how Erasmus,²⁶ Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535),²⁷ and Sebastian Castellio (1515-63)²⁸ used the humanistic *ars dubitandi* approach against the rigid dogmatism of the Protestant confessionalization process.²⁹ This humanist approach involved "a rational examination of the evidence on both sides of the question," and if unsuccessful, reaching a verdict "based on authority and consensus."³⁰ Similarly, in his preface to *Das andere Büchlein von der Freiwilligkeit des Menschen* (1527), Hubmaier remarks, "I desire for God's sake that the testimony of both sides be heard and that afterwards, every Christian reader judge for oneself according to the plumb line of Holy Scripture."³¹ Moreover, some Humanists, including Maartin van Dorp (1485-1525),³² Beatus Rhenanus,³³ and Willibald Pirckheimer (1470-1530),³⁴ opted to withdraw and re-orientate their professions when the openly hostile "Catholic authorities ... demanded clear proof of loyalty from those who lived in their jurisdiction."³⁵ Others, however, were accused of Nicodemism—or a policy of concealment perceived negatively³⁶—represented by Urbanus Rhegius (1489-1541)³⁷ and Wolfgang Capito (1478-1541),³⁸ though this negative portrayal grew out of a series of misconceptions.³⁹ Erasmus likewise claimed that "it can never be right to go against the truth, but to conceal it may occasionally be beneficial,"⁴⁰ and adopted

²⁶ Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 54-61.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 61-7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 67-74.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 50-74.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 56.

³¹ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 401f.; *CRR* 452.

³² Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 92-4.

³³ *Ibid.*, 95f.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 97-100.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 75, 83. See also pp. 75-101.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 116f.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 105-11.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 111-6.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 102-20.

⁴⁰ Cited in *ibid.*, 85.

the principle of *aptum*—the skill of accommodation.⁴¹ Interestingly, when Hubmaier met with Erasmus and his humanist entourage in Basel in the spring of 1522, he similarly observed that "Erasmus speaks freely, but writes precisely."⁴² We will say more on this in chapter five on Erasmus and the Great Commission (see 5.2), but for now we will note that Hubmaier seems to have confessionalized Erasmian Humanism's ambiguous endorsement of pre-baptismal instruction by amassing patristic support for credobaptism and affirming Erasmus' view on free will.

But, how exactly did Hubmaier confessionalize Erasmian Humanism's ambiguous statements about pre-baptismal instruction? The answer lies in Hubmaier's exploitation of numerous humanistic *methods and characteristics* to serve his reforming agenda (eg. rhetoric, trilingualism, grammar, *ad fontes* and *restitutio* principles, patristic scholarship, preference for humanist editions of the fathers; rejection of Scholasticism, and emphasis on morality and free will). For instance, Rummel explains that whereas Humanists emphasized language studies to enable "the student to read classical literature for its style and content; in the reformed curriculum they become exegetical tools,"⁴³ which is true also of Hubmaier. Nevertheless, Hubmaier's desire for a general council shows his receptivity to the guidance of his contemporaries and hope for the retention of ecclesial unity and consensus.⁴⁴ This accords, at least in spirit, with Erasmus' later teachings in *De amabili ecclesiae concordia* (1533),⁴⁵ which he held since at least the mid-1520s, in which he advised his readers to enact reforms "not as definite pronouncements but as means to removing all root of dissention ...

⁴¹ Ibid., 121ff.

⁴² Cited in Williamson, *Erasmus*, 47. Cf. "Letter to Adelphi," 233. "*Libere loquitur Erasmus, sed anguste scribit.*"

⁴³ Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 46.

⁴⁴ "Achtzehn Schlußreden," *HS* 72; *CRR* 31.

"Rechenschaft," *HS* 487; *CRR* 557.

⁴⁵ Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 129f.

until a synod is called."⁴⁶ It is true, however, that Hubmaier's desire to enact reforms more swiftly puts him at odds with Erasmus and betrays his confessionalizing tendency. Nevertheless, Hubmaier, in conformity with Erasmus' advice to Petrus Mosellanus (1493-1524),⁴⁷ did not take as vitriolic a tone in his writings as did his opponents and, as we noted above, was open to correction, claiming, as he does in other places, "I may err, I am a human being—but a heretic I cannot be."⁴⁸ Rummel observes that Witzel "attempted to reach consensus" by uncovering "the authentic teaching of the early church,"⁴⁹ and Rhenanus "had used the patristic editions as a vehicle to promote the reformation of the church" from within.⁵⁰ Hubmaier adopted a similar philosophy, epitomized by his *Urteil*. Indeed, the manner in which he invoked the amenable views of contemporary theologians, Reformers, Humanists, and the Church fathers verifies his willingness to appeal to universally accepted sources, which, though by no means undermining his confessionalization tendency, seems to have been driven by a genuine desire for consensus and ecclesial unity.

3.2 Biographical Outline

Very little is known about Balthasar Hubmaier's early life.⁵¹ He was born in Friedberg, Bavaria, only five miles east of Augsburg, earning him the moniker Friedberger or Pacimontanus. Records do not mention his birth date, which is conjectured to be in the early to mid-1480s. Early in his life, Hubmaier was sent to the Latin school in Augsburg, these typically being centres of preparation for later humanistic university training.⁵² Hubmaier, or *Baldesar Hiebmayr de Augusta* (of Augsburg) as he appears in the matriculation records,

⁴⁶ Cited in *ibid.*, 130.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁴⁸ "Entschuldigung," *HS* 279; *CRR* 308.

⁴⁹ Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 7f.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁵¹ This biography follows the outline in Williamson, *Erasmus*, 26-31, supplemented by portions of Bergsten, *Hubmaier* and Vedder, *Hübmaier*.

⁵² *ME* 2:841.

entered for his baccalaureate at the University of Freiburg im Briesgau on 1 May 1503.⁵³ At approximately twenty-three years of age, Hubmaier was conspicuously older than the average of fourteen or fifteen,⁵⁴ poverty probably being responsible for Hubmaier's delay.⁵⁵ Henry Vedder wonders why Hubmaier chose Freiburg over the closer Ingolstadt;⁵⁶ perhaps his humanistic education in Augsburg and relative maturity allowed him enough insight to opt for the more humanistic Freiburg over Ingolstadt, which was at this time embroiled in a more constant, and thus widely known, struggle between Scholasticism and Humanism. At any rate, he eventually moved to the theology faculty in 1507, after his brief hiatus teaching in Schaffhausen, and received his *baccalaureus biblicus* on 1 August 1511 and ordained a priest. When Hubmaier's mentor, Johann Eck, departed for Ingolstadt in 1510, Hubmaier took over as head of the *Pfauenburse*, a college of Nominalism. Eventually, Hubmaier followed Eck to Ingolstadt, receiving his licentiate in August of 1512, which authorized him to teach anywhere in Christendom, and his doctorate in theology on 29 September of that same year.⁵⁷

Hubmaier relocated to Regensburg in January of 1516 and, as the popular Cathedral preacher, embroiled himself in a campaign against the Jews. This resulted in the destruction of the city synagogue, which they replaced with the chapel "*zur schönen Maria*," beckoning pilgrims from miles around. However, Hubmaier left Regensburg abruptly early in 1521 to take up the preaching post of the much smaller Church of St. Mary in Waldshut. It was here, between 1521 and 1523 (save a brief three-month return to Regensburg), that he began his

⁵³ Vedder, *Hubmaier*, 27. See also Mayer, *Freiburg i.Br.*

⁵⁴ Paulsen, *Universities*, 19; Weisheipl, "Medieval University," 266.

⁵⁵ Vedder, *Hubmaier*, 26.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁷ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 70. See also Estep, *Anabaptist Story*, 77-9; Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 74f; Mabry, *Doctrine*, 17. For a detailed and concise description of the matriculation process, see Paulsen, *Universities*, 20.

transformation from staunch Catholic preacher to zealous evangelical Reformer. During this period he also visited Basel in the spring of 1522 where he met the renowned Humanists Erasmus, Rhenanus, Heinrich Glarean (1488-1563), and Hermann Busch (1468-1534).

His transformation culminated in his participation in the Second Zürich Disputation on 26-8 October 1523, at which he sided with Zwingli after meeting him in May of that year following a brief sojourn in St. Gall and Appenzell to visit with Joachim Vadian. Upon his return to Waldshut, Hubmaier enlisted the support of the city council for his reforms much in the same way that Zwingli had conducted himself in Zürich. Although he experienced some success, Hubmaier was forced to flee Waldshut for Schaffhausen in the fall of 1524 after being implicated in the Peasants Revolt that was stirring among the townspeople. Here, under the protection of the recently reformed Kloster Allerheiligen, Hubmaier began writing short, Reformation-themed tracts. He returned to Waldshut only a few months later, stopping in Zürich to meet briefly with Zwingli and Leo Jud (1482-1542).

At about this time, he began aligning more with the Anabaptist views of Conrad Grebel (1498-1526) and his circle in protest against Zwingli's more gradual reforms. By early 1525, he had entirely rejected infant baptism and received believers' baptism in April at the hands of the recent Zürich exile, Wilhelm Reublin (1480/84-c.1559). Soon, three hundred of Hubmaier's parishioners followed suit. He prepared for a confrontation with the Hapsburg Austrians over his reforms, but alienation from previous allies forced him to flee to Zürich with his wife, Elizabeth Hügline of Reichenau, until Waldshut eventually capitulated to the Catholic forces. He initially found sanctuary with friends, but was eventually captured by city officials and forced to recant his views. However, instead of recanting, Hubmaier

defended his views in a public outburst, provoking Zwingli to authorize his torture. In due course, he fulfilled his obligation to recant in several parishes, which he later renounced.

In April of 1526, Hubmaier escaped Zürich to Nikolsburg, Moravia, stopping along the way in Constance and Augsburg. Under the protection of Lord Leonard von Liechtenstein, Hubmaier enacted similar reforms in Nikolsburg to those in Waldshut and established a congregation numbering more than two thousand. Simprecht Sorg, who accompanied Hubmaier, published many of his monographs on baptism that he had written while in Waldshut, and later his writings on the ban, free will, and the sword, this latter issue arising as a result of his famous confrontation with Hans Hut who espoused absolute pacifism combined with an unsophisticated chiliasm. Soon, however, Hubmaier's alleged involvement in the Peasants Revolt in Waldshut led to his arrest by King Ferdinand of Austria in the summer of 1527. After a period of imprisonment and interrogation in the Kreuzenstein Castle near Vienna, Austria, Hubmaier's beliefs were deemed rebellious, and he was burned at the stake on 10 March 1528. His wife was drowned three days thereafter.

3.3 Hubmaier's Academic Background: Scholastic, Humanist, and Patristic

3.3.1. Scholarly Recognition of Hubmaier's Catholic and Humanist Education:

Hubmaier's education at the two Catholic institutions (as all Western universities, of course, were at the time) of Freiburg and Ingolstadt reveals a familiarity with late-medieval Scholasticism, Nominalism, late-medieval Augustinianism of the Franciscan school, and Humanism.⁵⁸ Hubmaier's Catholicism is crucial for understanding his reform program and for evaluating his use and view of the Church fathers. James McClendon observes that

⁵⁸ Sachsse, *Hubmaier*, 126-9. See also Windhorst, *Täuferisches Taufverständnis*, 1-18; Mabry, *Doctrine*, 6-12.

Hubmaier's "style of radicality is best understood in terms of his Catholic origins, education and pastoral service prior to the radical turn of 1524-5," and continues,

John Eck was his Catholic teacher and *Doktorvater*; Regensburg and Waldshut were his Catholic parishes; the Catholic mass was his spiritual wet nurse; Catholic social theory was the leitmotiv of his politics of liberty. To reshape an old aphorism, Balthasar Hubmaier could not have had radical reform as the father of his (all-too-brief) new life in Christ had he not had the Catholic church for its spiritual mother.⁵⁹

Mabry describes Hubmaier's education as "basically the theology of St. Augustine, *via* the syncretism of St. Thomas Aquinas [1224-1274] and Aristotelianism, influenced to some degree by the *via moderna*, and finally restated in the more conservative terms of the *via antiqua*."⁶⁰ This Augustinianism will play an important role in Hubmaier's later assessment of Augustine for both baptism and free will, Eck's interaction with Gregory of Rimini's (c. 1300-58) appropriation of Augustine and his admiration of the late-medieval, reputedly semi-Pelagian theologians, both of which we will discuss in chapter eight (see 8.2.2. and 8.2.3.), being noteworthy traits that Hubmaier witnessed while a student.

Several historians have also noted Hubmaier's humanistic education. Bergsten, for instance, believes that "[i]t is important to catch a glimpse of Hubmaier's life before 1521 ... [which] were extremely significant years in shaping his attitude toward humanism [and] medieval theology... ."⁶¹ Although, as Eddie Mabry notes, the "humanism of Erasmus had a tremendous impact on Hubmaier's later theological development, Hubmaier was interested in humanism before he ever met Erasmus or read his writings."⁶² Kenneth Davis suggests, along with Bergsten, that Hubmaier's 1516 poem in praise of Johann Eck was humanistically

⁵⁹ McClendon, "Balthasar," 21.

⁶⁰ Mabry, *Doctrine*, 5f. See also Sachsse, *Hubmaier*, 120ff.

⁶¹ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 48.

⁶² Mabry, *Doctrine*, 22.

inspired and demonstrates an early interest,⁶³ and points out that his "interest in Christian humanism went back to the University of Freiburg which had been a major center of reform from the perspective of Christian humanism during Hubmaier's stay there,"⁶⁴ as well as an institution "where Erasmianism was strong."⁶⁵ Emil Händiges goes back even further, noting the "brilliant Humanistic education at his command, the foundation of which had already been laid in the Latin academy in Augsburg" and completed "with deep seriousness" at Freiburg and Ingolstadt.⁶⁶ Carl Leth also accounts for Hubmaier's academic exposure to the "humanism that would continue and have a lasting impact on his thought,"⁶⁷ and Franklin Littell calls Hubmaier a man of "marked accomplishment in the university world, a world inspired by the new Humanistic studies."⁶⁸ Moreover, Hubmaier's contemporaries acknowledged his academic prowess; Johann Fabri, Hubmaier's schoolmate at Freiburg and later interrogator at Vienna, praised his "outstanding education," and Vadian described Hubmaier as a "highly eloquent and in a high degree humanistically educated man (*eloquentissimus et humanissimus virum*)."⁶⁹ More importantly, as we will soon explicate, it was through this humanistic education that Hubmaier could later display "a comprehensive knowledge of patristic literature."⁷⁰

As our study unfolds, Humanism will emerge as both the mediator between Hubmaier and the Church fathers and the paradigm of a procedure, pretext, and general ethos responsible for his interaction with patristic literature. Accordingly, Charles Nauert enjoins

⁶³ Davis, *Anabaptism and Asceticism*, 101. See also Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 74. The panegyric can be found in the original Latin in Wiedemann, *Johann Eck*, 462f.

⁶⁴ Davis, *Anabaptism and Asceticism*, 101.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 227.

⁶⁶ *ME* 2:841.

⁶⁷ Leth, "Catholic Exegesis," 104.

⁶⁸ Littell, *Origins*, 61.

⁶⁹ Cited in *ME* 2:842.

⁷⁰ *ME* 2:841.

scholars to "focus on humanism *as an intellectual method* which challenged tradition not only in the liberal arts but also in theology, law, and medicine."⁷¹ Although the above descriptions are a welcome contribution to Anabaptist scholarship, a more precise outline is needed, which will help us make more specific connections between his humanistic background and later use of the fathers. Therefore, in order to ascertain the nature and extent of Humanism's initial effect on Hubmaier while a student, as well as its role in exposing him to the Church fathers, we will first examine his university education by (1) distilling the information we have on the late-medieval foundations of various German universities, including Freiburg and Ingolstadt, and their struggle to incorporate the *studia humanitatis* (comprised of grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry, and moral philosophy),⁷² (2) examining the humanist students and professors that the universities of Freiburg and Ingolstadt attracted and the curricula, early statutes, manner of instruction, library inventories, and required textbooks of these two universities and finally (3) surveying the extent and specific evidence of Johann Eck's indebtedness to Humanism and his understanding of the *auctoritas patrum*.

3.3.2. *The Coexistence of Scholasticism and Humanism in North European Universities:* The mid to late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century witnessed a surge in university foundations across Northern Europe. Following the lead of their Italian predecessors, German universities were responsible for the spread and popularization of humanist ideas.⁷³ The foundations of universities in Germany can be divided into two waves, the first concentrating in the North-Eastern regions of Germany, and the second, to which both Freiburg-im-Breisgau (1455-7) and Ingolstadt (1472) belong, being limited to South-

⁷¹ Nauert, "Method," 427 (emphasis mine).

⁷² Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 9ff., esp. 10, 19f.

⁷³ Levi, *Renaissance*, 264.

Western Germany.⁷⁴ Although some scholars believe that all universities in Germany established from the mid fourteenth century were inclined to Humanism,⁷⁵ Noel Brann and others believe that the second wave of German universities, especially during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, were "far more a positive force than a negative one in the promotion of humanist ideals" since their relatively late foundation made them "less subject to scholastic entrenchment" compared to older universities.⁷⁶

However, scholars are divided about the nature and intensity of this conflict. Since Scholasticism was more deeply-rooted in Northern Europe than in Italy⁷⁷ and princes often endorsed a humanist education as a means to resolve conflicts,⁷⁸ scholars such as Erika Rummel and, later in his career, Charles Nauert believe that the conflict between Scholasticism and Humanism was deeper than once thought.⁷⁹ Nauert, for instance, cites two reasons: (1) scholastic suspicion of the Humanists' academic credentials and (2) their latent facilitation and often overt approval of emerging Reformation ideas,⁸⁰ which he nevertheless understands to be a difference in method.⁸¹ Alternatively, Nauert's earlier research de-emphasized the tension between Scholasticism and Humanism, preferring to label the infiltration of the New Learning as an *evolution* rather than a *revolution* that "did not destroy scholasticism or traditional religion, nor even try to do so."⁸² Likewise, Kristeller equates Humanism with the *studia humanitatis* curriculum, which did not claim to be the aggregation

⁷⁴ See Barnstorff, "Universities," 283-5; Brann, "Humanism," 129f.; Levi, *Renaissance*, 264; Paulsen, *Universities*, 14.

⁷⁵ Boehm, "Humanistische," 324; Rüegg, "Themes," 33f.

⁷⁶ Brann, "Humanism," 129f. See also Barnstorff, "Universities," 284f.; Bauer, *Freiburg i.Br.*, 24f.; Frijhoff, "Patterns," 70; Grendler, "Universities," 12; Paulsen, *Universities*, 15, 50ff.

⁷⁷ D'Amico, "Humanism," 368; Rand, "Classics," 453.

⁷⁸ Grendler, "Universities," 12.

⁷⁹ Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic*, ch. 4; Nauert, "Method," 432f.

⁸⁰ Nauert, "Method," 432f. See also Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic*, 17f.; Boehm, "Humanistische," 315-46.

⁸¹ Nauert, "Method," 433f.

⁸² Nauert, "Pre-Reformation Controversies," 2f.

of all knowledge nor have the ambition to usurp the medieval trivium and quadrivium.⁸³ Lewis Spitz maintains that the conflict, which Overfield believes manifested itself only in isolated affairs,⁸⁴ has "been wildly exaggerated," noting the appearance in universities of "half-scholastic humanists and half-humanist scholastics."⁸⁵ These, claim Erwin Iserloh and Arno Seifert, are also highly appropriate epithets to describe Johann Eck.⁸⁶ Consequently, as the locus for this confrontation resides in the faculty members and students themselves, hybrids seem to have been the inevitable norm.⁸⁷

3.3.3. Personalities, Professors, and Fellow Students: Ingolstadt began consciously introducing humanist disciplines in 1515, which were ratified in its statutes in 1518-19.⁸⁸ Although it is true that, as Barnstorff claims, "the spirit of humanism controlled the college from the start,"⁸⁹ the *studia humanitatis* curriculum was not fully implemented at Freiburg until about 1520-1.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, due to a steady flow of students from Latin academies in the Alsace region, especially Strasbourg and Schlettstadt, the humanist influence at Freiburg was, according to Terrence Heath, more ubiquitous than at Tübingen.⁹¹ Consequently, while the statutes, textbooks, curriculum, and instructional methods, which we will also explore soon, can tell us much, they often reveal intentions more than they do the *de facto* practices and academic direction of faculty members and students. It is therefore important to outline the regional lords, patrons, financiers, professors, and students that controlled the ethos of

⁸³ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, ch. 1, 2, 5, and 6, esp. pp. 9f., 19f.

⁸⁴ Overfield, *Humanism*; Overfield, "Reuchlin Affair," 167-207.

⁸⁵ Spitz, "Humanism," 393. See also Spitz, *German Humanists*, 134f.

⁸⁶ Iserloh, *Johannes Eck*, 18f.; Seifert, *Johann Eck*, 140. Charles Nauert also calls Eck "a strange mixture of old and new." Nauert, "Infiltration," 810. See also Sandys, *History*, Vol. 2, 258; Heath, "Universities," 56f.

⁸⁷ Brann, "Humanism," 130. See also Grendler, *Encyclopedia*, 192; Nauert, "Pre-Reformation Controversies," 2f.

⁸⁸ Seifert, *Ingolstadt*, 77-80. See also Overfield, *Humanism*, 309ff.; Prantl, *Ingolstadt*, 160.

⁸⁹ Barnstorff, "Universities," 284.

⁹⁰ Overfield, *Humanism*, 326. See also Heath, "Universities," 33.

⁹¹ Heath, "Universities," 32.

Freiburg and Ingolstadt and ultimately decided the type of education that Hubmaier experienced. Brann, for instance, observes that the universities' receptivity to Humanism "lay in the supporting network of secondary schools . . . which helped feed a steady group of humanist-minded persons—quite often after a period of upper-level education in Italy—into the ranks of the German university faculties," eventually transforming "the university curricula, which in turn attracted more humanists into the German universities."⁹²

Before discussing the personalities responsible for Hubmaier's education during his student days, it is helpful to first broaden our understanding of Freiburg and Ingolstadt's earlier aspirations and later trajectory by exploring the people that these two universities attracted before and after Hubmaier's days as a student. For instance, Conrad Celtis (1459-1508) delivered a famous lecture at Ingolstadt in 1492 in which he urged his audience, against the backdrop of a fervent nationalism, to band together against both Italian intellectual advancements and scholastic deficiency. He further exhorted his listeners to revive a German humanistic outlook and devotion to humanist disciplines, including poetry, rhetoric, philosophy, historiography, geography, mathematics, and music. History, however, should be the staple of humanist education.⁹³ His antidote to the inferiority of Germany's intellectual environment compared to the Italian Renaissance that he had recently witnessed firsthand was Cicero,⁹⁴ and he insisted, along with numerous German Humanists since Rudolph Agricola (1444-85), to abandon Aristotle and read Plato, the Stoics, and Pythagoras.⁹⁵

⁹² Brann, "Humanism," 130.

⁹³ Bartlett and McGlynn, *Humanism*, 73. The inaugural lecture is reproduced in English translation (pp. 74-86). See also Levi, *Renaissance*, 266; Paulsen, *Education*, 50.

⁹⁴ Brann, "Humanism," 133f. Cf. *Briefweschel des Konrad Celtis*, no. 32, 56f.

⁹⁵ Spitz, "Philosophy," 23.

Arguably the most significant faculty appointment before Hubmaier's arrival in Ingolstadt was Johannes Aventinus (1477-1534), whose *Rudimenta grammaticae latini* (1512) eventually replaced Alexander de Villa Dei's (c.1175-c.1240/50) *Doctrinale* (c. 1199) as Ingolstadt's grammar manual after Hubmaier had already left the city.⁹⁶ There is evidence, however, that Aventinus' presence and influence was felt in Ingolstadt (1507-17) while Hubmaier made residence there, Aventinus' *Annales Boiorum* (1517-21) and the German translation, *Bayerische Chronik* (1519), perhaps being the source of Hubmaier's references to and knowledge of German history.⁹⁷ In the years after Hubmaier had already graduated, two very prominent Humanists, Heinrich Glarean and Erasmus, both of whom Hubmaier befriended at Basel, taught at Freiburg beginning in 1529.⁹⁸

Regarding the humanist students trained at either Freiburg or Ingolstadt, Jakob Geiler von Kaysersberg (1445-1510) was one of Freiburg's first students when he matriculated at just fifteen years old,⁹⁹ and his close friend from Strasbourg, Jakob Wimpfeling (1450-1528), another famous Humanist, received his baccalaureate from Freiburg in 1466.¹⁰⁰ Also, Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522), the famous Humanist was educated at Freiburg (1493) and later taught Greek and Hebrew at Ingolstadt (1520-1).¹⁰¹ To demonstrate the indirect influence of professors and students who predate Hubmaier's student days, Eck states in his *Chrysopassus*

⁹⁶ Heath, "Universities," 38f. See also Overfield, *Humanism*, 312f.; Brockliss, "Curricula," 571. *CE* 14:713; 8:8; Brann, "Humanism," 132.

⁹⁷ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 309f., *CRR* 343f. For instance, near to Hubmaier's reference to the *Cronicken* with which he proved the scarcity of the pure gospel in *vnserer teütsche Nation*, he mentions the *Doctor in der heiligenn schriftt* that he received from Ingolstadt at the same time Aventinus was scouring archives and sending manuscripts to the Duke William IV of Bavaria.

⁹⁸ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 45, 48f. See also Rüegg, "Themes," 20; Mabry, *Doctrine*, 25; Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 73f.; Paulsen, *Education*, 51. Cf. "Letter to Adelphi," 233.

⁹⁹ Douglass, *Geiler*, 6.

¹⁰⁰ *CEBR* 3:447; Briggs, *History*, Vol. 2, 97; Weis, *Ludwig Haetzer*, 26f.

¹⁰¹ Overfield, *Humanism*, 159f.

(1514), which Hubmaier knew intimately (see 3.4.3), that his consultation with Kaysersberg and his circle in 1508 had made a great impression on him.¹⁰²

We now turn our attention to the professors and students who exposed Hubmaier to Humanism while he was a student, the most important, aside from Eck (which we will examine below), being the close friend of Erasmus, Ulrich Zasius (1461-1536).¹⁰³ Although Hubmaier was a student in the arts and theology faculties and Zasius was the leading jurist at Freiburg (1500-36), specialization was uncommon, allowing professors a wider academic jurisdiction, sway, and contact with students.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, given that Eck had studied under Zasius before their memorable litigation dispute that prompted Eck's departure in 1510, it is almost certain that Hubmaier came into contact with Zasius regularly. Paulsen describes how teacher and student were almost indistinguishable during this period of university education, especially in the faculty *in artibus*. Typically, the students and professors would live together in the one or more *collegium*, or, for the Latin students, the *paedagogium*.¹⁰⁵

Since Zasius was responsible for Eck's legal education and exposure to canon law, perhaps Zasius was also the source for Hubmaier's acquaintance with Gratian's *Decretum*, but the very least, Eck *via* Zasius.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, it was Zasius who was responsible for the young Eck's early acquaintance with Humanism,¹⁰⁷ and it was not until Hubmaier began positioning himself within Erasmus' sphere of influence after leaving Ingolstadt that Eck began attacking Zasius in 1518 because of his association with Erasmus.¹⁰⁸ This is significant for Hubmaier's early development, since Zasius was a strong proponent of humanist principles and of

¹⁰² Douglass, *Geiler*, 8. Cf. *Chrysopassus*, VI.24.

¹⁰³ Levi, *Renaissance*, 267.

¹⁰⁴ See Vandermeersch, "Teachers," 239.

¹⁰⁵ Paulsen, *German*, 17f.

¹⁰⁶ Smolinsky, "Humanismus," 27. See also Rowan, "John Eck," 80.

¹⁰⁷ *CEBR* 2:417.

¹⁰⁸ Rowan, "John Eck," 88f.

bypassing medieval glossers of juridical documents, especially the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. Instead, Zasius wanted his students to consult the classical legal philosophers, especially Cicero. As Walter Rüegg remarks, Zasius ensured that "[t]extbooks for law students were oriented towards the methodological writings of leading humanists such as Erasmus, Agricola, Vives and Melanchthon," which drew "from the traditions of humanistic, Ciceronian – ultimately Greek – ideas of *aequitas*."¹⁰⁹

Other humanist professors who may have influenced Hubmaier while at Freiburg and Ingolstadt include Gregor Reisch (1487-9; 1503-25), the Freiburg grammarian and Eck's teacher as well as the author of the *Margarita philosophica* (1503), a treatment of the totality of knowledge,¹¹⁰ and Jakob Locher Philomusus (1471-1528), the professor of poetry at both Freiburg (1503-6) and Ingolstadt (1506-21) who also edited many Latin editions of the ancients including Horace, Fulgentius, Claudianus, and Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis*.¹¹¹ Locher also wrote *Oratio de studio humanarum disciplinarum et laude poetarum* (1496-7), a defence of the *studia humanitatis*, and, after discussions with Ulrich Zasius, authored the *Theologica Emphasis* (1496), which contained four laudatory poems on the four doctors—Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory—who, unlike the "foolish noise" of scholastic theologians, "unleashed clear and gleaming missiles at the savage barbarians and impudent enemies of the Catholic church."¹¹² Indeed, it was this work, as Overfield observes, "which sought to show the superiority of the Church fathers over the theologians of his own day."¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Rüegg, "Themes," 34f. See also Rowan, "John Eck," 85; Scott, *Freiburg*, 194f.

¹¹⁰ Heath, "Universities," 33f. Hartfelder, however, emphasizes Reisch's Humanism more than does Heath. Hartfelder, *Gregor Reisch*, 170-200.

¹¹¹ Overfield, *Humanism*, 114, 143f., 219, 235f., 241-5. See also *CE* 2:338.

¹¹² Cited in Overfield, *Humanism*, 144.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 186.

Some of Hubmaier's famed humanist fellow students include Urbanus Rhegius,¹¹⁴ who studied at both Frieberg (1508-12) and Ingolstadt (1512-18) and delivered lectures, along with another fellow student and later opponent, Johann Fabri, with Hubmaier among the spectators.¹¹⁵ When Hubmaier was a student at Freiburg, Thomas Murner (1475-1537), the well-known satirist and opponent of Luther, was made Doctor of Theology (1506), at which time he lectured on Virgil, whose *Aeneid* he had also translated.¹¹⁶ Wolfgang Capito, who, although a Nominalist at the time, would soon favour Humanism before helping enact reforms in Strasbourg, graduated from Freiburg just over eight months before Hubmaier and over a year later began to teach there.¹¹⁷

3.3.4. *Humanist Elements in Freiburg and Ingolstadt's Curricula:* But what were the humanist disciplines and characteristics that these professors and students cultivated? The grammatical outlook of Humanism was implemented fully at Freiburg in 1503 when Gregor Reisch (c.1467-1525) began enacting humanist reforms.¹¹⁸ However, a humanist emphasis on grammar may have been implemented earlier, as Donatus' *Ars minor* was prescribed as the required grammar manual in the 1460 statutes.¹¹⁹ The study of grammar is significant since it implies a tendency towards direct consultation with classical texts in their entirety, bypassing much of the scholastic regulations governing grammatical learning. Since we know Hubmaier received training in grammar at the Latin academy in Augsburg

¹¹⁴ Hendrix, "Urbanus Rhegius," 37f. See also Lindberg, *Reformation Theologians*, 110.

¹¹⁵ CE 5:741. See also Mabry, *Doctrine*, 23.

¹¹⁶ CE 10:645. See also CEBR 2:471; Schreiber, *Freiburg-im-Breisgau*, Vol. 1, 155ff.

¹¹⁷ Bauer, *Freiburg i.Br.*, 183, 188. See also Kittelson, *Wolfgang Capito*, 3, 12, 15-6, 18-19, 25; Briggs, *History*, Vol. 2, 122f.; Weis, *Ludwig Haetzer*, 26f.

¹¹⁸ Hartfelder, *Gregor Reisch*, 170-200. Cf. Heath, "Universities," 33.

¹¹⁹ Fletcher and Ott, *Statutes*, 56. See also Kohl, "Humanism and Education," 6.

prior to his matriculation at Freiburg, he was primed to ally himself with the humanist grammarians.¹²⁰

The larger size of Ingolstadt compared to Freiburg facilitated more diverse course offerings and therefore a higher receptivity to the New Learning. As with Freiburg, both poetry and oratory were early a part of the Ingolstadt curriculum with the arrival of such professors as Erhard Windsberger († c.1505), who came on faculty in 1477, Johannes Riedner in 1484, and Conrad Celtis in 1492.¹²¹ Grammar also may have been an early part of Ingolstadt's curriculum, as Donatus' *Ars minor* was housed in its library in at least 1508.¹²² Indeed, the stipulation to review grammar every day in the 1476 statute revisions shows an even earlier concern for grammar, and two years later Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale* was replaced by Petrus Helias' (c.1100-c.1166) commentary on the *Institutiones grammaticae* (c.525 / c.1150), a classical manual written by the sixth-century Byzantine grammarian, Priscian.¹²³ This, according to Bauch, was a sign of increasing humanist priorities at Ingolstadt,¹²⁴ but Heath claims this is true only in the negative sense that the university was dissatisfied with the scholastic *Doctrinale*.¹²⁵ However, George Zingel's (1428-1508) proposal in 1507 to use Niccolò Perotti's (1429-80) *Rudimenta grammatices* (1473) and Virgil's *Bucolica* and *Georgica* marked Ingolstadt's first definite turn towards humanist literary initiatives, and this only a few years before Hubmaier's arrival.¹²⁶

This stress on grammar also reveals Humanism's esteem for classical sources, and Ingolstadt's 1508 library catalogue lists several: *De vita caesarum* by Suetonius, historical

¹²⁰ Vedder, *Hubmaier*, 26. See also *ME* 2:842.

¹²¹ Heath, "Universities," 32, 37.

¹²² John, "Bücherverzeichnis," 412. Cf. *Ibid.*, 36.

¹²³ John, "Bücherverzeichnis," 412.

¹²⁴ Bauch, *Ingolstadt*, 86f.

¹²⁵ Heath, "Universities," 36.

¹²⁶ Nauert, "Infiltration," 804. See also Heath, "Universities," 37. Cf. John, "Bücherverzeichnis," 410f.

accounts by Tacitus, Polybius, Justin, Livy, and Plutarch, the poetry of Catullus and Ovid, and other works by Strabo, Virgil, Seneca, and Cicero, including the pseudo-Ciceronian *Vetus et nova rhetorica*, Plautus' comedies, and Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*.¹²⁷ Further, the Ingolstadt library contained works by many prominent Humanists including the *Opera* of both Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-94)¹²⁸ and Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503),¹²⁹ Lorenzo Valla's (c.1406-57) *Dialecticae disputationes* (1439) and *Elegantiae* (c.1440),¹³⁰ one of Petrarch's (1304-74) works, possibly the *Librorum Francisci Petrarche impressorum annotatio* printed in either Basel or Venice,¹³¹ Niccolò de' Niccoli's (1364-1437) reproduction of what looks to be a work in seven books,¹³² Leonardo Bruni's *commentarii de primo bello punico*, based on Polybius' account of the First Punic War in his *Historiae*,¹³³ and Erasmus' *Adagia* (1500).¹³⁴

3.3.5. The Church Fathers at Freiburg and Ingolstadt: A brief account of Hubmaier's patristic education will help us understand how natural it was for him to search out the fathers to reinforce his developing Anabaptist convictions. For instance, echoing Mabry's observation,¹³⁵ MacGregor remarks, "Under the sponsorship of Eck at Freiburg, Hubmaier studied the writings of virtually all the church fathers, the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard, as well as the entire *corpus juris canonici*."¹³⁶ To this we may add with some assurance that Hubmaier also studied the *Glossa ordinaria* (mid-12th c.), since it was in the

¹²⁷ John, "Bücherverzeichnis," 409-412. See also Grendler, "Schooling," 781f.

¹²⁸ John, "Bücherverzeichnis," 390.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 390.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 401, 412.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 411.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 408.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 410.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 410.

¹³⁵ Mabry, *Doctrine*, 5f.

¹³⁶ MacGregor, *Hubmaier*, 20. See also Schwaiger, "Ingolstadt," 23-5, 31; Bauer, *Freiburg i.Br.*, 96-114. As is to be expected, the numerous commentaries on the *Sententiae* are included in the 1508 library index of the University of Ingolstadt, as is Gratian's *decretum*. John, "Bücherverzeichnis," 389, 398-400.

Ingolstadt library.¹³⁷ It is the unrivalled popularity of these three anthologies and the volume of their patristic citations that justify their exclusive examination over other potential candidates such as Peter Abelard's (1079-1142) *Sic et non* (c.1122), the *Legenda Aurea* (c.1260), Ludolph of Saxony's (c.1300-78) *Vita Christi* (14th c.), or the Decrees that pre-date the *Decretum Gratiani*.¹³⁸ As an Anabaptist, Hubmaier read humanist editions of the Church fathers almost exclusively, save his use of Gratian's Decree for Augustine, which we will demonstrate in chapters five through eight. This will serve to illustrate how his Humanism encouraged the study of full, text-editions of the fathers in contrast to his education, which emphasized the use of patristic *florilegia* but nevertheless initiated his exposure to humanist editions. The following represents a snapshot of this education.

3.3.5.1. Decretum Gratiani: Careful to avoid any assessment of Gratian's *Decretum* and its development throughout history, for which many surveys are available,¹³⁹ I will comment only on its use in sixteenth-century South Germany, its application of the Church fathers, and additional issues of relevance to Hubmaier's own sampling of it. The *Decretum Gratiani* was composed and collated in 1140 C.E. and used in the Roman Catholic Church as the first of the three-volume *Corpus Iuris Canonici* until the 1917 Code replaced it. Although the *Hibernensis* of the early eighth century is the first collection of ecclesial canons to contain excerpts from patristic literature,¹⁴⁰ the *Decretum* contains some 1200 patristic *capitula*, in addition to the conciliar canons, papal decrees, and Roman secular legislation. This number constitutes approximately one third of the roughly 4000 *capitula* that comprise

¹³⁷ John, "Bücherverzeichnis," 408.

¹³⁸ It should be noted, however, that the *Sententiae* drew from the canonical collation of Yvo of Chartres and Gratian as well as Abelard's *Sic et non* and the *Glossa ordinaria*. Bougerol, "Sentences," 114.

¹³⁹ See, for instance, Coriden, *Canon Law*; Wiel, *Canon Law*; Winroth, *Decretum*, etc.

¹⁴⁰ Werckmeister, "Canon Law," 58f. For a precise breakdown of the Church fathers in the *Hibernensis*, see p. 59.

the *Decretum*.¹⁴¹ Like the *Hibernensis* before it, the *Decretum Gratiani* uses far more passages from the Latin fathers than the Greek fathers. The percentages are as follows: Augustine – 44%; Jerome – 14%; Ambrose – 13%; Gregory the Great – 8%; Isidore – 7%; "Diverse" – 7%; Greek fathers – 7%. The Greek fathers are distributed as follows: John Chrysostom – 33 texts attributed, 14 authentic; Origen – 18 authentic, 16 falsely attributed to others, especially Jerome; Basil – 14 texts of which only 2 are authentic.¹⁴² Significantly, Gratian's *Decretum* increased the patristic selections over the previous two collections: the Decree of Burchard of Worms (1010 C.E.) and Yvo of Chartres (1090 C.E.). Moreover, the Decree of Gregory IX (1243 C.E.) which followed Gratian's, eliminated all patristic content, relying instead on conciliar and papal canons exclusively.¹⁴³

The structure of the *Decretum* also reveals how the *auctoritas patrum* is portrayed. The hierarchy seems to be (1) general councils, especially the first four ecumenical councils—Nicea (325 C.E.), Constantinople (381 C.E.), Ephesus (431 C.E.), and Chalcedon (451 C.E.); (2) papal decrees, and finally (3) the Church fathers. However, this hierarchy applies only to legislative authority in ecclesio-legal matters, and more specifically, to what or whom is given the *potestas* of the keys, entrusted originally to Peter and represented in conciliar decisions and papal decrees.¹⁴⁴ The primacy allocated to councils and the pope is therefore merely a recognition of the "fine distinctions"¹⁴⁵ in patristic thought, which renders inevitable a divergence of opinion when uniformity is required for communicating the legal canons of the Church. As Anders Winroth notes, the original title of the *Decretum* was

¹⁴¹ Werckmeister, "Canon Law," 65ff. See also Winroth, *Decretum*, 2, 5.

¹⁴² Werckmeister, "Canon Law," 66f.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 75ff. The breakdown of patristic content in each of the first seven Decrees are as follows: Dyonisiana (0%), *Hibernensis* (80%), Hadriana (0%), Burchard (15%), Yvo (20%), Gratian (30%), and Gregory IX (0%). See p. 78.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹⁴⁵ Cited in *ibid.*, 74.

Concordia discordantium canonum ('The Harmony of Discordant Canons').¹⁴⁶ However, the *Decretum* also conveys the erudition of the fathers as more suited to the subtleties of scriptural exegesis and allegorical distinction, and to harmonizing discordant passages of Scripture.¹⁴⁷ Indeed, Erasmus recognized that "[a]mong many of the Church Fathers a multiplicity of meanings in Scripture was seen as expressing the inexhaustible riches of divine wisdom,"¹⁴⁸ which is precisely why Gratian calls the fathers the "*expositores sacrae scripturae*."¹⁴⁹ Hubmaier would certainly have agreed with the objectives of the *Decretum* if, as Werckmeister claims, "[t]he Fathers thus 'received' were so essentially as commentators on the Scriptures. Through them," Werckmeister continues, "it was the Bible the canonists wanted to scrutinize." Moreover, Gratian's aim "was to submit the institutions of his time to the critical fire of God's word."¹⁵⁰ As in Hubmaier's conception of Scripture and the fathers, patristic insight was not intended to provide "a definitive and authoritative answer, but rather to support an interpretation."¹⁵¹

3.3.5.2. Peter Lombard's Sententiae: Hubmaier mentions the *Sententiae* only once in his writings when he discusses the manifold opinions of the Eucharist in his *Ein einfältiger Unterricht* (1526). Here he states that this diversity can be found, aside from the papal decrees and the "school teachings" of Isidore of Seville, by which he probably meant his *Etymologiae* and in particular Book VI, "among the commentators of the Sentences (*Sententiarum*), up to Holcott, Gabriel Biel, and Major."¹⁵² It is noteworthy that Hubmaier does not deride the four books of the *Sententiae* themselves, but those who commented on

¹⁴⁶ Winroth, *Decretum*, 5.

¹⁴⁷ Werckmeister, "Canon Law," 74.

¹⁴⁸ Tracey, *Erasmus*, 112.

¹⁴⁹ Cited in Werckmeister, "Canon Law," 73.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² "Unterricht," *HS* 291; *CRR* 320.

them. This might reflect the lukewarm reception that the *Sententiae* received from Humanists who acknowledged its pre-scholastic status and patristic content, but lamented its enormous effect on the growth of Scholasticism.¹⁵³ Hubmaier's reference to Gabriel Biel is nevertheless significant since it was his commentary on Lombard's *Sententiae* that Hubmaier studied under the guidance of Eck who was himself an admirer of Biel's work.¹⁵⁴ In 1510, while still Hubmaier's mentor, Eck had also acquired the 1503 Venetian edition of Gregory of Rimini's commentary on the first two books of Lombard's *Sententiae*.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, Eck's *Chrysopassus* was the product of lectures he had conducted in previous years on John Duns Scotus' (c.1265/6-1308) commentary on the *Sententiae*.¹⁵⁶

With respect to the patristic citations in the *Sententiae*, Augustine is again heavily favoured above the other fathers, while the Greek fathers are grossly underrepresented. In fact, the 480 citations of Augustine in the *Sententiae* surpass the 383 citations of the other Church fathers combined. In decreasing order, the breakdown is as follows: Augustine (480), Ambrose (66), Hilary of Poitiers (63), Jerome (48), Gregory the Great (41), Ambrosiaster (43), Fulgentius (34), John Damascene (26), Bede (21), John Chrysostom (14), Origen (10), Isidore of Seville (6), Leo the Great (6), and Gennadius (5).¹⁵⁷ Apart from the accent on Augustine that we see also in the *Decretum Gratiani*, it is also worth noting that, again like the *Decretum*, the *Sententiae* is leery of ascribing any unnuanced authority to the Church fathers and is not afraid to acknowledge paradoxes among the numerous patristic sources. Lombard admitted that it takes great effort to resolve contradictions but that success

¹⁵³ Lane, *John Calvin*, 44.

¹⁵⁴ Mabry, *Doctrine*, 18. See also Oberman, *Gabriel Biel*, 19.

¹⁵⁵ Oberman, *Wegestreit*, 88. See also Moore, "Protean Man," 254.

¹⁵⁶ Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 45.

¹⁵⁷ Bougerol, "Sentences," 115.

is possible: "[T]exts which seem to contradict each other, we so resolve them."¹⁵⁸ It may be possible that the diminished authority of the fathers compared to conciliar and papal decrees, which the *Sententiae* also conveys, contributed to Hubmaier's later reversal of this pattern in his outright rejection of the papacy.

3.3.5.3. Glossa Ordinaria: There is no direct or internal evidence that Hubmaier ever used the *Glossa ordinaria* to formulate his patristic arguments, a twelfth century commentary on the Vulgate. The content of the *Glossa* was essentially patristic¹⁵⁹ and "a continuation of the patristic tradition of biblical commentary."¹⁶⁰ This source perhaps more than other patristic anthologies should have been appealing to someone like Hubmaier considering his pronounced reliance on Scripture, yet it must be remembered that without mentioning the *Glossa ordinaria* specifically, Hubmaier, like all Humanists of his time, rejected the "*fremd Glosen*" when he became an Anabaptist.¹⁶¹ These compendia refer to the scholastic practice of appending glossed explanations of Scripture, often patristic, selectively chosen and collated into a system of convenience, which Hubmaier consistently condemned throughout his writings (see 9.2).¹⁶² However, it was the patchwork (*flickwerck*) of the glossed material, i.e. the method of decontextualization and expedient manipulation of patristic content, that Hubmaier objected to and not the Church fathers themselves that the scholastic theologians employed.¹⁶³

3.3.5.4. Humanist Editions: Hubmaier's exposure to the Church fathers was not limited to the above anthologies, however.¹⁶⁴ As a sign of the deeper commitment to the

¹⁵⁸ Cited in *ibid.*, 141. Cf. Silano, *Sentences*, Vol. 42, 7; *PL* 192:523.

¹⁵⁹ Gibson, "Glossed Bible," 237. See also, p. 232.

¹⁶⁰ Matter, "*Glossa Ordinaria*," 85.

¹⁶¹ "Gespräch," *HS* 184. *CRR* 192.

¹⁶² See Muller, "Biblical Interpretation," 3-22.

¹⁶³ "Uterricht," *HS* 295; *CRR* 327. Cf. *HS* 130f., 133, 298, 401; *CRR* 109-11, 113, 330, 452.

¹⁶⁴ See Nauert, "Method," 431.

studia humanitatis, available university library inventories suggest a deliberate penchant for humanist editions of the fathers, either co-existing with or replacing the old scholastic compendia. Unfortunately, the earliest library catalogues of all four faculties of the University of Freiburg have not been preserved, the earliest extant index hailing from the year 1780.¹⁶⁵ However, the aforementioned 1508 catalogue of the Ingolstadt Universitätsbibliothek has been preserved. Wilhelm John observes that the acquired volumes were categorized according to location.¹⁶⁶ This classification is evident in the way it lumps together literature by contemporary Humanists, scholastic theologians, the *Decretum* and related works, commentaries on Lombard's *Sententiae*, and editions of the Church fathers. The index is bisected into A—S and A—G, the latter section comprising books in the old library room which were also listed in the previous 1492 catalogue. Each letter represents a single *pult*, or pulpit where the volumes, which were attached by a chain to a horizontal bar above, could be accessed and read.¹⁶⁷

All told, the library at the University of Ingolstadt had 375 volumes in 1508.¹⁶⁸ However, we have no way of knowing if more volumes were added to the collection between 1508 and Hubmaier's convocation in 1512, or until the termination of his residency in Ingolstadt in early 1516. Among those humanist editions of the fathers listed in the Ingolstadt library inventory in 1508 were the Latin fathers, Gregory the Great,¹⁶⁹ Jerome,¹⁷⁰ Ambrose,¹⁷¹ Lactantius,¹⁷² Cyprian,¹⁷³ and Augustine, including the popular 1506 eleven-

¹⁶⁵ Rest, "Freiburger Universitätsbibliothek," 8, note 1. See also *IDLH* 2:762.

¹⁶⁶ John, "Bücherverzeichnis," 382.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* See also Clark, *Libraries*, 36-42.

¹⁶⁸ John, "Bücherverzeichnis," 383.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 390, 394.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 390.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 391, 408.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 397.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

volume edition by Amerbach,¹⁷⁴ and of the Greek fathers, an edition of the pseudo-Dionysius,¹⁷⁵ the *Opera* of John Chrysostom,¹⁷⁶ Athanasius' *De homousio contra Arrium*, which may have included works by Didymus the Blind and Cyprian in this edition,¹⁷⁷ Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on John*,¹⁷⁸ Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* and *Praeparatio evangelica*,¹⁷⁹ and works by Origen including his *Contra Celsum*.¹⁸⁰

3.4 Johann Eck's Humanism and view of the Church Fathers

3.4.1. Hubmaier's Relationship with Johann Eck: It was Johann Eck who had by far the most significant impact on Hubmaier's academic development. But, as Hubmaier's later estrangement with Eck demonstrates, he did not wish to be a mere carbon copy of his master.¹⁸¹ The eclecticism of Eck's theology and philosophy¹⁸² means that ascertaining in what way he influenced Hubmaier's later interaction with the Church fathers requires identifying those characteristics that Hubmaier retained and those that he abandoned. After examining Eck's *Chrysopassus* and Hubmaier's *Ein christliche Lehrtafel* (1526), *Von der Freiheit des Willens* (1527), and *Das andere Büchlein* on free will (1527), Walter Moore observes, "[I]t is not particularly odd for the disciple to diverge dramatically from the master. ... All pupils combine measures of fidelity to and disagreement with their mentors, neither element wholly eliminating the other," claiming that while "Hubmaier certainly diverged from the path of his teacher," there have been many studies that suggest "he may have

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 390 (Amerbach ed.), 397, 408.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 391.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 391.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 396.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 396f., 412.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 397, 407.

¹⁸¹ Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 76f.

¹⁸² See Mabry, *Doctrine*, 17.

retained a significant degree of fidelity to the teacher as well."¹⁸³ Much could be said, therefore, about Eck's influence on Hubmaier; for our purposes, however, the extent of Eck's humanism and view of the *auctoritas patrum* that exhibit possible influence on Hubmaier's use and view of the fathers will be our only concern. Other items, such as Eck's nominalism and view of Augustine will be treated in chapter eight (see 8.2.2. and 8.2.3.).

Walter Moore maintains, "By all accounts no other teacher was so important for Hubmaier as Eck. ... There can be little doubt that Eck was the principal theological influence upon Hubmaier... ." ¹⁸⁴ It must be remembered that Eck was himself a student when Hubmaier arrived at Freiburg, and was approximately six years Hubmaier's junior.¹⁸⁵ However, Eck's erudition and reputation as a prodigy made him a figure that Hubmaier could admire and emulate. As an indication of the extent to which Hubmaier was intimately familiar with Eck's theological convictions, he was required, as was typical of the bachelor's role, to give a *respondere* (reply) to opposing arguments in defence of his master during the scholastic disputations.¹⁸⁶ As well, in his *de sacerrima Theologia* (1513), Eck states that Hubmaier "hung upon the lips of his teacher and zealously wrote down the lectures," and was a *frequens auditor* and his *repetitor*. This required him to repeat, in private lectures to his fellow students in a course called a *Repetitorium*, the content of what was earlier taught to him by Eck.¹⁸⁷

Indeed, this relationship seems to have left a lasting impression on Hubmaier. A gift, the 1505 Paris edition of Bartolomeo Platina's (1421-81) *Vitae Pontificum* (1479), that

¹⁸³ Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 68.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 77. See also ME 2:842; Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 51; Leth, "Catholic Exegesis," 104; Rempel, *Lord's Supper*, 43.

¹⁸⁵ Mabry, *Doctrine*, 17. See also CE 5:271-3.

¹⁸⁶ Paulsen, *German*, 24.

¹⁸⁷ Eck's *de sacerrima Theologia* is quoted in its entirety in Wiedemann, *Johann Eck*, 461f., note 1; for an English translation see Vedder, *Hubmaier*, 28f.

Hubmaier gave to Eck in the summer of 1516 shows that they were still quite close after Hubmaier had left Ingolstadt for Regensburg.¹⁸⁸ Further, considering Regensburg was only sixty kilometres from Ingolstadt, it is likely that their relationship remained intact. In fact, a 1516 panegyric that Hubmaier composed in praise of Eck demonstrates again that no rupture between the two had yet occurred.¹⁸⁹ Although very little evidence depicting the nature of Hubmaier and Eck's relationship survives from this time, given the publicity of the exchange between Eck and Luther culminating in the Leipzig Disputation in 1519, it is very likely that Hubmaier watched the interaction with keen interest and sided with his former mentor, his sympathies for the Lutheran cause emerging later in 1522. In fact, it may have been Eck's technique of combating the Reformation by "avoiding excessive use of scholastic methods of argumentation, and supporting one's positions with a wealth of evidence from the Bible" that inspired Hubmaier to search the Scriptures, as much as did his exposure to Luther and Zwingli.¹⁹⁰

However, their relationship went into decline when Hubmaier became loyal to the Swiss Reformation under Zwingli's leadership in 1523, and even more so once he participated in the Second Zürich Disputation in October of the same year in which he sided with Zwingli. When Eck was in Rome in 1523, he wrote a sequence of memoranda for the pope that outlined the contemporary heresies dividing Christendom, listing Hubmaier an accomplice to the Lutheran heresy.¹⁹¹ However, it was Hubmaier's *Axiomata* (1524) that signaled the irreparable rift with Eck. This was a pamphlet of twenty-six theses against his former mentor wherein he sardonically suggests that Eck was inflicted with

¹⁸⁸ Packull, "Gift," 429. See also Davis, *Anabaptism and Asceticism*, 101; Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 74.

¹⁸⁹ Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 75. For the panegyric in the original Latin see Wiedemann, *Johann Eck*, 462f.; for an English translation see Vedder, *Hubmaier*, 29f., note 1.

¹⁹⁰ Moore, "Remembering John Eck," 936.

¹⁹¹ Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 75f.

Herculano...morbo, a reference to Hercules' intermittent insanity.¹⁹² It is interesting, however, that although Hubmaier frequently voices his displeasure against the scholastic component of his university education under the tutelage of Eck, about Eck himself he remains entirely silent save the *Axiomata*.¹⁹³

3.4.2. Eck's Humanism: A description of Eck's humanism is only relevant if it can be shown to have had a possible impact on Hubmaier's use and view of the Church fathers. With this in mind, two characteristics of Eck's humanism may have contributed to Hubmaier's appreciation for the fathers: (1) a literary and historical consciousness that encouraged direct study of the ancient sources, both Scripture and the fathers; and (2) his humanist modifications to scholastic texts and attenuation of scholastic divergence away from the *fontes*. Although Hubmaier is quite vocal about the neglect of Scripture during his university education,¹⁹⁴ the curriculum did not overlook the study of Scripture but did embrace scholastic glosses for its interpretation. Rather than a paucity of scriptural training, it is this proclivity to make *flickwerck* or *Schneyder werck* out of Scripture and present *halb Schrifften* by consulting scholastic interpretative glosses that Hubmaier opposed.¹⁹⁵ This rejection of scholastic glosses is typical of Humanism, as it denotes a preference for the original sources in their entirety, whether Scripture instead of scholastic glosses or humanist editions of complete patristic commentaries rather than *florilegia* of patristic excerpts. A rejection of Scholasticism is also the negative expression of an appreciation for classical Christianity that preceded it.

¹⁹² This was the term used in the anonymous pamphlet, *Eckius Dedolatus* (1520), typically ascribed to Pirckheimer. Ibid., 77. Cf. "Axiomata," *HS* 90, *CRR* 57.

¹⁹³ Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 77.

¹⁹⁴ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 309; *CRR* 343.

¹⁹⁵ "Unterricht," *HS* 295 [*Schneyder wreck* reference is Hubmaier's own marginal note]; *CRR* 327. See also *HS* 131, 290f., 381, 407, 453; *CRR* 111, 320, 427f., 460, and 517.

Hubmaier's use of scholastic glosses while at both Freiburg and Ingolstadt is undeniable, but Eck's guidance ensured a calibrated scholasticism that attempted to take the best of its procedures, especially the *disputatio*, and incorporate the desirable elements of the New Learning. For instance, we know that Eck was a keen reader of Scripture since he purportedly read the Bible from cover to cover by the age of ten.¹⁹⁶ Eck's proficiency with Scripture is evident in his knowledge of both Greek and Hebrew as well as in the expertise he exhibited when debating Luther over his latter's ninety-five theses.¹⁹⁷ Eck also countered Luther's German translation of the Bible with his own translation of the Old Testament and a corrected version of Hieronymus Emser's (1477-1527) translation of the New Testament that he published in 1539.¹⁹⁸ Universities that most accommodated Scholasticism still lectured on Scripture, which comprised half of a student's training in the Faculty of Theology. The second half, however, included the study of the *Sententiae* for the exegesis of Scripture, the fragmentation of this method being the target of Hubmaier's derision.¹⁹⁹ Indeed, Kittelson observes that "the *cursus biblicus* was the core of Freiburg's theology curriculum," but with "Aristotelian logic rather than ... the use of languages and history" guiding scriptural exegesis.²⁰⁰

However, it is reasonable to surmise that Eck exposed Hubmaier to a more historico-literary approach to the sources of antiquity, including Scripture. Although there is no doubt that Hubmaier was engaged in the scholastic rigors of the time, Eck's eclecticism permitted attenuation of these exercises by way of his humanism. John Sandys asserts that Eck was a

¹⁹⁶ Creighton, *Papacy*, 30.

¹⁹⁷ Moore, "Remembering John Eck," 936. See also Briggs, *History*, Vol. 2, 124.

¹⁹⁸ CE 5:273. Briggs, *History*, Vol. 2, 124.

¹⁹⁹ Brockliss, "Curricula," 593. See also Grendler, "Universities," 4.; Bauer, *Freiburg i.Br.*, 96-114; Schwaiger, "Ingolstadt," 21.

²⁰⁰ Kittelson, *Wolfgang Capito*, 16.

"Scholastic humanist" who wished to incorporate many of the humanist reforms while maintaining a strong loyalty to the Church, along with the likes of Rudolph Agricola, Rudolf von Langen (c.1438-1519), Alexander Hegius (c.1433-98), Jakob Wimpfeling, and Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516).²⁰¹ Sandys' description is, I think, accurate since it captures the heterogeneity of Eck's interests and the manner in which he thoughtfully conflated all the elements of his system. For instance, although he lectured on Aristotle at Freiburg beginning in 1502, Eck was at this time under the influence of the Humanist, Zasius.²⁰² Urbanus Rhegius, Hubmaier's fellow student at both Freiburg and Ingolstadt and another disciple of Eck, wrote in his *On the Dignity of Priests* (1519) that Eck was among those like Zasius, Reuchlin, Mutianus Rufus (1470-1526), Capito, Rhenanus, and the Amerbach brothers who embraced the "humanist's creed," as Rummel expressed it, that "[l]iterature does not impede higher studies, but aids them."²⁰³

Eck's conciliatory approach also helped him earn the responsibility of finding common ground between warring academic factions at Ingolstadt through his *via media*. Noteworthy accomplishments to this end were his new commentaries on Aristotle's *Physica*, *Organon*, *De anima*, and *De caelo et mundo*, and on Petrus Hispanus' (c.1215-77) *Summulae logicales* (1516).²⁰⁴ Indeed, it was Eck who asserted his intention to rid the textbooks and curriculum of the "rubbish of the sophists."²⁰⁵ Eck's alignment with humanist objectives is evident also in his use of John Argyropoulos' (1415-87) updated translation of Aristotle's works for his commentaries, the poetic linguistic style of his introductions, and the literary

²⁰¹ Sandys, *History*, Vol. 2, 258.

²⁰² *CEBR* 2:417.

²⁰³ Cited in Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 105.

²⁰⁴ Iserloh, *Johannes Eck*, 14-20, esp. 18f. See also Wiedemann, *Johann Eck*, 33f.; Smolinsky, "Humanismus," 27; Schwaiger, "Ingolstadt," 34ff.; Overfield, *Humanism*, 310.

²⁰⁵ Cited in Overfield, *Humanism*, 311. See also Seifert, *Ingolstadt*, 81, note 8.

references therein.²⁰⁶ Eck also seems to have incorporated the humanist historico-literary engagement with the classical *fontes*, while retaining the substructure of scholastic instructional methods and exercises. Walter Moore suggests that his attraction to Augustine could signal an affinity for the *ad fontes* humanistic principle since he may have availed himself of the recent humanist edition of Augustine's works published in Basel by Amerbach (1506).²⁰⁷

Eventually, the reforming activity of Johann Eck led to the full inclusion of the *studia humanitatis* in Ingolstadt by ducal chancellor, Leonhard von Eck (1480-1550), at which point lectures on Cicero, Terence, and the Humanist, Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481) commenced. The *doctrinale* was replaced by Aventinus' *Rudimenta grammaticae latini*, and only translations of Aristotle by Argyropoulos and Bruni could be used. Leonhard von Eck was also able to attract the Humanist, Johann Reuchlin, to Ingolstadt to teach both Greek and Hebrew. Of course, most of this unfolded after Hubmaier had already graduated. However, the foundation was being laid in the period of Hubmaier's life when he still lived in Ingolstadt, during which time he was initially assigned the posts of university preacher, lecturer in theology, chaplain of the university's Church of the Virgin, and eventually, in 1515, the vice-rector of the university. Since the titular rector was the Margrave Friedrich von Brandenburg, the administrative duties and all duties of the rector would have fallen on Hubmaier.²⁰⁸ Given the retention of Hubmaier's relationship with Eck after the former departed for Regensburg on 25 January 1516, he would no doubt have been impacted by the curricular developments at Ingolstadt that his former mentor had encouraged. All things considered, although Eck used a scholastic substructure as a point of reference for his

²⁰⁶ Overfield, *Humanism*, 311.

²⁰⁷ Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 50f. Cf. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 173.

²⁰⁸ Estep, *Anabaptist Story*, 79. See also Estep, *Renaissance*, 206.

humanist reforms, he had nevertheless instilled in Hubmaier a preference for the original *fontes*, in their original languages, and in their entirety, whether Scripture or the works of the fathers, unconstrained by the often manipulative guardianship of scholastic theologians and their glosses.

3.4.3. *Eck and the Auctoritas Patrum:* Like nearly all sixteenth-century theologians, Eck was well-acquainted with the Church fathers.²⁰⁹ Although his attraction to the fathers developed simply due to their ubiquity, both his humanism and accent on God's *potentia ordinata*, as per his nominalism, might have shaped his use and view of them as we will explain in greater detail in chapter eight (see 8.2.2.).²¹⁰

In his *Chrysopassus*, Eck thought it worthwhile to outline how one should understand the authority of the Church fathers. Eck contends that the authority of each father is afforded them "according to his place and order."²¹¹ He then provides three possible levels of authoritativeness: (1) a source of authority may be true in all respects; (2) a traditional source may be regarded as altogether error free; and (3) a source of teachings may be considered *useful* and *probable*. Eck applies this third level of authoritativeness to the fathers who, relevant for our assessment of Hubmaier's view, are not afforded the same degree of authority as Scripture and canonical decision of past councils.²¹² In the second *notula* of his *Chrysopassus*, Eck also claims, as Moore observes, that "it is not heretical to take issue with one of the fathers, especially in view of the fact that the fathers often take issue among themselves" and further claims that some fathers, such as Augustine, contradict

²⁰⁹ See Iserloh, *Johannes Eck*, 7; *TRE* 249, 253, 257.

²¹⁰ Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 50f. See also McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 173; Oberman, "Profile," 85.

²¹¹ Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 46. Cf. *Chrysopassus* III.88.

²¹² Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 46. Cf. *Chrysopassus* III.88-91.

themselves.²¹³ In fact, Eck disagrees with the canonists who "unjustly place the fathers on the same level with Scripture and the official pronouncements of the church. A Christian," Moore continues, "may legitimately disagree with the opinion of any of the fathers, including Augustine, unless that opinion can be demonstrated from Scripture to be true or has been explicitly declared true by the church."²¹⁴ This, we will later discover, is very near to Hubmaier's understanding of the relationship between the authority of Scripture, the fathers, and the Church (see 9.1 and 10.3).

Leif Grane's study on Eck's use of the Church fathers to defend the primacy of the pope against Luther appears at first glance less nuanced than Moore's analysis.²¹⁵ Using Eck's *De primatu Petri* (1519) and *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutherum* (1525) as his basis for examination, Grane highlights a few points that initially seem incongruous with Moore's conclusions. However, Grane based his conclusions on works by Eck that were more polemical in nature given their Lutheran audience, while the *Chrysopassus* stemmed from lectures at Ingolstadt while Hubmaier was still a resident there and before the Lutheran controversy erupted. Therefore, the *Chrysopassus* was a more nuanced and deliberately formulated understanding of the authority of the Church fathers without an agenda to colour his portrayal. On the other hand, Eck's discussion of the fathers in *De primatu Petri* and the *Enchiridion* exaggerated patristic authority to extremes that neutralized Luther's perceptible distaste for the fathers.

Specifically, Grane suggests two ways for understanding Eck's view of the *auctoritas patrum*: First, Eck argues that "all authoritative texts, the Bible, the fathers, and councils, and Canon Law must lead in the same direction," as he is "convinced of their harmony with

²¹³ Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 47. Cf. *Chrysopassus* III.90-1.

²¹⁴ Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 47.

²¹⁵ Grane, "John Eck," 67-75.

each other."²¹⁶ That Eck expects "harmony" among all authoritative texts is not itself the problem; however, if contradictions can be detected, both between and within texts, we must conclude that Eck favours the arbitral role of Scripture as he expressed in his *Chrysopassus* without an agenda. Second, although Luther "holds that the Fathers must be interpreted according to Holy Scripture, and not vice versa, ... [t]o Eck this is the same as to prefer one's own interpretation to that of the Fathers, as has always been the practice of heretics."²¹⁷ Eck suggests that debating about how to interpret Scripture is superfluous since "the interpretation already performed by the Fathers is authoritative."²¹⁸ No doubt, Eck believes this to be true in theory and indeed fundamental to the history of the development of doctrine. What is unclear, however, is what recourse Eck takes when, as stated above, he decides it is necessary to test the fathers. Here, we must conclude that Eck certainly reads Scripture through the lens of the Church fathers in the sense that he condemns any interpretation of Scripture that has no prior precedent in patristic thought, which is what he accuses Luther of doing. Nevertheless, his *Chrysopassus* makes it clear that Scripture, representing the first level of authority, adjudicates contradictions among the fathers, whose authority is conditional.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 67.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 68.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR

HUBMAIER'S HUMANISM AND THE CHURCH FATHERS

We now shift from Hubmaier's humanist education to his appreciation of Humanism immediately before and as his Anabaptist convictions were developing. Robert Kreider suggests some questions that can guide such an inquiry:

(1) Did he have a humanist education? Correlated with this are questions regarding his knowledge of classical languages, the books he read, and whether he had humanist associates. (2) Did he give active expression to humanism in writing, correspondence, or scholarly vocational pursuits? (3) Did the ideas he expressed have affinity with the teachings of such a humanist, for example, as Erasmus?¹

We will therefore follow the guidelines of these questions and consider the extent to which Hubmaier capitalized on humanist principles and procedures, chief among them being his examination of the *patrum testimonia* to facilitate a consensus on the correct form of baptism, in his confessionalization of Humanism. To accomplish this objective we will outline five humanist characteristics that cultivated and shaped his reading of the Church fathers:² (1) Hubmaier's humanist contacts, (2) his knowledge of contemporary humanist literature, (3) his use of grammar, rhetoric, and an amended form of dialectic, (4) his adherence to the *ad fontes* principle, (5) the nature and significance of his restitutionism, and (6) his conciliarism and desire for a consensus and ecclesial unity.

¹ Kreider, "Anabaptism," 125f.

² For more on the suggestion that the Church fathers were a humanistic instrument for Anabaptism, see Friesen, "Impulse," 37; Kreider, "Anabaptism," 131-3; Kristeller, "Studies," 18f.; Littell, *Origins*, 61, etc.

4.1 Hubmaier's Humanist Contacts

Historians have long noted the effect of Hubmaier's early contact with Humanism, either through personal correspondence or by reading the literary output of its proponents.³ Mabry points to Hubmaier's attendance at lectures by Fabri and Rhegius on Francisco Filelfo and Lefèvre as further evidence of a burgeoning interest in Humanism.⁴ Rhegius was a fellow student with Hubmaier at both Freiburg (1508-12) and Ingolstadt (1512-1518), owned a patristic collection, corresponded regularly with Erasmus and other Humanists such as Michael Hummelberg (1487-1527) and Joachim Vadian, endorsed Johannes Aventinus' humanist reforms at Ingolstadt, and met with Hubmaier again in Augsburg in 1526.⁵ Carter Lindberg claims that Rhegius' "humanist education endowed him with a thorough knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, and he became so well acquainted with the Bible and the church fathers that he was able to cite them copiously in his works."⁶

Wolfgang Capito was a fellow student and later professor of theology *extraordinarius* at Freiburg both during and immediately after Hubmaier's tenure,⁷ and his contacts with humanist visionaries at Freiburg such as Zasius, Wimpfeling, Reisch, and Geiler may also reflect Hubmaier's contacts.⁸ It was also Capito who wrote to Zwingli on 27 December 1525 expressing consternation about his treatment of Hubmaier in Zürich.⁹ Interestingly, his transition from a hybrid nominalist-humanist education to Erasmian Humanism and eventually to involvement in the Reformation is remarkably similar to Hubmaier's.¹⁰ Capito also held residence in Basel where he became captivated by Erasmus and his *philosophia*

³ See Vedder, *Hubmaier*, 54f.; Littell, *Origins*, 61; Davis, *Anabaptism and Asceticism*, 101.

⁴ Mabry, *Doctrine*, 23; Lindberg, *Reformation Theologians*, 110.

⁵ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 311.

⁶ Lindberg, *Reformation Theologians*, 110.

⁷ Mayer, *Freiburg i.br.*, 161f. See also Bauer, *Freiburg i.Br.*, 183, 188.

⁸ Kittelson, *Wolfgang Capito*, 14-19.

⁹ *ZSW* 8:475, no. 428. Cf. Kittelson, *Wolfgang Capito*, 5.

¹⁰ Kittelson, *Wolfgang Capito*, 3f.

Christi and acquainted himself with the same Humanists that Hubmaier would later meet in 1522. Like Hubmaier, Capito began to denounce his nominalist education and instead lauded the Church fathers over the theologians of the *viae*, for instance recommending that his student, Halwill, read Basil of Caesarea, Chrysostom, Origen, and Gregory of Nyssa.¹¹ He also completed a translation of Chrysostom's *Paraenesis prior*.¹² Hubmaier also met the Humanist of Ulm, Wolfgang Rychard (1485-1544), during the latter's pilgrimage to Regensburg and was quite impressed. He wrote him a letter in 1521 and visited him in Ulm *en route* to Waldshut.¹³ Mabry remarks that they "had developed a very close relationship," through which his interest in Humanism led Hubmaier "to go to Basel, where he became acquainted with Erasmus."¹⁴

However, it was in Waldshut, where he first began writing on the fathers, that Hubmaier's humanism became more pronounced. He read the commentaries of Melancthon, whose humanism was far more conspicuous than Luther's,¹⁵ and wrote a short note to Beatus Rhenanus in 1521 inscribed in a gift, Oecolampadius' *Iudicium de doctore Martino Luthero* (1520), that he had procured while visiting Ulm.¹⁶ The inscription inside the book reads:

Balthasar Pacimontanus to his friend Beatus Rhenanus. He sends this golden nugget quite late, who was unable to send it more quickly. Most learned Rhenanus, I am sending the opinion of the highly learned Oecolampadius now because I could not send it any sooner. For it has not been in the hands of the lord Vicar of Constance.

¹¹ Kittelson, *Wolfgang Capito*, 23, 31f. This reference is from a letter by Oecolampadius. Cf. *BAO* 1:168.

¹² Briggs, *History*, Vol. 2, 123.

¹³ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 71-3, 403; Mabry, *Doctrine*, 23. See also Williamson, *Erasmus*, 38.

¹⁴ Mabry, *Doctrine*, 2.

¹⁵ Bergsten, *HS* 225f.; Mabry, *Doctrine*, 24; Pipkin, "Introduction: [17] Old and New Teachers on Believers Baptism," *CRR* 246.

¹⁶ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 71f.

But I brought it back with me from those days in Ulm. Farewell. Yours most faithfully, Balthasar.¹⁷

That Hubmaier had Latinized his name is itself an indication of humanist influence, although he would later drop this formulation as an Anabaptist in favour of *D. Balthasar Huebmör von Fridberg*.¹⁸ Williamson believes that the inscription in the *Iudicium* suggests that Hubmaier had already met with Rhenanus, a known associate of Erasmus, while the two were in Ulm, and that here Hubmaier had established an impressive network of humanist friends.¹⁹

Hubmaier also wrote a letter to Johannes Sapidus (1490-1561), dated 26 October 1521, who, as a member of Erasmus' inner circle, was responsible for introducing humanist reforms in the Latin school in Schlettstadt that Hubmaier wanted his nephew to attend. According to Bergsten, the letter "reveal[s] Hubmaier as a humanist,"²⁰ and Williamson believes it shows that Hubmaier had "intentionally rejected scholasticism and desired to align himself with those devoted to humanist biblical methodology."²¹ For instance, Hubmaier reveals that he respects "the graduates and candidates, not of quaestiology [Scholasticism] but of purer theology, and especially those who have drunk from the sources of Pauline divine wisdom."²² Although Williamson thinks that these are Hubmaier's humanist contemporaries,²³ and, as Bergsten believes, "first of all Erasmus,"²⁴ one wonders whether he also had in mind the Church fathers whose commentaries on the Pauline epistles, some of

¹⁷ Cited in Williamson, *Erasmus*, 39. Cf. *BBR* 263. The original is in the Bibliothèque Humaniste, Sélestat, France. Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 403.

¹⁸ Lindberg, *Reformation Theologians*, 110.

¹⁹ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 39f.; D'Amico, "Beatus Rhenanus," 38; Windhorst, *Täuferisches Täuferverständnis*, 8.

²⁰ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 72.

²¹ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 42.

²² Cited in *ibid.*, 43. Cf. "Letter to Sapidus," (1959) 41f. See also Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 71-3.

²³ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 43.

²⁴ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 72.

which Hubmaier cites in his own writings,²⁵ must have been a refreshing change from the scholastic theologians who made "*flickwerck*" of Scripture.²⁶ Regardless, it is clear that, as Christoph Windhorst has claimed, Hubmaier's reading of the Pauline epistles was initially a humanist activity for him.²⁷ The letter closes with a request to join Sapidus' humanist circle.

