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THE RECEPTION OF THE FATHERS & EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY IN JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS (1482-1531), WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE *ADVERSUS HAERESES* OF IRENAEUS OF LYONS.

Submitted by:
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University of Durham

Department of Theology and Religion

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of:

Doctor of Philosophy

Christianity in Late Antiquity
Christianity in Early Modern and Modern Europe

2008

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Professor Andrew Louth
Supervisor

2 3 APR 2009

DURHAM

ABSTRACT

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Ph.D. Christianity in Late Antiquity and
Christianity in Early Modern and Modern Europe

2008

The Reception of the Fathers & Eucharistic Theology in Johannes Oecolampadius (1482-1531), with Special Reference to the *Adversus Haereses* of Irenaeus of Lyons.

Chapter One offers a brief biographical sketch of the life of Oecolampadius, in an attempt to contextualize, for the reader unfamiliar with him, the more specific aims of this study. Here, Oecolampadius' life is divided into three specific time periods, organized in accordance with the major events that took place in his life.

Chapter Two analyzes Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology. Consideration is given to the influences on, and evolution of, this theology during approximately the final decade of his life.

Chapter Three concentrates on Oecolampadius' patristic knowledge and reception of the fathers. An examination of the texts that Oecolampadius had some hand in either translating or 'editing', as well as an attempt to catalogue and investigate the patristic references found in his two patristic florilegia on the eucharist – *De genuina verborum Domini* and *Dialogus* – form the central focus.

Chapter Four considers Oecolampadius' manuscript knowledge of Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses*, as he was the first reformer to employ Irenaeus' text in the eucharistic debates of the 16th century.

Chapter Five is an analysis of Oecolampadius' exegesis of Irenaeus' eucharistic theology. Using Oecolampadius' citations from *Adversus Haereses*, consideration is given to the ways in which Oecolampadius 'read' Irenaeus in 1525, and then again in 1530.

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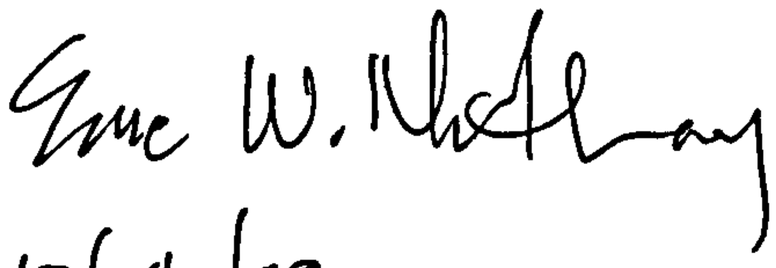
Signed: 

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Next I would like to thank my family. First, to my parents, John and Cheryl Northway, who instilled within me a work ethic for which I will always be grateful (and oftentimes exhausted). The constant refrain which rang in my ears as a child was, 'If it is worth doing, it is worth doing well.' I hope that this thesis will live up to those expectations. And now that 'the book' is finally finished, you will be able to see your first-born away from his study quite a lot more – at least for a while. Thank you so much for your patient endurance and quiet espousal of my academic ambitions. Second, to my brother Andy, and his family – his wife Amy, and their amazing children, Hunter, Spencer and Haille – who have always been there just when I

needed them. I am specifically thinking of Amy's willingness to wrangle three small children alone for a few days, while Andy and I took our annual fly-fishing trips to northeast Iowa, enabling me to clear my mind and refocus my aim. I am especially grateful for the fraternal bonding (which, in the midst of hectic schedules, happens too infrequently), without which, writer's block would no doubt have been assured. To my grandmother Lois Howard – grandma, you are the embodiment of lived wisdom and invariable joy, and are truly a model person. Thank you for your love and support, and for always being there. To my father and mother-in-law, Jim and Barb Kesteloot, I really do not know exactly what to say. For as long as I have known you two, you have been a source of constant and pragmatic insight, as well as a model of self-sacrifice in service to the betterment, not just of family and friends, but humanity. I find myself truly and utterly humbled by your charity. On a lighter note . . . 'hip-hip-hooray for the "Lighthouse!"'

True friendship is hard to come by, and as the old saying goes, 'If you die with more than one true friend you are a lucky person.' Well, I am not dead yet, but nevertheless know myself to be incredibly lucky. First, to Jeremy and Trisha Boccabello, heartfelt thanks for your encouragement and support. Had these two old RTS friends not allowed me to 'crash' at their flat in Oxford while Jeremy was engaged in his own studies, long-term access to the Bodleian Library simply would not have been a reality for me, and consequently, many of the footnotes in this thesis would be now absent. To Wes and Amy Ware – what can I say? We've experienced a lot

over these last eighteen years, and it has been the most rewarding friendship of my life. Thank you for your love. As well, thanks for constantly, continually and ceaselessly (is that redundant enough?) reinforcing the fact that you always 'have my back.' Q*uid pro quo*. To my cousin, as well as fast friend, Lance Northway, and his family, thank you! You've done more to help keep me focused (and refocused) on this goal than you could ever possibly know. It means so much. Finally, to the guy who is probably the most shocked to find me writing about historical theology, an extraordinarily close friend for almost twenty-five years now, Brad Skinner, J.D. This thesis owes much to you my friend. Had it not been for your gracious provision as I was leaving for study at the University of Durham, my tenure would surely have been much shorter. I only hope that I am one day able to do for someone else what you have done for me!

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there is always enough left over to supply whatever need remains. Thank you for your love, encouragement, compassion, and fortitude. I hope one day to be half the person you are. *Uxor amica, uxor optima*!

DEDICATION

This work is lovingly dedicated to my grandfather,

Leonard Northway, Sr. (1905-1984)

who long ago told a little boy, in resolute terms, that when issues of important consequence are at hand, atop the fence is no place for a good person to be found sitting.

Αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη

ABBREVIATIONS

A	*Arundelianus* 87
ACO	*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum.* Vols. 1.1.1-1.1.7.
Ad Cor. prim.	Ambrosiaster, *Ad Corinthios prima.*
Ad Mon.	Fulgentius Ruspensis, *Ad Monimum libri III.*
Ad Reg.	Cyril of Alexandria, *Ad Reginas.*
Ad Tras.	Fulgentius Ruspensis, *Ad Trasamundum libri III.*
Adim.	Augustine, *Contra Adimantum.*
AH	Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses.*
B&A	Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads.* 2 vols.
BHG	*Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca.* 3 vols. and supplements.
Bib.	Staehelin, *Oekolampad – Bibliographie.*
C	*Berolinensis lat.* 43 (= *Claromontanus*)
C. Iul.	Augustine, *Contra Iulianum.*
Cain	Ambrose, *De Cain et Abel*

Car. de se ipso	Gregory Nazianzus, *Carmina de se ipso.*
CB	*Corpus Berolinense.*
CCSG	*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca.*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina.*
Cel.	Origen, *Contra Celsum.*
Civ.	Augustine, *De civitate Dei.*
CM	*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis.*
CMG	Omont, *Catalogue Manuscrits Grecs des Bibliothèques de Suisse.*
CoE	Bietenholz, Peter, and Deutsher, Thomas, eds. *Contemporaries of Erasmus.* Vols. 1-3.
Comm. Eccl.	Jerome, *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten.*
Comm. Matt.	Jerome, *Commentariorum in Matthaeum libri IV.*
Comm. ser. Matt.	Origen, *Commentariorum series in evangelium Matthaei.*
Comm. Tit.	Jerome, *Commentariorum in Epistulam ad Titum liber.*

Cont. Iul.	Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Julianum.*
Cont. Or.	Cyril of Alexandria, *Apologeticus pro XII capitibus contra Orientales.*
Corp.	Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini.*
CPG	*Clavis Patrum Graecorum.*
CR	*Corpus Reformatorum*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.*
CWE	Erasmus, *The Collected Works of Erasmus.*
De cael.	Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, *De caelesti hierarchia.*
De dua. nat.	Pope Gelasius (pseudo), *De duabus naturis in Christo adversus Eutychem et Nestorium.*
De eccl.	Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia.*
De fide	Ambrose, *De fide.*
De fide ad Pet.	Fulgentius Ruspensis, *De fide ad Petrum diaconum.*
De orat.	Chrysostom, *De oratione.*

De re Eucharistiae responsio	Oecolampadius, *Ioannis Oecolampadii Ad Billibaldum Pyrkaimerum de re Eucharistiae responsio.*
De trin.	Hilary, *De trinitate.*
De Unctione	Arnold of Bonnevaux (i.e., pseudo-Cyprian), *De cardinalibus operibus Christi*
De vera Christi	Pirckheimer, [Birckheimheri], *De vera Christi carne et vero eius sanguine ad Ioan. Oecolampadium responsio.*
De veritate corporis	Fisher, *De veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia adversus Johannem Oecolampadium.*
DGVD	Oecolampadius, *Ioannis Oecolampadii De Genuina Verborum Domini, Hoc est corpus meum, iuxta vetustissimos authores, expositione liber.*
Dial. libri iv	Gregory the Great, *Dialogorum libri iv.*
Dialogus (*Dial.*)	Oecolampadius, *Quid De Eucharistia Veteres Tum Graeci, tum Latini senserint, Dialogus, in quo Epistolae Philippi Melanchthonis et Ioannis Oecolampadii insertae.*
Discipline	Demura, "Church Discipline According to Johannes Oecolampadius in the Setting of His Life and Thought."

Div. quaest. LXXXIII.	Augustine, *De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII.*
Doctr. chr.	Augustine, *De doctrina christiana.*
Dom.	Cyprian, *De dominica oratione.*
DS	Denzinger-Schönmetzer
ε	Erasmus, *Adversus haereses editio princeps.*
EH	Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History.*
Enarrat. Ps.	Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos.*
Ep.	Numerous patristic authors, *Epistulae.*
Exc.	Ambrose, *De excessu fratris sui Satyri.*
Exp. fide.	John of Damascus, *Expositio fidei.*
Exp. Luc.	Ambrose, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam.*
Exp. Ps.	Ambrose, *Expositio Psalmi CXVIII.*
Expl. xii cap.	Cyril of Alexandria, *Explanatio duodecim capitum.*
Faust.	Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum.*

GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller.*
Gen. litt.	Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram.*
Glaph. Ex.	Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyrorum in Exodum.*
Hist. eccl.	Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Historia ecclesiastica.*
Hist. Eccl.	Gelasius of Cyzicus (pseudo, anonymous), *Historia Ecclesiastica.*
Hist. lib. V	Egesippius (Josephus), *Bellum judaicum.*
Hom. Heb.	Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistulam ad Hebraeos.*
Hom. ii Cor.	Chrysostom, *Homiliae in ii Corinthios.*
Hom. Jo.	Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Joannem.*
Hom. Luc.	Athanasius, *In illud: Qui dixerit verbum in filium* (Homily on Luke 12:10).
Hom. Matt.	Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Matthaeum.*
Hom. Lev.	Origen, *Homiliae in Leviticum.*
In Jo.	Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem.*

In Lev.	Hesychius of Jerusalem, *In Leviticum*.
In Luc.	Bede, *In Lucae evangelium expositio*.
In Matt.	Theophylact of Ochrid, *In quatuor Evangelia enarrationes*.
Incarn.	Ambrose, *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento.*
Isaiah	Poythress, "Johannes Oecolampadius' Exposition of Isaiah, Chapters 36-37."
Laps.	Cyprian, *De lapsis.*
Lebenswerk	Staehelin, *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads.*
LW	Pelikan, J. and Lehman, H. (eds.), *Luther's Works*.
Marc.	Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem.*
MBW	Melanchthon, *Melanchthons Briefwechsel.* 10 vols.
MiAG	Morin, G. (ed.) *Sancti Augustini Sermones post Maurinos reperti*, (Miscellanea Agostiniana, vol. 2).
Myst.	Ambrose, *De mysteriis*.
OER	Hillerbrand, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*.

Op. imp. Matt.	Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum.*
Orat.	Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orationes.*
Orig. Op. Om.	Origen, *Origenis Opera Omnia.*
Paen.	Tertullian, *De paenitentia.*
Paenit.	Chrysostom, *De paenitentia.*
Patristic Roots	Old, *The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship.*
Patterns	Rupp, *Patterns of Reformation.*
PG	Migne, *Patrologia Graeca.*
PL	Migne, *Patrologia Latina.*
PTS	*Patristische Texte und Studien.* Vols. 36 & 38.
Pusey	Pusey, P.E., *Sancti Patris Nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini.* Vols. 1-7.
Q	*Vaticanus lat.* 187.
Quod expediat.	Oecolampadius, *Quod expediat epistolae et evangelii lectionem in missa vernaculo sermone plebi promulgari.*
R	*Vaticanus lat.* 188.

Reg. brev.	Basil, *Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae brevius tractatae).*
Res.	Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis.*
Rescriptum	Berengarius, *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum.*
Responsio posterior	Oecolampadius, *Ad Bilibaldum Pyrkaimerum de Eucharistia responsio posterior.*
Retract.	Augustine, *Retractationum libri II.*
Rom.	Ignatius, *To the Romans*
S	*Salmanticensis lat.* 202.
Sac.	Chrysostom, *De sacerdotio.*
Sacr.	Ambrose, *De sacramentis.*
SC	*Sources chrétiennes.*
secunda	Pirckheimer, [Pirckheymheri], *De vera Christi carne et vero eius sanguine, adversus convicia Ioannis, qui sibi Oecolampadii nomen indidit, responsio secunda.*
Sent.	Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris distinctae.*
Ser. Cant.	Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo super Cantica Canticorum*
Ser. cen. Dom.	Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo in cena Domini.*

Sermo de Sac.	Oecolampadius, *Sermo de Sacramento Eucharistiae*
Ser. Dom.	Augustine, *De sermone Domini in monte.*
Serm.	Augustine & Leo the Great, *Sermones.*
SV	Melanchthon, *Sententiae veterum aliquot scriptorum, de Coena Domini, bona fide recitatae.*
Thiel	Thiel, A. (ed.) (1868) *Epistolae romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a S. Hilaro usque ad S. Hormisdam, ann. 461-523.*
Tract. Ev. Jo.	Augustine, *In Evangelium Johannis tractatus.*
Tract. Ps.	Hilary, *Tractatus super Psalmos.*
Trin.	Augustine, *De Trinitate.*
Unit. eccl.	Cyprian, *De ecclesiae catholicae unitate.*
V	*Vossianus Leidensis* E 33
Val.	Tertullian, *Adversus Valentinianos.*
Vir. ill.	Jerome, *De viris illustribus.*
Vul.	Jerome, *Biblia Vulgata.*

WA	Luther, *Luthers Werke.*
WABr	Luther, *Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Briefwechsel.*
Z	*Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke.*

INTRODUCTION

Johannes Oecolampadius (1482-1531) is a figure who spent a better part of the three hundred years following his death buried in relative obscurity, as both his life and thought had been relegated to dusty bookshelves in magnificent libraries throughout Europe and America. Particularly in the English-speaking world, there was little of substance written about him until approximately thirty years ago. It is true that he is named, or elements of his work are referred to, in the many extant summary histories concerning the early modern period. However, whatever mention has been made of Oecolampadius in these histories has often been in relationship to his 'Swiss theology,' which many authors argue is simply a recapitulation of the better-known Zwingli.

