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978-0-521-88055-8 - The Secularisation of the Confessional State: The Political Thought of Christian Thomasius

Ian Hunter

Excerpt

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Introduction

What the historical record strongly suggests is that no one is above the battle, because the battle is all there is.¹

In 1701 Christian Thomasius published a German translation of three of his recent Latin works, under the characteristic title, *Dreyfache Rettung des Rechts Evangelischer Fürsten in Kirchen-Sachen* (Triple Rescue of the Rights of Protestant Princes in Religious Matters). He was by then a celebrated professor in the University of Halle's law faculty, in the newly amalgamated kingdom of Brandenburg-Prussia, and the three works had originated as disputations in Thomasius's academic speciality, *Staatskirchenrecht* or public church law. Each of them argues for the sovereign's right to exercise power over churches as social associations inside the state. In the course of one of the disputations he defends himself against a section of the Halle student body who, in enthusiastically embracing a recent polemic advocating a presbyterian Calvinist church, had taken Thomasius to task for his anti-clericalism:

They further say that I should not only teach manners to the poor priests – which amounts to jumping the fence at its lowest point – but that I should be consistent and also tell home truths to the princes. I answer that I have occasionally also attempted this, but have gathered from many circumstances that I am not predestined for this work. Besides, they [the princes] have their court preachers who could and should better tell them this, and thus earn their pay. I would indeed have something to say to all the estates, because things go awry in all of them, but I have been charged by God to speak the truth to the clergy in particular. I am already so far engaged in this – which I do not from any hate – that I cannot now turn back. Still, we jurists must suffer the clergy reforming us from the pulpit, and must keep as quiet as mice about it.²

¹ Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics. Volume I: Regarding Method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 7.

² Christian Thomasius, *Dreyfache Rettung des Rechts Evangelischer Fürsten in Kirchen-Sachen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1701), pp. 58–9. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

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Several features of this characteristically animated and self-involved response point towards the main themes of the present book. In the first place Thomasius's anti-clerical animus, about which the Halle students had complained, was symptomatic of his life-long campaign against the religious and political culture of the confessional state. For Thomasius, the key exemplar was his own fatherland, Electoral Saxony, where the Lutheran religion was enforced through civil power and laws, and was deeply embedded in civil society through the teaching power of church and university. A little earlier in the same disputation, Thomasius criticises the views of a defender of the Lutheran version of the confessional state. This writer had argued that the secular prince should oversee the salvation of his subjects, that he should be both bishop and prince, compelling church attendance, enforcing religious orthodoxy and bringing Calvinists back into the true faith. In response, Thomasius mentions some of the central tenets of his way of applying public law to the regulation of the church:

To put it briefly, in each state there is one majesty or highest governing power, through which supreme power a Christian magistrate mediates the laws of all conduct to his subjects ... The church is in the state, and the state is not in the church. In the New Testament, Christ and the Apostles gave the church no capacity to rule. In one state there cannot be two sovereign authorities with the power to make law. The clergy and the other members of the churches are subjects of secular authority. Secular authority can thus regulate the activities of the priests, even those concerning religion, as long as such laws command nothing that is contrary to general divine law.³

In other words, as it belongs to the prince alone, supreme civil power may not be divided or shared with the church; and the church, which was not founded by Christ to wield such power, must be subject to its exercise by the state to which it belongs.

Secondly, Thomasius's remarks – made as a professor to students in an academic disputation and subsequently published – point to the degree to which the university provided the point of focus and refraction for both his public campaign and his intellectual persona. Unlike English political philosophers of the seventeenth century, their German counterparts were overwhelmingly university professors, but professors who also functioned as *gelehrte Räte*: academic advisers to the princely courts and privy councils, noble estates and city councils of the Holy Roman German Empire.⁴ As we

³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴ See Notker Hammerstein, 'Universitäten – Territorialstaaten – Gelehrte Räte', in R. Schnur (ed.), *Die Rolle der Juristen bei der Entstehung des modernen Staates* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1986),

