

Portrait of a Reformed Theologian

Girolamo Zanchi: Portrait of A Reformed Theologian and His Work

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Girolamo Zanchi (1516-1590) was a member of the influential though informally organized group of Italian refugees, whose diaspora as a result of the activity of the Inquisition was to have a major impact on the development of reformed theology in the decades following the death of John Calvin.¹ Although converted through the preaching of Peter Martyr, then prior of the Augustinian house of S. Frediano in Lucca, it was yet to be a further ten years before Zanchi took the decision to follow his mentor into exile.² His subsequent career brought him first to the recently established humanist academy in Strasbourg, where he worked as a lecturer on the Old Testament for more than ten years from 1553.³ Then, after a brief period acting as pastor to the refugee church at Chiavenna in the Grisons, he was called to take over the chair of "common-place" theology at Heidelberg. It was here and in the short lived Casimirianum at Neustadt that his reputation as a systematic theologian received due acclaim. Officially sanctioned at the Synod of Dort, where it was seen to provide one of the best apologies for the reformed tradition, Zanchi's work found frequent citation in the writings of English, Scottish, and Dutch theologians of the seventeenth century.

Interest in the work of Zanchi, who as a theologian made little claim to originality, has largely been concerned with his role in the emergence of reformed scholasticism.⁴ This movement, which had direct parallels within the Lutheran church, could generally be

¹ J. Tedeschi, "Italian Reformers and the Diffusion of Renaissance Culture," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* V, 2 (1974): 79-94.

² On the community at S. Frediano and Zanchi's Italian background see P. McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy, an Anatomy of Apostasy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 219-229.

³ The development of the Academy, which did not receive official recognition from the emperor until 1566, is treated in A. Schilding, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt, Gymnasium und Akademie in Strasbourg, 1538-1621* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977).

⁴ Treatment of particular aspects of Zanchi's theology can be found in such standard works as O. Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus III* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926): 283-289 and H. E. Weber, *Reformation, Orthodoxie und Rationalismus* 1,2 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1940): 82-87. Within the English speaking world the revival of interest in this theme owes much to the study of B. Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy, Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

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described as an attempt to provide a systematic defense of reformed doctrine within a framework of Aristotelian philosophy. Not only did this mean that a training in formal logic was seen as the necessary propedeutic to theological inquiry, a claim that echoed the views of the humanist scholars of the previous generation, but of more importance was the assumption that the material of divine revelation could be defined in these terms. Following the principles of the *Posterior Analytics*, it came to be argued that theology was a deductive science based on the axiomatic truths of Holy Scripture. The widespread use of the syllogistic method, together with the implicit elevation of human reason, were but the hallmarks of a system which by the early seventeenth century had gained a dominant hold in most of the reformed universities of Europe.

While it may be disputed to what extent the adoption of this approach served to distort or even to falsify the teaching of the reformers, it is clear that it did embody a substantially different concept of theological inquiry. For Calvin no less than for the German reformers, theology was taken as synonymous with biblical exegesis. As was clearly pointed out in the preface to the *Institutes*, the real purpose of such a work was to serve as a prolegomena to the study of scripture; the necessary grounding in doctrine was derived inductively through the comparison of relevant texts. A similar objective lay behind the influential "loci" of Melancthon and in the flowering of "common-place" theology, which became established in many institutions of learning at this time. Although not to deny the value of philosophy, there was no sense in which this could become the regulating factor in describing the relation "Deus erga nos". This determination on the part of the early reformers to preserve the immediacy of the biblical message left little scope for the development of a systematic theology.

In many ways the changes that took place during the latter part of the sixteenth century were no more than an attempt to define the doctrinal integrity of the church against its critics. The recognition in imperial law of the Lutheran confession at the Peace of Augsburg, the revival of Catholic theology after the Council of Trent, and the emergence of a radical challenge on the doctrine of the Trinity all

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served to exacerbate the level of theological debate.⁵ The ensuing warfare of controversial literature led to a deepening of perspectives on all sides. The row over the "communicatio idiomatum" and its bearing on the doctrine of the eucharist was but one example of this process. Proceeding beyond the simple exegesis of biblical texts and building on the work of patristic and medieval commentators, attention came to be focused on the logical and metaphysical implications of the opposing points of view.⁶ Seen in the context of this debate "ad fontes", it is not difficult to understand the parallel attempt to create an internally coherent and rationally defensible structure of theology.

Yet this was also a theology of the schools, a province in which the influence of the Stagirite remained dominant. It was due largely to the work of Melanchthon that the Aristotelian corpus was preserved within the Protestant scholastic curriculum and continued to furnish the basic intellectual formation of the evangelical ministry.⁷ It is hardly surprising when this background came to underwrite their theological work of later years, a process well examined in the study of Paul Althaus.⁸ Particularly after the death of Melanchthon many of his former disciples, figures such as Zacharias Ursinus, were to move into the reformed camp.⁹ Nor was it only in the German universities that the Preceptor's influence paved the way for the rise of reformed scholasticism. In his controversial analysis of the work of Theodore Beza, himself one of the seminal figures in the movement, Walter Kickel has argued that the logic of Melanchthon provides the key to

⁵ A useful introduction is provided by E. W. Zeeden, *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen: Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1965), though it may be noted that there is still no authoritative account of the German "late-reformation".

⁶ For a discussion of Lutheran teaching on this point see T. Mahlmann, *Das neue Dogma der lutherischen Christologie: Problem und Geschichte seiner Begründung* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1969), while further developments are handled in W. Sparr, *Wiederkehr der Metaphysik: die ontologische Frage in der lutherischen Theologie des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1976). On the reformed position see the study of J. Raitt, *The Eucharistic Theology of Theodore Beza: Development of the Reformed Doctrine* (Chambersburg: A. A. R., 1972).

⁷ R. Petersen, *Geschichte der aristotelischen Philosophie im protestantischen Deutschland* (Leipzig: Meiner, 1921), pp. 19-108, and W. Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Fromman, 1964)1:79-121.

⁸ P. Althaus, *Die Prinzipien der deutschen reformierten Dogmatik im Zeitalter der aristotelischen Scholastik* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1914). This line of argument was later developed by E. Bizer, *Frühorthodoxie und Rationalismus* (Zurich: EVZ, 1963).

⁹ E. K. Sturm, *Der junge Zacharias Ursin: sein Weg vom Philippismus zum Calvinismus (1534-1562)* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972).

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the entire structure of his thought; the conclusion can be drawn that "the Aristotelianism of Melanchthon is determinative for the whole of the sixteenth century".¹⁰

More recent research, however, has suggested an alternative root for this development in reformed theology, namely the influence of the Italian exiles, Peter Martyr and his disciple Girolamo Zanchi.¹¹ Both trained in the school of Padua, where the tradition of Aristotelian studies was strong, they showed little of the reluctance in acknowledging this debt so characteristic of their contemporaries. Moreover, and this particularly true in the case of Zanchi, the influence of St. Thomas Aquinas was a noted feature of their work. Starting with Otto Gründler's book on Zanchi's doctrine of God, it has been suggested that it was this return to the tradition of the "via antiqua" which furnished the basis for the scholastic revival, a point amply confirmed through the research of J. P. Donnelly.¹² In structure as well as in content, Zanchi's major works, *De Tribus Elohim* (1572) and *De Natura Dei* (1577), were heavily indebted to the model of the *Summa Theologiae*. Designed as part of a comprehensive dogmatics, treating God's relation to the created order as well as to man, these works represented a new departure in reformed theology. A systematic account of the entire scope of sacred history, an account which presupposed a concept of theology as a deductive science rather than the inductive method of the common-place tradition, here was Zanchi's contribution to the foundation of reformed scholasticism.

Clearly such a cursory overview can do no more than present the main directions of current research. One major lacuna, a point which may be seen as the presupposition of any serious assessment of

¹⁰ W. Kickel, *Vernunft und Offenbarung bei Beza: zum Problem des Verhältnisses von Theologie, Philosophie und Staat* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967), p. 63. A parallel study of O. Fatio, *Methode et théologie: Lambert Daneau et les débuts de la scholastique réformée* (Geneva: Droz, 1976) lends support to this analysis.

¹¹ J. P. Donnelly, "Italian influences on the development of reformed scholasticism," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* VII, 4 (1976): 81-101.

