OECOLAMPADIUS: THE UNSUNG HERO OF THE BASEL REFORMATION

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Conspicuous by his absence in English-speaking treatments of the Reformation is Johann Oecolampadius. Well, almost. Works on the Reformation usually concede to him only a passing reference, as with the note,

> From Zurich the Reformation spread. In Basel it had for a leader Oecolampadius, who had belonged to the school of Erasmus, was an erudite scholar of mild temper, and in his general tone resembled Melanchthon.[1]

and even in David Steinmetz's *Reformers in the Wings,* which attempts to do justice to "the supporting members of the cast, who by their lesser and often unnoticed activity furthered the course of the drama to its final curtain,"[2] Oecolampadius, the reformer of Basel and cohort of Zwingli, is not deemed worthy of a chapter. There are a few exceptions. For example, Phillip Schaff (who was himself Swiss) devotes a whole volume of his old and celebrated six-volume *History of the Christian Church* to the Swiss Reformation, and, in that volume, provides a decent discussion of Oecolampadius,[3] and more recently Oecolampadius has received even more extensive attention in Gordon Rupp's *Patterns of Reformation.*[4] On the occasion of the 500th anniversary of Oecolampadius' birth-year, 1482, and further to set the matter right, we offer in these pages a brief overview of the life and work of the unsung hero of the Basel Reformation.[5]

Oecolampadius was born in 1482 in the village of Weinsberg, at that time in the duchy of Württemberg, a few miles east of Heilbronn which is about twenty-five miles north of Stuttgart. His family name, before the days of standardized spelling, was variously rendered as Huszgen, Heuszgen, etc. and also as Hausch or Huschke, which eventually his humanistic friends or he himself refashioned into Huschin or Hauschein for the purpose of yielding the Hellenized and more stylish name Oecolampadius: "Light of the house." His

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[1] George Park Fisher, *The Reformation,* revised ed. (New York: Scribners, 1916), p. 125.

[2] David Steinmetz, *Reformers in the Wings* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), p. 6.

[3] Schaff, *History of the Christian Church,* third ed. (New York: Scribners, 1910), 8, 107ff.

[4] Rupp, *Patterns of Reformation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), Part I.

[5] With thanks to Prof. Paul J. W. Miller and Prof. Carl Christensen (both of the University of Colorado) and to Frl. Helene Romer and Herr Heinrich Senn (both of Basel) for assistance with certain technical matters.

father was fairly well-to-do, probably a merchant, and determined that his son, his only surviving child, should pursue the same calling. His mother, born Anna Pfister from an old Basel family and who appears to have been a thoroughly good woman, had her own ideas about the future of the delicate but intellectual boy, namely, a scholarly vocation, and this was the course that was set.

Following his earliest schooling in Weinsberg and then in the neighboring Heilbronn (eight hours of Latin School, beginning at 5:00 AM in the summer and at 6:00 in the winter), Oecolampadius was sent by his father to Bologna to study law. Oecolampadius, however, found delight neither in law nor in the Italian climate. He returned to Germany and on October 20, 1499 enrolled (as Joannes Huszgen de Wynsberg) in the University of Heidelberg where he gave himself to theology. In May 1501 he graduated as *Baccalaureus Artium* (Joannes Huszgyn de Wynsperg), and in October 1503 as *Magister Artium* (Johannes Heuszgen ex Wynspurg). At Heidelberg Oecolampadius studied Thomas Aquinas (who pleased him more than Duns Scotus) and the Church Fathers. Also, he fell under the lasting influence of Jakob Wimpfeling, a Christian scholar who reflected the emerging humanistic bent at Heidelberg, and who, a few years later, in a letter to Erasmus commended Oecolampadius and wrote of his prodigious learning in the most glowing terms.

On the basis of his *Magister* degree, Oecolampadius was in February 1506 commissioned (Hanszen Hauszchein von Winsperg[6]) for a time by Philipp, prince of the territory, to conduct the education of his young sons. Soon after, Oecolampadius was ordained as priest and he returned to Weinsberg where his parents had established an endowment for him at the Johanneskirche. In April 1510, Oecolampadius was nominated (Johannis Hewsgin) as priest at Weinsberg by the Duke Ulrich von Württemberg, and in June his nomination was confirmed by Bishop Lorenz of Würzburg. At St. John's he preached sermons on the last words of Christ from the cross, which were printed in Freiburg-in-Breisgau under the title *Declamationes de passione Domini* (Sermons on the Passion of Christ), Oecolampadius' first published work.

Ever the academician, Oecolampadius turned once again to study, this time in Stuttgart where he pursued Greek with the renowned scholar Johann Reuchlin. From Stuttgart he turned to Tübingen and, now thirty years old, enrolled in the university in April 1513 (Johannes Icolumbadius de Winsperg). Here he entered into a close and, as it turned out, long and important friendship with a sixteen year old Philipp Melanchthon, and with whom, as a fellow student, he pursued further humanistic studies, for example the writings of Hesiod. From Tübingen Oecolampadius turned once more to Heidelberg

[6]The comedy of the spelling of Oecolampadius' original name is heightened in Philipp's commission where in this single document it is actually spelled in no less than three different ways! (cf. Ernst Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekalampads* (Leipzig: M. Heinsins Nachfolger, 1927, 1934), I, 3ff.). The German form "Hauschein" is first attested here, whereas the Hellenized form "Oecolampadius" first appears in Wimpfeling's letter to Erasmus mentioned above (cf. *Briefe und Akten,* I, 18).

where he polished his Hebrew under the converted Spanish Jew M. Adriani. From this time stems also Oecolampadius' association with Johann Brenz and Wolfgang Capito, both of whom, but especially the latter, were to remain lifelong partners with Oecolampadius in the struggle for reformation.