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shall see in Chapter 1, this was because German universities had formed a key institution for state-building princes and reforming religious movements during the high period of confessionalisation – roughly from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century – supplying them with the clerics, theologians, jurists and teachers required for the administrative, judicial and disciplinary institutions of the confessional state.⁵ This is what permitted Thomasius to conduct his battle against the confessional state from within the university itself. The university was a kind of cockpit for controlling the intellectual culture of the princely territorial state, allowing Thomasius to wage his campaign to tear the levers of civil power from the churches and clergy who, as he thought, had so grievously misused them. Thomasius's most celebrated and controversial reforming works – on the prince's right with regard to heresy, witchcraft, torture and the regulation of religious worship – thus began life as Latin university disputations, several of them co-produced with his students, before being published under his signature in German for maximum dissemination and effect.⁶

The third feature to note in Thomasius's response to his students is the self-dramatising manner in which it combines a broad post-Westphalian campaign against the confessional state with his personal biographical struggle against local clerical authorities and their academic allies. Reacting to his frontal attacks on Lutheran political theology and the University of Leipzig's reigning Aristotelian scholasticism, a phalanx of opponents – including key members of the Leipzig theology professoriate – succeeded in having Thomasius banned from lecturing in 1689, forcing him to leave Saxony in March 1690 for exile in neighbouring Brandenburg, ruled by the Calvinist Hohenzollern dynasty.⁷ Thomasius came to regard this

pp. 687–735; and Wolfgang Weber, 'Zwischen Fürstenabsolutismus und Räterherrschaft. Zur Rolle der gelehrten Beamten im politischen Denken des Christian Thomasius', in F. Vollhardt (ed.), *Christian Thomasius (1655–1728): Neue Forschungen im Kontext der Frühaufklärung* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1997), pp. 79–98.

⁵ Anton Schindling, 'Schulen und Universitäten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Zehn Thesen zu Bildungsexpansion, Laienbildung und Konfessionalisierung nach Reformation', in W. Brandmüller, H. Immenkötter and E. Iserloh (eds.), *Ecclesia Militans. Studia zur Konzilien- und Reformationsgeschichte Remigius Bäumer zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1988), pp. 561–70.

⁶ Details related to the authorship and publication of Thomasius's works are to be found in the Lieberwirth's invaluable annotated bibliography: Rolf Lieberwirth, *Christian Thomasius. Sein wissenschaftliches Lebenswerk* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1955).

⁷ Rolf Lieberwirth, 'Christian Thomasius' Leipziger Streitigkeiten', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg (Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe)* 3 (1953), 155–9; Frank Grunert, 'Zur aufgeklärten Kritik am theokratischen Absolutismus. Der Streit zwischen Hector Gottfried Masius und Christian Thomasius über Ursprung und Begründung der summa potestas', in Vollhardt (ed.), *Christian Thomasius*, pp. 51–78.

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event as a sign that his personal destiny was bound to that of the wider struggle against the confessional state, allowing him to infuse his political-jurisprudential writing with a level of personal testimony and intensity that seems modern in comparison with other academic writing of the time. In fact, we shall see that Thomasius's work in natural and public law was inseparable from his self-conscious cultivation of a particular persona, that of the anti-scholastic public intellectual intent on reforming philosophical knowledge by invoking its sensory limits and civil purposes.

Finally, the occasional, engaged and disputatious character of Thomasius's remarks are a pointer to the intellectual and historical register in which his thinking took place. Thomasius was not an academic philosopher in the modern post-Kantian sense, seeking grounds for thought and judgement that reach all the way to their supposed transcendental or universal conditions. In fact he refused to accept such conditions, arguing instead that thought is dominated by the will, which is in turn driven by the passions and embedded in interests.⁸ Thomasius's own thought unfolds in the medium of combat not contemplation. It is informed by his self-conscious rejection of the 'monkish' contemplative life whose claims to spiritual superiority he regarded as a self-serving clerical aggrandisement. Rather than participating in a 'conversation with mankind', he was engaged in vehement disputation with the clerical, philosophical and juridical defenders of the early modern confessional state.⁹ Far from being ideal – that is, composed of discussants who learn to put their interests aside and argue from shared norms of reason – Thomasius's 'speech situation' thus was decidedly tendentious, as both his own and his opponents' arguments were forged in a clash of political and religious interests in which the norms of reasoning were themselves centrally at issue.