Works Primarily Concerned with the Life and Non-Patristic and/or Non-Sacramental Thought of Oecolampadius

One of the first people to attempt formally to immortalize Oecolampadius in writing was his close friend Wolfgang Capito. In 1534 Capito penned a short biography, eulogizing the life of the *Basler*, in his forward to Oecolampadius' commentary on Ezekiel.[1] Other contemporary and later generation Reformed theologians like Heinrich Bullinger, John Calvin and Theodore Beza would praise him, and utilize aspects of his thought – especially from his biblical commentaries – in the construction of their own

[1] B&A 2, pp. 742-752, No. 971.

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theologies.[2] But, Oecolampadius was rarely remembered during the 17th century. In fact, it is not until the late 18th century that we begin to see proper interest in him developing.

In 1793 Salomon Hess attempted to write a 'complete' history of Oecolampadius' life. However, as Akira Demura has rightly pointed out, the work falls short because Hess did not have access to many of the important documents necessary for such a task. Therefore, key periods in Oecolampadius' life prior to his work with Erasmus on the *Novum Instrumentum* are missing from the narrative. Moreover, any record of his stay and eventual exodus from the monastery at Altomünster is also absent.[3] An advance in Oecolampadian historiography was made fifty years later with the publication of Johann Jakob Herzog's two-volume *Das leben Johannes Oekolampads und die Reformation der Kirche zu Basel.* Herzog drew on numerous primary sources in the writing of his book, and methodologically tried to focus more attention than that of his predecessors on the basic theological ideas present in the sources he consulted.[4] A few years later Karl Rudolf Hagenbach published an extensive biography of Oecolampadius, and Oecolampadius' predecessor Oswald Myconius. The

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[2] Peter Alan Lillback, "The Binding of God: Calvin's Role in the Development of Covenant Theology" (Ph.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1985), pp. 140-148.

[3] See, Salomon Hess, *Lebensgeschichte D. Johann Oekolampads, Reformators der Kirche in Basel: nebst einem Anhang ungedruckter Briefe von Oekolampad an Zwingli* (Zürich: Bey Ziegler und Söhne, 1793); and cf., Akira Demura, "Church Discipline According to Johannes Oecolampadius in the Setting of His Life and Thought" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1964), pp. 3-4.

[4] Johann Jakob Herzog, *Das leben Johannes Oekolampads und die Reformation der Kirche zu Basel*, 2 vols. (Basel: Schweighauser, 1843).

distinguishing characteristic of Hagenbach's work, as compared to those who had written prior to him, is his attention to additional primary sources, as well as an important discussion of Oecolampadius' proposed liturgical revisions for Basel.[5] In 1897 Georg Binder wrote an article detailing Oecolampadius' entry into the monastery at Altomünster, arguing that it was an important humanistic center.[6] Andreas Bigelmair published a yet more detailed account of Oecolampadius' time in the monastery a few years later. In this essay from 1917, Bigelmair traces the development of Oecolampadius' theological 'growth', and concludes that the man who eventually became the reformer of Basel was somewhat unsettled both emotionally and theologically.[7]

The first historical theologian who seems to have recognized fully the importance of the life and work – the contribution – of Oecolampadius during the early 1500s, was Ernst Staehelin. Staehelin wrote a dissertation on Oecolampadius titled, "Oekolampads beziehungen zu den Romanen", at the Universität Basel in 1916, and it was published one year later.[8] In 1918 and then in 1928, Staehelin published a two-part bibliography of all of

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[5] Karl Rudolf Hagenbach, *Johann Oekolampad und Oswald Myconius: die Reformatoren Basels* (Elberfeld: R.L. Friderichs, 1859).

[6] Georg Binder, "Oecolampad im Birgittenkloster in Altomünster," *Theologisch-praktische Monats-Schrift* VII (1897), pp. 307-312, and 385-393.

[7] Andreas Bigelmair, "Ökolampadius im Kloster Altomünster," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Renaissance und Reformation: Joseph Schlecht Am. 16 Januar 1917 als Festgabe zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag* (München und Freising: Dr. F.P. Datterer & Arthur Sellier, 1917), pp. 14-44.

[8] Ernst Staehelin, *Oekolampads beziehungen zu den Romanen: Habilitationsvorlesung gehalten an der Universität Basel* (Basel: Verlag von Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1917).

Oecolampadius' known published works. The two were combined and published under the title *Oekolampad – Bibliographie* in 1963.[9] In 1929 he authored *Das Buch der Basler Reformation*, which concentrated on the most important individuals to the Basel reformation, including within it reference to some additional primary source material from Oecolampadius. After this, Staehelin gave two lectures dealing with Oecolampadius. The first, which offered nothing new in the way of Oecolampadian scholarship, was given on the four-hundredth anniversary of the death of the *Basler*. The second published lecture documents the relationship between Oecolampadius and Erasmus. In it Staehelin recounts the personal and working relationship of the two men, and highlights their collaboration on the publication of the *Novum Instrumentum*, and the texts of Jerome and Chrysostom.[10]

Without question the two most 'complete' contributions to the study of Oecolampadius to date are also publications of Staehelin. The first is the considerable two-volume *Briefe und Akten*, which chronologically organizes Oecolampadius' personal and professional correspondence, as well as letters (or sections of letters) and documents from other individuals who refer in some way to Oecolampadius. It is not an overstatement to say that modern historical scholarship concerning Oecolampadius would be very

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[9] Ernst Staehelin, *Oekolampad - Bibliographie* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1963).

[10] See, Ernst Staehelin, *Das Reformationswerk des Johannes Oekolampads* (Bern: Gotthelf, 1932); and, *Ibid.*, "Erasmus und Ökolampad in ihrem ringen um Die Kirche Jesu Christi," in *Gedenkschrift zum 400: Todestage Des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, ed. Eduard His (Basel: Braus-Riggenbach, 1936), pp. 166-182.

limited without recourse to this important source. Second, is *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads*. Originally published in 1939, it is a testament to Staehelin's lifetime devotion to making Oecolampadius relevant in the 20th century, and beyond. This work, like *Briefe und Akten*, chronologically traces Oecolampadius' life, highlighting the most important issues with which the *Basler* dealt, relying largely on primary sources to accomplish the goal.[11]

Gordon E. Rupp had published, in 1969, a helpful biographical sketch on the life and work of Oecolampadius, titled "Johannes Oecolampadius of Basle", in his book *Patterns of Reformation*. This is one of the earliest comprehensive English accounts of the life Oecolampadius, and so, at least in this regard, was somewhat groundbreaking.[12]

After Staehelin and Rupp there were four additional large studies carried out, each attempting to focus more narrowly on aspects of Oecolampadius' thought. The first, written in 1954, is Gerhard Nordbolt's doctoral dissertation, "Via regia. Die Theologie Oekolampads als Lehre von der Kirche."[13] Using mainly primary sources – mostly, but not exclusively, Old Testament commentaries – Nordbolt claimed that Oecolampadius laid the

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[11] Ernst Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads: zum vierhundertjahriger Jubilaum der Basler Reformation*, 2 vols., (New York & London: Johnson Reprint, 1971); and, Ernst Staehelin, *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads*, (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1939; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1971).

[12] Gordon E. Rupp, *Patterns of Reformation* (London: Epworth Press, 1969), pp. 3-46.

[13] Gerhard Nordholt, "Via regia. Die Theologie Oekolampads als Lehre von der Kirche" (Inaugural Dissertation, Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, 1954).

cornerstone of the foundation for later developing reformed ecclesiology, ultimately crystallized in the theology of Calvin.

After Norbolt came Akira Demura's doctoral dissertation, "Church Discipline According to Johannes Oecolampadius in the Setting of His Life and Thought."[14] In the first part of this work Demura traces the early life of Oecolampadius to the point of his becoming the reformer of Basel, as well as the historical and theological circumstances surrounding his elevation to that position. He also highlights the attempted implementation of Oecolampadian ecclesiology in Basel and surrounding areas. In the third part of the dissertation Demura argues that Oecolampadius was a reformed theologian who promoted *sola scriptura* and *sola fide*, seemingly suggesting that Oecolampadius was not only a precursor, but almost theologically identical to many second generation reformers in this regard. It is at this point that Demura's argument appears weakest. Rather than reading Oecolampadius on his own terms, and seeing in his works an ever-evolving theologian, Demura instead reads later developed reformed theology back onto him. In other words, this section of the work is given to eisegesis rather than exegesis. Nevertheless, the dissertation, minus this shortcoming, is a helpful source for understanding Oecolampadius' life, and his impact on the development of reformed ecclesiology.

[14] Akira Demura, "Church Discipline According to Johannes Oecolampadius in the Setting of His Life and Thought" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1964).

Next is the massive 778 page doctoral dissertation of Diane Marie Poythress, written at Westminster Theological Seminary in 1992.[15] In this work entitled, "Johannes Oecolampadius' Exposition of Isaiah Chapters 36-37", Poythress covers the life and work of Oecolampadius, his influence on other reformers (both his contemporaries, and those of later generations), analyzes selections – in Latin, English and German – from his commentary on Isaiah, his hermeneutic, and his theology. Again, this is a massive work, and given that fact, the dissertation never truly seems to focus on any one particular aspect of Oecolampadius' thought, even though its title would suggest such a thing. Instead it ebbs and flows, here and there, and the reader ends up never knowing exactly what the author is trying to argue. The most obvious shortcoming of the work is the subjective, confessional, style in which it is written. Unfortunately, it borders on the hagiographic, rather than historiographic or theological. To be sure, there are helpful insights to be found in Poythress' account, but in the end there is little of substance that is original to the work (other than the analysis of the two chapters from Oecolampadius' commentary on Isaiah) that could not be found in earlier biographies.

Finally, is a book based on the 1996 dissertation of Olaf Kuhr, *"Die Macht des Bannes und der Busse": Kirchenzucht und Erneuerung der Kirche bei Johannes Oekolampad (1482-1531).*[16] The book surveys the thought of

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[15] Diane Marie Poythress, "Johannes Oecolampadius' Exposition of Isaiah, Chapters 36-37" (Ph.D. diss, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1992).

[16] Olaf Kuhr, *"Die Macht des Bannes und der Busse": Kirchenzucht und Erneuerung der Kirche bei Johannes Oekolampad (1482-1531)* (Bern & New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

Oecolampadius concerning the character and function of ecclesiastical governance. Initially, it concentrates on the development of Oecolampadius' judgment of the role of penance, and derivatively, confession throughout different periods of his life. The next sections of the book covers the issue of the involvement of secular authorities in church disciple, the role of the eucharistic controversy in light of Basel's church discipline ordinances, and Oecolampadius' debates with the Basel city council regarding who should oversee the Ban. In essence, Kuhr has expanded upon the work of Demura, incorporating numerous additional sources (some patristic – namely Chrysostom) into his research, and draws more narrow conclusions than Demura vis-à-vis how much change Oecolampadius was able to bring to Basel during his lifetime, and how Basel's ordinances eventually impacted Calvin's Geneva.

Returning briefly to shorter works, Karl Hammer continued to analyze the evolution of Oecolampadius' program of reform for Basel with "Oecolampads Reformprogramm".[17] One year later, in 1982, Ed Miller published another biographical sketch on the life and work of Oecolampadius, as did Thomas Fudge in 1997.[18] Also, in 1997 Demura had an essay published comparing the *Romans* commentaries of

[17] Karl Hammer, "Oecolampads Reformprogramm," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 37 (1981), pp. 149-163.

[18] Ed L. Miller, "Oecolampadius: The Unsung Hero of the Basel Reformation," *Illiff Review* 39 (1982), pp. 5-25; and, Thomas A. Fudge, "Icarus of Basel? Oecolampadius and the Early Swiss Reformation," *Journal of Religious History* 21 (1997), pp. 268-284.

Oecolampadius and Calvin.[19] Shortly thereafter, Olaf Kuhr summarized the latter section of his book, mentioned above, in the article, "Calvin and Basel: The Significance of Oecolampadius and the Basel Discipline Ordinance for the Institution of Ecclesiastical Discipline in Geneva".[20]

A Non-comprehensive Survey of Works Dealing with the Reception of the Fathers in the Sixteenth Century

Over the last century a keen interest in the reception of the fathers throughout the church's history has developed.[21] More specifically, the reception of the fathers during the period of the reformations – focusing on biblical exegesis, liturgical revision, church polity, and sacramental theology – has become an important area of discussion and debate within the field. About the application of the Fathers to reformation biblical interpretation, David C. Steinmetz and Robert Kolb have correctly stated that,

> . . . the Reformers and their opponents marshaled evidence from the Fathers in a wide

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[19] Akira Demura, "Two Commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans: Calvin and Oecolampadius," in *Calvinus sincerioris religionis vindex: Calvin as Protector of the Purer Religion*, ed. Wilhelm H. Neuser and Brian G. Armstrong, (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997), pp. 165-188.

[20] Olaf Kuhr, "Calvin and Basel: The Significance of Oecolampadius and the Basel Discipline Ordinance for the Institution of Ecclesiastical Discipline in Geneva," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 16 (1998), pp. 19-33.

[21] One of the most comprehensive examples is, Irena Backus, ed., *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, 2 vols. (Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1997). Volume one includes essays covering the Carolingians through the late Mediaeval period. Volume two covers the Renaissance through the eighteenth century.

> variety of ways, some obvious to the modern reader, some more puzzling.[22]

This methodology seems to apply not only to the use of the fathers in biblical exegesis, but also to every other doctrinal idea of importance to the early reformers, including sacramental theology. In addition to this Steinmetz and Kolb also state,

> . . . the commitment of the early modern theologians to importance of the Fathers was not necessarily a commitment to the equal importance of every Father or of every writing by the same author. Theologians and scholars had their own canon within the larger canon of published and accessible authors. How they established their smaller canons of preferred and privileged authors and what such canons implied for both their theology and their scholarship are questions of considerable interest.[23]

This shall be a hypothesis that we will test later in the present work, as Oecolampadius clearly shows deference to some patristic authors when compared to others. And, he also seems to relish particular texts from particular authors who he, in some way, esteems.