Following this second stay in Heidelberg, Oecolampadius returned once again to his hometown of Weinsberg and to his priestly office at St. John's, and, once again, it was only for a short time. For then something happened which, when seen in retrospect, proved to be decisive. At this time Erasmus was deeply engaged in the production of the first printed Greek New Testament which would contain not only the Greek text and Erasmus' Latin rendering (and, in later editions, the Vulgate as well), but also much learned annotation. On September 15, 1515, Johann Sapidus (Rector of the city school of Schlettstaat) sent a letter to Erasmus, as did Wimpfeling earlier, praising the erudition of Oecolampadius but with special reference to his mastery of Hebrew:

> His name is Oecolampadius [Greek for "light of the house"] from which it is clear that he is learned in Greek literature. But he has also a great expertise in matters theological, as can be established from the fact that he is able to compose tomes so profoundly learned that they are clearly pleasing to God. Moreover, he possesses not a little knowledge of Hebrew.[7]

Indeed, Oecolampadius would be useful to Erasmus who was pressing his New Testament project with all haste in an effort to publish his edition before the appearance of the Spanish-sponsored Complutensian Polyglot edition. Thus began, on September 21, 1515, Oecolampadius' first residence in Basel. He stayed in the house of the printer Johann Froben, on Totengässlein immediatley adjacent to Peterskirche. Immediately he entered into an association with Erasmus whom he assisted with the preparation of the Annotations to the Greek New Testament, capitalizing especially on his knowledge of Hebrew. He interspersed many Hebrew notes, checked the annotations for any heretical views which might have crept in, and saw to all corrections. In 1516 Erasmus published his annotated edition of the Greek New Testament, printed by Froben, the first printed edition of the Greek New Testament. In the Foreword Froben expressed gratitude for the scholarly contributions of many,

> ...and, most of all, Oecolampadius of Weinsberg, beyond praise in soundness and devotion, as well as distinguished theologian and expert in three languages.[8]

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[7] Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten,* I, 24 (all translations are mine unless otherwise indicated).

[8] I.e. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

That Erasmus likewise made an impression on Oecolampadius is evident from Oecolampadius' Epilogue:

> I was permitted this winter in Basel, without other theological preoccupations, to enjoy the good fortune of daily association with the great Erasmus, and must testify how indefatigable this man is. ...It was a completely astounding display—indeed a wonder before my eyes—to observe him and how he dictated and corrected what three printing presses were producing all at once.

In spite of the reference to no other "theological preoccupations," Oecolampadius appears at this time to have matriculated at the University of Basel (registering as "Icolampadius," and corrected by a contemporary hand to "Oecolampadius"), and completed the theological degrees *Baccalaureus Biblicus* and *Baccalaureus Sententiarius.*

After these several months in Basel, Oecolampadius returned in March 1516 to Weinsberg, where it was incumbent on him to do the work of a priest and preacher. Here he also busied himself with scholarly activity which included a comparison of Jerome's translation of the Bible (the Vulgate) with the original text, preparing an index to the works of Jerome (with his friend Brenz), and writing *De risu paschali* (On Easter Laughter), in which he scorned the ridiculous material that had intruded into the Easter service. It was printed in Basel in April 1518 by Froben with a Foreword by Capito. During this time in Weinsberg he also prepared himself for the Basel *Licentiat* in theology, which, during his second and shortest visit in Basel, was conferred in October 1516.

In a letter of March 13, 1518, Erasmus invited Oecolampadius to return yet again to Basel and to assist him with a second edition of the Greek New Testament:

> I shall be in Basel before May...to re-edit the New Testament. I wish from my whole heart that you would be there to assist again in my work.[9]

Thus began in April 1518 Oecolampadius' third and somewhat longer Basel sojourn. That he actually made any contribution to Erasmus' second edition of the Greek New Testament is, however, doubtful, judging from Froben's comment in the Afterword to this edition, "All the work was done by him [Erasmus] alone,"[10] and also from the fact that before the appearance of the second edition Oecolampadius had long since departed for Augsburg, as we note below. On the other hand, during this third period in Basel Oecolam-

[9] Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten,* I, 43f.

[10] P. 566 of the first volume.

padius was hardly idle. Oecolampadius' good friend Capito at this time was Cathedral preacher and professor of theology and probably through his influence Oecolampadius was invited by the learned and humanistically inclined Bishop of Basel, Christoph von Utenheim, to assume the busy office of *Leutpriester* or "peoples' priest" at the Cathedral.

On March 30, 1518, Prince Frederick the Wise, Luther's Prince, wrote to Reuchlin, Oecolampadius' old teacher in Stuttgart, requesting recommendations for filling the Greek and Hebrew chairs at the University of Wittenberg. In his answer of May 7, Reuchlin recommended Melanchthon for Greek and Oecolampadius for Hebrew. This began Melanchthon's important connection with Luther. But the invitation to Oecolampadius went unfulfilled—he was, for the moment, bound to Basel. He was completing a work begun in Heidelberg, *Graecae literaturae dragmata* (A Handbook of Greek Grammar), published in September and which became a standard text, and a small volume of translations from the Fathers, published in November. Also in November, Oecolampadius was awarded the Basel Dr. theol. degree, having held lectures at the university during the preceding months on the prophet Obadiah, on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, and on Book I of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

In the meantime, Oecolampadius had been invited "to candidate" for the position as Cathedral preacher in Augsburg, which he did probably on October 24, 1518, only four days after Luther held, in that same city, his famous confrontation with Cajetan. Oecolampadius must have made a good impression. In November 1518, he accepted the call to Augsburg and, shortly after the awarding of his doctoral degree (a condition for the position), left Basel. He preached his first sermon in Augsburg on the third Advent Sunday, December 12, 1518. The new preacher was received with great enthusiasm. However, in the wake of Luther's debate with Cajetan, Augsburg was rent with division between Luther sympathizers and the adherents of the "old Church." In May 1519, another decisive action: Oecolampadius aligned himself, not without courage, with the friends of Luther. At that time, John Eck, at the moment in Ingolstadt, wrote sneeringly to the Bishop of Meissen that in Augsburg only a few "unlearned canons" had given in to the Lutheran errors. It must have stung Oecolampadius to be included among the "unlearned," he who during this very period was, among other things, in the process of publishing translations of six works of the Greek Father, Gregory Nazianzus. To be sure, Oecolampadius, in association with Adelmann, answered with an anonymous writing under the title *Responsio indoctorum canonicorum* (Response of Unlearned Canons), published in 1519, in which he claimed that it was in fact the books of the arrogant professors of Ingolstadt that teemed with errors and barbarities! Also at this time Oecolampadius maintained a correspondence with his old university friend Melanchthon who by now had become a close associate of Luther at Wittenberg. In July 1519, Oecolam-

padius received with special interest Melanchthon's detailed account of Luther's debate with Eck at Leipzig.

