

In the Shadow of a Titan
'In the shadow of a Titan':
Johann Marbach and the origins of confessional
orthodoxy in Strasbourg, 1553-1563.

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‘Marbach grew up in the shadow of a Titan and was subjected by it. A man of the second generation, he inherited ideas that were already fixed and assimilated only one thought, that of Luther’:¹ this slighting judgment by Henri Strohl concerns a figure who for more than thirty years following the exile of Martin Bucer was to play a dominant role within the Strasbourg church and whose work paved the way for the eventual alignment of the city with the settlement outlined in the Formula of Concord, a matter officially confirmed some seventeen years after his death through the promulgation of the church order of 1598. Seen in the light of this subsequent debate, it has been customary to regard the accommodation to Lutheran orthodoxy as a linear development from the time of the Augsburg Interim. It is argued that taking advantage of the weakened situation of the ‘reformed’ group, Marbach used his influence as leader of the ‘Kirchenkonvent’ to reorganize the church according to the model suggested by his student days in Wittenberg. The view that the pastors had thus abandoned the tradition of Bucer was first given expression in the early 1560’s at the time of his controversy with Girolamo Zanchi, an exile theologian whose sympathy with the teaching of the Zurich fathers was well established. Later developed by Johann Sturm and the teaching staff at the Academy, this version of events became standard form after Timotheus Röherich’s classic history of the reform movement in Strasbourg.²

This ‘black legend’ concerning the activity of Marbach went largely unchallenged until the late nineteenth century when Wilhelm Horning took up his pen against the proponents of an evangelical union.³ In a series of almost forty biographical sketches published over the course of little more than ten years, the author sought to demonstrate the creative achievement of the orthodox tradition in Alsace. While leaving much to be desired at a scholarly level, it is in the light of this research that historians have come to provide a more sympathetic evaluation of Marbach’s role in the church. In the opinion of Johann Adam, whose work remains as standard for the period, ‘the accommodation of Strasbourg to the Lutheran tradition did not begin, as has often been assumed, with Marbach; its origins are rather to be sought with Bucer at the time of the Wittenberg Concord’.⁴ This stress on the continuity of the reform over the course of several generations has been the subject of a valuable doctoral dissertation by Lorna Abray.⁵ In general it may be felt that the current trend of historical research is to deny any radical breach between the work of the early preachers and that of their successors; the seeds of orthodoxy are rather to be seen in the need to build up the outward structures of the church in response to the changing pressures of the day.

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Unfortunately, this analysis leaves open the problem of the theological orientation of Marbach's ministry, which was largely dictated by the developing confessional situation within the Empire.⁶ In this context the decade of the 1550's was of crucial importance. The common ground for the evangelical movement was provided by the *Confessio Augustana*, together with the attendant documents that were accepted as the apologetic basis of the church. The question at issue concerned its interpretation; whether in the sense of Melancthon as an open profession of faith which could bear the reformed understanding, or in the exclusivist manner that was to be the hall-mark of later orthodoxy. While the Philippist party remained dominant throughout this period, at least from the time of the break-up of the Colloquy of Worms in 1557 it was evident that unity could only be achieved where there was a genuine agreement over doctrine. The events which followed the introduction of a reformed settlement in the Palatinate after the Heidelberg Disputation of 1559 were to show that such agreement was no longer possible.⁷ It was then that the way stood open for the various initiatives that were to lead to the establishment of the Formula of Concord.

This then should be seen as a period of transition, one during which the eventual character of the orthodox settlement came to be defined. It is precisely for this reason that Marbach's attitude at the time merits close scrutiny. A pupil and disciple of Luther, he was yet primarily concerned with the pastoral ministry and only took stance on the problems that divided the church with some reluctance. Yet if a theologian of no great distinction, he was in close contact with most of the leading churchmen of the day and his work well reflected the growing need to obtain a consensus within the movement.⁸ It was the bitter controversy with Zanchi that constituted a turning point for Marbach and led to his rejection of the Philippist position in favor of a closer connection with the orthodox camp. It is the purpose of this paper to suggest how this change came about and how it was to reflect on Marbach's understanding of Luther and his continuing role within the church.