¹² O. Gründler, *Die Gotteslehre Zanchis und ihre Bedeutung für seine Lehre Von der Prädestination* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965). Despite a critical review by N. Shepherd, "Zanchius on saving faith," *Westminster Theological Journal* 36 (1973): 31-47, this work remains the only full-length study on Zanchi's theology. Donnelly's views can be found in his book *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp.189-207. For a further statement see the article on "Calvinist Thomism," *Viator* (1976): 441-455, while mention should also be made of J. C. McLelland, "Calvinism perfecting Thomism? Peter Martyr Vermigli's Question," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 31, IV (1978): 571-578.

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Zanchi's significance, is the absence of a detailed historical survey of his career as a reformed theologian. Despite a revival of interest in the work of Zanchi in recent years, the only biographical study remains that published in the middle of the nineteenth century by Karl Schmidt.¹³ Lacking any discussion of his intellectual development, most commentators have tended to assume that the projected "summa" of the Heidelberg period, that which established his reputation as a theologian, was normative for the whole of Zanchi's work. Yet this is an assumption that deserves to be tested. Fifty-six years old when the first edition of *De Tribus Elohim* appeared from the press, it was already some twenty years since Zanchi had begun lecturing at the Strasbourg Academy. While it is true that this period saw little by way of published output, this does not mean that his activity at the time is without interest. Even allowing for the fact that the historical records are only piecemeal, some attempt to reconstruct the main outlines of this work can be made. It is through his lecture program, together with the various projects that were advanced for publication, that Zanchi's emergence as a systematic theologian can be traced.

I

At the time of his arrival in Strasbourg in March 1553, Zanchi had published none of his work and remained almost unknown outside the small circle of the exile community. Having received the appointment through the good offices of his future father-in-law, Celio Secundo Curione,¹⁴ and on the strength of his connection with Peter Martyr,¹⁵

¹³ "Girolamo Zanchi", *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 4 (1859): 625-708. Mention should be made of an earlier biographical sketch by G. Gallizioli, *Memorie storiche e letterarie della vita e delle opere di Girolamo Zanchi* (Bergamo, 1785), a work which provides valuable information on the family background. The best account in English is that of J. Tylenda, "Girolamo Zanchi and John Calvin. A study in discipleship as seen through their correspondence." *Calvin Theological Journal* X, 2 (1975): 101-141.

¹⁴ M. Kutter, *Celio Secundo Curione, sein Leben und sein Werk* (Basel: Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1955), pp. 256-259.

¹⁵ On the career of Peter Martyr see M. Anderson, *Peter Martyr, a reformer in exile (1542-1562): a chronology of biblical writings in England and Europe* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), together with a number of the papers in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform*, ed. J. C. McLelland (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1980). That Zanchi was seen as the successor to his former mentor is revealed in the letter of appointment from the Scholarchs, February 25, 1553, "Epistolarum Libri Duo" (Hanau, 1609), *H. Zanchii Operum Omnium Theologicorum* 8 Vols. (Geneva, 1617-1619) O.T. VIII/2, 1241: "Promittimus etiam eadem stipendia, et laborum consimiles fructus. Et quantum in nobis est, ut non minus apud nos libenter futurus sis, quam Petrus Martyr fuerit."

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he had yet to establish a reputation in his own right. Moreover, it should be noted that the preparation of lecture material for publication was regarded as a normal part of a professor's responsibility within the school. Particularly since the crisis of the Augsburg Interim had led to the departure of some of the best-known members of the Academy, it was expected that Zanchi do something to restore the reputation established by Bucer, Calvin, and Martyr.¹⁶

It was such a practical consideration that lay behind the request of the rector, Johann Sturm, that Zanchi prepare an edition of the *Physics* to serve as a complement to lectures he was giving "extraordinarie" on the corpus of Aristotle.¹⁷ This work, which was prefaced with a seventy page introduction by Zanchi, was published in a limited edition by Wendelin Rihel in the late summer of 1554. Much attention has been paid to this preface as providing an early statement on the value of philosophy. While citing a caveat of St. Jerome that theology should never be confused with natural reason, Zanchi went on to add:

*There is no reason why anyone should reject this study of natural philosophy as useless in human matters or condemn it as detrimental to Christianity: rather it is of the utmost utility in the study of all liberal arts; in the furtherance of moral philosophy; in the recognition and worship of God; in the proper understanding of Holy Scripture; in the confirmation of many Christian doctrines and the refutation of heresies; and finally in the promotion of piety.*¹⁸

The consistency of Zanchi's views on this point is revealed by a statement drawn up almost thirty years later by way of preface to a work by the young Heidelberg philosopher, Fortunatus Crellius.¹⁹ Yet this claim that natural philosophy could serve as the handmaid of

¹⁶ Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule*, pp. 341-362.

¹⁷ Zanchi shared the task of lecturing on Aristotle with Peter Martyr, who returned to the city after being dismissed from his chair in Oxford on the death of Edward VI. That the course began in the middle of February is revealed by an entry in Marbach's diary, which is preserved in the Archives du Chapitre de St. Thomas (A.S.T.) 198: 142^r.

¹⁸ "H. Zanchi in physicem Aristotelis prolegomena", *Aristoteles de naturale auscultatione* (Strasbourg, 1554), XXV. Twenty years later this same passage was cited by the Bernese student Johann Hasler in defense of a controversial thesis submitted to the Arts Faculty in Strasbourg and taken from the *Metaphysics* XII, where he maintained that Aristotle may have possessed a saving knowledge of the Trinity. Asked for his judgment, Zanchi commended the ingenuity of the young man, though he went on to add "sed ea tribuis Aristoteli, quae, meo quidem iudicio nunque ei videntur in mentem." Moreover, he expressly rejected the claim that philosophy could be used to "moderate" theology, a point which Hasler was obliged to retract. The documentation on this highly interesting debate is to be found in A.S.T. 354: 37-48.

¹⁹ *Introductio in logicam Aristotelis ordine Aristotelico conscripta* (Neustadt, 1581). Designed as an attack on the logic of Peter Ramus, this work went through two further editions by 1590.

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revelation was in no way at variance with the teaching of the reformers; the authority of Calvin and Melanchthon could well be cited in its support.²⁰ An occasional piece designed for circulation among students, the importance of this early work by Zanchi should not be exaggerated.

It was also at this time that the prospect was raised of publishing a refutation of Sebastian Castellio's apology for Michel Servetus, who had been burned in Geneva the previous October.²¹ Shortly after the appearance of this book in Basel in March 1554, Zanchi began to lecture on the duty of the civil magistrate in the punishment of heretics, and at the behest of Bullinger he started to prepare the text for publication.²² Yet working from a transcript prepared by one of the sons of the Zurich Antistes, Heinrich, who was then studying in Strasbourg, proved worse than useless; in July Zanchi wrote to the father that the text would have to be completely revised.²³ Furthermore, the expected appearance of a sequel to the *De haereticis*, this time attacking Calvin's defense of the action against Servetus, was the occasion of more delay. Although Zanchi was still busy with the project in September,²⁴ the publication of Beza's detailed refutation of Castellio later that month rendered any further statement superfluous.²⁵ Even if the content of Zanchi's treatise can be inferred from some of the surviving lectures,²⁶ it is yet a matter of some loss that the full outline of the work has not been preserved.

While the experience of working on this book was clearly a source of some discouragement, it does not explain the fact that it was to be a further eight years before Zanchi again sought to go into print. A number of points can be adduced to explain this delay. Although

²⁰ This question is discussed in Kickel, *Vernunft und Offenbarung bei Beza*, pp. 15-68.

²¹ The controversial anthology *De haereticis an sint persequendi* was published pseudonymously by Johannes Oporinus. The most detailed discussion on the circumstances surrounding the publication is to be found in U. Plath, *Calvin und Basel in den Jahren 1552-1556* (Basel: Theologischer Verlag, 1974), pp. 128-135.

²² Zanchi to Bullinger, June 10, 1554, Staatsarchiv Zurich (S.A.Z.) E II 356: 745.

²³ Ibid., July 12, 1554, S.A.Z. E II 356: 747.