Concerning specific individuals who were active during the sixteenth century, the attention of studies of their reception of the fathers is often

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[22] Robert Kolb and David C. Steinmetz, "Introduction," in *Die Patristik in der Bibelexegese des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. David C. Steinmetz, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), p. 10.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

narrowed to then prominent (though occasionally, some not so prominent) humanists and theologians. Works enough to fill a small library have been written on the reception of the fathers by Luther and Calvin, and though many are enlightening, it is unnecessary to survey them here because in the end, they have little impact on the present study. However, a brief survey of the research concerning two important individuals during the sixteenth century who have a direct bearing on this present study is in order.

The first of these individuals is Erasmus. In relationship to him, Denys Gorce wrote a very helpful and significant essay entitled, "La patristique dans la réforme d'Erasme". In it, he maintained that Erasmus attempted to modify the theological culture of sixteenth century Christians, by moving the focus from scholastic paradigms, and the consequent piety that developed from it, to a more 'pure' or 'true' theology (based on the insights of Origen, Basil, Chrysostom, and Jerome), which he hoped would lead to the reinvigoration of an unadulterated godliness. As a test case for this, Gorce focused much of his attention on Erasmus' publication of the Jerome *Opera*, and its subsequent impact.[24]

Working along a similar line of reasoning is Jan Den Boeft's essay from 1997, "Erasmus and the Church Fathers".[25] Different than Gorce, however,

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[24] Denys Gorce, "La patristique dans la réforme d'Erasme," in *Festgabe Joseph Lortz*, ed. Erwin Iserloh and Peter Manns (Baden-Baden: Bruno Grimm, 1957), pp. 233-276.

[25] Jan Den Boeft, "Erasmus and the Church Fathers," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Backus (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1997), pp. 537-572

in the first part of this essay the author briefly surveys Erasmus' understanding of the role and function of humanism in Italy and north of the Alps, as it relates to classical authors. The acceptance and or rejection of certain of these writers, and the methodology employed in their reading, argues the author, forms the backdrop to Erasmus' understanding and utilization of the fathers in his own reform program. Much of the remainder of the essay focuses on the state of Erasmus' manuscripts, and the editorial methods he used for their publication, and the essay concludes in a similar fashion to Gorce.

In relationship to Melanchthon, Peter Fraenkel had published, "Ten Questions Concerning Melanchthon, the Fathers, and the Eucharist"[26] in 1961. In it Fraenkel attempts a reverse chronological examination of Melanchthon's views of the eucharist, tracing them from his later writings which show signs of Oecolampadius' 'spiritualist' view, and his patristic interpretation, to the earliest possible traces of Melanchthon's eucharistic 'ambiguity'. This essay is groundbreaking in that it attempts to situate Melanchthon's reception of the father's within the context of the eucharistic theology of the *Praeceptor*. Few writers before Fraenkel had tried such a thing. He concludes by suggesting that Melanchthon had, from around 1525 through the remainder of his life, utilized a standardized set of patristic quotations from the fathers as demonstrative examples of the antiquity and validity of his eucharistic theology. In other words, the patristic

[26] Peter Fraenkel, "Ten Questions Concerning Melanchthon, the Fathers, and the Eucharist," in *Luther und Melanchthon: Referate des Zweiten Internationalen Lutherforscherkongresses Münster, 8.-13. August 1960*, ed. Vilmos Vajta (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), pp. 146-164.

sources for Melanchthon's eucharistic theology remained the same, it was only the subtleties of the theology itself that changed, based in part, on Oecolampadius' interpretation of the same patristic texts.

Further expanding on his argument in "Ten Questions Concerning Melanchthon, the Fathers, and the Eucharist", was the 1961 publication of *Testimonia Patrum: The Function of the Patristic Argument in the Theology of Philip Melanchthon*.[27] Here Fraenkel surveys the major theological loci of Melanchthon's thought in relationship to his reception of the fathers. The author points out that for Melanchthon truth was an absolute that was handed down from antiquity. Consequently, any appeal to antiquity – i.e., the fathers, must take into account, and question, the continuity of the teaching of a particular father with earlier revealed truth – i.e., that of the scriptures. Fraenkel clearly shows that for Melanchthon this truth was maintained not so much by the institutionalized church, but by the theologians themselves who properly understood the doctrinal succession of that truth. Therefore, this work is written primarily from the standpoint of Melanchthon as a Reformer, with emphasis being placed on the role of *how* the fathers were employed in the development of his reformation theology.

In a work geared more toward (though not exclusively) the question of *what* Melanchthon knew of the fathers – in other words, his work as a Patristic scholar rather than a reformation scholar – is E.P. Meijering's, *Melanchthon and Patristic Thought: The Doctrines of Christ and Grace, the Trinity and*

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[27] Peter Fraenkel, *Testimonia Patrum: The Function of the Patristic Argument in the Theology of Philip Melanchthon* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1961).

Creation.[28] The 'main' chapter of Meijering's book is a catalogue of the patristic references employed by Melanchthon as found in the *Corpus Reformatorum* volumes which contain his writings. Moreover, these are all patristic citations relating to the doctrinal ideas found in the title of Meijering's book – Christ and grace, the Trinity and creation. The author points out that Augustine was of central importance to Melanchthon, which as we shall later see, is a similarity between Melanchthon and Oecolampadius. However, he also catalogues a host of other fathers, from Ambrose to Vigilius. In the conclusion to the chapter Meijering notes, as did Fraenkel, that Melanchthon had constant recourse to the same fathers and the same quotes throughout much of his life, seemingly pointing to the fact that the *Praeceptor* ultimately used quotations from those fathers who either validated his own theological presuppositions, or against which he meant to argue. His patristic canon was, in a manner of speaking, relatively closed.

Works Dealing with Oecolampadius' Reception of the Fathers and/or Eucharistic Theology – with Special Mention of Irenaeus

Oecolampadius, by no means a systematician (which seems in many ways to account for Bigelmair's interpretation), was nevertheless an able humanist, biblical scholar and theologian. He translated or had a hand in the publication of dozens of patristic texts of both eastern and western fathers. So, in his own way he helped to lay the groundwork for the centuries of patristic philology, exegesis and dialogue that would follow.

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[28] E.J. Meijering, *Melanchthon and Patristic Thought: The Doctrines of Christ and Grace, the Trinity and Creation* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983).

Moreover, he was deeply interested in the interplay between doctrinal issues, the fathers – especially as pertaining to sacramental theology – and the wider ecclesiological themes encompassed by them.

We mentioned earlier that the scholarly focus of the reception of the fathers has often been on prominent sixteenth century theologians, with only occasional in-depth reflection on those individuals who might be considered, for whatever reasons, lackluster. Oecolampadius has historically fallen into the latter category. However, within approximately the last forty years (with the exception of one study), a number of authors have sought to understand, more specifically, the role of his reception of the fathers. Nevertheless, the majority of these studies have been limited to dissertations, journal articles, and essays. Even these, oftentimes, only briefly discuss Oecolampadius, while at the same time giving weight to other humanists and/or theologians. To date, no comprehensive work has been published on Oecolampadius' reception of the fathers.

Not surprisingly, Ernst Staehelin wrote the first important treatise in relation to Oecolampadius' reception of the fathers. In it he attempted to reference all of Oecolampadius' published patristic translations, suggested possible manuscript sources where available, and then cross-referenced these translations to the corresponding editions of Migne.[29]

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[29] Ernst Staehelin, "Die Väterübersetzungen Oekolampads," *Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift* XXIII (1916).

In 1971 Gottfried Hoffmann wrote a very helpful dissertation dealing with the reception and use of patristic arguments in the early eucharistic controversy entitled, "Sententiae Patrum: Das patristische Argument in der Abendmahlskontroverse zwischen Oekolampad, Zwingli, Luther und Melanchthon."[30] The work is divided into four major sections, each discussing the role played by the fathers in the arguments of Oecolampadius, Zwingli, Luther and Melanchthon. In relationship to Oecolampadius, Hoffmann treats Oecolampadius' general understanding and implementation of patristic arguments in *DGVD* and other writings (e.g., *Antisyngramma*, *Billiche antwurt*, and *Dialogus*) as related to the sacrament of the eucharist. As a corollary to this discussion, Hoffmann recognizes and briefly explains a number of important components of Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology: 1) the use typology as a method for delineating a theology of the sacrament, which the Basler adopted from Jerome, Basil, and Augustine; 2) 'believe and you have eaten' from Augustine – which, as we shall see, is one of the central themes of Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology; and, 3) the session of Christ. However, because it was not Hoffmann's declared purpose to fully expound Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology in light of his reception of the fathers, but rather to compare how patristic thought was used and juxtaposed by four of the main theologians present at Marburg, it covers only the 'big ideas' communicated throughout Oecolampadius' various writings. But, as

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[30] Gottfried Hoffmann, "Sententiae Patrum: Das patristische Argument in der Abendmahlskontroverse zwischen Oekolampad, Zwingli, Luther und Melanchthon." (Ph.D. diss., University of Heidelberg, 1971).

with Demura, it is a very helpful introduction to the topic, especially as regards this current study.

In an attempt to discover the extent to which the fathers had an influence on liturgical reforms in the reformation generally, and Calvin's 1542 Genevan Psalter specifically, Hughes Oliphant Old penned *The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship*, published in 1975.[31] Section two of the book surveys numerous reformation leaders throughout Germany and Switzerland, as well as Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples. Here, Old includes a very brief summary of the published patristic works of Oecolampadius, drawing his list almost wholly from the sources mentioned by Staehelin in *Lebenswerk*.

In 1977 Ralph Walter Quere's doctoral dissertation was published under the title, *Melanchthon's Christum Cognoscere: Christ's Efficacious Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Melanchthon*.[32] In it Quere traces the development of Melanchthon's eucharistic theology which, he maintains, was impacted significantly by both Luther and Oecolampadius. Specifically, Quere argues that Oecolampadius' response to Melanchthon's *Sententiae Veterum*, in the form of his *Dialogus*, forever changed Melanchthon's understanding of eucharistic presence. In order to make this claim, Quere surveys both *DGVD* and *Dialogus* to find the general patristic

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[31] Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship* (Zürich: Juris Druck, 1975).

[32] Ralph Walter Quere, *Melanchthon's Christum Cognoscere: Christ's Efficacious Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Melanchthon* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1977).

influences upon Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology. Quere rightly settles on Augustine being a major influence, but gives credence to the fact that Oecolampadius attempted to employ numerous other authors for the same purpose. In regards to this present study, Quere is very helpful in his survey. However, as it is not his stated purpose, he does not catalogue all of the patristic authors mentioned by Oecolampadius in *DGVD* or *Dialogus*, nor does he comprehensively delineate the evolution of Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology in light of his reading of the ancient authors. Rather, the focus is on how Oecolampadius' reading of select authors may have impacted Melanchthon's reading of the same, and consequently the latter's eucharistic theology.

In 1979, renowned scholar Pierre Fraenkel surveyed the reception and use mainly of Tertullian, by Oecolampadius and Beza, within the context of each man's theology of confession in his article "Beatus Rhenanus, Oecolampade, Théodore De Bèza et Quelques-Unes de Leurs Sources Anciennes."[33] Moreover, he focused on the state of the *editio princeps* edited and published by Rhenanus in comparison to the citations used by the two reformers. Hughes Oliphant Old published an essay in 1982 demonstrating Oecolampadius' reliance on select eastern fathers, and their influence on his homiletic style.[34] In the realm of the reception of Origin in

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[33] Pierre Fraenkel, "Beatus Rhenanus, Oecolampade, Théodore De Bèza et Quelques-Unes de Leurs Sources Anciennes." *Bibliotheque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 41 (1979), pp. 63-81.

[34] Hughes Oliphant Old, "The Homiletics of John Oecolampadius and the Sermons of the Greek Fathers," in *Communio sanctorum: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Jacques von Allmen* (Geneva: 1982), pp. 239-250. Pertaining to the same issue, see, *Ibid.*, *The*

relationship to the eucharist, some of the most thorough studies have been conducted by Lothar Lies. In his essay, "Rezeption der Eucharistielehre des Origenes bei den Reformatoren", he examines the reception of Origin's eucharistic musings in the works of Erasmus, Oecolampadius, Zwingli, Luther, Melanchthon, and others.[35] As regards his brief discussion of Oecolampadius, Lies notes that the reformer accepts only those texts that agree with his own basic theological convictions. In 1993 Irena Backus compared Oecolampadius' Latin translation of pseudo-John of Damascus' *De his qui in fide dormierunt*, to the Migne edition. She points out that, as is often the case with Oecolampadius, his Latin translation is truncated and shows a particularly protestant bias.[36]

Jean-Louis Quantin wrote a masterful article in 1994 in which he discussed the manuscript traditions and reception of Irenaeus' *AH* by both Catholics and Protestants during the early period of reforms.[37] In it he notes Oecolampadius' citations from *AH* in *DGVD*, *Billiche antwurt*, his debate

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Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church: The Age of the Reformation (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002), pp. 53-64.

[35] Lothar Lies, "Rezeption der Eucharistielehre des Origenes bei den Reformatoren," in *Origeniana Tertia. The Third International Colloquium for Origen Studies, University of Manchester September 7th-11th, 1981*, ed. R. P. C. Hanson and Henri Crouzel (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1985), pp. 287-303. Also see a similar discussion referencing multiple reformers in, *Ibid.*, *Origenes' Eucharistielehre im Streit der Konfessionen: die Auslegungsgeschichte seit der Reformation* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1985).

[36] Irena Backus, "What Prayers for the Dead in the Tridentine Period? [Pseudo-] John of Damascus, 'De his qui in fide dormierunt' and its 'Protestant' translation by Johannes Oecolampadius," in *Reformiertes Erbe : Festschrift für Gottfried W. Locher zu seinem 80*, ed. Heiko Oberman (Zürich: Theol. Verlag, 1993), pp. 13-24.

[37] Jean-Louis Quantin, "Irénée de Lyon entre humanisme et Réforme: Les citations de l'Adversus haereses dans les controverses religieuses, de Johann Fabri à Martin Luther (1522-1527)," *Recherches augustiniennes* 27 (1994), pp. 131-170.

with Willibald Pirckheimer and others, and his employment of Irenaeus at Baden. Moreover, Quantin considers the possible influence of Oecolampadius' citations on other writers of the period, and the possible influence of those citations on later published editions of *AH*. What makes this article important as regards the present study is that it is the only work published to date that deals, in-depth and explicitly, with Oecolampadius and his citations from *AH*.