I

The connection with Strasbourg began in 1536, when as a fifteen year old Marbach left his native Lindau on the Bodensee to study at the feet of Jacob Bedrott, at the time the most famed of the humanist pedagogues in the city.⁹ While there is no evidence of any direct contact with the preachers, the decision to further his education by moving to Wittenberg in the spring of 1539 was in full accord with the policy of Bucer since the time of the Concord. It was during the following two years, which he spent as a paying guest in the house of Martin Luther, that Marbach received the bulk of his theological training. Greatly indebted to the teaching of Melancthon, whom he ever continued to regard as his main preceptor, after obtaining his master's degree in 1540, the young man's attention came to be exclusively directed to the study of scripture. Aside from Luther's own lectures on Genesis, he attended courses by Caspar Cruciger and Johann Bugenhagen, at whose hands he was ordained to serve the diaconate at Jena the following year. This abrupt entry into the pastoral ministry when still only twenty years old severely limited both the time and opportunity for the continuation of his studies.

It was the awareness of this problem that led Marbach to take up residence in the home of the noted hebraist, Paul Fagius, who at the time was acting as pastor to the

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church at Isny.¹⁰ Named as the latter's successor, he was granted a six month period of grace to return to Wittenberg, where on 16th February 1543 he defended a thesis proposed by Luther on the jurisdiction of bishops in council and was raised to the title of doctor of theology. It has often been noted that Melancthon was far from satisfied with the educational level attained by his pupil; in a letter to his friend Camerarius, he noted that 'for my part I could have wished him to have remained longer in the school'.¹¹ More to the point, however, was the letter of attestation sent by Luther to the council at Isny, where their future preacher's diligence in the study of scripture and the early history of the church was clearly underlined.¹² Here was the primary qualification for the pastoral office.

Like many of his contemporaries, Marbach began his ministry in conflict with the civil authority. Shortly after his arrival at the end of March, the young pastor began to modify the practice and ceremonies of the church in conformity with his experience in Wittenberg.¹³ Although the resulting row was settled by the good offices of Paul Fagius, who would seem to have prevailed on his successor to proceed with greater discretion, further trouble arose in February 1545 as a result of a sermon on the power of the keys. Warned by the Magistrate to avoid treating such matters in future, Marbach replied by offering his resignation; the question at issue concerned not only the church's spiritual jurisdiction but also the doctrine of repentance and on such points he was obliged in conscience to hold forth. Determined to defend what he took as fundamental to the evangelical ministry, at no time had Marbach ventured into polemic against the 'reformed' or Zwinglian group within the town, a point that Ambrose Blaurer was at pains to emphasize in a letter to the Zurich Antistes.¹⁴ This attitude of moderation was to be characteristic of his work during the following decade.

Presented with a number of alternative callings, Marbach opted to return to Strasbourg, where he was appointed by Bucer to take charge of the parish of St. Nicholas. A man of some considerable energy and an undoubted gift for organization, his active support for the campaign of the pastors to build up a voluntary system of discipline did much to ensure his rise to a position of prominence.¹⁵ Yet it was the crisis introduced by the Augsburg Interim that was to prove the determining point of his career.¹⁶ The eventual expulsion of Bucer and Fagius served to place in a new light the latent tension with the civil power. Aside from the sense that the Magistrate had failed in its primary responsibility to ensure the promotion of the Gospel, the settlement agreed with the Bishop showed up many of the institutional problems inherent within the informal and parochially based church order of the 1530s. While the absence of an independent authority in the church was acceptable as long as the work of the preachers was officially approved, this principle could not allow for even a partial restoration of the old order. The open and public celebration of the Mass was seen as a direct challenge to the evangelical ministry and as such it called for a united response. After the death of Caspar Hedio during the plague of 1552, it was on Johann Marbach that the main burden of this work was to fall.