Oecolampadius took little satisfaction in Augsburg, and his doubts about his own qualifications for a preaching office (he had a weak voice and felt that he lacked experience and understanding of human nature) along with the need for more time for study and prayer brought about a new resolve: He entered the monastery of St. Bridgit in Altomünster, not far from Augsburg, on the condition that he would be allowed to leave if, again, he felt he could be useful in the ministry. On April 23, 1520, Oecolampadius was invested as a monk of St. Bridgit by the Prince-Bishop Philipp of Freising. In the monastery Oecolampadius preached diligently and published more patristic writings, including translations from Basil and Chrysostom. He also published, among other things, works on the eucharist, the Virgin Mary, and confession. His book *Quod non sit onerosa christianis confessio, paradoxen* (Paradoxes: That Christian Confession is not Burdensome) caused the papal nuncio Aleander to report to Rome:

> Johann Oecolampadius, a monk learned in three languages, and one of the outstanding scholars in the world of German scholarship, has written a large book on confession. In this book he wants to abolish confession entirely, and, if I am not deluded... he is even worse than Luther.

But even Aleander found it necessary to add:

> I admire Oecolampadius' spirit. Not so much because he deals with the same subject as I [i.e. theology], but rather because he is so open, so confident, and so christian. May the Lord preserve him and strengthen him.[11]

Oecolampadius himself later reported that because of his weak constitution he could not bear the rigors of the monastic fasts, night-watches, and the like. He fell, in fact, into a perilous illness from which he only very slowly recovered. Also, the continuing storm outside the walls of the monastery were a constant distraction—an attraction—to him. In September 1520, Eck appeared in Germany with a papal bull excommunicating Luther. Oecolampadius' own continuing involvement with the storm is indicated in Eck's November 1522 *De poenitentia et confessio secreta* (On Penitance and Private Confession), directed specifically against Luther and Oecolampadius. From the dedication:

[11] Quoted in Ernst Staehelin, *Das Buch der Basler Reformation* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1929), p. 34 (cf. *Briefe und Akten*, I, 149).

> ...since the sacrament of penitence is the only refuge and medicine of sinners, and confession itself is the center of all christian discipline, it seems to me faithful to Catholic principle... that, with the sword of the Spirit which is the word of God, I cut away the impieties and heresies of Luther and Oecolampadius, in order that I may restore confession to its pristine purity against the torch of heretics.[12]

In February 1522, Oecolampadius left the monastery.

After his exit from the monastery, Oecolampadius went first to Mainz where he stayed with his friend Wolfgang Capito who at the time was Cathedral Preacher and spiritual counselor to Prince Albrecht, and then tc Weinsberg for a visit with his parents, and then at the end of February 1522, to Heidelberg where he hoped to join the faculty of the university. But it was not possible. A repudiation of the Lutheran heresy was demanded of him as a condition for a position, and this he could not in conscience satisfy. For the same reason an appointment at Ingolstadt proved likewise impossible. So he went at the beginning of April 1522 to Franz von Sickingen at the Fortress of Ebernburg where many reform-inclined found refuge. Here Oecolampadius took over the office of castle chaplain and introduced various innovations into the worship service, such as Bible readings in German as part of the Mass. He also busied himself with further patristic work, for example the translation of twenty sermons of Chrysostom.

From Ebernburg Oecolampadius journeyed once again to Basel, accompanied by humanist and Christian knight, Ulrich von Hutten. He arrived in the middle of November 1522 at the house of his friend, the printer Andreas Kratander. He lived in Kratander's house and produced for Kratander's printing press small writings, especially translations from Chrysostom. Thus began Oecolampadius' fourth and permanent residence in Basel. And now the plot begins to thicken.

In spite of Erasmus' own tendencies towards reform, and even a certain admiration for Luther's cause, he remained firmly in the Catholic camp, even to the point of taking up the gauntlet against Luther. One of the theological high-water marks of the Reformation controversies was Erasmus' challenge to Luther in *De arbitrio libero* (On Free Will), and Luther's counter-attack in his *De servo arbitrio* (On Bondage of the Will). Naturally, because of Oecolampadius' ideological connection with Luther, his good relation with Erasmus was now lost. But another, and quite different one, replaced it. Oecolampadius sought to make contact and common cause with Ulrich Zwingli (sometimes called "the third man of the Reformation") who himself had studied and taught in Basel and who now from Zurich was leading the way in the Reformation of Switzerland. On December 10, 1522, Oecolampadius sent

[12] Quoted in Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten*, I, 197.

his first letter to Zwingli, in which he appears almost to plead for a comradely relation with the great Swiss reformer. Some excerpts:[13]

> To Herr Zwingli, the faithful shepherd of the people of Zurich, their much beloved friend in Christ.
>
> Greetings, dear Zwingli, and do not be surprised that I write to you before I have personally met you, and that I claim the right of a trusted friend....
>
> Although I have no particular occasion to write you, there is sufficient reason to congratulate you, above all because you comport yourself in your work such that everyone must admire you. Who cannot but admire the one who zealously affirms the cause of Christ, who so faithfully shepherds his sheep (and whom the wolves must fear so much), who positions himself as a firm wall before the house of Israel, and who in word and deed puts before our eyes the old men of faith. This and still more about you has been related to me, and by such people whom I gladly believe, and therefore I wish you well. Also, now that we live close to one another, I am glad that I have the opportunity, if we cannot yet speak personally, to show you occasionally in a letter the matters on my heart. With your friendly nature you will be responsive, especially in the name of the one who is the origin of our love and is, indeed, love itself. I pray God will make your spirit so rich, strong, ardent, and fruitful, that good reports concerning you come to me often, reports of the glorification of the Gospel and of Christ through you....
>
> Dear Zwingli, through this letter allow our close bond in Christ to be founded. Because of your love for all your friends, I trust that you may relate to all of them in the same way. My host and friend Andreas Cratander sends you greetings. Live well in Christ.
>
> Johannes Oecolampadius

Oecolampadius received Zwingli's answer dated January 14, 1523. A close friendship and alliance quickly developed. This alliance proved to be crucial in forging and solidifying the reformation forces in Switzerland.

