

*The Lausanne Theses on the
Ministry and the Sacraments
(1547–1548)*

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I. Introduction

In spring 1548, a set of theses on the sacraments and the power of the ministry that had been debated by the ministers and professors in Lausanne found its way to Bern and ultimately led to the expulsion of Bern's three Lutheran (or more properly Bucerian) ministers, Simon Sulzer, Beat Gering, and Konrad Schmid. Eighteenth-century historian Abraham Ruchat indicated that there were 90 theses.¹ Later, following the publication of a letter from Bern pastor Jodocus Kilchmeyer in the *Calvini opera* that refers to 99 theses,² Jean Barnaud and others have generally adopted that figure.³ A letter from Pierre Viret published for the first time in my

¹ Abraham *Ruchat*, *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse: Edition avec appendices*, ed. by L. Vulliemin, vol. 5, Nyon et al. 1836, 343. Ruchat was followed by Karl Bernhard *Hundeshagen*, *Die Conflict des Zwinglianismus, Lutherthums und Calvinismus in der Bernischen Landeskirche von 1532–1558*, Bern 1842, 207; and by Melchior *Kirchhofer*, *Das Leben Wilhelm Farel's*, vol. 2, Zurich 1833, 91.

² "Insuper et 99 conclusiones ecclesiae valvis affixas Lausannae disputarunt [...]" *Ioannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia* [CO], vol. 12, Braunschweig 1874, 680, no. 1007, Kilchmeyer to Heinrich Bullinger, Bern, 2 April 1548.

³ Jean *Barnaud*, *Pierre Viret: Sa vie et son oeuvre (1511–1571)*, Saint-Amans 1911, 332f.; Michael W. *Bruening*, *Calvinism's First Battleground: Conflict and Reform in the Pays de Vaud, 1528–1559*, Dordrecht 2005 (*Studies in Early Modern Religious Reforms* 4), 188. The collective Farel biography cites both figures: Guillaume Farel:

Epistolae Petri Vireti also refers to 99 theses.⁴ Although historians have disagreed about the number of theses, they all – myself included – have concurred in one conclusion: The theses have been lost.⁵ I believe I have found them.

Or at least most of them; the final text of the 99 Theses remains lost. I am publishing here for the first time, however, the text of two early versions of the Lausanne Theses that have been hiding in plain sight, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France,⁶ the other in the Bern Staatsarchiv, among the well-thumbed pages of the “Kirchliche Angelegenheiten” volumes of the Unnütze Papiere collection.⁷ The text of the theses alters our understanding of the theses’ author and origins, the chronology of the 1547–1548 debates in Lausanne and Bern over the Eucharist and the ministry, and thus the broader context of the early differences between Calvinism and Zwinglianism at precisely the time when John Calvin and Heinrich Bullinger were trying to come to an agreement on the interpretation of the Eucharist.

Biographie nouvelle écrite d’après les documents originaux par un groupe d’historiens, professeurs et pasteurs de Suisse, de France, et d’Italie, Neuchâtel 1930, 574. Interestingly, Henri Vuilleumier gives no figure for the number of theses; Henri *Vuilleumier*, *Histoire de l’Eglise Réformée du Pays de Vaud sous le régime Bernois*, vol. 1, Lausanne, 1927, 641.

⁴ “Ex 99. pronunciat, aliquot sunt inventa quae de ministerii et sacramentorum ratione scripta erant, non de ministrorum excellentia et dignitate, si magis sensus quam verba expendatur.” *Epistolae Petri Vireti: The Previously Unedited Letters and a Register of Pierre Viret’s Correspondence [Epistolae Vireti]*, ed. by Michael W. Bruening, Geneva 2012 (*Travaux d’Humanisme et Renaissance [THR]*, 494), 115f., no. 23, Pierre Viret to Rudolf Gwalther, Lausanne, 23 July 1548.

⁵ *Hundeshagen*, *Conflicte*, 207: “Wer sie aufgestellt, welches Inhalts sie waren, ist nicht bekannt. Sie sind verloren gegangen.” *Barnaud*, *Pierre Viret*, 333: “Malheureusement, leur texte n’a pas été conservé.” *Epistolae Vireti*, 115, n.19: “Unfortunately, the text of the theses does not survive.”

⁶ Bibliothèque Nationale de France [BNF], ms. lat. 8641, 83r–88r. This manuscript has been digitized and is available online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000246c>.

⁷ Bern Staatsarchiv [StA], ms. A V 1457 (U.P. 82.2), no. 96.

2. Historical Context

Before looking at the texts themselves, let us examine briefly the historical context that led to the composition of the theses. The Lausanne Theses were prepared in the context of confessional conflict in the city and territories of Bern.⁸ From almost the beginning of the Reformation, the pastors in Bern were divided between those who favored Zwinglian theology and those who were inclined towards Lutheranism, at least in its south-German, Bucerian form. After 1542, the Zwinglians had the upper hand in the city.⁹ Their chief representatives were, first, Erasmus Ritter and, later, Jodocus Kilchmeyer and Eberhard von Rümlang. Additionally, in the Bernese-controlled Pays de Vaud, many of the French-speaking pastors, such as Antoine Marcourt and especially André Zébedée, continued to follow Zurich's lead, in opposition to Calvin, Viret, and Farel.¹⁰

Conflict between the factions continued to simmer through the 1540s, boiling over with a dispute between Peter Schnyder, a Zwinglian pastor of Aarburg, and two Lutheran pastors in Zofingen. In January 1547,¹¹ Kilchmeyer described the situation to Bullinger in Zurich, saying that “a bitter quarrel over the ministry of the church and the Eucharist” had arisen and been reported to the Bern city council.¹² The Zurich pastors soon got involved, drafting

⁸ See, generally, *Hundesbagen*, *Conflicte*; Eduard *Bähler*, *Der Kampf zwischen Staatskirchentum und Theokratie in der welschbernischen Kirche im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, in: *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte* 5 (1925), 1–61, 129–191; *Bruning*, *Calvinism's First Battleground*, ch. 3: “Zwinglianism and Lutheranism in Bern.”

⁹ In August 1542, the Bern council settled a dispute among the city's ministers on the Eucharist by enforcing the more Zwinglian position taken in the 1528 Bern Disputation. See *Ruchat*, *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, vol. 5, 204f., *Hundesbagen*, *Conflicte*, 165–167.

¹⁰ See Ulrich J. *Gerber*, *Elèves de Zwingli en terres romandes*, in: *La Dispute de Lausanne (1536): La théologie réformée après Zwingli et avant Calvin*, ed. by Eric Junod, Lausanne 1988 (Bibliothèque historique vaudoise 90), 104–112; Gabrielle *Berthoud*, *Antoine Marcourt: Réformateur et Pamphléteur du 'Livre des Marchans' aux Placards de 1534*, Geneva 1973 (THR 129); Paul *Boesch*, *Zwingli-Gedichte (1539) des Andreas Zebedeus und des Rudolph Gwalther*, in: *Zwingliana* 9/4 (1959), 208–220.

¹¹ And not 1548, as Hundeshagen writes, thereby removing it from its important place as background to the conflict in Lausanne. *Hundesbagen*, *Conflicte*, 207.

¹² “Oborta est inter D. Petrum Arburgensem ac duos Zoffingensis ecclesiae episcopos acris quaedam contentio de ministerio atque eucharistiae negotio. [...] Novissime

a substantial response to the situation, in which they reiterated the Zwinglian position on these subjects, namely:

“Concerning the ministry and ministers, the Scriptures say this: Only God through the Spirit gives, increases, and confirms faith; in short, every saving virtue comes from Christ. The minister only announces the external word, and offers or administers the symbol, not the thing signified. [...] The ministers and the sacraments confer nothing; they simply announce. God confers everything. [...] And if they say this [about the Eucharist]: ‘[Christ] is truly present but not corporally or quantitatively, locally, or qualitatively,’ we judge that they should abstain from monstrous words and refrain from blinding the simple folk. [...] Furthermore, to eat the body of Christ is nothing other than to believe.”¹³

So pronounced were the divisions in Bern that the Zurich pastors addressed this letter only to Bern’s Zwinglian pastors: Kilchmeyer, Rümlang, Nikolaus Pfister, and Johannes Wäber; Sulzer, Gering, and Schmid were left out of the discussion.