The clearest demonstration of Hubmaier's interest in Humanism, however, is a letter addressed to Johann Adelphi (23 June 1522), the Humanist physician of Schaffhausen.²⁸ After soliciting the assistance of Melanchthon, Erasmus, and Adelphi for interpreting the Pauline epistles, Hubmaier provides some details of his travels to Freiburg and Basel in the spring of 1522:

But perhaps you are wondering what I did in Freiburg and Basel not long ago? Listen to a brief account. I came down to Basel, where I met Busch, a truly learned man, and Glarean. I also paid my respects to Erasmus. With him I discussed many points about purgatory and especially these two phrases from John 1 [13]: "Neither from the will of the flesh nor from the will of man." For a considerable time, Erasmus held back on the subject of purgatory, but, after a while, producing a scholarly response, he hastened on to many other and varied topics at that. Erasmus speaks freely, but writes precisely. But I will speak with you about those things. I came also to Freiburg ... then, while journeying back to Basel, I rejoined my best friends from Basel. We discussed many things on the journey, both learned and profound. I was not able to chat much with Pellican, who returned late from his chapter.²⁹

First, Hubmaier mentions meeting Hermann Busch, a very close friend of Erasmus until 1523 when the two had a falling-out, defender of Reuchlin's reforms at the University of Cologne, and author of a defence of Humanism entitled *Vallum humanitatis* (1518).³⁰ Hubmaier also discloses his meeting with Heinrich Glarean and Konrad Pellikan (1478-1556), both involved

²⁵ *HS* 175f., 185, 190, 197, 230-2, 244f., 261; *CRR* 180, 194, 200, 210, 250f., 253, 265-7., 281.

²⁶ "Unterricht," *HS* 295, *CRR* 237.

²⁷ Windhorst, *Täuferisches Taufverständnis*, 10.

²⁸ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 73f. See also Williamson, *Erasmus*, 38f; Mabry, *Doctrine*, 25.

²⁹ Cited in Williamson, *Erasmus*, 47. Cf. "Letter to Adelphi," 233. See also Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 73f.; Davis, "Discontinuity," 35; Vedder, *Hubmaier*, 54; Horst, *Erasmus*, 10f.; Hall, "Possibilities," 154.

³⁰ *CEBR* 1:233f. See also Williamson, *Erasmus*, 48.

in publishing; Glarean helped edit Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum* (1516)³¹ and Pellikan redacted Amerbach's 1506 edition of Augustine,³² Erasmus' edition of Jerome, and Rhenanus' *Opera* of Tertullian.³³ Citing as evidence his letter to Oecolampadius (16 January 1525), Williamson believes that Hubmaier "maintained contact with the Basel circle for several years afterward."³⁴ Yoder concurs and claims that the patristic scholarship of his recipient, Oecolampadius, bears some significance.³⁵

Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that Hubmaier's contact with Erasmus, Busch, Glarean, and Pellikan in Basel proceeded without discussing the value of the fathers in the humanist program. Evidence of this exists in Erasmus' likely response to Hubmaier's inquiry about purgatory, which Williamson believes was probably similar to the portrayal in his *Annotationes* on 1 Corinthians 3:13-15—the key text on this subject in the Middle Ages.³⁶ The passage identifies Augustine as the originator of linking the Corinthian pericope to purgatory, yet Erasmus notes that Jerome, Origen, Ambrose, Theophylact, and Chrysostom did not make this connection.³⁷ Instead, the "fire" likely reflects the trials of our earthly existence. Since Hubmaier cannot locate a clearer selection from Scripture to explain the meaning of "fire,"³⁸ it is plausible that he accepted this historical explanation based on the patristic understanding—perhaps with Erasmus' guidance.

Finally, Hubmaier also met Joachim Vadian, Conrad Grebel's brother-in-law, when he stopped to preach in St. Gall and Appenzell on his way from Waldshut to Zürich in the

³¹ Levi, *Renaissance*, 423. See also *CE* 6:577; Rüegg, "Themes," 20.

³² Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 50f.

³³ Haaugaard, "Renaissance," 38f., note 6. See also Williamson, *Erasmus*, 48f.

³⁴ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 49. Cf. "Letter to Oecolampad," *CRR*, 68-72.

³⁵ Yoder, "Introduction: [6] Letter to Oecolampad," *CRR* 67. See also Mabry, *Doctrine*, 3.

³⁶ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 51; Goff, *Purgatory*, 43.

³⁷ *LB* 6:671B-672E. Cf. Williamson, *Erasmus*, 51.

³⁸ Hubmaier twice argues against purgatory from an absence in Scripture, but does not offer another scriptural passage to clarify the meaning of "fire" mentioned in 1 Cor. 3:13-15, leaving Paul's description unexplained. Cf. "Gespräch," *HS* 179; *CRR* 185; "Rechenschaft," *HS* 473f.; *CRR* 541.

spring of 1523.³⁹ Vadian was a humanist friend of Zwingli who, when professor of rhetoric at the University of Vienna beginning in 1516, associated himself with Conrad Celtis and his circle and sought to strengthen his association with Humanism by visiting Basel in 1522.⁴⁰ Although Vadian was also acquainted with the Church fathers, indications are that his interests lay elsewhere so that he had to be coaxed into reading patristic literature.⁴¹ However, despite the scant references, he used Cyprian and Chrysostom to argue against the inflated authority of the papacy,⁴² and we know that Grebel sent a copy of Rhenanus' edition of Tertullian to Vadian urging him to read it.⁴³ Hubmaier also had opportunity to discuss baptism with Vadian, especially since he would discuss the same topic in Zürich with Zwingli only days later.⁴⁴ In fact, Vadian asked Hubmaier to deliver a letter to Zwingli,⁴⁵ and when Anabaptism became a more pronounced threat, it was in a letter to Vadian (31 March 1525) that Zwingli first made known his intention to compose a treatise on baptism against the Grebelian heresy.⁴⁶ However, in the next chapter we will discover that the contents of Vadian's patristic library do not match the editions we know Hubmaier read (see 5.1.2.).

4.2 Hubmaier's Knowledge of Contemporary Humanist Literature

Outlining the contemporary humanist works that Hubmaier read is another way to determine in what way he confessionalized Humanism by capitalizing on its appreciation of the Church fathers. First, Hubmaier requested in his letter to Sapidus that his nephew read

³⁹ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 79f., 151. See also Estep, *Anabaptist Story*, 81.

⁴⁰ *CEBR* 3:364f.

⁴¹ Spitz, "Humanism," 382.

⁴² Stadtwald, *Roman Popes*, 164, note 36.

⁴³ *ME* 4:699.

⁴⁴ Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 51. See also MacGregor, *Hubmaier*, 108. Cf. "Gespräch," *HS* 186; *CRR* 195.

⁴⁵ Mabry, *Doctrine*, 41.

⁴⁶ Bromiley, "Introduction: Of Baptism," *ZB* 120. Cf. *ZWS* 8:336.

the works of Erasmus while enrolled at the Schlettstadt Latin academy, specifically his *Paraphrases* (1517-24) and *Ratio*. However, only the *Paraphrases* on the Pauline epistles had been published when he wrote *Sapidus*.⁴⁷ Williamson believes that Hubmaier must have also consulted the *Paraphrases* himself during his own investigation of Paul's epistles, which is important considering its strong patristic content.⁴⁸ We know from his *Urteil*, however, that Hubmaier later made use of Erasmus' *Paraphrases* on the gospels since he quotes verbatim from his *Paraphrase on Matthew* (1522) regarding the *Symbolum Apostolorum*.⁴⁹ Additionally, Hubmaier makes tacit reference to Erasmus' *Paraphrase* on the Acts of the Apostles for his claims that water baptism is in vain if not preceded by teaching and genuine faith.⁵⁰ The *Ratio* was published in 1518 and later as a preface to his revised *Novum Testamentum* published in 1519. This work is essentially an outline of the Humanist's task, which stresses the piety and erudition of a theologian, a trilingual education, which Hubmaier had, the need for an assiduous exegesis of Scripture, and the superiority of the Church fathers over scholastic syllogistic questioning.⁵¹ Some of Hubmaier's classical references suggest that he was also acquainted with Erasmus' *Adagia*. For instance, Hubmaier's observations about the pre-Socratics, Anaxagoras⁵² and Thales of Melitus⁵³ and metaphorical allusions to the "marpesian rocks"⁵⁴ from Virgil's *Aeneid* and the "stormy syrenian (*syrenisch*) sea"⁵⁵ from Homer's *Odyssey* might have had the *Adagia* as their source, and similarly his

⁴⁷ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 41.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 47, 85ff. See also Staubach and Greig, "Devotio Moderna," 451f.

⁴⁹ "Urteil: I," *HS* 233; *CRR* 255. Cf. *LB* 7:146. See also "Gespräch," *HS* 209; *CRR* 227.

⁵⁰ "Urteil: I," *HS* 233; *CRR* 255.

⁵¹ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 41f.

⁵² "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 131; *CRR* 112; "Unterricht," *HS* 294f.; *CRR* 325; *CWE* 31:53, 111, 368. Pipkin informs us that it was common for Reformers to invoke Anaxagoras when referring to philosophy in general and in particular the scholastics. Pipkin, *CRR* 112, note 20.

⁵³ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 415; *CRR* 470; *CWE* 31:193.

⁵⁴ "Urteil: I," *HS* 237; *CRR* 260, note (a); *CWE* 34:192, 304. Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI:471.

⁵⁵ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 307; *CRR* 341. See also *CRR* 341, note 4; *CWE* 34:51. Cf. Homer, *Odessey*, Bk XII.

references to Ceres,⁵⁶ Bacchus,⁵⁷ and Neptune⁵⁸ as idols of bread, wine, and water respectively. Hubmaier also relied heavily on Erasmus' *Diatribes* for his understanding of free will and use of the fathers, which we will discuss in chapter eight (see 8.2.1.).⁵⁹

We know from Hubmaier's letter to Oecolampadius dated 16 January 1525 that he had read the latter's *Demegoriae* (1524), a publication of his sermons on the first epistle of John delivered at St. Martin's Church in Basel using the *lectio continua* method that many Reformed theologians, including Zwingli, believed originated with John Chrysostom.⁶⁰ Indeed, Oecolampadius' Latin translations of Chrysostom's homilies on Genesis and other sermons are ideal archetypes for his preaching style.⁶¹ Hubmaier claims that the *Demegoriae* "favoured and benefited" him,⁶² which is significant since the treatise contained allusions to Christian history and citations of the fathers.⁶³ Hubmaier had also read Oecolampadius' transcript of a dialogue, entitled *Gespräch etlicher Prädikanten zu Basel gehalten mit etlichen Bekennern des Wiedertaufs* (1525), that had taken place between himself and some Anabaptist leaders at his residence in Basel. Published to quell rumours of an Anabaptist victory, this work was the basis for Hubmaier's *Von der Kindertäufe* and contains some revealing exchanges regarding the Church fathers, which we will explicate when appropriate in chapters five through nine.⁶⁴

⁵⁶ "Unterricht," *HS* 299; *CRR* 331f.; *CWE* 31:320; 33:187f.; 35:487.

⁵⁷ "Unterricht," *HS* 299; *CRR* 331f.; *CWE* 33:126f., 187f., 221, 314f., 323; 35:24.

⁵⁸ "Unterricht," *HS* 299; *CRR* 331f.; *CWE* 31:118; 33:334; 35:353.

⁵⁹ Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 72. Cf. "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 402-31; *CRR* 452-91, notes 8 to 41.

⁶⁰ Old, *Worship*, 59-61. I have also consulted a digitized copy housed in the BSB; shelf mark: VD16 O 345; *Ioannis Oecolampadij demegoriae* (Basileae: Cratander, 1524).

⁶¹ Old, *Worship*, 71f.

⁶² "Letter to Oecolampad," *CRR* 68, notes 5 & 6. Cf. "Gespräch," *HS* 209; *CRR* 226f.

⁶³ Old, *Worship*, 61.

⁶⁴ Pipkin, "Introduction: [18] On Infant Baptism Against Oecolampad," *CRR* 275.

Other reform-minded humanist works that Hubmaier read include publications and personal correspondences from Leo Jud,⁶⁵ a close colleague of Zwingli's, and Sebastian Hofmeister, with whom Hubmaier took refuge in Schaffhausen in 1524.⁶⁶ Hubmaier probably also read a 1519 or 1520 pamphlet against his former mentor entitled *Eckius Dedolatus* that, while anonymous, is commonly attributed to Pirckheimer.⁶⁷ Hubmaier also read Martin Bucer's *Grund und Ursach* (1524),⁶⁸ an unnamed work by Beatus Rhenanus,⁶⁹ and of course Zwingli's works, whose *Sixty-seven Theses* (1523) and accompanying *Exposition of the Articles* (1523), *Taufbüchlein* (1525), and *Wer Ursache gebe zu Aufruhr* (1524/5) occupied most of Hubmaier's attention.⁷⁰ While this outline is not exhaustive, the patristic character of these humanist compositions demonstrates further Hubmaier's loyalty to classical paradigms, acceptance of the Church fathers, and awareness of the conventionality and value of citing patristic literature.

4.3 Hubmaier's use of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic

Hubmaier's appropriation of grammar, rhetoric, and a calibrated use of dialectic identifies how he interacts with the classical world and the writings of the Church fathers and Scripture specifically. Although dialectic is sometimes thought to be an exclusively scholastic discipline, the New Learning certainly did not abandon it but amended it along classical lines. It is therefore very likely that Hubmaier has Humanists in mind when he

⁶⁵ "Urteil: I," *HS* 235; *CRR* 258.

⁶⁶ Yoder, "Introduction: [3] An Earnest Christian Appeal to Schaffhausen," *CRR* 35. Cf. "Urteil: I," *HS* 235f.; *CRR* 258f.

⁶⁷ "Axiomata," *HS* 90, *CRR* 57. Cf. Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 77.

⁶⁸ Cf. *BDS* 1:245, 247, 257f. It is interesting to note that Hubmaier wrote a brief treatise with the same title: "Grund und Ursache," *HS* 329-36; *CRR* 367-71.

⁶⁹ "Urteil: II," *HS* 247; *CRR* 270f.

⁷⁰ "Urteil: I," *HS* 234f.; *CRR* 257f.

"Gespräch," *HS* 167-214; *HS* 170-233. See also Windhorst, "Abendmahls," 116.

speaks of the "true dialecticians,"⁷¹ which we will elaborate on in chapter seven when we explore Hubmaier's use of Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* (see 7.1.4.4.). Indeed, grammar's emphasis on engaging the original text—the meaning and placement of the words themselves—and rhetoric's ability to move the masses to a higher moral awareness,⁷² both disciplines combining to essentially sum up the preaching vocation, seem like methods to which Hubmaier would have been attracted.

Alan Perreiah avers, "Scholastic dialectic ... names a branch of logic and a kind of argumentation essential to the method of instruction in the arts colleges of European universities throughout the Renaissance."⁷³ Many prominent German Humanists such as Peter Luder (1415-72), Celtis, and Wimpfeling sought to reduce the dominance of scholastic dialectic.⁷⁴ So, how did Humanists amend dialectic so that it conformed to their own emphases? The patristic method sees Humanists, such as Thomas More, claim that both Augustine and Jerome approved of a dialecticism that was devoid of the "nonsense" of the scholastic brand,⁷⁵ and Lorenzo Valla in his *Dialecticae Disputationes*, sought to transform the syllogism of scholastic dialectic into a "rhetoricized" dialectic.⁷⁶ Although they critiqued its excesses, Dietrich Gresemund (1477-1512), a German Humanist from the city of Mainz,⁷⁷ and Wimpfeling nevertheless praised dialectic if harnessed for the appropriate purposes, the latter composing a speech entitled *On Behalf of Harmony between Dialecticians and Orators* (1499).⁷⁸ Rudolf Agricola also sought to refine dialectic in his *De dialectica inventione libris*

⁷¹ "Unterricht," *HS* 295f.; *CRR* 237.

⁷² Overfield, *Humanism*, 67.

⁷³ Perreiah, "Humanist Critiques," 4.

⁷⁴ Overfield, *Humanism*, 86f.

⁷⁵ More, *Selected Letters*, 20ff. Cf. Perreiah, "Humanist Critiques," 9.

⁷⁶ Jardine, "Lorenzo Valla," 144f. See also Overfield, *Humanism*, 91.

⁷⁷ *CE* 7:28.

⁷⁸ Overfield, *Humanism*, 87.

tres (1479) by modeling it on Boethius' (c. 480-c. 526) *De differentiis topicis*.⁷⁹ And, Hubmaier's own mentor, Eck, published his *Elementius Dialecticae* (1516), which Heath calls a "philosophical or grammatical logic"⁸⁰ in compliance with the linguistic concerns of the *modi significandi*,⁸¹ or "ways of signifying"—*viz.*, the grammatical concern with semantics.⁸² Others, such as the Italian Humanist statesman, canonist, and professor of Logic at Padua, Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370-1444/5)⁸³ and the Italian Humanist educator from Mantua, Vittorino da Feltre (1397-1446),⁸⁴ possessed a real desire to harness those characteristics of dialectic that could be applied in service of humanistic objectives.⁸⁵ To be sure, these Humanists berated scholastic theologians for their excesses in dialectic and "truly miserable and uneasy quibbling of speech"⁸⁶ as much as Hubmaier did and with the same intensity.⁸⁷

Indeed, Hubmaier himself uses grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic as alternatives to the scholastic barriers to reading the Church fathers directly, which is why, as we will explore in chapters five through eight, he studied full, humanist patristic editions. However, the clearest connection between his use of these humanistic disciplines and the fathers occurs in his reading of Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, which again we will discuss in chapter seven. The following elucidation will therefore add another layer to Hubmaier's confessionalization of Humanism in service of his understanding of baptism. First, we know that Hubmaier had

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 88ff. See also Jardine, "Lorenzo Valla," 146.

⁸⁰ Heath, "Universities," 57f.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Cummings, *Literary Culture*, 116.

⁸³ *CE* 15:353.

⁸⁴ *CE* 15:490.

⁸⁵ Woodward, *Humanist Educators*, 60.

⁸⁶ Cited in Overfield, *Humanism*, 90. Cf. *De inventione dialectica* (Louvain: Martinus, 1515), Bk. II, Ch. I, 151.

⁸⁷ See, for instance, "Gespräch," *HS* 195, 197f.; *CRR* 207, 211.

a trilingual education: Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He wrote originally in Latin,⁸⁸ including his early letters and his *Axiomata* against Eck, which he wrote after siding with the Anabaptists.⁸⁹ He used the Vulgate,⁹⁰ incorporated Latin puns,⁹¹ and employed Latin theological, philosophical and grammatical terminology.⁹² He was comfortable with the Greek New Testament,⁹³ used Greek theological concepts and terms in grammatical explanations,⁹⁴ and showed his knowledge of Hebrew when he listed the anthropological categories from Gen. 2:7.⁹⁵ Although perhaps not as comprehensive or consistent, Hubmaier therefore seems to accept the Humanist's craft and emphasis on unmediated interaction with the text in its entirety.

In his *Von der christlichen Taufe der Gläubigen* (1525), Hubmaier adduces a guiding principle for availing oneself of humanistic disciplines: "[T]ongues and languages are useful, but only insofar as God grants that they be used for the edification of the church, not that Scripture be obscured by them."⁹⁶ This, it seems, denotes a clear confessionalization of Humanism for the purpose of illuminating a correct interpretation of Scripture, much for the same reason as he enlists the support of the fathers. For instance, he clearly favours the

⁸⁸ "Entschuldigung," *HS* 277; *CRR* 304.

⁸⁹ "Axiomata," *HS* 87-90; *CRR* 49-57.

⁹⁰ "Unterricht," *HS* 297; *CRR* 329;
"Andere Büchlein," *HS* 425; *CRR* 484.

⁹¹ "Unterricht," *HS* 302; *CRR* 335.

⁹² "Unterricht," *HS* 290f.; *CRR* 320f.;
"Gespräch," *HS* 197, 211; *CRR* 210, 229f.;
"Strafe," *HS* 339; *CRR* 374;
"Form zu Taufen," *HS* 352; *CRR* 391;
"Freiheit," *HS* 382; *CRR* 430.

⁹³ "Gespräch," *HS* 211, *CRR* 229-30;
"Unterricht," *HS* 295; *CRR* 327.

⁹⁴ "Axiomata," *HS* 88; *CRR* 53;
"Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 137; *CRR* 119;
"Freiheit," *HS* 382; *CRR* 430;
"Rechenschaft," *HS* 471; *CRR* 538.

⁹⁵ "Freiheit," *HS* 382; *CRR* 429.

⁹⁶ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 157; *CRR* 142.

Greek New Testament for its accuracy and inveighs against the use of extrabiblical terminology, which is also a Reformation concern.⁹⁷ Hubmaier is also clearly aware of and affirms Erasmus' use of humanist philological techniques, as he follows the latter in amending *sacramentum* in Eph. 5:32 in his Greek New Testament to "mystery" (Hubmaier employing a German translation "*geheimniß*" instead of the Greek "*mysterion*").⁹⁸

Hubmaier engages in philological activity himself when he claims that Mary's reference to her own misery in Luke 1:46ff. is to the "*Leib*" or "*fleisch*" of his tripartite anthropology, since the Greek word used is *Tapeinosin*, or the "lowness of the human," and not *Tapeinophrosynin*, which implies the "humility of the mind."⁹⁹

Hubmaier also accepts Humanism's use of dialectic only if one avoids senseless syllogism and, like his confessionalization of Humanism generally, employs it to illuminate Scripture. For instance, referring to Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale* and Zwingli's nitpicking over the precise baptismal formula, Hubmaier declares, "[W]e do not want to fight word battles"¹⁰⁰ and denounces Zwingli's "tricks with words," which he employs to "obscure the baptism of Scripture."¹⁰¹ To ensure that his audience knows that these "*wortterkampffs* (word battles)" are not the humanistic literary tools, Hubmaier labels them "*sophistischen*."¹⁰² Elsewhere, Hubmaier invokes the aphorism, *Talia sunt subiecta qualia permittuntur ab eorum predicatis*, or "The preceding words should be understood according to the following words," to clarify the import of the words, "do this in my memory," after Christ identified the

⁹⁷ "Gespräch," *HS* 210-13; *CRR* 229-32;

"Unterricht," *HS* 295; *CRR* 327.

⁹⁸ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 403; *CRR* 454f. Cf. McGrath, *Christian Theology*, 53.

⁹⁹ "Freiheit," *HS* 383; *CRR* 430.

¹⁰⁰ "Gespräch," *HS* 195; *CRR* 207. Cf. *CRR* 207, note 110.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, *HS* 197f.; *CRR* 211.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, *HS* 191; *CRR* 201.

elements of the Supper as his body and blood.¹⁰³ This is from Williams of Sherwood's (1190 – 1249) *Introductiones in logicam* (1230s)—a manual on logic that was influential among Scholastics. Additionally, to make a distinction between the Eucharistic elements as bread and wine and Paul's designation of the Supper as Christ's body and blood, Hubmaier maintains that calling one entity by two different terms is *nugatio*, or useless repetition, unless it is in fact referring to two separate entities, which is a famous Aristotelian principle from his *Metaphysics* and his *Sophistical Refutations*.¹⁰⁴ He even offers negative appraisals of humanist disciplines if they distract one from Scripture, denouncing, for instance, Oecolampadius' "high-blown rhetoric [and] flowery language,"¹⁰⁵ which is more authentically a rebuke of his undue reliance on the persuasive attributes of rhetoric as a substitute for correct scriptural exegesis.¹⁰⁶

4.4 Hubmaier's Adherence to the *Ad Fontes* Principle

Turning our attention now to Hubmaier's loyalty to the *ad fontes* principle, we will try to determine what exactly invited him to look to the *fontes* of classical Christianity and explore how this relates to his use and view of the Church fathers. Indeed, Hubmaier used the expression "*ad fontem*" in his letter to Sapidus, which, as MacGregor observes, "functions as a double entendre describing both Sapidus as the pedagogical source of intellectual nourishment and the Bible as the textual source of all knowledge."¹⁰⁷ However, the Church fathers could legitimately be added as a 'textual source,' especially given the unquestionable

¹⁰³ "Unterricht," *HS* 293; *CRR* 324. Cf. Kretzmann, *Logic*, 113.

¹⁰⁴ "Unterricht," *HS* 301; *CRR* 333. Cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, VII:5; Aristotle, *Sophistical Refutations*, I:3. This principle is also found in scholastic theologians such as John Duns Scotus and several others. Aersten, "Scotus," 17.

¹⁰⁵ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 259; *CRR* 277.

¹⁰⁶ See Hubmaier's reading of Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* in chapter seven for his views on this (7.1.4.4.).

¹⁰⁷ MacGregor, trans. "Letter to Johannes Sapidus," (2010), 144, note 11. Cf. p. 144.

humanistic tone of the letter and Hubmaier's request to receive from Sapidus Erasmus' *Paraphrases* and *Ratio*—both of which appeal to the fathers and espouse their authority.

The *ad fontes* principle led Humanists to the treasures of classical literature, and the same seems to have been true also of Hubmaier. We know, for instance, that Hubmaier was concerned that his nephew, whom he was enrolling at Sapidus' Latin school in Schlettstadt, "in no way neglects the ... reading of Terence [2nd c. B.C.E., Latin playwright], by which you will be doing me a great favor."¹⁰⁸ It is likely that Hubmaier had Melanchthon's recently published edition in mind (1516).¹⁰⁹ Further, Hubmaier sent along a recently published edition of the Roman satirists, Persius and Juvenal, as a gift for Sapidus, this in all likelihood being the 1519 edition published in Florence,¹¹⁰ and in his *Eine Rechenschaft des Glaubens* (1528), he defended the daily prayer cycle with Pliny the Younger's famous letter to the emperor Trajan written in 112 C.E.¹¹¹ Further, Hubmaier was familiar enough with Aristotelian logic to expound the implications of *accidents* and *substances* from Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.¹¹²

The divergence away from the sources of ancient Christianity, i.e. the immortal truth (*vntödtlich Warhait*), that scholastic syllogism facilitated was the most pronounced foil by which Hubmaier espoused the *ad fontes* principle. After Hubmaier ridiculed the inability of clergy to translate Scripture into the vernacular, another common humanist tactic, he immediately denounced Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Biel, William of Occam (c.1287-c.1347),

¹⁰⁸ Cited in Williamson, *Erasmus*, 41. Cf. "Letter to Sapidus," (1959), 41.

¹⁰⁹ *Comoediae P. Terentii metro nymmerisqve restitutae* (Tübingen: 1516). See also Headley, "Reformation," 123.

¹¹⁰ "Letter to Sapidus," (1959), 42, note 7. See also Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 72; Williamson, *Erasmus*, 44. Cf. *Iu. Iuuenalis unà cum Au. Persio nuper recogniti* (Florence: Philip Junta, 1519).

¹¹¹ "Rechenschaft," *HS* 476; *CRR* 545. Cf. Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 10.96.

¹¹² "Gespräch," *HS* 197; *CRR* 210.

"decree, decretals, legends of the saints and other scholastics,"¹¹³ whose glosses conceal the fount of Scripture and prohibit him from reading the epistles of Paul from beginning to end. Elsewhere, Hubmaier vigorously decried the scholastic glosses, calling them "previously our hellish scriptures," and railed against the sophistic tendency to lead the inquirer "far astray from the spring of living water"—a clear reference to the *ad fontes* principle. Moreover, Hubmaier appeals to Augustine and Jerome who also decry the "empty hulls and filthy mud puddles" of sophistry.¹¹⁴ Indeed, Erasmus' desire to reinstate "that old and true theology which has been overgrown by the thorns (*spinis*) of those men,"¹¹⁵ is very similar to Hubmaier's professed responsibility to remove the *dornstauben* (thornbushes) placed over Scripture by the Scholastics.¹¹⁶ Alternatively, the Church fathers produced commentaries and homilies that comprehensively and faithfully exegete Scripture, which includes them in the *fontes* that Hubmaier sought to restore. Further, humanist literary accomplishments comprise these patristic exegetical works, published as a unified whole in contrast to the selectiveness of scholastic glosses and anthologies.

The antiquity of the Church fathers eclipsed the volatility of scholastic theologians due to their "proximity to the scriptural fontes of Christianity"¹¹⁷ and because "Christian 'classics' possessed a more authentic (because older) teaching."¹¹⁸ This was true of Humanists generally, but Lefèvre and his circle, Oecolampadius, and Erasmus were especially attuned to this principle as the selection of their patristic editions shows.¹¹⁹ This is an important concept for deciphering Hubmaier's opinion of the Church fathers since, as

¹¹³ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 308f.; *CRR* 342.

¹¹⁴ "Christliche Lehrtafel," *HS* 309f.; *CRR* 343f.

¹¹⁵ "...*veterem illam ac veram theologiam istorum spinis obsitam.*" *Allen, Ep.* 108.56f. Cited in Boeft, "Erasmus," 544.

¹¹⁶ "Unterricht," *HS* 295; *CRR* 326.

¹¹⁷ Pabel, "Reading," 470. See also Nauert, "Pre-Reformation Controversies," 4f.

¹¹⁸ Stinger, "Humanism in Florence," 186.

¹¹⁹ Nauert, "Pre-Reformation Controversies," 14; Olin, "Fathers," 35. Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 42.

Bergsten observes, "the Fathers of the Church, like himself and the other reformers, claimed to be nothing more than expositors of Scripture."¹²⁰ This is to say, while the apostles consulted the Septuagint exclusively, the Church fathers studied, in addition to the Old Testament, the gradually canonized writings of the New Testament, which communicate the doctrine and practice of the Church—including baptism. In this manner, the fathers project an imitable characteristic that even the apostles don't possess. Since the fathers perform this role faithfully, unlike the scholastic theologians, they become *fontes* worthy of Hubmaier's attention and esteem.

Indeed, this is the chronology that Hubmaier establishes in his *Urteil*. In contrast to Augustine's axiom, "*Ego vero Evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicae Ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas*,"¹²¹ Hubmaier uses the introduction of his *Urteil* to explain that "the church is built on the gospel and not the gospel on the church."¹²² He then spends the greater part of the *Urteil* outlining this chronology—the "church" represented by the fathers and the "gospel" being Scripture—by showing instead that he will not believe the fathers unless they conform to Scripture, which they do. For instance, in his second and revised rendition of the *Urteil*, he is attentive to the period in which each Church father wrote, often with a professed accent on their nearness to the ministry of Christ and his apostles. When he writes about "Clement of Rome," for example, Hubmaier identifies him as "a disciple of the apostle Peter" and includes a marginal note stipulating that Clement lived "91 years after the birth of Christ."¹²³ Further, when Oecolampadius writes that "Origen was approximately fifty years before Cyprian" and believed the custom of baptizing infants "came from the apostles,"

¹²⁰ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 281.

¹²¹ *PL* 42:176. "For my part, I should not believe the gospel except as moved by the authority of the Catholic Church." *NPNF1* 4:131.

¹²² "Urteil: I," *HS* 228; *CRR* 247.

¹²³ "Urteil: II," *HS* 243; *CRR* 264. See also pp. *HS* 243-9; *CRR* 264-74.

Hubmaier does not dismiss his argument and seems to ratify his logic by urging him to read Origen more carefully.¹²⁴ Hubmaier's preference for patristic commentaries, which we will elaborate on more thoroughly in chapter nine (see 9.1.3.), also clearly shows the close relationship between these two *fontes* of ancient Christianity: Scripture and the fathers. Hubmaier's adherence to the *ad fontes* principle, then, stems from a dissatisfaction with scholastic methodology and the chronological proximity of the fathers to the apostolic era that cultivates faithful exegesis.

4.5 The Nature and Significance of Hubmaier's Restitutionism

The *ad fontes* principle can also lead to restitutionism, believing there is an imitable paradigm from the past for contemporary reforms. While the *ad fontes* principle can show Hubmaier's esteem for classical Christianity, his adoption of the *restitutio* principle can clarify the nature of his reforming program and appraisal of the Church fathers. For instance, if we can determine the period during which Hubmaier believed the Church began to decline, this shows that he likely valued the fathers who lived and wrote *before* this period of deterioration and allows us to isolate the central theological issue of Hubmaier's reforming program by outlining his opposition to the theological distortion that spawned this deterioration.

There have been numerous studies on the *restitutio* principle in Anabaptism, but two features are common to these studies: (1) Anabaptism's association of the decline of the Church with Constantine's favourable disposition towards Christianity, and (2) a proclivity towards sectarianism as a result. This interpretation, given early treatment by Roland Bainton,¹²⁵ was pursued further by Frank Wray¹²⁶ and found perhaps its clearest expression

¹²⁴ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 261; *CRR* 280f.

¹²⁵ Bainton, "Changing Ideas" 417-43.

in Franklin Littell's *The Origins of Sectarian Protestantism: A Study of the Anabaptist View of the Church* (1964).¹²⁷ However, this interpretation was soon challenged by Hans Hillerbrand,¹²⁸ given a new expression by John Howard Yoder,¹²⁹ and more recently nuanced by Geoffrey Dipple.¹³⁰ It is not necessary to outline all the particulars of each study, how they contend with one another and where they agree, as Hubmaier's unique expression communicated in his own writings will be our only concern.

The restitutionism of some Humanists, and Erasmus in particular, included a significant patristic component. For instance, Rummel interprets Erasmus' enthusiasm for the fathers as an attempt to reclaim a "golden era" and "a return to the *vetus theologia*, when he contrasted the 'golden river' of patristic theology with the 'shallow runnels' of scholasticism."¹³¹ However, Backus provides us with a slightly modified interpretation of Erasmus' approach that seems to reflect Hubmaier's perspective better: "The doctors of the early church were not perfect, they were not all great rhetoricians, they do not incarnate for Erasmus a 'golden age.' However, he insists on the fact that they have much to teach us... ." Indeed, Erasmus was no less uncritical of the fathers than Hubmaier, which factors into our perception of "authority" and whether a more critical reading of the fathers compared to Scripture indicates a diminished view of their value. For instance, In a letter to Cornelius Gerard (1489), Erasmus remarks, "Do I happen to be unaware that Augustine and Jerome, men who both excelled in literary erudition and were famous for their virtuous way of life, disagreed and indeed rivaled with one another by their opposing opinions?"¹³² Even

¹²⁶ Wray, *History*; Wray, "Church," 186-96.

¹²⁷ Littell, *Origins*. See also Littell, "Restitution," 33-52.

¹²⁸ Hillerbrand, "History," 107-122.

¹²⁹ Yoder, "Restitution," 244-58.

¹³⁰ Dipple, *Uses of History*. See also Dipple, "Humanists," 461-82.

¹³¹ Rummel, *Annotations*, 53. See also Headley, "Reformation," 145.

¹³² *Allen Ep.* 20, 1:99. Cited in Boeft, "Erasmus," 537.

Erasmus' favourite patristic teacher, Jerome, could not escape his critical eye, remarking in his *Ratio*, which we recall Hubmaier read, "However good and learned [Jerome] was, he was a man and could mislead and be misled. As I believe, many things escaped him; many caused him to err."¹³³ If, therefore, we witness Hubmaier's ostensible disparagement of a patristic teaching, we must not be so quick to assume he rejected the fathers altogether.

Our central task, however, is to identify the period during which Hubmaier believed the Church started its decline and the person and issue that initiated its degeneration. Indeed, knowledge of the Church's decline is one facet of Hubmaier's general proficiency in history. For instance, he alleges that the decline of Christendom is evident during the past one thousand years, "as all histories prove."¹³⁴ Moreover, the "history of the German nation," Hubmaier remarks, bears witness to Scholasticism's monopolization of the theological landscape in Germany and the patristic alternative to their concealment of Scripture,¹³⁵ which, as we noted earlier, he may have gleaned from Aventinus' *Annales Boiorum* or the German translation, *Bayerische Chronik* (see 3.3.3.). Hubmaier also uses Rufinus' Latin translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* to argue that credobaptism survived during the patristic era (see 5.3.4.). The volume that he may have read, Rhenanus' edition published in Basel in 1523, also contains the *Historia tripartita*—the histories of Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, and Theodoret of Cyrus. Moreover, Hubmaier not only enlisted the fathers as evidence of credobaptism's historicity, he also consulted anthologies of canons, papal decrees, and conciliar decisions to identify paedobaptism's origin¹³⁶ and familiarize himself

¹³³ *AW*, 182f. Cited in Staubach and Greig, "*Devotio Moderna*," 449.

¹³⁴ "Freiheit," *HS* 381; *CRR* 428.

¹³⁵ "Unterricht," *HS* 310; *CRR* 344.

¹³⁶ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 153; *CRR* 137f.
"Gespräch," *HS* 180; *CRR* 186.

with the catechetical instruction of the early Church,¹³⁷ beliefs of the Novatianists and hemerobaptists,¹³⁸ contents of the *Symbolum Apostolorum*,¹³⁹ and decisions of several past regional and ecumenical councils.¹⁴⁰ Hubmaier was also confident enough in his study of history to avow that "[i]n ancient times there has always been great disunity on the sacrament (as they called it) of the altar," to which he added a corresponding marginal note, "Many kinds of opinions of the teachers,"¹⁴¹ and during the Second Zürich Disputation, he noted the theological distortions that had crept into the Church over the past "several hundred years," citing again the abuse of the Mass and images as examples.¹⁴² He was also familiar with Bartolomeo Platina's *Vitae Pontificum*, which we mentioned earlier was a gift he had procured for Eck.¹⁴³

Hubmaier's historical consciousness allowed him insight into the decline of the Church and shaped his attitude towards the Church fathers who lived *before* this decline intensified. In actual fact, it was common to investigate the decline of the Church in the sixteenth century, particularly by Humanists, as the necessary resources were readily available.¹⁴⁴ Despite the judgment of the aforementioned studies, especially by Littell and Wray, that Anabaptists blamed Constantine's conversion for the decline of the Church, Hubmaier does not identify ecclesial degeneration with the so-called Constantinian synthesis. In fact, he mentions Constantine only once in his writings—an endorsement of the Council of Arles (314 C.E.), which, according to Hubmaier, decreed that those who had received

¹³⁷ "Gespräch," *HS* 186; *CRR* 194f.

¹³⁸ "Form zu Taufen," *HS* 352; *CRR* 391.

¹³⁹ "Urteil: I," *HS* 233; *CRR* 255.

"Lehrtafel," *HS* 313; *CRR* 349.

¹⁴⁰ "Urteil: II," *HS* 248ff.; *CRR* 272ff.

¹⁴¹ "Unterricht," *HS* 290; *CRR* 319.

¹⁴² "Statements at the Second Zurich Disputation," *CRR* 23; *ZSW* 716.

¹⁴³ *HS* 185, 188, 232, 237, 476-7; *CRR* 193, 197, 253, 260, note (a), 545. Cf. Packull, "Hubmaier's Gift," 429.

¹⁴⁴ Brockliss, "Curricula," 575. See also Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 325ff.

heretical baptism should "be baptized in the name of the Trinity."¹⁴⁵ Indeed, Hubmaier was not antagonistic towards the state like several of his Anabaptist colleagues, against whom he wrote *Von dem Schwert* (1527).¹⁴⁶ Pipkin, for instance, comments on the significance of the support that Hubmaier had received from the von Liechtenstein family and dedication of his treatises to local nobles, which clearly shows that "he did not have the negative understanding of civil government which many other Anabaptists had."¹⁴⁷

Instead, Hubmaier believed that the decline of the Church occurred due to the introduction and popularization of paedobaptism. Dipple shows that Peter Walpot, who Hubmaier had influenced through his *Urteil*, also identifies "the beginning of infant baptism, not Constantine's conversion" as the "one crucial event or element in the church's fall."¹⁴⁸ Everett Ferguson claims in his monumental study, *Baptism in the Early Church* (2009), that until the six century, "The theology of baptism applied to those of responsible age and only with Augustine's developed doctrine of infant participation in the guilt of Adam's sin did a theological justification of infant baptism gain favor, and then only in the West."¹⁴⁹ Likewise, upon thorough examination of Hubmaier's Anabaptist writings, it becomes clear that he placed almost sole blame on Augustine for the decline of the Church, since it was he who popularized infant baptism. In his *Christlichen Taufe*, Hubmaier writes that "more than a thousand years ago and thereafter" there had been much discussion surrounding baptism, for which he cites several papal decrees, including one ps-Augustinian canon, as evidence.¹⁵⁰ In his written recantation, which he composed while imprisoned in Zürich, Hubmaier

¹⁴⁵ "Urteil: II," *HS* 248; *CRR* 272.

¹⁴⁶ "Schwert," see esp. *HS* 448, 451, 455; *CRR* 511, 515, 520f.

¹⁴⁷ Pipkin, "Introduction: [29] On the Sword," *CRR* 493. See also, Yoder, "Introduction: [8] A Public Challenge to All Believers," *CRR* 78.

¹⁴⁸ Dipple, *Uses of History*, 160 Cf. pp. 157-9.

¹⁴⁹ Ferguson, *Baptism*, 632.

¹⁵⁰ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 153f.; *CRR* 138f.

remarks that "Augustine, and many others since his time ... have been wrong about baptism."¹⁵¹ Similarly, in his *Gespräch*, he maintains that the Church erred in its promulgation of infant baptism "for the past thousand years, Augustine being not a little responsible for this,"¹⁵² and claims further that Zwingli's Augustinian argument is void since "Augustine also writes that the children of Christians who die either in the mother's womb or outside without water baptism are not only robbed of the divine countenance, but are tortured with eternal fire."¹⁵³ After a lengthy tirade against Augustine and his abuse of Scripture, Hubmaier then suggests that Zwingli read Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew* instead.¹⁵⁴ Hubmaier also contends in his *Urteil* that Augustine responded with a "*blawe antwort*," that is, a lie,¹⁵⁵ when Pope Boniface I challenged his conviction that a parent's faith could substitute for a child's. It is noteworthy also that the only two heterodox figures whom Hubmaier invokes in support of his reforms are Donatus and Pelagius, both authors of controversies surrounding rebaptism and free will respectively that Augustine expended much time and energy refuting.¹⁵⁶

However, Hubmaier also supplies a few other seemingly irreconcilable timeframes. In his *Gespräch*, Hubmaier deduces from Zwingli's own logic that everyone must have erred on the matter of baptism for fourteen hundred years, which suggests the periphery of the apostolic era, but he does this only to point out that Zwingli had at another time contrarily claimed from the pulpit that "[c]hildren were baptized a thousand years ago."¹⁵⁷ Again in the

¹⁵¹ "Recantation," *CRR* 152.

¹⁵² "Gespräch," *HS* 171; *CRR* 175.

Cf. "Lehrtafel," *HS* 314; *CRR* 349; "Freiheit," *HS* 381; *CRR* 428.

¹⁵³ "Gespräch," *HS* 207; *CRR* 224.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, *HS* 208; *CRR* 225.

¹⁵⁵ "Urteil: I," *HS* 232; *CRR* 254.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 247; *CRR* 269.

¹⁵⁶ "Urteil: II," *HS* 207, 244, 245-6; *CRR* 224, 265, 268.

¹⁵⁷ "Gespräch," *HS* 180; *CRR* 186.

Gespräch, Hubmaier does not disagree with Zwingli when he claims that baptism had been debated also thirteen hundred years ago,¹⁵⁸ which refers to the conflict in Carthage between Cyprian and Novatian.¹⁵⁹ However, as we will outline more thoroughly below, these discrepancies do not let Augustine off the hook, but instead suggest that Hubmaier acknowledged that theological ambiguities existed during the patristic era, which, considering the imprecision of the pre-Tridentine period, he believed also extended into his own day and warranted a general council to resolve. Hubmaier even concedes that during "the time of the apostles many errors entered in," which Augustine should also have known to help guard against his popularization of paedobaptism.¹⁶⁰ This is why, as we will outline in our father-by-father analysis in chapters five through seven, Hubmaier did not feel threatened when his opponents verified that the fathers ratified paedobaptism. Consequently, Hubmaier believed that credobaptism continued beyond the apostolic era but was gradually phased out through the introduction of infant baptism, which we will address in the following two sections.

4.6 Hubmaier's Conciliarism: Desire for Ecclesial Unity and Consensus

The idiosyncratic nature of Hubmaier's *restitutio* also informs his own perceived relationship to the historical Church. One of Dipple's unique contributions is his contention that many Spiritualist and Anabaptist leaders, Hubmaier included, wanted to maintain continuity with the historical "orthodox" Church rather than the heterodox remnants throughout history as Hillerbrand argued, and were therefore driven to sectarianism by their

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., *HS* 198; *CRR* 211.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., *HS* 198; *CRR* 211f.

See also "Urteil: I," *HS* 227; *CRR* 246.

¹⁶⁰ "Gespräch," *HS* 207; *CRR* 225. Cf. p. *HS* 180; *CRR* 186.

opponents.¹⁶¹ Likewise, Yoder claims, "Since unity was itself one of the characteristic principles of the New Testament church, restitutionism cannot be a schismatic principle, but only when forces beyond its control make valid unity unattainable."¹⁶² Due in some respects to his own precarious relationship with the Hapsburg authorities and accusations that he held similar views to Hans Hut, which he denied in a non-extant document on which the Nikolsburg Articles are modeled,¹⁶³ Hubmaier was determined to defend his own orthodoxy and continuity with the historical Church. It is true that in a few instances, he seems to give the impression that a unified Church is worth sacrificing for the sake of reviving correct practice and doctrine. However, such examples are rare and accompanied by a profound sense of regret and concern for the health of the Church.¹⁶⁴ His more characteristic defence of personal continuity with the historical Church is tacitly evoked by the very act of enlisting the fathers in support of those doctrines and practices to which he believes both he and the fathers subscribe, which he calls "*der warhait der Kirchen*."¹⁶⁵ But he also makes some overt declarations of his own orthodoxy and solidarity with past historical figures, some of them perhaps surprising.

4.6.1. Hubmaier's Catholicism and the Unity of the Church: Hubmaier's *Eine kurze Entschuldigung* (1526) and *Rechenschaft* are the most comprehensive resources for ascertaining the extent of his loyalty to the Catholic Church. Moreover, these treatises, as Yoder observes, elaborate on his beliefs that "had always been closer to Catholic tradition than to the Reformed" and can be found in his earlier writings as well, which verifies that he

¹⁶¹ Dipple, *Uses of History*, 108, 128-37. See also Snyder, "Monastic Origins," 5-26, esp. 5-10.

¹⁶² Yoder, "Restitution," 248.

¹⁶³ See Yoder, "Introduction: [30] Apologia," *CRR* 524.

¹⁶⁴ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 260; *CRR* 278.

"Unterricht," *HS* 290; *CRR* 319f.

¹⁶⁵ "Urteil: II," *HS* 243; *CRR* 265.

was not being disingenuous.¹⁶⁶ It should be noted at the outset, however, that although Hubmaier retained many Catholic doctrines and practices, this does not imply that he left them completely untouched. Indeed, the following outline contains some teachings and customs that he felt could benefit from certain revisions to safeguard against abuses and whose outward ritual demanded a corresponding inner agreement. Nonetheless, his conviction that such Catholic customs be retained instead of discarded demonstrates his refusal to begin with a *tabula rasa* apart from the ecclesial structures in which he was reared.

Of particular interest is Hubmaier's own account of the accusations levied against him, either denying or nuancing many of them so they are more amenable to Catholic authorities:

Since I am everywhere decried and denounced as a proclaimer of new teachings, alleging that I desecrate the mother of God, reject the saints, destroy prayer, fasting, Sabbaths, confession, that I despise the holy fathers (*verachte die heiligen väter*), councils, and human teachings, attach no value to monasteries and priestly vows, nor to singing and reading in church. I am a mockery of extreme unction, which is also called the last baptism, and set up a new rebaptism. I break down the alters and deny the flesh and blood of the mass. I am a revolutionary and a seducer of the people; I preach that one should not obey the government, nor pay interests or tithes. I secretly fled Regensburg. In sum: I am the very worst Lutheran archheretic that one could find.¹⁶⁷

In response, Hubmaier claims that his detractors "do not notice that they thereby become liars," and states his intention to "very briefly...reveal to you my innocence" claiming to "know nothing of any new teaching."¹⁶⁸ Specific examples of Hubmaier's Catholic characteristics abound. He affirmed the Trinitarian description of the Godhead,¹⁶⁹ allowed for the survival of the priesthood,¹⁷⁰ retained a separate canonical sainthood of holy men and

¹⁶⁶ Yoder, "Introduction: [30] Apologia," *CRR* 525.

¹⁶⁷ "Entschuldigung," *HS* 273; *CRR* 298.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *HS* 209, 283, 314, 319, 335, 349f., 359, 362, 371, 472; *CRR* 226, 313, 349f., 356, 370f., 388, 399, 404, 416, 539.

¹⁷⁰ *HS* 274f., 355f., 361, 478; *CRR* 300f., 394-6, 403, 547.

women,¹⁷¹ and speaks very highly of Mary, whose perpetual virginity and title of *Theotokos* he insists on retaining.¹⁷² Although he denied the real presence in the Eucharistic elements and the sacrificial character of the altar, Hubmaier retained many liturgical components, with some modification, such as organs, singing, separate readings, ringing bells, feasts, a daily prayer cycle, fasting, and keeping the Sabbath. He encouraged tithing, endorsed the ancient practice of entering the catchuminate before baptism, and although he denied a separate location for purgatory, he accepted that it might constitute a distinct state within hell itself for some of the departed.¹⁷³ Hubmaier was adamant that Christians should honour governing authorities, and he acknowledged as Scripture the apocryphal books that Reformers such as Luther separated from the Hebrew *Tanak*.¹⁷⁴ As we will discover in chapter eight, Hubmaier's understanding of free will was also closer to the Catholic understanding than his Reformation colleagues.

Though he was eventually driven to sectarianism, Hubmaier also wrote his *Entschuldigung* and *Rechenschaft* to defend the unity of the Church,¹⁷⁵ which included the fathers of the first centuries until Augustine. The keys bestowed on Peter were not in the possession of the apostles only, but symbolized the responsibility of all baptized Christians who submitted themselves to the ban or "fraternal admonition."¹⁷⁶ In his *Die zwölf Artikel des christlichen Glaubens* (1526/7), a treatise he prepared while imprisoned in the Wellenberg tower in Zürich, Hubmaier avows his loyalty to the "one holy universal Christian

¹⁷¹ *HS* 350, 359, 310, 319, 335, 486; *CRR* 388, 399, 344, 357, 370, 556.

¹⁷² *HS* 319, 471f.; *CRR* 357, 538. Hubmaier may have retained his stance on these two issues regarding Mary from Zwingli. See *ZSW* 1:385-428; 3:687; 14:181f.

¹⁷³ *Entschuldigung*, " *HS* 274-83.; *CRR* 300-13.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* See also Seiling, "Apocrypha," 5-34.

¹⁷⁵ "Entschuldigung," *HS* 272-83.; *CRR* 297-13.

"Rechenschaft," *HS* 460-90; *CRR* 525-62.

¹⁷⁶ "Form zu Taufen," *HS* 350; *CRR* 389.

"Strafe," *HS* 346; *CRR* 385.

Cf. Williamson, *Erasmus*, 203.

church ... [and] one Lord, one God, one faith, and one baptism."¹⁷⁷ He also uses as an analogy for the association between the old and new covenants, declaring, "[T]here is only one marriage, and only one church of the only bridegroom and Head, Christ Jesus."¹⁷⁸ Of course, Hubmaier has his own ideas about the composition and characteristics of the Church, the contemporary visage having some important elements needing, as he puts it, to be rooted out.¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, there is evidence that he desires not unilateral or individualistic decision-making and exegesis of Scripture, but is content to work within the ecclesial constructs and interpretations that have survived at some point in the Church's history. In fact, Hubmaier invokes universally recognized authorities to point out that if he and his congregants are branded "heretics, defamers of the saints, seditious, perjurers, sectarians, and seducers," then so must Augustine, Jerome, and the papists who likewise warned people against scholastic distortions.¹⁸⁰ A central facet of Hubmaier's attentiveness to the unity of the Church is his understanding of the *ecclesia universalis* and *ecclesia particularis*.¹⁸¹ In Hubmaier's paradigm, the particular church constitutes a congregation whose obligation it is to conform to the Church universal as unto Christ. Hubmaier, however, classifies the apostasy of the papal Church as the actions of an erroneous *ecclesia particularis*, that is, the disobedience of a single, separate congregation: "The particular congregation may err, as the papist church has erred in many respects. But the universal church cannot err."¹⁸² Therefore, the universal Church remains unified and undefiled on the basis of a uniform interpretation of Scripture.

¹⁷⁷ "Die zwölf Artikel," *HS* 218; *CRR* 238.

¹⁷⁸ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 403; *CRR* 454.

¹⁷⁹ "Die zwölf Artikel," *HS* 219; *CRR* 238f.

¹⁸⁰ "Christliche Lehrtafel," *HS* 310; *CRR* 344.

¹⁸¹ See Williamson, *Erasmus*, 204f.

¹⁸² "Christliche Lehrtafel," *HS* 315; *CRR* 352.

Hubmaier also demonstrates his allegiance to "orthodox" Christianity, and thus the universal Church, by discussing various heresies of the past. Regarding the perpetual virginity of Mary, Hubmaier chooses the arguments of Jerome over those of the heretical Helvidians and Antidicomarians, and immediately afterwards defends the Orthodox description of Mary as *Theotokos*, as we alluded to earlier, against the Nestorians' use of the *Christotokos* moniker at the third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431 C.E.), these matters conspicuously lacking any overt scriptural support by Hubmaier's standards and are in need of the voice of tradition for validation.¹⁸³ Hubmaier also uses Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* to inform himself of the Carpocratians, who formulate their beliefs without consideration to the moral implications of these convictions, a dualism that Hubmaier deplors. In the same passage, he also rejects the heresy of Priscillianism for the same reasons, though Eusebius could not have been his source since this heresy post-dates the *Ecclesiastical History* and Rufinus does not discuss them in his expanded Latin translation.¹⁸⁴ Hubmaier also writes against the Novatians, as well as the hemerobaptists, who apparently believed it was necessary to repeat baptism daily.¹⁸⁵ Additionally, when Hubmaier writes about "Clement of Rome's" distinction between "orthodox" and heretical baptism, he derives his argument from "*der warhait der Kirchen*" which allows him to differentiate "*die falschen Priester von den waren*."¹⁸⁶

4.6.2. Doctrinal Ambiguities and Hubmaier's Conciliar Solution: Many of Hubmaier's seemingly contradictory statements on the importance of ecclesial unity and his

¹⁸³ "Rechenschaft," *HS* 470-2; *CRR* 537f.

¹⁸⁴ "Gespräch," *HS* 185; *CRR* 193.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, *HS* 198; *CRR* 212.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 244f., 248f.; *CRR* 266, 272f.

"Form zu Taufen," *HS* 352; *CRR* 391.

¹⁸⁶ "Urteil: II," *HS* 243f.; *CRR* 265.

prerogative to dissent on certain doctrinal matters can be explained in part by his designation of the Catholic Church as an errant *ecclesia particularis*, as explained above. However, his pre-Tridentine context permitted Hubmaier to challenge many doctrines and practices he believed were ambiguously defined throughout history, and so not yet resolved and enshrined as dogma, as we also noted in passing earlier. It is easy to assume that the teachings and customs of the Catholic Church were as demarcated and entrenched while Hubmaier was alive as they are today, but this is an anachronistic interpretation. From Hubmaier's explanation of his objections and proposed amendments to various ecclesial practices, especially baptism, it is evident that he believed he was fully entitled to call these teachings into question. Whatever the case, Hubmaier certainly did not believe that he was a heretic: "[I]f baptism of those previously instructed and believing is a heresy, then Christ is the first archheretic."¹⁸⁷ Regarding the baptismal rite specifically, Hubmaier was well aware of the ambiguities that had existed since the time of the apostles, which is why "more than a thousand years ago and thereafter there was again and again much discussion on account of baptism."¹⁸⁸ Indeed, Everett Ferguson concludes, "It seems that in the West as in the East the baptism of infants may not have been general before the sixth century,"¹⁸⁹ citing Sozomen's reference to the emperor Julian's initiation at infancy as the first reference to a general "custom of the church."¹⁹⁰ Therefore, Hubmaier's is not a re-baptism, but a reappearance of the practice performed and taught by the Church fathers who circumvented paedobaptism, which, according to Hubmaier is "counterfeit" and "no baptism,"¹⁹¹ and who decided it best

¹⁸⁷ "Gespräch," *HS* 175; *CRR* 179.

¹⁸⁸ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 153; *CRR* 138.

¹⁸⁹ Ferguson, *Baptism*, 629. See also p. 632.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 628.

¹⁹¹ "Form zu Taufen," *HS* 352; *CRR* 392.

(or rather their devout Christian parents did) to delay baptism until they were within the age of reason (see 9.1.2.).

Hubmaier's perception that the practice and theology of baptism may have been imprecise during the first few centuries took on two forms: (1) he was aware that infant baptism might have been introduced soon after the apostles; yet (2) he also cites historical evidence to support his claim that credobaptism persisted in an unbroken lineage from the apostles themselves, which is not true of paedobaptism. We will explore this and other examples in our father-by-father analysis in chapters five to seven, but in one instance, Zwingli writes in his *Taufbüchlein* that Augustine taught that infant baptism had always been the practice of the universal Church.¹⁹² In response, Hubmaier contends that since Augustine could not find infant baptism in Scripture, he resorted to searching "the old custom and tradition like the papists," *viz.*, the errant *ecclesia particularis*. Interestingly, Hubmaier further admits that Augustine "well knows that also at the time of the apostles many errors entered in, which cannot be justified by the passage of time."¹⁹³ Therefore, although Augustine was unable to find infant baptism in Scripture, Hubmaier concedes that the appearance of errors even during the apostolic era (though not by the apostles themselves) suggests that paedobaptism might also have been the practice of the early Church alongside credobaptism. However, Hubmaier covers any potential loopholes in his argument by claiming, "The universal Christian church and its majority are not the same,"¹⁹⁴ which is similar to Erasmus' admission in a work that we can be certain Hubmaier read very carefully—his *Diatrobe*: "I know it happens frequently that the better party is voted down by the majority. I know what the majority esteems is not always best. . . . I admit that it is right

¹⁹² *ZWS* 4:321.

¹⁹³ "Gespräch," *HS* 207f.; *CRR* 224f.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, *HS* 208; *CRR* 225.

that the sole authority of Holy Scripture surpasses the voices of all mortals."¹⁹⁵ Indeed, this may be another example of Hubmaier's confessionalization of Humanism to justify his dismissal of the majority position and validate his understanding of the *ecclesia universalis* that facilitates the advancement of his reforming program. However, to fulfill his second obligation of establishing credo- and not paedobaptism as the surviving practice directly from the apostles themselves, Hubmaier cites the opinion of the Church fathers beginning with "Clement of Rome," "a disciple of the apostle Peter."¹⁹⁶ He also makes further reference to Rhenanus' apparent belief that the "old practice has been that adults have been baptized" until the time of "Charlemagne and Louis."¹⁹⁷ The combination of our father-by-father analysis and examination of Hubmaier's hermeneutical approach will fill out this obligation more (see chs. seven to eight and 9.1).

Because both believers' and infant baptism might have existed in tandem during the patristic era, Hubmaier suggests that a general council is needed to both restore unity and decide correct doctrine, with Scripture as the ultimate arbiter. For instance, he observes that the custom of holding what "were previously called 'synods'" was "an ancient usage coming from the age of the apostles."¹⁹⁸ Likewise, in his *Axiomata*, Hubmaier cites the conciliar mechanism in Acts 15, "not for the sake of the doctrine of faith, but in order to maintain unity among the brethren."¹⁹⁹ Yoder notes the widespread expectation of a reform council in 1520s that the emperor, rather than the pope, would convene.²⁰⁰ Indeed, Hubmaier's early concern here for unity rather than correct doctrine alone might reflect a confessionalization

¹⁹⁵ Erasmus, *Free Will*, 13.

¹⁹⁶ "Urteil: II," *HS* 243; *CRR* 264.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, *HS* 247; *CRR* 270.

¹⁹⁸ "Achtzehn Schlußreden," *HS* 72; *CRR* 31.

¹⁹⁹ "Axiomata," *HS* 88; *CRR* 52.

²⁰⁰ Yoder, *CRR* 557, note 37.

of Erasmus' accommodationist "concern for public order," or the conciliarism for political reasons that Rummel outlines.²⁰¹ However, Hubmaier also composed his *Rechenschaft* at the request of Ferdinand I, king of Bohemia, and avers that he will withhold his opinion on some matters "until the next Christian council which (if God will) shall soon be assembled and held by the providence of God working through the Imperial and your Royal Majesty."²⁰²

Yoder further remarks, "Hubmaier is both realistic and complimentary in suggesting that if there were to be such a council, Ferdinand might have a hand in convening it."²⁰³

Hubmaier's apparent concern for matters of faith also marks a possible shift from the concern for public order alone. Further, his call for a council on matters of faith may reasonably identify his teaching on baptism as an *adiaphora*, "which allowed room for disputation," in Erasmus' scale of negotiable subjects,²⁰⁴ especially considering his delay in receiving adult baptism himself. Unfortunately, Hubmaier would not live to participate in such a council, as he was executed in Vienna soon thereafter.

²⁰¹ Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 130ff.

²⁰² "Rechenschaft," *HS* 487; *CRR* 557.

²⁰³ Yoder, *CRR* 557, note 37.

²⁰⁴ Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 129.

CHAPTER FIVE

HUBMAIER'S ACCESS TO PATRISTIC TEXTS AND USE OF THE GREEK FATHERS FOR THE ISSUE OF BAPTISM

Now that we have considered Hubmaier's intellectual background, our current task is to examine his direct reading of a select number of Church fathers. We will therefore try to determine how he was able to access a collection of patristic texts to inform his understanding of baptism and free will and outline the tenets of his baptismal theology that benefited from Erasmus' understanding of the Great Commission and the testimony of the fathers. This excursus will be capped by a thorough analysis of Hubmaier's use of each Church father individually: the current chapter will look at the Greek fathers; chapter six, the Latin fathers; and chapter seven, Augustine.

5.1 Circumstances Engendering Hubmaier's Access to the Church Fathers

A tenable explanation of Hubmaier's access to the Church fathers must fulfill at least four criteria: (1) circumstances must support access to patristic editions at the precise time Hubmaier began questioning infant baptism in early 1523 and must allow for enough time for the research involved; (2) the owner of the patristic collection must be sympathetic to Hubmaier's views on baptism enough for him to collaborate and allow access to his library; (3) the fathers that Hubmaier invokes in support of his views must be included in the prospective library; (4) and all editions that Hubmaier read must have a publication date and

be included in the prospective library before he wrote those treatises in which he invokes the fathers, particularly his *Urteil* which he began writing in Waldshut in mid-1525.¹

5.1.1. Hubmaier's Personal Library: Hubmaier undoubtedly had a personal library of some sort, but whether or not it included editions of the fathers and if he was able to retain it during his travels, especially after he had abruptly fled Waldshut and became a fugitive, is difficult to verify. We know he was able to transport manuscripts of his own writings for eventual publication by Simprecht Sorg in Nikolsburg, so it is plausible that he would have hauled his library as well.² We also know that Hubmaier enjoyed books immensely and acquired some volumes while in Ulm to inform himself of the reforms sweeping across Germany,³ and his acquisition of Zwingli's *De peccato originali declaratio ad Urbanum Rhegium* (1526) when in Nikolsburg shows that his purchases continued until the end of his life.⁴ Indeed, while imprisoned in Vienna awaiting execution he even complained that he was "without books."⁵ We also outlined earlier that Hubmaier may have owned many contemporary works by Erasmus, Oecolampadius, Rhenanus, Pirckheimer, Bucer, and Zwingli, and he may have possessed some of Luther's writings as well.⁶

However, if we consider the manner in which Hubmaier cited the fathers, it becomes clear that he likely did not own patristic editions himself nor cite from memory, but accumulated notes after accessing a colleague's collection. For instance, his range of patristic citations is limited, which yields a repetitiveness that suggests he had a set of notes from which he cited similarly in different works. Moreover, since he often provides folio, chapter,

¹ See Bergsten, *HS* 225f.

² *Ibid.*, 328.

³ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 38.

⁴ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 329.

⁵ "Rechenschaft," *HS* 461; *CRR* 526.

⁶ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 46; Zeman, *Moravia*, 125; "Letter to Adelphi," 234.

and book numbers, and will occasionally quote the fathers verbatim, it is unlikely that he cited the fathers from memory. We also know that Hubmaier addressed the issue of free will because a controversy over the matter had erupted in Nikolsburg.⁷ The spontaneity of his concern with this issue meant that he was forced to cite the fathers whose works were available to him at the time, most of which differ from the fathers he used when addressing baptism. For instance, he cites Fulgentius of Ruspe and Julian of Eclanum and rather than cite Augustinian canons from the *Decretum Gratiani*, he seems to cite from a full humanist edition this time. Seemingly, if Hubmaier had a patristic library, he would have cited the same fathers he used in support of his views on baptism for his defence of free will as well. These consideration will be treated with greater thoroughness in our father-by-father analysis below.

5.1.2. *Libraries as Possible Sources for Hubmaier Exposure to the Church*

Fathers: Aside from Zwingli's library, which we will explore soon, all potential patristic collections fail to meet at least one of the above four criteria or the evidence is too scant to conclude one way or the other. Since Hubmaier compiled an *ad hoc* selection of patristic excerpts to defend credobaptism, his earlier contacts with Sapidus, Adelphi, and Rychard must be ruled out, as they never shared his views. And, although they appear in his *Urteil* as contemporary witnesses to credobaptism,⁸ Wolfgang Capito,⁹ Christoph Hegendorf,¹⁰ Martin Cellarius,¹¹ and Ludwig Hätzer (1500-29)¹² only corresponded with Hubmaier, and he met with the latter two only fleetingly at the October 1523 Zürich Disputation with no indication

⁷ Pipkin, *CRR* 426f., 449.

⁸ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 187, 285.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹⁰ "Urteil: I," *HS* 237; *CRR* 260.

¹¹ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 187, 285.

¹² *Ibid.*

that they consulted the fathers together. Leo Jud,¹³ Joachim Vadian,¹⁴ and Sebastian Hofmeister¹⁵ had each expressed skepticism about the rationale behind infant baptism. Hubmaier had met Jud also during the October 1523 Zürich Disputation,¹⁶ but there is again no indication that they collaborated on patristic studies.

We have already noted that Vadian and Hubmaier met in St. Gall in the spring of 1523,¹⁷ but the evidence suggests that Vadian could not have been Hubmaier's source. For instance, if we compare the editions we know Hubmaier read because of the folio source references he provides, we find that of these editions, Vadian had in his possession only the Jerome *Opera* (Basel: Froben, 1516-19)¹⁸ and Tertullian *Opera* (Basel: Froben, 1521),¹⁹ and possibly the Cyprian *Opera* and Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica*, but these latter two do not appear to be extant in Vadian's library and so we do not know the exact editions.²⁰ This means that the 1520 Paris edition of Basil of Caesarea that we know Hubmaier read is absent from Vadian's collection,²¹ and he appears not to have owned a copy of any works by Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, or Origen, each of whom we know the precise editions that Hubmaier read. So far as we can tell, Vadian also did not own an edition with Ambrose's *De mysteriis*,²² which Hubmaier cites, and instead of the Athanasius *Opera* (Paris: Jean le Petit, 1520) with the misattributed *Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles* that Theophylact actually

¹³ Ibid., 252, 284f.

¹⁴ Horsch, *Infant Baptism*, 26.

¹⁵ Ibid. See also Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 251f., 255.

¹⁶ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 82, 156, 196.

¹⁷ Horsch, *Infant Baptism*, 26.

¹⁸ Schenker-Frei, *Bibliotheca Vadiani*, 224-6:677.

¹⁹ Ibid., 228:686.

²⁰ Ibid., 235:706; 222:671.

²¹ See *ibid.*, 17f.:45; 236:709.

²² See *ibid.*, 220:663-4.

authored, which we are almost certain Hubmaier read, Vadian owned only the *Athanasius in Librum Psalmorum* (Tübingen, Anshelmum, 1515).²³

Sebastian Hofmeister and Hubmaier were in Schaffhausen at the same time during the latter months of 1524,²⁴ they had a mutual affection,²⁵ the timeframe fits, and during Hubmaier's escape to Schaffhausen, he found asylum at the Kloster Allerheiligen which housed many patristic manuscripts and incunabula.²⁶ However, from my correspondence with René Specht, director of the Ministerialbibliothek which superseded the Kloster Allerheiligen library,²⁷ the writings of the fathers, save the Basel edition of Cyprian (1520), were only in manuscript form when Hubmaier was in Schaffhausen. So, the humanist editions that we know Hubmaier read were not yet housed there. Further, two of the three short missives he wrote in Schaffhausen each contain a cautious appraisal of the fathers, suggesting that he was in no mood to consult patristic sources at this time.²⁸

The most oft-cited circumstance allowing Hubmaier access to editions of the fathers is his sojourn in Augsburg, or at least somewhere along his travels between Zürich and Nikolsburg from approximately March to July of 1526, which Armour, for instance, believes.²⁹ Sachsse notes that Hubmaier required larger libraries than what was available to him in Waldshut, and so probably made use of patristic editions in either Constance or Augsburg.³⁰ There were circumstances within the city of Augsburg that make this a plausible option; the only account of Hubmaier's stay in Augsburg is a letter from Petrus

²³ See *ibid.*, 245:741.

²⁴ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 127f., 137.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 126f.

²⁷ See Szkiet, *Schaffhausen*, 20ff.

²⁸ "Erbietung," *HS* 81; *CRR* 43.

"Axiomata," *HS* 88; *CRR* 53.

²⁹ Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 52.

³⁰ Sachsse, *Hubmaier*, 40.

Gynoraeus to Zwingli, dated 22 August 1526.³¹ Hubmaier's meeting with both Hans Denck and possibly Hans Hut tell us nothing about their potential to read the fathers together. However, Hubmaier also reacquainted himself with the Augsburg Reformer, Urbanus Rhegius, who, as we may recall, was a fellow student at both Freiburg and Ingolstadt.³² Yet, although Rhegius was very familiar with the fathers and undoubtedly owned a patristic collection, he was vehemently anti-Anabaptist and wrote against them in Augsburg.³³

More importantly, the timeframe of Hubmaier's travels between Zürich and Nikolsburg does not correspond with the period in which he began questioning infant baptism and writing on the fathers and credobaptism. The treatise in which he is engaged in patristic scholarship by far the most is his *Urteil*; Bergsten, Armour, MacGregor, Windhorst, and Sachsse each provide helpful analyses of this work.³⁴ The *Urteil* was printed in July, 1526 and a second, expanded version was printed soon thereafter, dedicated to the leading pastor in Nikolsburg, Martin Göschl, and printed by Simprecht Sorg, surnamed Froschauer, who followed Hubmaier to Nikolsburg from Zürich.³⁵ Gonzalez aptly observes that his *Urteil* must have been important to Hubmaier to have published two versions.³⁶ In this treatise, he devotes individual sections to a select number of fathers, cites their relevant and most useful treatises, commentaries, and homilies, often providing any combination of book, chapter, or folio numbers from the editions he uses, and either quotes them directly or

³¹ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 309f.

³² *Ibid.*, 311.

³³ *Ibid.*; Lindberg, *Reformation Theologians*, 110; Snyder and Hecht, *Profiles*, 82ff.

³⁴ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 280-6.

Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 49-54.

MacGregor, *Hubmaier*, see esp. 137-41.

Windhorst, *Täuferisches Taufverständnis*, 108-14.

Sachsse, *Hubmaier*, 33-40.

³⁵ Windhorst, *Täuferisches Taufverständnis*, 108.

³⁶ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 29.

paraphrases their thought, all to provide historical support for credobaptism.³⁷ However, in contrast to the opinion of both Sachsse and Armour, Bergsten has successfully calculated that Hubmaier began writing the *Urteil* in Waldshut soon after Zwingli published his *Wer Ursache gebe zu Aufruhr* in January, 1525, and only completed or compiled it in Moravia.³⁸ This means that he must have studied the fathers on the issue of baptism and made notes between early 1523, when he began questioning paedobaptism, and the end of 1524. However, Martin Göschl and Oswald Glaidt (c.1480-1546), Hubmaier's colleagues in Nikolsburg, may have helped him ferret out a few additional patristic source for his *Urteil II* that he did not find in Zürich and for his compositions on free will that he wrote in Nikolsburg. Indeed, the *Urteil* was dedicated to Göschl and we think Hubmaier completed it in Glaidt's room.³⁹

5.1.3. *The Possibility that Hubmaier and Zwingli Collaborated:* The nature of their relationship warrants an investigation into the possibility that Zwingli's patristic library was Hubmaier's source for his study of the Church fathers on this issue of baptism. Although the paucity of research on Hubmaier and the fathers is to blame, Hughes Oliphant Old's view, which we outlined in chapter two, of Hubmaier's writings as exhibiting a "shallowness of historical research" that "limited his investigation to a study of Gratian's *Decretals*," which resulted in a "very old-fashioned attempt to reconstruct the history of infant baptism," must be rejected and highlights the importance of this study to correct such assessments.⁴⁰ As we have alluded to several times previously, our father-by-father analysis will put to bed any doubt that Hubmaier availed himself instead of full humanist editions of the fathers. Indeed,

³⁷ For a good summary, see Windhorst, *Täuferisches Taufverständnis*, 112-4.

³⁸ Bergsten, *HS* 225f.; Pipkin, "Introduction: [17] Old and New Teachers on Believers Baptism," *CRR* 246. Cf. "Entschuldigung," *HS* 304; *CRR* 277.

³⁹ Pipkin, "Introduction: [17] Old and New Teachers on Believers Baptism," *CRR* 245; *ME* 2:522f.

⁴⁰ Old, *Baptismal Rite*, 102f.

by relying on Hubmaier's *Gespräch* with Zwingli, Old seems entirely unaware of his *Urteil* and of his thoroughly humanistic background which is comparable to that of Zwingli.⁴¹ Further, he might be surprised to find out that the most likely source for Hubmaier's use and view of the fathers is another Reformer about whom he writes more amicably—Zwingli.

As we have alluded to many times already, Hubmaier recounts in his *Gespräch* a conversation between himself and Zwingli that occurred in May, 1523, claiming that both had at the time subscribed to credobaptism on the basis of infant baptism's absence in Scripture.⁴² This was, in fact, their first meeting. Sebastian Ruggensberger, prior of the Sion monastery in Klingnau, had asked Hubmaier to accompany him to St. Gall to meet Vadian, which Hubmaier agreed to so long as they could carry on to Zürich so he could meet with Zwingli.⁴³ Bergsten cites the widespread influence of the first Zürich Disputation held on 29 January 1523 as the reason for Hubmaier's interest in Zwingli and his reforming program.⁴⁴ The events of this meeting are recorded by Zwingli, Hubmaier, and the contemporary historian, Johannes Kessler, in his *Sabbata*.⁴⁵

In his *Taufbüchlein*, Zwingli admits, "For some time...I thought it better not to baptize children until they came to years of discretion," but claims he did not hold the teaching dogmatically enough to begin practicing rebaptism.⁴⁶ Hubmaier records some rare autobiographical details in his *Gespräch* that suggest this meeting contributed significantly to the development of his reformation ideas. He states that the meeting took place "about Philip's and James' day," or 1 May 1523,⁴⁷ and reminds Zwingli that they had met "*auff dem*

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² "Gespräch," *HS* 186; *CRR* 194-5.

⁴³ Kessler, *Sabbata*, 197.

⁴⁴ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 79f.

⁴⁵ Kessler, *Sabbata*, 197, 276-278. Cf. Ruggensberger, "Biechlen," 1:252f.