In an attempt to describe the historical stimuli behind the theological debates that ensued between Oecolampadius, Johannes Brenz and other Lutheran pastors from Schwäbisch-Hall, Martin E. Jung wrote "Abendmahlsstreit: Brenz und Oekolampad" in 2000.[38] Two years later, Katharina Greschat published an essay discussing the significance of the role, or lack thereof, of Marcionism during the eucharistic controversy.[39] In it she notes that Oecolampadius made use of Tertullian's *figura corporis* as a trope meant to explain the eucharistic 'body of Christ', and the resultant problems it caused for him in dealing with Brenz, Luther, and others. Finally, Lee Palmer Wandel has included in her narrative history, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy*, a brief discussion

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[38] Martin H. Jung, "Abendmahlsstreit: Brenz und Oekolampad," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 100 (2000), pp. 143-161.

[39] Katharina Greschat, "'Dann sind gottwilkommen, Marcion und Marciönin': Marcion in den reformatorischen Auseinandersetzungen um das Abendmahl," in *Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung - Marcion and His Impact on Church History: Vorträge der Internationalen Fachkonferenz zu Marcion, gehalten vom 15.-18. August 2001 in Mainz*, ed. Gerhard May, Katharina Greschat, and Martin Meiser (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), pp. 253-274.

concerning the role played by Oecolampadius.[40] However, there is little in the book, concerning Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology, that is fresh. Authors before her who have dealt with the same, or similar issues, have also mentioned the majority of what Wandel records.

Based on this survey of the literature, it is clear that a substantial amount of biographical material has been penned about the life of Oecolampadius, especially by German-speaking authors. Also, there has been a keen scholarly awareness of the importance of his contribution to the reformation of practical and/or pastoral theology for the Basel church – specifically, his understanding of the relationship between church discipline, confession and polity. Moreover, there is recognition, in many of the scholarly works that have been discussed, of the part Oecolampadius played as a humanist in the early 16th century. Specifically, deliberations concerning this aspect of his career revolve around his work with Erasmus on the *Novum Instrumentum*, Jerome and Chrysostom, as well as his own translations of eastern patristic authors. Additionally, in approximately the past fifty years there have been a number of authors who have begun to try to understand Oecolampadius' particular role in the eucharistic controversy, and his contribution to it. Nevertheless, a fuller study of his particular knowledge and reception of the fathers, his implementation of them in the formulation of his own theology – especially his theology of the sacrament of the eucharist – is yet needed. For example, Oecolampadius' two best-known works regarding the eucharist, both of which might be loosely considered

[40] Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 50-78 and 102ff.

'patristic florilegia,' are *DGVD* and *Dialogus*. These books were extremely influential, and controversial, during his own lifetime. They demonstrate the erudition of a man whose mind had been bathed in the scriptures and fathers, and who was, as well, very conversant with the writers of the mediaeval period. Because they were respectively his first and last major treatises on the subject, they allow readers a somewhat focused insight into his particular knowledge of the fathers, as well as demonstrate an evolution in his own eucharistic theology. To date, no such comprehensive study has been attempted.

The Purpose and Organization of this Study

The purpose of this study, therefore, will be to attempt to further 'dust off' certain aspects of Oecolampadius' theological and patristic reflection for the contemporary reader. Specifically, because he spent the better part of his adult life involved in patristic translation and the eucharistic rows of the mid-1520s to early 1530s, we will attempt to survey both. In this regard, we will concentrate on how Oecolampadius perceived and theologized the eucharist throughout his life – in other words, what were the theological anchors of his doctrine, and what or who influenced them, and did these points of focus change or evolve during his career? Second, on the patristic front, we will consider which patristic authors Oecolampadius was familiar with, how and why he sought their help (or rejected it) to make the case for the particular form of eucharistic theology that was his own, and what this can ultimately begin to tell us about his reception of the fathers. As a

specific test case for Oecolampadius' reception of the fathers in the eucharistic controversy, we will examine his familiarity with the manuscript(s) of Irenaeus' *AH*. We will then concentrate our attention on his exegesis of specific *loci* from *AH*, in an attempt to make the entirety of our previous discussions converge on the texts of this one particular patristic author.

Accordingly, this thesis has been organized as follows. Chapter One offers a brief biographical sketch of the life of Oecolampdius, in an attempt to contextualize, for the reader unfamiliar with him, the more specific aims of this study. Here Oecolampadius' life is divided into three specific time periods, organized in accordance with major events or paradigm shifts that took place in his life. First we will discuss his early life and education (1482-1513), mentioning pedagogical influences that would later serve him well. Next we will consider a period that according to the available sources suggests that Oecolampadius was constantly on the move, uncertain about himself, his place, and his future (1514-1521). Nevertheless, as we shall see, it was also a stage of substantial personal and intellectual growth necessary for his development into the humanist-reformer that he would become. Lastly, we will note the final nine years of his life (1522-1531), in which Oecolampadius comes into his own as theologian, humanist, and the reformer of Basel.

Chapter Two deals with the question of the evolution of Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology. Here too there is an attempt to contextualize his

thought, and so the discussion begins not in the 16th century, but in the early mediaeval period. In order to set the proper backdrop for Oecolampadius' suggested influences both positive and negative, we will briefly consider, in crystallized form, a number of individual ideas that would eventually come to hold some sway on the development of eucharistic theology in the west up until the advent of the reformations, and even after. Specifically, we will look at Gregory the Great's understanding of the sacrificial nature of the Mass, the controversies of the 9th-11th centuries that were mediated by the likes of Ratramnus and Radbertus, and Berengarius, and finally, we will analyze the thought of the *Magister*, Peter Lombard. This will lead us directly to the theological milieu that was Oecolampadius'. Here again we will break down the thought of Oecolampadius according to a timetable based on our testing of the sources. First, we will examine his eucharistic musings prior to the outbreak of the sacramentarian controversies (1521-1524). It will be noted that because of a lack of available source material prior to about 1521, the discussion will need to begin when Oecolampadius took up residence in the monastery at Altomünster, and continue almost until he finally settles in Basel. The second section of analysis of Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology will cover the period from 1524 until his death in 1531. A clear period of transition in his thinking can be seen during this phase, with a number of major theological 'shifts' taking place, and so these will be mentioned. By chapter's conclusion we should then have a fair understanding of the influences on, and evolution of, his theology of the eucharist throughout the majority of his adult life.

Chapter Three centers on Oecolampadius' knowledge and reception of the fathers. We will first consider the texts that Oecolampadius had some hand in either translating and publishing, or 'editing', in order to postulate something about his interests. Was the interest only humanistic, by which I mean, was he simply translating and publishing these texts for the sake of the texts themselves? Or, conversely, was there personal theological motive behind his work? Or, could it be both? The second 'section' of the chapter, which forms the bulk of it, is an attempt to catalogue and investigate the patristic references found in his two patristic florilegia on the eucharist – *DGVD* and *Dialogus*. Because these two books were the first and last major works to be written by him concerning the eucharist, cataloging the patristic references in them affords us a keen insight into Oecolampadius' overall patristic knowledge by the time of his death. As well, because it is surveyed in concert with his eucharistic theology, we are granted an important look at his reception of the fathers on a particular theological issue that was of vital importance to him. Specifically, we will consider the ways in which he employed certain authors, why he chose to exploit some and not others, what designations he gave to those authors (e.g., *veteres*, *pater*, etc.), and the importance (or lack thereof) of quantitative and/or theological distinctions between 'eastern' and 'western' fathers.

Chapter Four forms a bridge between Chapters Three and Five, as it concentrates on Oecolampadius' overall knowledge of Irenaeus' *AH*.

Important in this regard is the fact that Oecolampadius was the first reform-minded theologian to publish fragments of the bishop's work that dealt directly with the eucharist in 1525. Ironically, the first 'complete' edition of *AH* would not be published by Erasmus until 1526. This fact, therefore, raises numerous questions about when, and from where or whom, Oecolampadius obtained his manuscript(s) of Irenaeus. However, as the catalogue of patristic citations found in Chapter Three demonstrates, within Oecolampadius' own canon of the fathers, Irenaeus citations figure relatively few. This might possibly raise the question, 'Why use Irenaeus as a test case for Oecolampadius' reception of the fathers within the context of the development of his eucharistic theology?' The reason for the selection of Irenaeus is rather straightforward – as mentioned immediately above, Oecolampadius was the first reformer to employ him in the debates. That is, in and of itself, important because from the standpoint of the development of reformation sacramental theology, Oecolampadius' reading of Irenaeus may indeed be seen to be foundational to the deliberations that continued for decades after his own death. If his reading of *AH*, in the end, had little or no impact on his contemporaries and their disciples (though it is unlikely that such a claim could be substantiated), it matters little. What is important is that he, and he alone, for the first time in the sixteenth century, gave Irenaeus a voice in this particular debate – whether amongst Protestants, or between Protestants and Catholics. He made Irenaeus relevant to the conversation. As a corollary to this, the sparseness of Oecolampadius' citations of Irenaeus – especially when compared to Augustine or Cyril of Alexandria – helps to limit the scope of the present

study, making for a manageable discussion of one father whose eucharistic theology continued to be debated for decades after Oecolampadius. Therefore, this chapter will analyze the historical circumstances surrounding Oecolampadius' obtaining the manuscript(s) of Irenaeus. Moreover, we will also look to the other sources available to us to find clues of Oecolampadius' further knowledge of Irenaeus besides those sections of *AH* found in *DGVD*. In the end, we will be able to offer a workable hypothesis for how he may have acquired his manuscript(s), as well as approximately how much of Irenaeus' *AH* Oecolampadius knew by the time of his death.

The final chapter, Chapter Five, brings together all of our previous discussions in an analysis of Oecolampadius' exegesis of Irenaeus' eucharistic theology. Using the texts of *AH*, we will consider the ways in which Oecolampadius 'read' Irenaeus in 1525, and then again in 1530. Here we will see patterns in his eucharistic theology similar to those found in the early discussions of his thought as described in Chapter Two. However, a noticeable evolution is also present as Oecolampadius brings his presuppositions about the sacrament, and the historical circumstances contemporaneous to him, to bear on the text of Irenaeus in both *DGVD* and *Dialogus*. We will, in the context of his dialogue with Irenaeus, point out major themes present in his reading. And, as we shall see in the end, Irenaeus serves, in a microcosmic way, as a foil for understanding both elements of the method for reception of the fathers, and the eucharistic theology, of the Basel reformer.

CHAPTER 1 - BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

> But I myself was searching for quiet . . .[1]

Oecolampadius' Early Life & Humanistic Education (1482-1513)

Johannes Oecolampadius was born in Weinsberg, Germany, in the diocese of Würzburg to John and Anna Haussheim[2] in 1482, thirty-three years after the close of the Council of Basel in 1449.[3] There is little known of his parents. His father was possibly a merchant, who in later years would move in with him after his mother's death. His mother was from

> . . . a well-known Basel family, the Pfisters, known for her practical charity as well as her pious devotion, and she seems to have pleaded that her son should try his hand at letters.[4]

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[1] 'Ambiebam autem et ego quietem . . .' *B&A* 2, p. 27, No. 465.

[2] Haussheim, or some derivative thereof, (i.e, Hussgen, Heusgen, Huszgyn, Hauszchein, Hewsgin) was Oecolampadius' original surname. As all mean approximately 'house lamp/light'. This later humanized version is an obvious play on words. Cf., *B&A* 1, pp. 1-13, Nos. 1-8, for an overview of the various spellings; and, Carl Ullmann, "Zum Leben des Oekolampadius," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 18 (1845), pp. 155-158.

[3] Though not explored here, the climate into which Oecolampadius was born – one in which papal authority, and therefore the sociological and economic milieu, was in question in Germany and the Swiss Cantons – obviously had a major impact on his own later thought. For an excellent overview of mid-fifteenth century councils, and their effect in Germany, the Swiss Confederacy, and northern Italy, see, A. J. Black, *Monarchy and Community: Political Ideas in the Later Conciliar Controversy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

[4] Gordon E. Rupp, *Patterns of Reformation* (London: Epworth Press, 1969), p. 3. Also see, *B&A* 2, p. 718, No. 960; and, *B&A* 2, pp. 743-744, No. 971.

The young Hausshein attended Latin school in Heilbronn and apparently this course work, though suited to the scholarly gifts of Oecolampadius, was laborious and extremely regimented. Gordon E. Rupp asserts that the

> . . . lessons began at 5 in the morning in the summer, and at 6 in the winter, with an eight-hour day. It was the usual grammarian's grind, rooted in the rhetorical tradition which the Middle Ages drew from the classical world. There were the usual textbooks, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, the *De octo partibus orationis* of Aelius Donatus, and the *Summa Logicales* of Petrus Hispanus (later to be Pope John XXI).[5]

Certainly this early Latin education was of great benefit to Oecolampadius as years after he was able, at the age of 17, to matriculate at the University of Heidelberg on October 20, 1499. After two years of study he received his *Baccalaureus Artium*, on June 10, 1501.[6] During his time in Heidelberg Oecolampadius sat under the then renowned humanist Jakob Wimpfeling (1450-1528). Wimpfeling maintained company with academics who, like himself, argued for the revamping of pedagogical methodologies -- writing

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[5] Rupp, *Patterns*, p. 3; and, Ernst Staehelin, *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads* (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1939; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1971), p. 14.

[6] *B&A* 1, p. 1, No. 1; and, *B&A* 1, p. 2, No. 3, respectively.

one of the most definitive works for its time on the topic, *Adolescentia*.[7] As a tangential aspect of his educational concerns, Wimpfeling was also an advocate for a qualified form of German humanism, especially in the areas of poetry and rhetoric. He was not 'radical' (though progressive), and emphatically opposed the idea that pagan authors should become the 'meat' of a curriculum of the study. Rather, he tended to turn his attention toward the scriptures, the fathers, and select pagan authors.[8]

As a consequence of the university's curriculum, and under the tutelage of men like Wimpfeling, Oecolampadius was exposed to an excellent classical education that was at the same time, ironically, transmitted to the students in a somewhat progressive manner – progressive in the sense that its gaze was retrospective. Study included, from the classics – Plautus, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Virgil, Horace, Terence, Cicero, and Seneca. And from the ancient church Oecolampadius concentrated on 'the four pillars' – Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great. He also involved himself in the study of such standards (at least from the time of the mediaeval period) as Aristotle, logic, mathematics, astronomy, and natural

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[7] Cf., Jakob Wimpfeling, *Adolescentia* (Strasbourg: M. Flach, 1500); and the critical edition, Jakob Wimpfeling, *Jakob Wimpfelings Adolescentia*, ed. Otto Herding and Franz Josef Worstbrock (München: W. Fink, 1965).