²⁴ Ibid., September 2, 1554, S.A.Z. E II 356: 748. Here it is mentioned that the real reason for going ahead with the project was the need to defend the authority of the Magistrate against those who were urging a right of civil disobedience.

²⁵ *De haereticis a civili magistratu puidendis* (Geneva, 1554). A further letter to Bullinger on September 24 is published in the *Corpus Reformatorum: Ioannis Calvini Opera* ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz and E. Reuss (Brunswick, 1863-1896) (C. O.) XV: 2015.

²⁶ Published in the "Miscellaneorum tomus alter" (Neustadt, 1608), O.T. VII/2: 168-184.

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provided with an adequate stipend in the Chapter of St. Thomas, the protracted illness of his first wife, Violanthis Curione, which was the result of successive miscarriages, together with the need to employ full-time nursing assistance, served to cripple the financial resources of the household. In such circumstances Zanchi was unable to afford the services of a suitably qualified amanuensis, who could have helped with the transcription and revision of his lectures.²⁷ It was only towards the end of his residence in Strasbourg that Frederick Sylberger, later to obtain distinction as a classical philologist, came to fill this role.²⁸

Another major problem at this time stemmed from the crisis of personnel in the Academy. The calling of Peter Martyr to Zurich in 1556 was not only a personal blow for Zanchi, who was thus separated from his closest friend, but it undermined the lecture routine whereby the two Italians had taken turns providing the course on Old Testament exegesis.²⁹ At the same time Ludwig Rabus, the cathedral preacher, who had undertaken a course on the loci of Melancthon, resigned to take up a post in the church at Ulm. While Johann Marbach continued to provide lectures on the New Testament, his responsibilities as superintendent of the church were to require frequent and prolonged periods of absence from the city. It was inevitably on Zanchi that the main burden of teaching fell. Obligated to lecture unaided for weeks at a time, the neglect of his other responsibilities, be it in the conduct of disputations or in the publication of his work, can easily be understood.³⁰

However, it was not just the pressure of work and the lack of opportunity that prevented Zanchi from considering the publication of his exegetical writings. In a letter addressed to the Scholarchs in the autumn of 1562 he indicated that his failure to publish was less through fear of contradiction than from the sense that the

²⁷ See Zanchi's petition to the Scholarchs, November 8, 1558, A.S.T. 347/88: "Ob morbum prioris uxoris, biennium pertuli, impedimento magnum fuere, ne quidpiam evulgare potuerim. Multa praeterea scripsi sed per tenuem fortunam, non potui adhuc, qui exscriberet amanuensem apud me habere."

²⁸ On the career of Sylberger see H. Meylan, "Girolamo Zanchi et son famulus," *Estratto da studi e materiali di storia della religione* 3b (1967).

²⁹ Zanchi to Bullinger, July 11, 1556, S.A.Z. E 11356: 843: "Petrus iam per vos divisus est; Petrus enim apud vos, martyrium apud me remansit." Details on the distribution of lectures are found in Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule*, pp. 356-359.

³⁰ See Zanchi's reply to the petition of Marbach, March 11, 1561, O. T. VII/2: 370-373.

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multiplication of available works served little to the profit of the church since "in these days there are more authors than readers."³¹ This point was certainly true with reference to his early work on Isaiah, the prophetic book most frequently selected by commentators and that which occupied Zanchi's attention during the first five years of his residence in Strasbourg. Aside from the fact that he never progressed further than the twelfth chapter, the publication of Wolfgang Musculus massive commentary on Isaiah towards the end of 1557 rendered any further such analysis unnecessary.³² It may have been for this reason that early in 1558 Zanchi turned his attention to the relatively little-known prophecy of Hosea.

While a work of detailed scholarship, Zanchi's biblical exegesis was possessed of little originality; seldom prepared to take issue with the patristic and contemporary authorities on which he relied, his own interpretation of a passage was often sheathed behind a confusing wealth of citation. It was rather in the exposition of the loci, of the dogmatic points arising out of a text, that his true métier was to be found. Taking as a point of departure a particular verse of scripture, he was capable of developing its implications for several weeks at a time, a fact that must explain the relative paucity of material covered during the Strasbourg period.³³ Obligated to modify this approach after complaints had been made by Marbach, the Italian later defended his work as entirely to the benefit of the students concerned:

When we interpret a text and adduce the relevant commonplaces, certain problems will arise in the minds of the students and continue as a source of anxiety unless diligently resolved. Yet after they have been explained through the reconciliation of apparently conflicting passages, the tempering of opposing arguments and the vindication of true doctrine from all calumny, no further scruples

³¹ Zanchi to the Scholarchs, C.T. VIII/2: 157r-158r. This letter, together with a partial translation, is discussed in J. P. Donnelly, "A sixteenth century case of publish or perish/parish." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* VI, 2 (1975): 112-113.

³² *In Esaïam prophetam commentarii locupletissimi* (Basel, 1557). The following year saw the re-edition of Calvin's commentary, as well as the first complete edition of Oecolampadius' work on the prophets.

³³ In addition to the first twelve chapters of Isaiah, Zanchi covered no more than the book of Hosea and part of I John during this Strasbourg period. The difference in style is evident in comparing Capito's commentary on Hosea, which is discussed in J. Kittelson, *Wolfgang Capito from humanist to reformer* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 226-229.

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*remain and the pure doctrine will be more clearly perceived and firmly retained.*³⁴

Possessing the virtue of clarity, it was for this very reason that Zanchi's teaching method served to foster dissension in the school.

The situation in Strasbourg had changed considerably since the time of Bucer, and events of the 1550s worked to affirm the ascendancy of Marbach and the Lutheran party.³⁵ Required to sign the *Confessio Augustana* as the condition of obtaining his prebend, Zanchi soon found that his freedom to teach according to conscience was more and more closely circumscribed.³⁶ As a result of two controversial disputations in 1556, he had to present the Scholarchs with a written defense of his views on the eucharist. Although the matter was there allowed to lapse, an ill-timed course of lectures on the question of ubiquity, a report of which served to undermine Marbach's attempt to maintain an irenic stance at the Colloquy of Worms, led to further complaints the following year.³⁷ It was then that Zanchi was formally warned by the Scholarchs to avoid any statement likely to impinge on the confessional standing of the city. Not only a major hindrance to his teaching program, this was also a ban on any attempt to publish his work.

Tensions within the school finally broke out in a major row between the two theologians in the spring of 1561.³⁸ Having received intimation from his students that Zanchi's lectures on eschatology and the perseverance of the saints were at variance with the teaching of Luther, Marbach once again referred the matter to the Scholarchs. It

³⁴ Reply to the petition of Marbach, O.T. VII/2: 370. The superintendent had first raised the question of Zanchi's choice of text for commentary in the course of a long statement before the Chapter on November 13, 1557, Acta Capituli Thomani, A.S.T. 195: 45-53.

³⁵ J. Adam, *Evangelische Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg bis zur französischen Revolution* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1922), pp. 277-368. Recent commentators such as R. Bornert, *La réforme protestante du culte à Strasbourg au XVI^e siècle (1520-1598)* (Leiden: Brill, 1981) and J. Abray in an as yet unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "The Long Reformation. Magistrates, Clergy and People in Strasbourg 1520-1598," (Yale University, 1978), have rightly stressed the element of continuity between Bucer and Marbach.

³⁶ It was only after lengthy discussion that Zanchi made an undertaking to the Scholarchs to teach "secundum veram et orthodoxe intellectam doctrinam in Augustana confessione contentum." The original is preserved in A.S. T. 347/87.

³⁷ "Reply to the second oration of Marbach," O. T. VII/2: 312-327.

³⁸ See J. Kittelson, "Marbach vs Zanchi: the resolution of controversy in late reformation Strasbourg," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* VIII, 3 (1977): 31-44. A more detailed account is provided by W. Sohm, *Die Schule Johann Sturms und die Kirche Straßburgs in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis 1530-1581* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1912), pp. 195-211.

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was as a result of this action that Zanchi came to be suspended on full pay until the orthodoxy of his views could be established. The dispute, which was passed on to the adjudication of the civil authority, was finally settled through the intervention of the duke of Württemberg. The formula of consensus drawn up by Jacob Andreae and the Basel Antistes, Simon Sulzer, was designed to establish a *modus vivendi* between the rival parties.³⁹ Yet the limitations which it imposed on Zanchi's teaching were such that he resigned his chair and left Strasbourg later that year.