Later in the year, Sulzer tried to enlist his Francophone friends’ support for his position, an effort that would lead, albeit indirectly, to the conflicts over the Lausanne Theses and between Viret and Zébédée in Lausanne. In the summer of 1547, a Bernese layman named Andreas Rappenstein published a book attacking Sulzer’s views on the ministry.¹⁴ In August, Sulzer wrote to Viret, “A horrible tempest is certainly shaking our church [...] And I really hope that you will indicate to us your views, and hopefully Calvin’s also, on the proper use and efficacy of the ministry.”¹⁵

omne negotium per proconsulem Arburgensem ad magnificum Bernensium magistratum delatum est, ut illic rebus pro utraque parte diligenter discussis et examinatis certamini aliquando summa manus imponeretur.” CO, vol. 12, 466f., no. 873, Kilchmeyer to Bullinger, Bern, 11 January 1547.

¹³ “De ministerio et ministris sic pronunciat scriptura: solum Deum per spiritum dare fidem, augere, confirmare fidem, breviter omnem virtutem salvificam esse Christi: ministrum tantum annunciare verbum externum, offerre aut administrare symbolum, non rem significatam. [...] Ministri et sacramenta nihil conferunt, sed annunciant. Deus confert omnia. [...] Si illi addant: vere adest, sed non corporaliter, quantitave, localiter, qualitative, iubemus ut a verborum monstis absteineant, et oculose simplicibus perstringere desinant. [...] Caeterum manducare corpus Christi non est aliud quam credere.” CO, vol. 12, 471–474, no. 875, Zurich Pastors to Jodocus Kilchmeyer, Eberhard von Rümlang, Nikolaus Pfister, and Johannes Wäber, Zurich, 17 January 1547.

¹⁴ Andreas *Rappenstein*, *Dialogus: Ein Tütsch Gespräch von Ampt und Dienst der Kilchen*, Bern, 1547. On Rappenstein and the book, see Willy *Brändly*, *Andreas Rappenstein*, in: *Zwingliana* 7/9 (1943), 537–547, 7/10 (1943), 601–631.

Viret was, in fact, already working on the manuscript of what would be published the following year as *De la vertu et usage du ministere de la Parolle de Dieu, et des Sacremens dependans d'icelle*.¹⁶ Viret's discussion of the ministry in the book differs markedly from that expressed by the Zurich pastors earlier in the year:

“We cannot deny that our Lord Jesus Christ called the ministry of the Gospel the key of knowledge and the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and that he gave the power and commission of these keys to his Apostles and to their true successors, as well as the power and commission to bind and loose, to pardon and retain sins by means of this ministry of the keys, and to guide and govern his Church by them. [...]”¹⁷

For Viret, as for Calvin, the ministry had real power, conferred on it by God. For them, the power of the keys gave ministers the ability to forgive sins and to excommunicate sinners; the minister was not a mere mouthpiece. Likewise, Viret's doctrine of the Eucharist departs from that of Zurich when he writes, “We recognize, therefore, that we truly eat the flesh and the body of Jesus Christ and drink his blood in the Supper, and not only in the imagination. [...]”¹⁸ Viret began to circulate manuscript copies of this book in fall 1547, and it raised the ire of the Zwinglians in the Vaud. He reported to Calvin, “I do not know whether you have heard about the complaints against me on account of that book in which I have

¹⁵ “Horribilis certe tempestas quatit ecclesiam nostram [...]. Itidem autem et de ministerii sani usu et efficacia nobis significari per te vehementer cupio, idque si placet adhibito etiam Calvini nostri iudicio.” *Epistolae Vireti*, 52, no. 10, Sulzer to Viret, Bern, 10 August 1547.

¹⁶ Pierre Viret, *De la vertu et usage du ministere de la Parolle de Dieu, et des Sacremens dependans d'icelle*, [Geneva] 1548. Just two weeks after Sulzer's letter, Calvin told Viret, “*Librum de ecclesia et sacramentis, quum voles, mitte*”; this seems to indicate that he was either done or nearing completion of the book. CO, vol. 12, 582, Calvin to Viret, Geneva, 25 August 1547.

¹⁷ “Nous ne pouvons semblablement nier, que nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ n'ait appllé le ministere de l'Evangile, la clef de science, et les clefz du Royaume des cieux, et qu'il n'ait donné la puissance et la commission d'icelles à ses Apostres, et à tous leurs vrais successeurs, et la puissance et commission de lier, et de deslier, de pardonner les pechez, et de les retenir, par le moyen de ce ministere et de ces clefz, et de gouverner et conduire son Eglise par icelles.” Viret, *De la vertu et usage du ministere*, 166.

¹⁸ Nous recognoissons donc, que nous mangeons vrayement la chair et le corps de Jesus Christ, en la Cene, et que nous y beuvons son sang, et non seulement par imagination.” Viret, *De la vertu et usage du ministere*, 536.

opposed those who are a disgrace to the ministry. Around here the complaints are great, sometimes coming with threats as well.”¹⁹ After the book was finally published in summer 1548, Zébédée, the Arts Professor in Lausanne, would send to the Bernese excerpts from the book that seemed to contradict Zwinglian theology.²⁰ At the same time as Viret was circulating manuscripts of his book, the Lausanne pastors and professors were debating the same subjects of the power of the ministry and the sacraments at their colloquies.

Here, the evidence from the Lausanne Theses forces us to alter the existing narrative. According to the traditional version, Viret and Zébédée quarreled over the interpretation of the Eucharist at the examination of Guillaume Houbraque in early January 1548. The next month, Viret, perhaps with the help of some colleagues, drafted the 99 Theses. Some of the theses were controversial, however, and the Bernese pastors condemned ten of them as contrary to the conclusions of the 1528 Bern Disputation. The Lausanne ministers and professors wrote a defense of the articles, which was rejected by Kilchmeyer, Rümlang, Pfister, and Wäber, but approved by Sulzer, Gering, and Schmid. The Bern council sided with the Zwinglians and banished the latter three.²¹

The story that emerges from the Lausanne Theses, however, is somewhat different. First, they show that the conflict in Lausanne started several months before Houbraque’s exam. Second, they reveal that the author of the theses was not Viret but Lausanne Theology Professor Jean Ribit. Third, they demonstrate that the Lausanne Theses were not drafted all at once but rather in groups in preparation for individual meetings of the Lausanne colloquy between September 1547 and March 1548. Finally, they make

¹⁹ “Nescio an quidquam audiveris de querelis adversum me, eius libelli causa in quo nonnihil aspersi eos qui ministerio sunt dedecori. Magnae sunt hic in vicinia querelae cum minis etiam coniunctae.” CO, vol. 12, 616, no. 965, Viret to Calvin, Lausanne, 13 November 1547.

²⁰ See Robert *Centlivres*, *Les “Capita Calumniarum” de Zébédée et la réponse de Pierre Viret*, in: *Mélanges d’histoire du XVI^e siècle offerts à Henri Meylan*, Geneva 1970 (THR 110), 107–126.

²¹ This basic narrative, or some portion of it, can be seen in *Ruchat*, *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, vol. 5, 343 f.; *Hundesbagen*, *Conflicte*, 207–209; *Barnaud*, *Pierre Viret*, 331–335; *Vuilleumier*, *Histoire de l’Eglise Réformée du Pays de Vaud*, vol. 1, 641; *Bruening*, *Calvinism’s First Battleground*, 186–188.

clear that the initial quarrel centered not on the Eucharist but on the efficacy of the ministry and the power of the keys.