In April 1523, Oecolampadius was appointed by the city council to a teaching post at the university: Lecturer in Holy Scripture. To growing acclaim he held lectures on Isaiah, attended by large crowds of clerics and lay people alike. The news of these lectures spread even to Wittenberg, and in several letters Luther wished Oecolampadius well. During this period, as always, Oecolampadius continued an active correspondence, as well as publishing pro-

[13] Staehelin, *Das Buch der Basler Reformation,* pp. 40ff. Only a brief summary is provided in *Briefe und Akten,* I, 200.

jects, such as his translation of sixty-six homilies of St. John Chrysostom on Genesis. Also during this time Oecolampadius began his important ministry at Martinskirche. When a priest at St. Martin's fell ill, Oecolampadius assumed the vacant office. The position brought neither pay nor the opportunity to administer the sacraments, but it was another entrance into the turmoil-filled ecclesiastical scene of Basel—though not as turmoil-filled as it was soon to be. At this time the city council, in spite of having issued an edict in May/June 1523 establishing the Scriptures alone as the criterion for preaching and teaching in Basel, still clung to the Catholic Church, and the resistance to reformation can be gauged by the prohibition of publishing Lutheran works in the city. Clearly, Oecolampadius was, for the moment, on the wrong side.

Occasioned by attacks on the part of Catholic adversaries against the new evangelicals, in August 1523 Oecolampadius posted an announcement of a Disputation (a sort of formal and public debate) requesting the opportunity to present the evangelical teaching in an amicable atmosphere and through a conscientious reporting of Holy Scripture. Specifically, he proposed four points for discussion: (1) The highest authority of Christ; (2) Justification by faith; (3) The sole mediation of Christ; (4) The freedom and priesthood of all believers. The university protested the debate and forbade the participation of its members. It took place nevertheless in the last days of August, in the presence of a large audience, in German, and with great success. In spite of his own reformation inclinations, Erasmus did not agree with the evangelical step taken by his old friend; he did, however, write to Zwingli on August 31, "...yesterday Oecolampadius debated, and indeed auspiciously...."[14] On February 16, 1524, a second Disputation, called by a priest in Liestal who had married, centered on the question of the celibacy of priests. Although Oecolampadius at this time still sought bachelorhood himself, he spoke in favor of the marriage of priests. No opponents appeared at this debate. Yet a third debate was announced by the French reformer Wilhelm Farel (later an important associate of Calvin, and at this time a religious fugitive in Basel) who proposed thirteen theses for debate. The debate was again forbidden by the university, but allowed by the city council, and was held on March 3, 1524 with Oecolampadius serving as translator. But Farel's prospects in Basel were not good. He was eventually banished even from Basel in the course of one hour as a result of his fanaticism and insulting statements made against Erasmus. The more cautious Oecolampadius was protected by the council against all attacks by his Catholic opponents, and in fact had now been appointed, on February 15, 1525, as "peoples' priest" at St. Martins. It was expressly granted to him to preach openly and without hindrance, but not to introduce any novelties into the worship service without previous approval of the council. For such modifications the council always sought the expert opinion of Erasmus.

[14] Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten,* I, 251.

In the meantime, the sacramental controversy had broken out, and in Basel it found a suitable showplace. Various Enthusiasts and Anabaptists came to Basel and sought from here to disseminate their teachings in Switzerland and southern Germany. In opposition to the Anabaptists (literally, "rebaptizers," because they believed only in adult baptism), Oecolampadius attemped, in agreement with Zwingli, to demonstrate the correctness of infant baptism from scripture and history. Sometime in August 1525, Oecolampadius convened in St. Martin's a discussion which pitted several Basel priests against some Anabaptists. Nothing decisive came of the encounter, though Oecolampadius made clear his own position in a report of the meeting printed at the end of August. The following extract, concerned with the Anabaptists' attempted refutation of infant baptism, reflects Oecolampadius' emphasis on scripture and, in the absence of scripture, tradition:

> They came again to the first point, namely, that one should show where the apostles had baptized children. Then we demanded that they should show us why infant baptism was *in*valid. For inasmuch as such a Christian practise has endured until us as being in accordance with scripture, something of the sort they propose may not be established unless unmistakeably and clearly written there. Their position was this: They refuted the practise which we have taught, on the grounds that it is unfitting because it is contrary to love. And thus we countered: They have not yet shown any such thing from *scripture.* May God will that they bring scripture for the benefit of neighbor and honor of God.[15]

The city council itself eventually moved against the Anabaptists as is evident from the following edict:

> On Saturday, June 2, 1526, the members of the council resolved: Whoever henceforth allows himself to be rebaptized, after he already has been baptized as a child, will, with wife and child, be banished by the council without exception, to a radius of five miles of the city of Basel, and never again allowed in the city. Herein will they spare no one, neither man nor woman, young, old, rich, or poor.[16]

In the case of the eucharist, however, Oecolampadius gravitated to the side of Karlstadt, the fugitive from Wittenberg, who now had kindled the eucharist controversy in Basel, who stood for a non-sacramentalist view of the eucharist, and whose writings had been banned by the city council—indeed, for four days in December, two Basler printers, Johann Bebel and Thomas

[15] Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten,* I, 387.

[16] Staehelin, *Das Buch der Basler Reformation,* pp. 130f.

Wolff, were imprisoned for printing Karlstadt's writings. But Oecolampadius himself was now about to upstage everyone. In March 1525, he had published his lectures on Isaiah (already mentioned) and dedicated this commentary to the Basel council as if, it would seem in retrospect, to soften them for what was coming next. In September 1525, Oecolampadius published a full-length work, printed not in Basel but, probably, in Strasbourg: *De genuina verborum Domini interpretatione: Hoc est corpus meum* (On the Natural Interpretation of the Lord's Words: "This is my body"). In agreement with Zwingli, and aided and abetted by his learning in the Fathers in whom he found examples of a spiritual interpretation of the eucharist, Oecolampadius opted for the figurative meaning of these words of institution: "body" was intended *symbolically,* and it was a *spiritual* eating of the flesh of Christ that was intended. Understandably, this book, with its radically anti-sacramentalist thesis, created a considerable outcry. The work was condemned by the theology faculty of the University of Paris. In Basel itself it gave rise to a veritable storm. Erasmus circulated a handwritten rebuttal; the council had this rebuttal read out to itself, and then appointed a committee including, most notably, Erasmus and Bonifacius Amerbach, with the directive to determine whether Oecolampadius' book should be allowed to be bought and sold "in the laudable city of Basel."[17] It is no wonder that in a letter to Zwingli, October 22, 1525, Oecolampadius complained that he was now in trouble with the council more than ever. The commission delivered its opinion, an unfavorable one for Oecolampadius. The result: The book was banned in Basel and printers forbidden to print it, and Oecolampadius himself was threatened with expulsion or arrest. His friends advised him to leave Basel; his old friend Capito, now a participant in the reformation in Strasbourg, offered him asylum in that city; he was offered a teaching chair in Zurich.