II

The importance of the Strasbourg controversy in helping to delimit the issues which divided the two wings of the protestant movement has long been recognized.⁴⁰ This was the first real confrontation over the doctrine of predestination, which had hitherto been seen as part of the common heritage of the reform. It is interesting to note that the most detailed statement of Marbach's position, a statement prepared in June 1562 but never published, anticipates many of the points contained in Article XI of the Formula of Concord.⁴¹ Yet above all for Zanchi this was to be a major turning point in his career. Freed from his responsibilities in the school for a period of some two years and challenged to defend the teaching "which I never imagined would some day be called in question or condemned",⁴² he set about preparing a systematic defense of his views. His first major study on dogmatics, the Strasbourg *Miscellany*, provides a crucial key to his development as a theologian.

The story of the publication of the *Miscellany* is complex and itself forms a part of the controversy. Although the initial grounds of Marbach's complaint concerned the Italian's teaching on perseverance

³⁹ The text can be found in C.O. XIX 671-675.

⁴⁰ "Es ist der italienische Flilchtling Hieronymus Zanchi, dem der reformierte Orthodoxie die erste und grundlegende Fassung des Dogmas 'de perseverantia' verdankt und in dessen Streit mit dem Lutheraner Johann Marbach in Straßburg 1561 der unerwartete und bleibende Dissensus zwischen Calvinismus und Luthertum in dieser Frage zutage trat": J. Moltmann, *Prädestination und Perseveranz: Geschichte und Bedeutung der reformierten Lehre 'de perseverantia sanctorum'* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961), p. 75.

⁴¹ The German "Apology" of Marbach, A.S.T. 205, runs to almost 1,000 quarto pages. Here the systematic connection between the disputed issues of predestination and the eucharist was more clearly evident than in the Latin refutation of Zanchi's theses, A.S.T. 173: 354^r-365^v and 206: 1^r-248^v, the latter part of which is dated August 5, 1561.

⁴² See above note 31.

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and the end of time, after a summary of this work in the form of fourteen theses had been approved by the faculties of Marburg and Heidelberg, the pastors came to focus their attention on Zanchi's earlier lectures on predestination.⁴³ It was in response to this challenge that Zanchi prepared a fair copy of his lectures, which was then sent for consideration to his friends in Basel and Zurich at the end of May 1562.⁴⁴ That the real purpose behind this move was the publication of the work is revealed in the surviving transcript of a letter to Julius Terentianus, the long serving "famulus" of Peter Martyr.⁴⁵ Here Zanchi gave precise instructions as to how the manuscript, together with a preface from the Zurich theologians, should be taken to his friend Nicholas Carnusius, a printer who worked for the publisher Johannes Oporinus. Well aware that this was a breach of the moratorium laid down by the Strasbourg Magistrate, Zanchi stressed that the utmost secrecy should be observed.

Unfortunately, it is not clear to what extent the Zurich theologians were a party to this plan. Although Zanchi claimed the support of Johann Sturm for the project, it is evident that the rector was aware of the danger of going too far. Writing to Bullinger several weeks later, he asked that his friend be dissuaded from any precipitate action that might only serve to weaken his case.⁴⁶ While the lectures were approved after discussion in consistory on July 16, no mention was made of the formal commendation that Zanchi had hoped to preface to the work. Moreover, writing to Strasbourg four days later, Johann Wolfius denied having received the letter of May 28, the inclusion of which was to have exonerated Zanchi from any hand in the publication.⁴⁷ As no more was heard of the project, it would seem that at this stage caution prevailed and the manuscript was duly returned to Strasbourg at the end of the month.⁴⁸

⁴³ Zanchi's theses, together with a number of letters of approbation, are published in O.T. VII/1: 63-78. These are followed by the text of the disputed lectures on Isaiah and I John, pp. 77-250.

⁴⁴ See letters to Martin Borrhaus and Johann Wolfius, May 20, 28, 1562, O.T. VIII/2, 151v-152v.

⁴⁵ "Est igitur operepretium ut hanc ob causam verae et ingenue meae lectiones in lucem edantur": a transcript of this letter, which probably dates from May 28, is preserved in the Zurich Zentralbibliothek (Z.Z.B.) F 37: 180r-181r.

⁴⁶ Sturm to Bullinger, July 12, 1562, S.A.Z.E II 356: 866.

⁴⁷ Two draft copies of Wolfius' letter of July 20 are preserved in Z.Z.B. F 41: 165 and 409v; these provide a fuller version of that published in O.T. VI/11/2: 152.

⁴⁸ Zanchi to Wolfius, August 3, 1562, Z.Z.B. S 105: 41-42.

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In the meantime Zanchi had been busy preparing a much more elaborate defense of his teaching, a fair copy of which, together with a German translation, was submitted to the Magistrate on October 24.⁴⁹ In conception and structure these three treatises on predestination, perseverance, and the eucharist represent a major development on his earlier work. Setting aside the inductive method of the loci which had been the hallmark of his lectures, Zanchi sought to present his conclusions as a series of logical deductions from the first principles. The book on predestination, which itself occupies almost a hundred and fifty folios, began with the characteristic Thomist understanding of God as "absolute simplicity" and then proceeded to outline the divine attributes of omnipotence and immutability as the foundation of soteriology.⁵⁰ The essentially "scholastic" tone of the work was underlined by its careful division into "theses", "demonstrationes", and extensive "testimoniae" taken from patristic and medieval sources. Some of the more difficult problems arising out of the doctrine of perseverance were then examined under a separate section of 11 "quaestiones". While not designed for publication, this was much more than an apologetic statement; the Strasbourg treatises are the blueprint for the systematic work of the Heidelberg period.

Still, such an apology was no substitute for an open and public defense of his teaching, which continued to be attacked with little reserve from the pulpit.⁵¹ Despairing that the controversy would be resolved by means of disputation, a solution that both he and Sturm had favored from the outset,⁵² Zanchi's thoughts turned once again to the idea of publication. As a result of a meeting with Oporinus, who was passing through Strasbourg at the end of September, it was agreed to go ahead with the Zurich manuscript.⁵³ If permission to proceed with the publication could not be obtained, then the work was to be printed without colophon and secretly brought to Frankfurt for distribution at the following book-mart. For the time-being the manuscript was placed in a sealed package and deposited with Oporinus' factor in Strasbourg, Georg Messerschmidt.

⁴⁹ The originals are to be found in A.S.T. 56 and 57.

⁵⁰ On the question of the doctrine of God see Gründler, *Die Gotteslehre*, pp. 76-94.

⁵¹ For a justification of the pastor's conduct see "Conventus ecclesiasticus contra Zanchium", July 20, 1562, A. S.T. 173; 51.

⁵² Sturm's views are contained in a statement delivered to the Magistrate on May 26, 1562, O. T. VII/2: 406-411.

⁵³ On much of what follows see M. Steinmann, *Johannes Oporinus: ein Basler Buchdrucker um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Basel: Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1967), pp. 102-104.

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Hoping to avoid the possible consequences of such deception, Zanchi addressed a petition to the Scholarchs sometime in October.⁵⁴ Having outlined the difficulty of his situation, he pleaded the right to publish a corrected version of the lectures as the only proper basis on which his teaching could be judged. This submission was then referred to the Council of XIII, the body primarily responsible for foreign affairs, where it was discussed at a meeting on November 11.⁵⁵ Yet, though there was much sympathy for Zanchi's position and no objections were raised to the work itself, it was felt that the ban on publication should continue in force pending a settlement of the dispute. Only at this point was it decided to go ahead with the project outlined in the discussions with Oporinus.

Unfortunately, all did not go according to plan. When the manuscript arrived in Basel, Oporinus was disturbed to notice that the package had been opened. However, the printer continued with his work, and by the middle of February the first proofs had been sent to Strasbourg.⁵⁶ How Marbach came to uncover the plot is not clear, but on March 9 notice of the forthcoming publication was given to the Magistrate.⁵⁷ The following morning an urgent dispatch was sent to the Council of XIII in Basel requesting both an injunction against the printer and the seizure of any completed copies.⁵⁸ While no direct action was taken against Zanchi, other than to require that any further papers be handed into the custody of the Magistrate, this incident hardly served to enhance the credibility of the reformed party.