Modern academics usually assume that religion and politics represent domains in which it will be possible, at least in principle, to reach agreement based on shared norms or principles arrived at through more fundamental philosophical reasoning. Even if there is disagreement as to the nature of this reasoning – some philosophers opting for principles of

⁸ See Christian Thomasius, *Fundamenta juris naturae et gentium ex sensu communi deducta* (Halle, 1705). German translation, *Grundlehren des Natur- und Völker-Rechts, nach dem sinnlichen Begriff aller Menschen vorgestellt* (Halle, 1709; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 2003), pp. 23–42.

⁹ The centrality of unreconciled interest-driven conflict to intellectual history is gaining increasing scholarly attention. See, for example, Markus Friedrich, *Die Grenzen der Vernunft: Theologie, Philosophie und gelehrte Konflikte am Beispiel des Helmstedter Hofmannstreits und seiner Wirkungen auf das Luthertum um 1600* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); and Martin Gierl, *Pietismus und Aufklärung: Theologische Polemik und die Kommunikationsreform der Wissenschaft am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997).

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justice based on Kantian universalisation procedures, others for principles of natural law grounded in Aristotelian conceptions of human good and human nature, and so on – it is widely assumed, perhaps overly optimistically, that this disagreement too is capable of being formulated and resolved in a shared philosophical discourse. Thomasius's circumstances did not permit him to think like this. When he looked at the forms of philosophical reasoning – Aristotelian derivations of natural law principles from man's 'rational and sociable nature' being a case in point – he saw ways of constructing norms and principles that were deeply and partisanly implicated in the religious and political conflicts whose restraint he sought. We shall see that Thomasius was a participant in religious and political conflicts whose shattering force had reached all the way down to the principles of reason and splintered the concept of philosophy itself. It is this crucial fact about his historical context that makes it so difficult for modern academic readers to negotiate the topography of his writings and thought. Before discussing these writings, then, we need to gain some sense of what it was about Thomasius's life and times that placed him in this intellectual situation.

Thomasius's path to his role as one of Protestant Germany's pre-eminent opponents of political confessionalism began on 1 January 1655.¹⁰ He was born into a family of Lutheran jurists and academics in Leipzig, where his father Jacob (1622–84) was a professor of philosophy who would gain a reputation as a pioneering historian of philosophy.¹¹ Christian enrolled at his father's university in 1669 and graduated with a master's degree in 1672. That year also saw the publication of Samuel Pufendorf's monumental and controversial *De jure naturae et gentium* (The Law of Nature and Nations), in Sweden, where Pufendorf was professor of

¹⁰ There is as yet no full-scale scholarly biography of Thomasius. For a helpful English overview of his life and work, see Knud Haakonssen, 'Christian Thomasius', in E. Craig (ed.), *The Routledge Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 376b–80b; and, for a discussion of his key doctrines, Ian Hunter, *Rival Enlightenments: Civil and Metaphysical Philosophy in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 197–273. The pathbreaking German study is Werner Schneiders, *Naturrecht und Liebesethik. Zur Geschichte der praktischen Philosophie im Hinblick auf Christian Thomasius* (Hildesheim: Olms Verlag, 1971). A more recent overview in German is Helmut Holzhey and Simone Zurbuchen, 'Christian Thomasius', in H. Holzhey and W. Schmidt-Biggemann (eds.), *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie. Die Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts, Band 4: Das heilige Römische Reich deutscher Nation, Nord- und Ostmitteleuropa* (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), pp. 1165–202. Useful biographical information can be found in Max Fleischmann (ed.), *Christian Thomasius: Leben und Lebenswerk* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1931; repr. Aalen, 1979).

¹¹ See Giovanni Santinello, 'Jakob Thomasius (1622–1684)', in F. Bottin *et al.* (eds.), *Models of the History of Philosophy: From its Origins in the Renaissance to the 'Historia Philosophica'* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1993), pp. 409–42.