3. Manuscript Evidence and Sources

Let us now examine more closely the manuscript evidence around the Lausanne Theses. Four manuscripts contain at least a portion of the theses, which I will designate as follows:

1. *The Ribit Manuscript*. This is the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. The entire manuscript contains minutes of letters and other texts written by Jean Ribit, Professor of Theology at the Lausanne Academy from 1547 to 1559. Two sections of this manuscript concern us. Most important is the list of 93 theses near the end of the manuscript. This is one of the two main sources for the text of the theses printed below, and when I refer simply to the “Ribit manuscript,” I am referring specifically to these pages.²²
2. *Ribit B*. The second section in the same BNF manuscript that is of interest is a different list of theses. These were rough drafts of theses that Ribit prepared before editing and arranging them for specific meetings.²³
3. *The Bern Manuscript*. This is the collection of theses in the “Kirchliche Angelegenheiten” volumes held by the Bern Staatsarchiv.²⁴ It is a list of 89 theses written by the Lausanne pastors and professors, probably soon after 7 March 1548, and it is the second main source for the theses printed below. It contains all but four of the theses in the Ribit manuscript, omitting two of the ten condemned theses – for reasons discussed below – and two theses added in the margin of the Ribit manuscript.
4. *The Lausanne Apology*. This is a German translation of an apology prepared originally in Latin by the Lausanne pastors and professors, who were defending the ten theses condemned by the Bern pastors as

²² BNF, ms. lat. 8641, 83r–88r. Karine Crousaz was the first historian to draw attention to this manuscript and its significance in illustrating the nature of the debates that took place in the Lausanne Academy in 1547 and 1548; she suggests that Ribit was the primary author of the theses, and she rightly ties them to the ten condemned theses. Since her purpose was to illustrate the workings of the Lausanne Academy, however, she does not dwell at length on the theses, publish any of them, or connect them to the 99 Theses that were presumed lost. Karine Crousaz, *L’Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme* (ca. 1537–1560), Leiden 2012 (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 41), 93–95.

²³ BNF, ms. lat. 8641, 75r–79v.

²⁴ Bern StA, ms. A V 1457 (U.P. 82.2), no. 96.

contrary to the Bern Disputation.²⁵ Most importantly for our purposes here, the text contains the text of the ten condemned theses, which I will refer to simply as the “Ten Theses.”

The texts in the Ribit manuscript and the Bern manuscript are nearly identical; each contains lists of theses that were debated at ten meetings in Lausanne between September 1547 and March 1548. These appear to have constituted the vast majority of the 99 Theses and include the Ten Theses, the defense of which led to the banishment of Sulzer, Gering, and Schmid.

The Ribit manuscript appears to contain the original text of the theses. It presents them in separately numbered groups, one for each day of debate. In reference to most of these groups, it uses the future tense, indicating that “these will be debated” (*haec disputabuntur*) on a certain date. In the Bern manuscript, by contrast, the Lausanne pastors used the past tense, saying of each group that “these were debated” (*haec disputata sunt*) on a certain date. Indeed, these indications are what allow us to date the Bern manuscript to soon after 7 March 1548; the manuscript indicates that the penultimate set of theses had been debated on 22 February 1548 but that the last group of theses “has been proposed but not yet debated.” Not long afterwards, Kilchmeyer received Zébédée’s complaints about his “Lutheran” colleagues in Lausanne and took them to the Bern council. On 6 and 7 March, the council appointed a commission to look into the trouble.²⁶ It seems likely that this Bernese commission asked Viret and his colleagues for the theses from their colloquies, and they sent the Bern manuscript in response. This dating and the serial grouping of the theses may also explain the discrepancy in the scholarship over the exact number of theses.²⁷ We find from the text of the theses below that the debates in 1548 took place on 4 and 25 January and on 8 and 22 February, that is, about every two to three weeks. This schedule suggests that there would have been two debates in March as well,

²⁵ Bern StA, ms. A V 1457 (U.P. 82.2), no. 100.

²⁶ Crousaz, *L’Académie de Lausanne*, 93.

²⁷ My guess – but it is only a guess – is that Ruchat may have seen this manuscript, and he simply miscounted by one, believing it to contain 90 theses rather than the 89 that it actually has. Another possibility is that another source that Ruchat read had simply rounded the figure up to 90.

but we only have one set of theses for that month, namely, the last group, described in the Bern manuscript as “not yet debated.” Most of the groups contain between seven and eleven theses; thus, it seems likely that the commission initially read the 89 Theses in March, but by the time of Kilchmeyer’s letter in April that first mentions “99 Theses,” an additional colloquy had been held in late March at which eight theses had been debated, bringing the total to 97. And since the Bern manuscript omits two of the Ten Theses, it also is likely that someone – probably Zébedée – pointed out this fact to the Bernese, who then asked Viret and his colleagues for an additional list – the final list that is still lost – of all the theses debated since September 1547; the two missing theses were added, and the total then came to 99 Theses.

Although we do not have the exact text of these final theses debated in Lausanne, we do have the *Ribit B* manuscript, with rough drafts of theses that would have extended chronologically for several meetings of the Lausanne colloquy beyond the last one in March 1548. These drafts also strongly suggest that Ribit was the primary author of the theses, not Viret, as has often been assumed.²⁸ The table below presents a selection of theses from the *Ribit B* drafts along with their counterparts in their final form in the Ribit manuscript, clearly showing the overlap between the sets of text.

Ribit B Draft Theses

Ribit Manuscript Final Theses

11.²⁹ Homo causa est peccati.

12. Immortalitas per peccatum amissa est, ut mortem peccati poenam recte dicamus esse. (Ribit ms., 75r)

14. Ut omnes sunt peccati participes, sic poenarum nulli expertes. (Ribit ms., 75r)

1. Homo cum per contumaciam peccati causa sit, immortalitatem quam habiturus erat iuste amisit, ut recte mortem peccati poenam esse dicamus. (Ribit ms., 86v)

3. Ut omnes sunt peccati participes, sic poenarum nulli expertes. (Ribit ms., 86v)

²⁸ Jean Ribit was originally from Savoy. He studied in Paris and probably taught at the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux in the early 1530s. He became schoolmaster in Vevey, Switzerland in 1537 and was Professor of Greek at the Lausanne Academy from 1541 to 1547. In 1547, he became Professor of Theology in Lausanne and retained the post until he followed Viret into exile in 1559. After a few years in Geneva, he went to Orléans, where he taught theology until his death in 1564. *Crousaz*, L’Académie de Lausanne, 542.

²⁹ In this table, I have preserved the numbering used in the manuscript.

4. Cum baptizati mortis Christi et resurrectionis eiusdem sunt participes, peccato mortuos esse oportet ut novam vitam agant. (Ribit ms., 76v)

3. Cum baptizati mortis et resurrectionis Christi sint participes, eos peccato mortuos esse et ad vitam cum iustitia et virtute degendam rediisse oportet. (Ribit ms., 87r)

7. Quod idem dici potest de omnibus Christi in nos beneficiis. (Ribit ms., 76v)

6. Quod idem de omnibus Christi in nos beneficiis dici potest. (Ribit ms., 87v)

As one can see, Ribit copied some of the theses verbatim from his rough draft, rewrote others, and sometimes combined a few theses into one. Some theses, however, that appear in *Ribit B* were entirely excluded from the final version. In the drafts, Ribit developed a series of theses suggested by specific Biblical texts, in this case Romans 5–8, and simply numbered all theses from each chapter consecutively.³⁰ The final version of the theses in the Ribit manuscript, however, drew from Romans 1–6, so the draft theses and the final theses overlap only for Romans 5 and 6. This is good news for us, since the drafts in *Ribit B* for Romans 7 and 8 can give us some idea of the theses that were debated in Lausanne from late March until probably May or June 1548, including the very last of the 99 Theses. For this reason, I have included the draft theses from *Ribit B* for Romans 7 and 8 in an appendix to the main theses below.