⁴⁶ *ZB* 139; *ZSW* 4:228.

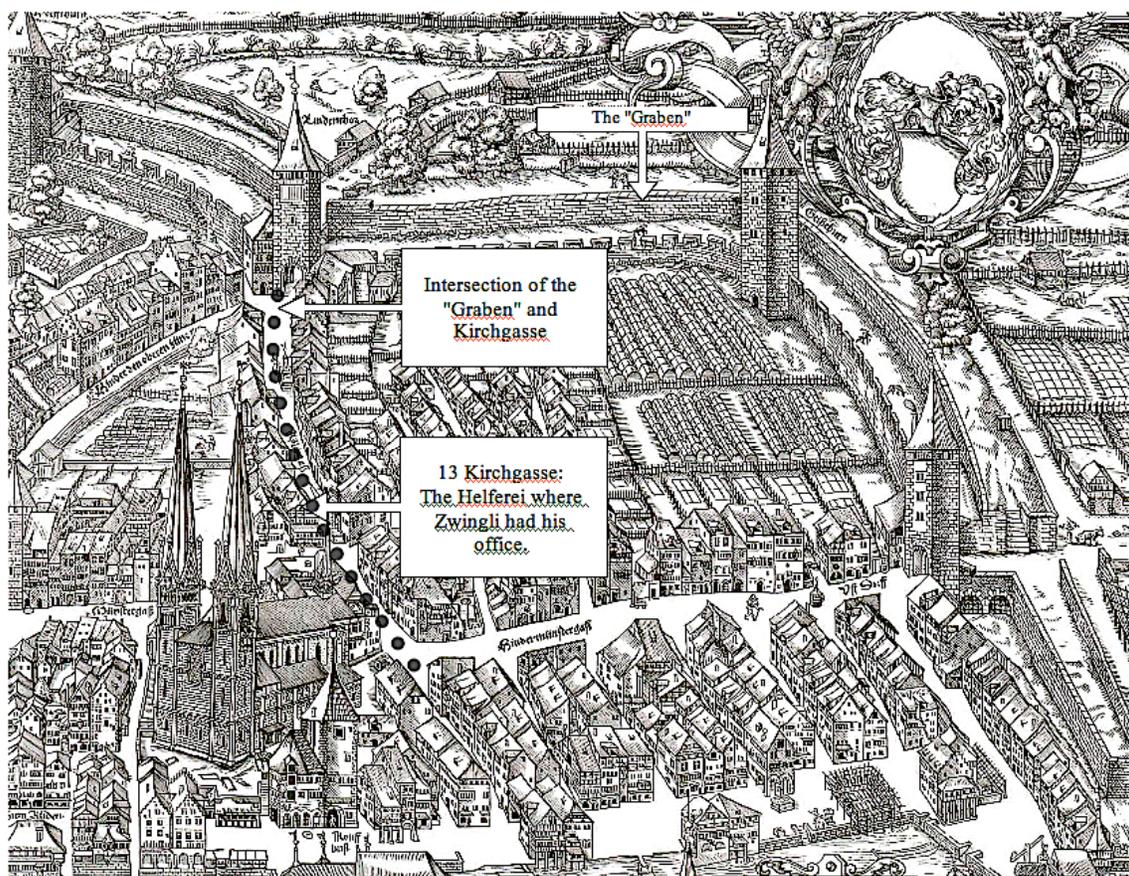
⁴⁷ *HS* 186, note 109; *CRR* 194, note 74; Windhorst, "Abendmahls," 116.

Zürchgraben," which his companion, Ruggensberger, confirms.⁴⁸ Bergsten claims that this is the contemporary Seiler- and Hirschengraben in Zürich.⁴⁹ Although technically true, the "Graben" was, during Hubmaier's time, a moat or trench and fortified wall that encircled, along with the Limmat River to the west, the Altstadt of Zürich, on top of which rests the modern thoroughfare of Seiler- and Hirschengraben. Hubmaier viewed the meeting as an opportunity to confer with Zwingli on a number of issues, as he brought with him a list of questions. His premeditation and careful planning of its rubrics, shows that he intended this conversation with Zwingli to be both meaningful and comprehensive.

The location of their meeting is one signal that their conversation included study of the Church fathers. The *Murerplan*, a 1576 woodcut of Zürich by Jos Murer, shows Kirchgasse projecting east from the Grossmünster towards the Graben and intersecting with it at a tower gate that allows the Kirchgasse to extend out beyond the city limits (see Map 5.1. below). As it happens, the Helferei, where Zwingli lived, had his office, and kept his library, was located at 13 Kirchgasse, less than one block from the Graben. It is therefore very likely that Hubmaier was alluding to Zwingli's residence and office when he mentioned the *Zurchgraben*, but even if the meeting was more of an open-air conversation near the Graben, they stayed close enough to Zwingli's office to study the fathers if so inclined.

⁴⁸ "Gespräch," *HS* 186; *CRR* 195. Cf. Macgregor, *Hubmaier*, 108; Ruggensberger, "Biechlen," 1:252f.

⁴⁹ Bergsten *HS* 186, note 110; Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 80.



The "Murerplan," a 1576 woodcut of the Altstadt, Zürich, by Jos Murer (1530-80).

Map 5.1. Hubmaier's Meeting with Zwingli

Although neither Hubmaier nor Zwingli state directly that they conferred with patristic texts during their meeting, there are nevertheless indications that they did. After describing the above meeting, Kirk MacGregor, as we noted in chapter two, claims that Hubmaier acknowledged credobaptism as the "majority practice to the time of Augustine" on the basis the Church fathers, "as much, if not more ... than from the New Testament."⁵⁰ MacGregor makes the further observation that Hubmaier began espousing credobaptism around the time of his meeting with Zwingli in 1523, almost two years before the oft-cited first ever rebaptism of George Blaurock by Conrad Grebel on 21 January 1525 at Felix

⁵⁰ MacGregor, *Hubmaier*, 108.

Mantz's house on Neustadtgasse in Zürich.⁵¹ Indeed, since scholars now agree that Hubmaier "was actually the initiator of sixteenth century believers' baptism,"⁵² if patristic sources did play an important role in Hubmaier's substantiation of credobaptism, the fathers become a crucial element in interpreting Anabaptism.

Although Hubmaier and Zwingli conferred primarily "about the Scriptures concerning baptism," Hubmaier claims that they also considered the practice of the early Church—reaching conclusion they could arrive at only by reflecting on the fathers. Hubmaier claims that Zwingli affirmed the delay of baptism until one receives instruction, which is "why in prior times they were also called catechumens."⁵³ In fact, in his study of Hubmaier's *Urteil*, Armour also contends that "[i]t is very likely that Hubmaier had examined the Fathers from very early in his questionings about baptism, for his conversation with Zwingli in 1523 included the point of early Christian baptism practice."⁵⁴ Indeed, Hubmaier appeals to the interpretations of Basil of Caesarea, Jerome, and Theophylact, who each apparently agreed that catechization prior to receiving baptism was appropriate based on a reading of Matthew 28:19.⁵⁵

Aside from his invocation of the fathers to distinguish between John and Christ's baptism and to defend his understanding of free will, it is difficult to find a patristic citation that Hubmaier did not use in support of a sequence initiated by pre-baptismal catechesis.⁵⁶ Aside from Zwingli's claim to have read the fathers regarding baptism in his *Taufbüchlein*,⁵⁷

⁵¹ Ibid. See also Estep, *Anabaptist Story*, 15f.

⁵² MacGregor, *Hubmaier*, 108. See also Mabry, *Doctrine*, 50-2.

⁵³ "Gespräch," *HS* 186; *CRR* 195.

⁵⁴ Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 51.

⁵⁵ "Urteil: I," *HS* 230-2; *CRR* 250-3.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 244f., 247; *CRR* 265, 267, 270.

"Gespräch," *HS* 190, 206, 208; *CRR* 200, 222, 225. Cf. Williamson, *Erasmus*, 103-5.

⁵⁶ Pipkin, "Baptismal Theology," 48.

⁵⁷ *ZB* 130.

Hubmaier's extended quotation in his *Urteil* of Zwingli's *Exposition* concerns us the most. This tract was published in July, 1523 after the First Zürich Disputation and only two months after he and Hubmaier had met. In it, Zwingli acknowledges, "as the fathers point out, that from the ancient time until today children sometimes have been baptized, but that it has not been so commonly practiced as in our time."⁵⁸ Since infant baptism had not been as common previously as in his own day, this suggests that Zwingli found evidence of an alternative form, *viz.*, credobaptism, in the patristic era. Indeed, Zwingli claims that instead, "one taught them publicly ... which is why they have been called 'catechumens,' that is, the instructed"⁵⁹—the phrasing Hubmaier uses to describe the conclusion they reached together in 1523.⁶⁰ More significant is Hubmaier's allusion to his meeting with Zwingli, at which time the latter had "confessed the same against me before Sebastian Rückensperger."⁶¹ This reveals that Hubmaier did not first learn of Zwingli's patristic defence of pre-baptismal catechesis by reading his *Exposition*, but from their meeting in 1523. Moreover, Hubmaier cites this passage from Zwingli's *Exposition* in his *Urteil*, which is devoted to the patristic understanding of baptism with a clear emphasis on the pre-baptismal catechetical practice of the early Church. In fact, Hubmaier mentions his meeting with Zwingli only twice, in the two treatises most concerned with the fathers: his *Urteil* and *Gespräch*.

⁵⁸ "Urteil: I," *HS* 234; *CRR* 257.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ "Gespräch," *HS* 186; *CRR* 195.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, *HS* 235; *CRR* 257.

Church Father	Zwingli owns	Number of times Zwingli cites	Zwingli's edition	Hubmaier makes reference
Theophylact	-	works: 0; glosses: 0	-	√
Origen	√	works: 32; glosses: 313	Paris, 1512.	√
Eusebius of Caesarea (Rufinus)	√*	works: 7; glosses: 12	Strasbourg, 1500. or Basel, 1523.	√
Athanasius	√	works: 14; glosses: 1	Paris, 1520.	√
Basil of Caesarea	√	works: 1; glosses: 28	Paris, 1520.	√
John Chrysostom	√**	works: 34; glosses: 8	Basel, 1517.	√
Cyril of Alexandria	√	works: 7; glosses: 4	Paris, 1508.	√
"Clement of Rome"	√***	works: 0; glosses: 0	Mainz, 1525	√
Tertullian	√****	works: 49; glosses: 0	Venice, 1515.and Basel, 1521?	√
Cyprian	√	works: 14; glosses: 8	Basel, 1520.	√
Ambrose	√	works: 60; glosses: 391	Basel, 1516.	√
Jerome	√	works: 486; glosses: 387	Basel, 1516-19.	√
Augustine	√	works: 217; glosses: 295	Basel, 1506	√
Notable patristic editions in Zwingli's library, not cited by Hubmaier:				
John of Damascus	√	works: 2; glosses: 4	Paris, 1507.	-
Gregory Nazianzen	√	works: 1; glosses: 0	Strasbourg, 1508; Nürnberg, 1521.	-
Gregory of Nyssa	√	works: 0; glosses: 0	Strasbourg, 1512.	-
Lactantius	√	works: 2; glosses: 0	Venice, 1515.	-
Notable absences in Zwingli's library also not cited by Hubmaier:				
Hilary of Poitiers	-	works: 14; glosses: 38	-	-
Irenaeus of Lyons	-	works: 7; glosses: 0	-	-
pseudo-Dionysius	-	works: 4; glosses: 0	-	-
Ignatius of Antioch	-	works: 1; glosses: 0	-	-
Justin Martyr	-	works: 1 (2); glosses: 0	-	-
Melito of Sardis	-	works: 2; glosses 0	-	-

* Zwingli likely owned Rhenanus' edition of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (5.3.4.).

** Zwingli owned the Froben edition (1517), but Hubmaier consulted the Cratander edition (1522), but Chrysostom does not appear in the *Urteil* (see 5.3.7).

*** Zwingli owned this edition after he and Hubmaier met in May, 1523, but Hubmaier uses it in his *Urteil II* only (see 5.3.1.).

**** Zwingli owned the 1515 Aldine edition of Tertullian's *Apologeticum*, but it is very likely that he owned Rhenanus' 1521 edition, which Hubmaier uses (see 6.1.1.).

Table 5.1. Comparison between Zwingli's Patristic Library and Hubmaier's Patristic References

Aside from the circumstances surrounding the meeting between Zwingli and Hubmaier, perhaps the most convincing evidence that Hubmaier accessed Zwingli's patristic library is the content of his collection and how it compares to Hubmaier's citations of the fathers (see Table 5.1. above). We are fortunate to have much of Zwingli's personal library extant in the Zentralbibliothek in Zürich. No catalogue of Zwingli's library has survived, so a

reconstruction effort was led initially by Walther Köhler and added to and corrected in the *Zwingli's Sämtliche Werke* series.⁶² Although somewhat unreliable, a critical edition of Zwingli's marginal annotations has also been prepared in two volumes in the *Zwingli's Sämtliche Werke* series to replace the initial study by Johann Martin Usteri.⁶³ A study of these marginal notes using Hubmaier's patristic citations as points of reference would be helpful for determining the extent of Zwingli's influence on Hubmaier.⁶⁴ Since Backus' article on Zwingli and Bucer's reception of the fathers works from the above lists, it will be our chief source for comparison with Hubmaier's patristic references.⁶⁵

The three divisions in the table above are all that concern us now, though much more significant details will emerge in the father-by-father analysis that will substantiate and greatly enhance the information in this table. The first thing to notice is that all but one of the fathers Hubmaier cites in his works appear in Zwingli's library as well; this, and other minor ostensible discrepancies, will be explained in our analysis of "Clement of Rome," Chrysostom, Theophylact, Tertullian, and Eusebius below (see 5.3.1., 5.3.7., 5.3.2., 6.1.1., and 5.3.4.). Second, regarding the four fathers that were included in Zwingli's library but were not cited by Hubmaier, we notice a conspicuous reduction in the number of times Zwingli cites these fathers in his own works; the low number of citations in Zwingli's works suggests that these fathers were not important to him and therefore were not fathers that he would have wanted to study. The third section lists those fathers that Zwingli cites occasionally in his writings but for which we have no evidence that they were included in his

⁶² Köhler, *Bibliothek*; ZSW 12.2. See also Gäbler, *Zwingli*, 33ff.

⁶³ ZSW 12.1; 12.2; Usteri, "Initia Zwinglii," (1885): 607-702; (1886): 95-159.

⁶⁴ See Gäbler, *Zwingli*, 34f.

⁶⁵ Backus, "Zwingli," 628-39.

collection. Hubmaier does not cite any father that was also not a part of Zwingli's library, save Theophylact, but this too can be explained (see 5.3.2.).

Two other points are worth noting. First, we must remember that since infant baptism was the exclusive practice in Hubmaier's day, its historical precedence was implied and therefore required a historical analysis to *overturn* it. The fathers are of course paramount to understanding the historical practice of baptism, especially immediately after the apostolic era. It is difficult to imagine, therefore, that Zwingli met with Hubmaier and acknowledged credobaptism's existence in the early Church, at least alongside paedobaptism, without first studying the fathers. Second, although the patristic editions that Hubmaier quotes from were readily available, it is nevertheless interesting that, as we will see below, he provides book, chapter, and folio numbers, not only in his *Urteil*, but also in his *Gespräch* addressed to Zwingli. It seems likely therefore that Hubmaier was aware of the contents of Zwingli's library, which compelled him to provide this source reference material. All told, Zwingli's collection is the only one that conforms with our four criteria: (1) Zwingli and Hubmaier met and had a meaningful conversation at a time when the latter began challenging infant baptism; (2) Zwingli too was questioning the validity of paedobaptism at the time of their meeting; (3) Zwingli's library included the fathers that Hubmaier cites in his works and were available in Zwingli's collection before they met in 1523; and (4) Hubmaier met with Zwingli immediately before commencing the composition of his *Urteil* and *Gespräch*.

5.1.4. Zwingli and the Church Fathers: The influence that Zwingli exerted on Hubmaier is well known,⁶⁶ and their likely collaboration on the fathers and baptism shows signs of similar uses of and attitudes toward patristic sources. For instance, Backus claims that Zwingli's strong interest in the fathers included a penchant for editions prepared by

⁶⁶ See, for instance, Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 155-9.; Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 70.

Erasmus,⁶⁷ and Bruce Gordon identifies the "intellectual core to the Swiss Reformation" in the patristic editions that rolled off local presses.⁶⁸ Backus also observes that the fathers he chose and the full humanist editions he read "show Zwingli to be closer to Renaissance humanism than to the scholastic method,"⁶⁹ which, as we will verify more elaborately in our father-by-father analysis, can certainly be said of Hubmaier too. Although the identification of spurious works and authentic authors was Erasmus' domain, Zwingli's study of the fathers was nevertheless "based, largely, on the critical methods developed by Erasmus," including grammar, philology, and "humanist exegetical techniques."⁷⁰

Backus also notes that "Zwingli read the Bible through the grid of patristic exegesis,"⁷¹ which bears at least some resemblance to Hubmaier's approach as well. Backus identifies a hierarchy of sorts in Zwingli's attitude towards the fathers with Scripture at the top, which the fathers themselves also affirm.⁷² This hierarchy, Peter Stephens observes, means that "the utterances of the fathers, the councils, and the popes are human words"⁷³ in contrast to the divine origin of Scripture. This attitude prompted Zwingli to declare at the first Zürich Disputation (29 January 1523), a few months before he and Hubmaier met, that on purgatory and the cult of the Saints, "Fathers and Councils are no authority to us, except when they prove what they say by Scripture."⁷⁴ However, Zwingli, like Hubmaier, did not confine himself to Scripture, as his willing use of the fathers attests, that their two attitudes are worth comparing:

⁶⁷ Backus, "Zwingli," 639.

⁶⁸ Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, 110.

⁶⁹ Backus, "Zwingli," 639.

⁷⁰ Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, 50, 110. See also Gäbler, *Zwingli*, 38-40; Potter, *Zwingli*, 25ff., 42-4.

⁷¹ Backus, "Zwingli," 639. See also Potter, *Zwingli*, 26f.

⁷² Backus, "Zwingli," 641.

⁷³ Stephens, *Zwingli*, 32.

⁷⁴ Cited in Cochran, *Zwingli*, 106. See also Stephens, *Zwingli*, 33. Cf. ZSW 3:50

Zwingli

"I have quoted these things from the weightiest of the fathers not because I wish to support by human authority a thing plain in itself and confirmed by the word of God, but that it might be manifest to the feebler brethren that I am not the first to put forth this view and that it does not lack very strong support."⁷⁵

Hubmaier

"[S]o that we give offense to no one in this article on infant baptism, and also that no one be able to use us to cover his error, I have set together the opinion of the very ancient and wholly new teachers on infant baptism. Although I do not need the testimony of human beings since I have previously published a little book on the witness of Scripture concerning this matter... ."76

Further, Zwingli was alert to the import of the division between Greek and Latin fathers,⁷⁷ and, in like manner to Hubmaier's classification of the fathers (see 9.1.3.), he was, as Potter observes, "drawn to the study of the Greek Fathers, Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, and Chrysostom in particular," apparently in imitation of Erasmus.⁷⁸

5.2 Features of Hubmaier's Baptismal Theology with Patristic Support

In general, Hubmaier invokes the support of the Church fathers to verify the historicity of three characteristics of his baptismal theology: (1) the difference between the baptisms of John and Christ; (2) Old Testament figures of baptism, especially the salvific function of the ark during the flood, suggesting credobaptism as the appropriate mode of baptism for the Church; and (3) prior catechization as a precondition for receiving baptism, or Erasmus' sequence of *docete–baptizantes–docentes* from his *Paraphrase* on Matthew 28:19-20,⁷⁹ which signals the *initiation* of Christian baptism during the Great Commission (Mt. 28:19). Our father-by-father analysis below will expand on how Hubmaier uses the

⁷⁵ Cited in Stephens, *Zwingli*, 33.

⁷⁶ "Urteil: I," *HS* 228f.; *CRR* 248.

⁷⁷ Backus, "Zwingli," 639.

⁷⁸ Potter, *Zwingli*, 43.

⁷⁹ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 66, 84-8, 94ff. Cf. *LB* 6:147C, 148C; "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 146-51; *CRR* 129-36.

fathers to uphold these three tenets, as well as any tangential considerations including the question of an unbaptized infant's eternal destiny, the superfluity of a godparent's vicarious faith, and the reality that many of the fathers were themselves baptized later in life rather than as infants.

Hubmaier specifically opposed Zwingli on each of these characteristics, but as three constituents of a single argument. First, while Hubmaier believed that a new Christian *credobaptism* was initiated in the catechetical character of the Great Commission (Mt. 28:19), Zwingli held that Christian baptism was initiated by John, who, as the last of the prophets, preserved the function of the old covenantal sign of circumcision.⁸⁰ As proof, Zwingli cited Colossians 2:11ff. as "a clear word that circumcision refers to baptism," but Hubmaier argued instead that Paul's invocation of circumcision referred to the "inward baptism" of the heart.⁸¹ Secondly, to counter Zwingli's analogy from circumcision, Hubmaier invoked the "ark of Noah" as the true Old Testament figure of baptism.⁸² And finally, upon outlining his view of baptism's initiation with John, Zwingli admits in his *Taufbüchlein* that Anabaptists "are not alone when they say that [John and Christ's baptisms are different], for all the theologians that I have ever read or can call to mind say exactly the same thing."⁸³ As a result, "we must not press the letter in the text in Matthew 28," Zwingli contends, "For baptism was not instituted on that occasion as we formally supposed, building upon the common error of the older theologians that the baptism of John was different from that of Christ."⁸⁴

⁸⁰ ZB 160f.; ZSW 4:257f.

⁸¹ "Gespräch," HS 179f.; CRR 186.

⁸² Ibid., HS 175f., 210; CRR 180, 228.

⁸³ ZB 161; ZSW 4:258.

⁸⁴ ZB 143; ZSW 4:233f.

The key to understanding the differences between Zwingli and Hubmaier is their divergent views on original sin. Although we will elaborate on this further in chapter eight, Hubmaier espouses a system wherein both free will and original sin exist in harmony and credobaptism is the correct baptismal practice. But, how does he maintain internal consistency given these seemingly contradictory convictions? First, his conception of original sin is prejudiced by his accompanying belief that "baptism can wash away no sin,"⁸⁵ and, perhaps more to the point, that original sin does not obliterate "the freedom of the will in the newborn human beings."⁸⁶ Second, Hubmaier accepted Augustine's argument that God foreknows but does not predestine sin, but he interpreted this to mean that sin, in addition to all that is good, flows from the human will.⁸⁷ These two points suggest that original sin is not a stain and Adamic contagion that human beings need to be *cleansed of* in order to stave off damnation. Instead, original sin is the fleshly appetite of the will that needs to be *repented of* through the impulse of one's own free will later in life, after which baptism can be administered as an "oral confession of faith before the church."⁸⁸ This allows Hubmaier to reject Augustine's view that God predestines the damnation of an unbaptized infant.⁸⁹ And, since damnation is not assured early in life, this leaves open the option to delay baptism, which many fathers did as we will outline later (see 5.3.4. and 9.1.2.).

The occasion for Hubmaier's initial defence of original sin was the notion put forward by Oecolampadius and Zwingli that original sin is a fiction.⁹⁰ Hubmaier interpreted their move as trying to dispense of the catalyst for repentance later in life: if original sin does not

⁸⁵ "Gespräch," *HS* 210; *CRR* 228.

⁸⁶ "Freiheit," *HS* 388; *CRR* 437.

⁸⁷ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 410, 415; *CRR* 463, 470.

⁸⁸ "Gespräch," *HS* 193; *CRR* 204. See also p. *HS* 210; *CRR* 228.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, *HS* 201; *CRR* 216. See also pp. *HS* 193, 210; *CRR* 204, 228.

⁹⁰ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 263f.; *CRR* 284-6. However, Pipkin *CRR*, note 38, adequately shows that Hubmaier misrepresents Oecolampadius on this point.

exist in infants, it becomes incumbent upon the Church to baptize them *before* they develop sinful behaviour in lieu of original sin that would generate a need for repentance later in life. Hubmaier is in this instance interacting with Oecolampadius' *Gespräch etlicher Prädikanten zu Basel*, but he believes Oecolampadius has been influenced by Zwingli, who, in a letter to Urbanus Rhegius, admitted that he preferred the term *erbprest* (hereditary weakness) to *erbsünd* (original sin).⁹¹ Hubmaier's conception is rather an anthropological instinct of the will toward sin, whereas Zwingli's "weakness" is an anthropological deficiency: Hubmaier's is an active principle, Zwingli's is passive. Therefore, Hubmaier was wary of replacing *sin* with *weakness*, for weaknesses need only to be overcome but sin necessitates repentance later in life, the decision to follow Christ, and baptism.⁹²

The influence of Erasmus' understanding of the Great Commission (Mt. 28:19) on the Anabaptists, and Hubmaier particularly, has been addressed repeatedly by historians.⁹³ As we segue into our father-by-father analysis, we will limit ourselves to his influence on Hubmaier's invocation of Mt. 28:19-20 and amenable patristic interpretations to two characteristics: (1) Erasmus' apparent ambiguity about the appropriateness of rebaptism that led to Hubmaier's confessionalization of Erasmian Humanism's ostensible acceptance of credobaptism and his desire for a general council to resolve the issue, and (2) Erasmus' unique replication of patristic interpretations of Mt. 28:19, which confirmed to Hubmaier that believers' baptism existed in the patristic era, was abandoned during the Late Middle Ages and by scholastic theologians, but was revived by Erasmus.⁹⁴ This demonstrates the uniqueness of the fathers' acceptance of credobaptism, and thus the appropriateness of their

⁹¹ ZSW 4:309. See Pipkin *CRR* 285, note 41.

⁹² "Rechenschaft," *HS* 473; *CRR* 540.

⁹³ For instance Coogan, *Erasmus*, 50f.; Davis, *Anabaptism and Asceticism*, 287f.; Friesen, *Erasmus*; Hillerbrand, "Origins," 160.

⁹⁴ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 89.

inclusion in the *ecclesia universalis*, and may account for Hubmaier's interest in this issue and recourse to the fathers for its historical and scriptural authentication.

First, although scholars are divided on the extent, nature, and meaning of Erasmus' ambiguity about the appropriateness of rebaptism, it is certain that Hubmaier seized what he thought was his endorsement of post-catechetical credobaptism. We have already noted that Hubmaier wrote in his letter to Adelphi on his visit to Basel in 1522 that "Erasmus speaks freely, but writes precisely."⁹⁵ Although Hubmaier does not explicitly mention baptism as the issue that induced Erasmus' reticence, Halkin believes that Hubmaier was comparing the provocative yet limited statements about baptism in the preface of his *Paraphrase on Matthew* and Erasmus' less guarded admissions to Hubmaier during their meeting in Basel, claiming, "This text has everything to fascinate a dissident, but without giving him full satisfaction."⁹⁶ Halkin is referring to Erasmus' proposal that "those who were baptized as children upon reaching adolescence [be] asked to attend sermons" so they may understand the implications of their baptism, undergo a private examination by "virtuous men" to verify their grasp of what they had been taught, confirm their godparents' vicarious faith, and finally "publicly renew their baptismal profession of faith."⁹⁷ Erasmus compares this proposed ceremony to a monastic vow and laments that "there are many people in their fifties who do not know what vows they took in baptism,"⁹⁸ which exhibits Erasmus' emphasis on the benefits of instruction as Hubmaier also stressed. However, Erasmus acknowledges two potential difficulties, the first being "that baptism may seem to be repeated—which is not permitted," and resolves this latent temptation by assuring his readers that "it is nothing but a

⁹⁵ Cited in *ibid.*, 47. Cf. "Letter to Adelphi," 233.

⁹⁶ Halkin, *Erasmus*, 166. See also Old, *Worship*, 16f.

⁹⁷ Erasmus, *Paraphrase*, 20. Cf. *LB* 7:**3(verso).

⁹⁸ Erasmus, *Paraphrase*, 20, 22f. Cf. *LB* 7:**3(verso)-**4(recto).

sort of renewing and reenacting of the original baptism," similar to the daily sprinkling of holy water.⁹⁹ It is likely this qualifier that compels Hubmaier to accuse Erasmus of Nicodemism, as Rummel describes it.¹⁰⁰ Further, he likely viewed his own campaign to reinstate credobaptism as the more faithful expression of what Erasmus was too afraid to admit in writing.

Halkin's suggestion is intriguing since Hubmaier would read the fathers on Mt. 28:19-20 with Zwingli less than a year after writing his letter to Adelphi in June, 1522. It demonstrates, at any rate, his dissatisfaction with Erasmus' unwillingness to deviate from traditional Church doctrine that he communicated verbally but recorded more reticently in his publications, as Sachsse argues.¹⁰¹ In point of fact, Erasmus' ambiguity about how to perform baptism was quickly garnering much attention—and criticism. For instance, Bietenholz notes that Erasmus wrote in his *Paraphrase on Corinthians* (1519), which we know that Hubmaier read from his letter to Sapidus,¹⁰² how Paul tried to persuade the Corinthians to embrace Christianity by abandoning their traditions, "but today we believe that it suffices to be sprinkled with a little water, and presto you become a Christian."¹⁰³ Further, Bietenholz observes that Erasmus attacked not the sacramental character of baptism but its administration "regardless of whether its profound meaning was understood."¹⁰⁴ This elicited the ire of Spanish monks, and his continuing defence of his ideas regarding baptism and catechesis found new detractors including Noël Béda from the University of Paris.¹⁰⁵

Also, Hilmar Pabel provides an analysis of Erasmus' *scholia* on Jerome's epistle *Ad*

⁹⁹ Erasmus, *Paraphrase*, 21f. Cf. *LB* 7:**3(verso).

¹⁰⁰ See, esp., Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 7, 85, 104, 121-4.

¹⁰¹ Sachsse, *Hubmaier*, 132.

¹⁰² "Letter to Sapidus," (1959), 41. Cf. Williamson, *Erasmus*, 41.

¹⁰³ Cited in Bietenholz, *Encounters*, 228. Cf. *LB* 7:855f. "*Quum hodie satis esse putemus aquula modo tingi, ut subito fias absolutus Christianus.*"

¹⁰⁴ Bietenholz, *Encounters*, 228.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 228f.; Williamson, *Erasmus*, 76. Cf. *LB* 9:557D-63C; 820A-22E; 1061A-C.

Heliodorum, in which the Latin father announces, "Remember the day on which you enlisted, when, buried with Christ in baptism, you swore fealty to Him, declaring that for His sake you would spare neither father nor mother."¹⁰⁶ In his *scholia* on this portion of the epistle, Erasmus contrasts the taboo actions of a monk who contravenes his vows with the lustful and avaricious self-gratification of a layman in breach of "that most sacred and first vow by which he bound himself in baptism."¹⁰⁷ Pabel then draws a parallel between his *scholia* in the second edition of Jerome's *Opera*, in which he proposes again a "solemn ritual" for adolescents to renew their baptismal vow, and his preface to the *Paraphrase on Matthew* that we looked at above.¹⁰⁸

In his *Paraphrase on Matthew*, moreover, Erasmus endorsed pre-baptismal instruction in his assessment of Mt. 28:19-20, much as he would later in his *Paraphrase of the Acts of the Apostles* (1524) on Peter's Pentecost sermon and the Ethiopian eunuch's baptism. In his paraphrase on Mt. 28:19-20, Erasmus writes, "When you have taught them these things [the central tenets of the gospel], if they believe what you have taught, if they repent of their former lives, if they are ready to embrace the gospel teaching, then bathe them with water in the name of the Fathers and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit..."¹⁰⁹ Hubmaier quotes this passage verbatim in his *Urteil*, but immediately thereupon takes liberties with his interpretation of Erasmus' motives when he claims, "Here Erasmus publicly points out that baptism was instituted by Christ for those instructed in the faith and not for young children."¹¹⁰ Indeed, although the theme of paedobaptism's absence in the apostolic era ran

¹⁰⁶ *NPNF2* 6:14; *PL* 22:348. See Pabel, *Herculean Labours*, 303.

¹⁰⁷ Cited in Pabel, *Herculean Labours*, 304. Cf. *Tomus Primus ... Operum ... Hieronymi* (Basel: Froben, 1516), fo. 2(verso)-3(recto): BSB, shelf mark: VD16 H 3482.

¹⁰⁸ Pabel, *Herculean Labours*, 304.

¹⁰⁹ Erasmus, *Paraphrase*, 379; *LB* 7:145f.

¹¹⁰ "Urteil: I," *HS* 233; *CRR* 255.

through Erasmus' paraphrase, Bietenholz observes, "Nothing was further from his mind than rejecting infant baptism,"¹¹¹ which he retained based on the authority of the Church.¹¹² Instead, Erasmus wanted to revive the moral consciousness of the Church by creating an ecclesial ceremony for later, adolescent reflection on the pledge that baptism implied—or, a recompense for an initial ignorance, as we examined above on Erasmus' preface.¹¹³

Nevertheless, the central significance of Erasmus' paraphrase of Mt. 28:19-20 is his adoption of the *docete-baptizantes-docentes* sequence despite the modern grammatical awareness that the passage is dominated by the aorist active imperative verb "make disciples" (*μαθητεύσατε*) on which the other instructions are dependent without reference to chronology.¹¹⁴ Indeed, Erasmus' emphasis on correct sequence seems to have influenced Hubmaier's own succession of (1) word, (2) hearing, (3) faith, (4) baptism, and (5) work, which he understands to be the order in Mt. 28:18ff. and other scriptural passages.¹¹⁵ Williamson notes that this attentiveness to sequence, however, has patristic origins, with Jerome, Erasmus' favourite father, as its chief progenitor,¹¹⁶ and whose interpretation of Mt. 28:19-20 Hubmaier also uses in defence of credobaptism in his *Gespräch* and *Urteil*.¹¹⁷ And, while Hubmaier may have overlooked Erasmus' retention of traditional paedobaptism, Williamson astutely observes that "Erasmus' stress upon pre-baptismal catechesis is striking" since the dominance of paedobaptism in a universally Christian continent would seemingly circumvent the need for instruction prior to baptism.¹¹⁸ In sum, Erasmus seems to

¹¹¹ Bietenholz, *Encounters*, 231.

¹¹² Payne, *Erasmus*, 177f.

¹¹³ See Williamson, *Erasmus*, 74-7, 85.

¹¹⁴ See *ibid.*, 72f.

¹¹⁵ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 146-51; *CRR* 129-36. Cf. Williamson, *Hubmaier*, 85-8, 94ff.

¹¹⁶ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 85-8.

¹¹⁷ "Gespräch," *HS* 206; *CRR* 222;
"Urteil: I & II" *HS* 231, 245; *CRR* 252, 267.

¹¹⁸ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 74.

commandeer the interpretation of Jerome to increase moral consciousness, but Hubmaier uses this revival of patristic exegesis to confessionalize Erasmian Humanism, exploit Erasmus' ambiguity about baptism, and motivate himself to forage for additional patristic support for pre-baptismal catechesis and his interpretation of Mt. 28:19-20. Hubmaier, as we will now discover, was arguably quite successful in his endeavour.

5.3 Analysis of Greek Patristic References in Hubmaier's Writings

The following analysis elaborates in detail on Hubmaier's use of each Church father and is meant to corroborate his indebtedness to a Catholic academic background and to humanist accomplishments, scholarship, and tenets. His confessionalization of Humanism, therefore, will be revealed in his use of full humanist editions of the Church fathers, choice of patristic sources and specific passages therein, deliberate recourse to the *fontes* of Christian doctrine and practice that survived beyond the apostolic era, and patristic verification of the *docete–baptizantes–docentes* sequence all in service of his convictions about credobaptism and attendant defence of the difference between John and Christ's baptisms.

Of the writings in which Hubmaier cites the fathers, his *Urteil* will concern us the most, as well as his *Gespräch* with Zwingli and, to a lesser extent, his *Von der Kindertaufe*. For the *Urteil* specifically, Carl Sachsse has performed the task of inspecting the patristic citations,¹¹⁹ but his results are outdated since many modern editions have come into print since his study. Regrettably, Westin and Bergsten made no attempt to check the accuracy of Hubmaier's citations in their critical edition of his works, nor did they identify the modern editions against which one might be able to compare his patristic references. Therefore, I will instead be using the information that Pipkin and Yoder assemble in their English translation, which anyway reproduces much of Sachsse's findings, and will supplement this

¹¹⁹ Sachsse, *Hubmaier*, 33-40.

with notes compiled by Rollin Armour in his study of Anabaptist baptism and by Bergsten in his biography of Hubmaier. Where there are any holes or discrepancies, which are many, I fill them in or rectify them myself. The organization of this analysis will be as follows: (1) Hubmaier's references and citations of each Church father (in chart form); (2) the verifiable or putative patristic writings and editions that Hubmaier references; (3) modern evaluations and 16th-c. perceptions of each father and their writings that Hubmaier references; (4) Hubmaier's use and interpretation of each father for theological purposes in light of modern and contemporaneous perspectives.

5.3.1. "Clement of Rome" († c. 101) [*Canones Apostolorum*]:

Hubmaier's References:

Treatise, hom., comm., ep.	Hubm. work	Source ref. patr./Hubm.	Putative edition	Possible purveyor	Theol./eccl. issue
<i>Canones Apostolorum</i>	<i>Urteil II</i> 1526	HS 243f.; CRR 265.	<i>Canones Apostolorum</i> (Moguntiae: Schoeffer, 1525).	Zwingli's library	credobaptism

Hubmaier's Sources:

Although Clement of Rome, as an Apostolic father, predates the distinction between Greek and Latin fathers, I have chosen to include him among the Greek fathers since this was the language in which he wrote. However, this is somewhat misleading since Hubmaier was in fact mistaken about the authorship of the work that he read; in actuality, he cites a canon from the *Canones Apostolorum*, a mid- to late-fourth-century collection of canons comprising Book VIII, ch. 47 of the *Apostolic Constitutions*.¹²⁰ I chose this arrangement because it is important to acknowledge Hubmaier's genuine belief that he was quoting Clement of Rome if we want to ascertain the extent to which he was motivated by

¹²⁰ Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 128.

Humanism. Gonzalez, following Pipkin's lead, believes that Hubmaier's reference is taken from the *Apostolic Constitutions* itself, Book VI, ch. 15.¹²¹ However, the *Apostolic Constitutions* had not been published in Hubmaier's lifetime. The first edition to appear was the *Epitome* printed in 1546 by the German Humanist, Johannes Cochlaeus (1479-1552),¹²² which contained a selection of excerpts from the *Apostolic Constitutions* 8 (1-2, 4-5, 16-28, 30-4, 42-6) and was inspired by a few points in Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition*.¹²³ Eventually, the Latin *editio princeps* of all eight books was printed by Bovius in Venice in 1563.¹²⁴ Therefore, since we must rule out Book VI, ch. 15 of the *Apostolic Constitutions* as his source, canon 47 of the *Canones Apostolorum* instead bears a word-for-word equivalence with Hubmaier's citation:

Canones Apostolorum

"If a bishop or presbyter rebaptizes him who has had true baptism, or does not baptize him who is polluted by the ungodly, let him be deprived, as ridiculing the cross and the death of the Lord, and not distinguishing between real priests and counterfeit ones."¹²⁵

Hubmaier

"Clement...sets out in the 29th Article...that the baptism of heretics should be neither recognized nor accepted. Therefore, ... whoever has received baptism should not be baptized again. Whoever does not again baptize those stained and those baptized by the godless or the heretics should be cut off as one who mocks the cross of Christ and his death and does not differentiate the false priests from the true."¹²⁶

¹²¹ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 100-2; Pipkin, *CRR* 265, note 66.

¹²² *Epitome Apostolicarum Constitutionum* (Ingolstadt: Cochlaeus, 1546).

¹²³ Bradshaw, *Christian Worship*, 86.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 73; *ANF* 7:390.

¹²⁵ *ANF* 7:503. Cf. *Canones Apostolorum* ... [ed. Johannes Cochlaeus and Nicolaus Carbach] (Mainz: Schoeffer, 1525), Cap. XLVII, fo. 7(verso): "Episcopus, aut presbyter, si eum, qui secundum ueritatem habuerit baptismam, denuo baptizauerit: aut pollutum ab impiis non baptizauerit, deponatur, tanquam deridens crucem, & mortem domini, nec sacerdotes a falsis facerdotibus iure discernens." See also Francis Xavier von Funk, ed., *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Vol. 1 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1905), 579.

¹²⁶ "Urteil: II," *HS* 243f.; *CRR* 265.

Although Cochlaeus provides a reference to Gratian's *Decretum* in the margin beside the forty-seventh canon in his edition of the *Canones Apostolorum*, "*dist.32.c.præter §.sciendum*," the *Decretum* cannot be Hubmaier's source; beginning at the word *sciendum*, as Cochlaeus directs his readers, the Decree simply claims that the *Canones Apostolorum* condemns heretical baptism as diabolical and does not actually quote from the canon.¹²⁷ Since Hubmaier repeats such specific language as, "mocks the cross of Christ and his death" and the inability to "differentiate the false priests from the true," none of which appears in Gratian's Decree, he must have read canon 47 in its entirety in another source. Hubmaier also does not himself provide the *Distinction* and *canon* source references, along with the canon title, that he includes with his citations of the Decree elsewhere.¹²⁸

Accordingly, Hubmaier would have had occasion to quote from the *Canones Apostolorum* after its first printing by Jacques Merlin (Paris, 1524).¹²⁹ The canons also appeared on their own without the *Apostolic Constitutions* in a similar compilation of conciliar decisions published the following year in Mainz, edited again by Johannes Cochlaeus.¹³⁰ So far as I can determine from the Zentralbibliothek catalogue, it was this edition that Zwingli owned.¹³¹ As we saw above, Hubmaier composed his *Urteil I* and *II* in Waldshut in early 1525 but completed them after he had arrived in Nikolsburg. However, when Zwingli and Hubmaier met to discuss baptism in 1523, Zwingli did not yet own this edition since it had not yet been printed. Therefore, since Hubmaier's reference to "Clement of Rome" appears only in the second version of his *Urteil*, it is likely that he printed the initial version from his original notes that he compiled in Zürich in 1523, and that for his

¹²⁷ *CIC* 1:119, c. VI.

¹²⁸ See, for instance, "Urteil: II," *HS* 249, *CRR* 273.

¹²⁹ *Conciliarum quatuor generalium* (Paris: In edibus Galotti a Prato, 1524).

¹³⁰ *Canones Apostolorum* (Mainz: Schoeffer, 1525), Cap. XLVII, fo. 7(verso).

¹³¹ ZBZ, shelf mark: III H 101.3.

second rendition he retrieved further support from the *Canones Apostolorum* during his time in Zürich later in 1525, or, more likely, perhaps also *en route* to or while residing in Nikolsburg.

Evaluation of the *Canones Apostolorum*:

The *Canones Apostolorum* was considered apostolic in Hubmaier's day and circulated by Clement of Rome, as its designation on the contents page of the Cochlaeus edition demonstrates: *Regulae ecclesiasticae Apostolorum per Clementem.I.*¹³² The prevailing belief was that Clement compiled the *Canones Apostolorum*, which were thought to have apostolic origins, appended them to the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and sent them to all the clergy the world over.¹³³ In fact, each canon hailed from different eras, and the *terminus a quo* of their compilation is the Council of Antioch in 341 C.E. since the first twenty are taken almost verbatim from its canonical decisions. Therefore, they cannot have been formulated earlier than this date or circulated by Clement.¹³⁴ Some scholars designate the final compilation during the mid-fourth century, others as recent as the late-fifth century. The Eastern list of eighty-five canons was accepted as authentic at the Council of Trullo in 692 C.E., but the West was more hesitant, eventually adopting only the first fifty, which reflects Dionysius' early recension (c. 500 C.E.) and the number in the Cochlaeus edition.¹³⁵ Hubmaier's citation of canon 47 lies within this list, as do other surrounding canons on baptism that also may have influenced him, these possibly being the "other places"¹³⁶ he speaks of (canons 46-50).

Interest in the writings of the apostolic fathers, as Hubmaier thought he was reading, was an outworking of the humanist *Ad fontes* principle since the immediate successors to the

¹³² *Canones Apostolorum* (Mainz: Schoeffer, 1525), 1(verso).

¹³³ Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 130.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹³⁵ Schaff, *History*, 186f. Cf. Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 128; *ANF* 7:388f.

¹³⁶ "Urteil: II," *HS* 243; *CRR* 264.

apostles were thought to have preserved their pristine teachings better than subsequent generations. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples especially considered their writings to be worthy of special attention.¹³⁷ For instance, believing it to be authored by St. Paul's first convert, Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts 17:34), Lefèvre edited the pseudo-Dionysian corpus in 1499, which was bound in a single volume with the epistles of Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp, two other prominent apostolic fathers.¹³⁸ Lefèvre also prepared an edition of Palladius' *historia lausiaca*, which contained the pseudo-Clementine writings including the legends of St. Peter's travels, his quarrels with Simon Magus, and association with Clement of Rome, claiming its apostolicity on the basis of Giovanni Pico's *Apologia* (1487). Two apocryphal letters ascribed to Anacletus and Clement draw the volume to a close,¹³⁹ and therefore do not include the *Canones Apostolorum* that Hubmaier cites.

The humanist motivation and *ad fontes* rationale of Lefèvre is the same as Hubmaier's reasons for quoting "Clement of Rome." In the second *Urteil*, "Clement" appears first in a succession of fathers intentionally arranged chronologically. He even makes a point of noting that "Clement" wrote "91 years after the birth of Christ" and was "a disciple of the apostle Peter."¹⁴⁰ As well, his equation of the "counterfeit priests" with those who administer infant baptism lends support to his designation of the papal church as an erroneous *ecclesia particularis*. One other noteworthy item is Hubmaier's classification of the stipulations in canon 47 as "the truth of the church."¹⁴¹ If the teachings of "Clement of Rome" are equated with the teachings of the Church, this strengthens my thesis that Hubmaier viewed the Church fathers as co-affiliates in the one, true *ecclesia universalis*.

¹³⁷ Rice, "Humanist Idea," 140.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 142. See also Levi, *Renaissance*, 209.

¹³⁹ Rice, "Humanist Idea," 143f.

¹⁴⁰ "Urteil: II," *HS* 243; *CRR* 264.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., *HS* 243; *CRR* 263.

Hubmaier's Use of "Clement of Rome":

The primary reason Hubmaier invokes Clement of Rome is to defend himself against accusations that he is introducing a new baptism and thus a *re*-baptism. With Zwingli as his opponent, Hubmaier declares in his *Christlichen Taufe*, "First, you err in calling the present baptism as it is practiced a rebaptism, since infant baptism is not a baptism according to your own confession nor in truth. Therefore, the present baptism is not rebaptism but a baptism."¹⁴² In the forty-seventh canon that Hubmaier quotes, heretical baptism is, according to his own paradigm, the paedobaptism of the Catholic Church. Therefore, when Hubmaier administers baptism to his congregants, he is merely baptizing "him who is polluted by the ungodly," as canon 47 states.¹⁴³ The distinction between John and Christ's baptisms also plays a significant role in Hubmaier's paradigm. In the same treatise, Hubmaier observes,

[A]ll those who believe this forgiveness [through John's baptism of repentance] should be rebaptized by the apostles of Christ. That is a real rebaptism, because the baptism of John is, and is called baptism, and the baptism of Christ is also a baptism. Therefore it is correctly called rebaptism. The bath of the infants which we have hitherto taken for baptism is not baptism, nor is it worthy of the name baptism. Therefore it is wrongly said that we let ourselves be rebaptized.¹⁴⁴

Therefore, Hubmaier's differentiation between the baptisms of John and Christ is important not only in the ways we outlined above regarding his baptismal theology (see 5.2), but also for deflecting accusations that he is a rebaptizer. "Clement of Rome" therefore speaks in Hubmaier's defence on this issue as well.

¹⁴² "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 140; *CRR* 121.

¹⁴³ *ANF* 7:503.

¹⁴⁴ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 132f.; *CRR* 113.

5.3.2. Theophylact, bishop of Ohrid (c. 1050/60 – 1107):

Hubmaier's References:

Treatise, hom., comm., ep.	Hubm. work	Source ref. patr./Hubm.	Putative edition	Possible purveyor	Theol./eccl. issue
<i>Comm. on Mark</i>	<i>Gespräch 1526 Urteil I & II 1526</i>	<i>PG 123:679C; HS 185, 231f., 244; CRR 194, 253, 265.</i>	Oecolampad, <i>Theophylacti quatuor Evangelia enarrationes</i> (Basel: Cratander, 1524).	Grebel or Augsburg	credobaptism
<i>Comm. on Matthew</i>	<i>Gespräch 1526 Urteil I & II 1526</i>	<i>PG 123:174C, 175A & D, 486A-C; HS 190, 197, 231f., 244; CRR 200, 210, 253, 265.</i>	"	"	credobaptism / distinc. btwn X's & Jn's bapt.
<i>Comm. on John</i>	<i>Gespräch 1526</i>	<i>PG 123:1218A-B; HS 197; CRR 210.</i>	"	"	distinc. btwn X's & Jn's bapt.

Hubmaier's Sources:

Although Theophylact was an eleventh-century Eastern Orthodox bishop of Ohrid, Bulgaria, Hubmaier lists him in his *Urteil II* chronologically after Clement of Rome and Donatus (who he mistakenly believes wrote in 137 C.E.) and before Tertullian.¹⁴⁵ In a marginal note, he claims that Theophylact wrote in 189 C.E., yet it is unclear why he gives such an early date.¹⁴⁶ One possibility, as we will soon see, is that he confused Theophylact with the second-century apologist, Theophilus of Antioch. In total, Hubmaier mentions Theophylact five times in three separate works, all of them to his commentaries on the gospels—Matthew, Mark, and John specifically. All references to Theophylact are positive and are deployed in defence of his credobaptist convictions and the distinction between John and Christ's baptisms, both of which factor into the institution of baptism at the Great Commission (Mt. 28:19).

¹⁴⁵ "Urteil: II," *HS 244; CRR 265.*

¹⁴⁶ "Urteil: II," *HS 244; CRR 265.* Cf. Sachsse, *Hubmaier*, 34. See also Williams, Valdés, and Mergal, *Anabaptist Writers*, 80, note 25.

The most popular translation of Theophylact's commentaries on the four gospels, and the only one that could have been available to Hubmaier, was Oecolampadius' edition, printed by Andreas Cratander in Basel in 1524, 1525, and 1527.¹⁴⁷ Interestingly, Theophylact is the only father that Hubmaier mentions whose works, so far as we know, were never a part of Zwingli's library. However, this discrepancy does not threaten the thesis that Hubmaier accessed Zwingli's library since Oecolampadius' edition had not yet been printed when the two met. If this is indeed the edition that Hubmaier used, I see only two options for his citations of Theophylact. One explanation is that he supplemented his notes on the fathers, originally compiled during his meeting with Zwingli, by studying Oecolampadius' edition during his sojourn in Augsburg while traveling to Nikolsburg in the spring of 1526.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, it appears that the Augsburg preacher, Urbanus Rhegius, Hubmaier's fellow student at both Freiburg and Ingolstadt, was familiar with Theophylact and may have owned Oecolampadius' edition.¹⁴⁹ However, as we recently noted, Rhegius did not approve of the Anabaptist movement (see 5.1.2.).¹⁵⁰

A more plausible explanation is that Hubmaier read Theophylact's gospel commentaries during his brief visit to Zürich in late October, 1524 on his way back to Waldshut from Schaffhausen. On this visit, he had a conversation about baptism with Zwingli and Jud, during which it became increasingly evident that Zwingli and Hubmaier had already begun to diverge on the issue.¹⁵¹ However, one month before this meeting, Grebel sent a letter, dated 5 September 1524, to Thomas Müntzer in which he mentions

¹⁴⁷ *Theophylacti* (Basel: Cratander, 1524/5/7).

¹⁴⁸ Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 52.

¹⁴⁹ Uhlhorn, *Urbanus Rhegius*, 344; Lindberg, *Reformation Theologians*, 112ff.;

¹⁵⁰ Snyder and Hecht, *Profiles*, 82ff.

¹⁵¹ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 156f.

Theophylact and a few other fathers on the issue of baptism.¹⁵² So, it appears that an edition of Theophylact's commentaries was in Zürich very soon after its publication; since Hubmaier had become close with the Grebel circle beginning in the fall of 1524,¹⁵³ it is possible that they conferred on Theophylact's interpretation when the former was in Zürich. Further, that Hubmaier reminds Zwingli of Theophylact's teachings on three separate occasions in his *Gespräch* suggests that he may have brought it up during their meeting in late October, 1524, just over a year before he published this work. Perhaps Zwingli even owned this edition of Theophylact by this time, and the passages from his commentary that Hubmaier quotes in his writings were points of contention during their October, 1524 meeting.

Evaluation of Theophylact:

Theophylact wrote commentaries on the minor prophets Hosea, Jonah, Nahum, and Habakkuk as well as on all of the New Testament save Revelation.¹⁵⁴ His commentaries did not demonstrate any originality, however, as they were essentially more concise representations of John Chrysostom's commentaries, but with a more limited reception and influence.¹⁵⁵ This repetition was known in the sixteenth century, as Wolfgang Musculus (1497-1563), who makes use of Theophylact in his commentaries on the gospels, wrote, "*Hunc sequitur pro suo more Theophylactus*," after citing Chrysostom.¹⁵⁶ Further, in the preface to his edition of Theophylact, Oecolampadius depicts the bishop of Bulgaria as drawing upon Chrysostom for his commentary on the gospels,¹⁵⁷ which makes it all the more

¹⁵² *SSA* 290. Cf. Dipple, "Humanists," 473.

¹⁵³ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 151.

¹⁵⁴ Louth, *Genesis 1-11*, 192.

¹⁵⁵ See Brown, "Commentary of Theophylact," 194.

¹⁵⁶ Quoted in Farmer, *Wolfgang Musculus*, 201, note 25. See also p. 53. Cf. *Comm.* I:422.

¹⁵⁷ "*Ex multis auctoribus apparet instar apiculae in mellificinam sui aluearii probatiores sententias conuexisse, in primis autem ex Chrysostomo tanquam ex aureo suo fonte, maxime aureas interpretationes hausisse: ita ut in huius compedio parum desyderes ad explananda Euangelia eorum, quae ille sinuosis uoluminibus protulerat.*" Cited in Augustijn, *Ioannis Calvini epistolae*, 404, note 23.

strange that Hubmaier assigns the year 189 C.E. to Theophylact in his *Urteil II*.¹⁵⁸

Nevertheless, it was clearly common to view Theophylact as an ancient father in the sixteenth century. For example, Bucer cited him without giving thought to his medieval origin and Eck made use of him as one of the fathers in the section on free will in his *Enchiridion* (1525-43).¹⁵⁹

Although surprisingly neglected during the Renaissance,¹⁶⁰ Theophylact captured Erasmus' attention when he composed his *Annotationes* (1516) and prepared the Greek text of the New Testament, providing us with some information about how he was received during Hubmaier's time. We know that Erasmus must have respected Theophylact a great deal since, for instance, he cites him 41 times in his *Annotationes* on John, third only to John Chrysostom's 71 times and Augustine's 59 times.¹⁶¹ As well, it seems that from 1514 onward he used the same codex 817 available in Basel that Oecolampadius utilized for his 1524 edition of Theophylact's commentaries. This time, however, Erasmus took into account not only the bishop of Ohrid's commentary on the gospels for his *Annotationes*, but also his transcription of Scripture that appeared verse-by-verse before each exegetical excerpt. In this way, Theophylact unwittingly became an important constituent of the *Textus Receptus*.¹⁶²

Hubmaier's Use of Theophylact:

Hubmaier first mentions Theophylact in passing in his *Gespräch*. After Zwingli argues against the necessity of baptism, which is a mere "ceremonial sign with which salvation is not indissolubly connected," by appealing to the thief on the cross,¹⁶³ Hubmaier

¹⁵⁸ "Urteil: II," *HS* 244; *CRR* 265.

¹⁵⁹ Backus, "Zwingli," 650; Keen, "Fathers," 712. Cf. Eck, *Enchiridion locorum*, 318.

¹⁶⁰ See Screech, *Ecstasy*, 145f.

¹⁶¹ Peters, "Erasmus," 149, note 24.

¹⁶² Brown, "Commentary of Theophylact," 193f.

¹⁶³ *ZB* 136; *ZSW* 4:224. Cf. "Gespräch," *HS* 185; *CRR* 193.

remarks, "For as the Word of Christ in its power says: 'Whoever does not believe is condemned,' so remains the other in the same authority in parallel to that: 'Whoever believes and is baptized is saved,' Mark 16:16. Here one must always leave faith and baptism together," Hubmaier continues, "Look at '*Theophil.*,' on that text you will find something."¹⁶⁴ Pipkin believes that this reference to "*Theophil.*" is to the aforementioned Theophilus of Antioch (Pipkin also renders as "Theophilus" Hubmaier's corresponding marginal note, but this is again "*Theophil.*" in the original).¹⁶⁵ However, there is no evidence that this is Theophilus, as there is little in his only extant work, *Ad Autolyicum*, that could be considered an exposition on baptism. Gonzalez claims that baptism is not mentioned in *Ad Autolyicum*,¹⁶⁶ but when writing about the fifth day of the hexameron, Theophilus understands the blessing of the creatures which proceeded from the waters as a "sign of men's being destined to receive repentance and remission of sins, through the water and laver of regeneration."¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, this passage does not make use of Mk. 16:16 that "*Theophil.*" apparently wrote about, and Hubmaier would have been hard pressed to locate a contemporary edition that included *Ad Autolyicum* anyway.

Conversely, Bergsten is correct to designate "*Theophil.*" as indeed Theophylact,¹⁶⁸ since a little later in the *Gespräch* he more clearly has Theophylact in mind when referring to him as "*Theophy.*," Hubmaier frequently substituting a "y" for an "i" in his orthography, by designating him as "Theophilactum. Math. 28 [V. 19]" in a corresponding marginal note.¹⁶⁹ After Zwingli denies that Christian baptism was initiated at the Great Commission, Hubmaier

¹⁶⁴ "Gespräch," *HS* 185; *CRR* 193f.

¹⁶⁵ Pipkin, *CRR* 192, note 68.

¹⁶⁶ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 132.

¹⁶⁷ *ANF* 2:101. See also Otto, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, 8:104f.

¹⁶⁸ Bergsten, *HS* 185, note 97.

¹⁶⁹ "Gespräch," *HS* 190.

retorts, "Where then is the general water baptism of all believers, be they Jews or heathen, a law? Aye, show us in the Scripture. If you will gladly, then show us also Theophylact,"¹⁷⁰ which is noteworthy for its demonstration of the agreement between Scripture and the fathers. So, his two references to "*Theophil.*" and "*Theophy.*" in his *Gespräch* are in reference to Mark 16:16 and Matthew 28:19, both pericopes that Hubmaier expounds in his *Urteil* with the support of Theophylact's commentaries,¹⁷¹ which we will analyze below.

Also in his *Gespräch*, Hubmaier makes an even clearer reference to Theophylact, urging Zwingli to look at "Theophylact. Mat. 3, Jo. 3" for proof that the baptisms of John and Christ are distinct.¹⁷² In the margin to this reference, Hubmaier writes "*Theophil.*," the same as it appears in the first reference to Theophylact in his *Gespräch* that Pipkin believes may have been a reference to Theophilus of Antioch. Hubmaier even begins this passage by declaring that he testifies to "*das vrtail der gar vralten vnnd Neuen leerer*," essentially duplicating the title of his yet unpublished *Urteil*, in which he enlists the support of Theophylact. In this passage, Hubmaier makes two arguments: (1) the function of John's baptism was to uncover sin in someone's life and for the general recognition of sin's existence; (2) Christ's baptism was an "outward confession or oath of faith," which betrays a belief in the forgiveness of sins and commitment to "live according to the Rule of Christ."¹⁷³ Therefore, John's baptism has a negative function and Christ's baptism fulfills a positive role. Moreover, Christ's baptism, unlike for circumcision and paedobaptism, requires a requisite acknowledgement of forgiveness and pledge of obedience to the precepts of Christ, criteria with which credobaptism complies.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., *HS* 190; *CRR* 200.

¹⁷¹ "Urteil: I," *HS* 231f.; *CRR* 253.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 244; *CRR* 265.

¹⁷² "Gespräch," *HS* 197; *CRR* 210.

¹⁷³ Ibid., *HS* 196; *CRR* 209.

Gonzalez does not locate the precise passage from Theophylact's commentaries on Matthew and John for this issue.¹⁷⁴ I have determined, however, that Hubmaier's invocation of Theophylact on Matthew 3 centers around verses 5 and 6 in his *Commentary on Matthew*. Here, Theophylact observes that John's baptism did not have the power to remit sins, but instead only prepared for Christ's baptism, which did have the capacity to forgive sins:

*"Tametsi baptizabantur, non tamen remissionem peccatorum habebat baptisma Joannis; sed solam pœnitentiam prædicabat Joannes, et ad remissionem peccatorum ferebat, hoc est, ad Christi baptisma ducebat, apud quem remissio peccatorum."*¹⁷⁵ On Matthew 3:8,

Theophylact also comments, in reference to the Pharisees who came for baptism (v. 7), on the negative and positive functions of baptism, though he did not separate them into the function of John and Christ's baptisms respectively: *"Facite igitur fructus dignos pœnitentiæ. Vides quid dicat quoniam non oportet solum fugere militiam, sed etiam fructum virtutis facere."*¹⁷⁶ Finally, in reference to verse 11, Theophylact relates the positive function of

Christ's baptism, which fills the recipient with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and discusses the failure of John's baptism to offer the grace of the Spirit and remission of sins: *"Ipse vos baptizabit in Spiritu sancto. Hoc est, inundabit vos largiter Spiritus sancti gratia, quia meum, inquit, baptisma non dat spiritualem gratiam sed neque peccatorum remissionem."*¹⁷⁷

The difference between John and Christ's baptisms is clear also in Theophylact's *Commentary on John*. Specifically, he exegetes John 3:22 by identifying the distinguishing mark of Christian baptism as the Holy Spirit, which Christ's baptism could confer but John's could not. Further, Theophylact seems to give credibility to the notion that Christ's baptism,

¹⁷⁴ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 134.

¹⁷⁵ *PG* 123:174C.

¹⁷⁶ *PG* 123:175A.

¹⁷⁷ *PG* 123:175D.

and hence Christian baptism, was initiated at the Great Commission (Matthew 28:19), as

Hubmaier argued against Zwingli,¹⁷⁸ which verifies its distinction over the baptism of John:

*Nam in progressu idem hic evangelista dicit quod Jesus non baptizavit, sed discipuli ejus. Sed quæris, Quare non ipse baptizavit? Disce. Præoccupans dixit Joannes: Ille vos baptizabit Spiritu sancto. Spiritus autem sanctus nondum erat datus, eo quod nondum tempus erat. Igitur si baptizasset, vel absque Spiritu baptizasset: quæ intercessisset inter ipsum et Joannem differentia? vel dedisset Spiritum, atque ante tempus, sed id indignum Deo, qui in tempore facit omnia. Quod autem tempus dandi Spiritum? Tempus post assumptionem.*¹⁷⁹

It seems that for this issue, Hubmaier stays true to his Catholic roots and the witness of all theologians before him, as he points out against Zwingli.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, Theophylact's contribution lends credence to Hubmaier's connection between the initiation of baptism at the Great Commission and the distinction between John and Christ's baptisms.

For the two passing references to Theophylact's commentaries on Mark and Matthew from Hubmaier's *Gespräch* that we examined above, Hubmaier had in mind Theophylact's commentary on Mk. 16:16 and Mt. 28:19 that he outlines in his *Urteil*.¹⁸¹ In both versions of his *Urteil*, the quotes are identical. First, Hubmaier remarks, "About the Word of Christ in Mark 16:16, *Qui crediderit* [Whoever Will Believe], he writes thus: 'It is not enough that one believes, he must also be baptized. For whoever believes and is not baptized, but is a catechumen, is not now saved.'¹⁸² The original reads, "*Qui crediderit: et non sufficit hoc: sed, et baptizatus fuerit. Nam qui crediderit, baptizatus autem non fuerit, sed adhuc est catechumenus, non jam salvatus est.*"¹⁸³ Theophylact's main point is that baptism is essential to salvation. Hubmaier, on the other hand, wishes to emphasize the situation whereby only one who believes (*Qui crediderit*), which infants cannot do, are allowed to receive baptism.

¹⁷⁸ "Gespräch," *HS* 190; *CRR* 200.

¹⁷⁹ *PG* 123:1218A-B.

¹⁸⁰ "Gespräch," *HS* 197; *CRR* 210.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, *HS* 185, 190; *CRR* 194, 200.

¹⁸² "Urteil: I," *HS* 231; *CRR* 253. Cf. "Urteil: II," *HS* 244; *CRR* 265.

¹⁸³ *PG* 123:679C.

This is also another "patristic" verification of the catechumenate in the early Church that Hubmaier and Zwingli discussed during their meeting in 1523, which demonstrated to them the historicity of credobaptism.¹⁸⁴

Next, Hubmaier writes, "Also pay attention to him in any case, dear reader, concerning Matthew 28:19 on the text: 'Go forth, teach all peoples.' There he testifies what one should teach before and after baptism, and how a common institution of baptism has come about through Christ which applies to Jews and heathen."¹⁸⁵ Hubmaier does not actually quote Theophylact in this instance, but gives his interpretation of Theophylact's commentary on this verse. First, his emphasis on pre-baptismal instruction is present in Theophylact's observation on the vocation of the apostles who spread the gospel before baptizing them: "*Confirmat quoque et animat illos, eo quod mittat ad gentes, et in mortem ac pericula, dicens: Nolite timere; ego enim vobiscum ero usque ad consummationem sæculi.*"¹⁸⁶ Theophylact also comments on the obligation to teach *after* baptism as well, thus completing the *docete–baptizantes–docents* sequence: "*Deinde quia non sufficit baptizari tantum, sed etiam bene operandum est post baptisma.*"¹⁸⁷ His last observation, that there is one baptism for both Jews and heathen, may be a reference to Theophylact's assertion that "*Cæterum apostolos non jam ad solos Judæos mittit,*" but sent them to "*omnes gentes*" since the Word was wedded to human nature and therefore sanctifies all human nature.¹⁸⁸

Again, Theophylact does not write about paedobaptism *versus* credobaptism, but instead Hubmaier extrapolates a credobaptist stance from Theophylact's commentary on a scriptural passage that he deems inherently credobaptist. Specifically, since one ought to be

¹⁸⁴ "Gespräch," *HS* 186; *CRR* 195.

¹⁸⁵ "Urteil: I," *HS* 231f.; *CRR* 253. Cf. "Urteil: II," *HS* 244; *CRR* 265.

¹⁸⁶ *PG* 123:486C.

¹⁸⁷ *PG* 123:486B.

¹⁸⁸ *PG* 123:486A.

taught before and after baptism, the rite belongs only to those who can respond to these teachings by requesting baptism, i.e. adults, and to those who can follow through in obedience to Christ *via* their oath after baptism. As Gonzalez also notes, Hubmaier establishes the uniqueness of this Christian baptism initiated at the Great Commission since it can be applied to both Jews and gentiles, while the baptism of the Forerunner is exclusive to the Jews.¹⁸⁹

5.3.3. Origen (c. 185 – 254):

Hubmaier's References:

Treatise, hom., comm., ep.	Hubm. work	Source ref. patr./Hubm.	Verifiable edition	Possible purveyor	Theol./eccl. issue
<i>De Principiis</i>	<i>Gespräch</i> 1526	PG 11:250ff.; HS 202; CRR 217.	<i>Operum Origenis</i> (Paris: Jacques Merlin, 1512).	Zwingli's library	credobaptism / an infant's ability to decide.
<i>Comm. on Romans</i>	<i>Gespräch</i> - 1526 <i>Urteil I & II</i> - 1526 <i>Von der Kindertaufe</i> (1525) 1527 <i>Das andere Büchlein</i> - 1527	PG 14:1010C, 1040B; 11:1146; HS 197, 230, 244, 261, 420; CRR 210, 250, 266, 281, 477.	"	"	dist. btwn. X & Jn's baptisms / credobaptism / free will
<i>Homilies on Exodus</i>	<i>Urteil I & II</i> - 1526 <i>Von der Kindertaufe</i> (1525) 1527	PG 12:354D-355A; HS 230, 244, 261; CRR 250, 266, 281.	"	"	credobaptism
<i>Homilies on Luke</i>	"	PG 13:1858; HS 230, 244, 261; CRR 250, 266, 281.	"	"	credobaptism
named w/o ref. to works	<i>Von der Kindertaufe</i> (1525) 1527	HS 267; CRR 290, 292.	—	—	credobaptism / avoiding Scripture

Hubmaier's Sources:

Origen is referenced at least seven times in Hubmaier's small corpus of writings, while there are strong indications that Origen may have inspired him on other occasions.¹⁹⁰ Four works are of interest to Hubmaier: *De principiis*, *Commentary on Romans*, *Homilies on Exodus*, and *Homilies on Luke*. As with the other fathers whom Hubmaier lists in his *Von*

¹⁸⁹ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 136.

¹⁹⁰ For the reasons why Hubmaier cited Origen, see Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 50.

der Kindertaufe to remind Oecolampadius not to neglect Scripture,¹⁹¹ we will save analysis of this reference until chapter nine (see 9.1.1.). This reference is followed by an appeal to Origen and others who believe that "baptism does not apply to" infants. Hubmaier even adds, "I want to let their own books be my witnesses," but then implores Oecolampadius to "Answer from Scripture."¹⁹² We will also save our analysis of Hubmaier's implicit citation of Origen's *Commentary on Romans* mentioned in Erasmus' *Diatribes* until chapter eight (see 8.3.3.).

Origen's writings were exceptional in that many had been translated into Latin since antiquity and were therefore ubiquitous during Hubmaier's day. Both Rufinus and Jerome are perhaps the most famous of Origen's earliest translators. Theoretically, Hubmaier could have accessed any of Origen's writings that rolled off the Venetian press, which produced both his *Commentary on Romans* (1506) and *De Principiis* (1514). Also, Hubmaier could have been in possession of the widely available Aldine edition containing Origen's homilies on the Pentateuch (1503), and Ambrogio Traversari's (1386-1439) corrected reproduction of Jerome's translation of Origen's *Homilies on Luke* could very well have been Hubmaier's source for his exposition on Luke 3:8.

In her analysis of Hubmaier and Origen, Gonzalez simply concedes, "[I]t is impossible to determine which if any of these versions of Origen he read."¹⁹³ It is, of course, *not* impossible if we match the folio numbers that Hubmaier provides in two places with those of available editions, but Gonzalez does not attempt this line of inquiry. However, if we compare the folio numbers "170 blat"¹⁹⁴ in Hubmaier's *Gespräch* (appearing incorrectly

¹⁹¹ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 267; *CRR* 290.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, *HS* 267; *CRR* 292.

¹⁹³ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 103f.

¹⁹⁴ "Gespräch," *HS* 197.

as "page 179" in Pipkin and Yoder's English translation)¹⁹⁵ and "Homil. 8, fo. 43, E"¹⁹⁶ in his *Urteil I* and *II* and *Von der Kindertaufe*, both source references match exactly with the folio numbers in Jacques Merlin's translation of the *Operum Origenis* printed in Paris by Josse Bade and Jean Petit in 1512 and reprinted in 1522 and 1530. This is the edition that Zwingli owned, providing further evidence for his collaboration with Hubmaier.¹⁹⁷ Moreover, in his *Gespräch*, Hubmaier provides the reference to "170 blat" of Origen's *Commentary on Romans* for Zwingli to look up.¹⁹⁸ Three items of interest fill in our picture of Zwingli's appreciation for Origen that may have influenced Hubmaier: (1) Zwingli's edition is heavily annotated, which suggests not only a great affinity for the Origen, but reveals "the way in which the Alexandrian exegete was received by a reformer of humanist leanings and training"¹⁹⁹; (2) the annotations of his Origen edition appear to be from the period in which he made Zürich his permanent residence;²⁰⁰ and (3) Zwingli makes approximately 340 overt reference to Origen, around 300 of them in his marginal notes of Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum*, suggesting his appreciation for Origen specifically as an exegete of Scripture.²⁰¹

Evaluation of Origen:

Although Origen's teachings were not subject to criticism during his own lifetime, specific characteristics of his thought eventually suffered anathema.²⁰² Earliest record of opposition to Origen come from the late third and early fourth centuries, beginning with

¹⁹⁵ CRR 209.

¹⁹⁶ "Urteil: I," HS 230, CRR 250;

"Urteil: II," HS 244; CRR 266;

"Kindertaufe," HS 261; CRR 281.

¹⁹⁷ *Operum Origenis* (Paris: Jean le Petit, 1512): ZZB, shelf mark: III H 120.

¹⁹⁸ "Gespräch," HS 197; CRR 210.

¹⁹⁹ Backus, "Zwingli," 638.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid. See also Schindler, *Kirchenväter*, 96.

²⁰² CE 11:308.

Methodius, bishop of Olympus, who challenged his views on the resurrection and his use of allegory to interpret Scripture; Methodius' contemporary, Eustathius of Antioch, also shared these views.²⁰³ However, wider suspicions about his teachings surfaced upon the publication of Epiphanius of Salamis' *Panarion*, in which he included Origen. Soon thereafter, Epiphanius also accused John, bishop of Jerusalem, of Origenism in the homily he preached at a church dedication in 393 C.E. After a series of events, lines were drawn between those who, such as Epiphanius, Jerome, and Theophilus of Alexandria, condemned Origen's teachings and those who supported him, including John of Jerusalem and Rufinus, the latter of whom translated part of Pamphilius' *Apology for Origen* into Latin.²⁰⁴ After the two Laura monasteries at Sinai had a falling out over differing opinions on Origen's theology, the emperor Justinian issued an edict in 543 C.E. condemning Origenism to which all the Patriarchs assented. Although Origen is condemned in canon 11 of the fifth Ecumenical Council held in Constantinople in 553 C.E.,²⁰⁵ his absence on the emperor's draft and a letter by Pope Vigilius († 555 C.E.) suggests that he may not have actually been condemned in Constantinople.²⁰⁶

Specifically, it was Origen's *De principiis* in four books, Christianity's first attempt at a "manual of dogmatic theology," that elicited the ire of Orthodox bishops.²⁰⁷ Justinian's letter to Menas gives us one picture of what was specifically so objectionable: (1) an evident subordinationism ("that the Father was invisible to the Son"); (2) the pre-existence of souls; (3) the imprisonment of souls in corporeal bodies as punishment; and (4) the restoration of all

²⁰³ Trigg, *Origen*, 65.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ *NPNF2* 14:318.

²⁰⁶ Drobner, *Fathers of the Church*, 147f.; Bulgakov, *Orthodox Church*, 185; *CE* 11:311.