[8] Wimpfeling was closely tied to Christian humanists, and was a reformer much in the spirit of Erasmus, i.e., reformation of the church from within. His rhetorical abilities elevated his stature as a homilist, but because he never adopted Luther's principles for reform, he became isolated from many of his humanist friends who did. In 1520 he wrote Erasmus longing for death, but had to wait until 1528 for that to happen. Peter G. Bietenholz, ed., *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp. 447-450. For what is still one of the most complete oeuvres to document his life see, Joseph Knepper, *Jakob Wimpfeling (1450-1528): Sein Leben und seine Werke* (St. Louis: Herder, 1902); and, cf., Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, pp. 23ff.

philosophy, though these may have in fact been much less important to Oecolampadius than 'the pillars'. In a letter from Wimpfeling to Erasmus dated 1511, the former argues that the ancient fathers cannot be subordinated to the then modern doctors, and then states:

> In the same way my friend Oecolampadius, who agrees with me, revolts against those divines who reduce theology to a mere froth of words and, as Gerson says, to a wintry mathematics and who, while they very frequently cite the accepted opinions of Aritstotle, Averroes, and Avicenna, adduce no evidence from the law and the prophets, or from the Gospel or the apostolic writings, and, while they brandish a frail shaft in defense of their own position, leave in the sheath that invincible sword, sent from Heaven, on which they could rely. Even though Oecolampadius himself approves of scholastic theology at all points, still it has seemed to him that a goodly number of its devotees become blear-eyed like Rachel, and barren like Leah . . .[9]

[9] *CWE*, vol. 2, No. 224, p. 167 [trans. his]. Interestingly enough, the Latin of 'my friend' and 'with me' is actually 'our,' but this is surely nothing more than a rhetorical devise. There is no record of Erasmus knowing Oecolampadius at this early date. 'Our' may refer to Wimpfeling's students – current and former – i.e., those who have adopted his mindset and methodology. 'Sic et noster Icolampadius nobis consentiens abhorret ab eis theologis, qui theologiam ad verbosam loquacitatem et, ut Gerson ait, ad chymerinam mathematicam redigunt, qui Aristotelis, Averrois et Avicennae probatiores sententias creberrime proferunt, ex lege, ex prophetis, ex evangelio et apostolis adducunt nihil fragilemque harundinem pro defensandis dictis suis levant et coelitus missum ensem nunquam superabilem, in quo fidere possent, vagina reconditum servant. Ille idem Icolampadius etsi scholasticam theologiam in omnibus probet, visi sunt tamen ei complusculi ex eius cultoribus in Rachele lippescere, in Lia sterilescere . . .'. *B&A* 1, p. 18, No. 10.

At least two important points need to be made here. First, Oecolampadius and Wimpfeling managed to maintain their friendship for some time after the student had completed his studies. It would be easy to dismiss the rhetorical accolade of 'friend' if it were scribbled by the pen of Oecolampadius in a letter to Erasmus – something moderns would no doubt dub 'name dropping'. But that does not appear to be the case in this instance. Wimpfeling has no need to mention Oecolampadius' name. He is not commending Oecolampadius to Erasmus as a possible employee, nor, based on the sources available to us, does Oecolampadius yet have a truly renowned reputation.

The second thing to notice is that Oecolampadius has started to verbalize, at least to a select group of friends, his aversion to the way in which scholastic theology is *utilized*. He was not opposed to scholastic theology as such, at least at this point in his life, and Wimpfeling never abandoned it. What Oecolampadius appears to question is how the theologies were methodologically developed – and consequently revered in a way that to him seemed excessive. If we can trust Wimpfeling's statement, and we no doubt should, the problem for both men appears to be, even as early as 1511, that the scriptures and the fathers are ignored in favor of a sort of theological mental gymnastics informed by a misplaced fondness for pagan 'authorities' – which Aristotle, and others had become. This is an early theme in Oecolampadius that will only become more pronounced as he ages.

Following graduation Oecolampadius was still residing in Heidelberg, while his mentor had moved on.[10] Apparently he was awaiting matriculation into the *Magister Artium* program when a plague set in on the surrounding area and he was forced to move away. He found his way to the University of Bologna where he began studying law. This endeavor, however, was not long-lived. Oecolampadius found the climate completely inhospitable and he soon ran out of money.[11] Therefore, in 1503 he returned to Heidelberg, reenrolled in the university and in October of the same year received his *Magister Artium* (*via antiqua*), having laid the foundation to become an expert in '*literis humanioribus*' and '*linguis eruditis*'.[12]

During the next few years the record of Oecolampadius' life is somewhat vague. Documentation that points to his career or academic pursuits from October 1503 until February 1506 is sparse. However, from 1506-1510, the young scholar took up a position with the Landgrave Philip of Pfalz, in Mainz.[13] This commission entailed teaching the aristocrat's children Latin and rhetoric. Oecolampadius was probably also responsible for their

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[10] Wimpfeling gave up his position at Heidelberg in 1501 and moved to a monastery in Strasbourg.

[11] The catalyst for the trip to Italy, rather than elsewhere in Germany or the Confederation, may have been Oecolampadius' father who possibly encouraged his son to become a lawyer. However, Capito relates that early in life the elder Hausshein may have wanted Oecolampadius to become a merchant. See, Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, pp. 26-29; *B&A* 2, p. 744, No. 971; and, Akira Demura, "Church Discipline According to Johannes Oecolampadius in the Setting of His Life and Thought" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1964), p. 28, n. 3.

[12] *B&A* 2, p. 744, No. 971; and, Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, p. 27.

[13] *B&A* 1, pp. 3-5, No. 5.

religious and social training as well. At the end of this four-year period he gathered his things and returned to Heidelberg for a short time. However, before the momentum from this move had even abated, he was off again, this time back to his parents, and his hometown of Weinsberg.

With the aid of his father and mother, Oecolampadius secured a job preaching from 1510-1512.[14] Rupp tells us that,

> Such preacherships were a late medieval institution which deserve study, for they were a way of securing preaching when benefices were filled by absentee incumbents . . . this one committed the holder – Oecolampadius must have been already ordained priest - to preach on Sundays and many festal occasions.[15]

When, where, and how Oecolampadius was ordained to the priesthood is unknown.[16] But, it can be assumed that his sermons would have been highly colored by both the scholastic and the humanist education that he

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[14] *B&A* 1, pp. 7-17, Nos. 7-9.

[15] Rupp, *Patterns*, pp. 6-7.

[16] It may have been sometime between 1503-1506 that he was ordained, as he would have already completed his M.A., giving him an advanced education compared to many of his contemporary priestly counterparts. Poythress thinks that his ordination exams may have been just prior to this appointment. See, Diane Marie Poythress, "Johannes Oecolampadius' Exposition of Isaiah, Chapters 36-37" (Ph.D. diss, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1992), p. 11.

had, up to this point, received – maybe much more so than his listeners would have appreciated.[17] Staehelin states,

> So ist es die Welt Augustins, Hugos, Bernhards, Richards, Gersons und Wimpfelings, in der Oekolampad drinsteht.[18]

It seems clear, however, that in his own mind Oecolampadius' future was still blurred, as the internal struggle between what for him seems to have been the mutually exclusive choice between life in the priesthood, or life as an intellectual, left him unsettled. So, late in 1512 and keen to further his academic acumen, Oecolampadius resigned his preaching post. At nearly the same time, December 1512, he wrote and published his first substantial theological essay on the passion and final words of Christ, about which Ulrich Zasius (d. 1535), imperial councilor to Maximilian I and professor of law at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, stated in a letter to Wimpfeling:

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[17] Poythress, "Isaiah", pp. 11-13, states that Oecolampadius' early sermons had much to be desired, but this is clearly a subjective analysis and may say more about Poythress' presuppositions concerning 'papism' than it does about Oecolampadius' actual skill as a theologian or rhetorician.

[18] Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, p. 53.

> Icolampadius, ille homo multifariam doctus et cum doctrina dexter ac solidus, scripsit dominicae passionis declamatiunculas et inventione raras et Latina tersitate pulchre levigatas . . .[19]

After having declared himself to be unqualified for the responsibilities of a cleric, Oecolampadius returned to Tübingen and on April 9, 1513 matriculated at the university.[20]

Further Indecision (1514-1521)

The next few years of Oecolampadius' life, and specifically his time in Tübingen, would prove to be pivotal. There he met and became friends with the much younger, and soon to be very influential reformer Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560).[21] He also became familiar with the eminent

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[19] Johannes Oecolampadius, *Declamationes de Passione & vltimo sermone, hoc est sacro sanctis septem dictis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi in cruce, sub typo concionatoris migraturi, quibus titulus est hoc est Testamentum principis concionatorum* (Strasburg: Matthias Schurerius Selestensis, 1512); and, *B&A* 1, p. 19, No. 12.

[20] Poythress, "Isaiah", p. 12; Rupp, *Patterns*, p. 8; and, *B&A* 1, p. 23, No. 15. Given the above fact, we might hypothesize that a lack of confidence was the decisive influence on his choice to return to letters. Not surprisingly, it is during this period when the thirty-one year old Haussheim adopts the humanist form of his name.

[21] Melanchthon, the *Praeceptor Germaniae*, was born Philip Schwarzerd (meaning 'black earth') and educated at Pforzheim Latin school, Tübingen, and Heidelberg. A humanist of the highest caliber, Melanchthon excelled in the classics. In 1518 he moved to Wittenberg as instructor of Greek, and came under Luther's influence. He became a ground-breaking theologian on two accounts: 1) by writing the first evangelical systematic theology, *Loci Communes*; and then 2) in 1530, scripting the first evangelical confession, the *Confessio Augustana*. Though he disdained it, his role in the eucharistic controversy is equally as great as that of Oecolampadius', as he was the catalyst for Oecolampadius' writing of the *Dialogus*. For more on him see, Bietenholz, ed., *CoE* vol. 2, pp. 424-429.

humanist, and great uncle of Melanchthon, John Reuchlin (1455-1522), a.k.a., Capnion, with whom he spent time in Stuttgart.[22] Through Reuchlin Oecolampadius met Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547).[23] It may have also been around this time this time that Oecolampadius came to know Johannes Sapidus (1490-1561),[24] headmaster of the Latin school in Sélestat. These men would eventually introduce him to the one of the greatest of the sixteenth-century humanists, Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536).[25] At Tübingen where he studied Greek, and then later by returning to Heidelberg to work extensively on both Hebrew and Greek,

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[22] Reuchlin was a German humanist, professor, Speyer Supreme Court Judge, and Philip Melanchthon's great uncle. He ran in the same intellectual circles as Wimpfeling and other humanists. As a man knowledgeable of not only Hebrew, but also Latin and Greek he produced numerous works: a Latin dictionary, *Vocabularius brevioloquus*; a Greek work entitled *Micropaedia*; and later a Hebrew grammar, *De rudimenti hebraicis*. Cf., Hans J. Hillerbrand, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, 4 vols. (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 425-426. He is probably most well known for his unwilling involvement in the controversy about Judaism. See, Erika Rummel, *The case against Johann Reuchlin: religious and social controversy in sixteenth-century Germany* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), pp. 68-78.

[23] Rhenanus was a humanist who studied in Paris under Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples (1460-1536), and later became one of many editors for the Basel printing companies of both Amerbach and Froben. He, like so many humanists associated with him, found medieval scholasticism to be a corruption of theology. This is a similar line to the one Oecolampadius would take. Also, Rhenanus held in high contempt the penitential office and its corresponding confessional manuals, as did Oecolampadius. Rhenanus' influence on the theology of Oecolampadius is an area that needs further investigation. Cf., John F. D'Amico, "Beatus Rhenanus, Tertullian and the Reformation: A Humanist's Critique of Scholasticism," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 71 (1980), pp. 37-62; and, Pierre Fraenkel, "Beatus Rhenanus, Oecolampade, Théodore De Bèza et Quelques-Unes de Leurs Sources Anciennes," *Bibliotheque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 41 (1979), pp. 63-81.

[24] For more on Sapidus see, *CoE*, vol. 3, pp. 195-196.

[25] Later in life Oecolampadius would receive a letter from his old friend that he framed and 'hung over his desk until it was stolen by another admirer.' Cf., Roland Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), p. 3.; *B&A* 1, pp. 32-33, No. 27; and, *CWE*, vol. 4, No. 563, p. 305. For a fuller discussion of the complex relationship between Erasmus and Oecolampadius see, Ernst Staehelin, "Erasmus und Ökolampad in ihrem Ringen um Die Kirche Jesu Christi," in *Gedenkschrift zum 400: Todestage Des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, ed. Eduard His (Basel: Braus-Riggenbach, 1936), pp. 166-182.

Oecolampadius became well known in humanist circles for his knowledge of biblical languages. Rupp states,

> . . . at the price of an unsettled life, Oecolampadius achieved something rare . . . he mastered the three 'sacred languages' as they were called: Greek, Hebrew, and the renovated Latin. He was not supreme in any one of them, and no doubt in all of them he must not be judged by later standards. Wimpfeling and Erasmus far outclassed him in elegant Latinity. But he was almost as good as Erasmus with Greek, and an infinitely better Hebraist . . .[26]

During his stay in Heidelberg, Oecolampadius met and developed what would become a lifelong friendship with Wolfgang Capito (1478-1541).[27] When in 1515 Capito had been offered the position of *Münsterprediger* and professor of theology at Basel, Oecolampadius followed along. Sapidus,

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[26] Rupp, *Patterns*, p. 8. Capito relates that Oecolampadius learned Hebrew from the Spaniard, and Jewish convert to Christianity, Matthew Adrianus, but makes no mention of tutelage by Reuchlin. See, *B&A* 2, p. 745, No. 971. Obviously his linguistic competency was above average, as in 1518 he would publish what would become an influential Greek grammar. See, Johannes Oecolampadius, *Dragmata Graecae Literaturae, A Io. Oecolampadio Congesta. Cum privilegio* (Basel: Cratander, 1518).