Yet the situation for the publisher was rather more serious. Not only had Oporinus already invested a considerable sum of money, but he now stood liable to imprisonment or a heavy fine for having broken the strict censorship laws of the city.⁵⁹ While cleared on both latter counts after making an abject apology before the Basel Magistrate in July, the permission to publish was still withheld. In some desperation Oporinus then wrote to friends in Marburg in the hope of finding an

⁵⁴ On the petition of Zanchi see above note 30.

⁵⁵ A.S.T. 55/7: 58^r.

⁵⁶ Steinmann, *Johannes Oporinus*, p. 103.

⁵⁷ See the protocol of the Württemberg delegaton, which arrived in Strasbourg at the beginning of March to mediate in the dispute, A.S.T. 55/13: 179^v-180^v.

⁵⁸ Ibid. The reply of the Basel Magistrate on March 11 is to be found in A.S.T. 55/9: 90.

⁵⁹ Steinmann, *Johannes Oporinus*, p. 24. It may be noted that this was no new experience for the publisher, who had already twice been imprisoned for his conduct.

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alternative outlet for the *Miscellany*. Yet even though supported by both Johann Pincier and Andreas Hyperius, two of the leading theologians of Hesse, after consideration in council their petition was rejected; once again it was felt that the interests of peace would be best served if the controversial lectures remained unpublished.⁶⁰ Although a short statement by Zanchi on the "supper strife," which had been drawn up some eighteen months before at the behest of the papal legate, Zacharias Delfino, was issued from the little-known press of Peter Schmidt in Mulhouse the following year,⁶¹ no more was heard of the Oporinus edition of the *Miscellany*.

In the meantime any hopes that the signing of the March Consensus would bring an end to the dispute were soon disappointed. As a result of the ambivalent character of the formula, the rumor began to spread that the Italian had been brought to recant.⁶² Determined to vindicate his reputation, Zanchi sought counsel from Bullinger and his friends in Zurich; it was at their suggestion that he prepared a further defense of his conduct in the form of a petition to the Magistrate.⁶³ Yet the renewed outbreak of controversy later that year, this time arising out of a statement made in the Chapter of St. Thomas, rendered the submission unnecessary.⁶⁴ Seeing no prospect of being able to continue his work and provided with an alternative calling to succeed Augustin Mainardi as pastor to the church in

⁶⁰ See letters from Pincier and Hyperius to Oporinus, September 9, 13, 1563, O.T. VIII/2: 154^v-155^r.

⁶¹ Details on Delfino's mission of May 1561 can be found in H. Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient* IV/1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1975): 57-75, 307, and 309. I have not been able to reconstruct the exact circumstances of the publication of this work, to which was subjoined Zanchi's opinion on the authority of the church in council. A single copy bearing the date 1562 and with the original postscript to Delfino, who was a close friend of Zanchi's cousin Basil, is available in the Zentralbibliothek Zurich. Asked for his judgment on the same question by Henry Knollys on behalf of the Elizabethan government, Zanchi revised the postscript on February 1, 1563, and it would seem that this tract was then printed by Oporinus, as a copy can be found in the university library in Groningen. Impounded immediately afterwards, the work was finally published by Schmidt in 1564, while a Dutch translation appeared in the same year. A second Flemish version was printed at Wesel in 1566.

⁶² See Zanchi to Sturm, April 19, 1563, O.T. VIII/2: 150^v-151^r. A misreading of Zanchi's subscription, which he had prefaced with the remark "Hanc doctrinae formuam, ut piam agnosco, ita etiam recipio" gave credence to this rumor. Even the copy that was sent to Zurich, S.A.Z. E II 345a: 518^r, contains the false reading "ita iam recipio", the implication of which was that Zanchi had changed his mind. The text is reproduced in J. Ficker and O. Winckelmann, *Handschriftenproben des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts nach Straßburger Originalen* II (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1905): 89.

⁶³ O.T. VII/1: 45-62.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 32-4.

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Chiavenna, Zanchi tendered his resignation on September 6.⁶⁵ Apparently the end of his academic career, the departure from Strasbourg was yet to free his work from the restrictions imposed by the *Confessio Augustana*.

During the troubled four years of his pastorate in Chiavenna, Zanchi had little opportunity to undertake any major literary enterprise.⁶⁶ Still keen to set the Zurich manuscript to print, the problem remained that of finding a publisher prepared to take on the risk. It was only after the appearance of an attack on Zanchi's teaching by his former colleague in the Academy, Valentin Erytraeus,⁶⁷ that Sturm managed to persuade the Genevan house of Crespin to undertake the project. Even so, prolonged negotiations were required before the book, together with a detailed account of the controversy in the form of a dedication to the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, was finally published in a quarto edition toward the end of 1566.⁶⁸

While satisfying the need for a public defense of the reformed group in Strasbourg, this Crespin edition was never widely circulated. One reason for this was its purely apologetic character, something underlined by the fact that Zanchi made no attempt to include the text of the October treatises, the major systematic presentation of his views. It was not for a further fifteen years, at the height of the row over the reception of the Formula of Concord, that this work was eventually published as part three of the expanded second edition.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Archives Municipales de Strasbourg, Ratsprotokoll (1563), 353b^r.

⁶⁶ On the troubles at Chiavenna see G. Zucchini, *Riforma e società nei Grigioni: G. Zanchi, S. Florillo, S. Lentulo e i conflitti dottrinari e socio-politici a Chiavenna (1563-1567)* (Coira: Archivio di Stato, 1978). That Zanchi considered publishing his commentary on Hosea is revealed in a letter to Sturm, February 22, 1564. O.T. VIII/2: 175^v, where it is recorded that Sylberger was engaged in putting the finishing touches to the text. Yet the outbreak of plague and the departure of his famulus to continue his studies in Padua led to the abandonment of this project: the "Commentarium in Hoseam prophetam", O.T. V: 1-207, was first published in Neustadt in 1600 and reprinted by James Rime of London five years later. Mention should be made of two minor works which can be dated to this period, the "Adversus blasphemum Petri Gonedzii libellum responsio," O.T. VIII/2: 248-257, and the tract "De divortio deque novis post divortium nuptiis" (Geneva, 1617), O.T. VIII/3: 1-28.

⁶⁷ *Augustana Confessionis eiusque Apologiae* I (Strasbourg, 1565), where Zanchi was attacked under the pseudonym of Eristicus. It may be noted that Marbach avoided any mention of the Strasbourg controversy in his *Christlicher und warhafftiger Unterricht, von den Worten der Einsatzung des Heyligen Abendmals Jesu Christi* (Strasbourg, 1565), a work designed as a refutation of the Heidelberg theologians.

⁶⁸ On the problems of publication see the letters of Zanchi to Hubert, June 28, 1566; February 17, 1567; May 24, 1567; and August 2, 1567, A.S.T. 162: 581-584 and 589-600.

⁶⁹ "Miscellaneorum libri tres" (Neustadt, 1582), O.T. VII/1: 1-440.

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Ironically, this was to be the most successful of Zanchi's publications, which went through a further five imprints before being included in the seventh volume of the *Opera Omnia*.⁷⁰

A further sequel to this story may be added. The October treatises were the only substantial part of Zanchi's work to be produced in translation.⁷¹ During the course of the Arminian controversy Sibrand Vomelius produced a Dutch version of the book on predestination in defense of the orthodox teaching of the Counter-Remonstrance.⁷² Yet it was in England that Zanchi's influence was most prominent, and separate translations of the tract on perseverance were prepared by William Perkins and Henry Nelson.⁷³ It might also be noted that an English version of the confession on the eucharist was included in Richard Hill's popular work of instruction, *The Pathway to Prayer*.⁷⁴ Yet the most striking evidence of a continued interest in the *Miscellany* was provided some two centuries after its first appearance. It was to the Strasbourg treatise on predestination that Augustus Toplady turned in support of his bitter attack on the theology of John Wesley; this English translation, which was published under the title of *The Absolute Doctrine of Predestination*, was sold in a cheap edition and went through at least five imprints by the early nineteenth century.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ The second Neustadt edition of 1592 went through three impressions that year. A further quarto edition appeared in Neustadt in 1603 and was reprinted two years later by James Rime, who at the time enjoyed a monopoly on the publication of Zanchi's works in England.