²⁰⁷ Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 190. See also Trigg, *Origen*, 65f.

souls back to their pre-existent state—or *apokatastasis*.²⁰⁸ However, Justinian's evaluation of Origen was, as was often the case, based only on de-contextualized snippets of his writings.²⁰⁹ Of some significance for Hubmaier's reception of Origen's writings, Justinian's anti-Origenism carried more authority in the East than West so that Origen remained well-respected in the medieval West.²¹⁰ Although a few Greek fragments have survived in Origen's *Philocalia* and two of Justinian's edicts, a loose and biased Latin translation by Rufinus is our only source for the entire work, as Jerome's more faithful translation has perished.²¹¹ Of the other works that Hubmaier cites, Origen's *Commentary on Romans* survives also in Rufinus' Latin translation in ten books, although the original was comprised of fifteen.²¹² Thirteen of the unknown number of Origen's *Homilies on Exodus* survive again in Rufinus' Latin translation, while Greek fragments of homily eight, which Hubmaier cites, is also extant.²¹³ Although we also do not know how many of Origen's homilies on Luke's gospel existed originally, thirty-nine are extant in Jerome's translation.²¹⁴

Despite Origen's mixed reception, Hubmaier's closest colleagues generally viewed Origen favourably. Zwingli, as we already noted, cited Origen numerous times in his works and seems to have appreciated his exegetical skills most, though he also laments that Origen did not consider the spiritual and historical sense of Scripture together.²¹⁵ Trigg notes the Renaissance's role in accentuating favourable aspects of Origen, claiming, "His ideas had profound influence on Erasmus and other humanist reformers, but proved unattractive either

²⁰⁸ Louth, "Origenism," 1173f.

²⁰⁹ Trigg, *Origen*, 66.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ *JQ* 2:57f.

²¹² *JQ* 2:49f.; Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 209.

²¹³ Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 205.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 200.

²¹⁵ Stephens, *Zwingli*, 41. See also Potter, *Zwingli*, 43; McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 58, 61f.

to the Catholic or to the Protestant orthodoxy that emerged from the era of Reform."²¹⁶ Specifically, Erasmus thought Origen was the most skilled patristic exegete and held special appreciation for his *Commentary on Romans*.²¹⁷ However, like Zwingli, Erasmus wrote against excesses in allegorical exegesis,²¹⁸ which aligns also with Hubmaier's partiality for the *littera*, or historico-philological understanding and, as we will soon discover, his simultaneous appreciation of Origen's spiritual interpretation of Scripture. Eck also seems to have affirmed Origen's value, but for reasons to which Hubmaier would have objected, such as defending the primacy of the pope (though unsuccessfully in Grane's estimation) in his *Resolutio Lutheriana* (1519) and *Enchiridion* (1525).²¹⁹ Also, in his *Ad criminatricem offensionem* (1519), Eck affirms Origen's interpretation of Mt. 17:24-7.²²⁰ Moreover, Origen was also at times an ally for Nominalists, since he was more optimistic about human cooperation with divine grace and taught that direct communion with God was attainable apart from sacramental mediation.²²¹ Origen also mitigated the pessimism about human nature characteristic of the hyper-Augustinianism of both Rimini and Thomas Bradwardine (c.1290-1349).²²²

Hubmaier's Use of Origen:

De principiis: Hubmaier's appropriation of Origen in his defence of credobaptism is multi-layered and at first glance appears to be internally inconsistent. Gonzalez discusses many of these inconsistencies, but does not offer either a resolution or a reason for accepting

²¹⁶ Trigg, *Origen*, 66.

²¹⁷ Levi, *Renaissance*, 191f.; Scheck, *History of Justification*, 129ff.; Spitz, *German Humanists*, 225. Cf. pp. 214, 217.

²¹⁸ Tracey, *Erasmus*, 112.

²¹⁹ Grane, "John Eck," 69f.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

²²¹ Levi, *Renaissance*, 219.

²²² *Ibid.*

the inconsistencies.²²³ We will try to explain Hubmaier's seemingly capricious use of Origen at various points in our analysis. Hubmaier's first citation of Origen is to his interpretation of Luke's gospel in his *Gespräch*. The context is Zwingli's judgment in his *Taufbüchlein* that Christ's reference to "children" in Mt. 16 [*sic*], Lk. 18:15ff., and Mk. 10:17ff. implies that infant baptism is the *sine qua non* of entrance into the kingdom of God.²²⁴ As Gonzalez correctly points out, Hubmaier was here given an opportunity to attack Zwingli's use of this verse since baptism itself is not even mentioned.²²⁵ Instead, Hubmaier takes issue with Zwingli's *physical* rather than *spiritual* understanding of the word "children," for which he enlists the help of Origen: "Christ has taken a bodily thing as a reason to speak ... and ... given [it] a spiritual meaning. So he has taught us humility here and taken the parable of the children. ... So also Origen understands these words as Christ himself says: 'Whoever humbles himself will be exalted,' Luke 14:11."²²⁶

Gonzalez follows Pipkin's lead in claiming that Hubmaier's reference to Origen is from his *De principiis*, which is the correct work. However, Gonzalez cites from the Greek column of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* series and bases her analysis on what she believes is an irrelevant patristic insight.²²⁷ Yet, as we noted above, the Greek survived only in fragments, so it was Rufinus' Latin translation of *De principiis* in its entirety that redactors replicated in their editions of Origen, including the fourth volume of Merlin's edition.²²⁸ While the Greek original that Gonzalez cites does have the Luke reference that Hubmaier provides, it does not give an interpretation of, or even mention, the word "children" for Hubmaier to have used it.

²²³ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 113-5, 122-4.

²²⁴ "Gespräch," *HS* 201; *CRR* 216. Cf. *ZSW* 4:299.

²²⁵ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 108f.

²²⁶ "Gespräch," *HS* 201f.; *CRR* 217.

²²⁷ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 108.

²²⁸ [*Quartus-*] *quartus tomus Operum Origenis* (Paris: Merlin, 1512, rpt. 1530).

Rufinus' Latin translation, however, does offer a thorough explanation that is congenial to Hubmaier's argument against Zwingli. Moreover, it provides the verse in Luke that immediately precedes the passage that Zwingli offers (Lk. 18:15ff.):

...and thus was fulfilled in him the declaration, that "every one who exalteth himself shall be abased." From which it appears to me that the divine mysteries were concealed from the wise and prudent, according to the statement of Scripture, that "no flesh should glory before God," and revealed to children—to those, namely, who, after they have become infants and little children, i.e., have returned to the humility and simplicity of children, then make progress.²²⁹

Hubmaier uses Origen's interpretation, showing signs of the spiritual exegesis so revered by Humanists, and specifically Erasmus, if employed nonarbitrarily and in moderation,²³⁰ to neutralize Zwingli's argument that Lk. 18:15ff. verifies infant baptism's existence in apostolic times.

However, in the context of Hubmaier's confrontation with Oecolampadius, which we will look at soon, Gonzalez calls into question Hubmaier's appreciation for Origen's allegorical or spiritual hermeneutical approach, although she concedes that there is not enough evidence either way. Here, Hubmaier claims that Origen "erred badly in many other things" in response to Oecolampadius' recourse to Origen's affirmation of paedobaptism's apostolic origins. Despite Gonzalez's contention that Hubmaier was alluding to his allegorical hermeneutic when he claimed that Origen erred, the contextual issue was the apostolic origins of paedobaptism, which renders it *not* an issue of interpretation but of doctrine. Therefore, Hubmaier is likely referring to the catalog of Origenist heresies we discussed in the previous section. Indeed, the fact that even one of Hubmaier's few citations of Origen includes an affirmation of his spiritual interpretative methods is itself significant and not inconsistent with his other affirmations of allegory, especially the figure of credobaptism in

²²⁹ ANF 4:313.

²³⁰ Augustijn, *Influence*, 99f.

Noah and the flood. Further, in his dialogue with Zwingli immediately before citing Origen, he equates his interpretation of "children" with how Christ spoke of the well of Jacob (John 4:13ff.) and five barley rolls (John 6:26ff.).²³¹

Commentary on Romans: Hubmaier makes reference to Origen's *Commentary on Romans* in support of three issues: (1) the distinction between the baptisms of John and Christ, (2) the dominance of credobaptism in apostolic times, and (3) free will. We will postpone analysis of this last issue until the chapter eight (see 8.3.3.). First, Hubmaier lists Origen, along with Cyril of Alexandria, Theophylact, John Chrysostom, and Jerome, as those who espouse the difference between John and Christ's baptisms contrary to Zwingli's unique belief in the uniformity of the two, and gives an exact source reference: "Lise Origenem vber die Epistel Paulj, Ro. 6 am 170. blat."²³² Gonzalez does not locate the passage that Hubmaier meant and mistakenly cites Pipkin and Yoder's English mistranslation of "170 blat" as "page 179," which is not relevant to her thesis anyway since she does not attempt to determine which edition of Origen, or any father, Hubmaier read as I do. Origen does, nevertheless, discuss the distinction between the baptisms of Christ and John in his *Commentary on Romans*:

Christ himself, however, is related to have been baptized by John not with the baptism which is in Christ but with the one which is in the law. For this is what he himself says to John, 'Let it be so; for in this way it is fitting for us to fulfill all righteousness.' In that passage he is making known that John's baptism was a fulfillment of the old, not a beginning of the new. After all, it is related in the Acts of the Apostles why certain disciples who had been baptized with John's baptism were rebaptized in the name of Jesus by a determination made by the apostles. 'Therefore we who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death.'²³³

²³¹ "Gespräch," *HS* 201, *CRR* 216f.

²³² *Ibid.*, *HS* 197.

²³³ *FC* 103:356.

However, this is not the passage to which Hubmaier makes reference; instead, he is alluding to a passage that is indeed on folio 170r of the Merlin edition and is not only related to the above passage, but also abides by Hubmaier's original argument in his *Gespräch*.²³⁴ Against Zwingli, Hubmaier claims that John's baptism had a negative function that "signifies an internal cooling down of the conscience on account of the recognition of sin," whereas Christ's baptism "signifies an inward comfort which precedes the water in faith through the recognition of the forgiveness of sins."²³⁵ Although the passage in Origen that Hubmaier references does not discuss John and Christ's baptisms explicitly, it does explore the positive themes of Christ's baptism and specifically the idea that we are baptized into his death as expressed in the passage above:

But if sin and death entered into this world and inhabit this world, it is certain that those who are dead to this world through Christ, or rather with Christ, are strangers to death and sin. Having been raised with him,²³⁶ they have even merited to sit with him in the heavenly places. Their citizenship is no longer in this world but in heaven.²³⁷

Just as Hubmaier points Zwingli to Origen's exposition "on Romans 6," Origen expounds the meaning of Romans 6:8, the words "raised with him" signifying the baptism of Christ, in the context of verse 4: "We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life" (Rom. 6:4 *RSV*). Not only does this match Hubmaier's folio and Scripture references, but it supports the positive function of Christ's baptism in contrast to the negative function of John's baptism.

²³⁴ [*Tertius-] quartus tomus Operum Origenis* (Paris: Merlin, 1512, rpt. 1530), "Commentary on Romans," Bk. V, fo. 170(recto).

²³⁵ "Gespräch," *HS* 197; *CRR* 209.

²³⁶ Rom. 6:8; Col. 2:20.

²³⁷ *FC* 103:312; *PG* 14:1010C; [*Tertius-] quartus tomus Operum Origenis* (Paris: Merlin, 1512, rpt. 1530), fo. 170(recto), A.

The second reference to Origen's *Commentary on Romans* relates to the issue of credobaptism and its existence in apostolic times to a greater extent than during Origen's own era, which he quotes in his *Urteil I* and *II* and alludes to in his *Von der Kindertaufe*:

Concerning the word of Paul in Romans 6:3, he says, "Here Paul points out that baptism was not practiced the same way in the time of the apostles as it is in our own time. For at that time those who were knowledgeable and instructed in the death of Christ were baptized; they were also buried with him through baptism into death. For as Christ was resurrected from the dead through the glory of the father, so shall those who are baptized walk in newness of life."²³⁸

Unfortunately, Gonzalez again cannot locate the passage in Origen that Hubmaier has in mind, claiming, "The exact quote as Hubmaier offered it is not found in Origen," and concludes that his citation was a symptom of "a faulty memory" or a mere summarization of "the gist of several different texts from Origen's *Commentary on Romans*."²³⁹ Gonzalez then provides a lengthy Origenian quote on the purpose of baptism as dying to sin, which has little to do with Hubmaier's argument, and offers an analysis based on this passage that Hubmaier did not actually quote. Further, she alleges that the "main problem" is the absence in Origen's *Commentary on Romans* of an acknowledgement that baptism was practiced differently in Paul's day than in his own.²⁴⁰ However, the actual passage that Hubmaier quotes does address this and appears on folio 176v in the Merlin edition:

But it seems to me that the Apostle did not pointlessly prefix in this section what he says, 'Do you not know?' For he is showing by this question that back then, i.e., in the age of the apostles, not only was the form of the mysteries given to those who were baptized, as we see happening in the present time, but also their effective power and meaning were imparted, as if to those who knew and had been instructed that those who are baptized are baptized into death; and that 'just as Christ rose from the

²³⁸ "Urteil: I," *HS* 230; *CRR* 250. The citation in *Urteil II* is essentially the same, and in *Von der Kindertaufe* is merely a reference to this same passage in Origen: "Urteil: II," *HS* 244; *CRR* 266; "Kindertaufe," *HS* 261; *CRR* 281.

²³⁹ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 113.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*,

dead through the glory of the Father,' so those who were baptized 'ought to walk in newness of life.' For the Apostles write these things.²⁴¹

Hubmaier's citation of this passage is unique among his arguments for credobaptism, as he is averring that Origen himself admits, with the help of Paul's witness, that baptism was practiced differently by the apostles than during his own time. While this is also an admission that infant baptism was practiced during Origen's era, it does not repeal credobaptism's co-existence with paedobaptism, but confirms it since Origen must have given consent also to credobaptism due to its apostolicity. Indeed, Hubmaier's references to Origen's homilies on Exodus and Luke, as we will soon discover, are meant to show that believers' baptism was indeed also practiced during Origen's day.

In his *Von der Kindertaufe*, Hubmaier quotes Oecolampadius' claim that Origen attested to the practice of infant baptism in apostolic times, no doubt referring to his statement in the *Commentary on Romans*, "It is on this account as well that the Church has received the tradition from the apostles to give baptism even to little children."²⁴² Since this statement appears only two folios from the passage that Hubmaier cites above, he was undoubtedly aware of this passage as well. Hubmaier is not embarrassed by this argument, however, as he tells Oecolampadius to "look at Origen more carefully on the word of Paul 'to the ignorant' in Romans,"²⁴³ very clearly alluding to the same text above which discusses the implications of Paul's words, "Do you not know?" in Romans 6:3. Hubmaier invalidates Oecolampadius' use of Origen by referring specifically to his other apparent admission that baptism was practiced differently by the apostles than in his own day.

²⁴¹ FC 103:357; PG 14:1040B; [*Tertius-*] *quartus tomus Operum Origenis* (Paris: Merlin, 1512, rpt. 1530), fo. 176(verso).

²⁴² FC 103:367; [*Tertius-*] *quartus tomus Operum Origenis* (Paris: Merlin, 1512, rpt. 1530), fo. 178(recto), I.

²⁴³ "Kindertaufe," HS 261; CRR 281.

Gonzalez is under the impression that Hubmaier's *Von der Kindertaufe* against Oecolampadius was written *before* his *Urteil*, arguing that Hubmaier's reference to Origen's *Commentary on Romans* in his *Urteil* is anomalous since he was ostensibly proven incorrect by Oecolampadius previously.²⁴⁴ However, Gonzalez seems unaware of Bergsten's convincing argument that the *Urteil* was written in mid-1525,²⁴⁵ as we noted previously (see 5.1.2.), which means his *Kindertaufe*, drafted in November of 1525, was actually written *after* his *Urteil*. Bearing in mind the correct chronology, then, in Hubmaier's mind Oecolampadius' argument did not discredit his own views before he wrote his *Urteil*. With his belief that credobaptism co-existed with paedobaptism in both apostolic times and during Origen's day (as his citations of Origen's homilies on Exodus and Luke show, which we will soon discuss below), the precise point where Hubmaier believes that Origen errs is not his historical witness to paedobaptism during the apostolic era, but its continuation in the Church of his own day, i.e. that "the Church has received the tradition from the apostles to give baptism even to little children." Indeed, Hubmaier admits "that also at the time of the apostles many errors entered in,"²⁴⁶ and it was this co-existence of credobaptism and paedobaptism that stimulated his desire for a new council to resolve the issue. His enlistment of the fathers was to show the existence also, and primarily, of credobaptism during the patristic period, even if paedobaptism co-existed to a lesser degree but was eventually popularized and made the sole practice of the Church by Augustine's propaganda.²⁴⁷ Indeed, this was the basis for Hubmaier distinction between the true *ecclesia universalis*, which practiced credobaptism, and erroneous papal *ecclesia particularis*.

²⁴⁴ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 119.

²⁴⁵ See Bergsten, *HS* 225f.

²⁴⁶ "Gespräch," *HS* 207; *CRR* 225. Cf. *HS* 180; *CRR* 186.

²⁴⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, *HS* 171; *CRR* 175.

Homilies on Exodus: In the same passages in his *Urteil I* and *II* and *Von der Kindertaufe* that contain the references to Origen's *Commentary on Romans*, Hubmaier also cites his *Homilies on Exodus*, "Homil. 8, fo. 43, E".²⁴⁸ Only in his *Urteil I* and *II* does Hubmaier quote it, and it is indeed found in homily 8 and on folio 43, E of Merlin's edition:

Origen	Hubmaier
"When ... we come to the grace of baptism, renouncing all other gods and lords, we confess the only God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit." ²⁴⁹	"If we come to the grace of baptism, we deny all idols and lords, we confess God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit alone." ²⁵⁰

Hubmaier cites this passage to show that Origen was aware also of credobaptism during his own day, since only adults can renounce all other gods when coming to baptism. The Trinitarian formula likely affirmed the initiation of Christian baptism in Mt. 28:19 for him as well. Even though this passage satisfied Hubmaier's purposes, it did not have baptism as its primary subject. Instead, Origen implores his readers to avoid the "middle boundary" reflected in the denouncement of foreign gods on the one hand and an imperfect faith in the true God on the other.²⁵¹

Homilies on Luke: Again in his *Urteil I* and *II* and *Von der Kindertaufe*, Hubmaier makes reference to Origen's *Homilies on Luke*, providing the full citation in both versions of his *Urteil* only: "The person who stops sinning receives baptism for the forgiveness of sins. Therefore I beseech you that you do not come to baptism without thoughtfulness and without

²⁴⁸ "Urteil: I," *HS* 230, *CRR* 250;
 "Urteil: II," *HS* 244; *CRR* 266;
 "Kindertaufe," *HS* 261; *CRR* 281.

Cf. [*Primus-*] *quartus tomus Operum Origenis* (Paris: Merlin, 1512, rpt. 1530), fo. 43(verso), E.
²⁴⁹ *FC* 71:322f.; *PG* 12:354D-355A; [*Primus-*] *quartus tomus Operum Origenis* (Paris: Merlin, 1512, rpt. 1530), fo. 43(verso), E.

²⁵⁰ "Urteil: I," *HS* 230, *CRR* 250;
 "Urteil: II," *HS* 244; *CRR* 266.

²⁵¹ *FC* 71:323.

diligent prior consideration, but that in the first place you demonstrate fruits worthy of the renewal of your life. Spend some time living a good life.' Thus writes Origen about Luke

3:8.²⁵² The passage in Origen's *Homilies on Luke* is in homily 22:

To you, who are coming to Baptism, Scripture says, "Produce fruits worthy of repentance." Do you want to know which fruits are worthy of repentance? "Charity is a fruit of the Spirit; joy is a fruit of the Spirit; so are peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faith, gentleness, continence," and the others of this sort. If we have all of these virtues, we have produced "fruits worthy of repentance."²⁵³

Similar to his use of Origen's *Homilies on Exodus*, Hubmaier's citation of his *Homilies on Luke* is meant to show that credobaptism existed in Origen's day since only adults can receive baptism after 'prior consideration' and the renewal of one's life. However, this quote, as is Luke 3:8 itself, is about John's baptism, which does not necessarily complicate Hubmaier's differentiation between John and Christ's baptisms since, as a baptism of repentance, everyone believed John's baptism was reserved for adults only. It does, however, decrease the impact of Hubmaier's argument here and puts him in the awkward position of having to explain why, if the baptisms of John and Christ are different due to the "negative" function of the former as we discussed above, Christ's baptism is unable to be applied to infants as well if it does not include the negative function of John's baptism of repentance. In all likelihood, Hubmaier would have pointed to the "positive" function of Christ's baptism to forgive sins, which, as we saw in our discussion of original sin in Hubmaier's thought earlier in this chapter (see 5.2), is nevertheless preceded by one's repentance of this original sin and its effects.

²⁵² "Urteil: I," *HS* 230; *CRR* 250;

"Urteil: II," *HS* 244; *CRR* 266. See also "Kindertaufe," *HS* 261; *CRR* 281.

²⁵³ *FC* 94:95; *PG* 13:1858; [*Tertius-*] *quartus tomus Operum Origenis* (Paris: Merlin, 1512, rpt. 1530), fo. 105(recto).

5.3.4. Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 263 – c. 339):

Hubmaier's References:

Treatise, hom., comm., ep.	Hubm. work	Source ref. patr./Hubm.	Putative edition	Possible purveyor	Theol./eccl. issue
<i>Ecccl. History</i> (Rufinus)	<i>Gespräch</i> 1526; <i>Urteil I & II</i> 1526; <i>Rechenschaft</i> 1528	<i>PG</i> 20:318B-9A; 21:486B-8A; 20:286A-D; <i>HS</i> 185, 188, 232, 245f., 476f.; <i>CRR</i> 193, 197, 253f., 268, 545.	<i>Autores historiae ecclesiasticae</i> (Basel: Froben, 1523) <i>or</i> <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> (Strasbourg: Georg Husner, 1500).	Zwingli's library	historical reference to heretical sect / credobaptism / daily prayer cycle

Hubmaier's Sources:

Hubmaier mentions "Eusebius" five times in three separate works, all of them with reference to his *Ecclesiastical History*. The first two appear in his *Gespräch* with Zwingli,²⁵⁴ the next two in his *Urteil I* and *II*,²⁵⁵ and the final appeal to Eusebius is in his *Rechenschaft*.²⁵⁶ The *History* was preserved in several Greek manuscripts, the current critical editions being based on seven ninth- to eleventh-century manuscripts. However, it was Rufinus' expanded Latin translation of the *History* that dominated the West since the Middle Ages.²⁵⁷ The *editio princeps* of Eusebius' Greek original did not appear until Robert Stephanus' 1544 edition, and the first new Latin translation was printed by Christophorus in Geneva in 1612.²⁵⁸ Although several editions of Rufinus' translation had been published since Heinrich Eggestein's 1475 volume printed in Strasbourg,²⁵⁹ the later standard edition was the *Autores* prepared by Beatus Rhenanus published in 1523.²⁶⁰ Although we do not

²⁵⁴ "Gespräch," *HS* 185, 188; *CRR* 193, 197.

²⁵⁵ "Urteil: I," *HS* 232; *CRR* 253f.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 245f.; *CRR* 268.

²⁵⁶ "Rechenschaft," *HS* 476f.; *CRR* 545.

²⁵⁷ *JQ* 3:315; Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 291.

²⁵⁸ *NPNF2* 1:52.

²⁵⁹ *Historia ecclesiastica* (Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein, 1475).

²⁶⁰ *Autores historiae ecclesiasticae* (Basel: Froben 1523).

currently know where it is, it is almost certain that Zwingli owned Eusebius' *History*, as W. Peter Stephens also believes.²⁶¹ Indeed, it would have been difficult for Zwingli to cite Eusebius / Rufinus seven times in his works and twelve times in his marginal notes if he had not owned a copy.²⁶² However, Rhenanus' edition was printed in August,²⁶³ a few months after Hubmaier and Zwingli's meeting in Zürich. Yet, It is difficult to imagine Zwingli being without this standard history text until 1523, and he might have owned the volume printed in Strasbourg in 1500 by George Husner, which was housed in the Grossmünster library in Zürich at the time.²⁶⁴

Evaluation of Eusebius:

Our evaluation of Hubmaier's use of Eusebius will keep in mind that he sincerely believed he was allying himself with the bishop of Caesarea, commonly identified as the "father of Church history," while accounting for the fact that he actually read Rufinus' Latin translation, the last two books of which were his own as continuator. Eusebius is unique among Hubmaier's repertoire of patristic authorities, as the contribution was historical rather than theological in nature. Therefore, it is more his reputation as a historian that concerns us, and less his theological activity; his wavering attitude towards Arianism, which Jurgens describes as a "questionable matter;"²⁶⁵ the *via media* he tried to enact as a resolution; his Origenism as mediated to him by his master, Pamphilus; and his proficiency in philology, exegesis, apologetics, and even geography.²⁶⁶ Moreschini and Norelli call Eusebius a

²⁶¹ Stephens, *Zwingli*, 15.

²⁶² Schindler, *Kirchenväter*, 94, 97.

²⁶³ *CWE* 9:290, note 4.

²⁶⁴ *Historia ecclesiastica* (Strasbourg: Georg Husner, 1500): ZZB, shelf mark: Ink K 249.2. Backus makes the same argument about the 1516 Basel edition of Ambrose's *Opera*, which was also housed in the Grossmünster library. Backus, "Zwingli," 630.

²⁶⁵ Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 1:290.

²⁶⁶ Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 1:413f. See also Drobner, *Fathers of the Church*, 223f.

"scrupulous historian" who used "reliable testimonies," though with an evident bias,²⁶⁷ especially given Constantine's new-found favour for Christianity and the ebb and flow of the Arian crisis.²⁶⁸ Quasten also believes that "[e]xcept for Origen, Eusebius outdistances all Greek Church Fathers in research and scholarship."²⁶⁹ Hubmaier, it seems, would have recognized in Eusebius a trusted historical authority and one who his opponents were forced to respect should he uncover a genuine historical precedent for credobaptism, especially during the post-apostolic era.

Since Hubmaier's references to Eusebius are actually to Rufinus' Latin translation of his *History*, it will be our primary object under consideration. As background, Eusebius describes his earlier *Chronicle*, published in two parts in c. 303 C.E. on the history of the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans using various secondary sources, as an "epitome" of the material to be presented in his *History*.²⁷⁰ Like his *History*, the *Chronicle* had as its objective the silencing of pagan accusations of Christian novelty by establishing Judaism as the oldest religion, and Christianity its derivative fulfillment.²⁷¹ Originally comprised of ten books, the *History* was written and published in stages, with the first seven books likely appearing before the commencement of the Diocletian persecution in 303 C.E. It is not a flowing account that gives proportionate representation according to the importance of events, but a storehouse of facts and excerpts from primary documents, many of which are now not extant.²⁷²

²⁶⁷ Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 1:417.

²⁶⁸ Drobner, *Fathers of the Church*, 223.

²⁶⁹ *JQ* 3:311.

²⁷⁰ *NPNF2* 1:81 [1.1.7]; *PG* 20:51B. Cf. Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 418.

²⁷¹ *JQ* 3:312; Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 1:417.

²⁷² *JQ* 3:314f.

Although Hubmaier cites Eusebius' own books two times for more minor issues, his source for the issue of baptism was Rufinus' Latin translation, completed around 403 C.E. Adding another seventy years, Rufinus fills out Eusebius' *History* until Theodosius' death in 395 C.E., completing the translation in only nine books and adding two more—books ten and eleven.²⁷³ At times Rufinus, whose defence of Origen led to the dissolution of a strong friendship with Jerome, summarizes the material in Eusebius' *History*, while his additional books seem to have been induced by, or perhaps a translation of, Gelasius († 395 C.E.), bishop of Caesarea's, non-extant historical account.²⁷⁴ However, his appended two books, which Hubmaier uses specifically to bolster the historicity of credobaptism, were written hastily compared to Eusebius' careful research, with little relevant analysis of contemporary matters.²⁷⁵

Hubmaier's Use of Eusebius:

Hubmaier's first Eusebian reference reads: "I remember here several of those called Priscillians and Carpocratians. Gerson [1363-1429] and Eusebius write of them."²⁷⁶ While the Carpocratians, a second-century Alexandrian Gnostic sect,²⁷⁷ are given some attention in Eusebius' *History*, this work antedates the advent of the Priscillians, a fourth-century Gnostic-Manichean sect from the Iberian Peninsula,²⁷⁸ and Rufinus does not write about them in his additional books. Hubmaier pairs Eusebius with Jean Gerson as having knowledge of these two sects, so perhaps Gerson mentions them in one of his works, though I cannot locate an instance of this. However, due to the large number of references to the

²⁷³ *JQ* 3:315; Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 2:322f.

²⁷⁴ *JQ* 4:252f.; Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 2:321f.

²⁷⁵ Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 2:322.

²⁷⁶ "Gespräch," *HS* 185; *CRR* 193.

²⁷⁷ See *NS-H* 423.

²⁷⁸ *NS-H* 258-60

Priscillians in patristic literature, it is difficult to determine precisely from where he received his information.

How Hubmaier could have formulated his description of the Carpocratians from Eusebius' *History* is not entirely clear, but it is likely that the whole of Book IV, ch. 7 left an impression on him. Hubmaier used Eusebius to argue that belief alone is not enough without the external pledge of baptism. Regarding both the Priscillians and Carpocratians, Hubmaier wrote, "They thought it was enough to believe with the heart and thought it was unnecessary to confess with the mouth and by fruits."²⁷⁹ It is possible that Hubmaier had in mind Basilides and his two disciples, Barcabbas and Barcoph, whose teachings are described in the preceding paragraph of Eusebius' *History*, and simply lumped them together with Carpocrates, "father of ... the heresy of the Gnostics."²⁸⁰ Similar to his description of the Carpocratians whom Hubmaier believed thought it was 'unnecessary to confess with the mouth and by fruits,' Eusebius asserts that Basilides "taught also that the eating of meat offered to idols and the unguarded renunciation of the faith in times of persecution were matters of indifference; and that he enjoined upon his followers, like Pythagoras, a silence of five years."²⁸¹ Eusebius, using Irenaeus' *Adversus haereses* as his source, actually links Carpocrates and Basilides as both transmitting the magic arts of Simon Magus, though the former openly and the latter in secret.²⁸² Hubmaier, therefore, uses Eusebius in his bid to characterize baptism as a "fruit" of inward faith, or the public confession of a private conversion, which cannot reasonably be applied to the baptism of infants.

²⁷⁹ "Gespräch," *HS* 185; *CRR* 193.

²⁸⁰ *NPNF2* 1:178 [4.7.9]; *PG* 20:318B.

²⁸¹ *NPNF2* 1:178 [4.7.7]; *PG* 20:318B.

²⁸² *NPNF2* 1:178 [4.7.9]; *PG* 20:318B.

After this reference, Hubmaier repeats three times, once each in his *Gespräch, Urteil I* and *II*, the popular report of when Athanasius, as a young boy, mimicked a bishop by baptizing the local children. However, this story does not appear in Eusebius' *History* and in fact postdates the work. Also, in each reference, Hubmaier claims that the story appears in Book 10, ch. 14, but the original tenth book of Eusebius' *History* is a mere postscript that was omitted by Rufinus. Pipkin believes that the reference is incorrect and suggests that Hubmaier might have had in mind Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*,²⁸³ yet despite its inclusion in Rhenanus' *Autores* and the appearance of this story in Sozomen's historical account,²⁸⁴ a much more plausible explanation exists. As we have already noted, Rufinus' translation of the Eusebian portion comprises only nine books, so Book 10, ch. 14 is actually the correct source reference in his appended two books.²⁸⁵

Hubmaier cites this passage in Rufinus' translation, unwittingly crediting Eusebius, in his *Gespräch* in response to Zwingli's description of baptism as a "sign of commitment that he who accepts it shows that he wants to better his life and follow Christ."²⁸⁶ Naturally, Hubmaier wanted to accentuate the reality that one cannot desire the improvement of his or her own life if one is not mature enough to make this decision: "If baptism is truly a sign of commitment, then one must have expressed the commitment before the sign is attached to him."²⁸⁷ To give more force to his point, Hubmaier concludes the section by inviting his readers to "consider here the word of Peter, 1 Pet. 3:21f. and Eusebius, how one questioned children in prior times, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Ten, Chapter Fourteen."²⁸⁸ Hubmaier,

²⁸³ Pipkin, *CRR* 253, note 33.

²⁸⁴ *PG* 67:217ff.

²⁸⁵ *PL* 21:486B-488A; *NPNF2* 2:269f.

²⁸⁶ "Gespräch," *HS* 187; *CRR* 196. Cf. *ZSW* 4:231; *ZB* 141.

²⁸⁷ "Gespräch," *HS* 187; *CRR* 196.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, *HS* 188; *CRR* 197.

therefore, links the story of Athanasius to the Old Testament figure of the ark, rather than circumcision, as representing baptism in 1 Pt. 3:20f., the former requiring a prior decision to enter the ark of salvation while the latter does not. We will discuss this in greater detail in the sections on Basil of Caesarea and Ambrose later, who both make an appeal to the flood as an image of baptism.

Hubmaier alludes to the story of Athanasius from Eusebius' *History* in the first version of his *Urteil*, but decides not to quote it for the sake of brevity.²⁸⁹ The fact that he eventually does quote the story in its entirety demonstrates that it was presumably included in his notes and that he had an edition of Rufinus' translation in front of him at one point. In the second version of his *Urteil*, Hubmaier gives a loose quotation and indicates that Eusebius wrote in the year 371 C.E. However, this date is several years after Eusebius' death, does not correspond to the year 403 C.E. when Rufinus made his translation of the *History*, and is only two years before Athanasius' death (so not when he was in his youth), and may simply be a copy error. The passage in his *Urteil II* reads:

Eusebius the teacher, writes a story in Book 10, Chapter 14, *Ecclesiastical History*, "Once upon a time in the time of Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, several school-children went for a walk at the sea. As they now wanted to amuse themselves for a short while, they also read through their lessons, for many of them had learned the baptism catechism. When they now had examined one another, one among them, called Athanasius, said, 'Why do we not now ourselves baptize one another since we know well what baptism is, for we all together know well the Christian faith. In the church we are embarrassed before the adults: it would suit us better here.' Thus they elected him as deacon. He baptized them all, just as they had seen it done in the church. Meanwhile, their teacher came and observed the thing they had done. He reported it immediately to the bishop, priests, deacons, and clerics. After a long disputation on this affair, they came to the following conclusion regarding it: Since they know what baptism is and have seen how one practices it and have desired it from the heart, knowing and confessing faith, one should bring them before the congregation, then question and proceed otherwise, but not baptize them again.

²⁸⁹ "Urteil: I," *HS* 232; *CRR* 253f.

Rather, one should give them a baptismal gift and consider them as baptized members. This is the story in short.²⁹⁰

Hubmaier simply lets the story speak for itself, but there is a lot in here to support his arguments. First, Athanasius and his friends, now being in their youth, obviously did not receive baptism as infants. Second, instruction from a catechism was a prerequisite for receiving baptism, which is yet another patristic source supporting Hubmaier and Zwingli's consensus in May of 1523 that credobaptism must have been the norm in the early Church since there were catechumens. Third, the children were mature enough in age to examine each other first, know what baptism is, understand and confess the Christian faith, and desire it from the heart. Fourth, Hubmaier highlights that the baptismal form administered by the children reflects also the practice of the Church as a whole: it was a microcosm of the universal ecclesial teaching and practice. And finally, pre-baptismal instruction and examination was so important to the Church that the children were required to sustain further questioning in front of the congregation to authenticate their baptisms.

But, are each of these elements present also in Rufinus' appending tenth book?

Rufinus describes the event thus:

Once when Bishop Alexander was celebrating the day of Peter Martyr in Alexandria, he was waiting in a place near the sea after the ceremonies were over for his clergy to gather for a banquet. There he saw from a distance some boys on the seashore playing a game in which, as they often do, they were mimicking a bishop and the things customarily done in the church. Now when he had gazed intently for a while at the boys, he saw that they were also performing some of the more secret and sacramental things. He was disturbed and immediately ordered the clergy to be called to him and showed them what he was watching from a distance. Then he commanded them to go and get all the boys and bring them to him. When they arrived, he asked them what game they were playing and what they had done and how. At first they were afraid, as is usual at that age, and refused, but then they disclosed in due order what they had done, admitting that some catechumens had been baptized by them at the hands of Athanasius who had played the part of bishop in their childish game. Then he carefully inquired of those who were said to have

²⁹⁰ "Urteil: II," *HS* 245f.; *CRR* 268.

been baptized what they had been asked and what they had answered, and the same of him who had put the questions, and when he saw that everything was according to the manner of our religion, he conferred with a council of clerics and then ruled, so it is reported, that those on whom water had been poured after the questions had been asked and answered correctly need not repeat baptism, but that those things should be completed which are customarily done by priests.²⁹¹

First, it is significant that Hubmaier frames his paraphrase in a way that suggests Alexander of Alexandria was most concerned about the prior instruction and examination of the children, when Rufinus' version seems to accent the correct ceremonial procedures as normally performed by a priest. Nevertheless, the passage does include a reference to catechumens and that the rituals performed by Athanasius were also 'customarily done in the church.' The major difference, however, is that pre-baptismal instruction specifically is not directly mentioned in the Rufinian version, although the designation of catechumen implies this. It is also likely that Hubmaier believed the dialectical questioning was itself pre-baptismal instruction, and there is no reason to presume he was being disingenuous, although the context suggests that this line of inquiry had ceremonial significance, being performed "correctly" and "according to the manner of our religion"—renouncing the devil and the like. Nevertheless, the children were beyond their infancy, whatever the appropriate age, and other catechumens, presumably of varying ages, also received baptism. Further, Rufinus informs us that the children's parents allowed them to be reared in the Church,²⁹² which is significant because it corroborates Hubmaier's implicit conviction that both proselyte catechumens and persons reared by Christian parents equally require repentance and instruction before receiving baptism. All told, this is a successful attempt to show that the fathers not only taught credobaptism, but also submitted to baptism later in life rather than receive baptism passively as infants.

²⁹¹ Rufinus, *History*, 26f.; *PL* 21:486B-488A.

²⁹² Rufinus, *History*, 27.

Hubmaier's final allusion to Eusebius, who is adduced in defence of the historicity of a fixed daily cycle of prayer, appears in his *Rechenschaft*. His original source is Pliny the Younger's letter to the emperor Trajan in which he maintains that some former Christians, who denied Christ and worshipped effigies of the gods and emperor in his presence, described some of their own practices. Included among them was how they met "regularly before dawn on a fixed day to chant verses alternately amongst themselves in honour of Christ as if to a god."²⁹³ After mentioning Pliny's letter, Hubmaier then conscripts the support of Eusebius who, in "book 3 (Ch. 33) of his History of the Church,"²⁹⁴ repeated the testimony of Pliny that "Christians arose early in the morning and sang hymns unto Christ as a God."²⁹⁵ This reference does not have any direct bearing on Hubmaier's understanding of baptism, but, as one article in his apology, represents part of his attempt to vindicate himself as entirely orthodox and in continuity with the one, holy, universal Church. This is noteworthy since the section that Hubmaier adduced on the Carpocratians and Basilides, which we examined above, contains a lengthy passage on the importance of unity in the orthodox faith:

One new heresy arose after another, and the former ones always passed away, and now at one time, now at another, now in one way, now in other ways, were lost in ideas of various kinds and various forms. But the splendor of the catholic and only true Church, which is always the same, grew in magnitude and power, and reflected its piety and simplicity and freedom, and the modesty and purity of its inspired life and philosophy to every nation both of Greeks and of Barbarians. At the same time the slanderous accusations which had been brought against the whole Church also vanished, and there remained our teaching alone Nevertheless, in those times the truth again called forth many champions who fought in its defense against the godless heresies, refuting them not only with oral, but also with written arguments.²⁹⁶

²⁹³ Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 10.96.

²⁹⁴ "Rechenschaft," *HS* 476f.; *CRR* 545.

²⁹⁵ *NPNF2* 1:165; *PG* 20:286C.

²⁹⁶ *NPNF2* 1:178f. [4.7.13-5]; *PG* 20:319B-22A.

It is likely that Hubmaier read this passage also, and, by opposing the heretical Carpocratians and affirming various Catholic practices, felt obliged to align himself not with the heretical sects of early Christianity but with the one, true, universal Church whose ambassadors were the Church fathers, Eusebius included.

5.3.5. Athanasius (c. 293 – 373):

Hubmaier's References:

Treatise, hom., comm., ep.	Hubm. work	Source ref. patr./Hubm.	Putative edition	Possible purveyor	Theol./eccl. issue
<i>Comm. on I Corinthians & Hebrews</i> (Theophyl.)	<i>Urteil I & II</i> 1526	<i>PG</i> 125:251B-C; 125:254B-D; 124:574C; 124:767C; <i>HS</i> 230f., 245; <i>CRR</i> 251, 266.	<i>Opera</i> (Paris: Jean le Petit, 1520).	Zwingli's library	credobaptism
none	<i>Von der Kindertaufe</i> (1525) 1527	<i>HS</i> 267; <i>CRR</i> 292.	—	—	credobaptism

Hubmaier's Sources:

Hubmaier mentions "Athanasius" on three occasions in his works, two of these in his *Urteil I* and *II*.²⁹⁷ His third reference occurs in *Von der Kindertaufe* against Oecolampadius, "Athanasius" being one of the fathers who believes that baptism does not apply to infants and whose books he claims he would like to be his witness in such matters.²⁹⁸ Specifically, Hubmaier cites "Athanasius'" exegesis of Hebrews 6:2 & 6:6 and I Corinthians 1:13 & 15:29 in both versions of his *Urteil*. For the three passages other than 1 Corinthians 1:13, he provides either a very accurate paraphrase or a reasonably faithful German translation.

However, there was confusion in the sixteenth century regarding the authorship of Theophylact's *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles*, which was often erroneously attributed to Athanasius. As a result, Pipkin cannot locate Hubmaier's references to Athanasius among

²⁹⁷ "Urteil: I," *HS* 230f.; *CRR* 251.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 245; *CRR* 266f.

²⁹⁸ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 267; *CRR* 292.

his works, observing that "a similar assertion" to that given on Hebrews 6:6 appears in Athanasius' letter to Serapion.²⁹⁹ Gonzalez only follows Pipkin's lead in believing that Hubmaier's references are to Athanasius' *Four Letters to Serapion*, and bases her analysis on this false premise.³⁰⁰ Armour only concedes that "[t]he reference to Athanasius is uncertain."³⁰¹ This confusion is not surprising since it can be verified that Hubmaier did indeed avail himself of Theophylact's *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles*, but believing it to be the work of Athanasius as we will establish below.

Zwingli owned the 1520 Paris edition of Athanasius' Latin *Opera*, much of it based on Traversari and Cristoforo Persona's translation efforts, which contain the aforesaid misattributed commentaries actually authored by Theophylact.³⁰² In fact, Zwingli annotated Theophylact's *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles* under the false perception that it was an Athanasian composition.³⁰³ However, it seems that none of these marginal notes were on the same passages that Hubmaier is concerned with, the closest one being on Hebrews 4:3.³⁰⁴ Unaware of the misattributions of Theophylact's commentaries on the Pauline epistles to Athanasius, Gonzalez mistakenly concludes that Erasmus' 1527 edition is Hubmaier's source, even though it had not yet been printed when Hubmaier wrote and published his *Urteil* in 1525/6.³⁰⁵ It was instead almost assuredly Zwingli's 1520 Paris edition that Hubmaier used, especially since we know for certain, as we will confirm below, that he used the Paris edition of Basil's *Opera* that Zwingli had bound with his copy of Athanasius. Although Hubmaier mistook Theophylact for Athanasius, we must nevertheless account for Hubmaier's belief

²⁹⁹ Pipkin, *CRR* 251, note 18.

³⁰⁰ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 161. Gonzalez's analysis appears on p. 162.

³⁰¹ Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 157, note 214.

³⁰² *Opera* (Paris: Jean le Petit, 1520): ZZB, shelf mark: III K 12.

³⁰³ Backus, "Zwingli," 630.

³⁰⁴ *ZSW* 12:135.

³⁰⁵ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 160, 194.

that he was adding to his defence of believers' baptism the voice of a preeminent patristic authority who was by all accounts one of the most visible symbols of the triumph of Orthodoxy from the fourth century.

Evaluation of Athanasius:

Since the commentaries that Hubmaier cited were not penned by Athanasius, but were the work of Theophylact, we will forgo any analysis of his writings and the reader may instead refer to the general evaluation of Theophylact above. For our current purposes, a brief overview of the reception of Athanasius as a faithful witness to the orthodox faith by Hubmaier's contemporaries is all that is needed. Not unexpectedly, Athanasius was noted in the sixteenth century especially for his defence of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, as, for instance, did the Calvinist theologians, Amandus Polanus (1561-1610) and Theodore Beza, who produced the Greek text of ps.-Athanasius' *Dialogues on the Trinity*.³⁰⁶ Luther combated modern-day Arianism by availing himself of Athanasius' *Dialogus contra Arianos, Sabellianos et Photinianos*,³⁰⁷ which was also housed in the University of Ingolstadt's library when Hubmaier was a student there.³⁰⁸ Luther also thought highly enough of Athanasius to use him, among other fathers, for his reconstruction of patristic liturgy in his *Formula missae et communionis pro ecclesia wittenbergensi* (1523).³⁰⁹ As might be expected, Erasmus also venerated Athanasius, listing him among the *veteres theologi* who were committed to the defence of the *philosophia Christi*,³¹⁰ his fondness for the bishop of Alexandria eventually leading him to prepare a new edition of his works in

³⁰⁶ Backus, "Reformation," 293; Meijering, "Fathers," 2:870, notes 14-6.

³⁰⁷ Schulze, "Martin Luther," 585.

³⁰⁸ John, "Bücherverzeichnis," 396.

³⁰⁹ Backus, "Reformation," 292.

³¹⁰ Staubach and Greig, "*Devotio Moderna*," 451.

Latin translation in 1522.³¹¹ Erasmus also allied himself with Athanasius against scholastic excesses in his *Ratio*, which we noted earlier Hubmaier owned and read.³¹²

Zwingli made reference to Athanasius fifteen times in his works and, as we discussed above, has the misattributed commentaries on the Pauline epistles as his object of attention.³¹³ Specifically, Zwingli uses Athanasius in his review of the issue of circumcision and freedom in Christ (Galatians 5), the working of the Holy Spirit through the laying on of hands (2 Timothy 1:6), the instructional function of Scripture (2 Timothy 3:15), and the need for faith to activate the Sabbath rest (Hebrews 4:3).³¹⁴ Still in the sixteenth century, but after Hubmaier's career and death, Calvin cites Athanasius thirty times but likely had only a superficial acquaintance with the Alexandrian bishop.³¹⁵ By this time, it had become apparent that Athanasius did not write the commentaries on the Pauline epistles, which Erasmus had previously discovered,³¹⁶ since, as Lane observes, Calvin remarks that "there are no complete commentaries by Athanasius ... extant."³¹⁷ This seems not to have been a disparaging observation since he, in a correspondence with Peter Caroli who had cited Athanasius and other fathers against him, believed that these fathers had espoused the primacy of Scripture anyhow.³¹⁸ This view is in keeping with Hubmaier's appraisal of the fathers as well. In the end, however, Calvin is only familiar with aspects of Athanasius' biography from the *Historia tripartita* and his defence of Nicene Triadology, which he used against the anti-Trinitarian convictions of Michael Servetus and Giorgio Blandrata.³¹⁹

³¹¹ Peters, "Erasmus," 258.

³¹² Staubach and Greig, "*Devotio Moderna*," 451. Cf. Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 72.

³¹³ Backus, "Zwingli," 630. Cf. Schindler, *Kirchenväter*, 92.

³¹⁴ *ZSW* 12:135.

³¹⁵ Lane, *John Calvin*, 81. Cf. p. 77.

³¹⁶ Peters, "Erasmus," 258.

³¹⁷ Lane, *John Calvin*, 78.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 77-81, esp. 78. See also Oort, "John Calvin," 693f.

Hubmaier's Use of Athanasius:

For Hubmaier, ps.-Athanasius' insights on baptism correspond directly to the account we looked at recently in Eusebius'—read Rufinus'—*Ecclesiastical History*; not only did Athanasius and his friends postpone baptism beyond infancy themselves, ps.-Athanasius seems to have endorsed credobaptism in his falsely attributed commentaries on Paul's epistles. About Hebrews 6:6, Hubmaier writes that Athanasius believed, "[W]e should be sorry for our previous life. After that we are washed in baptism."³²⁰ This verse in Scripture relates the difficulty of bringing to repentance those who had apostatized after previously experiencing enlightenment, tasting the heavenly gift, and partaking of the Holy Spirit (Heb. 6:6). Ps.-Athanasius' primary purpose is to censure the belief that an apostate Christian requires a second baptism: "*Non igitur est secundum baptismum, quandoquidem neque secunda crux sit.*"³²¹ In Hubmaier's use of "Athanasius," he focuses on repentance as a prerequisite for baptism, which is of course an action that can be performed only by an adult. The exact passage from ps.-Athanasius' *Commentary on Hebrews* that he quotes also stresses repentance from "*operibus mortuis*," which would have appealed to Hubmaier considering his criticisms of the Catholic Church: "*Primum enim quispiam ducitur pœnitentia ob transactam vitam, deinde baptizatur, sicut et ipse prædixit, Pœnitentiæ ab operibus mortuis.*"³²²

Next, Hubmaier quotes ps.-Athanasius who, on the baptism of the dead in 1 Corinthians 15:29, observes, "Whoever wanted to accept baptism spoke the articles in entire faith, etc."³²³ The passage from ps.-Athanasius' *Commentary on 1 Corinthians* that

³²⁰ "Urteil: I," *HS* 230; *CRR* 251.

³²¹ *PG* 125:254C-D.

³²² *PG* 125:254B-C.

³²³ "Urteil: I," *HS* 230; *CRR* 251.

Hubmaier quotes reads, "*Omnes qui baptizandi sunt, symbolum fidei profitentur.*"³²⁴

Hubmaier's argument is again one of the baptizand's capabilities, this time citing the incapacity of an infant to recite the Creed. Ps.-Athanasius recalls this pre-baptismal profession with the primary purpose of defending the "*resurrectionem mortuorum*,"³²⁵ so Hubmaier's argument is more an observation than an alignment with ps.-Athanasius' argument. Interestingly, the allusion to the creedal statement on the resurrection of the dead is first addressed in the Constantinopolitan formulation (381 C.E.), and so should have been a sign to Hubmaier that the author of this passage could not have been Athanasius. It is nevertheless noteworthy that ps.-Athanasius discusses baptism's administration to the newly deceased, yet Hubmaier does not make a judgment on the mutual inability of the deceased and the infant to express their desire to be baptized.

Hubmaier then invites his readers to look at what ps.-Athanasius writes on 1 Corinthians 1:13.³²⁶ Ps.-Athanasius' primary focus, however, is the commemoration of the name in whom one receives baptism and the division that can result. The only statement in the commentary on this passage that might have appealed to Hubmaier is the last sentence: "*Is enim peccata remittit, non qui baptizat.*"³²⁷ In Hubmaier's mind, this may have confirmed Athanasius' belief that repentance—as an extension of Christ's forgiveness—preceded baptism, which only an adult can perform. The last reference to Athanasius is again to his *Commentary on Hebrews*: "He [Athanasius] says concerning Hebrews 6:2: If we are baptized it is signified to us by a symbol that as we are drawn out of the water so will we see the

³²⁴ PG 124:767C.

³²⁵ PG 124:767C.

³²⁶ "Urteil: I," HS 230; CRR 251.

³²⁷ PG 124:574C

resurrection in order to profess and confess that the dead will rise."³²⁸ Similarly, Ps.-

Athanasius remarks, "*Hoc enim in baptisate efficitur per figuram immersionis in aquam, et in confessione confirmatur: confitemur enim credere resurrectionem mortuorum.*"³²⁹

Hubmaier's focus is another reference to the baptizand's professed belief in the resurrection of the dead, which underscores the salvation of both body and soul, as Irenaeus and Tertullian stressed in their anti-Gnostic writings, and would have been very familiar to Hubmaier as comprising the standard baptismal formula in the West.³³⁰ Of greater relevance to his objectives, however, Hubmaier is here highlighting the need to profess the *resurrectionem mortuorum* before receiving baptism, similar to what we saw above regarding his commentary on 1 Corinthians 15:29.

5.3.6. Basil of Caesarea (330 – 379):

Hubmaier's References:

Treatise, hom., comm., ep.	Hubm. work	Source ref. patr./Hubm.	Verifiable edition	Possible purveyor	Theol./eccl. issue
<i>Contra Eunomium</i>	<i>Urteil I & II</i> 1526	PG 29:665/666C; HS 230, 247; CRR 250f., 270	<i>Opera</i> (Paris: Jean le Petit, 1520, 1523).	Zwingli's patristic library	credobaptism
<i>Homiliae in Psalmos</i>	"	PG 29:303/304B-C; HS 230, 247; CRR 250f., 270	"	"	credobaptism
<i>Exhortatio ad Baptismum</i>	"	PG 31:437/438AB; HS 230, 247; CRR 250f., 270	"	"	credobaptism
<i>De Baptismo</i>	"	PG 31:1513/1514B; HS 230, 247; CRR 250f., 270	"	"	credobaptism
named w/o ref. to works	<i>Von der Kindertaufe</i> (1525) 1527	HS 267; CRR 292.	—	—	credobaptism

³²⁸ "Urteil: I," HS 231; CRR 251.

³²⁹ PG 125:251B-C.

³³⁰ Kelly, *Creeeds*, 164f.

Hubmaier's Sources:

In his *Urteil I* and *II*, Hubmaier cites Basil's *Contra Eunomium*,³³¹ and refers to his *Homiliae in Psalmos* on Psalm 28:10 (LXX), which Hubmaier makes his readers aware is Psalm 29:10 in the Hebrew Old Testament.³³² Curiously, Gonzalez fails to mention in her study that Hubmaier also availed himself of Basil's *Exhortatio ad Baptismum*,³³³ and a treatise entitled, *Quid instruendi monendique sint ad Baptismum venientes* ("What is to Be Taught and Instructed to Those Coming to Baptism"). Although Basil did not write a treatise with this title, Hubmaier certainly means the ps.-Basilian *De Baptismo*, since this is the title of the *liber primus* in the edition that he read.³³⁴ Gonzalez also passes over this work in her investigation, which, in addition to *Exhortatio ad Baptismum*, she therefore also neglects in her analysis, a void I will fill myself.³³⁵

Basil was prominent among the Church fathers translated into Latin by both Italian Renaissance men and Humanists in Northern Europe. Of the writings that we know Hubmaier read, Basil's homilies had been translated by both Lorenzo Valla and Traversari, and George of Trebizond (1396-c.1472) translated his *Contra Eunomium*. Guarino of Verona (1370-1460) also translated two of Basil's homilies on fasting (1438), which he dedicated to Pope Eugenius IV,³³⁶ and although there is no evidence that Hubmaier read them, they do appear in the edition he used.³³⁷ There was also an edition prepared by Oecolampadius in Augsburg in 1521 that included his translations of Basil's works into the

³³¹ PG 29:665/666C.

³³² PG 29:303/304B-C; FC 46:193-211.

³³³ PG 31:437/438A-B; Basil, "Exhortation," 225-241.

³³⁴ PG 31:1513/1514B; FC 9:339ff.; *Basili Magni opera plane divina* (Paris: Josse Badius, 1523), fo. 144(verso): BSB, shelf mark: 2 P.lat. 428.

³³⁵ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 179-85.

³³⁶ Stinger, *Church Fathers*, 45.

³³⁷ *Basili Magni opera plane divina* (Paris: Josse Badius, 1523), fos. 105(verso)-109(verso).

vernacular.³³⁸ The *editio princeps* of Basil's writings in Greek were produced by Erasmus in Basel in 1532, too late for them to be Hubmaier's source, and Reginald Pole's *Venice Edition* (1535) containing Books I-III of Basil's *Contra Eunomium* and his ascetical treatises that were missing in Erasmus' edition was even later.³³⁹

Although Gonzalez claims, "[W]e have no certain information regarding the edition or editions of Basil the Great that Hubmaier actually read and used,"³⁴⁰ I have been able to determine that Hubmaier read Basil's *Opera* printed in Paris by Josse Badius in 1520 and 1523, with Lefèvre d'Étaples also having a hand in it. For his references to Basil's *Contra Eunomium* and *Exhortatio ad Baptismum*, Hubmaier provides the folio numbers 44 and 142 *cum sequez* respectively. By examining the 1523 Paris edition housed at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,³⁴¹ I have been able to determine that these two folio numbers match Hubmaier's references perfectly. Further, this edition contains not only Basil's *Contra Eunomium* and *Exhortatio ad Baptismum*, but also the homily on Psalm 28 and *liber primus* of *De Baptismo* that he also cites.

John Argyropoulos and George of Trebizond made translations of Basil's *Hexameron* and *Contra Eunomium* respectively, demonstrating the recent reception of Basil's works in the West during Hubmaier's time. Zwingli owned this same edition printed in 1520, which the Greek scholar, Johannes Xylotectus, had charged him with the responsibility of binding. Zwingli apparently had it bound with his 1520 edition of Athanasius discussed above.³⁴² Overall, Zwingli references Basil twenty-nine times in his works, most of these, as Backus

³³⁸ *Wider die Wücherer* (Augsburg: Sigmund Grimm, 1521).

³³⁹ Rudberg, "Manuscripts," 56f.

³⁴⁰ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 179.

³⁴¹ *Basili Magni opera plane divina* (Paris: Josse Badius, 1523): BSB, shelf mark: 2 P.lat. 428.

³⁴² Backus, "Zwingli," 632f. Cf. *Basili Magni ... opera plane divina* (Paris: Josse Badius, 1520): ZZB, shelf mark: III K 12.

informs us, in his marginal notes to Jerome's *Quadruplex Psalterium*.³⁴³ This is significant since Hubmaier locates an obscure reference to baptism in Basil's *Homiliae in Psalmos*, that Zwingli, through his deeper familiarity with the text, might have led him to it during their meeting in Zürich in 1523.

Evaluation of Basil of Caesarea:

After Bishop Dianius of Caesarea died in 362 C.E., Eusebius, his successor, called Basil from his monastic retreat and ordained him a priest in Caesarea. Basil had earlier participated in the Council of Constantinople in 360 C.E., where the Homoiousian group (who believed that the natures of the Father and Son were "similar"), to which he belonged, was defeated by the Arians. Also participating in this council was Eunomius of Cyzicus, who followed the Arian extremist, Aetius. It was against Eunomius that Basil composed his first dogmatic treatise entitled *Contra Eunomium*, likely written around 364 C.E. and so belonging to his youth. The belief that the terms "ungeneration" and "generation" should be assigned directly to the natures of the Father and Son respectively was laid out in Eunomius' *Apologia*, essentially a vindication of the position he upheld at the previous council on the *anomoios* natures of the Father and Son (i.e., "not similar," from which the Anomœans derive their name). Basil's *Contra Eunomium* is comprised of three books, the first two dealing with the relationship of the Father and the Son and the third dealing with the Holy Spirit, though in an underdeveloped manner reflective of the inchoate pneumatology of the time.³⁴⁴ Books IV and V are spurious,³⁴⁵ although it was customary to include these two pseudo-Basilian books in the Latin translations that were first received in the West such as the one that

³⁴³ Backus, "Zwingli," 632f. See also Schindler, *Kirchenväter*, 93.

³⁴⁴ Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 2:86f.

³⁴⁵ Drobner, *Fathers of the Church*, 272; Fedwick, "Works of Basil," 451.

Hubmaier used.³⁴⁶ As well, Froben published an edition in 1551 that was essentially a conflation of Erasmus' and Pole's editions that also contained Books IV and V.³⁴⁷

Hubmaier's citation from *Contra Eunomium* is, however, from the authentic third book. This treatise was notable during the era immediately preceding Hubmaier's, as it was used repeatedly at the failed union-council of Florence to demonstrate the ostensible endorsement of the *filioque* by an eminent Greek father.³⁴⁸

Basil's *Homiliae in Psalmos* were written when he was still a priest (364 C.E. – 370 C.E.), though Moreschini and Norelli note that the chronology is unresolved, and had moral instruction rather than exegesis as their primary concern.³⁴⁹ In his preface, Basil remarks how the Psalms are unique in their collation of what is taught in the prophets, historical books, wisdom literature, and the Law; "in a word," he says, "it is a general treasury of excellent instruction."³⁵⁰ Only thirteen of the eighteen homilies usually attributed to Basil are authentic, and the homily on Psalm 28 that Hubmaier references is one of them.³⁵¹ This is noteworthy since the edition that Hubmaier used also contained the spurious homilies on Psalms 37 and 115, in addition to all thirteen authentic homilies.³⁵² Likewise, the authenticity of Basil's *De Baptismo*, whose *liber primus* Hubmaier had appealed to, is also questionable.³⁵³ However, despite Augustine's ascription of *Exhortatio ad Baptismum* to John Chrysostom's pen, this other homily on baptism that Hubmaier read is generally held to be an authentic Basilian homily. Often delivered at Pascha, it was written in response to the

³⁴⁶ *Basili Magni opera plane divina* (Paris: Josse Badius, 1523), fos. 44-55.

³⁴⁷ Rudberg, "Manuscripts," 57.

³⁴⁸ Backus, "Reformation," 298.

³⁴⁹ Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 2:97. Cf. Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 20.

³⁵⁰ quoted in *JQ* 3:218.

³⁵¹ *JQ* 3:218; Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 20.

³⁵² *Basili Magni opera plane divina* (Paris: Josse Badius, 1523), fos. 65(recto)-98(verso); "Homily 37," 83(recto)-85(verso); "Homily 115," 97(recto)-98(verso).

³⁵³ Hamell, *Patrology*, 103; *NPNF2* 8:lxvii.

erroneous belief that baptism should be delayed until one's deathbed in order to secure salvation despite one's past sins, and so has much to say about Hubmaier's own credobaptist convictions.³⁵⁴

Hubmaier's Use of Basil of Caesarea:

Contra Eunomium: Although Gonzalez alleges that Hubmaier "did not actually quote Basil" when he made the point that "children were not baptized in the early Church,"³⁵⁵ Hubmaier actually does quote Basil's *Contra Eunomium* verbatim, though in German translation, *not* in an attempt to deny paedobaptism's existence in the early Church but to enlist a patristic voice that favours pre-baptismal instruction: "'Go forth,' says Christ, 'baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit,' Matt. 28:19. For baptism is a seal of faith, faith an affirmation of divinity. For one must first of all believe and afterward be marked with baptism,' Book 3, *Contra Eunomium* [Against Eunomius], folio 44."³⁵⁶ Hubmaier supplies this exact quote again in his second *Urteil*.³⁵⁷ Gonzalez is correct that Basil was more concerned about the consubstantiality of the Spirit in this passage than he was about the correct mode of baptism, but more precision is needed.³⁵⁸ For example, in the edition that we know Hubmaier read, Basil relegates Hubmaier's emphasis on the correct baptismal sequence of *docete–baptizantes–docentes* to a parenthetical note: "(*Nam credere prius oportet ac postea baptismate designari*)."³⁵⁹ In point of fact, Basil's main focus is to refute specifically the significance that Eunomius attached to the names *genitura* and *vngenitus*, as we discussed above. Basil taught that because baptism is administered in the

³⁵⁴ *NPNF2* 8:lxiv.

³⁵⁵ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 184.

³⁵⁶ "Urteil: I," *HS* 230; *CRR* 250f. Cf. *PG* 29:665/666C.

³⁵⁷ "Urteil: II," *HS* 247; *CRR* 270.

³⁵⁸ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 180.

³⁵⁹ *Basili Magni opera plane divina* (Paris: Josse Badius, 1523), fo. 44(recto); *PG* 29:665/666C.

name (*nomine*) of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, each hypostasis must equally possess a uniform term to describe the one essence of the Triune Godhead, therefore proving that the Holy Spirit is "*nulla creatura, nullo seruiente.*" Aside from the significance of the "name" that Eunomius wishes to discuss, Basil is here claiming that the seal of faith in baptism is an affirmation of the divinity shared by each hypostasis. Nevertheless, that Basil thought enough to pause and explain the *docete–baptizantes–docents* sequence that Erasmus espoused in his annotations on Matthew surely must have appealed to someone of Hubmaier's convictions.

Homiliae in Psalmos: Hubmaier invokes Basil's *Homily on Psalm 28*, which exegetes Ps. 29:10 in the Masoretic text, to demonstrate that the Old Testament figures of baptism have more in common with credobaptism than paedobaptism.³⁶⁰ Gonzalez seems unaware that Basil's *Homiliae in Psalmos* reflects the Septuagint and not the Masoretic numbering of the Psalter, and therefore believes that Hubmaier references two homilies by Basil on both Ps. 28 and 29. Consequently, she provides three possible selections from Basil's homilies on Ps. 28 and 29, but cannot identify Basil's explanation of the tenth verse in his homily on Ps. 28 as the passage that Hubmaier was in fact referencing.³⁶¹ However, Hubmaier states that the passage appears "at the end" of the homily,³⁶² and since v. 10 is the penultimate verse in this psalm, he is referring only to this one passage in Basil's *Homily on Psalm 28*: "A flood is an overflow of water which causes all lying below it to disappear and cleanses all that was previously filthy. Therefore, he calls the grace of baptism a flood, so that the soul, being washed well of its sins and rid of the old man, is suitable henceforward as a dwelling place of

³⁶⁰ "Urteil: I & II," *HS* 230, 247; *CRR* 251, 270.

³⁶¹ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 180-2.

³⁶² "Urteil: I," *HS* 230; *CRR* 251.

God in the Spirit."³⁶³ Although there seems to be nothing in this description to recall an active desire to receive baptism, Hubmaier nevertheless links it to the more suitable figure of the flood mentioned in 1 Pt. 3:20f. as analogous to credobaptism.³⁶⁴ As Gonzalez observes: "The prerequisite for entering the ark was faith. Therefore, the prerequisite for participating in baptism must be faith also."³⁶⁵

Exhortatio ad Baptismum: Hubmaier's appeal to Basil's *Exhortatio ad Baptismum* and his spurious *De Baptismo* further strengthens his conviction that prior instruction should be a precondition for receiving baptism. His point of reference in *Exhortatio ad Baptismum* is the Ethiopian Eunuch of Acts 8:36f. For this passage, Hubmaier provides the folio number 142f., which matches the Paris edition exactly. The reference to the Ethiopian Eunuch specifically appears near the bottom of folio 143 (verso). The passage translates:

Imitate the eunuch. He found an instructor on the road, and he did not spurn instruction; ... and when he had learned the gospel of the kingdom, he embraced the faith with his heart, and did not delay to receive the seal of the Spirit. For when they drew nigh to a stream, 'behold,' he says, 'here is water;' thus showing his great joy: behold what is required: what prevents me from being baptized? ... Let the desire be sincere, and every obstacle will vanish.³⁶⁶

There is much in this homily that Hubmaier could have been attracted to, all of which likely convinced him that Basil genuinely espoused credobaptism. For instance, Basil describes the catechumenate and the dissimilarity between the baptisms of John and Christ, signaling in Hubmaier's paradigm the initiation of Christian baptism at Mt. 28:19:

On this account the Church with a loud voice calls from afar her catechumens, that as she already has conceived, she may at length usher them into life, and weaning them from the milk of catechetical instruction, give them to taste of the solid food of her dogmas. John preached a baptism of penance, and all Judea went forth to him: the Lord proclaims a baptism whereby we are adopted as children; and which of those

³⁶³ PG 29:303/304B-C; FC 46:210f.

³⁶⁴ "Urteil: I & II," HS 230, 247; CRR 251, 270.

³⁶⁵ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 182.

³⁶⁶ Basil, "Exhortation," 236.

who hope in Him, will refuse to obey his call? That baptism was introductory: this is perfective: that separated from sin: this unites with God.³⁶⁷

However, Hubmaier is either unaware or intentionally suppresses the purpose of this treatise to, as we noted above, call those who delay baptism until their deathbed to instead receive it immediately: "through life an inquirer, a seeker even to old age, when will you become a Christian? ... Last year you waited until the present time, and now again you put it off until a future season."³⁶⁸ Consequently, Basil is actually arguing that baptism should not be delayed during any point in one's life, infancy presumably included: "But the whole period of man's life is the time for baptism. ... he that is not baptized, is not enlightened; and without light neither can the eye perceive sensible objects, nor the soul contemplate God."³⁶⁹ That every stage of one's life is able to receive baptism, and that this baptism is necessary to contemplate God, seems to contradict Hubmaier's emphasis on instruction and enlightenment *before* baptism.

De Baptismo: Apparently without the knowledge that what he read constitutes the first of the *Libri duo de Baptismo*, Hubmaier transliterates the title exactly as it appears in the Paris edition he used: *Quid instruendi monendique sint ad Baptismum venientes*.³⁷⁰ The Paris edition only included the first book and therefore excludes the second, which is the likely explanation. Again, it is easy to see why this spurious treatise piqued Hubmaier's interest considering its many allusions to pre-baptismal instruction and the obligation of the baptizand to reform sinful behaviour befitting one who received both instruction in Christian dogma and baptism. Indeed, nowhere does the ps.-Basil speak about infant baptism, but it seems clear that his intended audience comprises converts who require the three-year

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 227 (English modernized).

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 225f.

³⁷⁰ *Basili Magni opera plane divina* (Paris: Josse Badius, 1523), fo. 144(verso).

catechumenate typical of Basil's era. The pseudo-Basil even opens this treatise with a brief commentary on the Great Commission (Mt. 28:19) that was so central to Hubmaier's baptismal theology. That said, ps.-Basil's main argument is not that prior instruction is necessary for receiving baptism, but that the baptized Christian should receive instruction so that (s)he may be "ready to satisfy everyone that asks you a reason."³⁷¹ More generally, the ps.-Basil emphasized instruction as the means by which the apostles could receive the gentiles as their inheritance in fulfillment of God's promise to David (Ps. 2:7-8).³⁷²

5.3.7. John Chrysostom (c. 348 – 407):

Hubmaier's References:

Treatise, hom., comm., ep.	Hubm. work	Source ref. patr./Hubm.	Verified edition	Possible purveyor	Theol./eccl. issue
<i>Homiliae in Matthæum & Homiliae in Joannem</i>	<i>Gespräch</i> 1526	<i>PG</i> 57:185; 59:109; <i>HS</i> 197; <i>CRR</i> 210.	<i>Opera</i> (Basel: Cratander, 1522).	?	distinction between John and Christ's baptism
<i>Homiliae in Matthæum</i>	<i>Von der Kindertaufe</i> (1525) 1527	<i>PG</i> 57:405ff; <i>HS</i> 260; <i>CRR</i> 278.	"	?	sectarianism

Hubmaier's Sources:

Hubmaier did not cite John Chrysostom in either versions of his *Urteil*, but does mention him two times, once each in his *Gespräch* and *Von der Kindertaufe*, both in an affirming manner.³⁷³ He did not, therefore, invoke Chrysostom in defence of credobaptism. Both Bergsten and Pipkin do not speculate on which writings Hubmaier read, and Armour claims, "The references to Chrysostom are uncertain," but suggests that the source references in his *Gespräch* belong to either the popular yet spurious *Opus imperfectum in Matthæum*, erroneously attributed to Chrysostom during the Middle Ages, or his authentic *Homiliae in*

³⁷¹ *FC* 9:340. 1 Pt. 3:15.

³⁷² *FC* 9:239.

³⁷³ "Gespräch," *HS* 197; *CRR* 210; "Kindertaufe," *HS* 260; *CRR* 278.

Matthæum.³⁷⁴ However, Armour admits that the *Opus imperfectum* was published in 1530, shortly after Hubmaier's death, so his speculation cannot be correct. Gonzalez believes that the reference to Chrysostom in Hubmaier's *Von der Kindertaufe* is to either his homilies on Matthew or on John,³⁷⁵ but, as we will see below in our analysis, the first option is more likely. However, in his other allusion to Chrysostom in his *Gespräch*, Hubmaier gives two precise source references to defend the superiority of Christ's baptism to John's: "Chryso. To. 1, pag. 51, To. 2, pag. 47,"³⁷⁶ about which Gonzalez writes, "That is a fairly precise reference with one thing missing—the title of the work."³⁷⁷ Consequently, she only speculates in a footnote on which passages Hubmaier meant, again from Chrysostom's homilies on Matthew and John, without offering an analysis of Chrysostom's exposition specifically.³⁷⁸

Gonzalez also mistakenly believes that Hubmaier used Erasmus' *Chrysostomi lucubrationes* (Basel: Froben, 1527) as his source,³⁷⁹ but since it was printed in 1527, after Hubmaier had already written his *Von der Kindertaufe* (1525) and *Gespräch* (1526), her suggestion is not possible. Zwingli owned the five-volume *Opera* printed by Froben in Basel (1517), but Hubmaier's source references do not yield a match.³⁸⁰ However, when we compare his source references with other available editions, the *Opera* printed by Andreas Cratander in 1522 is a perfect match. To. 1, fo. 51 refers to *homilia X* in *Homiliae in*

³⁷⁴ Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 158, note 219.

³⁷⁵ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 195f.

³⁷⁶ "Gespräch," *HS* 197; *CRR* 210.

³⁷⁷ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 194.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 195, note 110.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 194.

³⁸⁰ *Opera* (Basel: Froben, 1517): ZZB, shelf mark: III K 83, 83a. I am indebted to the gracious assistance of Christian Scheidegger, who has sent me digital images of the folio numbers in question from Zwingli's edition of Chrysostom (to. 1, fo. 51 corresponding to *Hom. in Mat., homilia XXIII* and to. 2, fo. 47 corresponding to *Hom. in Joan., homilia XLVIII*), neither of which discuss John's baptism, thus confirming that Hubmaier did not make use of Zwingli's edition.

Matthæum and To. 2, fo. 47 refers to *homilia XVII (XVI)* in *Homiliae in Joannem*,³⁸¹ both of which verify the superiority of Christ's baptism to John's as we will discover in our analysis below. This not only brings overall clarity and confirmation about which humanist edition Hubmaier read, but corrects Gonzalez's speculation that his source references pointed to *homilia XXIX* in *Homiliae in Joannem*.³⁸² It is important to note, however, that although Hubmaier consulted the Cratander edition rather than Zwingli's Froben edition, this does not threaten our thesis that he accessed Zwingli's patristic library, as they conferred specifically on credobaptism with recourse to the early Church, and not on the difference between the baptisms of Christ and John since their views never converged on this issue. In fact, Hubmaier's use of a different edition than Zwingli's for this issue only accentuates the fact that he used editions of the fathers for enlightening himself about patristic credobaptist teachings that can all be found in Zwingli's library.

Evaluation of John Chrysostom:

John Chrysostom's ("golden mouth") reputation as an outstanding preacher, insightful exegete, promoter of ascetic dedication, and advocate of social justice never waned throughout Christian history. His excerpts in Gratian's Decree are the most numerous among the Greek fathers at thirty-three,³⁸³ and he is second only to John of Damascus in Lombard's *Sententiae* at fourteen attributed selections.³⁸⁴ In the Renaissance, Chrysostom was Traversari's favourite father, translating his *De providentia Dei*,³⁸⁵ and his influence was felt

³⁸¹ *Tomvs Primvs [-quintvs]* (Basel: Cratander, 1522), fo. 51: *Homilia X*.

Tomvs Secvndvs [-quintvs] (Basel: Cratander, 1522), fo. 47: *Homilia XVI*. I am grateful to Cornelia Pfordt at the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen for verifying that these two *homiliae* are located on fos. 50-5 and 46-9 respectively in the Cratander edition, shelf mark: 4 PATR GR 496/1:1 & 1:2.

³⁸² See Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 195, note 110.

³⁸³ Werckmeister, "Canon Law," 66f.