The different number of theses in the Bern and Ribit manuscripts, which both differ from the commonly given figures of either 90 or 99 Theses, might lead one to doubt that these formed part of the 99 Theses referred to in the Kilchmeyer and Viret letters from 1548.³¹ The best evidence that they do comes from Kilchmeyer's letter itself, together with the Ten Theses in Lausanne Apology. In his letter to Bullinger, Kilchmeyer wrote:

“Pierre Viret and some other ministers from the Lausanne chapter were called to Bern last month on account of an examination of a minister there, which was held in contradiction to our original church order [*contra pristinum ordinem*]. Moreover, they debated 99 conclusions that had been affixed to the doors of the church in Lausanne. You will easily be able to understand what they sought and with what sophistry, ambiguous words,

³⁰ He includes 29 theses for Rom. 5 (75r–76r), 20 theses for Rom. 6 (76r–77r), 38 theses for Rom. 7 (77v–79r), and 10 theses for Rom. 8 (79v).

³¹ CO, vol. 12, 680; Epistolae Vireti, 115f.

and trappings they argued from the 10 which I am sending you to read and examine. The council decreed that our consistory should first examine the conclusions, together with all the ministers, who diligently and with great labor translated the Latin text into German.”³²

Thus, Kilchmeyer indicates that the ten theses he sent to Bullinger were extracted from the 99. Bullinger copied two of the ten theses, plus excerpts of the Lausanne Apology in the “Ministorum Lausannensium Declaratio,” printed in the *Calvini opera*.³³ These two theses, which are in Bullinger’s hand, are identical to the seventh and eleventh theses from 19 October 1547, German translations of which are the first and fifth *Schlußreden* in the Lausanne Apology. Thus, the ten theses that Kilchmeyer sent to Bullinger must have been the Ten Theses condemned by the Bern pastors and defended by Viret and his colleagues in the Lausanne Apology. Furthermore, all Ten Theses in the Lausanne Apology are also in the Ribit manuscript, in the same order. They are indicated in small caps in the text below, with the German translations from the Lausanne Apology in the footnotes. These controversial theses are also clearly singled out with lines in the margins in both the Ribit and Bern manuscripts. Thus, it is clear that the Ten Theses in the Lausanne Apology were included in the 99 Theses. Moreover, since all ten are in the Ribit manuscript in the same order, its 93 theses must have formed the vast majority of the final 99 Theses.

As noted above, two of the Ten Theses are in the Ribit manuscript but not in the Bern manuscript. The first of these is the ninth thesis from 4 January 1548, which is unnumbered in the Ribit manuscript and contains the designation, “This thesis can also be added to those above.” The second thesis omitted in the Bern manuscript is the fourth thesis from 22 February 1548, next to

³² “P. Viretus cum nonnullis aliis ministris ex classe Lausannensi ad Bernam vocati fuerunt superiore mense, propter examen ibidem super aliquo ministro sinistre et contra pristinum ordinem habitum. Insuper et 99 conclusiones ecclesiae valvis affixas Lausannae disputarunt, in quibus quid quaesierint, ac sophisticis verborum ambagibus phalarisque contenderint, ex decem illis quas tibi legendas atque examinandas mitto, facile intelligere poteris. Senatus semel decrevit, conclusiones a consistorio nostro prius examinari, adiunctis quibusdam ex senatorio ordine, una cum ministris ecclesiae omnibus: quorum diligentia et labore quae latine scripta erant in germanicam linguam verterentur.” CO, vol. 12, 680, no. 1007, Kilchmeyer to Bullinger, Bern, 2 April 1548.

³³ CO, vol. 12, 673–675, no. 1005.

which is written in the Ribit manuscript, “This was not debated.” Both theses dealt with the sacraments, and the Lausanne pastors and professors no doubt worried that the Bernese would find them controversial and used their ambiguous status as an excuse not to include them in the Bern manuscript. The ninth thesis from 4 January is also the ninth of the Ten Theses; it concerns the interpretation of the Eucharist and does not appear among Ribit’s rough draft theses. Since it is unnumbered and seems to have been added after the initial drafting of the theses for that date, it appears to have been added in direct response to the quarrel between Viret and Zébédée at Houbraque’s examination. The fact that it is the ninth of the Ten Theses also indicates that the quarrel at the Houbraque exam was not the beginning of the fight in Lausanne, as it is usually presented, but the culmination. Half of the Ten Theses were actually debated in October 1547 and concerned the power of the ministry, not the Eucharist. The two theses highlighted by Bullinger were also on this topic from the October colloquy.

Recognition of the Ribit and Bern manuscripts as early versions of the presumed-lost Lausanne Theses provides us with greater insight into both the content and chronology of the debates in Lausanne that in 1548 had such important consequences in both that city and in Bern. They ultimately led to the banishment of Sulzer, Gering, and Schmid from Bern. Later in the year, the Bern council greatly curtailed the colloquies in its Francophone lands.³⁴ These theses are our first direct evidence of the issues debated in those colloquies. They also reveal the extent of the divide between Zwinglians and Calvinists both in Bern’s lands and beyond. At exactly this time, Calvin and Bullinger were just beginning their discussions that would lead to the *Consensus Tigurinus* in 1549. The uproar in Lausanne and Bern over the 99 Theses indicates that they had much to discuss and many differences to overcome in order to bring any kind of agreement to the churches in Switzerland.

³⁴ See Bruening, *Calvinism’s First Battleground*, 204–207.

4. Text of the Theses

4.1. The Lausanne Theses

[R: 83r, B: Ar]³⁵ Proposita ex Epist. ad Rom. cap. 1.

1. Evangelium per prophetas in literis sanctis promissum cum sit, iustitiam Dei, gratuitam peccatorum remissionem, salutem denique aeternam promissam esse necesse est.
2. Iusti et sancti sunt omnes et soli qui Evangelio credunt.
3. Salutifera doctrina ea demum est, quae Evangelium tradit et praedicat.
4. Ex fide iusti vitam esse prophetico testimonio affirmamus: operibus vim esse vitalem, seu vitae effectricem negamus.
5. Nulla bona opera efficiunt fidem, sed ex fide oriuntur omnia.
6. Notitia Dei in omnium animis impressa coelos transcendit: quae ut iustum efficit neminem, ita in iudicio divino, nullam cuiquam relinquit defensionem.
7. Qui naturali divinitatis notitia abutuntur, iustissima Dei ira in tentationem³⁶ inducuntur suisque traduntur cupiditatibus.

[The following two theses are in the margin of the Ribit manuscript only]

1. Cum fides animi sit vita, dubium non est quin fide curens animo proditus sit mortuo.
2. Pestifera est doctrina quae per satisfactionem hominis tradit remissionem peccatorum acquiri posse cum fide carentia opera.

Haec³⁷ disputata sunt anno³⁸ 1547. 21 Septemb.

Pronuntiata magna ex parte ex 1. cap. Ep. ad Rom. collecta

1. Ut evangelium promissum in prophetis literis, sic et Evangelici ministri et dispensatores.

³⁵ Foliation from the Ribit ms. is indicated with "R". Foliation from the Bern ms. is indicated with references to »B: Ar-Cv«.

³⁶ Ribit ms.: tentatione.

³⁷ Bern ms. only.

³⁸ Ribit ms. only.