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natural and international law and adviser to the royal court.¹² Written in the protracted aftermath of the Thirty Years War, Pufendorf's radical reconstruction of the natural law tradition was dedicated to providing a secular foundation for ethics and politics, in the objective of an enforceable social peace, rather than in the realisation of man's (supposedly) intrinsic rationality or sociability.¹³ Thomasius must have read the *De jure* soon after its publication, as he records that he was still at the University of Leipzig when he encountered the work. He found himself swept along by the radical and lucid character of Pufendorf's arguments yet fearful of embracing them, owing to the accusations of irreligion and dangerous innovation surrounding their author.¹⁴

It was not until he moved to the University of Frankfurt on Oder in 1674, in order to undertake a doctorate in law, that Thomasius was able to return to the arguments that had so unsettled him, and that now began to transform his intellectual and political outlook. Looking back from the Foreword to his own natural law work, the *Institutiones jurisprudentiae divinae* (Institutes of Divine Jurisprudence) of 1688, he would claim this as the decisive turning point in his intellectual biography, with his usual self-dramatising flair: 'I began even at that time to chase away some of the dark clouds that until then had obscured my understanding.'¹⁵ In the light that was dawning, Thomasius records, he became ashamed of the fact that he had previously taken the theologians at their word, accepting that they confined themselves to properly theological matters and that all who opposed them, like Pufendorf, were heretics or dangerous innovators. In fact, he continues, it was through Pufendorf – who taught him how to separate philosophy from theology – and through his own studies in politics and public law, that he discovered that in making such claims the theologians were straying into ethics and jurisprudence, where they have no business. He thereby acquired an insight that he would never relinquish, namely, that as 'private persons' theologians had no legal right to declare someone a heretic. Such a right belonged in principle only to the secular prince, who should be wary of using it in practice, since innovators

¹² For a modern English translation, see Samuel Pufendorf, *The Law of Nature and of Nations in Eight Books*, trans. C. H. Oldfather and W. A. Oldfather (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934).

¹³ For overviews, see Michael J. Seidler, 'Samuel Pufendorf', in A. C. Kors (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 378–81; Horst Dreitzel, 'Samuel Pufendorf', in Holzhey and Schmidt-Biggemann (eds.), *Die Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts, Band 4*, pp. 757–812; and Hunter, *Rival Enlightenments*, pp. 148–96.

¹⁴ Christian Thomasius, *Institutiones jurisprudentiae divinae* (Leipzig, 1688). German translation, *Drey Bücher der Göttlichen Rechtsgelahrtheit* (Halle, 1709; repr. Hildesheim, 2001), Foreword.

¹⁵ Thomasius, *Göttlichen Rechtsgelahrtheit*, p. 5.

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are not heretics and the name heretic itself had been gravely misused.¹⁶ No doubt with the wisdom of autobiographical hindsight, Thomasius could thus claim that even in his Frankfurt student years the intellectual stage had been set for the battles to come, in which his personal destiny would be joined to the campaign to destroy the early modern confessional state.

In relocating to Frankfurt for his doctoral studies, however, the 19-year-old was not just making the intellectual move from theology and philosophy to law and politics. He was moving to a state of the Holy Roman German Empire, electoral Brandenburg, whose political and religious composition differed significantly from that of his home state of Saxony. Saxony's ruling dynasty, the Wettins, shared the Lutheran religion of their 'estates'. These were the towns and cities, and circles of nobles and knights (*Ritterschaften*) whose legal constitution as orders of the Holy Roman German Empire gave them rights independent of their territorial prince – for example, the right to imperial jurisdiction – and set the scene for protracted struggles over their integration within the territorial state.¹⁷ In Brandenburg, the Hohenzollern dynasty had converted to Calvinism at the beginning of the seventeenth century – seeking to unite religious reform and territorial state-building as part of the North German 'second Reformation'¹⁸ – while the estates of Brandenburg and Prussia remained staunchly Lutheran, treating their religion as an imperial right.

As we shall see in more detail in Chapter 1, this set the scene for a struggle, lasting throughout the seventeenth century, in which the Brandenburg electoral princes attempted to reform the principality's religious constitution, in fact to 'soften' the Lutheran religion of the estates so that it could be aligned with the moderate Calvinism of the ruling house. This was a central part of their campaign to integrate the estates within a princely territorial state, and it gave rise to a whole series of smaller and larger battles – over schooling, the appointment of clergy and, crucially, the prince's right to restrain religious conflicts and 'reform' ritual

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

¹⁷ The existence of the quasi-autonomous estates was living historical testimony to the variety of agencies – crusading knightly orders, entrepreneurial feudal nobilities, trading cities and missionising religious orders headquartered in large abbeys and powerful bishoprics – involved in the medieval western colonisation of non-Christian north-eastern Europe, under the nominal auspices of the Holy Roman emperor and the pope. For an overview of the estates of Brandenburg and Prussia and their struggles with the Brandenburg electoral princes, see F. L. Carsten, *The Origins of Prussia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), pp. 165–78, 179–228.