³⁸⁴ Bougerol, "*Sentences*," 115.

³⁸⁵ Stinger, *Church Fathers*, 40.

north of the Alps as well. For instance, although Erasmus admired the spirituality of the Latin fathers over the Greeks, Chrysostom nevertheless garnered his esteem above the other Greek fathers for his ascetic sensitivities and Christocentric theology, which he believed had contributed to the development of late medieval mysticism.³⁸⁶ However, in Erasmus' estimation, the Greek fathers are afforded the highest praise for their preaching, and Chrysostom is second only to Basil in that category,³⁸⁷ eventually prompting him to compete an edition of Chrysostom's homilies in 1527.³⁸⁸ Wolfgang Capito recommended his students read the fathers, Chrysostom among them, and completed a translation of his *Paraenesis prior*.³⁸⁹ Vadian also used Chrysostom to promote the reduction of papal authority once he began participating in the Reformation.³⁹⁰ Oecolampadius' *Demegoriae* manifested the *lectio continua* homiletic methods inspired by Chrysostom,³⁹¹ whose "chaste rhetoric" had also "disciplined and purified Oecolampadius's style."³⁹² Chrysostom also influenced Zwingli's preaching and instigated his use of the *lectio continua*. Further, the 42 citations of Chrysostom in his works and high volume of manuscript annotations attest to the importance he placed uniquely on his homilies on Matthew, John, Hebrews, and 1 and 2 Timothy.³⁹³

After Chrysostom's widowed mother reposed, he adopted the eremitic life for four to five years until 381 C.E., which stimulated his initial literary compositions not as homilies, but in defence of the monastic life and on morality.³⁹⁴ Chrysostom later completed homilies on the New Testament, but his *Homiliae in Matthæum*, delivered at Antioch in approximately

³⁸⁶ Backus, "Erasmus," 109; Peters, "Erasmus," 260. Cf. *LB* 8:2-6. See also Boeft, "Erasmus," 560, 564.

³⁸⁷ Peters, "Erasmus," 254. Cf. *LB* 5:857.

³⁸⁸ Peters, "Erasmus," 260.

³⁸⁹ Kittelson, *Wolfgang Capito*, 10f.

³⁹⁰ Stadtwald, *Roman Popes*, 164, note 36.

³⁹¹ Old, *Worship*, 59-61. I have looked at a digitized copy housed in the BSB, shelf mark: VD16 O 345: *Ioannis Oecolampadij demegoriae* (Basileae: Cratander, 1524).

³⁹² Old, *Worship*, 61, 71f.

³⁹³ Backus, "Zwingli," 633; Gäbler, *Zwingli*, 45. See also Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, 51.

³⁹⁴ Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 2:149.

390 C.E., stands out among them. In them, he offsets Manichaeian teachings by emphasizing the fulfillment of the Old Testament in the New, the consubstantiality of the nature of the Father and the Son against Arianism, and the superiority of the monastic life over secular passions.³⁹⁵ The *Homiliae in Matthæum* was popular in the West thanks in part to the Latin translation of the first twenty-five homilies by Anianus of Celeda in c. 420 C.E.³⁹⁶ However, the entirety of the homilies were later translated into Latin by Burgundio of Pisa (c. 1110-93) in the twelfth century. This translation, which had apparently survived in the West only in fragments by the advent of the Quattrocento, was the basis for George of Trebizond's more accessible complete rendering, which served as the basis for Cratander's edition.³⁹⁷ In addition, Chrysostom delivered his *Homiliae in Joannem* approximately one year later, in 391 C.E., which again emphasizes the full divinity of Christ against the Arians or Anomoians, but also neutralizes the subordinationism of the Arians by explicating the kenosis of Christ in more Orthodox terms.³⁹⁸

Hubmaier's Use of John Chrysostom:

Hubmaier used Chrysostom to obscure the continuity between the old and new covenants by frustrating the arguments of Zwingli who insisted that infant baptism is analogous with circumcision. An outworking of their discordant views on the equivalence of circumcision and baptism was the relationship between John and Christ's baptism for which Hubmaier lists, among other patristic works, "*Chryso. To. 1, pag. 51, To. 2, pag. 47.*"³⁹⁹

When we examine Cratander's edition at the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen using Hubmaier's initial source reference, we can confirm

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 2:150.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ *JQ* 3:438.

³⁹⁸ Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 2:150; Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 105.

³⁹⁹ "Gespräch," *HS* 197; *CRR* 210.

that he was referring to *homilia X*, on Mt. 3:1, 2.⁴⁰⁰ In this homily, Chrysostom maintains that John's baptism

had not remission, but this gift pertained unto the baptism that was given afterwards; for in this "we are buried with Him," and our old man was then crucified with Him, and before the cross there doth not appear remission anywhere; for everywhere this is imputed to His blood. And Paul too said, "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified," not by the baptism of John, but "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the Spirit of our God." And elsewhere too he said, "John verily preached a baptism of repentance," (he said not "of remission,") "that they should believe on Him that should come after him." For when the sacrifice was not yet offered, neither had the spirit yet come down, nor sin was put away, nor the enmity removed, nor the curse destroyed; how was remission to take place?⁴⁰¹

Specifically, Chrysostom explains that John's is a baptism of repentance and Christ's, of the remission of sins. The penitential function of John's baptism, therefore, corresponds with Hubmaier's insistence that it is for the "recognition of sins."⁴⁰² However, the *remission* of these same sins belongs to the baptism of Christ, "who takes away the sin of the world," and in whose baptism one expresses "a public and outward confession of faith" in "the forgiveness of his sins through Christ."⁴⁰³ Further, Chrysostom reveals that the baptism of Christ was activated only after his crucifixion, the Pentecost event, and conquering of death. This, as we will discover in chapter eight, aligns with the third period of Hubmaier's epochal sequence in his description of free will's functionality in the pre- and post-lapsarian worlds (see 8.1.1.).

Gonzalez believes that Hubmaier's second source reference (To. 2, fo. 47) refers to Chrysostom's *homilia XXIX* on Jn. 3:22. However, had she been able to examine the editions that were available to Hubmaier, she could have verified conclusively that he was instead

⁴⁰⁰ *Tomvs Primvs [-quintvs]* (Basel: Cratander, 1522), fo. 51, *Homilia X*: SUB Göttingen, shelf mark: 4 PATR GR 496/1:1.

⁴⁰¹ *NPNFI* 10:62 (English modernized); *PG* 57:185.

⁴⁰² "Gespräch," *HS* 196f.; *CRR* 209.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*

referring to *homilia XVII (XVI)* on Jn. 1:28, 29 in Cratander's edition.⁴⁰⁴ The preceding *homilia XVI (XV)* on Jn. 1:19 provides a bit of background, wherein John claimed that his own baptism is "nothing more than some water, and told of the superiority of the Baptism given by Christ,"⁴⁰⁵ which attests to the Saviour's divinity. Chrysostom also claims that those who deny the distinction between John and Christ's baptisms betray "their wickedness and folly,"⁴⁰⁶ much in the same way that Hubmaier describes Zwingli's perception as a "gruesome error."⁴⁰⁷ In *homilia XVII (XVI)* on Jn. 1:28, 29, to which Hubmaier actually refers on fo. 47, Chrysostom avers that when John baptized Christ, it was not for his cleansing, but that he might make Christ manifest to the multitude who followed him; had Christ not publicly requested baptism, "they would not by the comparison have learned His superiority." Although the multitude came to John for baptism, "when they came, they were taught the matters concerning Christ, and the difference [*differentiam*] of His baptism," which contrasted the "*imperfectus*" baptism of John.⁴⁰⁸ The message is familiar: Christ's baptism is superior to John's and does not point to the fading covenantal ceremony of circumcision, but to the future post-Pentecostal Christian baptism with the Holy Spirit (Jn. 1:33),⁴⁰⁹ which Hubmaier links specifically to the institution of Christian baptism at the Great Commission (Mt. 28:19).⁴¹⁰

For his final reference in *Von der Kindertaufe*, Hubmaier argues that Chrysostom blessed a brand of sectarianism that prevents the distortion of truth, declaring, "*O, das ist ein*

⁴⁰⁴ *Tomvs Secvndvs [-quintvs]* (Basel: Cratander, 1522), fo. 47, *Homilia XVI*: SUB Göttingen, shelf mark: 4 PATR GR 496/1:2. Whereas this is *homilia XVII* in modern editions (*NPNFI*, *PG*), it is *homilia XVI* in the Cratander edition: fos. 46-9.

⁴⁰⁵ *NPNFI* 14:56f.; *PG* 59:105.

⁴⁰⁶ *NPNFI* 14:55; *PG* 59:103.

⁴⁰⁷ "Gespräch," *HS* 197; *CRR* 211.

⁴⁰⁸ *NPNFI* 14:59; *PG* 59:109.

⁴⁰⁹ *NPNFI* 14:60; *PG* 59:110.

⁴¹⁰ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 123-5, esp. 125; *CRR* 101-4, esp. 104.

selige rottierung vnnd zertrennung, spricht Chrysostomus."⁴¹¹ The most likely source for his belief that Chrysostom understood such *zertrennung* (separation) as *selige* (blessed), is *homilia XXXV* on Mt. 10:34 in his *Homiliae in Matthæum*.⁴¹² In addition to Luke 12:52f., Hubmaier cites Matthew 10:34 as scriptural support for the incidental sectarian outcome of his reforms, which is the scriptural passage that Chrysostom's thirty-fifth homily expounds. The Latin translation indeed speaks of a *separatur* that is not blessed, but *bona*.⁴¹³ However, the medical language he uses and the positive outcome of the surgery that removes any offense to truth clearly reflects the essence of Hubmaier's sentiments: "Because this more than anything is peace, when the disease is cut off, when the mutinous is removed. For thus it is possible for Heaven to be united to earth."⁴¹⁴ Moreover, Chrysostom discusses the episode in Luke 12:52f., albeit as it appears in Matthew's gospel immediately subsequent to the verse to which the homily is dedicated (Mt. 10:35). Here, he contends that the rifts that ensue among "those that are dearest, and extremely near to each other," induce cooperation due to the intolerability of the discord: "...that hearing these things, they both accepted Him, and set about persuading all others."⁴¹⁵ In view of the *Homiliae in Matthæum* as a whole, the "diseases" that Chrysostom likely had in mind are the Manichaeans and Anomoians and *not* the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, it is no stretch to imagine Chrysostom's dismay over the papal dominance of the Western Church in Hubmaier's day and claims of universal jurisdiction that led to the East-West schism of 1054 C.E. One wonders, therefore, if Chrysostom too would have viewed the papal Church as the "disease," or errant *ecclesia particularis*, that warranted amputation. Considering Hubmaier's consternation over the

⁴¹¹ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 260; *CRR* 278.

⁴¹² *PG* 57:405ff.

⁴¹³ *PG* 57:405.

⁴¹⁴ *NPNFI* 10:232; *PG* 57:405.

⁴¹⁵ *NPNFI* 10:232; *PG* 57:406.

disunity of the Church and his desire to hold a reforming council, Chrysostom's sentiments seem to resonate with someone of his own priorities.

5.3.8. Cyril of Alexandria (c. 378 – 444):

Hubmaier's References:

Treatise, hom., comm., ep.	Hubm. work	Source ref. patr./Hubm.	Verifiable edition	Possible purveyor	Theol./eccl. issue
<i>Commentary on John</i>	<i>Gespräch</i> 1526 <i>Urteil I & II</i> 1526	<i>PG</i> 73:258C-262C; 73:239A-B; <i>HS</i> 175f., 197, 231, 246; <i>CRR</i> 180, 210, 253, 268.	<i>Commentarii in Ioannem</i> (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1508 <i>or</i> 1521).	Zwingli's library	dist. btwn. X & Jn's baptisms / credobaptism

Hubmaier's Sources:

Hubmaier's appeal to Cyril of Alexandria is a clear example of how writings of the Church fathers ended up in Hubmaier's hands after migrating from Byzantium to Italy and eventually to Northern Europe, where the Latin translations served as the basis for printed editions. Hubmaier cites Cyril three times: twice in the *Gespräch*⁴¹⁶ and once in the *Urteil I*, replicated also in his second version.⁴¹⁷ Because Hubmaier provides book and chapter references, by comparing them with editions available to him, we know that they are all to Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on John*, as we will discover in more detail below.

However, Carl Sachsse was the first to identify this Cyril as the bishop not of Alexandria but of Jerusalem, and believes Hubmaier's reference is to the seventeenth lecture, "On the Holy Spirit," in his popular *Catechetical Lectures*.⁴¹⁸ Bergsten concurs with this designation in his critical edition of Hubmaier's works, and lists him simply as Cyril in his

⁴¹⁶ "Gespräch," *HS* 175f., 197; *CRR* 180, 210.

⁴¹⁷ "Urteil: I," *HS* 231; *CRR* 253.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 246; *CRR* 268.

⁴¹⁸ Sachsse, *Hubmaier*, 36, note 3.
Cf. *PG* 33:1009; *NPNF2* 7:132.

biography.⁴¹⁹ Interestingly, however, Bergsten acknowledges in his critical edition that the work to which Hubmaier refers is Cyril's "*Johanneskommentar*."⁴²⁰ But, Cyril of Jerusalem did not write such a commentary, and although the bishop of Alexandria did, Bergsten seems unaware of this. Armour agrees with Sachsse, providing the same reference to Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechetical Lectures*, but seems to contradict himself by also indicating that Hubmaier refers to Cyril of Alexandria when he argues for the distinction between John and Christ's baptisms, but does not elaborate further.⁴²¹ Pipkin also follows Sachsse's lead and claims, "The reference to John cannot be found and must be incorrect."⁴²² Unfortunately, in Gonzalez's more thorough analysis of Hubmaier and each Church father, she also falls victim to the belief that Hubmaier cited Cyril of Jerusalem, not once considering that it might be Cyril of Alexandria, rendering her interaction with his interpretation immaterial.⁴²³

It seems the only reason why past historians had deduced that Hubmaier's references are to Cyril of Jerusalem is the marginal note indicating that he lived in 373 C.E., before Cyril of Alexandria's birth. However, we have already observed how Hubmaier or his copy-editor frequently mishandles dates, so this detail should not be given more weight than internal primary source evidence, which undeniably confirms that Hubmaier's reference to "*Vber den Johan*" is indeed Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on John*. In fact, Cyril of Jerusalem's writings were so rare in the sixteenth century, limited to a Greek collection of some of his works and the Latin *editio princeps* by John Grodecius in 1564 long after Hubmaier's execution,⁴²⁴ that there is no reason to believe that Hubmaier could have made

⁴¹⁹ Bergsten, *HS* 246, note 23. See also Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 281.

⁴²⁰ Bergsten, *HS* 225.

⁴²¹ Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 51, 158, note 219.

⁴²² Pipkin, *CRR* 253, notes 26 & 27.

⁴²³ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 185-9.

⁴²⁴ *Catecheses* (Coloniae: Maternum Cholinum, 1564).

use of Cyril of Jerusalem's writings.⁴²⁵ Therefore, not only do we know that past evaluations are incorrect, but surveying the transmission of patristic texts from their origin in Byzantium to their reception north of the Alps, and consequently their availability to someone such as Hubmaier, becomes essential if Anabaptist historians want to avoid such errors.

Of the editions of Cyril's *Commentary on John* available to Hubmaier, Oecolampadius' was published in the year Hubmaier faced his execution (1528) and so cannot be his source. However, Josse Clichtove, Lefèvre's colleague in Paris, completed an edition of Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on John* in 1508/09 (rpt. in 1520/21), which eventually also included his *Thesaurus* (1513/14),⁴²⁶ using and correcting a copy of George of Trebizond's translation lent to him by Cardinal Georges d'Amboise.⁴²⁷ However, Books V to VIII were missing from Trebizond's translation because he was unable to locate the Greek manuscripts; this deficiency, then, was replicated in Clichtove's first edition in 1508/09. In the second edition, released in 1520/21, Clichtove does include what he claims are the intermediary books missing from his initial edition. Because Books VII and VIII are now available to us in fragments, by comparing the two it is now known that the four additional books in Clichtove's second edition are in fact the composition of Clichtove himself and not Cyril.⁴²⁸

If we compare Hubmaier's book and chapter references to Clichtove's edition, it is clear that he used the 1520/21 version that included all twelve books, and therefore once again availed himself of a recent humanist edition of a Church father. In our analysis of his

⁴²⁵ Weatherby, "Fathers, Greek," 302.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 149f. Cf. *Cyrilli Alexandrini* (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1513/14).

⁴²⁷ Levi, *Renaissance*, 211. Cf. *Cyrilli patriarche Alexandrini* (Paris, Mazarine, 1508/09), 2nd ed. (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1520/21). Another edition of this translation was published in Basel in 1524: *Cyrilli ... in Evangelium Ioannis commentaria* (Basileae: A. Cratander, 1524).

⁴²⁸ Rice, "Humanist Idea," 145f.

use and interpretation of Cyril below, we will juxtapose the book and chapter divisions that Hubmaier provides with those in Clichtove's 1520/21 edition and the content of both their main points in these sections. For now it is appropriate to note that Zwingli owned a copy of Clichtove's edition of Cyril's *Commentarii in Ioannem*,⁴²⁹ but it was the 1508 edition and we do not know if he possessed the 1520/21 edition that included Books V-VIII. It is intriguing, however, to surmise that his 1508 edition included the insertions of Books V-VIII by Wolfgang Hopyl in 1514, who did so without changing the title page, colophon, or date (1508/09) of the original edition. Indeed, Rice confirms, "This second edition is commonly catalogued 1508, and confused with the first."⁴³⁰ However, Zwingli's edition was bereft of the intermediary books.⁴³¹ Nevertheless, a 1521 edition, presumably including the four middle books, is housed in the Zentralbibliothek in Zürich and was apparently in the possession of Bullinger, Zwingli's successor in Zürich.⁴³² One wonders, therefore, if this edition passed from Zwingli to Bullinger upon the latter's ascension to the pastorate of Zürich. Considering we do not have Zwingli's library fully extant, it is very possible that he acquired Books V-VIII at a later date since it would have been obvious to Zwingli that they were missing from the edition we do know he owned. One other intriguing oddity to consider is Hubmaier's anomalous designation of Cyril as "*Bischoff zu Basel*" in his *Urteil II*. This is particularly interesting since Clichtove's edition of Cyril's *Commentary on John* was printed again in 1524, this time in Basel by Cratander, and could conceivably have been Hubmaier's source before he composed his *Gespräch* near the end of the year 1525.⁴³³

⁴²⁹ *Commentarii in Ioannem* (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1508): ZZB, shelf mark: III K 71.

⁴³⁰ Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, 182.

⁴³¹ I am grateful to Christian Scheidegger of the Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, for kindly looking up Zwingli's edition of Cyril and informing me that Bk. IV ended on fo. 155(recto) and Bk. IX began on fo. 155(verso). Cf. *ZSW* 12.1:228-39, esp. 235

⁴³² *Commentarii in Ioannem* (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1521): ZZB, shelf mark III K 74.

⁴³³ *Divi Cyrilli ... in Evangelium Ioannis commentaria* (Basel: Cratander, 1524).

Evaluation of Cyril of Alexandria:

Norman Russell observes that Cyril of Alexandria enjoyed "a wide readership when his works began to be printed in Latin translation at the beginning of the sixteenth century."⁴³⁴ Demonstrating the impact of another newly received Greek father in the West, Cyril was little known in the Middle Ages but became important during the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438/9) due to his ostensible witness to the *Filioque*, although Zwingli complained that Cyril defended the single procession in his *Commentary on John*.⁴³⁵ His *Contra Julianum* was also much sought after "as a mine of ancient philosophical texts," but his works were studied more generally for their Trinitarian theology.⁴³⁶ So, it seems that Cyril's writings had become a favourite of humanist scholars.

Chief among these works was his *Commentary on John*, comprised of twelve books, which was the only work of Cyril's that we know Hubmaier read. John's gospel account was initially more popular among the Gnostics, the first commentaries being produced by the Valentinian, Heracleon. Origen produced his own commentary in c. 231 C.E. to neutralize the interpretation of the Gnostics, but nothing like it was written until Cyril's own commentary. Likely composed around 425-8 C.E., Cyril's *Commentary on John* pre-dates his involvement in the Nestorian controversy and was directed instead against his neo-Arian and Anomœan contemporaries and the christology of the Antiochian school.⁴³⁷ It did not therefore employ the term *Theotokos* to describe the Virgin Mary that Hubmaier defended in his writings.⁴³⁸ The neo-Arians, however, had seized upon John's gospel for its seemingly

⁴³⁴ Russell, *Cyril*, 68.

⁴³⁵ Backus, "Zwingli," 634. Cf. *ZSW* 12:228-39.

⁴³⁶ Russell, *Cyril*, 67f.

⁴³⁷ *JQ* 3:123; Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 221.

⁴³⁸ *HS* 319, 471f.; *CRR* 357, 538.

amenable presentation of Christ to that of their own triadological formulation. Russell describes Cyril's doctrinal objectives and hermeneutical approach:

He is neither a Hellenist like Origen, nor a philologist like Theodore [of Mopsuestia]. His intention, he says, is to write "a commentary concerned rather with doctrinal matters," which will attempt to cleave the spiritual wood of the Gospel, to lay bare its heart, to reveal its doctrinal and theological purpose and refute those who express erroneous opinions about the nature of the second and third persons of the Trinity.⁴³⁹

Perhaps it was Cyril's straightforward approach to Scripture that attracted Hubmaier to his *Commentary on John*.

Hubmaier's Use of Cyril of Alexandria:

Hubmaier first mentions Cyril of Alexandria in his *Gespräch* against Zwingli, wherein he tells him to "*Besihe auch Cyrill Vber den Johan., lib. 6. c. 15,*"⁴⁴⁰ which, we may recall, was actually authored by Clichtove. As with his use of other patristic sources, in this instance Hubmaier invokes Cyril to establish that the flood and ark was the dominant patristic figure of baptism, rather than circumcision as Zwingli taught. After referencing Cyril, Hubmaier elaborates: "Now just as no one went into the ark unless he had believed beforehand, so also in the power of this figure no one should receive water baptism unless he confess faith with the mouth beforehand."⁴⁴¹ One minor discrepancy does occur, however, as this sentiment is actually expressed in Bk. VI, ch. 14 in "Cyril's" (really authored by Clichtove) *Commentary on John* rather than in ch. 15 as Hubmaier claims, but nevertheless appears only one folio before the beginning of the fifteenth chapter.⁴⁴² It is clear, however, that it was this passage that Hubmaier had in mind. After "Cyril" discusses the importance of instruction for the "*cathecuminus*," he notes how baptism is prefigured in Noah and the ark as

⁴³⁹ Russell, *Cyril*, 96f.

⁴⁴⁰ "Gespräch," *HS* 176; *CRR* 180.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, *HS* 176; *CRR* 180.

⁴⁴² *Commentarii in Ioannem* (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1521), fo. 138(verso).

Peter taught and provides the same reference to 1 Peter 3 in the margin that Hubmaier also directs his readers to when he references Cyril. At this point, "Cyril" describes Peter's understanding thus: "*Audi Petrum apstolu huius rei grauissimu teste. In diebus (inquit) Noe cum fabrica retur arca: in qua pauci / id est octo anime salue facte sut per aqua, Quod & nos nunc similis forme saluos facit baptisma: no carnis depositio sordiu.*"⁴⁴³ It is very plausible, then, that "Cyril's" allusion to the catechumenate in his *Commentary on John* contributed to Hubmaier and Zwingli's agreement, during their meeting in 1523, that credobaptism was the practice of the early Church as evident by the baptizand's designation as "catechumen."⁴⁴⁴

Again in his *Gespräch*, Hubmaier argues for the distinction between the baptisms of Christ and John with patristic support, including Bk. II, chs. 57-60 of Cyril's *Commentary on John*. If we compare these statements in Clichtove's edition of Cyril's *Commentarii in Ioannem* with Hubmaier's book and chapter references, we discover a perfect match. In Bk. II, ch. 57, Cyril writes, "*Videbat enim spiritus gratia illuminatus: necessariu esset ea narrare / quibus tum Christi baptismus / Ioanis baptismo prestaret.*"⁴⁴⁵ Such a declaration could certainly have been used to silence Zwingli, who resembled those who, as Cyril describes them, "arise of their folly should dare to say, either that there was no difference whatever between them, but that they ought to be crowned with equal honours."⁴⁴⁶ Ch. 58 explains that John's baptism is a figure that prepares for Christ's more perfect baptism, and ch. 59 again discusses the "clearest distinction between the baptisms" by avowing the superiority of Christ's baptism: "He [Christ] That was borne witness to by his [John's] voice, prevents him

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ "Gespräch," *HS* 186; *CRR* 195.

⁴⁴⁵ *Commentarii in Ioannem* (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1521), fo. 39(verso): "For enlightened by the Divine Spirit to the exposition of things most needful, he knew that it would exceedingly profit his readers to know clearly, how great the excellence, and by how great measures, the baptism of Christ surpasses that of John." *LF* 43:178; *PG* 73:258D.

⁴⁴⁶ *LF* 43:178; *PG* 73:258D-259A; *Commentarii in Ioannem* (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1521), fo. 39(verso).

in honour, outstrips him in grace, and in baptizing takes in His net, not a portion of the whole Jewish multitude, but even all of them."⁴⁴⁷ These statements, in their vindication of Christ's baptism as not only superior to but actually replacing John's, are certainly congenial to Hubmaier's conviction that Christian baptism was initiated by Christ's baptism, especially as formulated in Mt. 28:19. Further, chs. 57-60 in Cyril's *Commentary on John* align with the reference to John 3:22ff. that Hubmaier provides in his own writings.⁴⁴⁸

Hubmaier also cites Bk. II, ch. 36 in both his *Urteil I* and *II*. If we compare Cyril's statements in Bk. II, ch. 36 of Clichtove's edition with Hubmaier's argument, we again discover a perfect match.

Cyril	Hubmaier
<p>"Let the stewards of the Mysteries of the Saviour hence learn, not suddenly to admit a man within the sacred veils, nor to permit to approach the Divine Tables, neophytes untimely baptized and not in right time believing on Christ the Lord of all. ... that it befits novices to spend no small time under instruction."⁴⁴⁹</p>	<p>"Those who are in the instruction of faith one should not take soon to baptism."⁴⁵⁰</p>

Taking into account the paradigm Hubmaier constructed for himself to interpret passages of Scripture on baptism, this patristic selection abides by his understanding. By pairing this citation in his *Urteil* with his reference to Bk. VI, ch. 15(14), Hubmaier appears to provide a convincing case. However, what he fails to recognize in Cyril's passage, he overlooks also in his interpretation of Scripture; Cyril here makes overt reference to "new believers" and

⁴⁴⁷ *LF* 43:180; *PG* 73:262B; *Commentarii in Ioannem* (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1521), fo. 40(recto).

⁴⁴⁸ "Gespräch," *HS* 197; *CRR* 210.

⁴⁴⁹ *LF* 43:165; *PG* 73:239A-B; *Commentarii in Ioannem* (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1521), fo. 36(verso).

⁴⁵⁰ "Urteil: II," *HS* 246; *CRR* 268.

"neophytes," *viz.*, converts to Christianity. Therefore, as all converts to the Jewish sect bearing Jesus of Nazareth's name during the first century were invariably mature enough to make such a decision, so too is Cyril here discussing *only* converts to Christianity. Indeed, when Cyril discusses the Great Commission in Bk. I, ch. 2, he nowhere mentions the mode of baptism, but explains its importance for triadological formulations.⁴⁵¹ That said, the only reference to paedobaptism in Cyril's *Commentary on John*, which distinguishes the chrism reserved for the baptism of both adults and infants, appears in the Greek fragments of Book VII,⁴⁵² not yet extant when Clichtove prepared his edition. Therefore, Hubmaier could not have read about Cyril of Alexandria's acceptance of paedobaptism in this commentary.

⁴⁵¹ *FC* 43:19; *PG* 73:35B-C; *Commentarii in Ioannem* (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1521), fo. 5(verso).

⁴⁵² *FC* 48:119; *PG* 74:50D.

CHAPTER SIX

HUBMAIER'S USE OF THE LATIN FATHERS FOR THE ISSUE OF BAPTISM

6.1 Analysis of Latin Patristic References in Hubmaier's Writings

6.1.1. Tertullian (c. 160 – c. 220):

Hubmaier's References:

Treatise, hom., comm., ep.	Hubm. work	Source ref. patr./Hubm.	Verifiable edition	Possible purveyor	Theol./eccl. issue
<i>De paenitentia</i>	<i>Urteil I</i> 1526	<i>PL</i> 2:1349B; <i>HS</i> 231; <i>CRR</i> 252.	<i>Opera Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani</i> (Basel: Froben, 1521).	Zwingli's library / Vadian	credobaptism
<i>De corona militis</i>	<i>Urteil I & II</i> 1526	<i>PL</i> 2:79A; <i>HS</i> 231, 244; <i>CRR</i> 252, 265.	"	"	credobaptism
named w/o ref. to works	<i>Von der Kindertaufe</i> (1525) 1527	<i>HS</i> 267; <i>CRR</i> 290, 292.	—	—	credobaptism / avoiding Scripture

Hubmaier's Sources:

Hubmaier expressly states which of Tertullian's writings he is citing: *De paenitentia*¹ and his very popular *De corona militis*,² yet he provides only the latter reference in the second *Urteil*.³ Hubmaier also lists Tertullian in his *Von der Kindertaufe*, first among the fathers who Hubmaier believes Oecolampadius speaks of too readily apart from Scripture and secondly among those who should be read as witnesses to credobaptism.⁴ We will withhold analysis of these references until chapter nine (see 9.1.1.). What seems surprising, however, is Hubmaier's neglect of Tertullian's *De baptismo* in which he famously asserted,

¹ *PL* 2:1349B; *ACW* 28:26.

² *PL* 2:79A; *FC* 40:236.

³ "Urteil: I," *HS* 231; *CRR* 252.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 244; *CRR* 265.

⁴ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 267; *CRR* 290, 292.

"...according to the circumstances and disposition, and even age, of each individual, the delay of baptism is preferable; principally, however, in the case of little children."⁵ When we examine Hubmaier's few references to Tertullian's treatises, the reason why he does not cite from *De baptismo* becomes clear.

Gonzalez claims that since Hubmaier does not seem aware of Tertullian's *De baptismo*, he must have read Beatus Rhenanus' 1521 *Opera Tertulliani*, which omits this treatise.⁶ However, this alone does not prove that he read the edition prepared by Rhenanus since it argues from an absence. Instead, by comparing the folio numbers that Hubmaier provides with those of Rhenanus' Tertullian edition, which Gonzalez does not do, we can determine with positive evidence whether it was this edition that he read.⁷ Before Rhenanus' *editio princeps*, only printings of Tertullian's *Apologeticum* existed in incunabula. Rhenanus' edition does include Tertullian's *De paenitentia*, which is contained in folios 432 to 444, and his *De corona militis* comprises folios 408 to 426.⁸ Because Hubmaier provides pagination for his two references to Tertullian, folios 440 and 416 respectively, we can confirm that Rhenanus' edition is the one Hubmaier read.⁹ Further, *De baptismo* was not printed until the 1545 Mesnart edition and more popularly in Gelenius' 1550 edition printed in Basel, which explains why Hubmaier did not cite from it.¹⁰ Although we do not have solid evidence that Zwingli owned Rhenanus' edition, it is extant in the Zentralbibliothek in Zürich.¹¹ In a letter from Heinrich Glarean we can also determine that Zwingli purchased the 1515 Aldine edition of Tertullian's *Apologeticum*. Yet, Zwingli references Tertullian explicitly some 50 times,

⁵ Evans, *Baptism*, 38; *ANF* 3:678.

⁶ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 128f.

⁷ *Opera Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani* (Basel: Froben, 1521).

⁸ Pearse, "Early Editions."

⁹ "Urteil: I & II," *HS* 231, 244; *CRR* 252, 265.

¹⁰ Evans, *Baptism*, xxxvi; *JQ* 2:253f.

¹¹ ZZB, shelf mark: RAR 1135 q.

many from works other than the *Apologeticum*.¹² Especially noteworthy are the many references to Tertullian's *Contra Marcionem*, which was printed for the first time in Rhenanus' 1521 edition.¹³ It is difficult to image Zwingli without this popular patristic edition from such a close colleague as Rhenanus, which renders likely, therefore, Zwingli's library as once again Hubmaier's source. Another option, though unsupported, is that Hubmaier read Vadian's copy of Tertullian's *Opera* when he sojourned there *en route* to Zürich in the spring of 1523.¹⁴

Evaluation of Tertullian:

The reception of Tertullian during the pre-Tridentine period was ambiguous and seems to have varied along confessional lines.¹⁵ His transition to Montanism, detected in his writings after 206 C.E. and reaching its climax after 213 C.E., was the most contentious issue.¹⁶ Anyone who read Rhenanus' *Opera Tertulliani*, including Hubmaier, was aware of this transition since the preface and *Vita* mention it.¹⁷ Tertullian was also known to have held unorthodox theological views. For instance, Eck disproved of his Eucharistic theology,¹⁸ and Rhenanus wrote approvingly in his preface on Tertullian's failure to espouse the *summa* or "supremacy" of the Roman See and prescribe the sacrament of confession.¹⁹ Rhenanus also denounced Scholasticism in his 1521 edition, claiming that new patristic editions were not merely "an addition to knowledge," observes Backus, "but ... something likely to challenge the scholastic method."²⁰ However, in his 1539 edition, Rhenanus, much

¹² Backus, "Zwingli," 638; Schindler, *Kirchenväter*, 97.

¹³ Backus, "Zwingli," 638. Cf. Evans, xxi.

¹⁴ Schenker-Frei, *Bibliotheca Vadiani*, 228:686.

¹⁵ Backus, *Historical Method*, 158.

¹⁶ Drobner, *Fathers of the Church*, 153; Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 111f.

¹⁷ Backus, *Historical Method*, 158f.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 152.

¹⁹ Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 95f.

²⁰ Backus, *Historical Method*, 158, 159f., note 83, 87.

like Jacques de Pamèle in his 1583 Paris edition, acknowledged the usefulness of Scholasticism "in preserving the unity of teaching."²¹ Therefore, the earlier 1521 edition of Tertullian that Hubmaier read is unique for its more pronounced humanism and Protestantism.

Regarding the two treatises by Tertullian that Hubmaier cites, *De paenitentia* belongs to his Catholic period and *De corona militis* to his semi-Montanist transitional period.²² *De paenitentia* is divided roughly into two parts, dealing with both pre-baptismal and post-baptismal repentance. Although it does indeed discuss repentance *before* baptism, it was with the intent to stress the weighty significance of this pre-baptismal repentance, or *paenitentia prima*, so that a renewed life ideally suggests no need for post-baptismal repentance, or the divine mercy of *paenitentia secunda* upon one's *ἐξομολόγησις* or public confession.²³ Pre-baptismal repentance seems to have been emphasized in this treatise, however; for Tertullian, "We are not baptized so that we may stop sinning," remarks Eric Osborn, "but because we have stopped sinning."²⁴ Tertullian wrote *De corona*, which Hubmaier also cites, to address the debate about Christian participation in the military. Upon the Emperor Septimius Severus' death on 4 February 211 C.E., his sons made a monetary gift to the army, which was distributed to the soldiers when they approached wearing a laurel crown. One soldier refused to wear the crown based on his conviction that Christians are prohibited from engaging in violence, thus sealing his own martyrdom. Quasten observes, "[T]he military wreath is forbidden for the simple reason that warfare and army service

²¹ Cited in Rummel, *Confessionalization*, 96.

²² Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 129, 151; *JQ* 2:299.

²³ William P. Le Saint, *ACW* 28:10; *JQ* 2:300.

²⁴ Osborn, *Tertullian*, 171.

cannot be reconciled with the faith. The Christian knows only one oath, the baptismal vow, he knows only one watch service, that for his King Christ."²⁵

Hubmaier's Use of Tertullian:

It is from ch. VI that Hubmaier quotes Tertullian's *De paenitentia*: "That cleansing water is a seal of faith, and this faith has its beginning and finds its reward in a genuine repentance. We are not baptized so that we may cease committing sin but because we have ceased, since we are already clean of heart." This is where Hubmaier stops, but Tertullian continues, "This, surely, is the first Baptism of the catechumen. His fear is perfect because he has been in contact with the Lord; his faith is sound because his conscience has embraced repentance once for all."²⁶ This appending comment coincides with the agreement between Zwingli and Hubmaier at their meeting in 1523 that credobaptism can be detected in the early Church's institution of the catechumenate.²⁷ This chapter also agrees with Hubmaier's understanding of original sin as informing his views on the cooperation between free will and baptism described in the previous chapter (see 5.2). Immediately after the passage that Hubmaier quotes, Tertullian maintains, "But if we cease from sin only after Baptism, then it is of necessity and not of our own free will that we clothe ourselves with innocence."²⁸ Hubmaier and Tertullian both evidently believe that the freedom of the will implies a decision to receive baptism and an accompanying repentance, which an infant is unable to do. In addition, Tertullian seems to insist on the moral obligation of the baptized Christian as strongly as Hubmaier does, which compelled him to write on free will in Nikolsburg:²⁹ "It is

²⁵ *JQ* 2:308.

²⁶ *ACW* 28:26; *PL* 2:1349B-50A. Gonzalez mistakenly indicates in her thesis that it is ch. IV, but with the correct quotation nonetheless: Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 126.

²⁷ "Gespräch," *HS* 186; *CRR* 195.

²⁸ *ACW* 28:26; *PL* 2:1350A.

²⁹ Pipkin, *CRR* 426f., 449.

a rash confidence in the efficacy of Baptism which leads to all of this culpable delay and hesitancy in the matter of penitence. Since they are certain of an assured pardon for their sins, they steal, meanwhile, the intervening time and make of it an interlude for sinning, rather than for learning not to sin."³⁰ Tertullian's main point is that a second repentance after baptism should ideally be unnecessary if one takes the initial pre-baptismal repentance serious enough.

Nevertheless, Tertullian's allowance for a post-baptismal repentance bears a resemblance to Hubmaier's teachings on the ban or "brotherly admonition." For instance, Tertullian asserts, "The body can not rejoice at the suffering of a single one of its member; the whole body must needs suffer along with it and help in its cure. Where there are two together, there is the Church—and the Church is Christ."³¹ Tertullian refers to Matthew 18:20, which is from the same passage that Hubmaier and other contemporary Anabaptists used in their description of the ban (Mt. 18:15ff.).³² Moreover, as Tertullian's understanding of discipline operates under a dual pre-baptismal and post-baptismal repentance, thus making baptism itself the pivotal component, Hubmaier does the same: "[W]here the water baptism of Christ has not been restored according to the order of Christ [i.e., credobaptism], then it is impossible to know who is in the church or who outside, whom we have authority to admonish or not, who are brothers or sisters."³³ This, of course, is also a reflection of the *docete–baptizantes–docents* sequence that both Hubmaier and Erasmus espoused (see 5.2).

Hubmaier's quotation from *De corona* is an interesting case of misrepresenting Tertullian's original intention. Specifically, Hubmaier cites from ch. III: "When we are about

³⁰ *ACW* 28:24; *PL* 2:1347A.

³¹ *ACW* 28:33; *PL* 2:1356A.

³² "Bann," *HS* 367; *CRR* 410. Cf. Snyder, *Anabaptist History*, 157f.

³³ "Bann," *HS* 374; *CRR* 420.

to enter the water, and, as a matter of fact, even a short while before, we declare in the presence of the congregation before the bishop that we renounce the Devil, his pomps, and his angels. After that, we are immersed in the water three times..." This is where Hubmaier stops quoting, but the passage in Tertullian continues, "...making a somewhat fuller pledge than the Lord prescribed in the Gospel."³⁴ But, why did Tertullian add this statement, and why did Hubmaier omit it? The answer lies in Tertullian's original argument. Although Hubmaier takes this passage to mean that there are certain prescriptions attached to the baptismal practice during Tertullian's time that can be carried out by an adult only, Tertullian invokes the mode of baptism as an example of normative ecclesial custom even though it lacks the support of written Tradition, i.e. Scripture. Tertullian's reflections on this issue seem at times congruous with Hubmaier's own hermeneutical approach that we will discuss in more detail in chapter nine (see 9.1.1.), but when we look at Tertullian's total argument, he in fact contends the opposite. Although Hubmaier argues that paedobaptism is an illegitimate practice since it is not expressly commanded in Scripture, Zwingli argued the opposite: because infant baptism is not forbidden in Scripture, it is allowed by virtue of its historic existence.³⁵

On the one hand, Tertullian shares Hubmaier's position when discussing whether or not a Christian may wear a laurel crown: "If they try to say that we may be crowned because the Scriptures do not forbid it, then they leave themselves open to the retort that we may not be crowned because Scripture does not prescribe it."³⁶ Tertullian appears at first to favour the latter method: "Rather do I say: 'Whatever is not specifically permitted is forbidden.'"³⁷

³⁴ *FC* 40:236f.; *PL* 2:79A.

³⁵ *ZSW* 4:211. Cf. *CRR* 183.

³⁶ *FC* 40:235; *PL* 2:78B.

³⁷ *FC* 40:236; *PL* 2:78B.

However, Tertullian's situation is unique from Hubmaier's since laurel crowns are not found in Scripture anywhere, whereas baptism is. So, nothing regarding laurel crowns is forbidden or *not* forbidden (i.e., commanded) in Scripture, which forces Tertullian to ask *not* which method of interpreting Scripture is best, but rather do we "[a]ccept both [wear and *not* wear laurel crowns] as if neither were prohibited? Or reject both, on the ground that neither is enjoined?"³⁸ By answering, "Whatever is not specifically permitted is forbidden," Tertullian rejects both the practice of wearing laurel crowns and the practice of *not* wearing laurel crowns since neither are "specifically permitted" in Scripture. So, in Tertullian's framework, Scripture cannot be the arbiter.

Instead, Tertullian's recourse is Tradition or the observable custom of the Church. Moreover, he frames the custom in negative language, and claims that everyone has observed the custom of *not* wearing laurel crowns: "It is my contention that not one of the faithful ever wears a crown except in a time of trial. Everyone, from catechumens to confessors, martyrs, and even apostates, observes this custom."³⁹ Thereafter, Tertullian outlines several examples of practices in the Church and Old Testament, which are neither forbidden nor commanded in Scripture, beginning with the rite of baptism. Once he has completed, Tertullian concludes, "Therefore, from these few examples, it will be clear that, because of its being observed, also a non-written tradition can be defended, if it is confirmed by custom, which is itself a valid witness to an approved tradition from the mere fact that it has gone on for a long time."⁴⁰

Because the two situations were not comparable, Hubmaier should not have felt threatened by Tertullian's reasoning since baptism, unlike laurel crowns, is discussed in

³⁸ *FC* 40:235f.; *PL* 2:78B.

³⁹ *FC* 40:234; *PL* 2:77C.

⁴⁰ *FC* 40:239; *PL* 2:81B.

Scripture and, despite legitimate ways of disputing this application as prescriptive in all instances, credobaptism is specifically the practice of the apostles (Mt. 28:18-20; Acts 2:41, 8:12, 36-7, 16:30-4; Rom. 6:3-6; Gal. 3:26-7; Col. 2:12). Notwithstanding, Hubmaier seems to have felt threatened enough to omit the second half of the sentence, that certain details constitute a "fuller pledge than the Lord has prescribed in the Gospel," in Tertullian's invocation of the rite of baptism as an example of an accepted custom. It is interesting, however, that Zwingli praises the Anabaptists in his *Taufbüchlein* for convincing "us of the worthlessness of such human additions as exorcism, spittle, salt, and such like."⁴¹ It seems that Hubmaier was willing to contradict himself on several counts if it helped his case for adult baptism, including using a treatise that argues against Christian participation in the military, which contrasted Hubmaier's own unique views on the sword among the generally pacific Swiss Anabaptists.⁴²

6.1.2. Cyprian of Carthage († 258):

Hubmaier's References:

Treatise, hom., comm., ep.	Hubm. work	Source ref. patr./Hubm.	Putative edition	Possible purveyor	Theol./eccl. issue
named w/o ref. to works	<i>Christlichen Taufe</i> 1525	HS 153; CRR 138.	—	—	credobaptism / historical verification
<i>De lapsis</i>	<i>Urteil I</i> 1526	Oberthür, <i>Cypriani</i> , 323-46; HS 227; CRR 246.	<i>Opera divi Caecilii Cypriani...</i> (Basel: Froben, 1520)	Zwingli's library	infant communion
<i>Sententiae episcoporum de haeticis baptizandis & De lapsis</i>	<i>Urteil II</i> 1526	Oberthür, <i>Cypriani</i> , 323-46; HS 244f.; CRR 266.	"	"	credobaptism
named w/o ref. to works	<i>Von der Kindertaufe</i> (1525) 1527	HS 261; CRR 280.	—	—	credobaptism
named w/o ref. to works	"	HS 267; CRR 290.	—	—	credobaptism / avoiding Scripture

⁴¹ ZB 153.

⁴² See, for instance, "Schwert," HS 434-57; CRR 494-523.

<i>Sententiae episcoporum de haereticis baptizandis & De lapsis</i>	<i>Grund und Ursach</i> 1527	Oberthür, <i>Cypriani</i> , 323-46; <i>HS</i> 331; <i>CRR</i> 369.	<i>Opera divi Caecilii Cypriani...</i> (Basel: Froben, 1520)	Zwingli's library	credobaptism
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Hubmaier's Sources:

In her dissertation, Gonzalez does not attempt to determine which of Cyprian's writings Hubmaier read for his knowledge of the Novatianist controversy and how to handle those who had received heretical baptism. For Cyprian's conviction that Christians who were baptized by schismatic bishops must be re-baptized upon their reunion with the one, true Church, Hubmaier cites, "*De Haereticis Baptizandis*" (*On the Baptizing of Heretics*), in a marginal note of his *Grund und Ursache*.⁴³ Although Cyprian did not write a treatise with this title, it appears as a caption in his letter to Jubaianus and the proceedings of the so-called Seventh Council of Carthage (256 C.E.) under Cyprian's presidency. In Erasmus' *Opera divi Caecilii Cypriani* (Basel, 1520), which we will soon discover was likely the edition Hubmaier read, the full title of Cyprian's letter to Jubaianus reads '*Scrispisti mihi frater ad Iubaianum de haereticis baptizandis*'⁴⁴ and the proceedings of the Seventh Council of Carthage, '*Sententiae episcoporum de haereticis baptizandis*.'⁴⁵ The latter was likely Hubmaier's real source as we will argue below. Hubmaier also read Cyprian's *De lapsis* for his knowledge of infant communion and possibly his awareness of apparent conflicting teachings in Cyprian's writings.⁴⁶ We will also explore Hubmaier's possible knowledge of Cyprian's *Ad Fidum* in the context of his dialogue with Oecolampadius,⁴⁷ and his *Ad*

⁴³ "Grund," *HS* 331; *CRR* 369.

⁴⁴ *PL* 3:1109-27; *ANF* 5:379-86. *Opera ... Cypriani* (Basel: Froben, rprt. 1521), fos. 322-31: BSB, shelf mark: 2 P.lat. 425.

⁴⁵ *ANF* 5:565-72; *Opera ... Cypriani* (Basel: Froben, 1521), fos. 339-48.

⁴⁶ "Urteil: I," *HS* 227; *CRR* 246.

"Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 153; *CRR* 138.

⁴⁷ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 261; *CRR* 280.

Iubaianum, which may have been instrumental in Hubmaier's understanding of the keys and three kinds of baptism.⁴⁸

Of the editions that were available to Hubmaier, Berthold Rembolt edited Cyprian's *Opera*, which was printed in Paris in 1512.⁴⁹ However, the most readily available and much more reliable edition of Cyprian's works was the one that Erasmus edited and Rhenanus helped through the press in Basel in 1520.⁵⁰ We know from a letter by Zwingli (24 April 1519) that he asked Rhenanus directly for a copy, which was sent to him in April, 1520.⁵¹ Zwingli gives overt mention of Cyprian 22 times in his works, and most of his marginal notes seem to be restricted to Cyprian's letters. Hubmaier's attempt to absolve himself of any indictment of Novatianism in his *Gespräch* with Zwingli suggests that the two had perhaps discussed the inherent difficulties of baptizing adults who had already received baptism as infants.⁵²

Evaluation of Cyprian:

To determine whether or not Hubmaier invoked Cyprian correctly, it is appropriate to outline the two major controversies that the bishop of Carthage addressed. The two works we know Hubmaier read, *Sententiae episcoporum* and *De lapsis*, are representative of Cyprian's convictions regarding these two controversies. Early on in Cyprian's episcopacy, the Decian persecution broke out in January, 250 C.E. after an edict ordered all Roman citizens to offer sacrifices to the gods in the presence of special commissioners.⁵³ Cyprian

⁴⁸ "Gespräch," *HS* 171; *CRR* 175.

"Form zu Taufen," *HS* 350; *CRR* 389.

"Lehrtafel," *HS* 313f.; *CRR* 349f.

⁴⁹ *Opera* (Paris: Rembolt & Waterloes, 1512). Cf. Rice, "Humanist Idea," 156-60.

⁵⁰ Olin, "Fathers," 41.

⁵¹ *Opera ... Cypriani* (Basel: Froben, 1520): ZZB, shelf mark: III L 11.

⁵² "Gespräch," *HS* 198; *CRR* 212.

"Form zu Taufen," *HS* 352; *CRR* 391.

⁵³ Chadwick, *Early Church*, 1993; Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 366-8.

hid in the hills surrounding Carthage, but returned in the middle of 251 C.E., when the persecution subsided upon Decius' death in battle, to the question of how to readmit those who had apostatized during the persecution, i.e. the *lapsi*. The *confessors*—those who refused to sacrifice and accepted persecution—believed they possessed inherent authority on this issue and generally held a relaxed policy toward the *lapsi*. These were backed by Felicissimus, Novatus, and Fortunatus, but an alternative rigorist faction formed under the leadership of Maximus, a rival bishop in Carthage. To communicate a uniform policy for dealing with the *lapsi*, Cyprian wrote *De lapsis* in 251 C.E., which was presented and adopted at a synod held in Carthage that same year. Essentially, it prescribed varying durations of penance depending on whether the *lapsi* was a *libellicati* (obtained a certificate without actually sacrificing), *sacrificati* (offered sacrifices), or *thurificati* (burned incense). Cornelius, bishop of Rome, ensured this same resolution was adopted in his See. However, Novatian, the antipope, gained the support of Novatus from Carthage in what was an anomalous union due to the latter's lax position and formed a schismatic faction against both Cyprian and Cornelius.⁵⁴

This schism brought on new problems for Cyprian, his solution being the most relevant and congenial to Hubmaier's baptismal theology. At issue was whether the efficacy of the sacraments, and specifically baptism, was tied to the rubrics of the rite—i.e. had value *ex opere operato*—or the orthodoxy and ecclesial affiliation of the officiant. Cyprian believed that the Holy Spirit imbued the one, indivisible Church, which preserved her against heresy. Therefore, the administration of baptism by heretical and schismatic bishops was

⁵⁴ Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 1:369f., 372, 383f.; Drobner, *Fathers of the Church*, 168f.; Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 216f.; *JQ* 2:342f., 348f.

invalid.⁵⁵ Cyprian's views, however, obfuscated the way to readmit those who received heretical baptism; he eventually decided that re-baptism within the orthodox Church was required. Cornelius' later successor as bishop of Rome, Stephen, was more lenient and thus fell out of favour with Cyprian; the two were unable to reconcile before they both perished during the Valerian persecution.⁵⁶ After Cyprian convened a synod in Carthage comprised of bishops from Africa and neighbouring provinces, which ruled in his favour, he sent a letter to Stephen outlining their decision. This letter was followed by another epistle to Jubaianus, bishop of Mauretania, which outlined the need for a "*secundi baptismi*"⁵⁷ of those who received heretical baptism if they wanted to reunite with the one, true Church.⁵⁸ The letter to Jubaianus was also read during the Seventh Council of Carthage, which was a more forcible response to Pope Stephen's objections.⁵⁹

Since it appears likely that Hubmaier read Erasmus' 1520 edition of Cyprian that Zwingli owned, we are assured of the role his humanist impulses played in exposing him to the thought of the bishop of Carthage. In the preface to this edition, dedicated to Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci,⁶⁰ Erasmus still gives "first place to Jerome," but after examining Cyprian more closely, he remarks, "[D]oubt at once assailed me which I should prefer; so true is it that each with his own special virtues makes an overwhelming impression."⁶¹ Specifically, Erasmus was impressed by Cyprian's eloquence in style, which "far outstrips Jerome."⁶² Further, it is not difficult to imagine Hubmaier's reliance on Cyprian if he agreed with

⁵⁵ Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 1:373.

⁵⁶ Cyprian was exiled to Curubis on 30 August 257 C.E. and beheaded on 14 September 258: *JQ* 2:343.

⁵⁷ *PL* 3:1125B; *ANF* 5:385.

⁵⁸ Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 1:373f.; Drobner, *Fathers of the Church*, 168, 172f.; Chadwick, *Early Church*, 119f.; *JQ* 2:242f.

⁵⁹ *ANF* 5:565; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 339.

⁶⁰ *Opera ... Cypriani*, fos. a2(recto)-a3(verso).

⁶¹ *CWE* 7:28.

⁶² *CWE* 7:28f.

Erasmus' conviction that when one reads Cyprian, "you feel you are listening to a true Christian, a bishop, and a future martyr. His heart burns with the religion of the Gospel," he continues, "and his language answers to his heart."⁶³ Erasmus' preface also points out the main issue for which Hubmaier invoked Cyprian, *viz.*, re-baptism of those who had previously receive heretical baptism, and provides this background, including the observation that Cyprian's views were not held during Hubmaier and Erasmus' own day:

At this point it will perhaps not come amiss to say something of those tenets of his which are not accepted by the church of today, among which far the best known is his view that heretics who have been expelled from the fellowship of the church and schismatics produce no effect by baptism. And indeed this view was held not only by Cyprian, but by almost all the bishops in Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania, as is abundantly clear from the acts of the Synod of Carthage, which I have appended to this edition. That even Hilary himself was at one time of this opinion, so that he would not admit persons baptized by Arians unless they had been rebaptized by orthodox, is clearly stated by Jerome.⁶⁴

Erasmus defends Cyprian, however, by observing that "he laid down no law for others to prevent them from doing as they themselves thought fit, nor did he suppose that anyone who disagreed with him must for that reason be excommunicated."⁶⁵

Hubmaier's Use of Cyprian:

De lapsis: Hubmaier does not enlist the support of Cyprian in the first version of his *Urteil*, but does, in the introduction, point to his witness of the practice in Cyprian's day of infant communion.⁶⁶ Writing to Martin Göschl, to which this treatise is dedicated, Hubmaier states, "Your Grace is well knowledgeable about the ancient error which many from the time of Cyprian until today have practiced out of ignorance. Namely, that they led young children also to the sacrament (as they called it) of bread and wine, which nevertheless has no basis in

⁶³ *CWE* 7:29.

⁶⁴ *CWE* 7:29.

⁶⁵ *CWE* 7:30.

⁶⁶ See Johnson, *Christian Initiation*, 92f.

the Word of God."⁶⁷ However, after following Quasten's lead by looking at Cyprian's letter to Caecilius 'On the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord,' Gonzalez concludes, "There is no ... indication of such belief or practice held or advocated by Cyprian either."⁶⁸ But Gonzalez is mistaken, as Cyprian mentions the practice in his *De lapsis*, which Erasmus included in his 1520 edition. In this treatise, Cyprian relates a firsthand account of a child who had been given, "in the presence of an idol ..., bread mingled with wine, which however itself was the remainder of what had been used in the immolation of those that had perished." As a result, during Holy Communion, "the little child, by the instinct of the divine majesty, turned away its face, compressed its mouth with resisting lips, and refused the cup."⁶⁹ Gonzalez, by not locating this quote, nor accounting for Hubmaier's reasons for mentioning infant communion, claims that Hubmaier invokes Cyprian "differently than the previous fathers" since he did not address "the necessity of amendment of life before baptism."⁷⁰ Yet, if we track Hubmaier's logic, it is clear that he still has in mind the importance of a pre-baptismal amendment of life in this reference to Cyprian, though Gonzalez is correct to point out that Cyprian is not used in support of this belief. Specifically, after referencing Cyprian in the manner above, Hubmaier illuminates the import of Paul's statement in 1 Corinthians 11:28 for *both* infant communion and paedobaptism: since self-examination is a prerequisite for receiving communion, "one should also believe beforehand and confess faith with the mouth before one receives water baptism. Which just as well is impossible for young children to do."⁷¹ Therefore, Hubmaier recalls infant communion to illustrate its shared deficiency with infant

⁶⁷ "Urteil: I," *HS* 227; *CRR* 246.

⁶⁸ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 137f.

⁶⁹ *ANF* 5:444; *PL* 4:499B-500A; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 226: "*Vbi uero solenibus ad impletis calicem diaconus offerre praesentibus caepit, & accipientibus caeteris locus eius aduenit, facie suam paruula instinctu diuinæ maiestatis auertere, os labns obturantibus premere, calicem recusare.*" Cf. Sec. 9: *ANF* 5:439; *PL* 487A.

⁷⁰ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 141.

⁷¹ "Urteil: I," *HS* 228; *CRR* 247.

baptism, *viz.*, the inability of the recipient to repent beforehand.

Another place where Hubmaier may have been alluding to *De lapsis* is in his *Christlichen Taufe*, in which he claims that "we find precisely in the books of the pope, not to mention Cyprian, Augustine, and others, that it has not always been like it is today, whenever it [infant baptism] may have started."⁷² Even though he expands on what he meant by 'the books of the pope' in his provision of various canons in Gratian's *Decretum* and by Augustine in his assessment of a single canon, *Firmissime tene*,⁷³ which is an extraction from a letter to Peter Diaconus actually authored by Fulgentius of Ruspe,⁷⁴ Hubmaier does not elaborate on his reference to Cyprian at all. However, his discussion of Gratian's Decree gives us some clues. The main point amidst this catalogue of canons is that papal decrees "have set up one thing and thrown another down according to their whim."⁷⁵ The main point against Augustine, that his argument favouring infant baptism stemmed from his espousal of original sin, is itself a negative one. So, it is likely that Hubmaier was here referring to a comparable internally contradictory teaching of Cyprian based on his reading of *De lapsis* on the one hand and *Sententiae episcoporum*, which we will soon see he cited positively, on the other hand. We will also see immediately below that Oecolampadius brought to Hubmaier's attention Cyprian's approval of infant baptism, likely from his letter to Fidus. However, *Christlichen Taufe* was written in five days in July of 1525 and Oecolampadius' *Gespräch etlicher Prädikanten zu Basel* was prepared in September of the same year after a dialogue with Anabaptists in Basel in August. Therefore, the Basel Reformer's isolation of Cyprian's favourable statements about paedobaptism was likely not Hubmaier's source for his negative

⁷² "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 153; *CRR* 138.

⁷³ *CIC* 1:1362, c. III.

⁷⁴ *FC* 95:100.

⁷⁵ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 154; *CRR* 139.

appraisal of Cyprian in his *Christlichen Taufe*, but rather his objection to infant communion in *De lapsis*.

Letter to Fidus: Oecolampadius' invocation of Cyprian's approval of infant baptism was Hubmaier's point of reference for his *Von der Kindertaufe*. After Oecolampadius observes, "Cyprian and the Council of Carthage have not been able to reject infant baptism," Hubmaier responds, "I will trust Cyprian, councils, and other teachings just as far as they use the Holy Scripture, and not more."⁷⁶ With the limited information contained in this exchange, Gonzalez feels justified in claiming, "When confronted with indisputable evidence from the past, Hubmaier instantly withdrew back to the Scriptures and discarded Cyprian and the councils altogether."⁷⁷ Later, Gonzalez also avers that "with Oecolampad, Hubmaier had decided that the decision of Cyprian and the Council regarding infant baptism was not acceptable, chiefly because it was not scriptural."⁷⁸ Cyprian's letter to Fidus, *De infantibus baptizandis*, does indeed take paedobaptism for granted when discussing whether infants should be baptized immediately after birth or on the eighth day. Oecolampadius was likely referring to this letter since it states at the beginning that the decision was ratified by "Cyprian, and others his colleagues who were present in council, in number sixty-six."⁷⁹ The decision was contrary to Fidus', who believed that baptism should be withheld until the eighth day; instead, Cyprian informs him that "we all thought very differently in our council. For in this course which you thought was to be taken, no one agreed; but we all rather judge that the mercy and grace of God is not to be refused to any one born of man."⁸⁰ Later, Cyprian makes it clear that "no one ought to be hindered from baptism ... [which] ... we

⁷⁶ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 261; *CRR* 280.

⁷⁷ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 142.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁷⁹ *ANF* 5:353; *PL* 3:1013A; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 82.

⁸⁰ *ANF* 5:353f.; *PL* 3:1015A; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 82.

think is to be even more observed in respect of infants and newly-born persons"81 The letter to Fidus was included in Erasmus' 1520 edition, so Hubmaier was likely aware of it.⁸²

Cyprian's overt approval of infant baptism notwithstanding, Gonzalez's assessment in the previous paragraph does not accurately interpret the dialogue between Oecolampadius and Hubmaier. After asserting his loyalty to Scripture, Hubmaier declares, "They themselves," meaning Cyprian and council attendees, "also desire nothing more than that from me."⁸³ Far from discarding Cyprian and the councils, as Gonzalez believes, Hubmaier seems to instead believe that on some important points at least, Cyprian complies with Scripture despite his failure to live up to its teachings in other areas. It seems that, as we noted above, the conflicting teachings of popes, Augustine, and, in this case, Cyprian allow Hubmaier to balance out any offensive doctrines with Cyprian's more amenable teachings regarding the need for re-baptism in the *Sententiae episcoporum*, which again we will soon see that he cited positively. The way to resolve this discrepancy, bypassed by Gonzalez, is to take into account Hubmaier's acknowledgement of ambiguities surrounding the baptismal practice during patristic times and the non-dogmatic teachings on baptismal forms, despite the requisite acceptance of paedobaptism, during his own pre-Tridentine era. This, again, is the catalyst for his insistence on a council to resolve the issue. It is nevertheless true that Hubmaier is misguided in his equation of infant baptism with the heretical baptism that Cyprian fought against, since he knew from Cyprian's letter to Fidus that he approved of the practice. The way to resolve this discrepancy is admittedly less straightforward, but the awareness of both believers' and infant baptism during the patristic era and need for a council still applies. It does seem, however, that Cyprian suffered the most bifurcated evaluation

⁸¹ ANF 5:354; PL 3:1019A; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fos. 83f.

⁸² *Opera ... Cypriani*, fos. 82-4.

⁸³ "Kindertaufe," HS 261; CRR 280.

from Hubmaier of all the Church fathers he cites; anything that complied with his own interpretation of Scripture, he approved, but whatever contradicted Scripture, he condemned.

Sententiae episcoporum de haereticis baptizandis: When we consider below Hubmaier's wording when citing *Cyprianus, De hereticis baptizandis* as his source in a marginal note in his *Grund und Ursache*,⁸⁴ it will become evident that he likely meant the published proceedings of the Seventh Council of Carthage. It is also possible that he read Cyprian's letter to Jubaianus as well, both of which appear in Erasmus' 1520 edition.⁸⁵ The specific teaching that Hubmaier uses to balance his negative appraisal of Cyprian's outline of infant communion in his *De lapsis* finds expression in both the second version of his *Urteil* and in his *Grund und Ursache*. After identifying Cyprian as *ain Bischoff zu Cortago* and incorrectly noting that he wrote in the year 240 C.E., Hubmaier observes that he "concluded with an entire council that heretical baptism was no baptism, having neither God, Spirit, gospel, sacrament, and grace—nor having the ability or capability of giving any of the above."⁸⁶ Since Hubmaier deliberately mentions a council rather than a letter, this points to the proceedings of the Seventh Council of Carthage as his source, which convened eighty-seven bishops from Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania to decide the policy against those who had received heretical baptism. Hubmaier makes the same observation in his *Grund und Ursache*. Here, he is even clearer that his source was the *Sententiae episcoporum* since he writes, "We read of Cyprian and many other bishops who decided in the Council of Carthage that all those who were ever baptized by heretics must again be baptized rightly by Christians." The proceedings from this council comprise decisions by various bishops in succession until Cyprian's final remarks, which align with Hubmaier's description and

⁸⁴ "Grund," *HS* 334; *CRR* 369.

⁸⁵ *Opera ... Cypriani*, fos. 322- 31; 339-48.

⁸⁶ "Urteil: II," *HS* 244; *CRR* 266.

personal convictions. Further, there is enough in the *Sententiae episcoporum* to compel Hubmaier to make the implicit point that heretics are not Christians. For instance, Secundinus of Carpi said, "Are heretics Christians or not? If they are Christians, why are they not in the Church of God? If they are not Christians, how [do they] make Christians? ... Whence it appears plain that upon strange children, and on the offspring of Antichrist, the Holy Ghost cannot descend only by imposition of hands, since it is manifest that heretics have not baptism."⁸⁷

Further corroborating the belief that Hubmaier was indeed referring to the Seventh Council of Carthage, we find that the attending bishops reflect Hubmaier's interpretation that "God, Spirit, gospel, sacrament, and grace" do not accompany heretical baptism. Regarding the first, Paulus of Obba says, "God is true, but every man a liar.' But if God is true, how can the truth of baptism be among the heretics, among whom God is not?"⁸⁸ With respect to the Spirit, Successus of Abbir Germanicana observed, "If they [heretics] can baptize, they can also bestow the Holy Spirit. But if they cannot give the Holy Spirit, because they have not the Holy Spirit, neither can they spiritually baptize. Therefore we judge that heretics must be baptized."⁸⁹ Several bishops referred specifically to the "*evangelium*" of Christ when making their point.⁹⁰ Regarding the sacramentality of baptism, "According to the sacrament of God's heavenly grace which we have received," says Theogenes of Hippo Regius, "we believe one baptism which is in the holy Church."⁹¹ Finally, several bishops allude to the "grace of baptism" that does not characterize heretical baptism. Secundinus of Cadius, for

⁸⁷ ANF 5:568; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 343.

⁸⁸ ANF 5:570; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 345.

⁸⁹ ANF 5:567; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 342.

⁹⁰ ANF 5:566, 569; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fos. 340f., 343.

⁹¹ ANF 5:567; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 342.

instance, claims that "Antichrists cannot minister the grace of saving baptism,"⁹² and Privatianus of Sufetula asks, "[I]f [heresy] is not from God, how can it either have the grace of God, or confer it upon any one?"⁹³ Therefore, it seems certain that Hubmaier had as his source the *Sententiae episcoporum* of the Seventh Council of Carthage.

The theme of ecclesial unity also runs through the entire *Sententiae episcoporum*, as it does in Cyprian's *De ecclesiae unitate*, also included in Erasmus' 1520 edition.⁹⁴ Of importance specifically to Hubmaier's understanding of the *ecclesia universalis* is the explicit interdependence of correct, or orthodox, baptism and the unity of the Church, this being a common theme of the bishops whose decisions comprise the *Sententiae episcoporum*. In Hubmaier's catechism that he began writing in December of 1526, and published in early 1527, he makes use of the dialogical literary form to expound the connection between the universal Church, the keys, and baptism. It worth quoting in its entirety:

Leonhart: Which articles of the [Apostles'] creed deal with baptism?

Hans: The ninth and tenth articles, where we confess the universal church, the fellowship of the saints and forgiveness of sins, just as the Lord's Supper is also included there. For with outward baptism the church opens her doors to all believers who confess their faith orally before her and receives them into her bosom, fellowship, and communion of saints for the forgiveness of their sins. Therefore, as one cares about the forgiveness of his sins and the fellowship of the saints outside of which there is no salvation, just so much should one value water baptism, whereby one enters and is incorporated into the universal Christian church. This is the understanding and decision Christianly issued by the Nicene Council, in these words: I acknowledge one unique baptism for the remission of sins. Peter gives it the same meaning: Be baptized everyone of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins, Acts 2:38.

Leonhart: Now that you have assured the church of your faith by your baptism, tell me, what is the church?

⁹² ANF 5:567; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fos. 341f.

⁹³ ANF 5:568; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 342.

⁹⁴ ANF 5:421-9; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fos. 162-74.

Hans: The church is sometimes understood to include all the people who are gathered and united in one God, one Lord, one faith, and one baptism, and have confessed this faith with their mouths, wherever they may be on earth. This, then is the universal Christian corporeal church and fellowship of the saints, assembled only in the Spirit of God, as we confess in the ninth article of our [Apostles'] creed. At other times the church is understood to mean each separate and outward meeting assembly or parish membership that is under one shepherd or bishop and assembles bodily for instruction, for baptism and the Lord's Supper. The church as daughter has the same power to bind and to loose on earth as the universal church, her mother, when she uses the keys according to the command of Christ, her spouse and husband.

Leonhart: What is the difference between these two churches?

Hans: The particular congregation may err, as the papist church has erred in many respects. But the universal church cannot err. ...

We already discussed the implications of this last portion on the errant papal *ecclesia particularis* in chapter four (see 4.6.1.) but we will also say more later (see 10.2 and 10.3).

Several bishops who attended the Seventh Council of Carthage expressed sentiments very similar to Hubmaier's catechism, particularly the unity of the Church as reflected in the unity of baptism, so that he was probably influenced by the *Sententiae episcoporum*. For instance, Victor of Assuri observed, "It is written, that 'God is one, and Christ is one, and the Church is one, and baptism is one' (Eph. 4:5). How, therefore, can any one be baptized there, where God, and Christ, and the one Church is not?"⁹⁵ and Lucius of Ausafa maintained,

According to the direction of my mind, and of the Holy Spirit, as there is one God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one Christ, and one hope, and one Spirit, and one Church, there ought also to be one baptism. And therefore I say, that if any thing had been set on foot or accomplished by heretics, it ought to be rescinded, and that those who come thence must be baptized in the Church.⁹⁶

Likewise, Cyprian himself brings this outline of the Seventh Council of Carthage to a close by stating, "[H]eretics, who are called adversaries of Christ and Antichrists, when they come to the Church, must be baptized with the one baptism of the Church, that they may be made

⁹⁵ ANF 5:571; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 347.

⁹⁶ ANF 5:571; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 347.

of adversaries, friends, and of Antichrists, Christians."⁹⁷ Further, Felix of Uthina used similar language to Hubmaier's differentiation between the true *ecclesia universalis* as Mother and the papal *ecclesia particularis* as an errant daughter congregation when he urged, "[A]ll heretics who come to the bosom of Mother Church should be baptized,"⁹⁸ which is expressed also in *De lapsis*.⁹⁹ Moreover, Pomponius of Dionysiana's observation that "heretics cannot baptize and give remission of sins, seeing that they have not power to be able to loose or to bind anything on earth"¹⁰⁰ is reminiscent of Hubmaier's discussion of the keys and baptism within the universal Church (see 10.3).¹⁰¹ It likely also helped Hubmaier accept the council's decision to know that they arrived at it by judging "according to the precepts of the holy Scriptures,"¹⁰² this perhaps compelling him to tell Oecolampadius that he will judge Cyprian and the councils by Scripture.

In addition to stating Cyprian's decision, along with the other bishops who attended the Council, that those who had been baptized by heretical or schismatic bishops require re-baptism upon their return to the orthodox Church, Hubmaier reveals the specific application for his own situation: "Therefore, all those who return from the heretics to the church of Christ should be baptized for the first time—since what had been done previously is not to be regarded as baptism."¹⁰³ As regards Hubmaier's situation, then, he wants to stress the invalidity of the paedobaptism administered by the Roman Catholic Church, this being akin to the heretical baptism of the Novatianist sect. Conversely, Hubmaier's credobaptist

⁹⁷ ANF 5:572; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 348.

⁹⁸ ANF 5:568; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 343. Cf. "Lehrtafel," HS 315; CRR 352.

⁹⁹ ANF 5:437; PL 4:480A; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 217.

¹⁰⁰ ANF 5:570; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 345. Cf. Clarus of Mascula, ANF 5:572; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 348.

¹⁰¹ "Grund," HS 335; CRR 371;

"Rechenschaft," HS 477f.; CRR 546.

¹⁰² ANF 5:571; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 347. Cf. Felix of Amiccora, ANF 5:569; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 344, and Crescens of Cirta, ANF 567; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 341.

¹⁰³ "Urteil: II," HS 244f.; CRR 266.

practice aligns with the one, true baptism defended by Cyprian and the accompanying bishops at the council, though the baptismal form was not at issue. Here is an example, therefore, of a Church father helping shape Hubmaier's views regarding the distinction between the *ecclesia universalis* and *particularis*. At the Council, Cassius of Macomadæ said, "Since there cannot be two baptisms, he who yields baptism to the heretics takes it away from himself. I judge therefore that heretics, lamentable and corrupt, must be baptized when they begin to come to the Church."¹⁰⁴ Specifically, Hubmaier uses Cyprian's authority to counter claims by his opponents that he is *re*-baptizing, or performing a second baptism. For instance, Adelphius of Thasvalte, who also attended the council, said, "Certain persons without reason impugn the truth by false and envious words, in saying that we rebaptize, when the Church does not rebaptize heretics, but baptizes them."¹⁰⁵

It is important to note, however, that Hubmaier invokes the inconsistent teachings of not only papal pronouncements in Gratian's *Decretum* but also elsewhere in Cyprian's writings to explain his position on the historical survival of infant baptism. Although Gonzalez claims that Hubmaier enlisted Cyprian's witness among other fathers "to show that *only* adult baptism was practiced by the early Church,"¹⁰⁶ this assessment is not nuanced enough to adequately account for Hubmaier's overall objectives and interpretation of baptism in the patristic era. In his *Christlichen Taufe*, the question is posed, "Have people not always, from apostolic times until today, baptized infants, or has it not always been like that?" Hubmaier responds, "Even if it had always been like that, it would still be not be right, because a wrong is always wrong," and then provides the observation that

¹⁰⁴ ANF 5:568; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 342.

¹⁰⁵ ANF 5:569; *Opera ... Cypriani*, fo. 344.

¹⁰⁶ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 143. (emphasis mine).

contradictions exist in the books of the pope, Cyprian, Augustine, and others.¹⁰⁷ It seems, therefore, that Hubmaier is at least willing to acknowledge the presence of paedobaptism during the early Church, while maintaining that it was specifically credobaptism which survived from apostolic times into the patristic era as well, Cyprian providing evidence of the dual practice. This, as we have argued before (see 4.5), is why Hubmaier blames Augustine for not the invention but the popularization of infant baptism, why he acknowledges ambiguities in the doctrines and practices of the Church from patristic times until his own, and desires the convocation of a council to resolve the issue.

Letter to Jubaianus: Because of their importance for Hubmaier's understanding of baptism, a few observations can be made concerning his possible dependence on Cyprian for two further issues: (1) the connection between the keys and baptism and (2) the three types of baptism—by water, Spirit, and blood. In the letter to Jubaianus, which we determined might have been one of Hubmaier's sources, Cyprian writes that baptism is for the remission of sins and that by the power of the keys conferred on the apostles upon Peter's confession, it must be administered in the one, universal Church, "Whence we perceive that only they who are set over the Church and established in the Gospel law, and in the ordinance of the Lord, are allowed to baptize and to give remission of sins."¹⁰⁸ Overtly linking baptism and the keys again, Cyprian later asks of the one who desires baptism, "Whither is he to come who thirsts? Shall he come to the heretics, where there is no fountain and river of living water at all; or to the Church which is one, and is founded upon one who has received the keys of it by the Lord's voice?"¹⁰⁹ This sentiment is noticeably similar to Hubmaier's claim, "For in water

¹⁰⁷ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 153; *CRR* 137f.