The following decade was largely dominated by the repeated efforts of the *Kirchenkonvent* to secure the abolition of the 'Antichristian Interim'. In August 1554 the preachers presented an ultimatum to the Magistrate by threatening to resign their office forthwith unless action were taken to ban the catholic rite. While an open conflict was

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averted through the intercession of the Basel Antistes, Simon Sulzer, the problem was again raised after the Pacification of Augsburg, which it was claimed had removed any obligation to abide by the Interim settlement. Yet the attitude of the civil authority was rather more cautious; determined to avoid any action that might have placed at jeopardy the political security of the town, they opted to play for time. It was only after the expiry of a guaranteed safe-conduct for the catholic clergy had led to a 'de facto' abolition of the Mass that the full restoration of evangelical worship was allowed in 1561. It is important, however, to note that with the single exception of the pastor of St. Thomas, Bat Gerung, who in a 'Ratpredigt' opposed the campaign of Marbach as an unwarranted intrusion in the affairs of civil government, this debate was never conducted at a theoretical level. While refusing to accede to the demands of the preachers on the grounds of expediency, the Magistrate never seriously questioned the legitimacy of their case.

The effort to produce a uniform system of practice and discipline, something which could bear witness to a consensus within the evangelical movement, was to provide the positive aspect of Marbach's ministry at the time. The principal means of achieving this end at village level was that of the annual visitation, a practice which was revived after a five year interlude occasioned by the Schmalkaldic war. Designed to root out sectarian dissent, the long visitation reports also provide evidence of a consistent attempt to improve the moral and catechetical standards of the laity.¹⁷ Yet a similar success was not to be enjoyed in the town itself, where the abortive attempt to conduct a visitation in 1553 only revealed the strong opposition to any restored form of clerical control. The final authority in all matters pertaining to the church remained with the lay commission of *Kirchenpfleger*, three of whom were appointed by the Magistrate to each of the seven parishes. Meanwhile problems of moral conduct were handled before the marriage court, an institution that had been set up after the model of Zurich.¹⁸ While the advice of the clergy on such questions as the appointment of new ministers or the arrangement of divine service might be accepted as a matter of form the absence of any independent scope for action was a major limitation on the pastoral ministry.

As had been the case at the time of Bucer, conformity within the Strasbourg church could only be obtained at the level of consent and it is for this reason that the central element in the 'Kirchenpolitik' of Marbach is to be seen in his management of the Convent of Pastors. It was at the instigation of the new president that the decision was made to record the protocall of debate in order to avoid future dissension and quarrels'.¹⁹ Although a definitive form of organization was not attained until 1576, it is clear that from the outset Marbach was determined to impose a greater degree of institutional coherence. The informal meetings of the executive committee created by Bucer in the 1540's were thus established on a more regular footing; aside from undertaking a form of censorship over theological literature, it was here that the various submissions of the pastoral corps were first drawn up, documents which were then presented for approval at a full session of the Convent. Consensus in matters of doctrine was guarded by the requirement that all new members of the assembly subscribe to the confession presented on the city's behalf at the reconvened Council of Trent. Opinions that were found to be contrary to the *Confessio Augustana* were not admitted for discussion.

It was by means of his influence on the *Kirchenkonvent* that Marbach was able to achieve a certain uniformity of practice within the church.²⁰ Based largely on the form of

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worship established in his own parish of St. Nicholas²¹, he drew up a formal Agenda for submission to the Magistrate in the summer of 1553. The preface to this document clearly underlined the importance of providing a visible expression of unity within the evangelical movement. Apart from the Strasbourg tradition, the main source for this work was provided by the recent church order of Württemberg, though the influence of Osiander's Brandenburg-Nürnberg rite of 1533 was also in evidence. While granted no official recognition, a revised form of this Agenda was approved by the other pastors and presented at the Colloquy of Worms as the common practice of the church. Thus established on an informal basis during the 1550's, this rite came to provide the foundation for the eventual church order of 1598.