[27] Capito was a humanist, educated at the University of Freiburg, and a friend of Erasmus. As cathedral preacher in Basel, and professor of theology at that city's university he became acquainted with the fledgling German reformation. He eventually, after spending some time in Mainz as a courtier for the archbishop, converted to reformation principles. As a moderate, he accepted the call from Bucer and moved to Strasbourg where he spent the rest of his life mediating between the reforming groups and the Romans. For one of the best discussions of his life and work see, James M. Kittelson, *Wolfgang Capito: From Humanist to Reformer* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975). It is unclear when the two men may have initially met, but sometime in the summer of 1512, during a short trip to Heidelberg is a possibility. See, John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 55.

who had developed a friendship with Erasmus the preceding year, kindly sent a letter with Oecolampadius addressed to the Dutchman recommending him as a skilled linguist, obviously as an encouragement for Erasmus to employ Oecolampadius if he had need.[28] Apparently this was all that was required, because shortly after arriving in Basel Oecolampadius was offered a position working at the Froben press on Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum*, which was eventually published on March 1, 1516.[29]

Specifically, Oecolampadius was contracted to do three things. First, he was responsible for the cross-referencing of all Old Testament citations, as Erasmus had little working knowledge of Hebrew. He was also to make sure that all of the theological glosses in the text, which were based on patristic sources, were accurate. And lastly, Oecolampadius was to proofread and correct all of the copy. It was a post he would hold until the following year, ending with Erasmus offering him the high honor of writing a postscript to the work.[30]

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[28] Cf., *B&A* 1, p. 24, No. 17; and, *CWE*, vol. 3, No. 355, pp. 174-175.

[29] *B&A* 1, p. 24, No. 17, n. 5.

[30] Demura, "Discipline", p. 33; Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, p. 65. Oecolampadius was fortunate enough to be, early on, considered part of the *Sodalitas Basiliensis*, a group consisting of the humanist scholars in Basel, with Erasmus as *spiritus rector*. The group included: Beatus Rhenanus, Ludwig Bär, a theologian educated in Paris, Heinrich Glareanus, a poet, musicologist, and historian, Wolfgang Capito, Christoph von Utenheim, bishop of Basel, and, Franz Wiler, Daniel Agricola, and Conrad Pellican, all of whom were Franciscan monks. Hans R. Guggisberg, *Basel in the Sixteenth Century: Aspects of the City Republic Before, During, and After the Reformation* (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982), pp.13-15. Cf., Earle Hilgar, "Johann Froben and the Basle University Scholars, 1513-1523," *The Library Quarterly* 41 (1971), pp. 141-169.

However, because he was the editor, Erasmus' methodology and philological work in the *Novum Instrumentum* did not go without criticism – especially as regarded many of the Hebrew references scattered throughout the edition. In March 1517, Capito wrote to Erasmus informing him that a few scholars had been calling his work – or rather, the work of Oecolampadius – into question. Specifically, there were points in the *Novum Instrumentum* where Jerome's Hebrew had been cited, corrected by Oecolampadius, and approved by Erasmus, which were considered to be less than satisfactorily exegeted.[31] So, in the spring of 1518 Erasmus wrote to Oecolampadius complaining that a number of theologians accomplished in Hebrew were also complaining to him.[32] Ultimately, the complaints were not to abate for some time.

In early October of 1515, Oecolampadius matriculated at the University of Basel in the *Baccalaureus Biblicus* and began lecturing. Only seven days later, on October 15, he was promoted to *Baccalaureus Sententiarius*.[33] This required him to lecture on the first book of Lombard's *Sentences*. Within a year he was promoted to *Baccalaureus Formatus* and was then allowed by the university to lecture on book two of the *Sentences* as well.[34] The same month that he received the *Baccalaureus Formatus*, October

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[31] See, *CWE*, vol. 4, No. 561, pp. 299-302.

[32] *B&A* 1, pp. 43-44, No. 34.

[33] *B&A* 1, pp. 25-26, Nos. 18-20.

[34] *B&A* 1, pp. 28-29, No. 22.

1516, Oecolampadius was also promoted to *Licentiatus Theologiae*.[35] From the fall of 1516 through the early spring of 1518, Oecolampadius returned to his birthplace, Weinsberg, to take up the post of pastor.[36]

In the spring of 1518 Oecolampadius was appointed Penitentiary priest for the diocese of Basel, and consequently moved back to that city.[37] When he was not busy hearing confessions he found the time to translate four small booklets written by church fathers on the topics of penance and confession.[38] He also translated Gregory Nazianzen's sermon, *De Amandis Pauperibus*, for Conrad Adelmann and his family, which was published in 1519, as well as a number or other patristic works.[39] It is here, in a pastoral context that a fondness for practical theological issues truly began to develop in Oecolampadius, and in order to help him answer these questions he turned to the ancient patristic authors. This is the inauguration of what will later become an obsession to translate, interpret, and 'use' the

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[35] *B&A* 1, p. 31, No. 25.

[36] Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, pp. 72-84.

[37] In February, Frederick the Wise (1463-1525), protector of Luther, and founder of the university at Wittenberg, wrote Reuchlin asking for help in finding, 'duos eruditos viros' to teach Greek and Hebrew at Wittenberg. Reuchlin recommended Oecolampadius for the Hebrew chair, and Melanchthon for the Greek. Oecolampadius was either rejected, or rejected the position himself. In either instance, Melanchthon was offered the job, which he accepted, and consequently became Luther's right hand man (a position he did not always enjoy). *B&A* 1, pp. 65-66, No. 38.

[38] The topic of penance and its relationship to church discipline is one for which, in the sixteenth century and in modern scholarship, Oecolampadius is well known. Cf., Demura, "Discipline", Olaf Kuhr, *"Die Macht des Bannes und der Busse": Kirchenzucht und Erneuerung der Kirche bei Johannes Oekolampad (1482-1531)* (Bern & New York: Peter Lang, 1999), and, Olaf Kuhr, "Calvin and Basel: The Significance of Oecolampadius and the Basel Discipline Ordinance for the Institution of Ecclesiastical Discipline in Geneva," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 16 (1998), pp. 19-33.

[39] For the letter to Adelmann see, *B&A* 1, pp. 82-83, No. 52.

fathers, especially as Oecolampadius continued to ask hard questions of the catholic faith which he had inherited.

Overall, 1518 was an extremely busy year for Oecolampadius. He received his *Doctor Theologiae*,[40] and published *De risu paschali*,[41] - a work opposed to clergy who were, in Oecolampadius' mind, mocking the solemnity of the Easter vigils by preaching comical sermons as a way to lighten the general mood after the long period of Lenten fasting. He also continued working on an index for Erasmus' edition of Jerome, which he and Johann Brenz (1494-1570) had begun in Weinsberg, and which would eventually be published in 1520.[42] Shortly thereafter he was on the move again, as he had been appointed as a cathedral preacher in Augsburg (*Dompredíger*), the request having been made to the bishop by Capito.[43]

It is in Augsburg that Oecolampadius most likely came into contact with the writings of the famous Augustinian monk Martin Luther. Although, at the same time, it is hard to imagine that he would not have been familiar with the events taking place in Wittenberg while he was working in the very

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[40] *B&A* 1, pp. 77-78, No. 46.

[41] Johannes Oecolampadius, *De risu paschali ad V. Capitonem theologum epistola apologetica* (Basel: Froben, 1518).

[42] Johannes Oecolampadius, *Index in tomos omnes, operum Divi Hieronymi cum interpretatione nominum Graecoru & Hebraeorum* (Basel: Froben, 1520). Brenz remained loyal to Luther's teachings, as he understood them, and this eventually brought he and Oecolampadius into conflict with one another over the eucharist. For more on this see, Martin H. Jung, "Abendmahlsstreit: Brenz und Oekolampad," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 100 (2000), pp. 143-161.

[43] *B&A* 1, pp. 72-75, No. 43.

epicenter of the humanistic world - Basel. In any case, once Oecolampadius had learned about the reforms being called for by Luther he initially found them favorable. When Bernard Adelmann asked him what he thought of Luther's ideas late in 1520, Oecolampadius replied:

> Concerning everything that Martin has written, I cannot speak, for I have not read it all. But what I have read, has been discarded without cause, and wrong has been done to the Holy Scriptures, which he himself explained with such sincerity. Most of what has been said by him seems so clear to me that if indeed the angels of heaven contradict it, they would not be able to change my opinion.[44]

In the same year, and just a few months subsequent to John Eck's wrath at Leipzig, Oecolampadius (possibly with the help of Adelmann) responded anonymously with *Canonici Indocti Lutherani*.[45] It was a small tract written to counter the now public misgivings of Roman theologians (specifically Eck) and their criticisms of men like Luther who sought a new, and eventually, more radical program for church reform. Its publication was in

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[44] 'Non de omnibus, que scripsit Martinus, loquor; non enim omnia legi. Sed que legi, adeo immerito reiiciuntur, ut fiat etiam iniuria sacris literis, quas ipse sincerius exponit. Pleraque ab eo dicta tam certa sunt apud me, ut, si etiam celestes angeli contradicant, non me sunt a sententia mea depulsuri.' *B&A* 1, p. 134, No. 91.

[45] See, Ernst Staehelin, *Oekolampad - Bibliographie* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1963), pp. 15-18, Nos. 15-21. It is also possible that Oecolampadius wrote the foreword to Eck's and Melanchthon's published notes from the disputation. Cf., n.a., *Lipsicae disputationis Epitome cum Defensione doctoris Eccii adversus Melanchthonem et Melanchthonis modestissima Responsione* (Augsburg: Grimm und Wirsung, 1519); *B&A* 1, pp. 99-100, No. 64a; *B&A* 1, pp. 108-109, No. 70; and, Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, pp. 107-110.

reality a life-altering event for Oecolampadius. For after he had consciously and willfully stretched his own neck over the proverbial chopping block for Luther and his cause – which up to this point he appears to have been reluctant to do – Oecolampadius appears as though he wished he would have remained silent. The event that followed soon after the publication of the defense of Luther may safely be described as one of the most bizarrely unexpected incidents recorded in reformation histories.

In April of 1520, Adelmann wrote to Willibald Pirckheimer saying,

> I write to you concerning a new matter which you may not have heard about – our theologian . . . has entered the monastery of the order of the Holy Savior, named Altomünster . . .[46]

The exact reason for Oecolampadius' abrupt move was not immediately clear to either his friends or colleagues, and it noticeably (as Adelmann's letter communicates) left many people wondering what had happened to the progressive humanistic priest who seemed to have no small affection for the notions of Luther. By and large, it is probably fair to say that Oecolampadius was experiencing great emotional and existential conflict about the reform movements springing up throughout Europe, and more

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[46] *B&A* 1, p. 116, No. 78. 'Scribo tibi rem novam ac forsan prius non auditam: theologus noster . . . ingressus est monasterium ordinis S[ancti] Salvatoris, nomine Altenmunster.' Also, Karl Hammer, "Oecolampads Reformprogramm," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 37 (1981), p. 154.

specifically, his role within them. He may have been plagued by what Demura calls:

> . . . the mental tension within and without himself - the tension between his sense of loyalty to the Catholic Church of the Apostles and the experienced reality of the actual hierarchical organization into which he had involved [himself].[47]

Erasmus had, by his own account, advised Oecolampadius and his friends on numerous occasions to keep silent, rather than boastfully speaking out on subjects that would serve no ultimate purpose – especially when those doing the speaking also felt the need to 'name drop.' In other words, the Dutchman encouraged his former young apprentices to show a mature discernment and choose their battles carefully. According to Erasmus, however, his pleading only fell on deaf ears.[48]

A second, and equally probable hypothesis for Oecolampadius' tonsuring is that, given his unsettled, and at times erratic life-style, and his proclivity for philology, he may have simply withdrawn to the monastery for the purpose of continuing his scholarly work. In a letter to Willibald Pirckheimer a number of years later, after he had embroiled himself in the eucharistic

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[47] Demura, "Discipline", p. 38.

[48] See, *CWE*, vol. 11, No. 1538, pp. 7-11.

controversy with the Lutherans, Oecolampadius relayed his purpose for the taking of monastic vows:

> But I myself was searching for quiet and leisure, in order that I might be unoccupied except for letters and prayers; for indeed in these things I had placed so much happiness.[49]

Whatever may have *ultimately* driven Oecolampadius' to become a monk is difficult to confirm, and there is probably much more to his decision than he reveals to Pirckheimer or in any of his extant correspondence. But, nevertheless, it appears as though the first few months of the monastic life were enjoyable for Oecolampadius as he was afforded the time to do a substantial amount of translating.[50]

Only three months after entering Altomünster he sent a letter, which also served as the book's foreword, to Prince-Bishop Philip of Freising dedicating his translation of Gregory Thaumaturgus to him.[51] In September of 1520 he wrote to Adelmann saying that he had translated four sermons

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[49] 'Ambiebam autem et ego quietem ac ocium, ut possem et literis et precibus vacare; in illis enim felicitatem quandam posueram'. *B&A* 2, p. 27, No. 465.

[50] See his 1522 letter to Rhenanus (?), where he describes the initial situation as pleasing: 'Arrisit primum vita ociosior conveniebatque bene . . .' *B&A* 1, p. 168, No. 119.

[51] Johannes Oecolampadius, *In Ecclesiastem Solomonis Metaphrasis divi Gregorii Neocaesariensis episcopi, interprete Oecolampadio* (Augsburg: Grimm und Wirsung, 1520). See, *B&A* 1, pp. 122-126, No. 84.

from Maximus the Confessor's friend, Thalassius.[52] And in October, he published (Pseudo-) John of Damascus' sermon, *Quantum defunctis prosint viventium bona opera*, which he found worthwhile, but was concerned to mention in a letter to a friend, that it did contain 'superstitions' of which he did not approve.[53] In early 1521, no doubt related to his time as Penitentiary priest in 1518, he had a work on confession published entitled, *Quod non sit Onerosa Christianis Confessio Paradoxon*[54] – which Luther would later praise, no doubt because Oecolampadius had also, at around the time as Luther's accolades were publicized, released the favorable *Iudicium de Luthero*.[55]

Nevertheless, Oecolampadius also began to notice that the monastery was probably not the place for him, as he was very put off by the 'superstitions' inherent in monastic life.[56] Concurrently, his study of the patristic texts and Luther's ideas had convinced him that he needed to seriously question the legitimacy of the theological – specifically soteriological, and by simple deduction, sacramental – system of the church. These ideals started to

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[52] Johannes Oecolampadius, *De charitate, continentia et regimine mentis Thalassii hecatontades quattuor Jo. Oecolampadio interprete* (Augsburg: Grimm und Wirsung, 1520). Cf., *B&A*, pp. 130-132, No. 89; and, Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, p. 116.