⁷¹ Aside from a number of minor works, the only other complete translation before this century was an English version of a synopsis of Calvin's *Institutes*, the "Compendium præcipuorum capitum doctrinæ Christianæ" (Neustadt, 1598), O.T. VIII/1: 613-828, a work compiled for Zanchi's private use while still resident at Lucca. The translation was published under the title *The Whole Body of Christian Religion* by John Redmayne of London in 1659. On this genre of literature see O. Fatjo, "Présence de Calvin à l'époque de l'orthodoxie réformée: les abrégés de Calvin à la fin du XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle" in *Calvinus Ecclesiae Doctor: International Congress on Calvin Research 1978*, ed. W. Neuser (Kampen: Kok, 1981), pp. 171-207, where there is unfortunately no mention of Zanchi's work.

⁷² *Tractaet ende verhandelinge van de Praedestinatie* (Frankfurt, 1614).

⁷³ A translation of part of the treatise was included in W. Perkins, *A case of conscience: how a man may know whether he is a child of God or no* (London, 1595), a work which was reissued as part of a popular miscellany two years later. A full translation was prepared by H. Nelson under the title *Speculum Christianum: a Christian survey of conscience* (London, 1614).

⁷⁴ "The confession of Master Zanchius touching the Supper of the Lord", in R. Hill, *The Pathway to Prayer* (London: 1613), a work which was reprinted four years later.

⁷⁵ See Donnelly, "Italian influences," p. 99.

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III

At the end of 1567 Zanchi was called to replace Zacharias Ursinus as professor of "common-place" theology in Heidelberg.⁷⁶ One of the oldest universities in Germany, with a fine tradition of humanist scholarship, it was only since the accession of the Elector Frederick III (1559-1576) that the faculty had moved over to the reformed persuasion.⁷⁷ The dogmatic basis of the Palatine settlement was that of the famous catechism of 1563, together with the elaborate defense undertaken by Ursinus. Despite an attempt at reconciliation with the Lutheran party at the Colloquy of Maulbronn, the political isolation of Frederick was underlined at the subsequent Diet of Augsburg (1566).⁷⁸ As the only established reformed center within the empire, Heidelberg provided the natural focus for much of the theological debate of the 1570s.

Here was a situation tailor-cut to the talents of Zanchi. Charged with the exposition of the grounding principles of reformed dogmatics, he began his work with a long oration before the university in February 1568.⁷⁹ Taking as his theme the authority of Scripture, the only true foundation of theology, he proceeded to outline his views on the problem of method. While granting that it was the task of the dogmatic theologian "to interpret Scripture through the analytic method, both faithfully and sincerely, according to the analogy of faith," Zanchi yet insisted that his first duty lay in the treatment of the "common-places" "drawn together by the synthetic method".⁸⁰ Using as an example the doctrine of the eucharist, it could be deduced that as Christ's body was located in heaven, so any concept of a substantial presence in the sacrament would have to be discounted. This was the approach that underlay his work during the following decade.

⁷⁶ On his appointment see the letters from Ursinus to Bullinger, June 9 and August 2, 1567, S.A.Z. E II 335: 86-87.

⁷⁷ The political and religious background to these events is treated in C-P. Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History 1559-1660* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983) and V. Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat, Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz 1559-1619* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1970), pp. 221-266.

⁷⁸ The most detailed account of this Diet, on which the fate of the reform movement depended, is provided by W. Hollweg, *Der Augsburger Reichstag von 1566 und seine Bedeutung für die Entstehung der reformierten Kirche und ihres Bekenntnisses* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964).

⁷⁹ "Oratio de conservando in ecclesia puro puto Dei verbo", O.T. VIII/1, 297-319.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 312. See Gründler, *Die Gotteslehre*, pp. 28-34.

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That this "oratiuncula" was designed for publication is evident from the correspondence with Conrad Hubert, the former amanuensis of Bucer and one of Zanchi's closest friends in the Chapter of St. Thomas. Following a request from Sturm, Zanchi sent a copy of his inaugural address to Strasbourg with the suggestion that the rector revise the prose style before setting the matter to print.⁸¹ Unfortunately, the extensive nature of Sturm's other commitments delayed this process for almost a year. Still dependent on his former contacts to obtain a publisher, Zanchi's sense of irritation can well be imagined.⁸² Having in the meantime developed a more elaborate project of combining the oration with the text of his recent lectures on the canon of Scripture, he wrote to Hubert requesting the return of the manuscript.⁸³ Although nothing more was heard of this scheme, it would seem that a fair copy was drawn up at the time since the work was published with little revision shortly after his death.⁸⁴

It was at this time that Zanchi became involved in the row over excommunication between Caspar Olevianus, a former pupil of Calvin, and the professor of medicine, Thomas Erastus.⁸⁵ Opposed to any theocratic ideal, Erastus together with a small but influential group of supporters argued that the final sanction of church government must pertain to the Christian Magistrate, a point on which they could look to the model of Zurich.⁸⁶ Asked to give judgment on this question, both Zanchi and Ursinus sought to maintain the middle ground.⁸⁷ While convinced that the exercise of discipline was an essential feature of the true church and warmly in favor of the

⁸¹ Zanchi to Hubert, June 24, 1568, A.S.T. 162: 617.

⁸² Ibid., December 22, 1568, A.S.T. 162: 631. Here it was noted that Sturm had yet to begin work on revising the text.

⁸³ Ibid., June 24, 1569, A.S.T. 162: 641.

⁸⁴ "De Sacra Scriptura" (Heidelberg, 1593), O.T., VIII/1: 297-452. A second edition was published in Neustadt in 1598.

⁸⁵ For an account of the controversy see R. Wesel-Roth, *Thomas Erastus: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der reformierten Kirche und zur Lehre der Staatssouveränität* (Baden: Schauenburg, 1954), pp. 43-78.

⁸⁶ On the attitude of the Zurich theologians see the essay by J. Wayne Baker, "In defense of magisterial discipline, Bullinger's Tractatus of 1568," in *Heinrich Bullinger. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 400. Todestag*, ed. U. Gabler and E. Herkenrath (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975) I, 141-159, while Erastus' personal connection with the Antistes is examined in G. A. Benrath, "Die Korrespondenz zwischen Bullinger und Erastus," *ibid.* II, 87-141.

⁸⁷ Zanchi's statement, which was prepared in response to a request from the Chancellery, can be found in O.T. VII/2: 137-147 and VII/2: 64-68. The views of Ursinus are contained in his *Opera theologica* (Heidelberg, 1612) 111: 803-812. It may be noted that the senior member of the faculty, Pierre Boquin, was also asked for his judgment.

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presbyteral system established by the Elector in July 1570, Zanchi remained in close contact with Erastus and his friends. It may have been for this reason that even against a background of continuing bitterness he was elected to serve as rector of the university for the following year.⁸⁸

One important consequence of this dispute was the revelation of a group held to be in sympathy with the Arian views of a number of the Italian refugees. Although Johannes Sylvan, who as superintendent in Ladenburg had been an active opponent of the disciplinarian party, was the only figure against whom substantive evidence could be brought -- his associate Adam Neuser having sought safety in flight --, the very suggestion of such a movement was a source of embarrassment. Convicted on account of his correspondence with the heterodox doctor of medicine, Giorgio Biandrata, Sylvan was publicly beheaded some two years later, in December 1572.⁸⁹ In the meantime, determined to vindicate the orthodoxy of the Palatine settlement, the elector had turned to Zanchi with a commission to prepare a detailed defense of the Nicean doctrine.⁹⁰

The result of this commission was the book *De Tribus Elohim*, which was published after some delay by Georg Corvinus in Frankfurt in September 1572.⁹¹ This was Zanchi's first major work, and it occupies more than five hundred columns of the *Opera Omnia*. Following the pattern outlined in the Strasbourg treatises, he began with a systematic account of the Trinitarian doctrine, an account that was heavily dependent on scholastic terminology.⁹² It was only in the second and much shorter part of the work that attention was directed to refuting the views of his opponents. While bringing to bear a massive weight of biblical and patristic authority, the main thrust of this section was to reveal the logical fallacies implicit in their

⁸⁸ Zanchi was elected "non sine contentione" on December 20, 1570. His activity during an uneventful period of office can be traced through the protocol in the Universitätsarchiv A 160/9: 149^r-197^v.