2. Ex quo datur intelligi Dei voluntate ministros Ecclesiae dari, ut appareat eos errore magno implicatos esse, qui ministerium hoc aut tollendum, aut Ecclesiae non ita multum necessarium putant.
3. Hi³⁹ suo tempore vocati vel divinitus, vel manuum impositione legitima suo officio deesse non debent, quod voluntatis divinae promulgationem continet de Iesu Christo, cuius servos se esse profitentur.
4. Suam quisque vocationem, quoad fieri potest, omnibus approbare debet, ut oratio plus ponderis et authoritatis apud omnes habeat.
5. Qui invocati obrepunt, fideles servi Dei non sunt.
6. [R: 83v] MINISTRI SUNT SUPRA ET INFRA OMNES HOMINES: SUPRA QUIDEM, QUIA DEI PRAE- POTENTIS LEGATI, INFRA, QUIA OMNIUM DEBITORES.⁴⁰
7. QUI NESCIT SE HABERE POTESTATEM LIGANDI ET SOLVENDI, PECCATA RETINENDI ET REMITTENDI, IS MINISTRI MUNUS TURI NULO MODO POTEST, CUM SUAE FUNCTIONIS IGNORET RATIONEM.⁴¹
8. Qui utriusque testamenti intelligentiam non habet, eum ad promulgationem Evangelii non satis aptum pronuntiamus.
9. NULLAM SUAM DOCTRINAM MINISTER AFFERRE DEBET, SED VERITATEM SINE ULLA FALSITATIS ADMISTIONE SIC PRO- PONERE, UT PROPHETARUM ET APOSTOLORUM EXEMPLO NON

³⁹ Ribit ms.: Hivi.

⁴⁰ First of Ten Theses: "Die diener des Evangelii sind ob und under allenn menschen: ob allenn, zwar darumb das sy gesandt botten sind, deß hochgwaltigenn Gotts; under allen menschen, darumb das sy allen menschen schuldner sind." Bern StA, A V 1457, no. 100, 5 (note that this manuscript is neither paginated nor foliated; for the references here, I have simply counted the pages, starting with the title page as page 1). See also Eduard *Bähler*, *Das Tagebuch Johann Hallers aus den Jahren 1548–1561*, nach der Stadtbibliothek Zürich befindlichen Handschrift, in: *Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern* 23 (1916–1917), 238–350; here, 242: "Zum alten Streithandel war noch eine von Gelehrten abgehaltene Disputation in Lausanne gekommen, über die Vollmacht des kirchlichen Amtes, und dass der Diener des göttlichen Wortes über allen stehe und die übrigen Menschen ihm untergeben seien."

⁴¹ CO, vol. 12, 673, no. 1005, "Ministrorum Lausannensium Declaratio." Second of Ten Theses: "Wellischer nitt weist, das er gwalt hatt zebindenn und zentbinden, die sund zebelalten und nach zelaßenn, der mag dheiner wyß noch maß, das ampt eins dieners beschirmen, die wil er die wyß sines ampts nitt weist." Bern StA ms. A V 1457, no. 100, 20.

DUBITANTER AFFIRMARE POSSIT QUAE DICAT, DOMINUM DIXISSE.⁴²

10. HUIUSMODI MINISTRUM QUI CONTEMNIT, IS PRORSUS SUAM ASPERNATUR ET REPUDIAT SALUTEM.⁴³
11. DONA SPIRITUALIA CUM IMPERTIANT MINISTRI, CONFIRMENTQUE FIDELES, QUI EOS ASPERNATUR, NON HOMINES SED OBLATA DONA SPIRITUS ASPERNATUR, DEUMQUE DONANTEM CONTEMNIT.⁴⁴
12. [B: Av] Nihil laboris qui ad promulgationem Evangelii pertineat, fidei ministro alacriter non subeundum est.
13. Qui gravatim ministrandi labores sumit coactusque facit officium, claudicat⁴⁵ in officio.
14. Qui hunc finem sibi non proponit, ut quamplurimos ad Iesum Christum adducat, eum fidelem Iesu Christi servum omnino negamus.
15. Evangelici ministri regni non terreni sed coelestis, cum sint administri, neque regum more dominari, neque alicorum more servire debent: sin secus nec doctrinam nec exemplum sequuntur Apostolorum.
16. Quem Evangelii pudet, is non solum in numero ministrorum Evangelicorum habendus non est, sed ne in Christianorum quidem.
17. [R: 84r] Fructus quem maxime percipere debet minister, ad rectam populi institutionem referendus est.
18. Qui vocem in quaestum conferunt, miserrimi sunt praecones minimeque Evangelici.
19. Suo quisque spiritu Deum colere debet in hoc tanto minis-

⁴² Third of Ten Theses: “Der diner sol sin eigne leer nitt bringenn, sunder die warheitt, on alle Mischung deß falsches, also fürtragenn das er nach dem Exempel prophetenn und Apostlenn, on allenn zwiiffel bestättenn, und reden dörffe der Herr heige es geredt.” Bern StA, ms. A V 1457, no. 100, 39.

⁴³ Fourth of Ten Theses: “Der ein semlichen diener verachtett, der verachtet genzlich sin eigen heil.” Bern StA, ms. A V 1457, no. 100, 40.

⁴⁴ CO, vol. 12, 674, no. 1005, lists it as “Pronunciatum 4,” but it is the Fifth of Ten Theses: “So die diener geistliche gaabenn mitteilenn, unnd die gloubigenn sterckenn, so verachtet der, der sy verachtett, nit den menschen, sunder die angbottnen gabenn deß helgenn geists, ja ouch den Herrenn Gott, dersch frey willig schenkt.” The CO also prints “denique donantem” rather than “Deumque donantem.” Bern StA, ms. A V 1457, no. 100, 42.

⁴⁵ Bern ms.: claudificat.

terio, cui precationes sic sunt necessariae, ut seiungi nec debeant, nec possint.

Haec Octob. die 19 hora 8 statim a concione si Deus volet disputabuntur in pub. auditorio.⁴⁶

Pronuntiata ex Epist. ad Rom. cap. 2

1. Omnes homines peccato contaminatos esse iramque Dei sic commeritos, ut nullam habeant defensionem ex sententia Divi Pauli pronuntiare non dubitemus⁴⁷.
2. Iudicium Dei (quod saepe dies irae dicitur) patefactis omnibus arcanis, ex veritate, nulla personarum habita ratione ut fiat necesse est: in quo pro suis quisque actionibus vel gloriam vel ignominiam a Deo reportaturus est.
3. Unius Dei iudicium δικαιοκρισία, id est iustum iudicium iure vocatur, cum multis rationibus hominum iudicia corumpantur.
4. Vindictae divinae dilatio divinae bonitati non cuiusquam meritis accepta referenda est, quae contemptoribus supplicia iustissime auget, efficitque graviora.
5. Opera legis a nemine impleri seu perfici constanter affirmare non veremur.
6. UT CIRCUNCISIO EXTERIOR, QUAM LEX DOCET, NIHIL PRODEST SINE INTERIORE, EAQUE QUAM SPIRITUS SANCTUS EFFICIT, SIC BAPTISMUS FORIS TINGENS SINE INTERIORE ABLUTIONE PRORSUS INUTILIS EST.⁴⁸
7. [R: 84v] IN CAETERIS OMNIBUS QUAE FORIS IN CARNE FIUNT EADEM EST RATIO.⁴⁹
8. AT INTERIORA HAEC DUO ET SIMILIA SINE EXTERIORIBUS PRODESSE SEMPER NON TEMERE POSSUMUS AFFIRMARE.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Bern ms.: Octobris 19 die disputata sunt.

⁴⁷ Ribit ms.: dubitamus.

⁴⁸ Sixth of Ten Theses: "Wie die ußerlich beschnidung, die das gesazt leertt, on die innerlich, die der heilig geist gibtt, kein nuz ist, also der touff, der ußwendig tuncktt ist, on das innerlich abwaschen, gar dhein nuz." Bern StA, ms. A V 1457, no. 100, 49.

⁴⁹ Seventh of Ten Theses: "Die andernn alle, die ußwenndig im fleisch geschechend, hend ebenn die Rechnung." Bern StA, A V 1457, no. 100, 49.