¹⁸ See Heinz Schilling, 'The Second Reformation: Problems and Issues', in his *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), pp. 247–301.

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and liturgy – whose religious and political dimensions were inextricably linked.¹⁹ Owing in part to popular resistance, but more importantly to the success of the noble estates in using the imperial courts and imperial alliances against the territorialising electoral princes, the Brandenburg ‘second Reformation’ had stalled by the middle of the seventeenth century, even if the ‘Great Elector’ had succeeded in installing a network of Calvinist nobles in the upper echelons of the court and bureaucracy, and was in the process of creating a standing army.²⁰

Friedrich Wilhelm had succeeded in ‘reforming’ the university of Frankfurt on Oder, however.²¹ The Brandenburg elector – so called as one of the seven German princes with the right to elect the Holy Roman emperor – had turned Frankfurt into a bi-confessional (Calvinist and Lutheran) institution. Further, his policies had facilitated the appointment of law professors such as Johann Brunnemann and Samuel Stryk – critics of the Lutheran theocratic jurisprudence taught at Saxony’s Wittenberg and Leipzig universities – and secularising political philosophers like Johann Christoph Becmann. Becmann drew on both Hobbes and Pufendorf to develop a conception of sovereignty in which the prince exercised supreme power in defence of social peace, thereby subordinating the church to political imperatives and authority.²² Frankfurt thus provided the young Thomasius with a cultural and political milieu allowing him to assimilate Pufendorf’s natural law and develop political and juridical doctrines oriented to the deconfessionalised governance of a multi-confessional state. It thereby cemented his opposition to the religious and political culture of his home university of Leipzig.

Armed with a doctorate of laws and a head full of disputatious ideas, Thomasius returned to Leipzig in 1679 where, after a short period working as an advocate in the town, he began offering fee-for-service lectures at the

¹⁹ For more, see Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People, and Confession: The Second Reformation in Brandenburg* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

²⁰ See Paul Schwartz, ‘Die Verhandlungen der Stände 1665 und 1668 über die Religionsedikte’, *Jahrbuch für brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 30 (1935), 88–115; and Peter-Michael Hahn, ‘Calvinismus und Staatsbildung: Brandenburg-Preußen im 17. Jahrhundert’, in M. Schaab (ed.), *Territorialstaat und Calvinismus* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1993), pp. 239–69.

²¹ See the discussion of this in Gerhard Oestreich, ‘Die Bedeutung des niederländischen Späthumanismus für Brandenburg-Preußen’, in H. Thieme (ed.), *Humanismus und Naturrecht in Berlin-Brandenburg-Preußen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1979), pp. 16–28. Oestreich focuses on the university’s new openness to currents of Arminian Calvinism and political neo-Stoicism (Lipsius) flowing from the Netherlands.

²² Horst Dreitzel, ‘The Reception of Hobbes in the Political Philosophy of the Early German Enlightenment’, *History of European Ideas* 29 (2003), 255–89.

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university. During the 1680s, in an array of provocative lectures, disputations and tracts, he sought to unsettle Leipzig's reigning Protestant Aristotelian scholasticism. Not only did he champion Pufendorf's secularising natural law and attack the 'Christian natural law' of the Leipzig theological professoriate – Valentin Alberti and Johann Benedict Carpzov in particular – but he also intervened in a series of political and religious controversies on the side of the Brandenburg elector and against the interests of Saxony and its Lutheran church and estates.²³ By 1689 Thomasius's enemies were ready to act, and Alberti, Carpzov and their colleague Augustin Pfeiffer – aided by Carpzov's brother Samuel who was pastor to the Saxon court – lodged complaints against him at court and in the Lutheran Superior Consistory in Dresden. The result was that Thomasius was banned from lecturing by ducal edict; he would later say on pain of arrest and confiscation of his property. This triggered his flight across the border into neighbouring Brandenburg in 1690, where he was quickly invited to play a leading role in the founding of the University of Halle.