¹⁰⁸ *PL* 3:1114B; *ANF* 5:381.

¹⁰⁹ *PL* 3:1116B; *ANF* 5:382.

baptism the church uses the key of admitting and loosing...."¹¹⁰ Further, in his *Form zu Taufen* (1526), which lays out his liturgical structure of the baptismal rite, Hubmaier stipulates that after the candidate receives baptism, the bishop should declare, "I testify to you and give you authority that henceforth you shall be counted among the Christian community, as a member participating in the use of her keys..."¹¹¹ There is a very real possibility, therefore, that Hubmaier was impacted by his reading of Cyprian and employed the same language of the keys to give the impression that his Church was the Church of Cyprian that also possessed these keys. Within this paradigm, the erroneous papal *ecclesia particularis* was akin to a heretical sect whose adherents required re-baptism upon readmission into the one, true Church.

The three types of baptism are also important to how Hubmaier understands the function of baptism.¹¹² Scriptural references such as 1 John 5:7-8 and Luke 12:50 had a strong influence on Hubmaier's understanding. Cyprian also uses this last scriptural reference in the letter to Jubaianus.¹¹³ However, Cyprian accentuates the baptism of blood as a substitute for water baptism if a catechumen endures martyrdom prior to the conclusion of her or his catechumenate. Hubmaier, on the other hand, claims that the baptism of blood is the third baptism in a sequence of baptisms, each type being experienced in succession as illumination, public confession, and daily mortification.¹¹⁴ So, although the legitimacy of the baptism by blood and the similarity in circumstances between the persecuted early Christians and Anabaptists may have been affirmed through his reading of Cyprian, the precise function

¹¹⁰ "Gespräch," *HS* 171; *CRR* 175.

¹¹¹ "Form zu Taufen," *HS* 350; *CRR* 389.

¹¹² "Lehrtafel," *HS* 313f.; *CRR* 349f.

¹¹³ *PL* 3:1124B; *ANF* 5:385.

¹¹⁴ "Entschuldigung," *HS* 275; *CRR* 301.

"Lehrtafel," *HS* 313f.; *CRR* 349f.

of each seems to have a different origin. As we will see, Ambrose' *De mysteriis* may have been this source.

6.1.3. Ambrose (c. 337/40 – 397):

Hubmaier's References:

Treatise, hom., comm., ep.	Hubm. work	Source ref. patr./Hubm.	Putative edition	Possible purveyor	Theol./eccl. issue
<i>De mysteriis</i>	<i>Urteil II</i> 1526	<i>PL</i> 16:392B, 395B; <i>HS</i> 246; <i>CRR</i> 269.	<i>Divi Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis omnia opera</i> (Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1516).	Zwingli's library	credobaptism

Hubmaier's Sources:

Although Ambrose writes on baptism in many places, there is strong reason to believe that Hubmaier's source is his *De Mysteriis*. Before launching into his own thoughts based on his reading of Romans 14:23, Hubmaier claims that Ambrose argued two things: (1) "baptism of apostates and unbelievers does not heal" and (2) "the baptism of those who do not come near to the Lord through the flood does not make whole or pure, but makes impure."¹¹⁵ It seems clear that the first item is a loose citation of Ambrose' statement, "*Non sanat baptismus perfidorum, non mundat, sed polluit* (The baptism of unbelievers heals not nor purifies, but pollutes)."¹¹⁶ Gonzalez believes that Hubmaier's second argument regarding the flood is from Ambrose' *On Repentance*. However, the passage she locates only refers to "floods" rather than the specific flood of Genesis 7:1ff. and 1 Pt. 3:20. Moreover, Gonzalez's quote from *On Repentance* is about passing through the lusts of the flesh which can entangle, the "floods" having nothing to do with baptism at all but is a metaphor for this lust, which is why Ambrose advises his readers to only "pass through the waters" and "not remain

¹¹⁵ "Urteil: II," *HS* 246; *CRR* 269.

¹¹⁶ *PL* 16:395B; *NPNF2* 10:320; *Omnia opera* (Basel: Cratander, 1516): fo. 229(verso).

therein."¹¹⁷ Instead, Hubmaier's second argument is likely also from *De mysteriis* in the chapter prior to his initial citation. Specifically, Ambrose explains the baptismal properties of the flood: "God, willing to restore what was lacking, sent the flood and bade just Noah go up into the ark. ... The water, then, is that in which the flesh is dipped, that all carnal sin may be washed away. All wickedness is there buried."¹¹⁸ It seems, however, that Hubmaier conflates the two passages from *De mysteriis* so that Ambrose's belief that heretical baptism "heals not, but pollutes" is reflected in Hubmaier's assertion that the flood "does not make whole or pure, but makes impure."

Gonzalez also alleges, "There were many editions of Ambrose already in circulation at the time Hubmaier wrote and it is, again, impossible to determine which text Hubmaier used."¹¹⁹ Although she is technically correct that many editions were available to Hubmaier, including one printed in Venice in 1485, another by Georgius Cribellus (Milan, 1490), and two by Amerbach (Basel, 1492 / 1506), *De mysteriis* was first printed in Amerbach's 1506 edition and was included in Cratander's 1516 *Opera* owned by Zwingli.¹²⁰ Backus has claimed that the edition is not extant, but that J.M. Usteri has nevertheless made a convincing case that Zwingli indeed possessed a copy.¹²¹ However, I have determined that a copy of this same edition, apparently now thought to have been in Zwingli's possession, is indeed extant in the Zentralbibliothek in Zürich.¹²² Zwingli makes reference to Ambrose 451 times in his writings, with 380 of them appearing in his marginal annotations on the Pauline epistles in Erasmus' 1516 *Novum Instrumentum*.

¹¹⁷ *NPNF2* 10:341.

¹¹⁸ *PL* 16:392B; *NPNF2* 10:318.

¹¹⁹ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 190.

¹²⁰ *Omnia opera* (Basel: Cratander, 1516): BSB, shelf mark: 2 P.lat. 42-1.

¹²¹ Backus, "Zwingli," 630.

¹²² *Omnia opera* (Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1516): ZZB, shelf mark: III L 60.

Evaluation of Ambrose:

Ambrose was of course very well revered in the sixteenth century, and his teachings were claimed by both Catholics and Reformers alike. Regarding the reception of *De Mysteriis*, a collation of previously delivered homilies bearing a resemblance to Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catecheses Mystagogicæ* written around 390 C.E.,¹²³ James Herbert Strawley explains that Ambrose's interpretation of some scriptural passages elicited a debate between Catholics and Protestants regarding its authenticity.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, authorship issues have since been resolved and Quasten explains that in *De mysteriis*, "Ambrose addresses the neophytes concerning the rites of Baptism and the Eucharist and explains their symbolism by means of the Scripture."¹²⁵ *De mysteriis* also expounds both baptism and the Eucharist "according to their meaning in salvation history and their spiritual (mystical) significance,"¹²⁶ observes Drobner, and was a homiletic catechesis that Ambrose wrote for his own catechumens, which were apparently so numerous that the five bishops who succeeded him had difficulty performing his duties.¹²⁷

Hubmaier's Use of Ambrose:

The conflated citation from Ambrose' *De mysteriis* follows two sides of a single argument from Hubmaier about baptism: (1) the practice of infant baptism by the Catholic Church is a heretical baptism and (2) true baptism is credobaptism, as represented not in the Old Testament figure of circumcision, but that of the flood and the ark (Gen. 7:1ff.; 1 Pt. 3:20). Addressing the first, Ambrose invokes the Pool of Bethesda known for its healing power (John 5:4) and contrasts this with the baptism of unbelievers that "heals not but

¹²³ *JQ* 4:171.

¹²⁴ Strawley, *St. Ambrose*, xv. Cf. *NPNF2* 10:xviii; Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 284.

¹²⁵ *JQ* 4:171. See also *FC* 44:3.

¹²⁶ Drobner, *Fathers of the Church*, 316.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 315. Cf. *FC* 15:56.

pollutes."¹²⁸ Ambrose has the Jews in mind who wash "pots and cups, as though things without sense were capable of guilt or grace,"¹²⁹ but Hubmaier writes about both "apostates and unbelievers."¹³⁰ Consequently, Hubmaier interprets that which pollutes as heretical baptism, and for him the paedobaptism of the Catholic Church. The flip side of Hubmaier's argument is the positive espousal of credobaptism stemming from Ambrose's discussion of Noah, the flood, and the ark. Hubmaier invokes the flood as an Old Testament type of baptism contingent specifically on eradicating impurity and sin, which then allows one to come "near to the Lord." In *De Mysteriis*, Ambrose also recalls the flood as a type of baptism, prior to which "the grace of the Spirit is turned away by carnal impurity and the pollution of grave sin." To Hubmaier, this means that the "impurity" and "grave sin" must first be eradicated before one may enter the salvific protection of the ark, both of which only adults are capable. At this point, "God, willing to restore what was lacking, sent the flood and bade just Noah go up into the ark."¹³¹

This figure of the flood representing credobaptism is buttressed also by Ambrose's mention of catechumens: "Now even the catechumen believes in the cross of the Lord Jesus, wherewith he too is signed; but unless he be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, he cannot receive remission of sins nor gain the gift of spiritual grace."¹³² Further, the Trinitarian formula alludes also to the Great Commission that is so central to Hubmaier's baptismal theology. That *De mysteriis* is itself a catechesis adds even more strength to his argument that the catechumenate proves that believers' baptism was the

¹²⁸ *NPNF2* 10:320.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ "Urteil: II," *HS* 246; *CRR* 269.

¹³¹ *NPNF2* 10:318; *Omnia opera* (Basel: Cratander, 1516): fo. 228(verso).

¹³² *NPNF2* 10:319.

practice of the early Church, and perhaps influenced him to compose his own catechesis.¹³³

A second item giving greater strength to Hubmaier's credobaptist convictions is the fact that Ambrose was himself baptized as an adult, the believers' baptism of a few of the fathers Hubmaier cites being explored further in chapter nine (see 9.1.2.). If Hubmaier read Zwingli's copy of Ambrose's *Opera* printed by Cratander, it is certainly noteworthy that the *libri primae* which includes *De mysteriis* contains the *Paulinus Vita de Ambrosii*, the only contemporary biography of Ambrose written by his deacon, Paulinus of Milan, at Augustine's urging. In this biography, Paulinus indeed mentions how Ambrose received baptism immediately prior to his consecration as bishop of Milan, so thus as an adult: "[W]hen he [Ambrose] was baptized, he is said to have fulfilled all the ecclesiastical offices, so that he was consecrated bishop on the eighth day with the greatest favor and joy on the part of all"¹³⁴

The last item of interest to note is Ambrose's similar teaching on the three kinds of baptism as Hubmaier also expounds in his own catechesis. Ambrose's teaching appears in the same chapter of *De Mysteriis* that Hubmaier cites in his *Urteil II*. Gonzalez claims, "Because the idea of baptism through blood or suffering was not unique to Hubmaier but shared by other Anabaptists, it is not likely that Hubmaier would have drawn upon Ambrose's writings at the very inception of his theology of three-fold baptism," but concedes that "it is possible that Hubmaier was at some point influenced or at least affirmed by the corresponding theology of Ambrose."¹³⁵ Gonzalez, however, fails to go into any detail and therefore does not investigate whether any *unique* similarities exist. In the example we discussed above, Cyprian gave the baptism by blood a function separate from and in lieu of

¹³³ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 306-26; *CRR* 340-65.

¹³⁴ *FC* 15:38; *omnia opera ...* (Basel: Cratander, 1516): *Pavlinvs de Vita Ambrosii*.

¹³⁵ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 192.

water baptism, but the interpretation of Ambrose appears to be more in harmony with Hubmaier's. As we already observed, Hubmaier conceives the three types of baptism as successive occurrences, each mutually dependent on the others and therefore internally consistent and necessary.¹³⁶ Accordingly, Armour maintains, "While Catholic theology envisioned an individual as ordinarily receiving only one of the three baptisms, Hubmaier considered all three to be necessary."¹³⁷ Similarly, Ambrose declares, "[T]he three witnesses in baptism, the water, the blood, and the Spirit, are one, for if you take away one of these, the Sacrament of baptism does not exist. For what is water without the cross of Christ?"¹³⁸ It is plausible, therefore, that Hubmaier took some of his cues from Ambrose's insights on the three kinds of baptism in his *De Mysteriis*.

6.1.4. Jerome (c. 347 – 420):

Hubmaier's References:

Treatise, hom., comm., ep.	Hubm. work	Source ref. patr./Hubm.	Verifiable edition	Possible purveyor	Theol./eccl. issue
none	<i>Gespräch</i> 1526	<i>HS</i> 172; <i>CRR</i> 176.	—	—	distortion of Scripture
<i>Against the Luciferians</i>	<i>Gespräch</i> 1526 <i>Urteil I & II</i> 1526 <i>Von der Kindertaufe</i> (1525) 1527	<i>PL</i> 23:162Aff., 164B; <i>HS</i> 197, 231, 245, 267; <i>CRR</i> 210, 252, 267, 292.	<i>Omnium Operum Divi Eusebii Hieronymi ...</i> (Basel: Froben, 1516-19).	Zwingli's library	distinction between Christ's and John's baptism / credobaptism
<i>Commentary on Matthew</i>	"	<i>PL</i> 26:218B-C; <i>HS</i> 206, 208f., 231, 245, 267; <i>CRR</i> 222, 225, 227, 252, 267, 292.	"	"	credobaptism
<i>super pres. fundamenta</i> (?)	<i>Entschuldigung</i> 1526 <i>Lehrtafel</i> 1526	<i>HS</i> 274, 310; <i>CRR</i> 300, 344.	"	"	primacy of Scripture over glosses
<i>Commentary on Philemon</i>	<i>Das andere Büchlein</i> 1527	<i>PL</i> 26:649A; <i>HS</i> 409f.; <i>CRR</i> 463.	"	"	free will

¹³⁶ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 313f.; *CRR* 349f.

¹³⁷ Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 53.

¹³⁸ *PL* 16:394C; *NPNF2* 10:319.

<i>Against Helvidius</i>	<i>Rechenschaft</i> 1528	<i>PL</i> 23:183-206; <i>HS</i> 471; <i>CRR</i> 538.	"	"	perpetual virginity of the Theotokos
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Hubmaier's Sources:

Hubmaier seems to have been well acquainted with Jerome's works and cites him, either implicitly or explicitly, twelve times in his writings and mentions him once during his interrogation by Johann Fabri. Gonzalez claims that Hubmaier mentions Jerome only nine times (although I count only seven in her analysis),¹³⁹ omitting Jerome's first and last appearance in the *Gespräch*, his appearance in the *Von der Kindertaufe*, and the two references to Jerome's *super pres. fundamenta* in both the *Entschuldigung* and *Lehrtafel*. Her omission of the initial reference to Jerome in Hubmaier's *Gespräch* is particularly problematic and slightly impairs her thesis since, as we will see below, it is significant for being the only negative reference to Jerome in Hubmaier's corpus and therefore nuances his appraisal of Jerome.¹⁴⁰ We will again attempt to fill the gaps that Gonzalez leaves in her thesis.

Gonzalez also outlines the editions available to Hubmaier, but is unable to confirm one of them as Hubmaier's source.¹⁴¹ However, since Hubmaier provides a *tomus* and folio reference in his *Gespräch*,¹⁴² we can confirm that he was exposed to Jerome's writings through Erasmus' nine-volume *Opera*, which Zwingli owned.¹⁴³ Backus informs us that Zwingli was quite anxious to acquire each volume as they ran off the press from 1516 to

¹³⁹ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 165.

¹⁴⁰ See "Gespräch," *HS* 172; *CRR* 176.

¹⁴¹ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 163f.

¹⁴² "Hieronymum aduersus Luciferianos, Tho. 3, fo. 63 a, b." "Gespräch," *HS* 197; *CRR* 210.

Cf. *Omnium Operum ... Hieronymi Stridonensis Tomus Tertius* (Basel: Froben, 1536), fo. 63a-b: BSB, shelf mark: VD16 H 3482.

¹⁴³ *Omnium Operum ... Hieronymi* (Basel: Froben, 1516-19): ZZB, shelf mark: III ZZ 124-9.

1519.¹⁴⁴ From a letter to Rhenanus (2 May 1519) we know that he had all the volumes in his possession by February of that same year.¹⁴⁵ Zwingli was influenced greatly by Jerome's exegesis and cites him 387 times in his marginal annotations on Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum*. In total, Zwingli mentions Jerome 873 times in his works, 402 of them appearing in his Commentaries on the Old Testament.¹⁴⁶ Of some significance, Zwingli also writes in his *Taufbüchlein*, on which Hubmaier based his *Gespräch*, that Jerome "once misled" him by convincing him that the death of the thief on the cross was a baptism by blood.¹⁴⁷ Although Hubmaier includes this passage from Zwingli's *Taufbüchlein* in his *Gespräch*, he does not interact with Jerome's interpretation of the baptism by blood that Zwingli discusses.¹⁴⁸

Evaluation of Jerome:

Jerome is a towering figure among the fathers of the Church whose breadth and quality of exegesis and attention to the ascetical life earned him many close companions. His biblical scholarship included commentaries on both the Old and New Testament—Genesis, the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, all of both the major and minor prophets, Matthew's gospel account, the epistles of Paul, and the Apocalypse. In preparation for completing the Vulgate, a revision of the *Vetus Itala*, Jerome learned both Greek and Hebrew during his ascetical pursuits, the former language while attending the lectures of Apollinaris of Laodicea in Antioch, after which he became a hermit from 375–378 C.E. in the outlying desert where he acquired knowledge of Hebrew. He was early educated in Rome under the famous grammarian, Aelius Donatus, and befriended Rufinus who was a student at the same time but

¹⁴⁴ Backus, "Zwingli," 637.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Schindler, *Kirchenväter*, 94f.

¹⁴⁷ ZB 136.

¹⁴⁸ "Gespräch," HS 185; CRR 193f..

whose excessive Origenism Jerome later attacked in a treatise (401 C.E.).¹⁴⁹ Although Jerome's ascetical life developed first in the West, specifically Gaul and Aquileia, the East was his home for a good portion of his life. Indeed, Jerome's works "give evidence of contact with a Greek documentation of exceptional riches in exegesis, history and spirituality,"¹⁵⁰ observes Questen, so that "Western authors, without access to the libraries of the East, were not able to compete with Jerome."¹⁵¹

After a brief period in Rome from 382-385 C.E. under the auspices of Pope Damasus, Jerome traveled to Bethlehem where he presided over a monastery for the remaining thirty-five years of his life. Although he wrote his treatises against the Luciferians (379 or 382 C.E.) and Helvidians (c. 383 C.E.)¹⁵² before his permanent residence in Bethlehem, all other polemical works belong to this period of his life.¹⁵³ It is significant that Jerome took a milder tone in his *Dialogos adversus Pelagianos* (415 C.E.), likely because of his Pelagianist sympathies, compared to his more acrimonious polemic in previous treatises. Regarding the acceptance of prevenient grace in the Pelagian controversy, Augustine may be considered an "absolute predestinationist" and Jerome, a "synergist."¹⁵⁴ Jerome, therefore, is closer to the soteriology of the Christian East and thus the Greek fathers, while Augustine was the progenitor of Catholic views on salvation and of Western theology, his views on grace and predestination being of course so instrumental in the reforms of Luther and later Calvin.

¹⁴⁹ *JQ* 4:239-41.

¹⁵⁰ *JQ* 4:219.

¹⁵¹ *JQ* 4:234.

¹⁵² *JQ* 4:238f.

¹⁵³ Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 2:198, 206; *JQ* 4:239-41.

¹⁵⁴ Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 2:210.

Jerome had many admirers even before the Renaissance and Reformation, as his strong representation in both the *Decretum Gratiani*¹⁵⁵ and Lombard's *Sententiae*¹⁵⁶ attests. He was seen as a "cultural icon" in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and useful among the Humanists as an antidote to the scholastic distortion of dialectics.¹⁵⁷ Erasmus' admiration for Jerome, however, is most pronounced. Levi observes that he "virtually identified himself with his subject" in his *Vita* of Jerome, which appeared in the first of his nine-volume *Opera* (1516-9), and produced a biographical justification of the *philosophia Christi* with Jerome as his ally.¹⁵⁸ Erasmus was also depicted as *Hieronymus redivivus* in his portrait by Hans Holbein, and, as Pabel and Jardine argue, he used his impersonation of the father to enhance the prestige of the humanist movement, which was important enough "to use every ingenious method at his disposal to ensure that the cause prospered."¹⁵⁹ Further, his "Herculean labours" on the redaction of Jerome's epistles also contributed to the religious and spiritual formation of the sixteenth century firmament.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, Erasmus valued Jerome especially as an exegete of Scripture, his erudition in such matters and trilingual and grammatical expertise being a template and guide for his preparation of the *Novum Instrumentum*,¹⁶¹ for which his *Opera* of Jerome was intended as a companion.¹⁶² Alternatively, Luther rejected both Jerome and Origen's understanding of free will, claiming that they handled Scripture

¹⁵⁵ Werckmeister, "Canon Law," 66f. Jerome is second only to Augustine, amassing 16% of the patristic citations.

¹⁵⁶ Bougerol, "Sentences," 115. Jerome is fourth behind Augustine, Ambrose, and Hilary of Poitiers with 48 citations.

¹⁵⁷ Overfield, *Humanism*, 144; Pabel, *Herculean Labours*, 2-4; Perreiah, "Humanist Critiques," 9. Cf. More, *Selected Letters*, 20ff.

¹⁵⁸ Levi, *Renaissance*, 250.

¹⁵⁹ Pabel, *Herculean Labours*, 2-4; Jardine, *Erasmus*, 4. See also pp. 5, 47, 74, 166.

¹⁶⁰ Pabel, *Herculean Labours*, 5f.

¹⁶¹ Levi, *Renaissance*, 251, 413, note 38. See also Pabel, "Reading," 474f.; Peters, "Erasmus," 255f.

¹⁶² Pabel, *Herculean Labours*, 1.

more foolishly than any other.¹⁶³ The disparate receptions of Jerome by Erasmus and Luther seems to have factored into Hubmaier's soteriology and understanding of free will, as we will discover in chapter eight.

Hubmaier's Use of Jerome:

Hubmaier references Jerome uniquely among the other Latin fathers, as he is the only one whose commentaries on Scripture he cites and, aside from one inclusion of Tertullian, the only one listed (twice) among the Greek fathers as valid exegetes. Jerome is also the only Latin father that Hubmaier conscripts in support of the distinction between John and Christ's baptisms. Hubmaier cites Jerome first in his *Gespräch*, which is the only negative characterization out of the twelve references. This is also the only *general* reference to Jerome, as we can extrapolate from the context which works Hubmaier had in mind for the remaining three implicit references to Jerome. In this one negative appraisal, he lists Jerome along with Augustine, Gregory the Great, papal law, and the Scholastics as those who have changed the "table of divine writings" into a "rope and net of confusion."¹⁶⁴ The others in this list are included because of Hubmaier's disagreement with their theology and methodology, but he mentions Jerome likely due to his work on the Latin Vulgate, preferring instead editions in the original languages or vernacular.

Adversus Luciferianos: It is revealing, however, that apart from his initial negative portrayal of Jerome, Hubmaier cites him positively four more times in the same *Gespräch* with Zwingli. The first of these was to support the view that John's baptism differs from that of Christ and his apostles, source referencing "*Hieronimum aduersus Luciferianos, Tho. 3,*

¹⁶³ Luther, "Bondage," 247. See also pp. 250, 327.

¹⁶⁴ "Gespräch," *HS* 172; *CRR* 176.

fol. 63 a, b."¹⁶⁵ This is an allusion to Jerome's *Aduersus Luciferianos Dialogus*, which appears in *tomvs tertivs* of Erasmus' edition on the folio, horizontally bisected on both the recto and verso sides with an a-b-c-d designation, confirming that it was indeed this edition that Hubmaier read.¹⁶⁶ This work was written as a dialogue against the staunchly Nicene proponent, Lucifer of Cagliari, who, after peace was restored between the Nicene and semi-Arian camps, refused to acknowledge the ordinations of previously Arian bishops. Jerome's response was that the baptisms administered by those bishops who were once Arian were valid, which Lucifer conceded, citing the controversy that Cyprian navigated as a precedent, which we looked at above.¹⁶⁷ As part of his strategy, Jerome highlighted that the baptism of the Arian bishops nevertheless conferred the Holy Spirit despite their errors, and therefore aligned with the baptism of Christ and not of John. He therefore distinguished between the two with the aid of various scriptural references:

[T]he baptism of John did not so much consist in the forgiveness of sins as in being a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, that is, for a future remission, which was to follow through the sanctification of Christ. ... For as he himself preceded Christ as His forerunner, so also his baptism was the prelude to the Lord's baptism. ... But if John, as he himself confessed, did not baptize with the Spirit, it follows that he did not forgive sins either. ... The baptism of John was so far imperfect that it is plain they who had been baptized by him were afterwards baptized with the baptism of Christ.¹⁶⁸

Jerome then cites Acts 19:1ff. as historical verification of the inferiority of John's baptism, which may have been responsible for Hubmaier's use of this same scriptural reference in his

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., *HS* 197; *CRR* 210.

Cf. *PL* 23:162Aff.; *NPNF2* 6:319, 323f.

¹⁶⁶ *Omnivm Opervm ... Hieronymi*, fo. 63A-B(recto).

¹⁶⁷ *JQ* 4:238f.; Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 2:189; Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 2:303.

¹⁶⁸ *NPNF2* 6:323; *PL* 23:170C-171C; *Omnivm Opervm Divi Eusebii Hieronymi ...*, fo. 63A-B(recto).

"*Audi quid Scripturs doceant : Joannis baptisma non tam peccata dimisit, quam pœnitentiæ baptisma fuit in peccatorum remissionem, id est, in futuram remissionem, qua esset postea per sanctificationem Christi subsequutura. ... Ut enim ipse ante Præcursor Domini, sic et baptisma ejus prævium Domini baptisatis fuit. ... Si autem Joannes, ut confessus est ipse, non baptizavit in spiritu, consequenter neque peccata dimisit. ... Joannis enim baptisma intantum imperfectum fuit, ut constet postea Christi baptisate baptizatos, qui ab eo fuerant baptizati.*"

argument.¹⁶⁹ All of these elements—John's role as forerunner, the inability of John's baptism to forgive sins which belongs to the baptism of Christ alone, that those who had been baptized by John also subsequently received Christian baptism—are included also in Hubmaier's argument.¹⁷⁰

To fill out the significance of the distinction between John and Christ's baptisms as per his concern over the institution of Christian baptism, Hubmaier quotes again from *Adversus Luciferianos* in his *Urteil I* and *II*.¹⁷¹ Citations in both versions are essentially identical, except that he refers to Jerome as "*der lerer*" in the second version:

Jerome

"If a bishop lays his hands on men he lays them on those who have been baptized in the right faith, and who have believed that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are three persons, but one essence."¹⁷²

Hubmaier

"Those on whom the bishop lays his hands are those who have been baptized in the right belief, who have believed in the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, three persons and one nature."¹⁷³

Christian baptism, therefore, requires prior belief, which only adults can express. However, the wording of the original emphasizes a component unique to Jerome's audience, while Hubmaier seems to manipulate the structure of the statement to serve his own needs. In the original, Jerome wants to stress the Nicene belief in the homoousian participation of the Son's hypostasis with the Father, which contrasts the Arian belief that "Jesus Christ our Saviour is a creature."¹⁷⁴ This was part of his overall plan, as we discussed above, to convince Lucifer of the validity of the ordination of Arian bishops who re-entered the

¹⁶⁹ "Gespräch," *HS* 197; *CRR* 210.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, *HS* 196f.; *CRR* 208-11.

¹⁷¹ "Urteil: I," *HS* 231; *CRR* 252.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 245; *CRR* 267.

¹⁷² *NPNF2* 6:324; *PL* 23:172C. "*Episcopus si imponit manum, his imponit qui in recta fide baptizati sunt, qui in Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu sancto tres personas, unam substantiam crediderunt.*"

¹⁷³ "Urteil: I," *HS* 231; *CRR* 252.

¹⁷⁴ *NPNF2* 6:324; *PL* 23:172C.

orthodox Church, by highlighting the validity of their baptism that they both acknowledged. Hubmaier misconstrues Jerome's original intent by framing the citation so that it appears to address the issue of credobaptism. Nevertheless, there is no evidence to suggest that Hubmaier was necessarily being disingenuous, and he may have simply thought it legitimate to extrapolate from Jerome's separate mandate a witness to the need for confessing one's faith prior to baptism. In addition to the citation from Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew*, which we will examine below, it is this quote in *Adversus Luciferianos* that Hubmaier had in mind when he mentions Jerome, among other fathers and contemporary figures, in his *Von der Kindertaufe* written against Oecolampadius, since the fathers listed here match those that appear in his *Urteil*.¹⁷⁵ Pipkin believes that Hubmaier's citation is from Gratian's Decree,¹⁷⁶ but as we have determined from the folio references he provides in his *Gespräch*, he definitely used Erasmus' edition of Jerome; in fact, this quote in his *Urteil* appears on the same folio 63 as his initial reference to *Adversus Luciferianos*, though on the verso side (c).¹⁷⁷

Commentary on Matthew: Again in his *Urteil I* and *II*, Hubmaier invokes "heiligen Hieronymj," whom he also refers to as "der heylig leerer," as a witness to the need for pre-baptismal catechesis and reception of "der warhait des Glaubens" based on a reading of Matthew 28:19 and Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew*.¹⁷⁸ He also used this argument and alluded to this citation in two other works, twice in his *Gespräch* and once in *Von der Kindertaufe*, but he quotes it only in the first of these three instances.¹⁷⁹ In his *Gespräch*, Hubmaier pits Jerome against Augustine and explicitly endorses the former's interpretation of

¹⁷⁵ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 267; *CRR* 292.

¹⁷⁶ Pipkin, *CRR* 252, note 24.

¹⁷⁷ *Omnium Operum ... Hieronymi*, fo. 63c.

¹⁷⁸ "Urteil: I & II," *HS* 231, 245; *CRR* 252, 267.

¹⁷⁹ "Gespräch," *HS* 206; *CRR* 222.

Scripture. Here he exclaims, "Read to us the Word of Christ, not of Augustine. Or we read to you the above-mentioned word of Jerome on the last chapter of Matthew."¹⁸⁰ Also in his *Gespräch*, Hubmaier invokes Mt. 28:19 and claims that "these words do not apply to young children, also according to the understanding of Jerome, Erasmus, and Zwingli," alluding to the latter's agreement with Hubmaier during their meeting in the spring of 1523.¹⁸¹ In his *Von der Kindertaufe* he gives the same argument regarding the "general institution of baptism," while adding the voices of the Church fathers he discusses in his *Urteil* including Jerome, declaring, "I want to let their own books be my witness. Answer from Scripture," as apparently the fathers did.¹⁸² This refers to Hubmaier's citations of both Jerome's *Adversus Luciferianos* and *Commentary on Matthew* that he quotes from in his *Urteil*.¹⁸³

However, it is in his *Gespräch* and both versions of his *Urteil* that Hubmaier actually quotes Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew*, for which he depended heavily on Origen.¹⁸⁴ Although Pipkin believes that Hubmaier is here quoting from "Jerome's translation of Origen's homily on Luke 3,"¹⁸⁵ he is clearly citing Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew*:

Jerome

"First they teach all nations, then they dip in water those who have been taught. For it is not possible that the body receives the sacrament of Baptism unless the soul first receives the truth of the faith."¹⁸⁶

Hubmaier

"In the first place, they teach all the people. After that they dip the taught ones into the water. For it should not be that the body receive the sacrament of baptism unless the soul has received the truth of faith beforehand."¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., *HS* 208; *CRR* 225.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., *HS* 209; *CRR* 227.

¹⁸² "Kindertaufe," *HS* 267; *CRR* 291f.

¹⁸³ "Urteil: I & II" *HS* 231, 245; *CRR* 252, 267.

¹⁸⁴ *JQ* 4:235.

¹⁸⁵ *CRR* 252, note 25.

¹⁸⁶ *FC* 117:327; *PL* 26:218B-C.

¹⁸⁷ "Gespräch," *HS* 206; *CRR* 222;

"Urteil: I & II" *HS* 231, 245; *CRR* 252, 267.

Commenting on the very next verse, Mt. 28:19, Jerome continues, "Now they are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Thus there is one gift from those whose divinity is one. And the name of Trinity is one God."¹⁸⁸ Although Jerome's salient point concerns the accuracy of the Trinitarian formula that accompanies baptism and he did not, as Hubmaier claims in both his *Gespräch* and *Von der Kindertaufe*,¹⁸⁹ overtly state that "[t]hese words ... do not apply to young children," it is nevertheless not at all difficult to see why Hubmaier believed that Jerome endorsed credobaptism in this quote.

Indeed, in his commentary on the following verse, Jerome subscribes to the same *docete–baptizantes–docentes* sequence that both Erasmus and Hubmaier taught:¹⁹⁰ "The sequence is extraordinary. He has commanded the apostles first to teach all nations, then to dip them in the sacrament of faith, and after faith and baptism they are to instruct them in the things that must be observed."¹⁹¹ As we noted in chapter five (see 5.2), Williamson believes that this interpretation influenced Erasmus, whose paraphrase on Mt. 28:19 had an impact on Hubmaier's sequence of (1) word, (2) hearing, (3) faith, (4) baptism, (5) work, which he transposed onto a number of scriptural passages including Mt. 28:18ff.¹⁹² Williamson does not believe that Jerome's interpretation influenced Hubmaier directly, citing his mishandling of patristic dates, presumably demonstrating his apathy towards the fathers, as well as, so he believes, his closer reading of Erasmus as reasons.¹⁹³ However, Williamson is understandably little apprised of, or at least does not expound in any great detail, the extent and sophistication of Hubmaier's reading of the fathers. However, since we know that

¹⁸⁸ *FC* 117:327.

¹⁸⁹ "Gespräch," *HS* 209; *CRR* 227;
"Kindertaufe," *HS* 267; *CRR* 291f.

¹⁹⁰ *LB* 6:147C, 148C; "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 146-51; *CRR* 129-36.

¹⁹¹ *FC* 117:327.

¹⁹² "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 146-51; *CRR* 129-36. Cf. Williamson, *Hubmaier*, 85-8, 94ff.

¹⁹³ Williamson, *Hubmaier*, 104f.

Hubmaier had the presence of mind to read the latest humanist edition of Jerome's works, there is little reason to deny that he was influenced directly by Jerome, or perhaps more accurately by both Erasmus and Jerome equally—especially since he takes care to quote the latter's interpretation from his *Commentary on Matthew*.

We again, however, encounter the same problem as with some of the other fathers: the credobaptism taught in the Great Commission applies only to converts to Christianity, as was the only way to become a Christian in the first generation, and not to those raised by Christian parents. So, as we will discover when we look at Fabri's interrogation of Hubmaier, it is true for everyone, Jerome, Hubmaier, and Fabri included, that Mt. 28:19 does not apply to infants—but for different reasons. Indeed, Jerome in fact endorses paedobaptism in his epistle *Ad Laeta*, in which he remarks,

[P]erhaps you imagine that, if they are not baptized, the children of Christians are liable for their own sins; and that no guilt attaches to parents who withhold from baptism those who by reason of their tender age can offer no objection to it. The truth is that, as baptism ensures the salvation of the child, this in turn brings advantage to the parents.¹⁹⁴

Interestingly, immediately before this passage, Jerome suggests that the 'years of discretion' mark when a child's parents are no longer liable for her or his behaviour, but it is nevertheless clear that he endorses infant baptism which 'ensures the salvation of the child.' Jerome recommends paedobaptism also in his *Dialogos adversus Pelagianos*, in which he approves of both Augustine's "two treatises on infant baptism, in opposition to your [Critobulus' – Pelagian dialogue partner] heresy which maintains that infants are baptized not for remission of sins, but for admission to the kingdom of heaven," and Cyprian's epistle *Ad Fidum* on the baptism of infants that we looked at above in the section on Cyprian. Here, he concurs with Cyprian that since those who had sinned previous to baptism now receive

¹⁹⁴ *NPNF2* 6:192.

remission of sins, "how much more ought not an infant to be kept from baptism seeing that, being just born, he has committed no sin?"¹⁹⁵ Everett Ferguson also points out Jerome's endorsement of Augustine's argument in favour of infant baptism in his *Dialogos adversus Pelagianos*,¹⁹⁶ and shares my point regarding Jerome's commentary on Mt. 28:19, observing that it "contains a declaration about the priority of faith that hardly accords with his acceptance of infant baptism (above), but such dual perspectives reflecting the normal missionary situation of the early church and the newer reality of infant baptism were not uncommon."¹⁹⁷

super pres. fundamenta: The remaining references to Jerome do not concern baptism. Hubmaier invokes Jerome for polemical reasons in his *Entschuldigung*. Specifically, he declares that he will "test the holy fathers, councils, and human teachings by the touchstone of Holy Scripture,"¹⁹⁸ appending the epithet "holy," interestingly enough, to both the fathers and to Scripture. In rhetorical fashion, Hubmaier uses his opponents' own authorities against them, alleging that Augustine, Jerome, and papal laws state "that one should not believe [sic] any person beyond what one can prove with the Word of God."¹⁹⁹ In a marginal note, he cites Jerome's *super pres. fundamenta*,²⁰⁰ but I have not yet located this work since Jerome did not write a treatise by this title, nor can I locate this title in the index of Erasmus' nine-volume edition.²⁰¹ Hubmaier also invokes Jerome in a similarly polemical manner in his catechism: since Augustine, Jerome, and the papists themselves evidently condemn scholastic methodology as polluting the purity of Scripture, he is again

¹⁹⁵ *NPNF2* 6:482.

¹⁹⁶ Ferguson, *History of Baptism*, 681.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 682.

¹⁹⁸ "Entschuldigung," *HS* 274; *CRR* 300.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, *HS* 274; *CRR* 300.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, *HS* 274.

²⁰¹ *Omnium Operum ... Hieronymi*, "INDEX IVXTA ORDINEM TOMORVM," n.p.

willing to adduce the convictions of his opponents' own authorities.²⁰² Because Hubmaier cites the same three authorities, employing the exact same argument and rhetorical method, his reference to Jerome probably hearkens back again to the *super pres. fundamenta*.

Against Helvidius: Besides the reference in his *andere Büchlein* on free will,²⁰³ which we will examine in chapter eight (see 8.3.4.), the final reference to Jerome appears in Hubmaier's *Rechenschaft*. Without actually mentioning Jerome, it is an implicit allusion by way of citing the Helvidians, against whom Jerome devoted an entire treatise entitled *The Perpetual Virginity of Blessed Mary, Against Helvidius*.²⁰⁴ Hubmaier concurs with Jerome that the Theotokos did indeed remain a virgin her entire life, yet gave no direct quotation from his work. It is true that his reference to the Helvidians could also possibly point to knowledge of Zwingli's own treatise on the perpetual virginity of Mary, *Eine Predigt von der ewig reinen Magd Maria*, published in September, 1522.²⁰⁵ However, the treatise, *Nuper rogatus. De perpetua uirginitate Mariæ. Aduersus Heluidiu*, appears at the beginning of *tomvs tertivs* in Erasmus' edition,²⁰⁶ the same volume in which Jerome's *Dialogos aduersus Luciferianos*, that we know Hubmaier read in Erasmus' edition, is found. It therefore seems more likely that he is here concurring with Jerome more than with Zwingli since he specifically mentions the Helvidians against whom Jerome wrote.

Aduersus Pacimontanum Defensio: Although Fabri invokes Jerome a few times during his interrogation of Hubmaier in Vienna, the latter makes reference to him only once. After he implores Fabri to give "a satisfactory explanation of the text of Matthew (28:19,

²⁰² "Lehrtafel," *HS* 310; *CRR* 344.

²⁰³ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 409f.; *CRR* 463.

²⁰⁴ "Rechenschaft," *HS* 471; *CRR* 538.

Cf. *PL* 23:183-206; *NPNF2* 6:334-346.

²⁰⁵ *ZSW* 1:391-428.

²⁰⁶ *Omnium Operum ... Hieronymi*, fos. 2A(recto)-7D(verso).

20)"²⁰⁷ and Fabri gives his response, Hubmaier then avers, "I am not the sole nor the first authority for this opinion, for Jerome concerning Matthew the eighth chapter and Origen understood thus before me."²⁰⁸ He is obviously alluding to Jerome's commentary on Mt. 28:19, of which we have already given analysis, though for some reason states that the passage is found in the eighth chapter. Perhaps it was miscopied, misheard, or Hubmaier was simply mistaken, though this final option seems most implausible given his deep familiarity with the passage and his allusion to Mt. 28:19 during the interrogation.²⁰⁹ In any event, there is nothing about baptism in chapter eight of Jerome's commentary,²¹⁰ and I could not find any reference to a chapter eight in the vicinity of Jerome's commentary on Mt. 28 in Erasmus' edition.²¹¹

After claiming that Pelagius, not Jerome, was the first to reject paedobaptism, Fabri then agrees that Jerome did not have infants in mind when he wrote his commentary on Mt. 28:19. Gonzalez alleges that "Faber agreed that in one instance Hubmaier's interpretation of Jerome's commentary on the Matthean text was indeed correct and the Jerome, at least at that place, did not endorse infant baptism."²¹² However, Gonzalez seems to miss the pretense of Fabri's ostensible olive branch, for he does not mean that Jerome here denies paedobaptism or even endorses credobaptism, but instead avers that his commentary on Mt. 28:19 cannot possibly apply to arguments about, either for or against, infant baptism. This is demonstrated by Fabri's references to two of Jerome's writings—using Hubmaier's own hermeneutical approach of interpreting Scripture with Scripture against him by doing the same with the

²⁰⁷ Fabri, (*Defensio*), "Little Children," 368.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 370.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 365.

²¹⁰ *FC* 117:98-105.

²¹¹ *Omnium Operum ... Hieronymi*, fos. 42(verso)-43(recto).

²¹² Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 173.

fathers—that do indeed apply to arguments about infant baptism, his epistle *Ad Laeta* and *Dialogos adversus Pelagianos*, which we have already examined above. Therefore, the defect we noted above in Hubmaier's argument, *viz.*, that he applied a scriptural text and accompanying patristic commentary suitable only for proselytes and not to those who are raised by Christian parents, is here exposed, though not explicitly, by Fabri in his attempt to show that ostensible endorsements of credobaptism are neutralized by overt endorsements of paedobaptism. Hubmaier does not address Fabri's confutation of his argument, and instead moves on to issues regarding Cyprian.

Gonzalez claims that this section of the dialogue between Fabri and Hubmaier shows that the latter was wrong to use "Jerome in several of his writings to argue that in Jerome's day infant baptism was not practiced."²¹³ However, there is no indication that Hubmaier agreed with Fabri on this point, and there is every reason to believe that he remained solid in his position, as we have argued before, that credobaptism was the original baptismal form and that infant baptism was introduced incrementally until it was practiced simultaneously with credobaptism. The key to understanding Hubmaier's interpretation of the fathers for this issue is his belief that even those raised by Christian parents must somehow "convert" or at least reach a point when she or he expresses a mature decision to follow Christ in obedience. This is implicit in Hubmaier's condemnation of godparents. In fact, three times, in the span of only a few pages which contain allusions to Jerome's correct interpretation of Mt. 28:19 in his commentary, Hubmaier explains how allowing godparents to confess the faith on behalf of an infant is problematic.²¹⁴ Since, as Hubmaier expresses it, "Baptism is a public testimony of faith which the baptized one himself makes before the church, not godmothers

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ "Gespräch," *HS* 208-10; *CRR* 225-8

or godfathers,"²¹⁵ an infant, even if raised by Christian parents, must "convert" from an ignorance in faith, because of her or his immaturity, to the capacity and desire to confess this faith. This is on equal footing with the person who converts from another religion or no religion at all.

What appears at first less clear, however, is how Hubmaier can accept the testimony of the fathers, and Jerome in this specific instance, and appraise them favourably, especially in contrast to his rejection of scholastic theologians, knowing that they apparently endorsed both believers' and infant baptism simultaneously. Since it is not a deliberate component of her thesis, Gonzalez believes, somewhat simplistically, that "as with Origen, here too Hubmaier failed to prove his main point, that adults and not infants were baptized in the Church of Jerome's day," thereby "neglect[ing] to consider the immediate context of the father's argument."²¹⁶ However, we know that Hubmaier was forced by Fabri to consider the immediate context of Jerome's understanding of baptism and his dual outline of how to administer baptism depending on the situation. Yet, there is no indication that he changed his position. Why? In accord with what we have argued before, this is an individual case verifying that the matter of baptismal practice had not yet been settled in Hubmaier's own day as it had not in Jerome's. As Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and Erasmus seemed to have wavered on whether paedobaptism ought to be preserved or credobaptism revived, which we outlined in chapter five, so could have the fathers wavered and expressed their understanding of the correct form of baptism multifariously.

Further, as we outlined also in chapter five (see 5.2), Erasmus' interpretation of the Great Commission (Mt. 28:19) was the first such affirmation of credobaptism since the time

²¹⁵ Ibid., *HS* 209; *CRR* 226.

²¹⁶ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 179.

of Jerome's similar interpretation, meaning that the thousand-year period between Jerome and Erasmus was devoid of any espousal of credobaptism at all, let alone one based on an exegesis of Mt. 28:19. This void from Jerome until his own day is precisely what Hubmaier had in mind when he claimed, as we discussed again in chapter four, that the Church had "failed on the present subjects [correct form of baptism] so miserably for such a long time," noting that "Augustine [was] not a little responsible for this."²¹⁷ Jerome's acceptance of infant baptism in two of his works is therefore not an embarrassment to Hubmaier because the former's teaching on pre-baptismal catechesis in his *Dialogos adversus Luciferianos* and *Commentary on Matthew* was more an espousal of credobaptism than he could find in the writings of theologians, scholastic in particular, during the previous thousand years.

Jerome also does not share the opinion of Augustine that unbaptized infants are damned that Hubmaier deplors so much,²¹⁸ which allows Jerome, and the other fathers that Hubmaier conscripts, to be open to delaying baptism until later in life—as had happened to him. This was enough, it seems, to accept that Jerome and those other fathers with a similar mind are worthy authorities and co-affiliates with Hubmaier in the one, true Church by virtue of their defence of the correct baptismal practice despite the confusion in his day that caused some, though not all, to waver at times.²¹⁹ This is true especially since these same fathers, as we will see in chapter nine, received baptism themselves later in life (see 9.1.2.). Moreover, Jerome's simultaneous embrace of both paedobaptism and credobaptism, which confirmed the ambiguity surrounding paedobaptism during the patristic era, also invited the need for a new universal council in Hubmaier's pre-Tridentine day to resolve the issue. As credobaptism had survived since the apostolic era into Jerome's time, and infant baptism was only

²¹⁷ "Gespräch," *HS* 171; *CRR* 175.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, *HS* 207; *CRR* 224.

²¹⁹ See Ferguson, *Baptism*, 629ff.

introduced later, the former rightfully claims superiority over the latter, and this needed to be codified with the help of Jerome and other Church fathers. It is true also, however, that there is an element of gratification in Hubmaier's ability to point out these inconsistencies by exposing the appearance of his own baptismal position in the writings of the Church fathers and his own contemporaries. That his contemporaries could defend themselves and provide some clarification only demonstrates Hubmaier's courage and trust in the cogency of his own arguments and position on baptism.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HUBMAIER'S USE OF AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO FOR THE ISSUE OF BAPTISM

7.1 Augustine of Hippo (354 – 430)

7.1.1. Hubmaier's References:

Treatise, hom., comm., ep.	Hubm. work	Source ref. patr./Hubm.	Putative edition	Possible purveyor	Theol./eccl. issue
none	<i>Recantation</i> - 1526 <i>Gespräch</i> - 1526 <i>Von der Kindertaufe</i> (1525) 1527 <i>Freiheit</i> - 1527	HS 171f., 184, 267, 392; CRR 152, 175f., 192, 290, 441f.	—	—	historical verification / infant baptism / distortion or neglect of Scripture / free will
<i>Decretum Gratiani</i> (Letter to Petrus Diaconus)	<i>Christlichen Taufe</i> 1525 <i>Gespräch</i> - 1526 <i>Von der Kindertaufe</i> (1525) 1527	CIC 1:1362, c. III; HS 153f., 205, 207f., 261; CRR 138f., 222, 224f., 279.	—	—	damnation of unbaptized infants / infant baptism
<i>Contra Epistolam Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti</i>	<i>Urteil I & II</i> 1526	PL 42:176; NPNFI 4:131; HS 228, 242; CRR 247.	<i>Opera omnia</i> (Basel: Amerbach, Petri, & Froben, 1506).	Zwingli's library ?	primacy of Scripture above the Church
<i>Decretum Gratiani</i>	"	CIC 1:1402, c. CXXIX; CIC 1:1393, c. XCVII; CIC 1:1404f., c. CXXXI; HS 232, 245, 247; CRR 254, 267, 269.	—	—	credobaptism
<i>De gratia Christi et de peccato originali</i>	<i>Urteil II</i> 1526	PL 44:391; NPNF 5:240; HS 246; CRR 268f.	<i>Opera omnia</i> (Basel: Amerbach, Petri, & Froben, 1506).	Zwingli's library or Nikolsburg ?	credobaptism / free will
<i>De Natura et Gratia</i>	<i>Entschuldigung</i> 1526 <i>Lehrtafel</i> 1526	PL 44:269f. HS 274, 310; CRR 300, 344.	"	"	primacy of Scripture over glosses
<i>De doctrina Christiana</i>	<i>Unterricht</i> 1526	PL 34:15-122 HS 296; CRR 328.	"	"	overuse of rhetoric
<i>Contra Julianum</i>	<i>Das andere Büchlein</i> 1527	PL 44:710f.; FC 35:121f.; HS 429; CRR 488.	"	Nikolsburg	free will

7.1.2. Hubmaier's Sources:

Of all the Church fathers, Augustine is the most cited by Hubmaier at eighteen times. However, Hubmaier's use of Augustine is unique, as he received a distinctly negative assessment regarding his views on baptism that was not apportioned to the other fathers. Hubmaier first mentions Augustine twice in his *Christlichen Taufe*, adducing Gratian's Decree in one of these instances,¹ and makes reference to him once in his *Recantation* that he composed while imprisoned in Zürich but refused to read aloud publicly.² Next, he cites Augustine five times in his *Gespräch* with Zwingli, again citing Gratian's Decree,³ once in the introduction of his *Urteil I* and three more times in his *Urteil II*, implicitly referencing Augustine's *Contra Epistolam Manichaei* and *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* and citing again from the Decree.⁴ Hubmaier then references Augustine twice in his *Von der Kindertaufe* against Oecolampadius, citing from Gratian's Decree for the final time,⁵ and once in his *Entschuldigung*, indicating in the margin that he is referring to Augustine's *De natura et gratia*.⁶ He also references overtly Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* once in his *Einfältiger Unterricht*,⁷ again makes reference to the *De natura et gratia* implicitly in his *Lehrtafel* or catechism,⁸ and discusses Augustine once each in his two treatise on the freedom of the will which we will examine in the next chapter.⁹ The implicit reference to Augustine's

¹ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 153f.; *CRR* 138f.

CIC 1:1362, c. III.

² "Recantation," *CRR* 152.

³ "Gespräch," *HS* 171f., 184, 205, 207f.; *CRR* 175f., 192, 222, 224f.

⁴ "Urteil: I," *HS* 228; *CRR* 247.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 242, 245f.; *CRR* 267-9.

⁵ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 261, 267; *CRR* 279, 290.

⁶ "Entschuldigung," *HS* 274, *CRR* 300.

⁷ "Unterricht," *HS* 296; *CRR* 328.

⁸ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 310; *CRR* 344.

⁹ "Freiheit," *HS* 392; *CRR* 441f.

"Andere Büchlein," *HS* 429; *CRR* 488.

De gratia Christi et de peccato originali is actually in the section on Pelagius of his *Urteil II*, and we will also examine this reference in the next chapter.

Apart from the citations in Gratian's Decree, Hubmaier may have again used Zwingli's patristic library for his understanding of Augustine.¹⁰ It is true, however, that his implication of Augustine in the rise of paedobaptism was derived almost exclusively from Gratian's Decree. Hubmaier read Augustine's *De natura et gratia* and *De doctrina Christiana*, the only two treatises that he mentions explicitly, for other reasons. For these matters, however, Hubmaier could have looked at Zwingli's edition of Amerbach's edition of Augustine's *Opera* (Basel, 1506).¹¹ Yet, there is no evidence to suggest that Hubmaier and Zwingli discussed the function of Scripture as the foil against which the Church fathers should be judged or Augustine's endorsement of the rhetorical arts, with which these two treatises were concerned. The former is nevertheless at least plausible considering it was an issue that both had to resolve during their transition to a deeper appreciation of Scripture. It seems more likely, however, that if Zwingli and Hubmaier did study the Church fathers together in an effort to clarify their positions on baptism, they avoided Augustine altogether, perhaps out of the realization that the bishop of Hippo opposed their developing views. It is possible also that they avoided Augustine because Zwingli had not yet studied him seriously enough to facilitate honest exploration of his writings on the issue of baptism, this just beginning to take place after a more casual acquaintance with his writings while at Glarus and Einsiedeln.

The more likely explanation is that Hubmaier resumes an earlier interest in Augustine's writings when living in Nikolsburg (July, 1526 – July, 1527). His references to

¹⁰ *Opera omnia* (Basel: Amerbach, Petri, & Froben, 1506): ZBZ, shelf mark: Dr. M 417.

¹¹ Backus, "Zwingli," 631.

Augustine's own treatises apart from the Augustinian canons in the Gratian's Decree, including *De natura et gratia*, *De doctrina Christiana*, and *Contra Julianum*, are contained in four works that were all written in Nikolsburg: *Entschuldigung*, *Einfältiger Unterricht*, *Lehrtafel*, and his *Andere Büchlein* on free will. Moreover, these works were composed to clarify his beliefs for his new governing territorial lords who offered him their protection or to otherwise defuse contentious issues plaguing his new home. It seems more certain, therefore, that a patristic collection in Nikolsburg was Hubmaier's source for his more recent knowledge of Augustine's works and thought. In chapter five, we noted that the few patristic additions to the second version of his *Urteil* must have also been facilitated by access to works of the Church fathers housed somewhere in Nikolsburg, or perhaps in either Augsburg or Constance during his escape from Zürich (see 5.1.2.). As we noted then, Martin Göschl, to whom both versions of Hubmaier's *Urteil* were dedicated, may have owned a library with editions of the fathers and Gratian's Decree, but Oswald Glaidt, in whose room Hubmaier may have completed his *Urteil II*, is a possibility as well.¹²

7.1.3. Evaluation of Augustine:

7.1.3.1. Middle Ages: Hubmaier's use and appraisal of Augustine was shaped by the medieval appropriation through his education in Moderate Nominalism while a student at Freiburg and Ingolstadt, the perception of Humanists and their specific motives for admiring Augustine that he was exposed to early in his theological activity, and the Reformation re-branding of Augustine along confessional lines that he repudiated especially during his time in Nikolsburg. It is important, therefore, to first trace briefly in what way and for which theological questions Augustine received the admiration of medieval theologians and philosophers. This will provide the framework for understanding better the Nominalism that

¹² Pipkin, "Introduction: [17] Old and New Teachers on Believers Baptism," *CRR* 245; *ME* 2:522f.

was shaped by medieval categories and which, as we outlined in chapter three and will explore further in the next chapter (see 8.2.2.), influenced Hubmaier's early academic career. Many of the themes that medieval theologians addressed with the help of Augustine, including, for instance, post-lapsarian human anthropology and the effects of original sin, relate to the questions surrounding free will and baptism that Hubmaier sought to answer.

No other Church father has enjoyed more admiration and influence on Christian thought in the West than Augustine. Only the influence of Neoplatonism and Aristotle on Western philosophy could match that of the bishop of Hippo during the Middle Ages. His theological imprint is discernable in, for instance, Boethius' rationalization of theology, John Scotus Eriugena's (c. 810-c. 877) Neoplatonist appropriation of Augustine, the content of Honorius Augustodunensis' (1075/80-c. 1156) *Clavis physicae*, and Anselm of Canterbury's (1033-1109) elaboration on several characteristics of Augustine's philosophy and theology.¹³ Interestingly, Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075/80-1129), developed his symbolic exegesis of Scripture on the basis of Augustine's commentaries,¹⁴ which Hubmaier did not concern himself with in contrast to his appreciation for Greek patristic commentaries and homilies. Both Gratian's Decree and Lombard's *Sententiae* solidified the enthusiastic reception of Augustine by later generations, as the former devotes 44% of its citations to the bishop of Hippo and the latter cites Augustine 480 times—more than all other authorities combined (383).¹⁵

Although it is customary among scholars to pit the "Aristotelians" such as Siger of Brabant (c. 1240-1281/4), Boethius of Dacia (fl. 1275), Albertus Magnus (c.1206-80), and Aquinas against the "Augustinians" such as Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure (1221-74), and

¹³ Stone, "Augustine," 253-5.

¹⁴ Ibid., 255.

¹⁵ Werckmeister, "Canon Law," 66f.; Bougerol, "*Sentences*," 115.

John Pecham (c. 1230-1292) in the thirteenth century, Stone suggests that caution should be exercised when differentiating too sharply between the two schools since "both Aristotle and Augustine were studied, cited, and defended at great length by philosophers and theologians on both sides of the putative divide."¹⁶ Stone also elaborates on the specific brand of Augustinianism adhered to by theologians and philosophers we already met in chapter three and will meet again in the next chapter such as William of Occam, Thomas Bradwardine, and Gregory of Rimini.¹⁷ These represent the Neo-Augustinian movement of the fourteenth century that sought to extract insights from a broader range of Augustine's writings than previous generations and was characterized by "the highest standards of accuracy in their critical presentation of Augustine's views."¹⁸ Evidence of this appears in the latter two theologian's sustained attack on Pelagianism, which we already examined in chapter three and will comment on further in the next chapter regarding Hubmaier's understanding of free will. Oxford scholars also contributed commentaries on some of Augustine's writings, and John Wycliffe and Jean Gerson leaned heavily on him.¹⁹

7.1.3.2. *Humanists and Erasmus:* Understanding the humanist attitude to Augustine will help us better understand Humanism's impact on Hubmaier's defence of free will and reading of *De doctrina Christiana*. Generally, Humanists embraced Augustine's example of, for instance, rhetorical skill as a form of Christian Ciceronianism rather than his theological arguments,²⁰ and modeled themselves, as Petrarch did for instance, after his use of pagan literature for Christian ends.²¹ Moreover, Augustine's experiential point of

¹⁶ Stone, "Augustine," 256.

¹⁷ Ibid., 259-61.

¹⁸ Ibid., 259.

¹⁹ Ibid., 262.

²⁰ Quillen, "Renaissance," 718; Hamilton, "Humanists," 100.

²¹ Quillen, "Renaissance," 717.

reference for theological reflection using "principles of grammar, rhetoric, prosody, and textual scholarship," combined with his Neoplatonism, was a refreshing departure from the abstract reasoning and Aristotelianism of the Scholastics. Relevant to Hubmaier's conscription of Augustine in his defence of free will, Quillen also observes that "in Augustine's works humanists found a will-centered view of the human person that resonated with their own commitment both to moral philosophy and to activity in the world."²² As we will observe in the next chapter, Hubmaier's opposition to the bondage of the will that his parishioners in Nikolsburg embraced had the maintenance of a high moral consciousness as its primary purpose. Demonstrating further his dependence on humanist interpretations of Augustine, Hubmaier also uses Augustine's *Contra Julianum* and his characterization in Fulgentius' *Ad Monimum* to present the negative movement of free will only, viz., that evil is derived from one's will and is not predestined by God (see 8.3.1 and 8.3.2.). Likewise, Quillen explains how Humanists perceived in Augustine this negative movement of the human will: "The turning of our will away from God as the only abiding source of happiness toward transient things of the world marks the corruption of our human nature, condemns us to a life of inner conflict and disappointment, and interferes with the harmonious operation of our different human faculties."²³ However, for the positive movement, Augustine taught that it is not the human will but "Divine grace works to reorient the will, to aim us at the only true and lasting source of happiness, which is God."²⁴ Therefore, in the same way that "humanists did not necessarily echo Augustine's teachings on grace,"²⁵ Hubmaier also did not

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., 717f.

²⁵ Ibid., 718.

espouse Augustine's teaching on the predestination of humans to perform good works and obey God—that is, he ignored Augustine when outlining the positive movement of the will.

In her thesis, Gonzalez notes Hubmaier's possible indebtedness to Erasmus for his appraisal of Augustine, but does not explain in what way Erasmus may have influenced him.²⁶ To fill this void, it is appropriate to outline briefly how Erasmus viewed Augustine that may shed light on Hubmaier's noticeably unfavourable appraisal of the bishop of Hippo. This current analysis is also supplemented by our examination of Erasmus and Luther's divergent use and appraisal of Augustine in the next chapter. First, Backus observes that although Erasmus perceived the "ingenuity and erudition" which strengthens the "scriptural interpretation" of the Greek fathers above that of the Latins,²⁷ "with the exception of Chrysostom, the Greek doctors are not considered as highly as the Latin ones."²⁸ Even the prefaces to his patristic editions seem to favour Augustine over all other Church fathers.²⁹ However, it is important to realize that Backus is referring to Erasmus' perception of Augustine's spirituality and not his theological convictions. Erasmus likewise believed that the fathers of the West exhibited the fusion of moral ascendancy that we just noted above and eloquence in rhetoric and oratory, indeed, the synthesis of "*pietas* and *eloquentia* as the basis for the reform of church and society," as Dipple observes.³⁰ Related to this objective, Erasmus felt that the Latin fathers, Jerome and Augustine in particular, were able to combat the excesses of both the scholastic reduction of theology to the *disputatio* and the monastic distaste for humanist scholarship. In this sense, Erasmus chose Latin fathers whose life

²⁶ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 239f.

²⁷ Erasmus, *Free Will*, 13.

²⁸ Backus, "Erasmus," 109. See also Boeft, "Erasmus," 560, 564.

²⁹ Backus, "Erasmus," 107.

³⁰ Dipple, *Uses of History*, 34. See also, Bejczy, *Erasmus*, 18-24.

modeled an "educational system that incorporated the humanistic emphasis on classical learning and the need for a special Christian morality."³¹

It is true that while a monk the young Erasmus devoted himself to the study of Augustinian manuscripts at the monastery of Groenendaal, but it appears that it was this familiarity with his writings that refined a generally negative impression of the great Western doctor's theology.³² Kristeller, for instance, claims, "Only Erasmus, who had done so much for the text of Augustine, was unsympathetic to his theology and to his interpretation of the Bible, preferring that of St. Jerome, and significantly enough was taken to task for it by Catholics and Protestants alike."³³ As a case in point, after Erasmus had published his edition of Jerome in which he conducted a point-by-point comparison of Jerome and Augustine, the latter receiving a far less favourable estimation, Johann Eck wrote a letter to Erasmus (2 February 1518) while he and Hubmaier were still close, in which he professes his displeasure to Erasmus for not affording Augustine the primacy among the fathers that he deserved.³⁴ In a reply to Johann Eck (15 May 1518), Erasmus declared that he would rather read one page of Origen to inform himself of the *Christiana philosophia* than ten of Augustine,³⁵ and in two letters to Martin Lipsius, Erasmus solidifies his preference for the Greek fathers over his correspondent's recommendation that he develop a stronger interest in Augustine.³⁶

Erasmus' *De Ratione concionandi* (1536), outlines succinctly his preferences for the Greek fathers as homilists, as Robert Peters explains:

³¹ D'Amico, "Humanism," 370.

³² Staubach and Greig, "*Devotio Moderna*," 457.

³³ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 84f.

³⁴ *Allen Ep.* 769, 3:208-12. Cf. McGrath, *European Reformation*, 174.

³⁵ *Allen Ep.* 844, 3:337. Cf. Levi, *Renaissance*, 293.

³⁶ *Allen Eps.* 898 & 899, 3:438-40, dated c. October and c. November, 1518. Cf. Staubach and Greig, "*Devotio Moderna*," 455.

In this context [Erasmus] puts Basil first: 'clear, natural, of grave demeanour, free from affectation in speech.' Next comes Chrysostom: 'persuasive, popular and he has about him a sense of urgency.' After him, Gregory Nazianum [*sic*], 'who has both vehemence and finesse.' Origen has the first place of all '*qui omnium Gracecorum ingenia excitavit ... Et huius scripta pleraque popularia sunt.*' Tertulian 'is difficult, rather too gossipy, but he was an African.' Hilary has 'grace but is not very useful for sermon preparation, especially popular ones.' Cyprian 'is more useful; frank, ardent, austere, eloquent.' Ambrose resembles him, 'but is not altogether appropriate to modern times, for his arguments tend towards obscurity.' Jerome is always apposite and ardent, though he himself hardly ever preached. Augustine, 'typical of his race, allowed himself to become too interested in numbers and digressions.' Gregory the Great, 'simple and pious in sermons,' nevertheless has some of Augustine's weakness of style. Bernard's greatness is limited by his never having preached to audiences other than monastic.³⁷

It seems therefore that while Erasmus believes that the Latin fathers treated topics with greater care than the Scholastics who later took up these same topics, to avoid lingering on such topics, he felt it advisable to seek the counsel of the Greek fathers and especially their commentary on Scripture.³⁸ Considering Hubmaier's emphasis on Scripture and the preached Word, the idea that Erasmus influenced him in his preference for the Greek fathers, which we will examine in later chapters, might have some credibility (see 8.2.1., 8.3 and 9.1.3.).

It is noteworthy that Erasmus did not attempt an edition of Augustine until after he had completed editions of other Latin fathers such as Jerome, Cyprian, Hilary, and Ambrose, beginning work on Augustine only upon Froben's promptings.³⁹ Erasmus also finished an edition of Arnobius the Younger in 1522, who famously attacked Augustine for his views on grace,⁴⁰ although Erasmus confused him with the elder Arnobius.⁴¹ This prompted Robert Peters to ask, "Why...did he [Erasmus] find so many excuses for putting off the work Froben asked him to do on his edition of Augustine, in 1517? ... Might not the answer lie in an

³⁷ Peters, "Erasmus," 254. Cf. *LB* 5:857.

³⁸ Levi, *Renaissance*, 254.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 293. See also Staubach and Greig, "*Devotio Moderna*," 456.

⁴⁰ Dihle, *Augustine to Justinian*, 546.

⁴¹ Irena Backus, "The Editor's Introduction," In *Reception*, 1:xviii.

unwillingness to involve himself in work on a Father who was known by then to be supplying Luther with patristic ammunition?"⁴² Arnoud Visser similarly relates how Erasmus railed against the inconsistencies in Augustine's thought that made him palatable to someone of Luther's persuasion and suggested that Scholasticism could trace its roots back to Augustine.⁴³ Was this the reason that the only instances in which Hubmaier favoured Augustine was in his two treatises on the freedom of the will, not to vindicate the bishop of Hippo's understanding of grace and human freedom *per se*, but as a way to correct Luther's abuse of Augustine and attenuate his hyper-Augustinianism that accommodated the neglect of a transformed Christian life?

It could be that Erasmus did not see the need to popularize an already fashionable patristic writer, and intended, as Jacques Chomarat claims, only to fill gaps in the market.⁴⁴ It must also be remembered that Amerbach had just completed an *Opera* of Augustine's writings in 1506 that was published in Basel,⁴⁵ which suggests that there would be little reason for Erasmus to complete a new edition. In fact, his eventual efforts were limited to correcting errors in the 1506 edition and incorporating additional insights. Certainly the staggering of Greek and Latin fathers in his patristic publication program and the avoidance of such patristic giants as Tertullian, Theodoret of Cyrus, Cyril of Alexandria, and the pseudo-Dionysius, which had all previously been printed by Rhenanus, Clichtove, and Lefèvre, suggests that this is so, as does the fact that one of his favourite Church fathers and commentators on Scripture, Origen, was published posthumously.

⁴² Peters, "Erasmus," 261.

⁴³ Visser, "Reading Augustine," 76.

⁴⁴ Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique*, 480.

⁴⁵ *Aurelij Augustini* (Basel: Amerbach, Petri, and Froben, 1506).

7.1.3.3. *The Reformation:* It was B.B. Warfield who famously wrote, "It is Augustine who gave us the Reformation."⁴⁶ Informed by his nominalist background and retention of a moderate Augustinianism, Hubmaier objected to the way Augustine was portrayed by the magisterial Reformers, and Luther especially. Luther's admiration for Augustine began during his source studies as a monk under Johann von Staupitz, and although key to understanding his theological development, it is important to isolate what characteristics from this complex inheritance Luther emphasized and in what manner.⁴⁷ Luther's selectiveness therefore meant an accent on "Augustine's theory of election and reprobation," which formed his conviction that human beings cannot appease God by works, but rather justification is bestowed externally through divine grace.⁴⁸ In doing so, Luther undervalues Augustine's positive anthropological statements, and misreads him by externalizing God's righteousness so that justification is viewed *not* in the ontological sense of *making* the believer righteous, as Augustine taught, but in *declaring* the believer to be righteous in a juridical sense.⁴⁹ Hubmaier's alternative use of Augustine for his understanding of free will, which we will examine next chapter (see 8.3.1. and 8.3.2.), accentuates his Catholicism in comparison to Luther's reading of Augustine, which McGrath claims marked "a complete break with the teaching of the church up to that point."⁵⁰

Also important for understanding Hubmaier's reception of Augustine is how he was used and viewed by Zwingli. It is true that Zwingli did not acquaint himself seriously with Augustine until the 1520s, after he and Hubmaier had met in Zürich, and therefore, as McGrath notes, "the *origins* of Zwingli's reforming programme seem to owe nothing to

⁴⁶ Warfield, *Calvin and Augustine*, 322.

⁴⁷ See Oberman, *Luther*, 158; Quillen, "Renaissance," 718.

⁴⁸ McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 109, 143f., 197f.; Stone, "Augustine," 262.

⁴⁹ McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 119-121; Stone, "Augustine," 262.

⁵⁰ McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 121.

Augustine."⁵¹ Stephens, by contrast, notes that Zwingli studied Augustine earlier while residing in Glarus and Einsiedeln, but admits that the "exact role of Augustine is difficult to determine,"⁵² citing the many questions that surround the dating of his marginal notes on Augustine. Nevertheless, Stephens believes that, though not necessarily by direct influence, similarities "can be found not only in their understanding of the sovereignty and righteousness of God, but also in their understanding of scripture and the sacraments, as well as in the Platonist cast of their theology."⁵³ Lee Palmer Wandel goes even further, claiming that "Zwingli had been deeply influence by the fourth-century Church Father Augustine," citing specifically the Neoplatonist categories used to expound his anthropology "in terms of a struggle between the spiritual and physical, in which human nature was inevitably 'drawn' to the physical world and struggled against its 'seductions.'"⁵⁴ This led to, in contrast to Luther, an appreciation of the rituals, ceremonies, images, and liturgical details of the Church as physical referents for spiritual liberation and led also to a preoccupation with the forms that best cultivated this spiritual growth. Locher also confirms that "Zwingli remained faithful to the tradition which held sway from Augustine onwards, in that he made a close connexion between predestination and providence."⁵⁵ This connection between predestination and providence is one where the former is a distinct, microcosmic expression of the latter: "The one concerns the eternal salvation of the individual, the other concerns the general government of the world."⁵⁶ As Hubmaier sides with Erasmus, Origen, and Jerome in locating the positive movement toward God in the human will rather than the result of a

⁵¹ Ibid., 58. Cf. Gäbler, *Zwingli*, 48.

⁵² Stephens, *Zwingli*, 22.

⁵³ Ibid.,

⁵⁴ Wandel, "Zwingli," 273. Cf. Burns, *Theological Anthropology*, 19ff.

⁵⁵ Locher, *Zwingli's Thought*, 124.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

special grace, as we will discover in the next chapter, it is significant that Zwingli believes "that with the elect [God] turns everything to good, even their evil deeds, but not so with those who are rejected."⁵⁷ Zwingli therefore retains Augustine's belief, half of which Hubmaier used but amended with the help of Eck, Erasmus, Origen, and Jerome, that evil is derived from the human will while good alone is predestined by God and therefore does not originate in the human will.

7.1.4. Hubmaier's Use of Augustine:

We will withhold commentary on Hubmaier's citations from Augustine's *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* and *Contra Julianum*, plus one reference without naming a work, until the next chapter when we analyze Hubmaier's understanding of free will (see 8.3.1.).⁵⁸ Also, because we have already discussed some isolated references to Augustine in chapter four (see 4.5), when we outlined Augustine's alleged role in popularizing infant baptism, and will discuss a few other references in light of allegations that Augustine distorted Scripture in chapter nine (see 9.1.1. and 9.1.3.), we will avoid repetition by not treating them in this section.⁵⁹ That said, our purpose in the following analysis is to examine Hubmaier's citations of Augustine as they relate to his endorsement of credobaptism or other issues unique to his citations of Augustine. All told, we will focus on Augustine's appearance in the Gratian's Decree, and his three treatises *Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti*, *De natura et gratia*, and *De doctrina Christiana*.

7.1.4.1. Gratian's Decree: Either explicitly or by discussing its content, Hubmaier invokes a canon from Gratian's Decree more than once to expose Augustine's unscriptural

⁵⁷ Quoted in Locher, *Zwingli's Thought*, 124f.

⁵⁸ "Urteil: I," *HS* 246; *CRR* 268f.

"Freiheit," *HS* 392; *CRR* 441f.

"Andere Büchlein," *HS* 429; *CRR* 488.

⁵⁹ *CRR* 152, 175: ch. 4; *CRR* 176, 192, 290: ch. 8.

belief that unbaptized infants are destined for eternal torment in hell. The first reference to this canon is in his *Christlichen Taufe*. We discussed this section in our analysis of Cyprian in the previous chapter; after Hubmaier introduced "the books of the pope," Cyprian, and Augustine as witnesses to a time when baptism was still an issue open to discussion, he lists manifold canons that disagree with each other, capping them off with Augustine "to Petrus Diaconus in his chapter *Firmissime*," all of which Hubmaier deems unnecessary "testimony of men" and "human junk."⁶⁰ The "chapter" that Hubmaier refers to is actually "*c. Firmissime de Consec. di. 4*" from the Gratian's Decree, a reference he supplies later in his *Gespräch*.⁶¹ Hubmaier cites this same canon in almost exactly the same manner in his *Von der Kindertaufe* after Oecolampadius invokes Augustine and the Council of Milevis that he presided over. This time Hubmaier maintains that Augustine "greatly erred" while creating the same word-play on the canon's title, "*Firmissime*," as he did in his *Christlichen Taufe*: "If he had written *Impijssime* [Most impiously] for that he would have been better off."⁶²

Yet, as Gonzalez correctly notes, this citation is not authored by Augustine at all, but by Fulgentius of Ruspe.⁶³ What Gonzalez does not point out, however, is that in Hubmaier's day, it was common to mistakenly attribute this brief treatise to Augustine. This was true of the Middle Ages⁶⁴ and it was cited as authentically Augustine's treatise by Hubmaier's contemporaries, for instance, Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556).⁶⁵ It even appeared in the tenth volume of the very popular Amerbach edition (Basel, 1506) that both Eck and Hubmaier

⁶⁰ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 153f.; *CRR* 137-9, esp. 139.