The influence of Marbach's training in Saxony was most clearly evident in those areas where he sought to modify the received practice of the church. The restoration of images as an aid to devotion, the revived use of the litany and the reintroduction of organ and choral music during divine service, all constituted a notable departure from the liturgical style established in the early days of the reform. Most important in this respect was the use of auricular confession, a practice introduced in the parish of St. Nicholas with a view to providing a more direct supervision of the laity in preparation for the Lord's Supper.²² It was likewise a practical consideration that lay behind the introduction of Luther's Shorter Catechism as the norm of instruction within the church; while not to deny the merits of the earlier works compiled by Bucer and Capito, they lacked the quality of simple clarity evident in the presentation of Luther.

All this is to overlook the most direct and arguably the most important aspect of Luther's influence on the younger man. Shortly after being appointed as successor to Caspar Hedio, Marbach was called by Jacob Sturm to take over responsibility for the training of ordinands. Granted that a form of seminary already existed in the so-called *Collegium Praedicatorum*, here the students were given no practical guidance in the exercise of the ministry. Acting on the basis of his own experience in Wittenberg, Marbach began to receive an average of nine or ten students into his own home, where over a period ranging from anything up to two years they were provided with a grounding in the duties of the pastoral office. Aside from a regular attendance at lectures and sermons, the ordinands were called to take evening prayer and to preach in some of the neighboring villages at week-ends. Writing almost twenty years later at the time of his row with the Rector over the control of the Academy, Marbach was proud to recall the names of some hundred pastors who had thus passed under his roof.²³ With few exceptions men of little note, these figures were yet to prove the seed of the Lutheran church both in Alsace and in the adjoining territories across the Rhine.

II

In turning to look at the theology of Marbach the problem of source material is immediately apparent. Aside from a short book of instruction for confirmands, his first published work, which was a collection of sermons on the Ascension, only appeared after the row with Zanchi had placed the confessional issue in a new light.²⁴ Appointed to lecture on the New Testament soon after his arrival in Strasbourg, it is unfortunate that the only surviving evidence of this work is an incomplete transcription by one of his students, Martin Crusius.²⁵ While reference can also be made to a number of occasional

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pieces, the recorded version of a disputation with the anabaptist leaders and an important collection of sermons against the errors of Caspar Schwenckfeld,²⁶ it was only in the light of his subsequent contact with such figures as Johann Brenz and Matthias Flacius Illyricus that Marbach came to take stance on the controversial issues of the day.²⁷

How then is his earlier work to be understood? In terms of presentation the lectures on the Gospels of Matthew and John followed closely the pattern common to the Strasbourg school; starting with a brief treatment of the exegetical points, the commentator then turned to provide an analysis of the major 'loci' arising out of the text.²⁸ Yet if this is to suggest that there was a strong dogmatic orientation to his work, it should be noted that the polemic element was almost totally absent. In discussing the doctrine of the eucharist, Marbach was careful to emphasize that his understanding of the real presence was not meant to prejudice any other church where the Gospel was sincerely preached; the treatment of Christology was limited to the claim that the scriptural account of the Ascension in no way belied the Lutheran doctrine of the sacrament.²⁹ His grounding debt to Melancthon was most clearly revealed in the insistence that predestination and soteriology should only be handled 'a posteriori', starting with the condition of man 'coram Deo', rather than as a logical deduction from first principles.³⁰ It was as a complement to this work that one of the other pastors, Ludwig Rabus, undertook a ground course in dogmatics based on the 'Loci' of Melancthon.³¹

A stress on the binding nature of the external ministry, the preaching to repentance and the administration of the sacraments, was to provide a constant element of Marbach's theology. Most clearly this was revealed in terms of his refutation of Schwenckfeld, a series of seven sermons delivered at St. Nicholas in the spring of 1556 after a member of the sect had disrupted divine service with a virulent attack on the pastors. Although the Silesian's basic error concerned his teaching on the humanity of Christ, Marbach directed the bulk of his attention to the problem of ecclesiology.³² As the channel of divine grace, the external ministry of word and sacrament were essential to the being of the church and it was this which the Spiritualists undermined by denying any necessary connection between the inner and the outer word. This point, which had also been the hall-mark of the theology of Bucer, was the repeated emphasis of Marbach's work during the 1550's; it provided the basis of his critique of the reformed party in the school.