Oecolampadius resolved, however, to remain quietly in Basel until someone actually expelled him. Indeed, he even risked introducing into his own worship service at St. Martin's a simpler eucharistic rite (though not pressing it on other congregations), eventually composed a catechism, and was the first in Switzerland to introduce congregational singing. With Capito having left for Strasbourg and Konrad Pellikan (the reformed Franciscan) having accepted an invitation to join Zwingli in Zurich, Oecolampadius was clearly in charge of the reformation in Basel.

In May 1526, a Disputation was called in Baden, a village lying between Basel and Zurich, and was conducted over the days, May 21-June 8. Here Oecolampadius, almost alone in representing the reformed movement, was pitted against the Catholic giants, Eck, who had debated with Luther at Leipzig, and John Faber. The report is that Oecolampadius disputed with such valor, skill, and patience, that even his adversaries were put in admiration of his conduct while embarrassed by the boistrous Eck. Nonetheless, the opposi-

[17] Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten,* I, 404, n. 5.

tion had the majority on its side in advance (a "stacked deck") and this, of course, left no doubt about the outcome of the decision: The reformers were put down as pure heretics. It was a temporary defeat. In Basel itself, the stage for reformation was being set in several ways. Oecolampadius continued to lead the way with his lecturing and preaching, while the council opened the cloisters and anulled all unnecessary religious holidays. In May 1527, the priests of both sides were charged by the council to submit, in writing, their respective views on the Mass. The Catholic view was composed by Augustin Maier, Auxillary Bishop of Basel and preacher at the Cathedral; the protestant view was composed by Oecolampadius. The upshot of the council's deliberation was a compromise-edict: Three churches would be free of the Mass, namely, St. Martin's, St. Leonard's, and the Augustinian cloister. But then came a further and major set-back for the Catholic opposition, the Bern Disputation, held during January 6-26, 1528. In this Disputation, Oecolampadius returned to the fray, this time with Zwingli, as a representative of the reformed movement. This momentous Disputation swayed both the city and Canton of Bern into alignment with the reformation. Inasmuch as Bern was the most powerful canton in Switzerland, the general repercussions of its decision for reformation can hardly be over-estimated. In Basel, specifically, the reformation party became predictably yet more daring.

Even though the council liberalized even further their stance (everyone should worship according to his or her own conscience), the situation was too much for some Basel reformed-minded burghers who decided to take things into their own hands. And now begins one of the most dubious chapters of the Reformation: The iconoclastic riots in Basel. The removal or even destruction of "idolatrous" images and paintings (largely under the influence of Karlstadt) was not new to Basel, but now it was to be pursued on a much grander scale. On Good Friday, April 10, 1528, and Monday, April 30, a few radicals, probably of the guild of carpenters and masons, threw out the images from St. Martin's (Oecolampadius' church) and the Augustinian cloister church. The instigators were arrested, but released after a few days because of pressure from hundreds of guildsmen gathered on the Marktplatz in front of the City Hall, including threats of strike—notice the power of guilds in sixteenth century Basel! But a mandate was issued which reiterated everyone's right to worship according to conscience and which placated both sides by having the offending images removed from several churches while preserving them in others. Oecolampadius himself was innocent of such iconoclasm, and is known to have spoken out against such methods. On the other hand, he was certainly opposed to the "idolatrous" objects and may well have inwardly sympathized to some degree with these radical efforts at purgation.

For a time all was quiet, but the reformation spirit continued to grow. On December 23, 1528, over three-hundred guildsmen (this time the Gardeners' Guild) demanded the complete abolition of the Mass. It is significant that this

demand was supported by twelve of Basel's fifteen guilds; to be sure, the reformers in Basel's population now greatly outnumbered the Catholics. The urgency of this situation called for extraordinary measures, and representatives from the Swiss Federation were called in to mediate between the two factions. With the aid of the mediators, a temporary compromise was proposed and accepted on January 5, 1529: Mass would continue to be sung three times a day (once in the Cathedral, once in St. Peter's, and once in St. Theodore's) until Pentecost, but then, on May 30, a public discussion would be held in which the form of worship would be settled once and for all by popular vote. After the departure of the mediators, however, the Catholics renigged.

The stage was set for decisive events. On February 8, another protestant ultimatum was presented to the council, but now demanding political as well as ecclesiastical renewal. Not only should all Catholic clergy be dismissed, but also Catholic members of the council, and the council reestablished not as a coalition but through election by the Larger Council. As the council began its deliberations, Basel resembled a city preparing for war—city gates closed, streets closed off, cannons positioned, guards posted, and thousands of citizens crowded into the Marktplatz in front of the colorful City Hall. The moment had arrived.

The council, still deliberating on February 9, was trying the patience of the crowd. It became increasingly restless and a contingency of a few hundred meandered to the Cathedral where just a few minutes before someone in a smaller group had "accidentally" toppled an altarpiece. The iconoclastic fever spread quickly and it was decided to finish the work of purgation begun a year earlier. The Cathedral was stormed and before it was over the high altar with its precious icons was pulled down and destroyed, statues dashed, stained glass windows smashed, paintings carved up, and the huge crucifix from the rood screen dragged through the streets. The vacant pedestal between the two doors of the west portal, where once a statue of the Virgin stood, is to this day a mute reminder of the violence of that day. The devastating herd split into smaller groups and enacted similar scenes at the remaining "idolatrous" churches throughout the city. In the midst of this violence the city council sent representatives to the Cathedral in an attempt to turn the crowd from its destructive purpose. According to Oecolampadius the response was: "In three years of deliberation you have accomplished nothing; in one hour we will accomplish everything."[18] All of this happened on February 9, 1529, surely the most important date in the history of the Basel Reformation. On the evening of that date, after long deliberations in the upper rooms of the City Hall, the council finally capitulated. The reformation of Basel was, in principle, accomplished.