⁶¹ "Gespräch," *HS* 205; *CRR* 222.

CIC 1:1362, c. III.

⁶² "Kindertaufe," *HS* 260f.; *CRR* 279.

⁶³ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 209. Cf. *FC* 95:100, no. 70.

⁶⁴ *FC* 95:59.

⁶⁵ Cox, *Writings and Disputations*, 77.

possibly read⁶⁶ and was included in Ingolstadt's library when the two were there.⁶⁷ Despite its spuriousness, therefore, the general confusion surrounding the text absolves Hubmaier of mishandling it and shows that his appeal to this treatise to criticize Augustine would have been sanctioned by his contemporaries. There is even a slight chance that Hubmaier had as his source Amerbach's edition since he does not name Gratian's Decree as his source and, in fact, Amerbach included the source reference from the Decree in the margin adjacent to the text.⁶⁸ However, since he more clearly lists several canons from Gratian's Decree near to where he cites "*Petro Diacono im ca. Firmissime*," it is far more likely that the Decree was his source in this instance.⁶⁹ It is important to note also that Augustine is the only father whom Hubmaier cites from the Decree, which, as an exception to the rule, verifies his clear preference for humanist editions of the fathers.

The content of the canon itself, as stated above, and the teaching that Hubmaier believed was so deplorable that it solidified Augustine as an unworthy exegete of Scripture, was the belief that unbaptized infants are destined for eternal torment in hell:

Hold most firmly and never doubt that, not only adults with the use of reason but also children who either begin to live in the womb of their mothers and who die there or, already born from their mothers, pass from this world without the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, which is given in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, must by punished with the endless penalty of eternal fire. Even if they have no sin from their own actions, still, by their carnal conception and birth, they have contracted the damnation of Original Sin.⁷⁰

After judging this Ps.-Augustinian description as impious, Hubmaier mentions this canon again, this time in his *Gespräch*, to oppose Zwingli's accusation that Anabaptists condemn children when they quote the second half of Mk. 16:16: "Whoever does not believe is

⁶⁶ *Decima [-Undecima] pars librorum ... Augustini* (Basel: Amerbach, Petri, & Froben, 1506), fos. 67(recto)-76(verso). Cf. Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 50f.

⁶⁷ John, "Bücherverzeichnis," 390.

⁶⁸ *Decima [-Undecima] pars librorum ... Augustini*, fo. 75(recto).

⁶⁹ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 153f.; *CRR* 137-9.

⁷⁰ *FC* 95:100. Cf. *CIC* 1:1362, c. III.

condemned." With an obvious connection, Hubmaier claims that Zwingli is being "unfair and unjust to us" and denies ever condemning children, instead denouncing "Saint Augustine in his canon 'Firmissime' De Consec. distinction 4"⁷¹ who is actually responsible for teaching that unbaptized infants are eternally damned.

Adjacent to this denouncement, in the same treatise, Hubmaier finally outlines the content of this canon without actually mentioning it. First, he quotes Zwingli: "Augustine writes against the Donatists concerning baptism in Book 4, Chapters 23 and 24, that the universal church holds that one should baptize young children."⁷² To this, Hubmaier responds, "Augustine also writes that the children of Christians who die either in the mother's womb or outside without water baptism are ... tortured with eternal fire," which Hubmaier rejects as having no basis.⁷³ He continues, "[I]f one had asked Augustine, where infant baptism is founded in the Scriptures," he would erroneously assume it has always been the historical practice and "run to the old custom and tradition like the papists."⁷⁴ Zwingli then enlists Augustine as a historical witness to the prevalence of paedobaptism in the late-fourth century. However, in an important ecclesiological confession, Hubmaier maintains that "[t]he universal Christian church and its majority are not the same"⁷⁵ (see 10.2). When Zwingli tries to vindicate his position by portraying Augustine's views as patristic rather than papist, Hubmaier simply wants him to "Read to us the Word of Christ, not of Augustine," but adds, "Or we read to you the above-mentioned word of Jerome on the last chapter of Matthew"⁷⁶ (see 6.1.4.). Hubmaier evidently rejected ps.-Augustine's condemnation of

⁷¹ "Gespräch," *HS* 205; *CRR* 221f.

⁷² *Ibid.*, *HS* 207; *CRR* 224.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, *HS* 207; *CRR* 225.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, *HS* 207f.; *CRR* 225.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, *HS* 208; *CRR* 225.

unbaptized infants because it is contrary to Scripture, while the proper exegesis of other Church fathers, whom he theoretically could have rejected as he had Augustine, signals his approval. His censure of Augustine thereby becomes a foil through which we can accurately measure the sincerity of Hubmaier's appraisal of the fathers whose interpretation of Scripture he accepted.

Hubmaier also drew on three canons from Gratian's Decree in his *Urteil II* to uncharacteristically portray Augustine as someone whose views on baptism agreed with his own.⁷⁷ The fact that Hubmaier cites three canons from Gratian's *Decretum*, combined with his hitherto exclusive opposition to Augustine, demonstrates that he must have hastily scoured the Decree in an *ad hoc* manner with the sole intention of silencing his critics. In fact, he concludes the section on Augustine with what seems to be a defiant, "*Ibi*," or, "there," as if responding to the either real or imagined obloquy that his neglect of Augustine, as the unrivaled patristic authority in Western Christendom, might generate. First, Hubmaier mentions "Canon One on the Tiophiles," which he says is "too long to relate here" Neither Pipkin,⁷⁸ Bergsten,⁷⁹ Gonzalez,⁸⁰ nor I cannot locate this canon. Second, Hubmaier cites the canon *Agunt Homines* found in Distinction Four, which encourages repentance prior to baptism.⁸¹ This canon is an excerpt from Augustine's letter to Seleuciana, a laywoman in Africa who was contending with Novationist claims that Peter had not been baptized and that repentance replaces baptism. On both fronts, Augustine was surprised that Novatianists would teach such things. The portion of the letter that appears in Gratian's Decree reads, "After all, people do penance before baptism for their previous sins, but in such a way that

⁷⁷ "Urteil: II," *HS* 245; *CRR* 267.

⁷⁸ *CRR* 267.

⁷⁹ *HS* 245.

⁸⁰ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 220f.

⁸¹ *CIC* 1:1393, c. XCVII.

they are also baptized, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, where Peter is speaking to the Jews and says, *Do penance, and let each of you be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and your sins will be forgiven* (Acts 2:38).⁸² This certainly seems to support Hubmaier's views on baptism, especially if read in isolation. The context, however, shows that the Novatianists with whom Seleuciana was acquainted believed that "penance took the place of baptism,"⁸³ a belief that Augustine had never heard from the mouth of a Novatianist. Therefore, the quote above implies that if penance is possible, presumably for a catechumen within the age of reason, it was normally combined with baptism; it does not therefore suggest that penance must always be a prerequisite to receiving baptism. Regardless, we know that Augustine accepted paedobaptism, and since an infant does not commit transgressions before receiving baptism, Peter's command cannot possibly apply to them.

The final canon that Hubmaier cites from Gratian's Decree is *Nihil*, the entire title of which Hubmaier quotes verbatim: "The baptized members of Christ should also participate in the body and blood of Christ."⁸⁴ Gonzalez believes that this canon is an excerpt from Augustine's authentic *Letter 98: To Boniface*, wherein he responds to Boniface's uncertainty about "how the faith of an infant's parents can benefit the child, though the sins of its parents cannot harm it after baptism."⁸⁵ Based on her analysis, Gonzalez concludes that "Hubmaier took significant liberty in interpretation" and "almost claimed the opposite of what the canon, and Augustine, actually taught."⁸⁶ However, Gonzalez incorrectly identifies the original source of this canon. Further, the portion of Augustine's letter to Boniface that she believes is Hubmaier's source does not even match the original Latin in Gratian's Decree, thus

⁸² Augustine, "Letter 265: To Seleuciana," 217f. Cf. *CIC* 1:1393, c. XCVII.

⁸³ Augustine, "Letter 265: To Seleuciana," 217.

⁸⁴ "Urteil: II," *HS* 245; *CRR* 267. Cf. *CIC* 1:1404f., c. CXXXI.

⁸⁵ Ramsey, "Introduction," In Augustine, "Letter 98: To Boniface," 431.

⁸⁶ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 221. Cf. Augustine, "Letter 98: To Boniface," 431f.

rendering her analysis immaterial.⁸⁷ In fact, rather than an authentic Augustinian epistle, as Gratian's Decree portrays it, this canon is authored again by Fulgentius of Ruspe as a selection from his *Letter 12: To Ferrandus*:

Up to a point, there should be no doubt for anyone then that each one of the faithful (*fidelium*) becomes a sharer in the body and blood of the Lord, when he is made a member of the Body of Christ in baptism and is not alienated from the fellowship of that bread and cup, even if, before he eats that bread and drinks that cup, he leaves this world in the unity of the Body of Christ. He is not deprived of the participation in and benefit of that sacrament when he is that which the sacrament signifies.⁸⁸

Edward Kilmartin gives a helpful analysis in his monograph on the Eucharist in the West, and demonstrates that the context portrays ingestion of the Eucharistic gifts as requisite to sharing in the divine life. Although Pope Gelasius concurred, he failed to recognize the implications of baptism's capacity to unite the recipient to the Body of Christ—that is, the Church. Fulgentius, however, made this connection, thus allowing that the baptizand, by becoming 'that which the sacrament signifies,' had already participated in the divine life before receiving Holy Communion even if death cuts short his or her life.⁸⁹ Completely oblivious to this context, Hubmaier's representation of the text is more an attempt to refashion ps.-Augustine's words so that it fits his baptismal theology than it is an accurate interpretation: "The baptized members of Christ should also participate in the body and blood of Christ. For he wants that only the believers receive, desire, and seek the sacrament, for only they belong to the confessors and followers of Christ—for without a true acknowledged

⁸⁷ Compare Augustine, "Letter 98: To Boniface," 431f. that Gonzalez cites in her thesis (p. 221) and the original canon that Hubmaier references in his *Urteil II*, CIC 1:1404f., c. CXXXI.

⁸⁸ FC 95:496; "... nec cuiquam esse aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc unumquemque fidelium corporis Christi efficitur, nec alienari ab illo panis calicisve consortio, etiamsi antequam panem illum comedit, et calicem bibat, de hoc saeculo in unitate corporis Christi constitutus abscedat. Sacrament quippe illius participatione ac beneficio non privatur, quando ipse hoc quod illud sacramentum significat invenitur." PL 65:392C-D. Cf. CIC 1:1404f. c. CXXXI.

⁸⁹ Kilmartin, *Eucharist*, 59.

faith all sacraments are powerless and nothing."⁹⁰ Although Hubmaier might have designated the "*fidelium*" in ps.-Augustine's *Letter to Ferrandus* as those who are "made ... member[s] of the Body of Christ in baptism," he takes tremendous liberties in his effort to unearth something that simply was not there. Regardless, it seems clear that Hubmaier deviates from his consistently negative portrayal of Augustine, not to convince his opponents of the validity of credobaptism, but to enlist fathers who witnessed the confusion surrounding baptism in their own day that a universal council could resolve based on Scripture.

7.1.4.2. *Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti*: In the preface to his *Urteil I* and *II*, Hubmaier cites the so-called *dictum Augustini*, which reads, "*Ego vero Evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicae Ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas.*"⁹¹ This aphorism is essentially a declaration of Scripture's dependency on the Church as an anterior yet superior embodiment of truth and is found in Augustine's *Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti*. However, it was also common knowledge during Hubmaier's time, and there is no indication that he actually read *Contra epistolam Manichaei* to verify the dictum. In response, Hubmaier declares, "[I]f I did not believe the gospel I would never believe the church, since the church is built on the gospel and not the gospel on the church."⁹² Zwingli actually defends the proverb, or otherwise explains it away, in an effort to vindicate the bishop of Hippo, by claiming that Augustine either formulated the expression unreflectively or meant that had he not been exposed to the gospel in written form, he would not have believed it.⁹³ It is tempting to surmise that Zwingli's approval may have prompted

⁹⁰ "Urteil: II," *HS* 245; *CRR* 267.

⁹¹ *PL* 42:176. "For my part, I should not believe the gospel except as moved by the authority of the Catholic Church." *NPNF1* 4:131.

⁹² "Urteil: I," *HS* 228; *CRR* 247.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 242.

⁹³ *ZSW* 1:293. Cf. Backus, "Zwingli," 641; Thompson, *Eucharistic*, 74f.

Hubmaier to challenge the dictum, but he specifically names Augustine as his target in his *Urteil*. It is also important to note that Zwingli erroneously renders the *dictum Augustini* in his *Apologeticus Architeles* (1522) as "ego [vero] evangelio non crederem nisi ecclesia adprobasset evangelium",⁹⁴ though Hubmaier makes no mention of this.

The reason he cites the *dictum Augustini* in the *Urteil*, however, is to support the view that faith—that is, the gospel—gives birth to and therefore *precedes* the Church, which reflects the sequential framework that forms the basis of credobaptism: *docete–baptizantes–docentes*. This view and pattern is at the heart of his desire for a universal council to decide the correct baptismal practice, which itself legitimizes the Church that gathers to make a faithful decision to Scripture. This is why Hubmaier also responds to the Augustinian dictum by averring that "the church is built on our faith and confession, and not our faith on the church, but on the preached Word of God, which is God himself and which has become human, John 1:1,14."⁹⁵ This inversion of Augustine's dictum also has implications for how Hubmaier appraises and accepts those other Church fathers whose correct view of baptism is based on a faithful exegesis of Scripture. Indeed, the 'preached Word of God' which leads to 'our faith and confession' is the basis for receiving baptism that does not receive its authority from the Church, but instead itself makes known or manifests the Church. To the extent that the fathers' exegesis and practice is correct, Hubmaier accepts them not only as faithful witnesses to the scriptural depiction of baptism on an epistemic level, but as co-affiliates in the one, true Church. More to the point, those Church fathers who believe that the Church is dependent on the gospel, and manifest this belief in their correct teaching and practice of credobaptism—the Church's establishment and expansion which results from the

⁹⁴ Backus, "Zwingli," 641.

⁹⁵ "Urteil: I & II," *HS* 228, 242; *CRR* 248.

administration of baptism after and based on the *preaching* of the gospel (i.e. the Church's dependence on the gospel)—are included in the one, universal the Church.

7.1.4.3. *De natura et gratia*: Gonzalez does not mention nor analyze Hubmaier's enlistment of Augustine's *De natura et gratia*, although it does add to our understanding of Hubmaier's views on free will and the association between a Church fathers' orthodoxy and his faithfulness to Scripture. She does, however, consider Hubmaier's citation in the conclusion of her thesis instead of in her analysis of Augustine, but does not consider his reading of Augustine's *De natura et gratia* there or source the passage.⁹⁶ Augustine wrote this treatise in 415 C.E. in response to Pelagius' *De natura* and deliberately added "*et gratia*" to evince his conviction that human nature does not have the capacity to freely conform to God's will unilaterally unaided by grace. This response belongs to the first phase of Augustine's anti-Pelagian campaign before Pelagius received support in Palestine by several Eastern bishops and at the Council of Diospolis in December of 415 C.E. It was this endorsement and patronage which instigated the second phase in Augustine's attack on Pelagius.⁹⁷ The overall intent of *De natura et gratia* is to portray the two agencies as synergistically responsible for one's salvation rather than mutually exclusive.⁹⁸ Of the arguments that Augustine advances to counter the doctrines in Pelagius' *De natura*, two stand out: (1) that the will is not self-sufficient and is in need of grace and (2) that humans cannot control the will to the extent that sinlessness is achievable.⁹⁹ It is within the context of this latter argument that Hubmaier cites Augustine's *De natura et gratia*.

⁹⁶ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 309f.

⁹⁷ Moreschini and Norelli, *Literary History*, 2:401f.

⁹⁸ *JQ* 4:387.

⁹⁹ Mary Inez Bogan, "Note: One Book on Nature and Grace," *FC* 60:208.

In his *Entschuldigung*, Hubmaier invokes Augustine, Jerome, and papal laws in a polemical manner to defend the belief that the "holy fathers, councils, and human teachings" must conform with Scripture for them to be accepted, which we discussed briefly above in the section on Jerome.¹⁰⁰ However, we were unable to locate Jerome's *super pres. fundamenta* and were consequently left wondering how exactly Hubmaier's references supported this belief. It is interesting to first acknowledge that Hubmaier cites two Church fathers here who support his claim that we must "test the holy fathers ... by the touchstone of Holy Scripture."¹⁰¹ In a way, the argument is self-fulfilling, but it nevertheless implies that the fathers are indeed faithful to Scripture since they themselves evidently demand fidelity. Specifically, those three putative authorities are adduced to support the claim that "one should not believ[e] any person beyond what one can prove with the Word of God, however holy one may seem to be."¹⁰² This is an important account because it represents a direct attempt to answer the accusation that he "despise[s] the holy fathers" in an apology written to clarify his position on a number of matters to the governing lords, Leonard and Hans von Liechtenstein, of Nikolsburg.

The most likely section from Augustine's *De natura et gratia* that Hubmaier had in mind is the forty-sixth chapter entitled "Shall We Follow Scripture, or Add to Its Declarations?" First, Augustine offers Pelagius' argument that "What we read, therefore, let us believe; and what we do not read, let us deem it wicked to add; and let it suffice to have said this of all cases."¹⁰³ Augustine then somewhat facetiously elaborates on the untenable implications of Pelagius' argument if it were applied to *all* written material. Finally,

¹⁰⁰ "Entschuldigung," *HS* 274; *CRR* 300.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *NPNFI* 5:137; *PL* 44:269.

Augustine accepts that Pelagius was referring specifically to Scripture in his argument and, in tacit agreement with Pelagius, accuses him of transgressing his own principle through his misinterpretation and additions to Scripture:

Perhaps he will say in reply: "When I said this, I was treating of the Holy Scriptures." Oh how I wish that he were never willing to add, I will not say anything but what he reads in the Scriptures, but in opposition to what he reads in them; that he would only faithfully and obediently hear that which is written there: "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men; in which all have sinned;" and that he would not weaken the grace of the great Physician,—all by his unwillingness to confess that human nature is corrupted! Oh how I wish that he would, as a Christian, read the sentence, "There is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved;" and that he would not so uphold the possibility of human nature, as to believe that man can be saved by free will without that Name!¹⁰⁴

Hubmaier's reference to this passage has some bearing on his understanding of free will since he indeed accepted the doctrine of original sin and the need to cooperate with grace as per his moderate Augustinianism that we will examine later.

However, the context of Hubmaier's reference to Augustine is not free will, but the authority of Scripture as the criterion by which we may accept the *auctoritas patrum* and judge their overall value. Although Hubmaier believes that the fathers generally do abide by this criterion, as his appeal to patristic testimony generally demonstrates, in this instance we cannot claim this—though the opposite is not true either. Since Hubmaier lists Augustine and Jerome with "papal laws," and this in his *Entschuldigung*, it seems sufficiently clear that he is using his opponents' own authorities against them in a polemical manner. However, Hubmaier further claims that "[e]ven if an angel were to come down from heaven and preach to us another gospel, it should be accursed."¹⁰⁵ As this is a statement attesting to the ultimate authority of Scripture and its completeness and perfection in communicating truth, and not a

¹⁰⁴ *NPNFI* 5:137; *PL* 44:269f.

¹⁰⁵ "Entschuldigung," *HS* 274; *CRR* 300.

denouncement of the authority and fidelity of angels, the same applies also to the Church fathers.

7.1.4.4. *De doctrina Christiana*: Hubmaier cites Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* once in his *Einfältiger Unterricht*.¹⁰⁶ His appeal to this work reveals his indebtedness to and confessionalization of Humanism, and is for this reason worth our attention. The title of the work is a bit of a misnomer, as it may be better described as 'hermeneutic',¹⁰⁷ and is comprised of four books written at two different periods of Augustine's life.¹⁰⁸ As we will see, Hubmaier likely used specifically Books Three and Four, the former of which concerns the interpretation of ambiguous scriptural texts by recognizing its figurative meaning, while the latter, as the "first manual of Christian rhetoric,"¹⁰⁹ deals with the didactic character of rhetoric.¹¹⁰ As the first of Augustine's works to run through the press in 1483 in Venice by Octavianus Scotus, included also in the editions by Amerbach (1506) and Erasmus (1528-9),¹¹¹ *De doctrina* influenced Humanists in both Italy and in Northern Europe by (1) sanctioning the Christian theologian's recourse to pagan classics and secular learning;¹¹² (2) outlining precisely how rhetoric can serve didactic and apologetical ends;¹¹³ (3) delineating the utility of philological inquiry,¹¹⁴ with the specific endorsement of learning Greek and Hebrew,¹¹⁵ and an awareness of conceptual and lexical semantics;¹¹⁶ (4)

¹⁰⁶ "Unterricht," *HS* 296; *CRR* 328.

¹⁰⁷ Sullivan, "Appendix," 326.

¹⁰⁸ Jurgens, *Early Fathers*, 52.

¹⁰⁹ Camargo, "*doctrina christiana*," 394.

¹¹⁰ O'Donnell, "*Doctrina Christiana*," 278-80; Pipkin, *CRR* 328, note 15.

¹¹¹ Sullivan, "Appendix," 326. However, the fourth book alone was printed earlier in 1465 by John Mentelinus in Strasbourg.

¹¹² *Doc. Chr.* 2.18.28 & 40.60 (*NPNFI* 2:544f., 554f.; *PL* 34:49f., 63). Cf. Bequette, *Christian Humanism*, 50; Quillen, "Renaissance," 717.

¹¹³ See esp *Doc. Chr.* 4.2, 4-5, 10-14, 17, 19, 22-26 (*NPNFI* 2:575ff.; *PL* 34:89-93, 99-107, 114-8).

¹¹⁴ *Doc. Chr.* 2.1-5, 12 (*NPNFI* 2:5337, 540f.; *PL* 34:35-8, 43f.). Cf. Woodward, *Humanist Educators*, 165.

¹¹⁵ *Doc. Chr.* 2.11.16 (*NPNFI* 2:539f.; *PL* 34:42f.).

modeling oratorical eloquence and polished style;¹¹⁷ (5) giving due esteem to Scripture and providing a comprehensive framework for appropriate exegesis with rules governing figurative interpretation;¹¹⁸ (6) designating moral purity as requisite for the theologian;¹¹⁹ (7) illustrating the benefits of historical inquiry;¹²⁰ and (8) providing grounds for dismissing the deceptiveness of scholastic sophistry.¹²¹

Erasmus also drew from *De doctrina*, which he discovered during a visit in 1493/4 to the Augustinian cloister in Groenendaal, during which he was so enamoured of the treatise that he retired to his cell, manuscript in hand.¹²² Robert Sider notes that *De doctrina* contributed to his self-understanding as a 'Christian humanist,' which is evident also in the lengthy quotations, some from memory, that appear in his *Antibarbari* (drafted 1494-95, published 1520), especially to justify a purposeful exposure to pagan literature.¹²³ Among the borrowed characteristics from *De doctrina* in Erasmus' *Annotations on Romans*, *Methodus*, and the *Ratio*, the latter of which Hubmaier most certainly read and likely owned,¹²⁴ is an awareness of Scripture's underlying mystical content and the need for a pure heart when approaching Scripture.¹²⁵ In a letter to Paul Volz, Erasmus also concurs with Augustine that dialectics has value so long as it does not increase senseless bickering.¹²⁶ This reflects Hubmaier's sentiments as well, as we will soon see.

¹¹⁶ *Doc. Chr.* 1.1-2, 2.14, 16, 3.25.34-7 (*NPNFI* 2:522f., 542-4, 566; *PL* 34: 19f., 45-9, 78f.). Cf. Quillen, "Renaissance," 717.

¹¹⁷ Woodward, *Humanist Educators*, 127, 151.

¹¹⁸ *Doc. Chr.* 1.36-37, 2.9, 12-13, 3.10-16, 26-8, 30-7 (*NPNFI* 2:533, 539, 540-2, 560-3, 566f., 568-73; *PL* 34: 34f., 42-5, 71-5, 79f., 81-90). Cf. Quillen, "Renaissance," 717.

¹¹⁹ *Doc. Chr.* 1.10.10, 4.15, 27 (*NPNFI* 2:525, 584f., 595f.; *PL* 34: 23, 103118f.).

¹²⁰ *Doc. Chr.* 2.28.42 (*NPNFI* 2:549; *PL* 34:55f.).

¹²¹ *Doc. Chr.* 2.31.48 & 36.54 (*NPNFI* 2:550f., 552; *PL* 34:57f., 60).

¹²² See Tracey, *Erasmus*, 56.

¹²³ Sider, "Erasmus," 313f.

¹²⁴ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 72; Williamson, *Erasmus*, 41f.

¹²⁵ Sider, "Erasmus," 313.

¹²⁶ Erasmus. "Letter to Paul Volz," 122.

Many of the reasons why Humanists drew from *De doctrina* are evident in Hubmaier's use as well. However, given the deliberate and comprehensive manner in which Augustine develops his exegetical approaches in this work, a fuller investigation beyond the scope of our own into the influence of *De doctrina* on the first half of Hubmaier's *Einfältiger Unterricht* is warranted, as many overlapping principles can be detected—philological inquiry; use of figurative interpretation; and knowledge of grammatical rules, dialectical principles, and hermeneutical conventions. For instance, Augustine proposes the principle of interpreting a more difficult or obscure passage of Scripture with a clearer pericope.¹²⁷ Not only is it possible that this influenced Zwingli,¹²⁸ but also Hubmaier's belief that "[w]here several sayings of the Scriptures are dark or presented very briefly, from which disagreement may follow, one should resolve these with other Scriptures which are clearer or brighter...".¹²⁹ Indeed, Hubmaier states this hermeneutical principle only a few pages before he invokes Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* in the same work.

For our purposes, however, we will stick closely to the passage in which Hubmaier actually cites Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, which includes (1) a hermeneutical principle to help interpret correctly Jesus' declaration, "This is my body / blood" and (2) a well-defined injunction regarding the proper use of rhetoric. First, immediately before invoking *De doctrina* for delineating the correct use of rhetoric, Hubmaier lays out a hermeneutical principle: although "everything which Christ said is so, ... it is not enough to say, 'This is my body,' in order to prove that the body of Christ is there. Rather," Hubmaier continues, "we must set words together which have been spoken in the whole speech by

¹²⁷ *Doc. Chr.* 3.26-7 (*NPNF1* 2:566f.; *PL* 34:79f.). Cf. Madec, "Christian Influences," 152.

¹²⁸ Backus, "Zwingli," 643.

¹²⁹ "Unterricht," *HS* 292; *CRR* 322.

Christ and which belongs together."¹³⁰ For this, Hubmaier notes the import of the succeeding words, "Do this in my memory," without which the exegete is guilty of making "patchwork" out of the Scriptures, as is the mistake of scholastic glosses.¹³¹ Hubmaier then outlines a few examples where it is true that words qualify or otherwise clarify the preceding words, "as also especially the right and true dialecticians take good account of these words: 'Memory, remember, remembrance,' and the like."¹³²

Here, it becomes immediately clear that Hubmaier is aligning himself with the humanist principles governing the refinement of dialectic that we looked at in chapter four (see 4.3). Specifically, Hubmaier's association with the "true dialecticians" seems to imply a *grammatical* dialectic and a literary emphasis, wherein the use of reason in service of truth, with which dialectic concerns itself, is inherent to the text itself and word arrangement. This emphasis seems to reflect Eck's espousal of a "grammatical logic" and compliance with the *modi significandi* (ways of signifying) in his *Elementius* that we discussed in chapter four (see 4.3), and aims to silence squabbles that often arise in dialectical exercises that are not rooted in the text. Kathy Eden recounts Augustine's claim in his *De doctrina* that an exegete must "find evidence for his reading not only in the immediate context of the passage in question but also from elsewhere in the Scriptures."¹³³ This seems to comply with Hubmaier's concern about context, consideration of the text as a whole, and the *scriptorum intentio* (author's intention), for which Book Three of Augustine's *De doctrina* seems to be his source. For instance, Augustine contends that it is difficult to find ambiguities in Scripture "which neither the context, showing the design of the writer (*scriptorum intentio*),

¹³⁰ Ibid., *HS* 295; *CRR* 326f.

¹³¹ Ibid. Cf. *HS* 130f., 133, 298, 401; *CRR* 109-11, 113, 330, 452.

¹³² "Unterricht," *HS* 295f.; *CRR* 237.

¹³³ Eden, "Rhetorical Tradition," 59.

nor a comparison of translations, nor a reference to the original tongue, will suffice to explain."¹³⁴ More specifically, and akin to Hubmaier's attention paid to words which follow a command, Augustine also claims that ambiguities can be resolved "by a reference to the preceding or succeeding context,"¹³⁵ and elsewhere gives examples of clarifying ambiguities by observing what follows.¹³⁶

At the core of Hubmaier's recourse to the context of the scriptural passage in question is whether Christ's identification of the bread and wine as his body and blood is to be taken as literal or figurative. In particular, Hubmaier attempts to decipher the author's intention (*scriptorum intentio*) from what the written word communicates at face value. Accordingly, Eden contends, "The discrepancy between the written word and the writer's intention—the so-called *scriptum* vs. *voluntas* controversy of the rhetorical manuals—forms the basis of Augustinian hermeneutics. . . ."¹³⁷ Specifically, Augustine differentiates between the *semantic* meaning—i.e., the signification of the words that the author uses—and the *dianoetic* meaning—i.e., the author's intention in using these words.¹³⁸ Central to the hermeneutics of *De doctrina*, Augustine, like all other classical rhetorical theorists, "regards the *dianoetic* meaning as prior to and privileged above the *semantic* meaning,"¹³⁹ which factors into one's discrimination between what should be interpreted literally or figurative—"both with ample precedent in ancient rhetoric."¹⁴⁰ This is a major hermeneutical concern for

¹³⁴ *Doc. Chr.* 3.4.8. (*NPNFI* 2:559; *PL* 34:68).

¹³⁵ *Doc. Chr.* 3.3.6. (*NPNFI* 2:557; *PL* 34:67f.).

¹³⁶ *Doc. Chr.* 3.2.4-5. (*NPNFI* 2:557; *PL* 34:66f.).

¹³⁷ Eden, "Rhetorical Tradition," 47.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 48f.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 57f..

Augustine who warns his readers that "we must beware of taking a figurative expression literally,"¹⁴¹ which Hubmaier's detractors do when they accept the real presence.

It is difficult to say for certain whether Hubmaier had a single section of *De doctrina* in mind, but one in particular stands out even if the content of the scriptural passage is slightly different:

If ... [a sentence] seems to enjoin a crime or vice, or to forbid an act of prudence or benevolence, it is figurative. 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man,' says Christ, 'and drink His blood, ye have no life in you.' This seems to enjoin a crime or a vice; it is therefore a *figure*, enjoining that we should have a share in the sufferings of our Lord, and that we should retain a sweet and profitable *memory* of the fact that His flesh was wounded and crucified for us.¹⁴²

It may be that Hubmaier used this passage in *De doctrina* to support his figurative interpretation of Christ's statement, "This is my body," since the directive to focus on the memory of his crucifixion is present in both Augustine and Hubmaier. Indeed, immediately after the outline of this rule, Augustine gives another example: "Scripture says: 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink;' and this is beyond doubt a command to do a kindness. But," Augustine continues, "in *what follows*, 'for in so doing thou shall heap coals of fire on his head,' one would think a deed of malevolence was enjoined. Do not doubt, then, that the expression is figurative."¹⁴³ Even though 'what follows' is deemed figurative if one accounts for the sure meaning of the preceding words, and Hubmaier's example is the reverse, the argument from context still applies.

Immediately after illustrating how this rule affects one's interpretation of Christ's words, "This is my body," Hubmaier provides a description of what he believes is the most effective use of rhetoric and dialectic: "Now we Christians are obligated according to yet

¹⁴¹ *Doc. Chr.* 3.5.9. (*NPNF1* 2:559; *PL* 34:68f.).

¹⁴² *Doc. Chr.* 3.16.24. (*NPNF1* 2:563; *PL* 34:74f.) (emphasis mine).

¹⁴³ *Doc. Chr.* 3.16.24. (*NPNF1* 2:563; *PL* 34: 75) (emphasis mine).

another rule to speak with sober and clear words, since particularly in teaching simplicity and dialectical or skillful characteristics of speaking are necessary, and not empty speaking or figures of rhetorical persuasion, as Augustine teaches us in *De doctrina Christiana*.¹⁴⁴

Although she does not explore this any further, Gonzalez nevertheless observes that "Hubmaier, the doctor and the humanist, could not help but revert to Augustine for his rhetorical strength," for which he may have "intentionally followed in the steps of Erasmus"¹⁴⁵ since his *Ecclesiastes* discusses Augustine's use of rhetoric for preaching. However, this work was published in 1535 after Hubmaier had already been executed (although Erasmus began writing it in 1523). Instead, Hubmaier's appreciation of rhetoric can reasonably be accounted for by his growing appreciation of humanist principles, especially while a student at Freiburg when *De doctrina* enjoyed the reputation as a helpful handbook on rhetoric. This was reflected, for instance, in the *florilegium* of Augustine's *De doctrina*, especially Book IV, that constituted approximately one third of *De Augustiniana Hieronymianaque Reformatione Poetarum* (1509) by Thomas Murner, who had previously lectured at Freiburg.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Hubmaier may have learned of Erasmus' alignment with the way rhetoric is portrayed in *De doctrina* through his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*,¹⁴⁷ *Antibarbari*,¹⁴⁸ or the prefaces in his *Novum Testamentum*.¹⁴⁹

The real issue here, which Gonzalez does not explore, is specifically how *De doctrina* shaped Hubmaier's understanding and appreciation of rhetoric. Three characteristics of his conception of a proper use of rhetoric stand out: (1) a concentration on teaching; (2) a

¹⁴⁴ "Unterricht," *HS* 296; *CRR* 327f.

¹⁴⁵ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 225f.

¹⁴⁶ Backus, "Augustine," 13-25, esp. 20, 23-5.

¹⁴⁷ O'Donnell, "Rhetoric," 28f.; Tracey, *Erasmus*, 56f.

¹⁴⁸ Sider, "Erasmus," 313f.

¹⁴⁹ See Mansfield, *Erasmus*, 87f.

preference for simplicity and dialectical skill; and (3) the avoidance of "empty speaking" and manipulative "persuasion." All of these features can be found in *De doctrina*, but it is important to note that Augustine is not as unequivocal as this, leaving room for persuasion as useful though not prioritized above the other functions of rhetoric.¹⁵⁰ However, Donald Marshall's assessment more faithfully captures the complete perception in *De doctrina*, claiming that Augustine believed "[r]hetoricians seek verbal skill simply to puff up their pride. It is a disgrace," Marshall explains, "even to think of Scripture in such terms."¹⁵¹ Hubmaier's emphasis is therefore very similar to Augustine's and is essentially in line with the humanist appreciation of rhetoric against the competing convolution of scholastic dialectical syllogism.

First, Hubmaier's isolation of the teaching function represents one facet of Augustine's threefold characterization of eloquence in speaking: "to teach, to delight, and to persuade," which is taken from Cicero's *De oratore*.¹⁵² Of these three functions of rhetoric, Augustine indeed gives teaching precedence: "to teach is a necessity, ... to persuade is not a necessity, ... [n]either is it a necessity to give pleasure."¹⁵³ Moreover, this order, as Ernest Fortin recalls, is the inverse of Cicero's prioritization and therefore represents a novelty.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, Augustine conceived this teaching function, Fortin observes, as "the 'sound doctrine' of which Saint Paul had spoken and in which the preacher has steeped himself through the assiduous reading and study of the Scriptures."¹⁵⁵ It seems, moreover, that Hubmaier's perspective aligned with those Humanists, Agricola especially, who viewed rhetoric as

¹⁵⁰ *Doc. Chr.* 4.12.27. (*NPNF1* 2:583; *PL* 34:101).

¹⁵¹ Marshall, "*Doctrina Christiana*," 9.

¹⁵² *Doc. Chr.* 4.12.27. (*NPNF1* 2:583; *PL* 34:101).

¹⁵³ *Doc. Chr.* 4.12.28. (*NPNF1* 2:583; *PL* 34:101).

¹⁵⁴ Fortin, "Augustine," 219, 212.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 226.

primarily a teaching function, the definition of which Augustine's *De doctrina* was instrumental.¹⁵⁶

Clarity and simplicity of style is also a feature of Augustine's conception of the proper use of rhetoric, claiming that teachers should not be "so anxious about the eloquence as about the clearness of his teaching."¹⁵⁷ Indeed, Fortin identifies "[t]he moderation in speech that [*De doctrina*] both advocates and displays" as the distinguishing mark of Augustine's conception of rhetoric compared to the Ciceronian model. Accordingly, Augustine maintains that "while our teacher ought to speak of great matters, he ought not always to be speaking of them in a majestic tone, but in a subdued tone when he is teaching."¹⁵⁸ Dialectic is also useful for both Hubmaier and Augustine, the latter observing in Book Two that "[t]he science of reasoning is of very great service in searching into and unravelling all sorts of questions that come up in Scripture,"¹⁵⁹ while "love of wrangling," "the childish vanity of entrapping an adversary," deceptive "*sophisms*," and "verbal ornamentation" should all be avoided. No doubt, Hubmaier would also have gravitated toward Augustine's belief that "it is one of the distinctive features of good intellects not to love words, but the truth in words."¹⁶⁰ It is this conception of rhetoric that appealed to Hubmaier and other Humanists, as a way of communicating clearly and soberly while avoiding unnecessary complicated speech that leads to senseless nitpicking symptomatic of the scholastic vocation.

¹⁵⁶ Monfasani, "Renaissance Humanism," 716.

¹⁵⁷ *Doc. Chr.* 4.9.23. (*NPNFI* 2:582; *PL* 34:99).

¹⁵⁸ *Doc. Chr.* 4.19.38. (*NPNFI* 2:587; *PL* 34:106).

¹⁵⁹ *Doc. Chr.* 2.31.48. (*NPNFI* 2:550; *PL* 34:57f.). See also *Doc. Chr.* 4.5.7. (*NPNFI* 2:576; *PL* 34:91f.). Cf. Malatesta, "Dialectic," 270.

¹⁶⁰ *Doc. Chr.* 4.11.26 (*NPNFI* 2:583; *PL* 34:100f.).

CHAPTER EIGHT

HUBMAIER'S USE OF THE CHURCH FATHERS FOR HIS UNDERSTANDING OF FREE WILL

This chapter explores Hubmaier's use of the Church fathers in support of his understanding of free will. To begin, we will outline Hubmaier's teachings on free will and his anthropological presuppositions. Next, it will be important to consider some factors that may have shaped the manner in which he cites the fathers for his understanding of free will. Lastly, we will provide an analysis of Hubmaier's appeal to the fathers to defend the freedom of the will. This chapter also represents one of the most thoroughgoing original contributions of my thesis compared to the work that Gonzalez has already undertaken. For instance, Gonzalez's exploration into Hubmaier's defence of free will is limited to a single paragraph,¹ and as a result she omits his use of all the patristic sources we analyze below. Ultimately, exploring how Hubmaier cites the fathers in support of his optimism regarding the human will benefits my own thesis more, as it corroborates my argument that he embraced the fathers as co-affiliates in the true *ecclesia universalis* through their perceived acceptance of credobaptism, free will, and the ban together as mutually supportive components of his ecclesiology.

8.1 Hubmaier's Understanding of Free Will

Our primary documents for understanding Hubmaier's opinions on free will are the two treatises, *Von der Freiheit des Willens* and *Das andere Büchlein* on free will, both published in the spring of 1527 almost two months apart. The first monograph focuses on

¹ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 80f.

the philosophical rationale for free will, addressing the function of the flesh, spirit, and soul, although Hubmaier invokes Scripture generously as well. The second monograph exegetes important passages of Scripture individually to ratify the free will position in a debate that had already commenced with the release of Erasmus' *Diatribes* on free will (1524) and Luther's *De servo arbitrio* (1525). Interestingly, a chief impetus for Hubmaier's involvement in this controversy was the divisiveness in Nikolsburg caused by a variance of opinion about free will, the neglect of piety by those who denied free will being Hubmaier's primary concern.² This suggests that Hubmaier was required to search the relevant patristic texts anew and apart from his original study on baptism.

8.1.1. Epochal Sequence: Hubmaier defines free will as "a power, force, energy, or adroitness of the soul to will or not will something, to choose or flee, to accept or to reject good or evil, according to the will of God, or according to the will of the flesh... ."³ However, this freedom has varied in kind and extent since the fall of Adam. Hubmaier divides the chronology into (1) pre-fall, (2) post-fall, (3) post-resurrection, and (4) post-rebirth. In his *Freiheit des Willens*, Hubmaier provides the following summary:

God created the human being so free that he was at first able without new grace to remain in his inborn innocence and righteousness unto eternal life. He could also forfeit this grace through disobedience, which is what happened. As a result, through the Fall, grace and freedom have been darkened and lost to such a degree that the human being does not know any longer what is good or evil without a special and new grace of God. ... However, after the restoration, the human being has acquired and again received such grace, health, and freedom through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ that one can now again will the good and do it, indeed against the nature and will of the flesh in which there is nothing good.⁴

² Pipkin, *CRR* 426f., 449. Cf. "Rechenschaft," *HS* 468; *CRR* 534.

³ "Freiheit," *HS* 393; *CRR* 443.

⁴ *Ibid.* Cf. *HS* 321-3,402f.; *CRR* 359-61, 454.

Therefore, during the initial pre-fall epoch, humans were "left in the power of their own counsel" because "God originally made the human so free and highly graced that he could remain in his created innocence and original righteousness without any new grace."⁵

After the fall, however, humanity lost its freedom, each becoming a "child of sin, wrath, and death." Indeed, without a new grace, humanity is unable to "be saved" and "cannot keep the commandments."⁶ These are the "two wounds" that the "human being received...by the Fall of Adam." First, by an inner degeneration we have become ignorant of good and evil, but the second effect is external and related to our "doing and acting."⁷ Consequently, ignorance can be palliated by humanity's decision to follow Christ *after the resurrection*, and our 'doing and acting' is activated upon the *rebirth of believers* only. It is important to note, however, that humanity is entrusted "also after the Fall the choice of evil and good, blessing and curse, life and death."⁸ Although Hubmaier blends Old Testament conditions, by citing Jeremiah, Isaiah, and the Psalms, with New Testament solutions, he seems to believe that humanity was given the responsibility of obedience after the fall, not through our own will, but through the recognition of what sin is in contrast to his revealed commandments.⁹ Moreover, it is possible that Hubmaier invoked Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on John* to argue that there is no parallel between circumcision and baptism (see 5.2) precisely because during the interim period between Adam's fall and Christ's resurrection, free will was at its weakest.¹⁰ Consequently, a covenantal model functioned best during this period, but upon the restoration of free will after Christ's resurrection,

⁵ Ibid., *HS* 402; *CRR* 453.

⁶ Ibid., *HS* 403; *CRR* 455.

⁷ "Freiheit," *HS* 395; *CRR* 445.

⁸ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 406; *CRR* 459.

⁹ Ibid., *HS* 406-8; *CRR* 459ff. See also "Freiheit," *HS* 393; *CRR* 442.

¹⁰ "Gespräch," *HS* 175f.; *CRR* 180.

baptism should not be administered to infants, as circumcision had, but should be delayed until the human will freely chooses to follow Christ, which was impossible under the old covenant.

Hubmaier claims that the human will was "made truly free by the death and resurrection of Christ,"¹¹ and uses *Christus Victor* language to describe the post-resurrection conditions that allow all humanity to choose to follow Christ. These conditions were inaugurated when Christ, by his resurrection, unencumbered all humanity and offered "sonship...to all people equally,"¹² by rendering "flesh, sin, death devil, and hell harmless,"¹³ since "all these things are already captured, bound, and overcome in Christ."¹⁴ Tying together the pre-fall and post-resurrection epochs, Hubmaier further observes, "As death before the Fall could do no harm to Adam...so has it become harmless for the entire world through Christ."¹⁵ By this provision, all humanity can choose "to become children of God."¹⁶

Those included in the final post-rebirth epoch, however, have the ban as their motivation, ever before the regenerated believer whose nourishment and correction is the responsibility of the Church.¹⁷ It is this epoch that ties together the characteristics of free will, baptism, and the ban, and determines whether or not Hubmaier counts the fathers among those included in the Church.¹⁸ Although the Adamic nature is unable to will or do good, "all things are possible to the Christian, not as persons, but as believers, who ... are (except for the flesh) free and independent of themselves ... so that one stands in complete

¹¹ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 321; *CRR* 359.

¹² "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 413f.; *CRR* 468.

¹³ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 321; *CRR* 360.

¹⁴ "Freiheit," *HS* 396; *CRR* 446.

¹⁵ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 415; *CRR* 470.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *HS* 410; *CRR* 463.

¹⁷ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 313f.; *CRR* 349.

¹⁸ For free will as a corollary of baptism, see Rempel, *Lord's Supper*, 45; Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 56; Snyder, *Anabaptist History*, 88. Cf. "Lehrtafel," *HS* 316; *CRR* 353.

freedom to will and to do good or evil."¹⁹ The soul is "reborn by God,"²⁰ and "can now freely and willingly be obedient to the spirit, can will and choose good, as well as it was able in Paradise,"²¹ since it is "through his Word ... that we are able to will and do good."²² Indeed, it would be injudicious of God to establish a goal that his creation could not accomplish.²³ Yet, since obedience is achieved through a process of regeneration, of becoming "one with God,"²⁴ it is the result of a synergistic cooperation between humanity and God: "It is up to the human being to prepare the heart, but up to God to govern the tongue."²⁵ Our obedience is therefore induced first when "God breathes on us newness, awakens us, gives us birth anew, and gives us the choice and the power to become his children,"²⁶ after which he shows the "righteous person...the way, which he then follows freely, joyfully, and without compulsion."²⁷ The analogy that Hubmaier employs is the eye, which was designed to see but cannot utilize this ability "unless the light enters beforehand into the eye."²⁸

8.1.2. Hubmaier's Anthropology: Hubmaier bases his understanding of free will on a trichotomous anthropology, and claims it has scriptural origins (1 Thessalonians 5:23; Genesis 2:7).²⁹ However, John Rempel believes that he "built his theology on medieval anthropological motifs,"³⁰ George H. Williams believes his anthropology originated from one

¹⁹ "Nachtmahls," *HS* 359f.; *CRR* 400.

²⁰ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 420; *CRR* 477.

²¹ "Freiheit," *HS* 390; *CRR* 439.

²² "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 425; *CRR* 484.

²³ *Ibid.*, *HS* 411; *CRR* 465.

²⁴ "Nachtmahls," *HS* 359f.; *CRR* 400.

²⁵ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 426; *CRR* 485.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, *HS* 405; *CRR* 457.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, *HS* 412; *CRR* 466.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Both Basil of Caesarea and Erasmus use this analogy as well. Basil, "Exhortation," 225f.; Erasmus, *Free Will*, 74.

²⁹ "Freiheit," *HS* 382; *CRR* 429f. See Hall, "Possibilities," 161.

³⁰ Rempel, *Lord's Supper*, 45.

of Johannes Tauler's sermons,³¹ Beachy and Mabry think it is a product of his nominalism and exposure to Jean Gerson in particular,³² Hall claims Denck was an influence,³³ Steinmetz detects traces of Bonaventure and the Old Franciscan theologians in his view,³⁴ and MacGregor suggests it was borrowed directly from Bernard of Clairvaux's (1090-1153) *De gratia et libero arbitrio* (c.1127), although Bernard is not even mentioned in Hubmaier's writings and Pipkin rightly questions this connection.³⁵ Yet, Hubmaier's anthropology might have patristic origins as well. Indeed, since Bernard leaned so heavily on Augustine, MacGregor might have done well to examine Hubmaier's use of the bishop of Hippo instead. Bergsten insinuates that his trichotomous anthropology was Origenist,³⁶ and Spitz observes that Erasmus too discusses "man's complex nature, described by St. Paul and Origen as body, soul, and spirit" in his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (1503 / 18), which endorsed true piety and was widely popular in Europe.³⁷ It is this combination of scriptural, patristic, and Erasmian support for Hubmaier's anthropology that makes it worth our attention.

Immediately after the preface, Hubmaier opens his *Freiheit des Willens* with an elucidation of the anthropological basis for his defence of free will, while overtly rejecting the bipartite anthropology of Scholasticism, described as the "upper and lower parts of the human being," as a distortion accredited to Aristotle.³⁸ When he addresses the tripartite composition of the human as body, soul, and spirit, Hubmaier exegetes the passage on the creation of Adam from the original Hebrew and identifies the three anthropological components in Greek, Latin, and German. Also, each of the three anthropological

³¹ Cited in Beachy, *Concept of Grace*, 201.

³² Ibid.; Mabry, *Doctrine*, 114f.

³³ Hall, "Possibilities," 156.

³⁴ Steinmetz, "Scholasticism," 132f., 137.

³⁵ MacGregor, *Hubmaier*, 61ff.; Pipkin, *Scholar*, 29.

³⁶ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 353.

³⁷ Spitz, *German Humanists*, p. 221-2.

³⁸ "Freiheit," *HS* 389; *CRR* 439.

components have a separate will.³⁹ The three-fold division is important because it clarifies the limitations of the will's freedom during each of the epochs described above. The post-resurrection epoch does not factor into our analysis, however, since the resurrection of Christ, by conquering death, altered exterior conditions rather than humanity itself, although Hubmaier does claim once that an "inborn perfection" exists in all humans during this epoch. Hubmaier first describes the three components of humans in their original condition: the flesh corresponds to the earth, or *aphar* and *erets* in Hebrew; from which it was formed, the spirit is the *neshamah*, or living breath of God; and the soul is "that which makes the body alive," the *nephesh*.⁴⁰ Hubmaier is clear that all three components were created "wholly free to choose good or evil, life or death, heaven or hell."

After the fall of humanity, however, the flesh becomes "completely corrupted,"⁴¹ losing its freedom and knowledge of good and evil,⁴² which then takes the spirit captive, though it retains its inherent goodness,⁴³ rendering the soul "wounded" and "sick" by virtue of the flesh's depravation.⁴⁴ The soul, however, is reparable. The flesh retains its bondage and ineffectuality even in the post-rebirth epoch,⁴⁵ but the soul, of its own "natural powers," simply knows "not what to do [and is] blind and ignorant of heavenly things." However, the soul can be awakened by the spirit, which was not affected by the fall, and provoked by threats resembling the function of the ban. Through this enlightenment, the soul once again can discern the difference between good and evil, has "obtained its lost freedom," can "freely and willingly be obedient to the spirit, [and] can will and choose good, as well as it was able

³⁹ Ibid., *HS* 382f.; *CRR* 430f.

⁴⁰ Ibid., *HS* 382; *CRR* 429f. See also *HS* 384f.; *CRR* 432.

⁴¹ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 322; *CRR* 361.

⁴² "Freiheit," *HS* 385f.; *CRR* 433f.

⁴³ Ibid., *HS* 386; *CRR* 434. See also *HS* 389; *CRR* 438.

⁴⁴ Ibid., *HS* 386f.; *CRR* 435. See also *HS* 386f.; *CRR* 435.

⁴⁵ "Nachtmahls," *HS* 359f.; *CRR* 400. See also *HS* 390, 392; *CRR* 439, 442.

in Paradise."⁴⁶ By uniting with the spirit and restoring the image of God, the soul "now becomes the spirit."⁴⁷ As a result, the flesh is now obligated to act against its own will in accordance with the direction of the soul united with the spirit, which commands "the flesh in such a way that it tames and masters it."⁴⁸ Alternatively, the soul will deteriorate if, by its newly restored free will, it becomes inclined towards sin.⁴⁹ Hubmaier also adds an eschatological dimension by claiming that the flesh will eventually be restored upon the final resurrection of all believers, when each of the three components will be reunited.⁵⁰

8.2 Factors affecting Hubmaier's Patristic Understanding of Free Will

8.2.1. *The Debate between Erasmus and Luther:* To better understand why Hubmaier chose to enlist Augustine, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Origen, and Jerome as allies in his defence of free will, it is worthwhile considering a few influential factors. The first of these is his entrance in the dispute between Luther and Erasmus. Luther wrote his *De servo arbitrio* in response to Erasmus' *Diatribes* on free will, and affirmed Augustine's teachings but chastised Jerome and Origen. In his *De servo*, Luther responds to Erasmus' claim that only John Wycliffe and Lorenzo Valla had previously taught the bondage of the will⁵¹ by maintaining that "Augustine, whom you overlook, is entirely with me."⁵² In the same work, Luther prefers Augustine's substitution of the expression "free choice" with "enslaved" choice and supports his belief, espoused also by Peter Lombard, that "free choice by its own power alone can do nothing but fail and is capable only of sinning."⁵³ Alternatively, "hardly any of the ecclesiastic writers have handled the Divine Scriptures more ineptly and absurdly

⁴⁶ "Freiheit," *HS* 390; *CRR* 439f.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, *HS* 384; *CRR* 431. See also *HS* 389; *CRR* 437f.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, *HS* 391; *CRR* 441.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, *HS* 392; *CRR* 442.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, *HS* 387; *CRR* 435. See also *HS* 325, 405; *CRR* 364, 456.

⁵¹ See Erasmus, *Free Will*, 13f.

⁵² Luther, "Bondage," 145.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 174.

than Origen and Jerome,"⁵⁴ whom Luther calls "tropes"⁵⁵ who "filled the world with such trifles, and set this pestilent example of not paying attention to the simplicity of the Scriptures."⁵⁶ Luther also labels as "Origen's fable" the trichotomous anthropology of flesh, soul, and spirit, wherein the soul is "capable of turning either way."⁵⁷

Although Hubmaier's two treatises on free will addressed his opponents in Nikolsburg, Luther himself was no doubt a target as well. Hubmaier dedicated his *Freiheit des Willens* to the Lutheran, Count George of Brandenburg-Ansbach, yet this was in gratitude for his protection.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Hubmaier's concern for morality implied optimism in human effort via the partially undefiled image of God,⁵⁹ so that if, as Luther does, "one says there is nothing good in man, that is saying too much."⁶⁰ Specifically, Hubmaier challenges Luther's doctrine of *sola fide* by claiming that those who say, "Faith alone saves us and not our works," are spewing out "half-truths."⁶¹ Moreover, Fabri wrote in his *Adversus Pacimontanum Defensio* (1528), the transcription of his interrogation of Hubmaier in Vienna, that the latter remarked,

I have never approved Luther because he has been the author of many disasters in Germany, or rather in the whole world. ... And especially since he wrote concerning Christian liberty, concerning free will, good works and absolute necessity concerning which you made mention earlier, which the ancients generally have called fate, I have been averse to his opinion.⁶²

The consequences of the Lutheran position are fourfold: (1) neglect of Christian responsibility promotes the debauched clerical behaviour that originally ignited the

⁵⁴ Ibid., 224.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 225f.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 264.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 317. Cf. Friedmann, *Theology of Anabaptism*, 58f.

⁵⁸ "Freiheit," *HS* 380; *CRR* 427.

⁵⁹ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 313; *CRR* 348. See also *HS* 322f.; *CRR* 361.

⁶⁰ Ibid., *HS* 322; *CRR* 360.

⁶¹ "Freiheit," *HS* 381f.; *CRR* 428f.

⁶² Fabri, (*Defensio*), "Unwritten Traditions," 505.

Reformation,⁶³ (2) sin is stripped of its culpability since it is not committed voluntarily,⁶⁴ (3) God is vulnerable to mockery for expecting conformity to commandments that we cannot willfully obey,⁶⁵ and (4) God, not the delinquent human being, is guilty of our disobedience and sin.⁶⁶

Hubmaier's reliance on Erasmus' *Diatribes* on free will is acknowledged among historians, and Pipkin does the great service of identifying several of his verbatim quotations from Erasmus' monograph.⁶⁷ Further, Hubmaier's conversation with Erasmus in Basel in 1522 on John 1:13, which Hubmaier invokes in his *Freiheit des Willens*,⁶⁸ suggests that they may have discussed free will before the publication of Erasmus' *Diatribes*.⁶⁹ One interesting feature of this treatise is Erasmus' deliberate avoidance of patristic teachings on free will since "Luther recognizes no authority of any author, however approved, except that of the canonical books."⁷⁰ Nevertheless, Erasmus pauses to defend the fathers, which Hubmaier would have read. Specifically, Erasmus claims that the fathers "have enjoyed the approval of many centuries up to the present day, and among whom most have distinguished themselves by an admirable knowledge of Scripture, and commended themselves by their piety."⁷¹ After listing the Greek and Latin fathers including Augustine, Erasmus maintains that only Manichaeus and John Wycliffe have ever completely denied free will.⁷² Further, Hall

⁶³ "Freiheit," *HS* 396f.; *CRR* 447.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, *HS* 392; *CRR* 441.

⁶⁵ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 407f., 412; *CRR* 460f., 466

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, *HS* 408f.; *CRR* 461f. See also *HS* 324, 413f., 429; *CRR* 363, 468, 489.

⁶⁷ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 402-31; *CRR* 452-91, notes 8 to 41. See also Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 352f.; Hall, "Possibilities," 149-70, esp. 164ff.; Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 69-74; Williamson, *Erasmus*, 13f., 25, 61f.

⁶⁸ "Freiheit," *HS* 383; *CRR* 430f.

⁶⁹ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 50. See also Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 72.

⁷⁰ Erasmus, *Free Will*, 12.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*, 13.

observes that "Erasmus has a very 'Augustinian' view of man's fall and God's grace,"⁷³ yet Sider recognizes Erasmus' skepticism in the ability of Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings to affirm free will,⁷⁴ which betrays an awareness of the subtleties in Augustinian compositions before and after the outbreak of the Pelagian controversy.⁷⁵ Interestingly, Augustine's anti-Pelagian work, *Contra Julianum*, which we will see Hubmaier cites, seeks a moderating tone because it defends against Julian's accusations of Manichaeism.⁷⁶

8.2.2. Eck's Nominalism: Eck's nominalism is important to a discussion of Hubmaier's view of the Church fathers for two reasons: (1) since nominalist explanations of God's *potentia absoluta* and *potentia ordinata* have, or were accused of having, strong Pelagian undertones, Hubmaier's nominalism may have factored into his attitude towards Augustine, and (2) it is important to juxtapose Hubmaier's embrace of an Erasmian account of free will and accompanying use of Augustine, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Jerome, and Origen with his earlier nominalism.⁷⁷ Both Hubmaier and Eck, the latter via Tübingen where Nominalism had been introduced by his favourite theologian, Gabriel Biel, were clearly in the *via moderna*, or nominalist, camp. However, Eck's moderatism and eclecticism combined to allow interaction with Scholastics of the *via antiqua*, or realists, such as John Duns Scotus, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventure, and Aquinas (c.1225-74).⁷⁸ Eck's preferred

⁷³ Hall, "Possibilities," 153. Cf. Erasmus, *Free Will*, 24-6, 73.

⁷⁴ Sider, "Erasmus," 313. Cf. Erasmus, *Free Will*, 72f.

⁷⁵ McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 72-4, 78-80.

⁷⁶ Evens, "Neither," 232-44, esp. 237ff. See also Erasmus on Augustine between the Manichaeans and Pelagians: Erasmus, *Free Will*, 9f.

⁷⁷ See Steinmetz, "Scholasticism," 127.

⁷⁸ Iserloh, *Johannes Eck*, 7. See also *CEBR* 2:416; Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 51; Fletcher and Ott, *Statutes*, 19f.; Mabry, *Doctrine*, 13.

theologians, however, were William of Occam and Gabriel Biel (c. 1420/5-1495), both Nominalists who had been accused of Pelagianism.⁷⁹

Of the various schools of Nominalism, it was to the 'Moderate School' that Eck, and by association, Hubmaier, belonged. This branch attenuated extremes by holding in tension both the omnipotence and immanence of God (corresponding to his *potentia absoluta* and *potentia ordinata* respectively) and emphasized covenant relationship, as per God's *potentia ordinata*, as well as divine love, free will, and elements of mysticism.⁸⁰ More relevant to our purposes, this branch also resisted accusations of semi-Pelagianism, but neither did they accept the *schola augustiniana moderna*, initiated by Gregory of Rimini, wherewith Augustine is interpreted in a literalist manner without adequately accounting for the theological context of his writings—especially the anti-Pelagian ones.⁸¹ Eck and Hubmaier, therefore, rejected any distortion of Augustine that held to double-predestination, uncompromising election, which Duns Scotus had espoused to avoid Pelagianism,⁸² and the unqualified human inability to resist *gratia gratum faciens*, or sanctifying grace, as the sole determinant of one's salvation. It was this interpretation of Augustine that influenced Luther, Eck's eventual adversary and an assumed target of Hubmaier's writings on free will. Alternatively, a principal characteristic of the moderate Occam-Biel school, to which Eck and Hubmaier adhered, is *synderesis*—the inborn moral conscience or "natural inclination of human beings to do the good, and to refrain from evil" in response to the pure remnant of human nature.⁸³ Interestingly, Occam, who was condemned as a Pelagian by a commission

⁷⁹ Brewer, *Hubmaier*, 15. See also Mabry, *Doctrine*, 13, 17. For a brief description of Occamist Nominalism and its epistemology, see Levi, *Renaissance*, 9.

⁸⁰ Mabry, *Doctrine*, 13-7.

⁸¹ McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 82-7, 170ff. See also pp. 72-4, 78-80; Evans, "Neither," 232-44; Frend, *Rise*, 673-9; Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 47-9.

⁸² Levi, *Renaissance*, 54f.

⁸³ Mabry, *Doctrine*, 15.

of six theologians in 1326, still retains the doctrine of original sin despite its apparent incompatibility with his more semi-Pelagian belief that, according to Levi, any good act "performed *ex puris naturalibus* without supernatural grace" will be acknowledge by God in the supernatural order.⁸⁴

Accordingly, the nominalist school of Eck and Hubmaier emphasized the principle of *facere quod in se est*: the natural human receptivity to God's grace and emphasis on free will that entitles a human being to aspire toward God and reach a collateral plateau.⁸⁵ Further, this level of holiness allows an elevated receptivity to divine grace, as per God's *potentia ordinata*, for continued upward mobility.⁸⁶ However, salvation is not merit-based, as this is the operation of *gratia gratum faciens* (sanctifying grace), but is granted through cooperation with God within the parameters of his *potentia ordinata* and, therein, a covenant relationship.⁸⁷ This is what Biel argued, despite accusations of Pelagianism, on the basis of the distinction between God's *potentia absoluta*, the absolute or hidden divine will, and his *potentia ordinata*, the revealed will,⁸⁸ to which Hubmaier makes clear reference in his works.⁸⁹ God was *not*, therefore, constrained by divine foreknowledge to apportion guilt along with the eternal reprobation of the damned, which Eck also argues in the last of the four *evidentialia* (axioms) in his *Chrysopassus*.⁹⁰ This, Moore claims, reflects the distinction between God's *potentia absoluta* and *potentia ordinata*: although God's *voluntas* is absolutely free, and is thus a reflection of his transcendence and *potentia absoluta*, he has sanctioned

⁸⁴ Levi, *Renaissance*, 60f.

⁸⁵ Mabry, *Doctrine*, 13-7.

⁸⁶ Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 84.

⁸⁷ Mabry, *Doctrine*, 15-7. See also McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 128ff.

⁸⁸ See Levi, *Renaissance*, 150; Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 81-5.

⁸⁹ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 414-7; *CRR* 469-3. Hall, however, observes that this distinction appears also in Erasmus' thought. Hall, "Possibilities," 165f.

⁹⁰ *Chrysopassus a Ioanne Maioris Eckio* (Augsburg: n.p., 1514), II.92. The *Chrysopassus* is composed of six *centuriae*, each divided into sections; I refer to the digitized copy made available by the BSB, shelf mark: VD16 E 305.

human cooperation through fixed rules (*certas regulas*), or his revealed will and covenantal relationship (*potentia absoluta*).⁹¹

Much could be said of the distinction between God's *potentia absoluta* and *potentia ordinata*,⁹² but Hubmaier's recourse to the original sources of revelation, Scripture and reputable patristic commentaries, may have been induced by one noteworthy aspect. Oberman has demonstrated that the nominalist task was to bypass the barrier between perception and reality, which corresponds roughly to the *potentia absoluta* and *potentia ordinata* respectively.⁹³ Although Nominalists invoked God's sovereignty when appropriate and convenient, as Occam did when Bradwardine accused him of Pelagianism,⁹⁴ they more commonly emphasized the immediacy of God since it reflects the revealed, particular, and empirical reality in opposition to abstract universals.⁹⁵ Consequently, as Oberman remarks, "The *potentia ordinata* treats theology as the 'science' concerned with God's revelation,"⁹⁶ which necessarily "points to the *sources* of revelation, as testified to in Scripture, the Fathers and the doctrinal decisions of the Church."⁹⁷ Perhaps strengthened by his later humanist sensitivities, therefore, this nominalist accent on revelation may have been the initial impetus for Hubmaier's later more mature study of Scripture and accompanying patristic commentaries to neutralize the discursive abstractions of the Scholastics.

8.2.3. *Eck's Use and View of Augustine:* The following gives context to Hubmaier's use of Augustine for free will by exploring Eck's appraisal of the African bishop, while using the judgments of Gregory of Rimini, Luther, and Andreas Karlstadt (1486-1541)

⁹¹ Moore, "Protean Man," 259, note 41.

⁹² A good place to start is Oberman, "Renaissance," 47-76, esp. 50f., 56-62.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁹⁴ See Leff, *Bradwardine*, 131f.

⁹⁵ Oberman, "Renaissance," 61f.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁹⁷ Oberman, "Profile," 85.

as foils. Our principal resource is Eck's *Chrysopassus* (1514), guided by Moore's study on whether or not Eck contradicted himself against Karlstadt at the 1519 Leipzig Disputation.⁹⁸ This is an especially appropriate strategy since the *Chrysopassus* was the product of lectures that Eck had delivered in 1512 immediately after Hubmaier's arrival in Ingolstadt, so that, as Moore remarks, "There can be little doubt that Hubmaier knew the *Chrysopassus* very well."⁹⁹ The *Chrysopassus* is primarily concerned with the question, *de ratione praedestinationis ex parte praedestinati*—whether God's foresight of human behaviour determines his response of reward or punishment.¹⁰⁰ While Eck presents both the negative and affirmative answers, he opts for the latter but nuances it. Although some noted Saints were predestined to glorify God from the womb,¹⁰¹ the majority acquire grace through their assent to and synergistic cooperation with divine inspiration, what Eck terms the *bona motio et inspiratio divina*, which is the prerequisite for receiving justifying grace.¹⁰² This synergism means that prevenient grace, though special as the *initium salutis*,¹⁰³ is also universally offered,¹⁰⁴ which suggests the culmination of salvation in human response and cooperation.

Eck's recourse to Gregory of Rimini, who, with Bradwardine, harmonized Augustinianism and the *via moderna* and initiated an "Augustinian Renaissance,"¹⁰⁵ shaped his understanding of predestination and factors into our judgment of Eck and Hubmaier's use

⁹⁸ See Moore, "'Protean Man'," 252-63.

⁹⁹ Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 78. See also Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 45.

¹⁰⁰ Moore, "Catholic Teacher," 78.

¹⁰¹ *Chrysopassus* III.25.

¹⁰² *Chrysopassus* II.26 (numbered incorrectly as 21); I.19.

¹⁰³ *Chrysopassus* III.28. Cf. Moore, "'Protean Man'," 261.

¹⁰⁴ *Chrysopassus* III.59; III.68.

¹⁰⁵ Oberman, "Profile," 86, 88f.

of Augustine for free will.¹⁰⁶ At the Leipzig Disputation (1519) against Luther and Karlstadt, Eck identifies two major points of variance between himself and Gregory of Rimini. First, whereas Gregory dismissed the good works of the *infidelis* as sin since they were not performed "on account of God" (*propter deum*),¹⁰⁷ Eck recognized these as instead meritorious acts.¹⁰⁸ On the second day of the disputation, Luther sided with Gregory and his commentary on Lombard's *Sententiae*, Book II, Distinction 28, since it agreed with Augustine and Scripture.¹⁰⁹ Second, and directly related, Eck, in his *Chrysopassus*, emphatically opposes Gregory's undervaluation of meritorious acts performed apart from justifying grace that he presented in his commentary on the *Sententiae*, Book II, Distinction 26.¹¹⁰ This represents, therefore, a disagreement about how to interpret Augustine, which was punctuated by Gregory's accent on Augustine's anti-Pelagian works that Luther also devoured between 1515 and 1518.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, Eck respected Gregory, which their mutual Occamism and Gregory's frequent appearance in the *Chrysopassus* attest,¹¹² because the latter ensured that his pessimistic perception of the human will did not authorize moral apathy.¹¹³ This was also Hubmaier's criticism of Luther, and it may have factored into his synthesis of Augustinianism and free will against a hyper-Augustinianism that, if left unchecked, sanctions moral nihilism.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁶ Oberman tells us that Eck had received, in 1510, a copy of the 1503 Aldine edition of Gregory's commentaries on Books I and II. Oberman, *Wegestreit*, 88.

¹⁰⁷ Levi, *Renaissance*, 62.

¹⁰⁸ Moore, "'Protean Man'," 246, 250f., 256f., 263.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 246f. Cf. Silano, *Sentences*, Vol. 43, 138-42; *PL* 192:717-9.

¹¹⁰ *Chrysopassus* II.76. Cf. Silano, *Sentences*, Vol. 43, 123-32; *PL* 192:709-14. See also Moore, "'Protean Man'," 257f.

¹¹¹ Grane, *Modus*, 25ff.; McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 77, 110, 178f.; Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 50.

¹¹² Overfield, *Humanism*, 50; Moore, "'Protean Man'," 254, note 29.

¹¹³ Levi, *Renaissance*, 62; Oberman, "Profile," 88f.

¹¹⁴ Steinmetz, "Scholasticism," 132, 136f.

Eck's disagreement with Luther over whether or not Augustine used hyperbole as a rhetorical device in his literary attacks on Pelagianism also may have influenced Hubmaier, who was still on good terms with his former mentor.¹¹⁵ Eck's opposition to Luther, then, is identical to Hubmaier's objection to those who say "there is nothing good in man, [which] is saying too much."¹¹⁶ For his part, Eck outlines an interpretative principle in the third *notula* of his *Chrysopassus*: "when he is doing battle with a heretic, Augustine exaggerates in the opposite direction."¹¹⁷ Eck believes that this principle should be applied especially to Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings, since he exaggerates the depravation of the human will to prevent Pelagius from undermining the effects of original sin.¹¹⁸ Similarly, God did not predestine some to eternal bliss, as some say Augustine taught, but based his eternal decision on the *foreknowledge* of each person's meritorious works, which safeguards synergism in salvation. It was Eck's interpretative principle that helped his case against the Wittenbergers, who essentially reincarnated Gregory of Rimini's flawed interpretation,¹¹⁹ and that may have influenced Hubmaier's appeal to Augustine and complementary patristic teachings for his defence of free will.

8.3 Free Will and the Church Fathers

Hubmaier's references to the Church fathers in support of free will are valuable yet few in number. Augustine plays a prominent role, with Fulgentius of Ruspe, Julian of Eclanum, and, less so, Donatus each serving as a foil to more precisely disclose how Hubmaier uses and views Augustine. As well, Jerome and Origen factor into Hubmaier's understanding of free will.

¹¹⁵ Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 43.

¹¹⁶ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 322; *CRR* 360.

¹¹⁷ Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 47. Cf. *Chrysopassus* III.92.

¹¹⁸ Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 47.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 49. See also McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 179.

8.3.1. Augustine of Hippo (354 – 430): Hubmaier first invokes Augustine in his *Freiheit des Willens* to support the contention that human beings obey Christ's commandments out of their own free will, and that our "inborn imperfection, which is in every person," presupposes that disobedience is inevitable. However, "If the commandments of God are fulfilled, says Augustine, those other things not fulfilled by us are forgiven us."¹²⁰ Hubmaier does not provide the title of the work he is here referencing and gives no helpful clues for locating this work.

Augustine figures more prominently in Hubmaier's *Andere Büchlein* on free will; after declaring, "We will not confess that God is a doer or creator of sin," Hubmaier quotes Augustine's belief, "Of what God is not the planter he is neither the maker nor effector."¹²¹ Again without naming the work, Hubmaier nevertheless gives a partial source reference in the margin: *Augustinus am 3. bûch, 8. cap.* Unfortunately, Gonzalez is unable to determine which work this marginal note references and therefore provides no relevant analysis.¹²² However, the content of Book 3, Chapter 8 of Augustine's *Contra Julianum* reflect Hubmaier's concerns exactly.¹²³ This treatise was composed in c. 421 C.E. against, not Pelagius himself, but one of Pelagianism's most prominent leaders, Julian of Eclanum (c.386-c.455 C.E.), or, as Hubmaier expressed it, "*wider den Julianum Pelagianum.*"¹²⁴ *Contra Julianum* illustrates clearly Augustine's use of hyperbole to offset the extremism of Pelagianism, for in doing so he is accused by Julian of reverting back to his Manichaean days. As Gillian Evans remarks, "There was some foundation for Julian's claim that if Augustine was opposed to Pelagius, he must be identifying himself with an old enemy of

¹²⁰ "Freiheit," *HS* 392; *CRR* 441f.

¹²¹ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 429; *CRR* 488.

¹²² Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 231f.

¹²³ *PL* 44:710f.; *FC* 35:121f.

¹²⁴ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 429; *CRR* 488.

Pelagius' circle: the Manichee."¹²⁵ Therefore, *Contra Julianum*, though written in response to Pelagianism, actually represents a moderating effort to absolve himself of Manichaeism, and is suited to Hubmaier's synthesis of Augustinianism and free will.

The scriptural banner under which Hubmaier invokes Augustine's support is Isaiah 45:7, wherein the prophet suggests that God "makes peace and creates evil." Augustine likewise refers to this verse in Book 3, Chapter 8. Hubmaier's citation, however, is not a direct quote from Augustine's *Contra Julianum*, but a synopsis of his argument against Julian. In his effort to expose remnants of Manichaeism in Augustine's thought, Julian accuses him of believing (1) that all sexual unions are evil; (2) that "the condition of bodies on the different sexes is a deformity"; and (3) that all offspring are evil since they issue from evil sexual unions.¹²⁶ Yet, Augustine denies teaching that all sexual unions are evil, instead averring that unions within marriage and for procreation are permissible. Therefore, the two genders in God's created order are also good, as are the offspring that generate from their union. An appending issue is Julian's belief that lust is itself good, but can be used in an evil manner.¹²⁷ Conversely, Augustine views lust as "an evil within us and a part of us," but claims also that it "is the evil which a parent uses well when he begets a child in chastity."¹²⁸ Further, the way in which Augustine portrays lust as an unruly passion and a punishment for Adam's disobedience reflects Hubmaier's belief that Isaiah 45:7 says God creates only an "evil of punishment."¹²⁹

Returning to Julian's allegation that Augustine views the different sexes as deformities and hence an evil, in this section of *Contra Julianum* we see Augustine clarify

¹²⁵ Evans, "Neither," 237.

¹²⁶ *PL* 44:709f.; *FC* 35:119f. Cf. Evans, "Neither," 238f.