It had been clear that points of difference existed between the two men since the time of Girolamo Zanchi's arrival in Strasbourg as an exile from Lucca in 1553. Hardly had they met over dinner in the house of Johann Sturm than trouble arose when Zanchi denied any Scriptural evidence for the claim that the Pope should be seen as the final Antichrist. Moreover, in his inaugural lecture delivered some several weeks later, the Italian insisted that it was the duty of the theologian to expound the scriptures freely according to conscience: 'if a matter were better revealed to Augustine then let Jerome be silent: by the same score, if on some point Calvin taught in better conformity with Scripture than Luther, then let Luther be silent and let Calvin speak'.³³ Even though eventually obliged to sign the *Confessio Augustana* as the condition of his continued residence in the city, this attitude of critical detachment towards the fathers of the reform was to place Zanchi at constant loggerheads with the pastoral corps. After a controversial course of lectures delivered at the time of the Colloquy of Worms, an occasion which he

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used to denounce the teaching of certain theologians on the question of ubiquity, he had been warned by the Scholarchs to refrain from treating any matter which might reflect on the confessional standing of the city. Nonetheless, the gradually worsening situation in Heidelberg, a situation in which the authority of Melanchthon seemed to side more and more with the reformed party, made the eventual outbreak of controversy inevitable.³⁴

Following complaints from a number of his students that Zanchi had again challenged the authority of Luther on the question of eschatology and that his teaching on election and the perseverance of the saints tended to belie the evangelical conception of 'simul justus, simul peccator', Marbach again raised the matter with the school authorities with the result that the Italian's lectures were suspended 'sine die'. Despite various attempts at mediation on the part of the Chapter of St. Thomas, of which both men were canons, this row continued to divide church and school for the best part of two years until finally settled through the intervention of the Duke of Württemberg. Leaving aside the question of the end of time, which it was conceded did not constitute an article of faith, in March 1563 Jacob Andreae and Simon Sulzer drew up a formula of consensus for the Strasbourg church on the outstanding issues of election and the eucharist.³⁵ While careful not to give judgment to either party, this formula laid down guidelines for the teaching of theology which Zanchi and his friends in Switzerland found difficult to accept: prepared to sign the document under duress, he yet resigned his chair and departed to take charge of the small church at Chiavenna later that year.

The importance of this controversy in clarifying the area of disagreement over the related issues of election and perseverance has long been recognized and need not concern us here.³⁶ Significant, however, is the way in which these events helped to define the orthodox understanding of Luther and his role in relation to the church. The attempt to maintain a consensus according to the *Confessio Augustana* had been thwarted by the divergent interpretation presented by the Italian. It was here that Marbach advanced the claim that the confession should only be understood in the light of the teaching and practice of Luther.³⁷ This move to delimit the doctrinal basis of the church according to the views of the Wittenberg reformer led to a clear breach with the Philippist position, the tendency of which was to emphasize the essential unity of the reform. The precondition for the subsequent development of Lutheran orthodoxy, it is important to note that this was the result rather than the cause of the divisions in the Strasbourg church. Thus it was the need to defend what was taken as fundamental, namely the role of the evangelical ministry, that led to the assertion of Luther's own authority as 'Doctor Evangelicus'.

The influence of Luther on the Strasbourg church was largely mediated through the work of Johann Marbach and it is for this reason that the latter's debt to the Wittenberg reformer has formed the central element of this paper. It is clear that Marbach's conception of the evangelical ministry was acquired during his brief student days and remained a dominant feature throughout his subsequent career. Yet this was also conditioned by his practical experience as a pastor, something which provided for an eclectic dimension to his work. Regarded in these terms there were still grounds to assume that the evangelical movement constituted a basic unity. This illusion was finally destroyed by the Zanchi controversy, when Marbach came to realize that the rationalizing

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tendency of reformed theology provided as serious a threat to the church as the sectarian groups. The effort to isolate this challenge led to a deeper appreciation of Luther's own theology and of his unique position as the guardian of the faith. This change was to be of fundamental importance for the emergence of the confessionally based churches in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

¹ H. Strohl, *Le Protestantisme en Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1950) 80.