⁵⁰ Eighth of Ten Theses: "Das dise zwey innerliche und derglichen, ane die ußwendigenn allweg nuz siend, mögend wir nitt kleinfuglich bestättenn." Bern StA, ms. A V 1457, no. 100, 50.

Haec disputabuntur 16 Novembris hora 8 a concione in Academia trilingui, Deo adiuvante.⁵¹

[B: Br] Pronuntiata ex Epist. ad Rom. cap. 3

1. Etsi Iudaeis sua praerogativa oraculorum concreditorum magnam dignitatem conciliat, eos tamen in iustitiae divinae adeptione gentibus superiores non efficit.
2. Veracem Deum nullaque cuiusquam infidelitate effici posse, ut non stet promissis, Psalmographi testimonio confirmamus.
3. Si in conspectu Dei omne os obthurari decet, qui ullam suam iustitiam praedicare audet superbe et arroganter aperit os suum, Deo se subiicere nolens.
4. Aliud est peccatum patefacere, aliud iustitiam donare seu iustificare: illud legis, hoc unius Christi officium est.
5. Cum ex legis operibus iustificationem esse neget Apostolus, in nullis omnino operibus vim iustificandi inesse affirmat.
6. Nulla unquam fuit, nec est, nec futura est, ac ne esse quidem potest iustificandi ratio, nisi gratuita, quae legis et prophetarum testimonio comprobata, Christo propitiatore, sine gentis ullo discrimine omnibus et solis credentibus nulla operum habita ratione contingit.
7. Meritorum praedicatores in Deum impii iustificatorem et in Christum redemptorem contumeliosos esse non sine ratione pronuntiamus.

Haec Novemb. 30 die, si Deus permittat, disputabuntur.⁵²

[R: 85r] Pronuntiata ex epist. ad Roma. cap. 4

1. Cum sanctorum exemplar et pater Abrahamus operibus apud Deum gloriari non possit, sed fide sit iustificatus, non est cur quisquam aliam iustificandi viam aut quaerat aut expectet.

⁵¹ Just below this in the Ribit manuscript is a similar indication with slightly different wording: "Haec die Novemb. sexto decimo hora octava statim a concione in Academia trilingui Deo iuvante disputabuntur." Bern ms.: "Novembris die sexto decimo disputata."

⁵² Bern ms.: Novembris 30 die disputata.

2. Cum Moses fidei iustificationem diserte tribuat, qui eam partim operibus, partim fidei assignant, clare reprehenduntur, praesertim cum Paulus Apostolus eum qui credit neget operari.
3. Impii enim soli quorum opera iniusta sunt, a Deo iustificantur, mendicorum more tantum accipientes, nihil de suo dantes.
4. Personas prius iustas effici necesse est, quam actiones censi iustas, quia charitas non efficit fidem, sed a fide efficitur, et ut Divus ait Augustinus, opera bona non praecedunt iustificandum, sed sequuntur iustificatum (August. De fide et operibus, cap. 14)⁵³.
5. Eandem cum peccatorum remissione iustificationem ex descriptione beatitudinis Davidica constituimus.
6. Ubicunque⁵⁴ in divinis oraculis actionum foelicitas aut iustitia aut denique iustificatio predicatur, ibi pro proportione⁵⁵ fidei intelligendum esse dicimus iactum esse iustitiae gratuita fundamentum, et illa omnia necessario superstrui oportere.

Haec Decemb. die 14 iuvante Deo disputabuntur.⁵⁶

Pronuntiata ex Epist. ad Rom. cap. 4. Haec pridie non. Ian. (1548)⁵⁷ statim a concione in academia trilingui, si Deus permittat, disputabuntur.

1. Ut circumcisio sigillum est iustitiae fidei, sic et noster baptismus, utque Abrahamus fidelis fuit ante circumcisionem, sic qui vere tinguntur ante tinctionem fideles oportere [R: 85v] esse dicimus, ut in gentem nomenque fidelis Abrahami concedant.
2. Nulla itaque sacramenta iustificant, sed iustificationis sive iustitiae fidei sigilla sunt omnia, quae infirmitati nostrae opitulantur ac obsignando admonent, excitant, erigunt, confirmant, iustitiam denique et fidem retinent et conservant.

⁵³ Reference in margin, Ribit ms. only.

⁵⁴ This thesis is not numbered in the Ribit ms.

⁵⁵ Bern ms.: portione.

⁵⁶ Bern ms.: Decemb. 14 die disputata sunt.

⁵⁷ The year is in the margin of Ribit ms.

3. [B: Bv] Cum Abrahami vestigiis insistendum esse Paulus significet iis qui iustitiam fidei consequi velint, eandem esse semper fidem, nec a Patrum aliam esse nostram non obscura docemur.
4. Falsa est doctrina quae in veteri testamento aliam fidem, aliam in novo doceri dicit, item quae aliam in lege naturae, aliam in lege Mosaica, aliam promulgato Evangelio esse affirmat. Mahumetanorum vero falsissima opinio est, qua in sua quenque lege salutem consequi posse non verentur asseverare.
5. Lex quae perfecte observari non potest, Deum nobis iratum facit, sola fides misericordia nitens eundem placat.
6. Haereditatem mundi cum Abrahamo credentibus omnibus et promissam et certo expectandam esse dicimus.
7. Sub spe praeter spem credentis Abrahami regula piis omnibus proposita est, ut ad eam rectissime fidei rationem dirigere et possint et debeant.
8. Deum vituperant insimulantque mendacii qui de eo dubitantes non credunt, quando ii demum qui fidem habent Deo laudem tribuere possunt.

Ianuarii die quarto. anno 1548.⁵⁸

Hoc etiam pronuntiatum superioribus coniungi potest:⁵⁹

9. QUI SACRAMENTORUM ACTIONI IUSTIFICANDI VIM TRIBUENDAM DOCENT, AUT NUDA TANTUM SIGNA ESSE DICUNT, AUT DISCRETIONIS TANTUM CAUSA ADHIBERI, CUM DOCTRINA NON CONSENTIUNT APOSTOLICA QUANDO NE IPSA QUIDEM CAETERARUM RERUM SIGILLA SINE REI OBSI-[R: 86R]GNATAE PRESTATIONE ET PRAESENTIA QUALIS IN QUAEQUE GENERE REQUIRITUR ESSE SOLENT.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ This line is only in the Bern ms.

⁵⁹ This line and the following, unnumbered thesis are only in the Ribit ms.

⁶⁰ Ninth of Ten Theses: "Welliche leerend das der Sacrament handlung die krafft recht zemachen zügeleitt solle werdenn, oder die da sprechend das es allein bloße oder leere zeichen siend, oder sprechen das sy allein umb ursach willenn ze unterscheidenn ingesezt, die selben stimmend nitt mitt der leer der Apostlenn, diewil doch zwar anderer dingen zeichen oder sigel, one leistung und gegenwürtigkeitt, deß besiglettenn dings nitt sind, alß dann in yettlichem glicherley dingen ervordertt württ." Bern StA, ms. A V 1457, no. 100, 51.

Pronuntiata ex Epist. Pauli ad Rom. cap. 5, 8 Cal. Febru. in trilingui et public auditorio, si Dominus velit, statim a concione disputanda.