¹²⁷ *PL* 44:722; *FC* 35:143.

¹²⁸ *PL* 44:723; *FC* 35:143.

¹²⁹ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 428; *CRR* 488.

his stance by affirming with Julian that "God cannot be the author of an evil," since, in opposition to Julian's allegations, he does not believe that the disparate sexes, of which both agree God is the author, are an evil.¹³⁰ This appears to be the crux of Hubmaier's summary of Augustine's views in his *Andere Büchlein*. What is important to grasp, however, is Augustine's role in Hubmaier's belief that evil flows from our free will to disobey the precepts of Christ, against those who cite Isaiah 45:7 as evidence that God works both good and evil in all human beings. This is how Hubmaier can reject Augustine's baptismal theology on the one hand and use him in defence of free will on the other: although free will is the driving force behind the repentance that leads to believers' baptism,¹³¹ this is a *positive* movement of the will, but Hubmaier invoked Augustine to argue that sin and evil, or the *negative* movement, also issues from the human will. This allows Hubmaier to not only silence his opponents whose understanding of the will necessarily leads to affirming divine culpability,¹³² but to show that the evil, or original sin, inherent to human beings requires repentance and thus credobaptism.

Next, Hubmaier observes in his *Urteil II* that Pelagius denies the doctrine of original sin, which therefore signals the futility of paedobaptism.¹³³ If we compare Hubmaier's description of Pelagius' beliefs to the acts of the Palestinian regional synod (415 C.E.) that John, bishop of Jerusalem, convened,¹³⁴ it is evident that the work Hubmaier read is Augustine's *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* that transcribes these synodal acts:

¹³⁰ *PL* 44:710f.; *FC* 35:121f.

¹³¹ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 410; *CRR* 463.

¹³² *Ibid.*, *HS* 408f.; *CRR* 461f.

¹³³ "Urteil: II," *HS* 246; *CRR* 268f.

¹³⁴ Lohse, *Christian Doctrine*, 119.

Augustine / Pelagius

"That a man is able to be without sin if he wishes; that infants, even if they are unbaptized, have eternal life; that rich men, even if they are baptized, unless they renounce and give up all, have, whatever good they may seem to have done, nothing of it reckoned unto them, neither can they possess the kingdom of heaven."¹³⁵

Hubmaier

"*Pelagianus*...says that children are without original sin; therefore, baptism for them is in vain. Young children, if they are not baptized, are nonetheless saved. On the other hand, the rich cannot be saved even if they are baptized if they do not deny all that which they have."¹³⁶

It is difficult to explain why Hubmaier appeals to Pelagius' denial of original sin since he defends the doctrine elsewhere (see 5.2), other than that he is merely enlisting a new ally in support of credobaptism irrespective of his reputation. One oddity is his designation of Pelagius as "*den jünger Augustini, ein Bischoff*."¹³⁷ Of course, Pelagius was certainly not a disciple of Augustine—quite the opposite, and he was never a bishop. One possible explanation is that Hubmaier confused Pelagius with Julian of Eclanum, whom he called "*Julianum Pelagianus*,"¹³⁸ since the *Contra Julianum* was Hubmaier's reading material at the time. Augustine was initially quite close to Julian's family and his father, the bishop Memorius, but he and Julian appear to have never actually met.¹³⁹ Interestingly, Hubmaier cites Pelagius for the first time in his second version of the *Urteil*. One explanation is that Hubmaier was then reading Augustinian texts such as his *Contra Julianum* and *De Peccato Originali* to shore up patristic support for his confrontation with those who rejected free will in Nikolsburg, during which he may have been exposed to Pelagius' views on baptism and included them in his second printing of the *Urteil*.

¹³⁵ *NPNF* 5:240. *PL* 44:391. Cf. González, *Christian Thought*, 2:33.

¹³⁶ "Urteil: II," *HS* 246; *CRR* 268f.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 429; *CRR* 488.

¹³⁹ Lancel and Nevill, *Saint Augustine*, 413f.

8.3.2. Fulgentius of Ruspe (468 – 533): Hubmaier further expounds Augustine's understanding of free will by invoking Fulgentius of Ruspe's (468-533 C.E.) *Ad Monimum*, yet Gonzalez does not make any reference to this work in her thesis or its possible impact on Hubmaier's thought. In response to those who cite Malachi 1:2f. and Romans 9:13, "Jacob have I loved, but Esau I have hated," as proof "that we are all from eternity and originally already predestined, and already foreordained to good or evil by God,"¹⁴⁰ Hubmaier contends, "Without doubt God knew from eternity that Esau and other people would sin. He did not, however, order them to sin, as Fulgentius already wrote in his first book to Monimo."¹⁴¹ Indeed, Book One of Fulgentius' *Ad Monimum* is replete with allusions to the belief that God does not order human beings to sin, as Hubmaier sought to prove.¹⁴² For instance, Fulgentius believes that "the origin of sin never proceeded from the will of God,"¹⁴³ but that it is instead a human "evil will, which is the origin of all sin."¹⁴⁴ Further, for Hubmaier's argument that God foreknew the transgressions of humanity but did not order, or predestine, humanity's sin, Fulgentius elicits the support Augustine's *On the Predestination of the Saints*, wherein the bishop of Hippo claims that "there can be foreknowledge on God's part without predestination"¹⁴⁵ so that "the evil works, i.e., sins, he only foreknew but did not predestine. . . ."¹⁴⁶ Hubmaier's reference to Fulgentius' *Ad Monimum* for distinguishing between God's foreknowledge and predestination therefore bears strong similarities to Eck's *Chrysopassus*,¹⁴⁷ which may have directed Hubmaier's use of Augustine in defence of free will.

¹⁴⁰ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 421; *CRR* 478.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, *HS* 422; *CRR* 479.

¹⁴² *FC* 95:204, 214-19, 225f., 230-2.

¹⁴³ *FC* 95:214.

¹⁴⁴ *FC* 95:217.

¹⁴⁵ *FC* 95:230.

¹⁴⁶ *FC* 95:230. Cf. *FC* 95:232.

¹⁴⁷ See Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 45ff.

8.3.3. Origen (c. 185 – 254): Hubmaier also makes implicit use of Origen in support of his understanding of free will, which Gonzalez again avoids. Aside from the possible Origenist explanation of his trichotomous anthropology that we alluded to above, Hubmaier quotes almost verbatim from Erasmus' *Diatribes* in which the latter explicitly states that his observation is actually Origen's:

Erasmus / Origen	Hubmaier
<p>"Origen also notices that the Lord said: 'But this is why I have spared you' (Exodus 9,16), rather than 'created you.' Otherwise the Pharaoh could not be called godless, since 'God saw that all he had made was very good' (Genesis 1,31). In reality Pharaoh was created with a will enabling him to move in both directions. He has turned evil on his own account, since he preferred to follow his own inclination, rather than obey God's commandments."¹⁴⁸</p>	<p>"Therefore the text says, 'For that reason I have awakened [<i>erweckt</i>] you' and not 'For that reason I have created you' – 'that I might show through you my power.' But Pharaoh made himself thus through his infanticide and God let him remain thus and used him as an instrument insofar as he was useful."¹⁴⁹</p>

Hubmaier must have been aware that this argument has patristic origins, but it is also significant that Humanism, by way of Erasmus' *Diatribes*, very concretely functions here as a mediator between Hubmaier and the Church fathers. In this instance, Hubmaier again at least tacitly finds patristic support for his argument that sin does not have its origin in God, as God did not 'create' Pharaoh with a predilection for disobedience, but instead sin derives from our own free will. However, Origen's contribution reflects the unique *Greek* patristic heritage: Hubmaier argues that God did not *create* Pharaoh with an evil will, but Erasmus and Origen claim further that he was created 'with a will enabling him to move in both directions.' This is a departure from Augustine who equips Hubmaier with patristic support *only* of evil's

¹⁴⁸ Erasmus, *Free Will*, 42. Cf. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom*, 190.

¹⁴⁹ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 420; *CRR* 477.

origin in the human will. Now, however, Hubmaier has Origen to thank for his conviction that the human being "stands in complete freedom of the will and to do good or evil."¹⁵⁰ Therefore, teachings on the *positive* movement of the will do not have Augustine as their source, but instead are the contribution of Humanism and the Greek fathers, Origen in this case, in tandem. Indeed, the work that Erasmus uses in his *Diatribes* is Origen's *Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans*,¹⁵¹ which, as we recall, Hubmaier also read (see 5.3.3.).

8.3.4. Jerome (c. 347 – 420): The final explicit patristic reference in support of free will sees Hubmaier exhorting his readers to "look at Jerome" concerning the words of Philemon 13-14, wherein Paul expresses his desire to keep Onesimus to serve in Philemon's stead, but continues, "However, without your will I did not want to do anything so that your goodness might not be forced but voluntary."¹⁵² As we remarked in chapter six, Gonzalez was also unable to locate the quote, yet felt confident enough to aver that the text does not even address free will, which is simply inaccurate.¹⁵³ The work to which Hubmaier was alluding is definitely Jerome's *Commentary on Philemon*. The passage that Hubmaier refers to reads:

This verse answers the question of why God, in creating human beings, did not constitute them invariably good and upright. If, indeed, God is good not out of some impersonal necessity but because in his essence he freely wills his own goodness, he should in making man have made him to the divine image and likeness, that is, that he be good willingly and not by necessity.¹⁵⁴

In this passage Hubmaier complements his other patristic argument that *sin* flows from our own free will and not from God with the opinion that all *good* also originates in the human will rather than from divine coercion. It is significant that, as Ronald Heine has concluded in

¹⁵⁰ "Nachtmahls," *HS* 359f.; *CRR* 400.

¹⁵¹ *PG* 14:1146C-D; *FC* 104:117.

¹⁵² "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 409f.; *CRR* 463.

¹⁵³ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 176-8.

¹⁵⁴ Gorday and Oden, *Philemon*, 315; *PL* 26:649A. See also Pabel, "Reading," 487.

his study, Jerome's was likely a reproduction of Origen's lost commentary on Philemon.¹⁵⁵ Further, we noted in chapter six that Jerome possessed a patently Greek character in both his theological and ascetical life stemming from his significant amount of time in the Christian East. Indirectly, then, the Greek heritage again complements Augustine's emphasis on the negative movement of the human will by maintaining that the good movement of the will is also voluntary and not predestined by God. Therefore, the Church fathers, both Greek and Latin, support Hubmaier's defence of free will, and the ones that he approves due to their more palatable baptismal theology also argue that the will's positive movement is voluntary, which is a prerequisite for credobaptism.

¹⁵⁵ Heine, "Search," 117-133, esp. 133. See also *JQ* 4:232.

CHAPTER NINE

HUBMAIER'S VIEW OF THE CHURCH FATHERS

It is impossible to distill Hubmaier's view of the Church fathers into a single statement. We are forced to look at each citation individually, as his motives and the purpose for which he cites the fathers are almost as diverse as the number of references. But, is there a unifying theme that allows for some consistency among Hubmaier's assorted statements about the fathers? This is a difficult question to answer. If there is a unifying principle guiding the way Hubmaier cites the fathers, it is his attempt to demonstrate that the correct baptismal form or practice had not been entirely settled from the inception of Christianity. But this is not very satisfying, as it simply reinforces the diversity of his recourse to patristic literature and says little about his appraisal of the fathers. It is more useful, therefore, to avoid isolating a unifying principle and instead identify outside regulators that reveal his view of the fathers by comparison. The most easily identifiable such regulator is Hubmaier's high view of Scripture. Owing no doubt to his humanist background, Hubmaier seems comfortable using the fathers and Scripture in tandem, but rails against the competing scholastic distortions of the scriptural *fontes*. The following, therefore, describes how he positioned the Church fathers between the self-evident function of Scripture to convey a unified truth, particularly about baptism, on one side and the scholastic misuse of Scripture on the other. Regarding the *auctoritas patrum*, however, Hubmaier does not merely position the fathers on a linear spectrum with Scripture and the Scholastics on opposing ends. It is certainly true that he viewed the fathers favourably insofar as they conformed to Scripture

and were at variance with Scholasticism, but this does not answer *how* Scripture and Scholasticism was used to direct him to the fathers and embrace their teachings and historical witness. The following, then, will show that Hubmaier's reliance on Scripture, and specifically his hermeneutical approach that accentuated this reliance, eventually forced him to consider the baptismal teachings *and* practice of the fathers, which became crucial to his articulation of credobaptism as the true baptism. Scholasticism, on the other hand, represented for Hubmaier the nail in the coffin of credobaptism during the past thousand years because of its stubborn refusal to consider the pure fount of Scripture as had the fathers.¹

9.1 The Church Fathers and Scripture

9.1.1. Hubmaier's Hermeneutical Conflict with Zwingli and Fabri: Hubmaier's hermeneutical approach factored into his view the Church fathers and how he envisaged their role, especially in his confrontation with colleagues whose principle of interpretation differed from his own. He is adamant that Scripture is "plain, clear, and unambiguous"² and does not require the critical methods or "figures of rhetorical persuasion" to be interpreted correctly.³ However, where there is uncertainty, Hubmaier believes that the clearer passages of Scripture illumine the more obscure ones.⁴ Scripture should therefore be read as a whole unit, which also helps the reader avoid accepting half-truths such as Christ's proclamation, "This is my body,"⁵ that we looked at in our analysis of Hubmaier's appeal to Augustine's *De doctrina* (see 7.1.4.4.). Yet, Hubmaier also claims that there are "two divisions of Scripture," one that

¹ "Freiheit," *HS* 381; *CRR* 428

"Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 153f.; *CRR* 138f.

² "A Public Challenge to All Believers," *CRR* 80.

³ "Unterricht," *HS* 296; *CRR* 328. See also "Achtzehn Schlußreden," *HS* 73; *CRR* 33.

⁴ "Unterricht," *HS* 292; *CRR* 322; Fabri, (*Defensio*), "Sound Exposition," 41.

⁵ "Schwert," *HS* 450; *CRR* 514.

expresses the divine intuition and instruction and one that is mere human perception, which must be taken with a grain of salt.⁶ As well, Hubmaier did not shy away from typological and analogical interpretations of Old Testament events, commonly designating, along with some of the fathers, the ark and the flood as figures of the salvific properties of baptism.⁷

However, for our purposes, there is one aspect of his hermeneutical approach that sheds light on his view of the Church fathers. Essentially, Hubmaier believed that, as C. Arnold Snyder observes, "the reform of the church and the Christian life had to be ruled by what Scripture had *commanded*,"⁸ so that one could practice and believe only what was explicitly instructed in Scripture.⁹ Like the conflict between Luther and Karlstadt, the latter of whom espoused a similar hermeneutical principle to Hubmaier's,¹⁰ this was a contentious issue between himself and his opponents, particularly Zwingli and later Johann Fabri. In a reversal of Hubmaier's hermeneutical principle, both believed that one was restricted from observing only that which was explicitly denounced in Scripture. This divergence in their hermeneutical approaches was the basis for their disagreement on the form of baptism; since Scripture did not command infant baptism, Hubmaier rejected it. Conversely, because it was not overtly denounced in Scripture, both Zwingli and Fabri accepted infant baptism.

In the Second Zürich Disputation (26-8 October 1523) that both Zwingli and Hubmaier attended, the latter argued for the abolition of images on this basis of his hermeneutical approach: "If they are commanded, show us the Scripture and there will be no more question. If they are not commanded, then they should not exist."¹¹ However, when it

⁶ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 429; *CRR* 489.

⁷ "Gespräch," *HS* 175f., 188, 210; *CRR* 180, 197, 228.

"Urteil: I & II," *HS* 230, 247; *CRR* 251, 270.

⁸ Snyder, *Anabaptist History*, 238.

⁹ Old, *Baptismal Rite*, 102f.

¹⁰ Snyder, *Anabaptist History*, 49f.

¹¹ *SSA* 57C:241; *CRR* 25.

is a question of correct baptismal practice, Zwingli, in his *Taufbüchlein* (May, 1525), believes the pertinent question to ask is, "Does it stand anywhere that one should not baptize infants?"¹² In essence, Zwingli is asking if it is forbidden anywhere in Scripture that infants should be baptized, and claims that if Hubmaier answers "no," he adds to the canon. To this line of argument, Hubmaier answers with Scripture itself:

Note here, Zwingli, it is not necessary that we point out a prohibition. For Christ does not say, 'All plants which my Heavenly father has forbidden should be uprooted,' Matt. 15:13. Rather, he says, 'All plants which my Heavenly Father has not planted should be uprooted.' Here you must point out clearly the institution of infant baptism in the Scriptures, or it must be uprooted.¹³

Similarly, Fabri records in his *Adversus Pacimontanum Defensio* (1528) that Hubmaier repeatedly professed that "nothing ought to have been established by the church nor ought to be held today unless it has been clearly exhibited by sacred literature."¹⁴ Fabri's response is threefold. First, he notes the many ecclesial doctrines and practices that cannot claim explicit scriptural support, all of which Hubmaier also affirms. Among these extra-biblical teachings are the Son's consubstantiality (*homoousion*) with the Father,¹⁵ the perpetual virginity of Mary¹⁶ and her status as *Theotokos*,¹⁷ and the expression "free will" in anthropological formulations.¹⁸ Indeed, although Fabri provides little of Hubmaier's response in his *Defensio* other than a scriptural allusion to *homoousia* in Jn. 10:30,¹⁹ we have already outlined Hubmaier's affirmation of these doctrines in a previous chapter (see 4.6.1.).²⁰ Second, Fabri appeals to "the unity of the spirit and ... the spiritual harmonious

¹² ZSW 4:211. Translated in CRR 183. Cf. Yoder, *Switzerland*, 62.

¹³ "Gespräch," HS 178; CRR 184. See also HS 81f., 178, 181; CRR 44, 184, 187.

¹⁴ Fabri, (*Defensio*), "Unwritten Traditions," 491. See also pp. 490, 494, 506.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 499f.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 502.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 503.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 502f. See also p. 504.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 499.

²⁰ See HS 319, 471f.; CRR 357, 538.

agreement of faithful souls" in contrast to the "dissentions" and "many strange tales of heresies" that are cultivated by new "interpreters of the Bible."²¹ Hubmaier's response fits better into our conclusion, and we will address it there instead. It is, however, Fabri's third objection that concerns us the most here. In response to Hubmaier's hermeneutical view that only Scripture's explicit commands should be observed, Fabri advances the principle of *lex orandi, lex credendi*:²² "The gospel was not first written and then spoken, but it was much earlier both spoken and observed, then they committed it to monuments of writing."²³

The necessary operation for Hubmaier, then, is identifying the historical practice that provided the basis for the written, canonical description. Hubmaier quotes Zwingli as at one time writing, "I know well, as the fathers pointed out, that from the ancient time until today children sometimes have been baptized," but he wishes to accentuate the second part, Zwingli's admission that "it has not been so commonly practiced as in our time."²⁴ Fabri wrote in his *Defensio* that "whatever things I find accepted and observed from the time of the apostles for more than a thousand years, as the baptism of infants, ... these things I neither propose indiscreetly to abrogate nor do I wish on my part to condemn them,"²⁵ and elsewhere maintains, "For almost fifteen hundred years we have prayed at the font of baptism... "²⁶ Therefore, since Zwingli and Fabri can point to paedobaptism as the common practice in their own day, its very survival presupposed its historicity and apostolicity. Further, the existence of paedobaptism in their own day functioned as a point of reference for both Zwingli and Fabri, whose hermeneutic required them to determine if it is forbidden in

²¹ Fabri, (*Defensio*), "Unwritten Traditions," 492, 494.

²² Johnson, *Baptism*, 58f.; Yarnell, *Christian Doctrine*, 147.

²³ Fabri, (*Defensio*), "Unwritten Traditions," 492.

²⁴ "Urteil: I," *HS* 233; *CRR* 257.

²⁵ Fabri, (*Defensio*), "Unwritten Traditions," 495.

²⁶ Fabri, (*Defensio*), "Little Children," 369. See also p. 372.

Scripture rather than if it is commanded. Since it is indeed *not* forbidden in Scripture, its survival to the present age therefore gives it historical precedence over other possible competing forms—including credobaptism. This was the challenge that Hubmaier faced, and it was his own hermeneutical principle, which reflected the Swiss Anabaptist literalist hermeneutic stressing the letter over the Spirit,²⁷ that became his Achilles heel. How could he prove that credobaptism was the historical practice from the time of the apostles and paedobaptism a later irregularity if he was unable to consult extra-biblical documents and recognize contemporary doctrine and practice as a point of reference as had Zwingli and Fabri?

Without actually affirming it, Hubmaier seems to recognize that the *lex orandi, lex credendi* principle restricts his ability to defend credobaptism. Since Zwingli and Fabri's hermeneutic took for granted the historicity of paedobaptism, the burden of proof was on Hubmaier to track the survival of credobaptism beyond the apostolic era and outline the incremental introduction of infant baptism. It is my contention, therefore, that the divergent hermeneutical approaches between Hubmaier and his opponents was the primary catalyst for his recourse to the Church fathers and positive appraisal of their worth as historical witnesses, apologists, and scriptural exegetes. In the preface to his *Urteil* in which he outlines the opinions of the fathers in favour of credobaptism, Hubmaier claims that he composed this patristic treatise in response to the *lex orandi, lex credendi* principle (in the form of the *dictum Augustini*) and his opponents' faulty hermeneutical methods. First, in response to the *dictum Augustini*, as we explained in chapter seven, Hubmaier reversed the order: "For if I did not believe the gospel I would never believe the church, since the church

²⁷ Snyder, *Anabaptist History*, 237-40.

is built on the gospel and not the gospel on the church."²⁸ To Hubmaier, this suggests that the Church cannot exist *before* it is "instructed in the Word of God," after which "the church is built on our faith and confession."²⁹ To be sure, this formulation shares the ecclesiological import of his *docete–baptizantes–docentes* sequence, but it also shows his disagreement with the *lex orandi, lex credendi* principle. Secondly, Hubmaier denounces those who "rail and shout unduly loud: Christ has not forbidden infant baptism; therefore one can safely baptize," which he calls a "popish assertion."³⁰ As might be expected, Hubmaier countered with his own hermeneutical principle and adds that "everything is forbidden to be preached that is not in the gospel," which means that Mt. 28:19 already forbids one "to baptize those who have not yet been instructed in the faith."³¹ However, even though Hubmaier still stands by his principles, both hermeneutical and ecclesiological, he asserts, "[S]o that we give offense to no one in this article on infant baptism, and also that no one be able to use us to cover his error, I have set together the opinion of the very ancient and wholly new teachers on infant baptism."³² Here, then, we see how Zwingli, and later Fabri, had forced Hubmaier's hand by compelling him to publish the results of his earlier patristic studies.

Notwithstanding this coercion, Hubmaier's recruitment of the Church fathers to his cause is not inconsistent with his hermeneutical principle: Hubmaier taught to observe *only what was* explicitly commanded in Scripture, but he did not teach to observe *what was only* taught in Scripture. Although Hubmaier believed that Scripture sufficed to silence his opponents,³³ it was acceptable practice to invoke extra-biblical confirmation of what was

²⁸ "Urteil: I," *HS* 228; *CRR* 247.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, *HS* 229; *CRR* 248.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, *HS* 229; *CRR* 248.

³¹ *Ibid.*, *HS* 229; *CRR* 248f.

³² *Ibid.*, *HS* 228; *CRR* 248.

³³ See *HS* 79, 210f.; *CRR* 23f., 41, 229.

explicitly commanded in Scripture. However, for Hubmaier it was more than mere confirmation, it was the identification of the living Church whose baptismal theology and practice—the very initiation rite and determinant of membership in the one, true *ecclesia universalis*—reflected his own in the centuries subsequent to the apostolic era. According to Pipkin, "The citations from the fathers were to prove that the original practice of the early church had in fact been believers' baptism,"³⁴ and Armour makes the same point.³⁵ Our analysis of Hubmaier's appeal to the Church fathers in the previous four chapters attests to his desire for patristic corroboration and shows that he was sincere in his affirmation of the baptismal theology and practice of the fathers.

Similar to his episode with Zwingli and interrogation by Fabri, Hubmaier makes the same claims in his dialogue with Oecolampadius for the same reasons. Oecolampadius alleges that the histories show infant baptism has never been forbidden, to which Hubmaier replies that one should search the Scriptures and not the histories. He then implicates the papists and Augustine in the historical emergence of infant baptism, as is consistent with his other references to the papacy and to Augustine.³⁶ Next, he responds to Oecolampadius' erroneous hermeneutic, which mirrors that of Zwingli, by quoting the same scriptural passage we already discussed above (Matt. 15:13). While completely ignoring Oecolampadius' vilification of Pelagius, Hubmaier does address his use of Cyprian and Origen.³⁷ About Cyprian, he simply states that he will trust him and all teachers insofar as they comply with Scripture, which is actually his way of embracing the fathers since "[t]hey themselves also

³⁴ Pipkin, "Introduction: [17] Old and New Teachers on Believers Baptism," *CRR* 245.

³⁵ Armour, *Anabaptist Baptism*, 49.

³⁶ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 260f.; *CRR* 279.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, *HS* 261; *CRR* 280f.

desire nothing more than that from me."³⁸ When Oecolampadius invokes Origen in his favour, instead of rejecting him, Hubmaier suggests that he read him more carefully (see 5.3.3.).³⁹

Therefore, Hubmaier did not reject the voices outside of Scripture, as evident in his use of them, but merely challenged the neglect of Scripture by many of his contemporaries who had "fallen away from gospel teaching."⁴⁰ Against Oecolampadius, he asserts, "You speak to me much of Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Augustine, councils, histories, and old customs. I must somehow think that you lack the Scriptures, which do not want to come out of the quiver."⁴¹ Hubmaier also concludes this treatise against Oecolampadius with a similar statement: "[Y]ou cry so strongly and so much about customs, old practices, holy fathers, councils, and the long traditions of the mother, the Christian church, that everyone must note how you are lacking in Scriptures,"⁴² and continues, "[T]here is, however, no Christian church or mother, other than the one conceived in the Word of Christ, born out of the Word of Christ and married through the Word of Christ,"⁴³ by which he meant the Scriptures. At the very end, Hubmaier implores Oecolampadius to "become a prisoner of the Word of Christ."⁴⁴ It was therefore not the appeal to Tradition that Hubmaier objected to, but the neglect of Scripture and refusal to test Tradition with the plumb line of Scripture.⁴⁵ Indeed, as we noted in chapter four, Hubmaier began his *Von der Kindertaufe* by lauding Oecolampadius' *Demegoriae*, which quotes extensively from the fathers (see 4.2). Also, we know from our father-by-father analysis that Hubmaier sincerely believed that the fathers

³⁸ Ibid., *HS* 261; *CRR* 280.

³⁹ Ibid., *HS* 261; *CRR* 280f.

⁴⁰ "Verbrennern," *HS* 98; *CRR* 62f.

⁴¹ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 267; *CRR* 290f.

⁴² Ibid., *HS* 268; *CRR* 293.

⁴³ Ibid., *HS* 268; *CRR* 293.

⁴⁴ Ibid., *HS* 269; *CRR* 294.

⁴⁵ "Entschuldigung," *HS* 274; *CRR* 300.

complied with the teachings of Scripture on baptism, even if some contradiction in their writings reflected the confusion of the time. This conformity suggests that the fathers must have indeed belonged to the "Christian church ... [that was] conceived in the Word of Christ."⁴⁶

Nevertheless, it is quite evident from the transformation in his writings that Hubmaier was originally pre-occupied with Scripture, but eventually adopted a more balanced approach that readmitted the voices of the fathers without abandoning the primacy of Scripture. Statements early in Hubmaier's Anabaptist career that "all old practices, customs, origins, ancestors, fathers, councils, and scholastics"⁴⁷ fall away in the face of the divine truth of Scripture, and his exhortation to Eck to "Search in Scripture, not in papal law, not councils, not fathers, not schools,"⁴⁸ both statements from his time in Schaffhausen under the protection of the Kloster Allerheiligen in late 1524, began to wane in his later writings. His ostensible dismissal of the fathers during his transition to Anabaptism may be explained by his unremitting biblicism via a renewed acquaintance with the Pauline epistles,⁴⁹ an immature backlash against his former Catholic ways that Eck represented, or perhaps his increasing contempt for the Austrian Catholic authorities who prompted his flight from Waldshut at the time he wrote these statements. Hubmaier may also be simply accentuating the need for a greater focus on canonical literature as he would later in his *Von der Kindertaufe* against Oecolampadius, but with more vehemence than in later years. Regardless, as we outlined in the previous four chapters, in treatises that Hubmaier wrote and published later in life, such as his *Gespräch* and *Urteil*, the Church fathers and the councils

⁴⁶ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 268; *CRR* 293.

⁴⁷ "Erbietung," *HS* 81; *CRR* 43.

⁴⁸ "Axiomata," *HS* 88; *CRR* 53.

⁴⁹ MacGregor, *Hubmaier*, 125f.

gained a more favourable estimate, while the papacy and Scholasticism retained his ire. This is not insignificant; if the fathers conformed with Scripture, they were not unlike Hubmaier himself and were, in fact, proto-Anabaptists, not as *re*-baptizers which the sixteenth-century context uniquely dictates, but in the way that they practiced believers' baptism;⁵⁰ their Church was his Church, their authorities were his authorities, and their Scripture was his Scripture.

9.1.2. *On the Believers' Baptism of the Church Fathers Themselves:* The divergence between the hermeneutical principles of Hubmaier and his opponents meant that he was compelled not only to unearth patristic teachings on baptism, but give clear examples of credobaptist *practice* beyond the apostolic era as well. If credobaptism was prescribed in the New Testament, the post-apostolic and patristic texts that allegedly espoused credobaptism must also have been authored by fathers who, although reared by at least one Christian parent, received baptism later in life rather than as infants.⁵¹ Some notable Church fathers who did not receive the Christian rite of initiation in infancy include John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen, and Athanasius among the Greeks and of the Latin fathers, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine.⁵² While most of the fathers were well into adulthood when they received baptism, Athanasius was a young child, but nevertheless within the age of reason.

The primary reason for this delay in baptism was the pervasive belief that post-baptismal transgressions could not be forgiven,⁵³ which led to the convention of sickbed baptisms that we have already seen was the subject of Tertullian's *De paenitentia* (see

⁵⁰ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 281.

⁵¹ Lewis, "Baptismal Practices," 15.

⁵² Ferguson, *Baptism*, 626ff.; Newman, *Christian Doctrine*, 127-9.

⁵³ Zee, *Baptism*, 128.

6.1.1.).⁵⁴ Related to this, the mass conversions in response to Constantine's policy of toleration and Theodosius' adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire magnified the post-baptismal licentiousness observable among the many nominal Christians who were only very recently staunchly pagan.⁵⁵ However, none of these same fathers who were baptized later in life ever questioned infant baptism. For instance, John Chrysostom wrote, "We baptize infants, though they are not defiled with sin, that they may receive sanctity, righteousness, adoption, heirship, brotherhood with Christ, and may become his members,"⁵⁶ although Ferguson thinks that allusions to paedobaptism in the four and fifth centuries may be to "clinical or emergency baptism" or else reactions to Pelagianism.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Hubmaier's insistence that one must wait until the age of reason was also not the rationale of these fathers since most of them were baptized well into adulthood rather than immediately upon their ability to understand and accept the faith—Ambrose receiving baptism at the age of thirty-four upon his ascension to the bishopric of Milan.⁵⁸ Yet, Hubmaier rightly observed the variety and ambiguity regarding the form of baptism during the patristic era, as we examined in chapter four (see 4.6.2.).⁵⁹ It seems, moreover, that Hubmaier's rejection of Augustine's opinion that unbaptized infants are destined for hell kept open the possibility that a delay in baptism was entirely appropriate to those fathers who did not espouse this view explicitly and were themselves baptized later in life.⁶⁰

A clear example of Hubmaier's awareness that some fathers had been baptized later in life is his recounting of the story in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* of a young Athanasius

⁵⁴ Ferguson, *Baptism*, 364, note 5; 618-26.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 617.

⁵⁶ Cited in Newman, *Christian Doctrine*, 127. Augustine provides Chrysostom's quote in his *Contra Julian*, which Hubmaier had read (see 8.3.1.). Cf. *FC* 35:25.

⁵⁷ Ferguson, *Baptism*, 629.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 634; Newman, *Christian Doctrine*, 129.

⁵⁹ Ferguson, *Baptism*, 629.

⁶⁰ Cf. "Gespräch," *HS* 207; *CRR* 224f.

and his friends impersonating the clergy and baptizing each other, which we have already discussed in chapter five. The children had apparently "learned the baptism catechism," and queried to each other, "Why do we not now ourselves baptize one another since we know well what baptism is, for we all together know well the Christian faith."⁶¹ Aside from occasionally providing dates and calling the various applicable fathers "bishops," this is the only time Hubmaier gives any biographical information on a father. The contrast between the noticeable refusal of Hubmaier's contemporaries to practice what was taught in Scripture and the fathers' pragmatic expression of what they taught according to Scripture is important for distilling even more precisely how Hubmaier viewed the Church fathers. For instance, after examining each Church father individually in his *Urteil* and presenting the ostensibly supportive statements of his contemporary colleagues, Hubmaier concludes, "I point out these opinions, not because I need human witnesses, but so that it may be seen how we have been paper Christians and mouth Christians. Yes, one testifies the truth with Scripture and mouth, but one does not touch the same with the least finger, which the devil appreciates very much."⁶² This is a significant statement considering Hubmaier knew that some fathers had delayed their baptism, which naturally meant that they put into practice what they taught since this was the form with which they were familiar. Additionally, Hubmaier highlights that "in prior times [those who were instructed in the faith] were also called catechumens,"⁶³ once again clearly implying that the Church fathers implemented what they prescribed. It seems, therefore, that the integrity of the fathers compared to his colleagues had an effect on Hubmaier's respect for the Christian writers of antiquity.

⁶¹ "Urteil: II," *HS* 245f.; *CRR* 268.

⁶² "Urteil: I," *HS* 238; *CRR* 261.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 252.

⁶³ "Gespräch," *HS* 186; *CRR* 195.

9.1.3. Hubmaier's Preference for Greek Patristic Commentaries: Now that we have outlined the motivations for Hubmaier's recourse to the Church fathers, we can explore more generally how his veneration of Scripture shaped his view of the fathers. Regarding the appearance of full patristic editions in the sixteenth century, Paul O. Kristeller observed, "[I]t would be an interesting question, which to my knowledge has not yet been explored, whether or to what extent the newly diffused ideas of these Greek [Christian] authors exercised an influence on the theological discussions and controversies of the Reformation period."⁶⁴ Indeed, an aversion to Scholasticism implied a return to the more palatable antecedent era of the Church fathers, focusing especially on the Greek fathers of which "medieval theologians had had only limited knowledge."⁶⁵ Beginning with his strong admiration for Jerome,⁶⁶ but later even more so for Origen,⁶⁷ Erasmus valued the Church fathers specifically as commentators on Scripture, and indeed used them as a means to that end.

The resort to the sources, the learning of Greek, the study of Jerome were but steps to the crowning achievement—the editing and publication of the New Testament. By clarifying the past, the present could be regenerated and learning could restore piety and civilization. Through purification of the text the true theology—the simplicity and clarity of Christ and his moral teaching—would be communicated to men.⁶⁸

This sounds a lot like Hubmaier. More significantly, however, Cornelis Augustijn contends that when Erasmus received counsel from the fathers as scriptural exegetes, "in general Greek authors were to be preferred to Latin ones,"⁶⁹ as was the case for Zwingli as well.⁷⁰ Accordingly, the first characteristic to notice is Hubmaier's similar heavy use of Greek patristic commentaries and homilies, which is evident from the table below (see Table 9.1

⁶⁴ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 80.

⁶⁵ D'Amico, "Humanism," 356.

⁶⁶ Levi, *Renaissance*, 413, note 38. See also Pabel, "Reading," 474f.; Peters, "Erasmus," 255f.; Rice, "Patristic Scholarship," 19; Staubach and Greig, "*Devotio Moderna*," 447.

⁶⁷ McGrath, *European Reformation*, 173.

⁶⁸ Headley, "Reformation," 145.

⁶⁹ Augustijn, *Influence*, 100. Cf. Erasmus, *Free Will*, 12f.

⁷⁰ Potter, *Zwingli*, 43; Backus, "Zwingli," 639.

below) and may help explain the numerous important differences between the Radical and Magisterial Reformations,⁷¹ not the least of which on the matter of free will and all its implications (see ch. eight).

<i>Greek Fathers</i>			<i>Latin Fathers</i>		
<i>Father</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Source reference</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Source reference</i>
Theophylact	◆ <i>Comm. on Mark</i>	HS 185, 231f., 244; CRR 194, 253, 265.	Clement of Rome	<i>Canones Apostolorum</i>	HS 243f.; CRR 265.
	◆ <i>Comm. on Matthew</i>	HS 190, 231f., 244; CRR 200, 253, 265.	Tertullian	<i>De Poenitentia</i>	HS 231, 244; CRR 252, 265.
	◆ <i>Comm. on John</i>	HS 197; CRR 210.		<i>De corona militis</i>	HS 231, 244; CRR 252, 265.
Origen	◆ <i>Comm. on Romans</i>	HS 197, 230, 244, 261; CRR 210, 250, 266, 281.	Cyprian	<i>De Lapsis</i>	HS 227, 244f., 331; CRR 246, 266, 369.
	<i>De Principiis</i>	HS 202; CRR 217.		<i>Various Epistles</i>	HS 244f., 331; CRR 266, 369.
	◆ <i>Comm. Exodus</i>	HS 230, 244, 261; CRR 250, 266, 281.	Ambrose	<i>De mysteriis</i>	HS 246; CRR 269.
	◆ <i>Homilies on Luke</i>	HS 244, 261; CRR 266, 281.	Pope Siricius	<i>Decretum Gratiani</i>	HS 247; CRR 269.
Eusebius	<i>Eccl. History (Rufinus)</i>	HS 185, 188, 232, 245f., 476; CRR 193, 197, 253f., 268, 545.	Jerome	<i>Against the Luciferians</i>	HS 197, 231, 245; CRR 210, 252, 267.
Ps.-Athanasius (Theophyl.)	◆ <i>Comm. on 1 Corinthians</i>	HS 230f., 245; CRR 251, 266f.		◆ <i>Comm. on Matthew</i>	HS 206, 208, 231, 245; CRR 222, 225, 252, 267.
	◆ <i>Comm. on Hebrews</i>	HS 230f., 245; CRR 251, 266f.		<i>Foundations</i>	HS 274; CRR 300.
Basil of Caesarea	◆ <i>Homiliae in Psalmos</i>	HS 230, 247; CRR 250f., 270.		◆ <i>Comm. on Philemon</i>	HS 409f.; CRR 463.
	<i>Exhortatio ad Baptismum</i>	HS 230, 247; CRR 250f., 270.		<i>Against Helvidius</i>	HS 471; CRR 538.
	<i>De Baptismo</i>	HS 230, 247; CRR 250f., 270.	Pope Boniface I	<i>Decretum Gratiani</i>	232, 247, 248; CRR 254, 269, 271.
	<i>Contra Eunomium</i>	HS 230, 247; CRR 250f., 270.	Augustine	<i>Decretum Gratiani</i>	HS 154, 205, 245, 261; CRR 139, 222, 267, 279.
John Chrysostom	◆ <i>Homiliae in Matthaëum</i>	HS 197, 260; CRR 210, 278.		<i>Contra Epist. Mani.</i>	HS 228, 242; CRR 247.
Cyril of Alexandria	◆ <i>Comm. on John</i>	HS 175f., 197, 231, 246; CRR 180, 210, 253, 268.		<i>De doctrina Christiana</i>	HS 296; CRR 328.
			Pope Leo I	<i>Decretum Gratiani</i>	HS 247; CRR 270.
			Isidore of Seville	<i>Etymologiae</i>	HS 290; CRR 319.

◆ Commentaries or homilies on Scripture.

Table 9.1. Comparison of Greek and Latin Fathers

A manifestation of Hubmaier's preference for the Greek fathers is his partiality for Greek patristic commentaries and homilies over their theological treatises, as the chart above demonstrates. However, when Hubmaier cites the Latin fathers, he makes use primarily of

⁷¹ Klaassen, *Anabaptism*.

their theological treatises and canons, save two commentaries by Jerome, and often in a negative manner.

Further, when Hubmaier does cite a theological treatise by a Greek father, his reference is exclusively to their interpretation of Scripture rather than to their more abstract theological and philosophical musings. For instance, he uses Basil's two treatises on baptism to relate the story of the Ethiopian Eunuch in Acts 8:37 and recount Old Testament figures of baptism from Genesis 7:7,17; 1 Peter 3:20f. He also cites Basil's *Contra Eunomium* to conscript him as an ally in his interpretation of Matthew 28:19, and he uses Origen's *De principiis* as a corroboration for his understanding of Luke 14:11, which he applies to the "children" mentioned in Matthew 19:13ff., Luke 18:15ff., and Mark 10:17ff.—that those who are humble, rather than literal children, are allowed entrance into the Kingdom of God. Although he uses Eusebius' (Rufinus') *Ecclesiastical History* to substantiate his continuity with the historical Church by referencing ancient heretical sects with which he disagrees, Hubmaier also retells the story of Athanasius baptizing children who are beyond infancy to corroborate the sequence of *docete–baptizantes–docentes* in Mt. 28:19 using a practical example.

Hubmaier is also noticeably uniform when he groups the Latin fathers together to cite them more cautiously and groups the Greek fathers together to affirm their fidelity to Scripture, as the table below shows.

<i>Patristic Group (neg.)</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Augustine, Cyprian	Negative reference to the Augustinian canon in Gratian's <i>Decretum</i> that argues for infant baptism on the basis of original sin (<i>CIC</i> 1:1362, c. III); negative reference to Cyprian is unclear, but may refer to his witness to infant communion in his <i>De lapsis</i> .	"Christlichen Taufe," <i>HS</i> 153; <i>CRR</i> 137f.
Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, papal law, Scholastics	Negative appraisal of those who have turned Scripture "into a rope and net of confusion."	"Gespräch," <i>HS</i> 172; <i>CRR</i> 176.
Augustine, Cyprian	Introduces his <i>Urteil</i> by claiming that since the time of Cyprian, infant communion has been erroneously practiced; Augustine's axiom, <i>Evangelio non crederem...</i> , is rejected.	"Urteil I," <i>HS</i> 227f.; <i>CRR</i> 246f.
Augustine, Cyprian	Juxtaposed with positive references to Chrysostom and Origen below, Augustine "greatly erred," and Cyprian is given an ultimatum to comply with Scripture if he is to be trusted.	"Kindertaufe," <i>HS</i> 260f.; <i>CRR</i> 278-81.
Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Augustine, councils, histories, old customs	Chastises Oecol. for neglecting Scripture in favour of these fathers; Origen is invoked only because Oecol. introduced him earlier in support of the apostolicity of paedobaptism.	"Kindertaufe," <i>HS</i> 267; <i>CRR</i> 291.
<i>Patristic Group (pos.)</i>		
Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, Theophylact, John Chrysostom, Jerome	Positive estimation of those who agree with Hubmaier that John's baptism is distinct from Christ's; Jerome seems to be a favourite of Hubmaier's as he was for Erasmus – Jerome is the only Latin father whose commentaries, heavily dependent on Origen, Hubmaier cites. In this case, the passage in Jerome's <i>Adversus Luciferianos</i> interacts with Acts 19:2f.; John 1:29; Luke 1:43f.; Matt 11:10f.	"Gespräch," <i>HS</i> 267; <i>CRR</i> 292.
John Chrysostom, Origen	Juxtaposed with the negative references to Augustine and Cyprian above, Chrysostom agrees that Hubmaier's is a "blessed sectarianism," and Origen supported credobaptism.	"Kindertaufe," <i>HS</i> 260f.; <i>CRR</i> 278-81.
Origen, Basil of Caesarea, Athanasius, Tertullian, Jerome	Harbingers of his patristic usage in the <i>Urteil</i> , these fathers support credobaptism; Perhaps Tertullian is referenced because he famously believed baptism should be delayed; expl. for Jerome given above.	"Kindertaufe," <i>HS</i> 267; <i>CRR</i> 292.

Table 9.2. Grouping of Greek and Latin Fathers

Although there are admittedly a few discrepancies, this does not discredit the generally divergent appraisals of the Greek and Latin fathers when grouped separately and weighed against each other. We discovered in the previous chapter that Hubmaier made thorough use of Erasmus' *Diatribes* (see 8.2.1.), and it is interesting that he too explicitly divides the fathers into Greek and Latin, praising each group for different reasons. Of significance to Hubmaier's preference for Greek commentaries, Erasmus contends, "If ingenuity and erudition contribute anything to scriptural interpretation, what could be more acute and perspicacious than the Greek mind? How about wide scriptural reading?"⁷² Erasmus then

⁷² Erasmus, *Free Will*, 13.

observes that the Latins were "less fruitful than the Greeks," meaning they did not write on the Scriptures as much, but they nevertheless accepted the Greeks' "helpful inheritance."⁷³ Perhaps Hubmaier was influenced by Erasmus' insights on the difference between the Greek and Latin fathers.

This preference for patristic commentaries is a vote of confidence in the exegetical prowess and dependability of the Church fathers, but where recourse to patristic commentaries is lacking or not possible, his judgment is less glowing. Hubmaier makes several disconnected remarks regarding Scripture and the fathers that suggest as much. We have already seen in our analysis of Augustine in chapter seven that Hubmaier has severe reservations about the bishop of Hippo. Reflecting these reservations, Hubmaier supplies a passage in his *Gespräch* from Zwingli's *Taufbüchlein* in which he argues from Augustine's *De haeresibus* that Simon Magus, who had received baptism, only "listened" and that by his later duplicitous actions must not have truly believed beforehand, "as Augustine somewhere construes it."⁷⁴ Hubmaier counters this argument by claiming that anyone who interprets "faith" different than Scripture does, whether Zwingli or Augustine, "destroys the Scripture and violates it against their own understanding."⁷⁵ Likewise, Hubmaier lists Augustine, papal lawyers, and the Scholastics as having turned Scripture into a "rope a net of confusion" and "wholly and completely fallen so far from the Word that nothing any longer remains with is which looks like a Christian church or a devout way of life."⁷⁶

In her analysis, Gonzalez correctly perceives in Augustine not only the espousal of infant baptism that Hubmaier found so objectionable, but also an unwarranted and

⁷³ Ibid., 16.

⁷⁴ ZB 135. Cf. PL 42:25f.

⁷⁵ "Gespräch," HS 184; CRR 192.

⁷⁶ Ibid., HS 172; CRR 176.

inappropriate consultation of sources outside of Scripture for the formulation of his views.⁷⁷ Unique to her thesis and objective to demonstrate Hubmaier's alignment with the *Tradition I* perspective on Oberman's spectrum, Gonzalez sees in Augustine's appeal to oral yet contradictory teachings to that of Scripture, which Hubmaier found particularly dangerous, a precursor to the bifurcation of authority into Scripture and Tradition that was expressed definitively at the Council of Trent.⁷⁸ What Gonzalez misses, however, is the connection between remaining faithful to Scripture and the demarcation of the "Christian church or a devout way of life" cited above;⁷⁹ Hubmaier, as we will recall more thoroughly in the conclusion, not only accepted the exegesis of the Church fathers save Augustine, but viewed them as co-affiliates in the one, true, universal Church (see 10.3). Alternatively, as the relegation of Scripture was a mark of heresy, Hubmaier rebukes the heterodox Priscillians and Carpocratians since, as Hubmaier puts it, "their opinion is against Scripture"⁸⁰ just like Augustine's.⁸¹

Aside from Augustine, however, Hubmaier generally believes that the fathers conform to Scripture. After Zwingli claims that baptism was not instituted in Matthew 28:19, Hubmaier declares, "Show us in the Scripture," and continues, "If you will gladly, then show us also Theophylact."⁸² Similarly, in response to Fabri's interrogation in Vienna regarding his credobaptist views, Hubmaier asserts, "I am not the sole nor the first *authority* for this opinion," and names Jerome and Origen as co-labourers in his defence of believers' baptism.⁸³ Conversely, it would be highly out of character for Hubmaier to request that his

⁷⁷ Gonzalez, *Hubmaier*, 237.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ "Gespräch," *HS* 172; *CRR* 176.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, *HS* 185; *CRR* 193.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, *HS* 184; *CRR* 192.

⁸² *Ibid.*, *HS* 190; *CRR* 200.

⁸³ Fabri, (*Defensio*), "Little Children," 370.

opponents support their convictions with the assistance of scholastic theologians or the pope; therefore, this invocation of Theophylact, Jerome, and Origen represents a unique vocation for the fathers compared to all other extra-biblical authorities. Further, Hubmaier's objective to evince the continuation of credobaptism from the apostolic era to subsequent generations finds expression in his belief, though mistaken, that Theophylact wrote in 189 C.E.

This objective is repeated in his *Von der Kindertaufe*. Oecolampadius argues that the close proximity of Origen to the apostles exhibits his credibility, perhaps primarily as a historical witness rather than as an original thinker. Hubmaier does not deny the importance of his proximity to the apostles, which he had the option of doing, but instead urged Oecolampadius to read Origen more carefully. Immediately thereupon, Hubmaier counters Oecolampadius' accusation that, by espousing credobaptism, he is "introducing a new sect" and "grafting [himself] to the devil," by declaring, "Blasphemy. Give testimony with the Scripture, Scripture, Scripture, that baptizing according to the indisputable order of Christ is grafting oneself to the devil."⁸⁴ Evidently, Origen, unlike Oecolampadius, avoided this blaspheme by conforming to the precepts of Scripture. It is likely, therefore, that Hubmaier had in mind his obligation to counter the advantages of Oecolampadius and Zwingli's hermeneutical approach by retaining the continuity between the apostolic era and subsequent generations at any cost. As we saw in chapter five, however, Origen was indeed a largely commendable source for Hubmaier's patristic defence of credobaptism.

Hubmaier also attests to the patristic conformity to Scripture by listing Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, Theophylact, John Chrysostom, and Jerome as teaching the distinction between the baptisms of John and Christ. Here, he claims that what the fathers say is "just

⁸⁴ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 262; *CRR* 281.

the same," not in authority but in content, as Paul writes in Romans.⁸⁵ Hubmaier also contrasts Jerome, who he encourages Zwingli to read regarding Matthew 28:19, and Augustine who, "if one had asked [him], where infant baptism is found in the Scriptures, he would have answered, it has not been established in the councils, but it has always been practiced."⁸⁶ As a harbinger of things to come in his *Urteil*, Hubmaier contends that the rubrics in Mt. 28:19 "do not apply to young children, also according to the understanding of Jerome, Erasmus, and Zwingli, yea, the old and new teachers."⁸⁷ Moreover, he seems to place the teachings of the fathers alongside Scripture when he declares in the conclusion of his *Urteil I* and *II*, "[W]e have so many stronger words, works, teaching, examples, and Scriptures" that confute the present practice of infant baptism, which in a marginal note Hubmaier calls "*Trewe ermanung*" ("faithful admonition").⁸⁸

9.2 Hubmaier's Acceptance of the Church Fathers over Scholasticism

Although Hubmaier introduces a scholastic argument in his favour once, a Scotist argument that he advances sardonically against Oecolampadius,⁸⁹ he is nevertheless remarkably consistent in his criticisms of scholastic theologians. The targets of his criticism are Aquinas, John Duns Scotus, Bonaventure, William of Occam, Robert Holcot, Gabriel Biel, and his contemporary from the University of Paris, John Major (1496-1550),⁹⁰ the first three from the Realist school and the latter four from the Nominalist school, thus sparing no one of his censure. Among his denunciations, Hubmaier claims that to "play tricks...with the

⁸⁵ "Gespräch," *HS* 197; *CRR* 211.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, *HS* 207f.; *CRR* 225.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, *HS* 209; *CRR* 227.

⁸⁸ "Urteil: I," *HS* 240; *CRR* 263.

"Urteil: II," *HS* 254.

⁸⁹ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 261; *CRR* 280.

⁹⁰ "Achtzehn Schlußreden," *HS* 73; *CRR* 33.

"Unterricht," *HS* 290f.; *CRR* 320.

"Lehrtafel," *HS* 309; *CRR* 343.

treasure of the divine Word" is akin to turning "holy theology" into "Anaxagorean philosophy,"⁹¹ which Pipkin claims was a "favorite name used by Reformers to refer to the Scholastics."⁹² He also scolds Zwingli for employing "sophistic word battles"⁹³ and describes assent to "human reason" and "human teachings," by which he obviously means scholastic teaching, as being "drowned and stuck in the mud of the long-practiced usage that we can no more reach solid ground and to the recognition of the divine Word," and intensifies his rhetoric by drawing attention to its "stupidity and awkwardness."⁹⁴

Hubmaier objects most to Scholasticism's trademark diversion from Scripture, which we addressed earlier in light of Humanism's *ad fontes* principle (see 4.4). A common manifestation of this objection is his frequent denunciation of scholastic "glosses,"⁹⁵ by which he means, in addition to actual glosses such as the *Glossa ordinaria*, the selective accent on certain passages of Scripture by the Scholastics, which are anthologized to give the impression of Scripture's harmony with their own thought. Hubmaier describes the scholastic abuse of Scripture as heaping "weed, thornbushes, sticks, and rocks" on top of Christ's words, so that "three times as much work" must be exerted to resuscitate the nugget of scriptural truth hidden underneath.⁹⁶ Hubmaier also equates scholastic thought to "the mire and mud puddles of human precepts" and "poisoned cistern water sullied by human feet," which we "have been drinking" instead of the "spring of living water," this of course being Scripture.⁹⁷ In Holy Scripture's stead, the writings of scholastic theologians have been

⁹¹ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 131; *CRR* 112.

⁹² Pipkin, *CRR* 112, note 20.

⁹³ "Gespräch," *HS* 191; *CRR* 201.

⁹⁴ "Unterricht," *HS* 303; *CRR* 336.

⁹⁵ *HS* 130f., 133, 298, 401; *CRR* 109-11, 113, 330, 452.

⁹⁶ "Unterricht," *HS* 295; *CRR* 326.

⁹⁷ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 308-10; *CRR* 341, 344.

"our hellish scriptures."⁹⁸

The manner in which Hubmaier makes reference to the Church fathers with Scholasticism as a foil is consistent with his other assessments of the fathers. As we outlined above, Hubmaier makes mention of the fathers alongside cautious evaluations of scholastic theologians early in his Anabaptist career, initially in his *Erbietung* and then in his *Axiomata* against Eck, both composed during his brief refuge in Schaffhausen in the autumn of 1524. After quoting Deuteronomy 17:19-20, wherein the commandment is given to not turn away from the divine Word, Hubmaier states that "old practices, customs, origins, ancestors, fathers, councils, and scholastics" will all fall away *if* they depart from Scripture.⁹⁹ Similarly, in his *Axiomata*, Hubmaier urges Eck to search the Scriptures, since he was more aware than anyone else that his former mentor placed too much emphasis on papal law, councils, fathers, and scholastic theology.¹⁰⁰ It is true, as we stated above, that this might arguably reveal an early, perhaps premature, suspicion of the fathers that is nevertheless entirely consistent with his central principle—human teachings must square with Scripture.¹⁰¹ However, it is also clear that as Hubmaier's theology and ecclesiology began to take shape, the Scholastics retained his negative perception, while he increasingly recognized the fathers' compliance with his Scripture-based understanding of baptism and free will.

Perhaps of greater significance, two-and-a-half years later in May of 1527, Hubmaier states in the preface to his *Andere Büchlein* on free will that one of his objectives in the treatise is to dismantle "the arguments and objections of [his] friends so that no one be

⁹⁸ Ibid., *HS* 309; *CRR* 343.

⁹⁹ "Erbietung," *HS* 81; *CRR* 43.

¹⁰⁰ "Axiomata," *HS* 88; *CRR* 53.

¹⁰¹ "Entschuldigung," *HS* 274; *CRR* 300.

deceived and sophistrated (*sophistriert*),"¹⁰² which Pipkin tells us was a neologism alluding to the Scholastics.¹⁰³ Hubmaier accomplishes this objective in Part III of this, his second treatise on free will. However, Hubmaier bears no qualms about invoking fathers such as Origen, Fulgentius of Ruspe, and Augustine in this same section of *Andere Büchlein* to support pivotal elements of his understanding of free will (see 8.3).¹⁰⁴ Further, Hubmaier invoked the fathers in his *Lehrtafel*, although tinged by a polemical motive, as allies in his attempt to extricate the purity of Holy Scripture from the muddy waters alluded to above.¹⁰⁵ It becomes evident, therefore, that although Hubmaier spares no pejorative epithets in his appraisal of the scholastic theologians, he simply does not do the same to the Church fathers and increasingly acknowledges their conformity to Scripture and utility for describing and defending his own theology and ecclesiology.

¹⁰² "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 401; *CRR* 452.

¹⁰³ Pipkin, *CRR* 452, note 7.

¹⁰⁴ "Andere Büchlein," *HS* 420, 422, 429; *CRR* 477, 479, 488.

¹⁰⁵ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 310; *CRR* 344.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION: THE CHURCH FATHERS AS CO-AFFILIATES WITH HUBMAIER IN THE ONE, TRUE *ECCLESIA UNIVERSALIS*

10.1 The Intellectual Setting for Hubmaier's Patristic Scholarship

The present thesis divides its attention between the intellectual inspiration for Hubmaier's consultation of patristic literature and his actual interaction and appraisal of the Church fathers. His enlistment of the fathers in defence of credobaptism and free will was an intuitive activity for Hubmaier, as his Catholic, nominalist, humanist, and patristic education ensured that the fathers would be dealt with and evaluated in light of his new Anabaptist convictions. Hubmaier witnessed firsthand the integration of humanist disciplines with the best of Scholasticism at the universities of Frieberg-im-Breisgau and Ingolstadt, which included a clear repudiation of all outdated scholastic methods and accomplishments.¹ Eminent Humanists such as Celtis, Aventinus, Geiler von Kaysersberg, Wimpfeling, and Reuchlin each wove humanist strands into the fabric of Freiburg and Ingolstadt's academic ethos before the arrival of Hubmaier.² During his student days, Hubmaier witnessed further implementation of the *studia humanitatis* curriculum including Zasius' minimization of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* in favour of classical legal philosophers such as Cicero;³ Reisch's overhaul of grammar along humanist lines;⁴ and Locher's emphasis on classical poetry, the benefits of the *studia humanitatis*, and the Church fathers as a means to silencing the "foolish

¹ Boehm, "Humanistische," 315-46; Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, ch. 1, 2, 5, and 6, esp. pp. 9f., 19f.; Nauert, "Method," 432-4; Nauert, "Pre-Reformation Controversies," 2f.; Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic*, 17f.

² Bartlett and McGlynn, *Humanism*, 73; Heath, "Universities," 38f.; Douglass, *Geiler*, 6; *CEBR* 3:447; Overfield, *Humanism*, 159f.

³ Rüegg, "Themes," 34f.

⁴ Heath, "Universities," 33f.; Hartfelder, *Gregor Reisch*, 170-200.

noise" of the Scholastics.⁵ Although Hubmaier's education included study of the fathers via medieval *florilegia* such as Gratian's Decree, Lombard's *Sententiae*, and the *Glossa ordinaria*, each of which also contributed uniquely to his perception of the fathers and Scripture together, the library inventory lists indicate that by 1508 the University of Ingolstadt had procured numerous humanist, text-editions of the fathers as well.⁶

The mentor-protégé relationship between Eck and Hubmaier was the strongest influence on the latter's academic interests and religious outlook during his time as a student. However, Eck's theological eclecticism and *via media* approach to handling the Humanist-Scholastic divide at Ingolstadt ensured exposure to a broad array of theological schools and perspectives with varying degrees of emphasis.⁷ Eck's humanism, for instance, is evident in his elimination of the "rubbish of the sophists"⁸ from the university textbooks in a bid to prepare his scholastic colleagues for a fuller implementation of the *studia humanitatis* curriculum. In many ways, he accomplished his objectives, and wrote updated commentaries on Aristotle's works and his *Chrysopassus* by relying on, through loyalty to the *ad fontes* principle, Renaissance-produced translations and new humanist editions of the fathers.⁹ As with Hubmaier, Eck valued the fathers but did not afford them the same authority as Scripture,¹⁰ yet he also insulated Holy Tradition against innovative biblical interpretations for which there was no precedent in patristic literature. Nevertheless, Eck believed that the fathers must be considered in their historical setting, especially the theological controversies that they contributed to or otherwise tried to resolve. For example, Eck's moderate

⁵ Cited in Overfield, *Humanism*, 186. See also pp. 114, 143f., 219, 235f., 241-5.

⁶ John, "Bücherverzeichnis," 390f., 394, 396f., 407f., 412.

⁷ Mabry, *Doctrine*, 17.

⁸ Cited in Overfield, *Humanism*, 311. See also Seifert, *Ingolstadt*, 81, note 8.

⁹ Overfield, *Humanism*, 311; Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 50f.

¹⁰ Moore, "Doctor Maximus," 47. Cf. *Chrysopassus* III.88-91.

nominalism and centrist evaluation of Augustine was at odds with Gregory of Rimini and Luther's acceptance of the African bishop's more extreme positions in his anti-Pelagian writings,¹¹ and likely shaped Hubmaier's use of Augustine in defence of free will against the hyper-Augustinianism of Luther and his followers in Nikolsburg. Likewise, the emphasis on Greek patristic commentaries and ambivalence about the theological and historical justification for infant baptism by both Erasmus and Zwingli, who likely studied patristic models of baptism with Hubmaier in his office at 13 Kirchgasse, seems to have made an impact on the inchoate Anabaptist's reevaluation of baptism in light of patristic testimony.

Hubmaier's actual reading of a select number of Church fathers was varied and far more sophisticated than some historians have given him credit for.¹² His companionship with leading Humanists and active procurement of literature that betrayed the patristic import of the New Learning, such as Erasmus' *Ratio*,¹³ cultivated a keen awareness of the pitfalls of scholastic distractions and the benefits of drinking from the sources of ancient Christianity. His patristic scholarship reveals the stamp of Humanism in how he used full text-editions of the fathers (see chs. five and six), was clearly dedicated to the *ad fontes* principle,¹⁴ underwent the restitutionist quest for a definitive doctrinal distortion marking the decline of the Church before which true Christianity had survived at least in part,¹⁵ and acknowledged the ambiguous doctrinal and ritual observances in the patristic era as well as his own. This ambiguity is reflected in Hubmaier's interaction with the fathers: although he found patristic support for the Erasmian sequence of *docete–baptizantes–docentes*, as per Christ's post-resurrection instructions in Mt. 28:19, and for the freedom of the will that underpins the

¹¹ Moore, "'Protean Man'," 246, 250f., 256-8, 263.

¹² See, for instance, Old, *Baptismal Rite*, 102f.

¹³ Williamson, *Erasmus*, 41f.

¹⁴ MacGregor, trans. "Letter to Johannes Sapidus," (2010), 144, note 11.

¹⁵ Bergsten, *Hubmaier*, 325ff.

baptismal confession of faith and subsequent discipleship, Hubmaier was well aware of the increasing confusion apropos the correct baptismal practice in the patristic era until Augustine's definitive ratification of paedobaptism gained universal recognition in subsequent centuries. In point of fact, his awareness of this confusion, and his competing hermeneutical approach with that of Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and Fabri, drove his historical verification of credobaptism's uninterrupted survival from the apostolic era until the fifth century, even if there is evidence that infant baptism had been introduced before then.

10.2 The Patristic *Ecclesia Universalis* and the Wayward Papal "Particular Congregation"¹⁶

It was Hubmaier's humanist background and coinciding patristic scholarship that verified the confusion surrounding baptism in the patristic, reflected also in his own era, and that shaped his desire for a new general council, which he had hoped would be convened by the emperor Charles V or his brother, Ferdinand I, King of Bohemia (see 4.6),¹⁷ to decide the correct baptismal practice and reform the Church from within. Yoder notes that this "expectation for a reform council was widespread in the 1520s," but claims that "[s]ince the pope would not call a council to reform the papacy, it was expected that the emperor would convene it."¹⁸ So, in essence, Hubmaier's desire for a general council was a vote of confidence in the Church universal against the errant papal *ecclesia particularis*. Hubmaier was highly critical of the papacy, and the reasons for which he denigrates the papal throne can shed more light on the way his ecclesiology factors into his acceptance of the fathers. In his *Christlichen Taufe*, Hubmaier warns his readers to "beware of papal cancer," and laments that "until now we had to wait for the pope and the councils" which had distorted the words

¹⁶ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 315; *CRR* 352.

¹⁷ "Rechenschaft," *HS* 487; *CRR* 557.

¹⁸ Yoder, *CRR* 557, note 37.

of Christ now gratefully in his possession.¹⁹ Hubmaier also rejects transubstantiation as a "papal belief,"²⁰ declares that the Pope is at variance with Scripture on the matter of usury,²¹ and alleges that the popes are "enmeshed in worldly affairs."²² What Hubmaier's rejection of the papacy can tell us about his acceptance of the fathers can be broken down into two categories: (1) chronology and (2) authority.

First, that Hubmaier has reason to accept more readily the teachings of the fathers can be demonstrated by the approximate date from which the influence of the papacy has been exerted on the Church invalidly until his own day. In his *Gespräch*, Hubmaier accuses Zwingli of being a "new papist" because the latter conceded that if the Church has practiced paedobaptism continually since "a thousand years ago," "God [would] not let the world err so long;"²³ Zwingli, in other words, believed that God would not allow the Church to practice an incorrect form of baptism for one thousand years. Zwingli also challenges Hubmaier, as per his hermeneutical principle that we discussed in the previous chapter, to "show us a clear word which forbids one's baptizing children," due to which Hubmaier accuses Zwingli of embracing a "new popery."²⁴ The reason why Zwingli's hermeneutic betrays a chronological concern is that it sanctions the introduction of new definitions and teachings at various points along the Church's history as long as it is not forbidden in Scripture, which to Hubmaier is a characteristic of "popery." Hubmaier reveals the patristic implications in his *Urteil*: if anyone declares, "Christ has not forbidden infant baptism; therefore one can safely baptize," which Hubmaier designates a "popish assertion," they must explain why the fathers of the

¹⁹ "Von der christlichen Taufe," *HS* 153, 157; *CRR* 138, 142.

²⁰ "Entschuldigung," *HS* 274; *CRR* 300f.

²¹ "Strafe," *HS* 341; *CRR* 377f.

²² "Schwert," *HS* 452; *CRR* 516.

²³ "Gespräch," *HS* 180; *CRR* 186f.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, *HS* 200; *CRR* 214f.

Church to which he appeals in his *Urteil* practice credobaptism as if infant baptism is indeed forbidden, or at least not recommended.²⁵ Therefore, to understand the manner in which Hubmaier embraces the Church fathers, it is crucial to acknowledge that the errant papal "particular congregation"²⁶ is distinct from the patristic Church that shows evidence of affirming credobaptism and free will as does Hubmaier, the congregations he led in both Waldshut and Nikolsburg, and the Anabaptist movement as a whole.

Second, Hubmaier suggests that the inflated authority of the pope must be replaced by the authority of Scripture and of the pure, visible, universal Church. In connection with the chronological concerns above, Oecolampadius claims that he knows "enough of the histories that children's baptism has never been forbidden from the time of the apostles until now" and that it "has been the custom of the mothers in the church to baptize children." Hubmaier responds by claiming that the practice as Oecolampadius describes it is "of the papist but not of the Christian mothers in the church."²⁷ Since Hubmaier had just recently printed his *Urteil* to show that the fathers not only taught credobaptism but had their own baptism's delayed (by their mothers, as it were), he therefore tacitly acknowledges that the Church of the fathers, who experienced the "one baptism" of the "universal Christian corporeal church and fellowship of the saints,"²⁸ is distinct from the illegitimate papal *ecclesia particularis*, which "has erred in many respects."²⁹

10.3 The Ecclesiological Verification of the Church Fathers' Membership in the *Ecclesia Universalis*

Hubmaier's acceptance of the patristic constituent of the *ecclesia universalis* comes

²⁵ "Urteil: I," *HS* 228f.; *CRR* 248.

²⁶ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 315; *CRR* 352.

²⁷ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 260; *CRR* 279.

²⁸ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 315; *CRR* 351.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, *HS* 315; *CRR* 352.

into focus once we acknowledge their compliance with the successive elements of his ecclesiology. The distinction between the true *ecclesia universalis* and errant, papal *ecclesia particularis* is based on the establishment and expansion of the former as consisting of (1) the freedom of the human will to (2) confess one's faith upon the age of reason in order to (3) receive water baptism, after which the new member of the true, pure, and visible Christian Church (4) places her- or himself under the threat of the ban, which the *ecclesia universalis* and compliant particular congregations (5) exercise through the power of the keys. The central component of this sequence is credobaptism as the authentic practice of the Church, whose unity implies the distinction from all errant "particular congregations"³⁰ that practice otherwise. It is Hubmaier's historical verification of the Church fathers' general compliance with these criteria that compels him to recognize them as co-affiliates of the one, holy, apostolic *ecclesia universalis*.

Hubmaier's ecclesiology, with which he portrayed the fathers as complying, is laid out most comprehensively in a lengthy portion of his *Lehrtafel*,³¹ but finds expression in many of his other writings. The human will is "made truly free by the death and resurrection of Christ," thus capacitating one to accept him in faith, *viz.*, "the realization of the unspeakable mercy of God, his gracious favor and goodwill, which he bears to us through his most beloved Son Jesus Christ."³² This confession of faith is followed by, and a constituent part of water baptism.³³ Demonstrating the link between the initiation rite and excommunication, Hubmaier explains that this "water baptism" allows the baptizand to be "incorporated into the fellowship of the church" wherein "he will accept brotherly

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., *HS* 313-7; *CRR* 348-54.

³² Ibid., *HS* 313; *CRR* 348.

³³ Ibid., *HS* 314; *CRR* 349.

admonition,"³⁴ about which he composed two treatises in 1527.³⁵ Although Hubmaier claims that Matthew 18:15ff. is his basis for administering the ban, he further observes that a confession which incorporates "brotherly admonition ... is the true baptismal vow, which we have lost for a thousand years,"³⁶ suggesting that he was well aware of its continued practice among the Church fathers until approximately 525 C.E. This "authority" to effectuate "fraternal admonition" is given equally to the *ecclesia universalis* and all compliant daughter congregations through the power of the keys, which the papal church has forfeited through her administration of a false baptism that does not enjoin a prior confession of faith and later vulnerability to the ban.³⁷ The true *ecclesia universalis*, therefore, recognizes "one God, one Lord, one faith, and one baptism,"³⁸ administered only to believers whose deliberate confession of faith connotes that the Church is "outward and corporeal, not theoretical."³⁹ The visibility of "the universal Christian corporeal church"⁴⁰ is manifested further by the vulnerability of its members to the ban, which "is done for the good of the sinner"⁴¹ so that the body of Christ remains "without spot, without wrinkle."⁴²

Since Hubmaier enlisted the fathers in support of (1) the one, true baptism; (2) the freedom of the human will that both allows a prior confession of faith leading to believers' baptism and a subsequent living faith "that produces the fruits of the Spirit and works

³⁴ Ibid., *HS* 313f.; *CRR* 349.

³⁵ "Bann," *HS* 367-78; *CRR* 410-25;
"Brüderlichen Strafe" *HS* 338-46; *CRR* 373-85.

³⁶ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 314; *CRR* 349.

³⁷ Ibid., *HS* 315; *CRR* 352.
See also "Grund," *HS* 335; *CRR* 371;
"Freiheit," *HS* 386; *CRR* 434;
"Rechenschaft," *HS* 477f.; *CRR* 546.

³⁸ "Lehrtafel," *HS* 315; *CRR* 351.

³⁹ Ibid., *HS* 316; *CRR* 352.

⁴⁰ Ibid., *HS* 315; *CRR* 351.

⁴¹ Ibid., *HS* 317; *CRR* 354.

⁴² Ibid., *HS* 315; *CRR* 352.

through love"⁴³ out of respect for the ban; and (3) the catechumenate that unites these two ritual and anthropological dimensions, patristic fidelity to Hubmaier's ecclesiology means that the fathers do not only teach correct baptismal theology and bear witness to its continued practice beyond the apostolic era, they are also members with Hubmaier in the one, holy, apostolic *ecclesia universalis* as he conceives of it. Indeed, the formula above that recognizes free will as the anthropological prerequisite for the confession of one's faith, which the fathers themselves "Christianly issued by the Nicene council,"⁴⁴ in anticipation of water baptism and subsequent vulnerability to the threat of the ban by the power of the keys in possession of the *ecclesia universalis* is what Hubmaier meant when he wrote in the introduction of his *Urteil*, "[T]he church is built on our faith and confession, and not our faith on the church."⁴⁵ Accordingly, Hubmaier maintains:

He then who confesses Christian faith, accepts the sign of the water baptism according to the institution of Christ, and argues no more. Here we see once again most evidently that, where the water baptism of Christ has not been restored according to the order of Christ, then it is impossible to know who is in the church or who is outside, whom we have authority to admonish or not, who are brothers or sisters.⁴⁶

Stated another way, if the Church fathers could have attended the new ecumenical council that Hubmaier hoped would soon convene,⁴⁷ he would have viewed them as trusted allies since they were faithful to Scripture in their understanding of baptism and received credobaptism themselves after a period of catechesis, upon which they were themselves subject to the ban or excommunication.

By way of his academic background and humanist sensitivities, Hubmaier could recognize that the fathers represented a more favourable alternative to the theological

⁴³ Ibid., *HS* 313; *CRR* 348.

⁴⁴ Ibid., *HS* 315; *CRR* 351.

⁴⁵ "Urteil: I," *HS* 228; *CRR* 248. See also "Lehrtafel," *HS* 315f.; *CRR* 352.

⁴⁶ "Bann," *HS* 374; *CRR* 420.

⁴⁷ "Rechenschaft," *HS* 487; *CRR* 557.

systems and methodology of the Scholastics, were not included in the corrupt papal *ecclesia particularis*, and were among those with whom Hubmaier believed he was in historical continuity. When we consider the stress that Anabaptists placed on ecclesiology and the demarcation of the true Church, it is no small matter that Hubmaier includes the Church fathers in the *ecclesia universalis*. Of course, human words are not God's Word, and the fathers' fallibility is ineluctable, as is Hubmaier's. But if the fathers, with Clement of Rome as their representative in this case, personify the "truth of the church,"⁴⁸ as Hubmaier insinuates, their fallibility is overshadowed by what matters most—conformity to the truth of Scripture, which guarantees that they must have indeed belonged to the "Christian church ... [that was] conceived in the Word of Christ."⁴⁹ Therefore, patristic fallibility and simultaneous guidance by Scripture means that the fathers can say with Hubmaier, "I may err, I am a human being—but a heretic I cannot be, for I constantly ask instruction in the Word of God."⁵⁰ Hubmaier's famous aphorism, "Truth is Immortal," is underpinned by the concept of time and expresses the perennial survival of truth. It is no wonder, therefore, that Hubmaier might envisage the Church fathers as preserving this truth in an era chronologically subsequent to that of the apostles. If truth is immortal, the Church fathers, by their conformity to Scripture, preserve the immortality of this truth.

⁴⁸ "Urteil: II," *HS* 243; *CRR* 265.

⁴⁹ "Kindertaufe," *HS* 268; *CRR* 293.

⁵⁰ "Entschuldigung," *HS* 279; *CRR* 308.

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