[53] Johannes Oecolampadius, *Quantum defunctis prosint viventium bona opera, sermo Joannis Damasceni, Joanne Oecolampadio interprete* (Augsburg: n.pub., 1520). See, *B&A* 1, pp. 132-134, No. 90.

[54] Johannes Oecolampadius, *Quod non sit Onerosa Christianis Confessio Paradoxon* (Augsburg: Grimm und Wirsung, 1521).

[55] Johannes Oecolampadius, *Iudicium de Doctore Martino Luthero* (Leipzig: n. pub., 1520); also see, *LW* 48, p. 255. In November of 1522, John Eck wrote, in the preface to his new book dedicated to Pope Hadrian VI, that he would take the '*gladio spiritus*' to the '*haereses Lutheri ac Oecolampadi.*' See, *B&A* 2, p. 197, No. 134.

[56] See a letter to Augsburg monk Veit Bild, where Oecolampadius complains about this very thing. *B&A* 1, pp. 162-163, No. 115. Cf., Demura, "Discipline", pp. 39-40.

manifest themselves in Oecolampadius' everyday life and speech while still in the monastery. On a number of occasions he found himself in trouble with the Abbot for preaching, what were considered to be, heterodox homilies in the monastery chapel.[57] So in January 1522, he secretly fled the monastery, and maintained a low profile until early winter of the same year, at which time he would again return to Basel.[58]

The Maturing Humanist-Reformer (1522-1531)

In February 1522 Oecolampadius arrived in Mainz-oder-Bingen for a short stay with Capito, who had by this time moved from Augsburg to Mainz to become a courtier, study 'papal law', as he called it in a letter to a friend, and 'establish [his] authority'.[59] Capito introduced Oecolampadius to

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[57] Cf., his sermon on the *Magnificat*, preached at Altomünster, Johannes Oecolampadius, *De laudando in Maria Deo doctoris Jo. Oecolampadii theologi sermo* (Augsburg: Grimm und Marx Wirsung, 1521), which was originally preached in German, and though not harshly opposed to Mariology, nevertheless takes a historical-grammatical, rather than hagiographic, approach to Luke's text; and, Johannes Oecolampadius, *Sermo de Sacramento Eucharistiae* (Augsburg: Grimm und Wirsung, 1521), which is pre-sacramentarian, but beginning to show clear signs of a move away from a 'traditional' view.

[58] Cf., *B&A* 1, p. 448, No. 321, and, n.6, where Oecolampadius tells a friend that he had been deprived of his library. Staehelin notes that it remained in the monastery when he left, which would suggest a hasty exit. Demura, "Discipline", p. 43. Demura states that by the time of his fleeing, Oecolampadius had become 'a fully-fledged and convinced Reformer'. It is true that he had written a number of works which were favorable to the reformation movements, and by the end of 1523 he was viewed skeptically by some humanists and a number of Catholic theologians in Germany, but it is my contention that the 'full-fledged' bit would not in fact come about until late 1524, when he began his vernacular lectures at the University of Basel, challenged the *Rat*, and embroiled himself in the eucharistic controversy. By 1525 he had written *DGVD*, and the publication of this work burned up whatever currency he may have had with Rome, and left him almost destitute in his relationship with Luther and many of his former humanist friends. It is here, I would argue, that Oecolampadius as a 'Reformer' comes into being.

[59] See, Kittelson, *Capito: From Humanist to Reformer*, pp. 52-82.

Casper Hedio (1494-1552), [60] and it seems clear from the existing evidence that Hedio's demeanor and acumen must have impressed Oecolampadius, because it soon after spurred a flurry of correspondence between the two that would last for a number of years.[61] In April of 1522, Oecolampadius wrote to Hedio mentioning that he had been made aware of Luther's new work *De abroganda missa privata*,[62] and asked him to secure a copy if he came across one.[63] In June, Oecolampadius dedicated his tract on the need for vernacular lectionary readings to his new friend. Also, while in Mainz, Oecolampadius again contacted Adelmann, this time dedicating his translation of the *Life of John Damascus* to him.[64]

Oecolampadius left Mainz sometime in June and traveled around Germany, staying for a good while with the nationalistic and militarily

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[60] Hedio was a German theologian who, while studying for his doctorate at Mainz, became heavily influenced by Capito and Oecolampadius. In 1523 he became the preacher at the Strasbourg cathedral, consequently becoming very good friends with Martin Bucer. Apparently an irenic man, he refused to involve himself in the later eucharistic debates between the Wittenbergers and the Swiss. Much work needs to be done on his role, as yet another moderate, in the reformations. See, Hillerbrand, ed., *OER* vol. 2, pp. 215-216. For an overview of Oecolampadius' stay see, Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, p. 158-159. During this period, Johannes Oecolampadius, *Quod expediat epistolae et evangelii lectionem in missa vernaculo sermone plebi promulgari, Oecolampadii ad Hedionem epistola* (Ebernburg: n. pub., 1522), was published. This was an exegetical, patristic, and pragmatic argument for the lectionary readings to be said in the vernacular. Cf., *B&A* 1, pp. 180-191, Nos. 127 and 128.

[61] Cf., *B&A* 1, pp. 176-177, 179-191, 192-197, etc., Nos. 124, 126, 127-128, 130-133, etc.; and, Wolfgang Jung, "Oecolampads an Hedio," *Blätter für pfalzische Kirchengeschichte und religiose Volkskunde* 39 (1972), pp, 143-161.

[62] *WA* 8, pp. 398.

[63] 'Si aliqua nova scripta apud vos emergant, de illis scribe mihi. Vellem habere librum, *De missa abroganda*.' *B&A* 1, p. 175, No. 123. There is no record of whether Oecolampadius ever received a copy.

[64] Johannes Oecolampadius, *Joannis Damasceni vita, a Joanne patriarcha Hierosolymitano conscripta nuperque ad Oecolampadio in Latinum versa* (n. pl.: n. pub., 1522). See, *B&A* 1, pp.164-166, No. 117.

bombastic Franz von Sickingen (1481-1523) in Ebernburg. While under the care and protection of the Knight, Oecolampadius became his personal chaplain for a time and wrote a work arguing that the mass should be said in the vernacular of the common people.[65] However, the proverbial worm turned for Sickingen when in 1522 he attacked the troops of the Archbishop of Trier. Shortly thereafter a ban was issued against him and a league between the troops of Hesse, the Palatinate and those of Trier was formed to hunt him down. The troops caught up to, and cornered, Sickingen at his castle in Landstuhl in 1523, where he received substantial enough wounds to seal his fate.[66]

Oecolampadius, apparently not wanting to further involve himself in the rows, left Ebernburg in November of 1522 and returned to Basel.[67] He was forty years old. He had no wife or children. He was without any significant social rank, and in all probability had little or no money. His friends found it difficult to understand where his loyalty lied – in the old status quo Roman church, or in the new movements to reform? Neither does fame seem to have interested him, though what public recognition he did have surely interested others. In a letter to Capito, he says that he wanted only to return

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[65] Oecolampadius, *Quod expediat epistolae et evangelii lectionem in missa vernaculo sermone plebi promulgari, Oecolampadii ad Hedionem epistola.* For further historical background, and a brief consideration of the development of his thinking during this period of time, cf., Johann Jakob Herzog, *Oecolampade, Le Réformateur de Bale* (Neuchatel: J.P. Michaud, 1848), pp. 109-117; and, Karl Rudolf Hagenbach, *Johann Oekolampad und Oswald Myconius: die Reformatoren Basels: Leben und ausgewahlte Schriften* (Elberfeld: R.L. Friderichs, 1859), pp. 22-25.

[66] *CoE*, vol. 3, pp. 247-249.

[67] Oecolampadius was a Christian pacifist up until at least 1524, if not for his entire life. See, *B&A* 2, p. 19, No. 464, n. 2, where he states: 'Diabolica doctrina dicere bella apud Christianos iusta . . .'

to Basel and continue translating Chrysostom's homilies on 1 and 2 Corinthians, which he had begun in Ebernburg.[68] However, an exclusively scholarly life would not be Oecolampadius' fate.

On December 10, 1522, only one month after arriving in Basel Oecolampadius wrote his first letter to a man who would become one of his closest allies, Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531).[69] Bruce Gordon aptly states:

> It was during these months that Oecolampadius began to correspond with Zwingli. It is useful to reflect upon the shared intellectual and spiritual ideals of these two men. For in neither was there a dramatic conversion experience. Rather, for both the road to the evangelical cause was mediated through the world of south German humanism and, in particular, the presence of Erasmus in Basle. For both the edition of patristic texts was of paramount importance, and if we are to identify an intellectual core to the Swiss Reformation, it must be located in the editions of the Latin and Greek Fathers which issued from the presses of Basle, Nuremberg, and Augsburg.[70]

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[68] 'Extrusurus eram continuo homilias Chrysostomi . . . in epistolas ad Corinthios . . .'. *B&A* 1, p. 198, No. 135.

[69] *B&A* 1, p. 200, No. 136.

[70] Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 110. During their own lives, and up to the present time, theologians and church historians seeking to prove that Oecolampadius and Zwingli were

Gordon is correct to indicate that there is no single moment of conversion that can be cited as *the* definitive turning point in Oecolampadius' life. He did not have a sort of 'born-again' experience as some contemporary evangelicals might describe it. He was reared in a world where personal identity meant being a Christian, even if that were understood in a nominal way. The moral and religious reach of the church was saturating and omnipresent in urban areas. Even in more rural locales, where pagan practices and 'superstitions' were still part of the daily lives of many *rusticorum*, the ethos of Latin Christianity was still very much present. For most people by this period in German history, even if you compartmentalized your religious life by following some traditionally pagan practices at home, and attending church on feast days or Sunday, you were still nominally a Christian – at least if you wanted to live in some semblance of peace with those surrounding you.[71]

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proponents of a 'Zwinglian' theology have conjoined the two men. Obviously this is true for Zwingli. It is unfortunate for Oecolampadius who is, in many extant nineteenth century studies in English about him, viewed as an understudy to the man from Zurich. Further specific discussion of this matter is outside the scope of this thesis, but hopefully the remainder of this study will provide solid evidence that Oecolampadius' intellectual stature and skills as a humanist and reformer were not in any way the lesser of the two theologians. Rather, at least in the realm of truly humanistic scholarship and literary output – especially patristic and biblical – Oecolampadius stands on his own. Cf., *B&A* 1, p. 200, No. 136; *CR* 94, pp. 634, No. 258; Ernst Staehelin, *Das Buch der Basler Reformation* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1929), p. 40-41; and, for an English translation of the first letter between the two men, Ed L. Miller, "Oecolampadius: The Unsung Hero of the Basel Reformation," *Illiff Review* 39 (1982), p. 12.

[71] For a fascinating look at the Christianization of western Europe, and the consequent attempt to stamp out paganism, see, Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1997); and specifically, pp. 34-65. For the syncretistic effects of each on the other see, Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianity & Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 101-149. For a consistently balanced treatment of Germanic practices see, Prudence Jones and Nigel Pennick, *A History of Pagan Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995). Though these works deal, for the most part, with

Because of this, for someone like Oecolampadius who was raised in an 'urban' Christian home, there was no definitive religious conversion experience, nor was there even a place for one. Neither does Oecolampadius later in life ever come right out and say, 'I have today turned the corner on these issues, and have now become a full-fledged follower of these "new" reformation ideologies.' It is simply wrong to assume that his change in thinking came about in such a dramatic way. It was a slow, mostly deliberate process whereby he began to see and understand the internal workings of the scriptures, the fathers, the church, and sacraments, and derivatively, politics, social structures and strictures, and economics, in a new light. But it seems clear that the light changed shades only gradually for Oecolampadius.

Closely related to these later comments is the idea advanced by Gordon that the 'intellectual core' of the Swiss reformation was the availability of patristic texts. These texts, in a very real way, intellectually retrofitted Oecolampadius and other humanist-reformers with the theology of many formerly unknown giants in the faith. The simple fact that the fathers were now available to be read was part of the foundation, for many of them, for their work of reform, every bit as much as the scriptures – when viewed from a 'purely' historical perspective. The question of how the reformers

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substantially earlier periods than the one being covered here, nevertheless they are helpful for understanding the gradual process of Christian socio-religious formalization that led to an attempted homogenization of the faith in Germany and the Swiss Confederation by the 16th century.

read and understood the patristic authors is a very important one as well. More precisely, attempting to understand what sort of presuppositions they read into the fathers is of paramount importance for having an overall sense for why the reformations of the 16th century played themselves out in the ways that they did. This is a key component of that much bigger puzzle.[72]

Returning to our previous discussion, Oecolampadius' early friendship with Zwingli does not yet betray the fact that he would soon be forced to align himself more closely with 'Swiss' theology, and consequently Zwingli, over against Luther and the Wittenbergers.[73] Nor did this fledgling rapport with Zwingli put a damper on the relationship that he and the 'Lutheran' Melanchthon had developed while at Heidelberg. On the contrary, in May of 1523 and because of the steady progression of reformation ideas taking root in Basel, Melanchthon wrote to Oecolampadius offering him a room in his own home if things became unbearable,[74] and in September of the

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[72] We will discuss this in more depth later in this work. But suffice it to say for now, for Oecolampadius the fathers were second in import only to the scriptures – his theological sounding board. Again, whether he read them 'properly' is not what is at stake here. That is a hermeneutical question that has an enormous impact on history, no doubt. But again, simply the availability of the texts as a point of departure for the scholars is an enormous facilitator for the reformation movements. Ultimately, there is no Oecolampadius without the fathers, and by simple deduction, there is not the same kind of reformation in Basel.

[73] In a letter dated June 20, 1523, Luther wrote to Oecolampadius warning him about Erasmus, and opens by him addressing Oecolampadius thusly: 'Erudito et pio viro, domino Johanni Oecolampadio, Christi discipulo et ministro fideli, suo in Domino fratri.' This fondness would not be long lived, however, and in a matter of less than two years Luther would label Oecolampadius one of the *Schwärmer*. Cf., *B&A* 1, pp. 222-223, No. 157; *LW* 49, pp. 43-44.