1. Cum sola fides reconciliationem apprehendat, tranquillitatem animi expertem fidei esse posse negare non dubitamus.
2. Itaque tranquillitas animi ex sola philosophia Christiana discitur, et paratur, qui aliunde petunt arrogantiae et mendacii merito coargui possunt.
3. Eorum sententiam qui fidem dixerunt esse certam divini favoris notitiam, et probamus ipsi, et omnibus probandam proponimus.
4. Tanta est spes Deo fidentium per Iesum Christum, ut in summis etiam miseriis gloriantur, ut eam non cum dubitatione, sed cum constanti certa que persuasione necessario coniunctam esse asseveranter affirmemus.
5. Nec illud temere statuimus quae fide certo creduntur, ea per spem certo expectari debere.
6. Tranquillitas animi Christianorum in summis etiam miseriis vera et certa, caeterorum in summis etiam deliciis nulla nisi ficta esse potest.
7. Cum amor Christi in homines tantus sit, ut nullum maius exemplum cogitari, nedum proponi possit, profecto recte ad spem confirmandam, saepe et commemoratur et commendatur.
8. [R: 86v]⁶¹Quia inimici Dei sunt qui reconciliationis per Christum factae non sunt participes, temere Iudaei, Turcae, Tartari, et reliqui omnes ab hac reconciliatione alieni de Deo gloriantur, cum per unum Christum aditus ad Deum patere possit.⁶²

[B: Cr] Pronuntiata ex Epist. ad Rom. cap. 5

1. Homo cum per contumaciam peccati causa sit, immortalitatem quam habiturus erat iuste amisit, ut recte mortem peccati poenam esse dicamus.

⁶¹ This thesis is not numbered in the Ribit ms.

⁶² Bern ms., after thesis 8: "Ianuarii 25 disputata sunt."

2. Cum Divus Paulus omnes peccasse et per unius contumaciam peccatores factos dicat, originis peccatum et haereditariam corruptionem in omnibus hominibus agnoscamus oportet, quia mundi de immundo et sine vitiositate de vitiato progigni et propagari non possunt.
3. Ut omnes sunt peccati participes sic poenarum nulli experies.
4. Cum peccati vis in eos qui sine lege peccarunt dominata sit, dubium non est, quin multo magis in eos qui sub⁶³ lege peccarunt.
5. Ut condemnationi subiecti sunt omnes Adamici, sic iustificationis et absolutionis participes fiunt omnes Christiani.
6. At non ut Adami condemnatio Adamicis ipsorum culpa assignatur, quia sunt natura filii sontes, sic Christi iustificatio Christianis ipsorum merito attribuitur, quia adoptione filii sunt insontes.
7. Multis partibus Christi iustitia plus valet in iustificando quam Adami culpa in condemnando, [R: 87r] nec unum Adami delictum expiavit Christus, sed omnia omnium, qui per eundem Deo fidunt.
8. Unius obedientiam cum Paulus praedicet, neminem praeter Christum parere Deo iustitiamve suam obiicere posse non obscure docet: solosque huiusmodi obedientiae participes apud Deum iustos haberi: caeteros omnes filios irae et contumaciae prorsus execratos esse.

8 die Februarii disputata⁶⁴

Pronuntiata ex Epist. Paul. ad Rom. cap. 6

1. Qui in peccato permanendum putat, quia maius peccatum maior sequatur gratia, is iustificationis finem (qui est vitae puritas et sanctimonia) se prorsus ignorare profitetur.
2. Evangelio qui credere se dicit et honestas actiones et Christi sacramenta contemnit, eum mendacem et detestandum esse iustissime et verissime possumus pronuntiare.
3. Cum baptizati mortis et resurrectionis Christi sint participes,

⁶³ Ribit ms.: sine.

⁶⁴ Only in Bern ms.

eos peccato mortuos esse et ad vitam cum iustitia et virtute degendam rediisse oportet.

4. BONA⁶⁵ CHRISTI IN BAPTISMO FIDELIBUS COMMUNICARI SINE ULLA DUBITATIONE CONFITERI DEBEMUS, IN QUO NUNQUAM FALLACITER SPIRITUS SANCTI GRATIA PROMITTITUR AC OFFERTUR, QUAM SIBI FIDELES RECIPIUNT, IMPII A SE REPELLUNT.⁶⁶
5. [B: Cv] Ut insitio naturalis non est, sic nec⁶⁷ communio mortis et resurrectionis Christi, sed omni ex parte gratuita est.
6. [R: 87v] Quod idem de omnibus Christi in nos beneficiis dici potest.
7. Cum mors omnes vitae tollat actiones, fit ut qui mortuus sit peccato, recte ab eodem iustificatus dicatur, quod a peccati servitute vindicatus et tanquam novus homo factus, nihil iam ad eius imperium agat, sed novitati vitae ad iustitiae praescriptum serviat.
8. Qui iustificationis praedicatores, a praeclaris actionibus, quae sunt fructus spiritus, dehortari et ad licentiam vitae et carnis opera hortari dicunt, eos impudentissime calumniari, cum ipsum iustificationis vocabulum, tum vere iustificatorum vita cuius demonstrare potest.

Haec 22 die Febr. iuvante Deo disputabuntur.⁶⁸

Pronuntiata ex Epist. ad Rom. cap. 6

1. Cum Paulus iustificationis gratuita accerrimus sit assertor, et idem a sceleribus dehortator vehementissimus, hoc docendi genere ullum⁶⁹ in Ecclesiam Dei melius et utilius posse invehi negamus.
2. Ut Christus semel mortuus ad vitam revocatus est sempiternam, sic Christiani peccato mortui in vitae novitate perpetuo perdurare debent.

⁶⁵ This thesis is only in the Ribit ms., with the marginal note, "Non est disputata."

⁶⁶ Tenth of Ten Theses: "Das die gütter Christi im touff den gloubigenn mittgeteilt, söllend wir one zwiffel bekennen, in welchem die gnad deß heligen geists niemer betruglich verheißenn noch fürgetragenn württ, welliche gnad die gloubigenn inen annemend, aber die gottlosen von inen hinstoßend." Bern StA, ms. A V 1457, no. 100, 67.

⁶⁷ Ribit ms.: ne.

⁶⁸ Bern ms.: "Februarii 22 disputata sunt."

⁶⁹ Ribit ms.: nullum.

3. Christus mortis dominatum propter aliena peccata tulit, ut ius quod mors in alios habebat sua morte victor auferret.
4. Sub lege sunt qui ab execratione legis per gratiam redempti non sunt.
5. Abrogatio legis fenestram non aperit flagitiis, sed docet nullam legis partem iustitiae effectricem esse, solamque gratiam iustos et iustitiae studiosos efficere.
6. [R: 88r] Fideles omnes liberi et iidem servi, liberi quia⁷⁰ a peccati dominatu liberati, servi quia iustitiae servi sunt.
7. Iustitiae servi non legis coactu, sed spiritus instinctu Deo fructificant, et omnia charitatis officia praestant.
8. Ante gratiam iustificationis iustitiae servire nemo potest, atque ita in omnes iustitios peccatum dominatur.
9. Sententia quae affirmat in hac vita sine crimine vivi posse sed non sine peccato, non prorsus improbanda est.
10. Iustitiae opera sequitur vita aeterna non ex debito sed ex promisso.
11. Itaque non sic bona opera vitam merentur sempiternam, ut mala mortem sempiternam.

Haec sunt proposita, sed nondum disputata.⁷¹

4.2 Appendix: Additional Rough Draft Theses from Ribit B

[R: 77v] Ex 7 cap. [Rom.]

1. Cum dicit Paulus, se legem scientes alloqui, non obscure significat Christianos legem tenere debere.
2. Lex auctoritatem et imperium in solos viventes habet, nec quicquam ad mortuorum rationes pertinet.
3. Similitudo eatenus proposito convenire necesse habet, quatenus ad probandum et illustrandum proponitur, ut in illa in qua adventus Christi furi et parietum dirutori comparatur, satis est significari utriusque improvisum et inexpectatum adventum, hic utrobique ex prioris potestate liberationem, ut posteriori sine crimine et reprehensione adiungi liceat.

⁷⁰ Ribit ms.: qui.

⁷¹ This sentence in Bern ms. only.