⁸⁹ On the case against Sylvan and the reasons for his execution see W. Seeling, "Johannes Sylvan: Neue Erkenntnisse über die Hinrichtung eines kurpfälzischen Theologen im Jahre 1572", *Blätter für pfälzische Kirchengeschichte und religiöse Volkskunde* 40 (1973): 86-99.

⁹⁰ It is unfortunate that the terms of this commission, which is mentioned in the dedication to Archbishop Grindal, O.T. I, v, are nowhere extant.

⁹¹ "De Tribus Elohim, uno eademque Jehova, libri XIII", O.T. I 1-564. On the difficulties with the publisher see Zanchi to Hubert, October 4, 1571, A.S. T. 162: 663.

⁹² For Zanchi's defense of the use of such concepts as "essentia" and "substantia," terms which he conceded were nowhere to be found in Scripture, see O.T. I, 8-14.

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argument. It was in this context that the "Sophistical Refutations" of Aristotle formed an important source of Zanchi's work.⁹³

It was through the agency of the emperor's physician, Crato von Crafftheim, that a copy of the book was presented at the court in Vienna with the result that an imprimatur was granted at the beginning of November.⁹⁴ Hoping to exploit the much wider market thus opened, a second impression was prepared and ready for distribution the following year. Yet the book was not an automatic success, something which is revealed by an incident that took place several years later, when Zanchi had to ask the university to intercede on his behalf to obtain the release of a hundred unsold copies impounded in Leipzig in connection with a financial dispute with his fellow exile from Lucca, the philosopher Simon Simonius.⁹⁵ It was not until shortly before his death that the firm of Harnisch in Neustadt undertook to republish the work; there were to be three further reprints by 1604.⁹⁶

Even so, this was to be the only major financial success of Zanchi's career. According to the terms of the original contract, he was to receive a sum of six hundred florins from the Frankfurt publisher, while half as much again was expected in the form of an *ex gratia* payment from the electoral court.⁹⁷ Given that Zanchi's regular income was fixed at two hundred and eighty florins per annum, the combined receipts from *De Tribus Elohim* thus exceeded three times his professorial salary. At last able to pay off an accumulation of debt, a clear sense of satisfaction is evident in his subsequent correspondence.⁹⁸

⁹³ Ibid., p. 382. In justification of this approach Zanchi concluded: "Omnia enim argumenta esse paralogismus seu sophismata, dubitari non potest, cum falsum concludant".

⁹⁴ See Zanchi to Crato, August 20, 1572, cited in J. F. Gillet, *Crato von Crafftheim und seine Freunde. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte* (Frankfurt, 1860) 11: 166-167. The imprimatur was dated November 4, 1572, and prefaced to all subsequent editions. On the subsequent efforts of the elector to prevent any unauthorized reproduction of the work see the letter of the XIII in Basel to Frederick, November 26, 1572, Staatsarchiv Basel, B 13: 39-41.

⁹⁵ Zanchi's petition was dated January 11, 1576, Universitätsarchiv Heidelberg, A 160/11: 2^r and 4^r.

⁹⁶ The Neustadt edition of 1589 was followed by two impressions of a quarto edition in 1597 and a further reprint in 1604.

⁹⁷ See Zanchi to Hubert, May 1572, A.S.T. 162: 669-672.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 22 June 1572, A.S.T. 162, 675, where it is recorded that he had already received both payments.

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Having achieved at once an unprecedented degree of financial security, together with the intellectual recognition that had eluded him since his departure from Italy, Zanchi set about the wholesale revision of the Strasbourg treatise on predestination, with the view to providing a parallel study on the divine attributes. Writing to Hubert in December 1574, he discussed progress with this work, which had been delayed by the advent of plague. So popular were his lectures that he now planned to provide a systematic account of the whole body of Christian doctrine, devoting the subsequent sections to an analysis of God's work in creation and redemption.⁹⁹ Yet ongoing difficulties with the Heidelberg publisher, Johann Meyer, were to hold up the appearance of *De Natura Dei* for over two years.¹⁰⁰ Although by then well advanced with the third and fourth parts of his "summa,"¹⁰¹ the death of the elector Frederick in October 1576 brought the project to an end. Denied an important source of patronage and eventually forced into exile by the Lutheran policy of his successor, Ludwig VI (1576-1583), Zanchi was never able to complete work on his grand design.

It was under the patronage of Johann Casimir, the second son of the late elector, that many of the exiles found refuge in the small town of Neustadt an der Haardt, where a new academy was set up on the principles of Strasbourg.¹⁰² Appointed to the chair of New Testament theology, Zanchi was also nominated to provide the inaugural address

⁹⁹ Ibid., December 10, 1574, A.S.T. 162: 68-686. A fuller account of this scheme for a four part "summa," treating in turn the doctrine of God, the divine decrees, creation, and redemption can be found in O.T. 111: 218.

¹⁰⁰ *De Natura Dei, seu de divinis attributis*, " (Heidelberg, 1577), O.T. 11: 1-588. A second edition appeared shortly after Zanchi's death in 1590, followed by a quarto edition eight years later. Mention might here be made of a German translation by Max zum Lamm of the epistle dedicatory to Johann Casimir, which was published under the title *Ein schöne Nützliche Epistel: darinnen der Christlichen Kirchen stand in dieser Welt erkläret* (Herborn, 1589).

¹⁰¹ These two parts were published posthumously, beginning with "De Operibus Dei, inter spacium sex diebus creatis, " (Neustadt, 1591), O.T. 111: 1-864. A quarto edition appeared in Hanau in 1597, and this was reprinted in Neustadt the following year. There was a further edition in Neustadt in 1602. An extract from this work, "De origine animorum," was included in the third edition of R. Goclenius, *'Psychologia': hoc est de homine perfectione* (Marburg, 1597), pp. 168-242. The unfinished course of lectures on the fourth part was published under the title "tractationum theologicorum volumen de statu peccati et legali," (Neustadt, 1597), O.T. IV: 1-872, which was reprinted in quarto format in 1603. An Italian treatise based on a number of sermons on this subject was published without colophon in octavo in 1582 under the title *Trattato delle imagini raccolto d'alvne prediche fatto sopra' l secondo comandamento, delle Legge d'Iddio*, a copy of which may be found in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

¹⁰² On the background of the Academy see P. Moraw and T. Karst, *Die Universität Heidelberg und Neustadt an der Haardt* (Speyer: Historischer Verein, 1963).

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on May 20, 1578. This oration, which was published without his full approval the following year, was clearly designed with recent events in mind.¹⁰³ Recalling the actions of Julian the Apostate in attempting to suppress the Christian truth, it was emphasized that schools of learning were the only defense against tyranny. The promotion of such institutions was the task of the Godly Prince, who could thus best fulfill his responsibilities as "nursing mother" to the church.

The polemic note underlying this oration set the pitch for much of Zanchi's work during the following years. Taking as the theme of his lectures the Pauline epistles, he treated in turn Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and I Thessalonians.¹⁰⁴ Selected on account of their concentration on Christology, they provided Zanchi with ample scope for attacking the "ubiquitarian" doctrine of the Lutheran opponents. A similar purpose underlay the three pamphlets that were published at this time, all of which were collections of theses presented for debate in the school.¹⁰⁵ Committed to providing a grounding course in exegesis and actively engaged in the struggle against the Formula of Concord, Zanchi had little time to prepare further work for the press.

Although called to resume his chair in Heidelberg after the restoration of the reformed settlement in 1583, Zanchi elected to go into retirement.¹⁰⁶ During the remaining seven years of his life he

¹⁰³ "Oratio de aperiendis in ecclesia scholis", (Neustadt, 1579), O.T. VI/1: vi-xvii. On the circumstances of publication see the dedication to Christoph Ehem, O.T. VII/1: 414-416. Never again printed separately, this oration was later prefaced to Zanchi's "In D. Pauli epistolam ad Ephesios commentarius," (Neustadt, 1594), O.T. VI/1: 1-262, of which there were two further editions by 1613.