On February 10, the council itself organized squads to complete the removal of all remaining idols and to clean up the mess: Heaps of the flam-

[18] Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten,* II, 281.

mable idols—perhaps a dozen heaps at the Cathedral alone—were set ablaze (Ash Wednesday!) and burned for two days and nights. On this day the council issued an edict banning both the Mass and idols in Basel and surrounding villages, and on February 13, the council proclaimed a general amnesty to all who had participated in the riots. On February 14, the images were removed also from the churches in Klein Basel, a Catholic stronghold immediately across the river. Basel, Switzerland's most cultured city, suffered the greatest violence in the whole Swiss Reformation, though without bloodshed. Also on February 14, what had already been accomplished in principle was now accomplished in fact: The Larger Council, by a solemn oath, proclaimed Basel's entrance into the Federation of Reformed Swiss Cantons. And the ecclesiastic who had led the way was now suitably promoted: Oecolampadius was named as head pastor of the Cathedral—which, of course, was now no longer a Cathedral—and also as superintendent of the entire clergy of Basel.

A month and a half later, on April 1, 1529, the council further regularized the reformation of Basel by issuing a "Reformation Ordinance." Included in this proclamation were the basic features of a Basel Confession, and regulations concerning public morals, marriage, etc; churches and schools would be reorganized, and the clergy would be required to attend to a publication by Oecolampadius with the self-explanatory title, *Epistola paraenetica, ut vitae doctrinaeque ac cerimoniarum puritatem in omnibus sectentur* (Hortatory Epistles for Striving after Purity of Life and Doctrine and of Ceremonies in All Things). Another important matter was, naturally, the renewal and reorganization of the university. By now, most of the faculty had left (as well as Erasmus who withdrew to Freiburg-in-Breisgau) and Oecolampadius himself, who in 1529 had given up his lectures, eventually resumed them in 1531.

On the question of the separation of church and state, Oecolampadius was more emphatic than Zwingli, and in pressing for the independent representation of the churches was a precursor of Calvin. In a tract, *Oratio de reducenda excommunicatione apostolica* (Address on Returning Apostolic Excommunication), Oecolampadius proposed to the council a committee of twelve (consisting of head preachers of the city, some council members, and respected representatives of the parishes). The proposal of this centralized board was, however, rejected by the council which feared the loss of its own authority in church matters. In its place, the council proposed, in an "Ordinance Regarding Excommunication," issued on December 14, 1530, a committee consisting of three representatives from the council and one from the parish, for every parish in the city. This committee met repeatedly under the chairmanship of Oecolampadius until his death.

During this time, Oecolampadius' concern was not limited to Basel. Even during the time of the reorganization of the churches in Basel, Oecolampadius yet busied himself with larger controversies which extended far beyond the

walls of Basel, for example, the continuing debate among the reformers themselves on the nature of the Lord's Supper. This more than any other issue was the one that spawned division among the reformers and, eventually, the distinction between Lutheran and Reformed theology. For Oecolampadius, completely aligned with Zwingli, now found himself pitted against his original inspiration, Martin Luther, and, in fact, over the years 1526-1528 he wrote several works specifically against Luther's view of the Lord's Supper. Thus the rift widened between the reformers north of the Rhine and those south of the Rhine.

But it was not a good time for such division among the Protestants (the label "protestant" had now originated at the Diet of Speyer, where the reformers "protested" unequal treatment by the state) for the Catholics were in the majority in Germany and were threatening violence in Switzerland. In the interest of unifying the reformers against the Catholics, Prince Philipp of Hesse called for a kind of summit conference of the leading reformers to be held in the castle in Marburg. Zwingli met Oecolampadius in Basel; they went together by boat down the Rhine to Strasbourg where they were joined by Martin Bucer and Casper Hedio, and then journeyed under military guard to Marburg. The Marburg Colloquy, convened during the first days of October 1529, was a momentous event but essentially a failure. After much deliberation and some agreement on various issues, the two factions, headed up by Luther and Melanchthon on one side and by Zwingli and Oecolampadius on the other,[19] could not achieve agreement on the nature of the eucharist: The Lutherans insisted on the real presence of Christ "in, with, and under" the bread and wine, while the Reformed theologians insisted on a metaphorical or symbolic interpretation.

The proceedings of the Marburg Colloquy were carefully recorded, and the character and zest of Oecolampadius' presentation (Zwingli was even more belligerent) is apparent from the following extracts from his interchanges with Luther:[20]

> LUTHER: I do not deny figurative speech, but you must prove that this is what we have here. It is not enough to say that these words—"This is my body"—could be interpreted in this way. You must prove that they must be so interpreted in a figurative sense.
>
> Your argument is based upon a preconception, *ex petitione principii!* Just because Christ speaks in the sixth chapter of John about a spiritual repast, you conclude that there is no physical repast whatsoever. You want me to place my trust in this, which is no proof at all. And so my faith is strong because you have not

[19] The other major participants were Martin Bucer, Johann Brenz, Andreas Osiander, Martin Hedio, Johann Agricola, and Justus Jonas.

[20] Donald J. Ziegler (ed.), *Great Debates of the Reformation* (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 76f., 91f.

proved your words. My text is priceless and full of authority. Agree with it!

This is what I find so annoying—that you don't prove what you are supposed to prove.

OECOLAMPADIUS: Well then! I shall prove that the words—"This is my body"—must be taken figuratively. Listen to John 6. (*He reads John 6:48-63.*) Christ is speaking here to the Jews and also to his disciples about the eating of his body and the drinking of his blood, and when they took him to mean a physical eating and shuddered at the thought, he replied: "It is the spirit that gives life, the flesh is of no avail" [verse 63]. From this, one ought to understand that he repudiated once for all the physical eating of his flesh; and it ought to follow that he neither could nor would maintain this repudiated view thereafter.