When, in 1690, Thomasius moved to Brandenburg for the second time – now as an exile who would make his home and career there – he stepped into the unfinished battle of religious and political wills between the Calvinist ruling house and its Lutheran estates and clergy. This stand-off provides the immediate context for Thomasius's anti-clerical campaigning and for much of his political-jurisprudential writing, explaining, for example, why so much of it is concerned with clarifying and defending the prince's rights in relation to religious affairs.²⁴ We may conjecture that his standing as a controversial dissident Lutheran, with an irenic attitude towards Calvinism and political leanings towards princely territorial sovereignty, made him attractive to the Brandenburg court and facilitated his move to Halle. This took place with the assistance of his mentor Pufendorf who, reaching the end of a distinguished career as a political philosopher and adviser to Protestant princes, had himself taken up a post as privy and judicial councillor to the Brandenburg court in 1688. Thomasius's reputation in this regard also helps explain his leading role in founding the University of Halle between 1690 and 1694. Halle was designed to weaken the grip of Lutheran orthodoxy through the pre-eminence of its secularist law faculty and the staffing of its theology faculty with anti-orthodox Lutheran Pietists, under the leadership of

²³ See Lieberwirth, 'Christian Thomasius' Leipziger Streitigkeiten'; and Grunert, 'Aufgeklärten Kritik'.

²⁴ See Hinrich Rüping, 'Thomasius und seine Schüler im brandenburgischen Staat', in Thieme (ed.), *Humanismus und Naturrecht*, pp. 76–89.

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A. H. Francke.²⁵ If Thomasius and Stryk (who had now joined his former student) provided the court with a style of political jurisprudence sympathetic to the establishment of princely territorial supremacy, then the Pietists' cultivation of a non-doctrinal inward and practical religiosity promised to soften the anti-Calvinist intransigence of Lutheran orthodoxy, even if it gave rise to an intransigent piety.²⁶

Several of Thomasius's writings from this period make sense in this setting. Two controversial disputations from 1690 are quite closely aligned with the *Religionspolitik* of his new patrons and sovereign. In *De felicitate subditorum Brandenburgicorum* (On the Happiness of the Subjects of Brandenburg) Thomasius praises the efforts of the electors in establishing a bi-confessional state, attacks the 'fanatical' Lutheran clergy for their opposition to this, and defends the religious edicts of the 'Great Elector' Friedrich Wilhelm (1640–1688).²⁷ These edicts had been central instruments in the long campaign to restrain the anti-Calvinist polemics of Brandenburg's Lutheran clergy and to transform their religion into a form permitting a *modus vivendi* with the Calvinism of the ruling house. A leading Lutheran cleric in Halle, Archdeacon Albrecht Christian Roth of the *Ulrichskirche*, reacted to Thomasius's treatise, attacking its author as a 'syncretist' and 'indifferentist', whose anti-doctrinal defence of religious inwardness aligned him with the 'enthusiast' Pietists.²⁸ Ever ready for combat, Thomasius responded with a second disputation whose baroque title asked 'Whether Lutherans can with good conscience be prevented by their teachers from having any intercourse with Calvinists (Reformed) or attending their sermons?'. In this he defended the right of Lutherans to hear Calvinist sermons on the grounds that doctrinal differences are irrelevant to true holiness – which consists in acknowledging one's

²⁵ Notker Hammerstein, 'Jurisprudenz und Historie in Halle', in N. Hinske (ed.), *Zentren der Aufklärung I. Halle: Aufklärung und Pietismus* (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1989), pp. 239–53; and Udo Sträter, 'Aufklärung und Pietismus – das Beispiel Halle', in N. Hammerstein (ed.), *Universitäten und Aufklärung* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1995), pp. 49–62, although note Sträter's argument that the exclusion of orthodox Lutherans from the theology faculty was the result of struggles during the founding phase, rather than being a design feature.

²⁶ Martin Brecht, 'August Hermann Francke und der Hallische Pietismus', in his *Geschichte des Pietismus. Bd. 1: Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), pp. 439–539.

²⁷ Christian Thomasius, *De felicitate subditorum Brandenburgicorum ob emendatum per Edicta Electoralia statum ecclesiasticum et politicum* (Halle, 1690). German translation, *Doppelte Glückseligkeit Brandenburgischer Untertanen*, in *Auserlesene deutsche Schriften, Erster Teil* (Halle, 1705; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1994), pp. 1–75.

²⁸ On this, see Klaus Deppermann, *Der halle'sche Pietismus und der preussische Staat unter Friedrich III. (I.)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), pp. 72–3.