¹⁰⁴ The latter part of Zanchi's course on the epistles was first published at Neustadt in 1595 under the title "In D. Pauli epistolas ad Philippenses, Colossenses et Thessalonicenses commentarius," O.T. VI/2: 1-522. The unfinished Strasbourg commentary on I John was appended to the second edition of 1601, O.T. VI/3: 1-136. A collected edition of the New Testament commentaries was published by James Rime in 1605.

¹⁰⁵ "De disputatione salutis per Christum," April 16, 1580; "De Jesu Christi in coelum ascensione," April 15, 1581; and "Die iis, quae de Domino Nostro, post unionem praedicantur," June 16, 1582, all of which were published in Neustadt the same year. These theses were later appended to Zanchi's confession "De religione Christiana fides," O.T. VIII/1: 453-610. It may be noted that Zanchi regarded the publication of such "theses disputatae" as a valuable exercise; during his period as rector in Heidelberg, he initiated a scheme to help defray the publishing costs of such work; see Universitätsarchiv Heidelberg, A 160/9: 161v.

¹⁰⁶ In view of past services he was granted a life pension by Johann Casimir. That Zanchi was on excellent terms with the Pfalzgraf is evident from his letter to the Freiherr von Thona, July 7, 1581, Pfälzischen Landesbibliothek Speyer, 3I: 109/6, which contained an invitation to attend the wedding of his daughter Violanthe. Photographs survive of a substantial property bearing Zanchi's motto over the door and the date 1583. It is presumably to this that the brief entry in the

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developed a close working relationship with the Neustadt publisher, Matthew Harnisch, who was to act as executor after his death.¹⁰⁷ Yet aside from a short summary of the faith, a confession that had been "written long since for another use and purpose",¹⁰⁸ and replies to two attacks on his earlier work,¹⁰⁹ he lived to see no further books through the press. While continuing to work on the revision of his lectures and preparing a detailed refutation of Martin Chemnitz' views on the "communicatio idiomatum",¹¹⁰ the progress was markedly slow. The principal reason for this lay in Zanchi's failing eyesight, as a result of which he became entirely dependent on the assistance of a scribe. In one of his last recorded letters to Johann Ulmer, the leading minister in the church at Schaffhausen, it was noted that "this dimming of the eyes grows steadily worse, so that I can now see to read neither by day nor by night".¹¹¹ He died blind and quiet some three years later on November 19, 1590 during a return visit to Heidelberg.¹¹²

One of the really interesting aspects of the bibliographical story is the activity of Zanchi's sons and heirs in editing the vast pile of notes left by their father. To anyone familiar with the idiosyncratic style of his hand, the remark "ex schedis patris nostri," which appears by way of preface to a number of future editions, must bear an ominous ring. After the publication of the books already in hand at the time of his

Türkensteuerregister of 1584 refers: "D. Hieronimus Zanchius vermag an Gütern uff 600fl. thut I (Gulden) 12 (Ba tzen)". Landesarchiv Speyer, F 3, 41. Here were the fruits of *De Tribus Elohim*.

¹⁰⁷ See F. W. G. Roth, "Die Verlagsfirma Harnisch in Neustadt a. d. Haart und ihre Erzeugnisse im 16. Jahrhundert," *Pfälzisches Museum: Beilage* (1897): 1-20.

¹⁰⁸ See above note 105. Commissioned with Ursinus by the Synod of Frankfurt to draw up a reformed confession in reply to the Formula of Concord, it was Zanchi alone who undertook the work, though his project was eventually rejected in favor of the *Harmonia Confessionum* compiled in Geneva. On these proceedings see. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, "Het Convent te Frankfort, 17-18 Sept. 1577 en de Harmonia Confessionum," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiednis* 32 (1941): 255-280. Zanchi's confession, which was eventually published for the benefit of his children, went through two octavo impressions in Neustadt in 1595, before being republished by James Rime in 1605. In the meantime an English translation had been made available by J. Legat of Cambridge in 1599.

¹⁰⁹ "Ad cuiusdam Ariani libellum responsio," (Neustadt, 1586), O.T. VII/1: 829-938, a work reprinted some six years later, and "Ad partern prodromi W. Holderi responsio," (Neustadt, 1586), O. T. VII/1: 939-960.

¹¹⁰ "De incarnatione Filii Dei libri duo," (Heidelberg, 1593), O.T. VIII/1: 1-299. Based on the lectures on Philippians 2, this was reprinted at Neustadt in 1601.

¹¹¹ January 4, 1588, Ministerialbibliothek Schaffhausen, Ulmer Sammlung 172: 479-472.

¹¹² A detailed account of Zanchi's last hours is contained in a letter from Conrad Peijer to William Stuckius of Zurich, December 12, 1590, Z.Z.B. 147: 90^f.

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death, a treatise on the church as the bride of Christ;¹¹³ the third part of the Heidelberg "summa" on creation; the work against Chemnitz and the earlier lectures on hermeneutics,¹¹⁴ the painstaking task of the editor had to begin. During the following fifteen years there were to be some thirty separate printings of Zanchi's works, the great majority of which were undertaken by the firm of Harnisch. Yet it required a further decade of revision and compiling indices before the appearance of the Crespin edition of the *Opera* brought this work to its conclusion.¹¹⁵ If the three massive folio volumes stand as testimony to the author's industry, they also bear more silent witness to this task of his children.

Any attempt to describe the making of the reformed tradition in the sixteenth century can ill afford to pass over the figure of Girolamo Zanchi. Granted that he lacked the extensive influence of his better-known contemporaries, Theodore Beza and Zacharias Ursinus, this does not alter the fact that at a critical stage in the development of the German reformed church he came forward as the leading champion of the orthodoxy of the Calvinist settlement. To what extent in the process he may have lost some of the theological balance characteristic of Calvin himself is not here in question; doubtless this is an issue that will continue to attract a body of critical reflection. It has been the more limited purpose of this present article to explain how he came to write what he did and, given the current state of research, it may be felt that such a bibliographical analysis requires no apology.

At the same time a couple of points should be made by way of conclusion. Without wishing to take direct issue on the problem of

¹¹³ "De spirituali inter Christum et ecclesiam connubio" (Herborn, 1591), O.T. VI/1: 234-250. An English translation of this work, which was taken from the commentary on Ephesians, was published by J. Legat in 1592, while a French version appeared two years later

¹¹⁴ See above notes 101, 110 and 84.

¹¹⁵ The two previous editions of 1605 and 1613 were undertaken by Gamonet and Aubert of Geneva, the latter of which, in common with the Crespin edition of 1617-1619, was published jointly in Heidelberg. Aside from improvements to the indices, the only substantial changes were to parts VII and VIII of the 1613 edition, with the inclusion of the "Miscellaneorum tomus alter," the two books of letters and a number of minor works. The only work to which reference has not yet been made is the treatise "De divinatione tam artificiosa quam artis experte," which was taken from the Strasbourg lectures on Isaiah and published jointly with Erastus' treatise "De astrologia divinatrice" in Hanau in 1610, O.T. VIII12: 1-32.

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Zanchi's scholastic orientation, it is at least notable that the previous studies of both Gründler and Donnelly have been almost exclusively drawn from the work *De Natura Dei*, together with its blueprint in the final section of the Strasbourg *Miscellany*. To suggest on this basis that Zanchi's theology led to an undervaluation of the role of Christ is simply misleading. The vast bulk of his exegetical work, not to mention the magnum opus *De Tribus Elohim*, was concerned both to assert and to defend his interpretation of the Chalcedonian teaching on Christology. At least from a formal point of view it would seem difficult to prove any notable departure from the position of Calvin. Certainly a proper answer to this question will presuppose a more balanced treatment of Zanchi's work as a whole.

Yet the problem of the Calvinist reception cannot simply be reduced to the field of systematic theology. The nature and format of theological literature changed during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and this reflects in no small measure the growing self-consciousness of the different confessional groups. The repeated difficulties that Zanchi experienced with the publication of his work during the 1550s and 1560s served to emphasize this fact. Only in the wake of his success with *De Tribus Elohim*, a matter largely determined by the patronage of the elector Frederick, did he begin to prepare major folios on systematic theology for publication. Yet the market for such work was slow to develop. Not until the very end of his life was a regular relationship established with the house of Harnisch; almost two-thirds of the *Opera Omnia* first appeared posthumously.