LUTHER: I repeat the passage from John. (*He reads John 6:48-63.*) It is your opinion that Christ moved away from the physical repast in his emphasis upon the spiritual repast. I reply that he wanted to teach the Jews of Capernaum that he should not be eaten like bread and meat in a bowl, like roast pork. When I partake of Christ in the bread, it is not in the vulgar sense, but as a gift of the Holy Spirit. Hence it is not a repast that is petty and repulsive, but one that is most holy. Man can still believe those words; the body of Christ is there.

OECOLAMPADIUS: I take your word for it: there is a double meaning, a twofold sense of the word of God. One is limited and physical; the other is most holy and spiritual. The limited meaning has reference to eating the flesh of Christ, which as you have pointed out, Doctor Luther, Christ emphatically rejected. But Christ has ordained that noble conception, that spiritual sense, which we teach....

OECOLAMPADIUS: I am not yet satisfied with our discussion of John 6. I demand that we not insert distortions into Scripture. In John 3, Christ instructs Nicodemus that one must be born anew into the kingdom of God. This alone suffices to make the physical eating of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper unnecessary and unprofitable.

LUTHER: You are right that we may insert nothing into Scripture. But you must prove that we have inserted something. For this is the point that we have disputed with the pope. God has many ways and

means of instilling, sustaining, and increasing our faith: through the public or private teaching, baptism, partaking of the body of the Master. As to why his means are so numerous and varied, one may ponder this as he wishes. It is no concern of ours. He knows that is necessary and profitable for us. Hence the conclusion is ill-contrived and badly taken that, since rebirth makes heaven accessible, then Christ's body is not present or is superfluous in the Lord's Supper. To the contrary, it is precisely the renewed and reborn person who needs this Supper, one who can truly partake in faith.

OECOLAMPADIUS: In John 16 [28], Christ says, "I came from the Father and have come into the world; again, I am leaving the world and going to the Father." This passage excludes the presence of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper and forces one to concede the figure of speech in the words of the Master.

LUTHER: With which I contrast Luke 24 [44]: "These are my words which I spoke to you, while I was still with you." From this it is easy to recognize what Christ meant by the words [which you quoted]. He was leaving the world.

OECOLAMPADIUS: Listen to the other passage in John [16:7]: "It is to your advantage that I go away, for if I do not go away, the Counselor will not come to you." Since Christ says it is advantageous for him to go away, then undoubtedly his continued presence not only would serve no purpose, but would even pose a restriction. As Christ himself says, "If I do not go away, the Counselor will not come to you." From Romans 8 [11], "He who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies," exactly the same conclusion follows: that we will be defeated and deprived of our hope for resurrection if we ascribe Christ's body to the bread. We must not rest our hope for resurrection upon the bread.

LUTHER: This hope is not removed or taken from us by the presence of Christ's body in the bread. On the contrary, it is thereby supported and strengthened, for the word is attended with the promise of grace. Faith proceeds from the presence of the body in the Lord's Supper and in heaven.

OECOLAMPADIUS: Luther continually stresses the same thing, as if we had pure bread without the word of God. The church is founded on the words, "You are the Son of the living God" [Mt 16:16], not on the words, "This is my body" [Mt 26:26].

The demand for Oecolampadius' attention to the reformation in foreign parts continued over the years 1529-1531: In 1529, participation in the reformation of Mühlhausen, several miles north of Basel; in 1530, discussions with the Waldensians, a Christian sect in southern France in the process of joining the reformation; in 1531, assistance in the reformation of several imperial cities in Swabia (southwestern Germany), most notably Ulm. Through an extensive correspondence, he supported also the reformation movements in France and England.

For Oecolampadius the real troubles lay, however, in his own Switzerland, where the conflict between reformed and Catholic cantons mounted. The tension resulted, finally, in the second Kappel War on October 11, 1531, when reformed forces (mainly from Zurich) clashed with Catholic forces near the village of Kappel, southwest of Zurich. It was in this battle that the militaristic-minded Zwingli—wielding his own axe—suffered a mortal wound, and that the Swiss reformation lost its most forceful voice. He was forty-seven. That the Swiss bond in some ways transcended the religious differences between reformed and Catholics is evident from the tradition that a Catholic soldier coming upon the body of Zwingli exclaimed: "He was a heretic, but a damned good Swiss!" It was, of course, not only a loss for the Swiss reformation, it was a deep personal loss for Oecolampadius who had derived so much of his inspiration and encouragement from Zwingli. The civil war itself was concluded on November 22 with a not altogether happy treaty for the Protestants.

All eyes now turned to Oecolampadius as the leader of the reformed movement in Switzerland. He was, in fact, now called to be Zwingli's successor in Zurich. But the story of Oecolampadius was now really over. He turned down the call to Zurich out of devotion to Basel, but his continued service even there was soon cut short. Already grieving over Zwingli's death and deeply concerned about the future of the Swiss reformation, he developed an abcess which, after two weeks, proved fatal. On November 21 he celebrated Holy Communion with his family, and planned to do the same on the next day with his colleagues, but his worsened condition prevented it. On that day, November 22, a small group was present in his room. Capito provides one account of the end. Someone standing by asked Oecolampadius whether he was comfortable with the light entering the room and he answered, placing his hand on his chest and reflecting on his own name: "Here is sufficient light." He then recited Psalm 51 and added: "Salva me Christe Jesu."[21] It was probably in the early hours of November 23 that he died.[22] He was forty-nine, had been a priest, reformer, professor, and author of a multitude of works, many published posthumously. Upon Oecolampadius' death Bucer wrote in a latter to Ambrosius Blarer:

[21] Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten,* II, 734f.

[22] The date of Oecolampadius' death has not been uniformly handed down. Cf. Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten,* II, 716, n. 1.

You are right to grieve over Oecolampadius' passing. We had no greater theologian than he, and his whole desire was for the construction of a pure church.[23]

At this point it should be noted that there had been more to Oecolampadius' life than the struggle for reformation. Eventually he moved his aging parents to Basel (Weinsberg had been razed in retaliation for the "Weinsburg Massacre" during the Peasants' War) where his mother supervised the domestic affairs of the parsonage of St. Martin's. She died five days after Oecolampadius returned from the Bern Disputation, and soon afterwards Oecolampadius surrendered, after all, his bachelorhood. In March 1528, he married the young Wibrandis Keller (born Rossenblatt), the daughter of a knight, the widow of a minor reformer (Martin Celarius), and already herself the mother of a little girl. Oecolampadius' marriage to a pretty woman who was twenty-two years his junior naturally drew hoots and howls from his adversaries, but he was unmoved. Of his new wife Oecolampadius wrote to Farel: "She is rather knowledgeable of Christ, and manages the household with diligence. I could not wish it better."[24] Over the next few years she bore to Oecolampadius three children whom he named Eirene ("peace"), Aletheia ("truth"), and Eusebius ("pious").