4. Ex eo quod dicitur liberam esse mulierem, nec fore adulteram si mortuo marito alteri inibat, eorum qui secundas improbant nuptias error damnatur.
5. Legi per Christum Christiani omnes mortui sunt, planeque a legis imperio et coniugio liberi.
6. Itaque Christo sponso sine ullo adulterii crimine copulantur quotquot fide in Iesum Christum non legis operibus se iustificatos esse arbitrantur.
7. Liberatio nostra per Christum non ex viribus nostris facta est.
8. Cum Christiani sint plantatio ad laudandum Deum, summe peccant qui libertatis finem hunc sibi non statuunt, ut fructus Deo quam possunt maximos pariant.
9. Lex peccatum non efficit, sed quod in homine latet patefacit.
10. Cupiditatem peccatum esse nisi lex diserte diceret, nemo cognosceret.
11. [R: 78r] Quod per legem non cognoscitur peccatum esse, id peccatum esse nemo iudicare debet.
12. Quod peccatum quasi sopitum lege excitatur et furiosius redditur, id legi ut efficienti causae attribuendum non est, sed vitiate et corruptae naturae quae, quo magis vinculis constringitur, eo furiosius commovetur et agitur.
13. Itaque quidquid mali inest eius crimen in nos non in legem conferendum est.
14. Sine lege peccatum mortuum, accipere debemus ut notitiam vitiositatis nobis sine lege notam non esse fateamur.
15. Qui nondum peccati vim et damnationem sentit, is Paulina dicendi forma sine lege vivere dicitur, non quia sit exlex, sed quia vel tenuem vel nullam peccati notitiam habeat, quae tantum per legem plena haberi potest.
16. Precepti adventu reviviscere peccatum dicitur, quod seria legis cognitio sic homini patefacit peccatum, ut vigere et vivere illud intelligat se vero per peccati vim et venenum mortuum et damnatum.
17. Preceptum, quod sua natura viam vitae demonstrat, per nostram gravitatem mortiferam redditur, quod viam monstratam non inimus, sed mortis viam studiosius et furiosius ingredimur.

18. Peccatum peccatoque natura corrupta per preceptum fallere dicitur, quod natura ipsa efficiat, ut bonum quod lex ostendit in malum convertamus et ad perniciem nostram utamur.
19. Legi fallacia attribui non debet, sed peccato quod a recta via revocat.
20. [R: 78v] Vitae viam qui non ineunt, mortis viam inire necesse est.
21. Cum lex peccatum non efficiat, sed patefaciat, atque ita patefaciat ut quod mortuum erat iam vivere atque vigere intelligatur, cumque vitam per se non mortem afferat, eam sanctam et iustam et bonam agnoscere debemus.
22. Peccatum ipsum occidit, non lex, licet a lege capiat occasionem.
23. Legi mortis causa non potest assignari, cum mortifera per se non sit, sed peccati tanta est perversitas, ut legem natura salutiferam suo nobis vitio mortiferam reddat, qui ea ad nostrum abutamur exitium.
24. Lex spiritualis cum sit curamque exigat iustitiam omnis carnis expertem profecto, neque peccatum gignit neque mortem.
25. Carnalis nihil aliud potest quam legi honesta praecipienti et contraria vetanti repugnare.
26. Venditus et emptitius servus cogitur velit nolit emptori servire, quo significantur summa servitus peccati in homine a qua per legem nequeat liberari.
27. Hinc et ex sequentibus, liberi arbitrii vires infirmas esse perspicuum est.
28. Maxima est vis naturae corruptae, quae voluntatis spiritus effectum impedire soleat.
29. Natura hominis tam est vitiata, ut in ea nihil boni habitare, recte affirmet apostolus licet corrigat cum dicit se de carne intelligere, ne gratiam Dei in se habitantem, non in carne afficiat contumelia.
30. Caro non tantum alteram hominis partem hic significat, sed quidquid in homine est, quod naturalem adhuc et vitiosum retinet affectum.
31. [R: 79r] In renatis ea est adhuc infirmitas, ut quae velint spiritus instincta cum lege Dei consentiente perficere nequeant, quia caro legi iniustitiae consentiens retardat et impedit.

32. Hinc colligere licet, ne opera quidem iustificatorum per se perfecta esse, sed inchoatam habere obedientiam.
33. Quae supererogationis opera dicuntur Apostolicae doctrinae repugnant.
34. In hac pugna quam non ineleganter Augustinus luctam vocat Christianam: quadruplex lex continetur, prima lex Dei quae proprie talis est, regula vitae iubens honesta et prohibens contraria. Altera lex spiritus, quae propensionem fidelis animi ad legis divinae observationem significat, quae quidem non sine vi spiritus sancti existit. Tertia est iniustitiae quae Satanica est, legi divinae contraria omnia imperans. Quarta est membrorum cupiditatem depravatam legi iniustitiae consentientem significans.
35. Interior homo est, qui per spiritum sanctum repurgatus est, et ad iustitiam sanctificatus.
36. Corpus mortis massa peccati, cuius vinculis interior homo captivus detinetur.
37. Cum miseri sint homines impuritatis nomine habent semper quod in se lugeant; extra se liberationem per Iesum Christum agnoscentes semper habent cur gratias agant.
38. Cum perpetuam esse pugnam verba Pauli significant, detestanda est καθάρων opinio qui perfectam puritatem ecclesiae suae iactant.

Ex. 8 cap. [Rom.]

1. [R: 79v] Propter reliquias peccatorum Christiani damnationem nullam metuere debent.
2. Christus non lex a damnatione liberat.
3. Qui ad rationem spiritus vivunt, ii demum damnationem effugiunt, quae vitae ratio, signum et testimonium est fidei et iustificationis.
4. Legem spiritus vitae pro spiritu iustificante accipere debemus.
5. Quos spiritus liberavit a damnatione legis propter reliquias peccatorum, iis damnatio metuenda non est.
6. Legem infirmari per carnem sic accipiendum est, ut iis verbis significetur nullum legis opus a carne perfici posse, et proinde carnem sub lege, legisque execratione mansuram fuisse,

sine ulla iustitia nisi advenisset caro Christi quae tam potens fuit, ut non modo perfecerit legem, sed etiam peccatum condemnarit et carni suam impertierit iustitiam.

7. Carnis vitium est, non legis quae bona opera perfectissime docet et diligentissime exigit, sed eam nobis inutilem reddit nostra vitiosa natura.
8. Caro Christi vere est caro non peccatrix nisi quatenus in se peccata nostra recepit, sed peccati expiatrix.
9. Filii missio pro nobis amplitudinem charitatis et misericordiae divinae amplissime declarat.
10. Legis impletio per Christum facta nobis attribuitur cum ille non propter sua peccata quae nulla prorsus erant, sed propter nostra factus est hostia expiatrix.
11. Christus peccata nostra in se recipiens suam propriam iustitiam fecit nostram et communem quae in Dei iudicio consistere sola potest.

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Abstract: In 1547–1548, a conflict arose within Bern’s territories over the sacraments and the power of the ministry. The Calvinist position taken by Pierre Viret and the ministers and professors in Lausanne clashed with the Zwinglian teachings dominant in Bern and supported by André Zébédée in Lausanne. At the center of the debate in spring 1548 was a collection of theses debated in Lausanne. These theses, previously believed to be lost, are published here for the first time. They reveal that the controversy in Lausanne started earlier than previously thought, that they were written over the course of several months rather than all at once, and that the author of the theses was not Viret but Lausanne theology professor Jean Ribit. Moreover, we learn for the first time the content of the ten theses condemned in Bern as contrary to the 1528 Bern Disputation. The Lausanne professors defended these theses and were supported by Simon Sulzer, Beat Gering, and Konrad Schmid, who all were expelled from Bern as a result.

Keywords: Lausanne; Bern; Pierre Viret; Jean Ribit; Simon Sulzer; André Zébédée; Jodocus Kilchmeyer; Eucharist; Ministry; Sacraments; Ecclesiology; Theses; Lausanne Academy