² *Geschichte der Reformation im Elsass und besonders in Straßburg* III (Strasbourg, 1832), a work which was profoundly influential on the subsequent historiography and whose conclusions are repeated almost verbatim by historians such as Théodore de Bussière and Julius Rathgeber. A similar perspective is to be found in the various writings of Karl Schmidt.

³ *Dr. Johann Marbach, Pfarrer zu St. Nikolai, Münsterprediger, Professor und Präsident des lutherischen Kirchenkonvents in Straßburg 1545-1581* (Strasbourg, 1887). Although this remains the only full-length biography, it was heavily indebted to the published version of a thesis by A. Trenz, 'Die innern Zustände der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche zu Strassburg zur Zeit Dr. Johann Marbachs', *Zeitschrift für die gesamte lutherische Theologie und Kirche* 33 (1872) 64-94, 286-310 and 441-61.

⁴ *Evangelische Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg bis zur französischen Revolution* (Straßburg, 1922) 315.

⁵ *The Long Reformation. Magistrates, Clergy and People in Strasbourg, 1520-1598* (Yale, 1978), a study which is evidently ready for publication.

⁶ See the recent and highly valuable study of G. Seebaß, 'Das Verhältnis der *Confessio Augustana* zu den anderen Bekenntnisschriften und die Veränderungen in ihrer Funktion als Lehrnorm im 16. Jahrhundert.'

⁷ On the background see P. F. Barton, *Um Luthers Erbe. Studien und Texte zur Spätreformation: Tilemann Heshusius (1527-1559)* (Witten, 1972) 156-232.

⁸ An important source is provided by the published correspondence, *Historiae ecclesiae seculi a.n.c. XVI. Supplementum ... ex bibliotheca Marbachiana primum depromptis constans* ed. J. Fecht (Frankfort, 1684).

⁹ In addition to the work of Horning, biographical detail has been derived from a number of unpublished documents preserved in the Archives du Chapitre de St. Thomas (A.S.T.), the main source for the church history of the period.

¹⁰ A.S.T. 64.VI.116v -117r, where it is noted that Marbach had begun his studies in Hebrew at Wittenberg. On the career of Fagius see R. Raubenheimer, *Paul Fagius aus Rheinzabern: sein Leben und Wirken als Reformator und Gelehrter* (Grünstadt, 1957).

¹¹ 'Vellem equidem eum diutius manisse in Academia. Magna est paucitas mediocriter Doctorum, qui praefeci Ecclesiis possunt'. This reference was first cited in M. Beuther's *Warhafftiger Bericht von der zu Straßburg veränderten Kirchen Ordnung* (Zweibrücken, 1603) 223, a work directed against Marbach's successor, Johann Pappus.

¹² Horning, *Dr. Johann Marbach*, 31-2.

¹³ See the letter from Fagius to A. Blaurer, 25th January 1544, in the *Briefwechsel der Brüder Ambrose und Thomas Blaurer* ed. T. Schiess II (Freiburg, 1910) 232-3, a source from which most of the information about Marbach's early ministry is derived.

¹⁴ A. Blaurer to H. Bullinger, 13th April 1545, *ibid.* 356.

¹⁵ W. Bellardi, *Die Geschichte der 'Christlichen Gemeinschaft' in Straßburg_(1546/1550): der Versuch einer 'zweiten Reformation'*, (Leipzig, 1934).

¹⁶ The most comprehensive treatment of the Interim crisis is that by E. Weyrauch, *Konfessionelle Krise und soziale Stabilität. Das Interim in Straßburg (1548-1562)* (Stuttgart, 1978).

¹⁷ Most recently J. Kittleson, 'Successes and failures in the German reformation - the report from Strasbourg', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 73 (1982) 153-175, which provides a critical review of G. Strauss' controversial book on *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore, 1978).