Oecolampadius was buried in the cloisters of the Basel Münster, where one today can read the epitaph mounted in 1532:

D. IO: OECOLAPADIVS
PROFESSIONE THEOLOGVS
TRIVM LINGVARVM
PERITISSIMVS, AVTHOR
ENGELICAE DOCTRINAE
IN HAC VRBE PRIMVS, ET TEMPLI HVIVS
VERVS EPV̄S. VT
DOCTRINA, SIC VITAE
SANCTIMONIA POLLENTISIMVS,
SVB BREVE SAXV̄ HOC.
RECŌDITVS IACET

("Concealed beneath this narrow slab lies Dr. Joh. Oecolampadius: Theologian by profession, expert in three languages, first teacher of evangelical doctrine in this city, true overseer of this church, as in teaching so also very mighty in sanctity of life.")

[23] Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten,* II, 715.
[24] Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten,* II, 183.

On the outside of the cloister wall, immediately reverse to the epitaph, stands a fine statue of Oecolampadius holding the Holy Scriptures. A memorial was erected also in Weinsberg.

The story of Oecolampadius' widow, Wibrandis, is a drama in itself. Here we only mention that by the time she died she had been the wife of four men—all of them reformers. After the death of Oecolampadius she eventually married Oecolampadius' old friend Wolfgang Capito (now in Strasbourg), and upon his death in 1541 married yet another of Oecolampadius' colleagues, Martin Bucer (also in Strasbourg), who died in 1552. Over the years she bore a total of eleven children and cared for many stepchildren as well. She lost several of her own to the plague, to which she herself succumbed in 1564 during the great plague which claimed 7000 lives in Basel alone. Most victims were buried in common graves, but Wibrandis was laid to rest alongside her second husband, the reformer of Basel, in the cloisters of the Munster.

With the death of Oecolampadius the story of the Basel Reformation was not quite over. We mention two further events, one of which brought the Basel Reformation full-circle, and the other which symbolizes its historical importance for the Reformation in general. Under the direction of Oecolampadius' successor at the Münster, Oswald Myconius, the *First Basel Confession* was published in 1534, followed in 1536 by the much longer *Second Basel Confession* (composed largely by Heinrich Bullinger). This latter, also called the *First Helvetic Confession,* became not only binding for all Swiss-German Protestantism but regarded as authoritative in all branches of the Reformed (as opposed to Lutheran) churches, including the Reformed Church of Scotland. And, then, came John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* one of the most important theological works ever written, and certainly the most complete and systematic expression of reformed theology. The first edition was published in 1536—in Basel.

Bibliographical note. In this account I have documented only direct quotations, otherwise I have collated material from several sources. It may be useful to provide a limited bibliography for Oecolampadius and the Basel Reformation. In English: Phillip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church,* third ed. (New York: Scribners, 1910), 8, 107ff; and Gordon Rupp, *Patterns of Reformation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), Part I. Some useful information is provided also in John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), especially chapters 4-5, and in Roland H. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom* (New York: Scribners, 1969), *passim.* Especially useful for the central events of the Basel Reformation, and specifically the iconoclasm of those days, is Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens, OH and Detroit, MI: Ohio University and Wayne State University Press, 1979), pp. 93ff. Naturally, the real sources and discussions are in German and are most accessible in the University of Basel library. The earliest biography of Oecolampadius was that of his colleague Wolfgang Capito, *Vita Oecolampadii* (1534), but a more authoritative account is given in Johann Jakob Herzog, *Leben Johannes Oekolampads* (Basel: Schweigerhaus, 1843), though the briefer account of Theophil Staehelin, *Johann Oekolampad: Der Reformator von Basel* (Basel: Verlag christlicher Schriften, 1864) may be mentioned also, as well as the article "Oekolampadius," in *Allegemeine deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Dunker & Humbolt, reprint 1970), 24, 226ff. The most extensive work on Oecolampadius was produced by the late Basel scholar Ernst Staehelin, who authored *Das theologisches Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads* (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1939), and edited the two volume *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads* (Leip-

zig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1927, 1934), and compiled the *Oekolampad-Bibliographie* (Neiukoop: B. De Graaf, reprint 1963). Staehelin also edited a collection of important documents, and wrote numerous treatments, such as *Das Buch der Basler Reformation* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1929), "Oekolampad und die Reformation zu Basel," in *Zum Gedächtnis der Reformation* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1917), pp. 61ff., "Die beruflichen Stellungen Oekolampads während seiner vier Basler Aufenthalte," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde,* 16 (1917), pp. 367ff., and even a small volume on Oecolampadius' wife, *Frau Wibrandis: Eine Gestalt aus den Kämpfen der Reformationszeit* (Bern: Gotthelf, n.d.). Among the primary sources for the Reformation in Basel, and in addition to Staehelin's *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads* and *Das Buch der Basler Reformation,* see especially Emil Dürr and Paul Roth (eds.), *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis 1534* (Basel: Verlag der historischen und antiquarischen Gesellschaft, 1933-1950); Paul Roth, *Durchbruch und Festsetzung der Reformation in Basel* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1942); Wilhelm Vischer and Alfred Stern, eds., *Basler Chroniken* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1872), 1; August Bernoulli, ed., *Basler Chroniken* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1902), 6; August Bernoulli, ed., *Basler Chroniken* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1915), 7. For secondary accounts, see Peter Ochs, *Geschichte der Stadt und Landschaft Basel* (Basel: Schweigerhaus, 1796-1832), Vols. 5-6; Rudolf Wackernagel, *Geschichte der Stadt Basel* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1907-1924), Vol. 3, Book 11; Paul Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Stadt Basel: Von der Zeit der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1942), Ch. 1.