¹⁸ W. Köhler, *Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium* II (Leipzig, 1942) 349-504. The continuing parallels with the problems faced by the Swiss reformers deserve to be emphasized at this point.

¹⁹ 'Diarium Marbachii', A.S.T. 198, 1v. Further details are taken from the 'Beschreibung des Straßburgischen Kirchen Convents', A.S.T. 211.VI, as well as various other documents which go under the general heading of 'Marbachiana'.

²⁰ The most detailed treatment of these questions is to be found in R. Bornert, *La réforme protestante du culte à Strasbourg au XVIe siècle (1523-1598). Approche sociologique et interprétation théologique* (Leiden, 1981).

²¹ Ibid. 208-31.

²² This question is discussed in Marbach's last letter to Bucer, 8th March 1551, the relevant section of which is published in Horning, *Dr. Johann Marbach*, 39-41.

²³ 'Johann Marbachs Schriff', A.S.T. 61/I, 51-82. The most distinguished of these pastors was probably Peter Patiens, who rose to become General-Superintendent in Heidelberg during the brief reign of Ludwig VI.

²⁴ While there is no complete survey of Marbach's published work, reference should be made to the recent book of M.U. Chrisman, *Bibliography of Strasbourg Imprints 1480-1599* (New Haven, 1982).

²⁵ Universitätsarchiv Tübingen Ms. Mc 181. A complete transcript of these lectures was destroyed together with Marbach's library as a result of the Prussian bombardment of the city in 1870.

²⁶ 'Refutatio praecipuorum errorum fanatici Stenckfeldii', A.S.T. 180/LIII, 575r-634r.

²⁷ Marbach's adoption of the 'Tübinger Christologie' dates from his contacts with Brenz and Andreae at the time of the Zanchi controversy. His more qualified support for the Flacian doctrine of original sin, which was revealed in a collection of theses published in 1568, the *Themata de imagine Dei*, was to be the source of considerable embarrassment during the latter part of his career.

²⁸ On this point see A. Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt: Gymnasium und Akademie in Straßburg 1538-1621* (Wiesbaden, 1977) 356-7.

²⁹ Universitätsarchiv Tübingen Ms. Mc 181, 4r-5r.

³⁰ Ibid. 67v.

³¹ This course, which provides further evidence for the attitude of the Strasbourg pastors at the time, can likewise be reconstructed from the notes of Crusius, *ibid.* Mc 45.

³² See above note 26. The circumstances which led to these sermons are recorded in his diary, A.S.T. 198, 240v-241r.

³³ Ibid. 24v-5v and 28v-30v.

³⁴ On the course of the controversy see W. Sohm, *Die Schule Johann Sturms und die Kirche Straßburgs in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis 1530-1581* (Munich, 1912) 195-236, while a useful summary is provided by J. Kittelson, 'Marbach vs Zanchi: the resolution of controversy in late reformation Strasbourg', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 8 (1977) 31-44.

³⁵ This document, which was to provide an important precursor to article XI of the 'Stolid Declaration' can be found together with much of the source material on the controversy in Zanchi's *Opera omnia theologica* VII (Heidelberg, 1619) 732-8.

³⁶ Most notably in J. Moltmann, *Prädestination und Perseveranz: Geschichte und Bedeutung der reformierten Lehre 'de perseverantia sanctorum'* (Neukirchen, 1961) 72-109, though a discussion can also be found in most of the main accounts of 'Dogmengeschichte'.

³⁷ 'So ist nun unwidersprechlich wahr, das der orthodoxus intellectus der augsp. confession nit zuschepfen unnd zunemen sey auss der lehre, ausslegung oder deutung der H. Schriff Calvini, Bezae, Martyris, Bullingers, sonder auss der lehre und ausslegung der H. Schriff, wie die in Lutheri büchern und andern seinen anhangern am tag gegeben worden', A.S.T. 205, 47 r/v, a document which was drawn up in the summer of 1562 and constituted Marbach's final refutation of Zanchi's teaching.