[74] 'Quisquis est Basileae status tuus, mallem te nobiscum esse, mea domus, mei lares tui erunt.' Cf., *B&A* 1, p. 221, No. 154; and, *CR* 1, p. 615, No. 242.

same year, greeted him as 'τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαμπάδι.'[75] However, his old employer and companion Erasmus was beginning publicly to question Oecolampadius' relationship with other young humanists and reformers. So, by 1525, in fear of his reputation and career being turned into a caricature of the men who had worked for him, or who had wrongly claimed him as their own, Erasmus attempted to put as much distance between himself and them as he could – even Oecolampadius.[76]

Also in 1523 Oecolampadius accepted a lectureship at the University of Basel where, to a consistent crowd of about four hundred people including the suffragan bishop, he expounded upon the Old Testament prophet Isaiah, extensively using Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German - which gained him no small report among the students, clergy, publishers, and city council.[77] Hearing about these grand lectures prompted the arrival of Guillaume Farel (1489-1565).[78] It is well known that Farel and Erasmus shared no cordial feelings (Farel liked to refer to Erasmus as Balaam). In fact, at Erasmus' behest the Basel city council expelled him shortly after his

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[75] *B&A* 1, p. 252, No. 173; and, *MBW* 1, p. 151, No. 292.

[76] *B&A* 1, pp. 346-352, No. 241, where Oecolampadius, in his Isaiah commentary, states that Erasmus is the leader of the most learned men in Basel. Apparently, though, Erasmus had heard that Oecolampadius was going to refer to him as 'our friend the great Erasmus,' which the latter quickly rebuffed. Cf., *B&A* 1, pp. 353-355, No. 242; and *CWE*, vol. 11, No. 1538, p. 9, n. 1.

[77] Cf., *B&A* 1, p. 219, No. 151; and, Poythress, "Isaiah", p. 33.

[78] Farel was a French reformer who studied in Paris under Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples, eventually moving to Basel, and then to Metz, Strasbourg, and Geneva, where he held strong sway over the young John Calvin. After his expulsion by the Geneva city council, he moved to Neuchâtel where he pastured a French speaking church until his death. See, Hillerbrand, ed., *OER* vol. 2, pp. 99-100.

arrival.[79] Oecolampadius, however, benefited from the advent of the contemptuous Frenchman who put him in touch with a number of other prominent French humanists and reformers in Paris and Meaux.[80]

In 1523, having accepted the additional preaching load for a sick priest at St. Martin's church, Oecolampadius broke new ground in the ecclesiastical life of Basel. In light of his publication the previous year dealing with vernacular readings in the liturgy, Oecolampadius became more and more determined that the entire service needed to be overhauled.[81] He introduced slight modifications into the liturgy that were well received by a small number of lay people, and some of the academics living in and around the city. Interestingly, St. Martin's church, as well as many of the remaining churches of Basel that adopted Oecolampadius' liturgical revisions, became 'fashionable' places to be within a very short period of time.[82] Oecolampadius had managed to get his foot in the liturgical door, and within two short years he would attempt to kick it wide open.

In the same year, the city council was forced to make concessions to Basel's residents as they sought the further progress of theological,

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[79] Rupp says that, 'Erasmus could not stand him, and asserted that even Oecolampadius had been tried beyond endurance by Farel's dinner conversation, which consisted of vitriolic attacks on all and sundry. But Oecolampadius was a good friend to Farel. . .' Rupp, *Patterns*, p. 21.

[80] Rupp, *Ibid*., lists Anémone de Coct, Morelet du Museau, and Lefèvre.

[81] See, Johannes Oecolampadius, *Das Testament Jesu Christi* (Zwickau (?): n.pub., 1523); and, Bruno Bürki, "Das Abendmahl Nach Den Basler Ordnungen," in *Coena Domini I*, ed. Irmgard Pahl (Freiburg: Universitatsverlag, 1983), p. 199-200.

[82] See, Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, pp. 221ff.

political, and economic reform within city. After the abolition of the aristocracy in the early 1500's, Basel became essentially a guild government. The fifteen main guilds were composed of men who were active in the most important forms of commerce in the city: four '*Herrenzünfte*' (gentlemen's guilds) - *Schlüssel* (tradesmen), *Hausgenossen* (bankers), *Weinleute* (wine merchants), *Saffran* (shopkeepers, textile merchants); and eleven '*Handwerkerzünfte*' (craft and artisan guilds).[83] With Oecolampadius at the helm, the new Basel reformation verbalized, even if in a couched manner, democratic ideals, and the underprivileged and lower echelon guildsmen soon realized the ramifications. The council conceded to some of the guild members' and Oecolampadius' wishes by first issuing an edict in May or June, which laid down that only the scriptures could be used for preaching within Basel's city limits.[84] By 1525 many guild members publicly criticized the *Rat* as they thought changes were taking place too slowly, and declared that if full-scale economic and political reform were not inaugurated throughout the city they would induce it by organizing a riot. To this threat the council conceded, and sped up the process somewhat. After the council met again, a few of the guild members got what they wanted. In 1526 the city council settled on a trade agreement that forbade Basel merchants from importing and selling goods that could be produced by artisans of the Basel itself – essentially

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[83] Guggisberg, *Basel in the Sixteenth Century: Aspects of the City Republic Before, During, and After the Reformation* p. 6; and see, H. G. Koenigsberger, George L. Mosse, and G. Q. Bowler, eds., *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, 2 ed. (Harlow: Longman, 1989), pp. 108-109. For a magnificent evaluation of the mediaeval background to the political and economic changes that took place in the development of the Swiss Confederation, see, Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, pp. 6-38.

[84] See, Miller, "The Unsung Hero," p. 13.

cutting off goods produced in Catholic cities. The artisans were growing in civic and economic power, and would, within a few short years, have a decisive role to play in the city's adoption of the reformation.[85]

In August 1523, after publishing sixty-six of Chrysostom's sermons on the book of Genesis,[86] Oecolampadius posted a notice for the holding of a disputation at the university, outlining four points of discussion:

> 1) ecclesiological authority rests completely and only in Christ; 2) salvation by faith, and not human works or satisfactions; 3) the sole mediatorial role of Christ; and, 4) the priesthood of all believers.[87]

The Basel *Rat* was not amused, and tried initially to forbid faculty attendance, and in fact cancelled it. However, on August 30 the council withdrew its opposition, and the debate appears to have taken place on August 31. In a letter to Zwingli also (mis?)dated August 31, Erasmus remarked that,

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[85] Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, p. 111.

[86] Johannes Oecolampadius, *Divi Joannis Chysostomi Psegmata quaedam, nuperrime a Ioanne Oecolampadio in latinum primo versa: cum adnotationibus eiusdem. Quorum omnium indicem proxima pagella indicabit* (Basel: Cratander, 1523); and, *B&A* 1, pp. 238-245, No. 165. Poythress, "Isaiah", p. 46, mistakenly dates the publication of these sermons as 1525. Cf., Staehelin, *Bib.*, p. 38, No. 75.

[87] *B&A* 1, pp. 245-247, No. 166.

> Oecolampadius debated yesterday, and indeed successfully, [and] will again next Sunday.[88]

In March 1524, Oecolampadius published a four-volume commentary series of Theophylactus, Archbishop of Bulgaria, of whom he says in the introduction, 'abundantly enough explains the mind of the gospels.'[89] In June he published twenty of his own homilies on 1 John.[90] While the publishing may have been going well, Oecolampadius' friendship with the Wittenbergers started to dissolve. Beginning in September of 1523 until November of 1525, Melanchthon wrote six letters to Oecolampadius, all of which went without reply. Sometime around September 1524, the *Praeceptor* contacted him saying that Karlstadt (1477/1486-1541),[91] on account of his eucharistic doctrines, was causing problems in their area. By the month's end, Melanchthon again wrote to his old friend from

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[88] 'Oecolampadius heri disputavit, et quidem feliciter, disputaturus denuo . . .'. *B&A* 1, p. 251, No. 171. Also, cf., *B&A* 1, pp. 250-251, Nos. 169-170; *CR* 95, pp. 114-118; and, *CWE*, vol. 10, No. 1384, pp. 83-84, nos., 18 & 28. This entire timeline is confused, and there is some question as to whether anyone showed up for the disputation, which might make Erasmus' statement to Zwingli suspect.

[89] '. . . abunde satis evangelistarum mentem explicat.' *B&A* 1, p. 268, No. 187; Theophylactus, *Theophylacti archiepiscopi Bulgariae in quatuor Evangelia enarrationes, denuo recognitae*, trans. Joannes Oecolampadius (Basel: Cratander, 1525).

[90] Johannes Oecolampadius, *In epistolam Joannis Apostoli Catholicam primam Ioannis Oecolampadij demegoriae, hoc est homiliae una et XX* (Basel: Cratander, 1524).

[91] Considered in the sixteenth century, and in modern scholarship, as one of the more outspoken of the reformers, Karlstadt was a German born theologian and instructor at the then new University of Wittenberg. Between 1515-1516, he studied canon law in Rome, receiving his doctorate in that discipline, and later, under humanistic influences, became a very competent patristic scholar. Originally partial to Wittenberg theology, he and Luther eventually came into conflict over the relationship of civil government to that of the Church. He later developed a doctrine of the eucharist (which influenced many Swiss theologians) with which Luther was appalled. In his later years he became professor of Old Testament at the University of Basel, and pastor of St. Peter's church, where he remained until his death. See, Hillerbrand, ed., *OER*, vol. 1, pp. 178-180; and also the amusing account of his life in Rupp, *Patterns*, pp. 49-153. For the primary sources of Melanchthon's comments, cf., *B&A* 1, pp. 312-213, No. 214; and, *MBW* 1, p. 168, No. 340. Staehelin apparently misdated this letter as being sent in either July or October.

Heidelberg, telling him that his silence was worrying, especially given the troubles that they were having in their region.[92]

What is to account for Oecolampadius' silence? A letter written to the Benedictine monk, Veit Bild (1481-1529)[93] on October 23, 1524, gives us a clue. Oecolampadius states:

> Just now there is a very great lack of discernment in the world about the mystery of the body of Christ, which unfortunately we are initiated into.
>
> Behold! we are ignorant about our sacraments! You know that to be fed by Christ is meant in a spiritual sense. You are not ignorant of this, I suppose.[94]

It is apparent that Melanchthon's fears, from his own perspective, were justified. Oecolampadius' eucharistic position had changed, and so had he. Speculating, we may surmise that the change was radical enough that

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[92] 'Vix credas, quam molestum mihi sit silentium tuum, mi Oecolampadi, praesertim in his motibus vestrae regionis.' *B&A* 1, p. 318, No. 220; and, *MBW* 1, p. 171, No. 345.

[93] Bild was a monk and humanist who lived in the Benedictine monastery of St. Ulrich near Augsburg. He and Oecolampadius met in 1518 during the latter's time in Augsburg as cathedral preacher, and Oecolampadius instructed Bild in Greek. There is correspondence between the two starting in 1518 and continuing through most of each man's life, though Bild did distance himself from Oecolampadius after his publication of *DGVD*. Cf., Franz Posset, *Renaissance Monks: Monastic Humanism in Six Biographical Sketches* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 143-144, and 149; and, *B&A* 1, p. 79, No. 48, n. 1.

[94] 'Jam de mysterio corporis Christi quantum caecitatis in mundo, quam infoeliciter initiamur. En et sacramenta nostra ignoramus. Scis, quid [sit] spiritualiter pasci Christo. Non ignoras, opinor.' *B&A* 1, p. 327, No. 225.

Oecolampadius did not feel confident to speak about it with Melanchthon. He may not have known how to address his old friend, or he may have chosen to remain silent in order to stay safely out of Luther's crosshairs. At any rate, it is difficult to pinpoint exactly who or what brought about this transformation in Oecolampadius' thinking.[95] However, it was a change that, by the end of 1524, he was almost willing to speak about publicly.

The next year, 1525, does find Oecolampadius speaking – and loudly. It is the year in which he seems to find himself, his place, and his purpose. To be sure it could not have happened without all of his previous life experiences and education – the long, laborious process of self-discovery was a necessary component. But, by 1525 Oecolampadius comes into his own, and we begin to see in both his writings and actions a self-confidence develop that he would carry with him until his death in 1531. There is little to be found of a man timid about his beliefs. Ironically, it is in the midst of controversy and evangelical division concerning the eucharist that Oecolampadius is able to fully employ his humanism, fusing it with the faith that has evolved over at least half a decade, to eventually become Basel's leading reformer.

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[95] Based on his personal correspondence up until 1524 there is not a lot to help make a decision. It is true that by mid-1524 Oecolampadius was speaking vigorously against both trans-, and consubstantiation (see, *B&A* 1, p. 336, No. 235) but it is problematical to isolate direct influences on his views. The clearest source, albeit a secondary one, is a letter written at the end of November, 1524, from Adelmann to Bild, where Adelmann says that, 'It is a fact that Zwingli and Oecolampadius favor the opinion of Karlstadt concerning the sacrament of the altar . . .' ['Quod vero Zvinglius et Oecolampadius faveant opinioni Carlstadii de sacramento altaris . . .']. *B&A* 1, p. 332, No. 230. Cf., Luther's comments in 1524 about the conversion of Oecolampadius to Karlstadt's position in, *WABr* 3, p. 422; and, Thomas A. Fudge, "Icarus of Basel? Oecolampadius and the Early Swiss Reformation," *Journal of Religious History* 21 (1997), p. 274.

Early in 1525 Oecolampadius rewrote the Roman missal, producing the first reformed liturgy to be used openly in Basel, and which may have been the vehicle for the eventual inauguration of congregational singing, and possibly lay Psalm singing – a practice that would, under Bucer and Calvin become part of the very fabric of Reformed worship.[96] Though seeking change for the Basel church by utilizing this evangelical service, he nevertheless, certainly for pastoral and political reasons, continued to offer two services a day. The first service was officiated by his apprentice, and followed the Roman liturgy. The second was celebrated by Oecolampadius himself and followed the new liturgy.[97] Besides scripting the new rubrics for the celebration of the word and sacrament, and officiating at those services, Oecolampadius was also more openly publishing his ideas as well. In a midsummer letter, to an unknown recipient,[98] Oecolampadius laid out his new understanding of the Eucharist:

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[96] Cf., Miller, "The Unsung Hero," p. 15; Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, pp. 443-446; and, Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship* (Zürich: Juris Druck, 1975), pp. 258-260.

[97] Cf., Johannes Oecolampadius, *Form und gstalt Wie das Herren Nachtmal/ Der kinder Tauff/ Der Krancken haymsuchung/ zu Basel gebraucht und gehalten werden* (Basel: n.pub., 1525), pp. 203-215. For a partial English translation see, Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), pp. 211-215. Also see, Poythress, "Isaiah", p. 43. It is true that Bucer had a liturgy written in Strasbourg in 1524, but it was not being actively used by the people, and may have been opposed by that city's council. See, Demura, "Discipline", p. 54; G. J. Van de Poll, *Martin Bucer's Liturgical Ideas* (Assen: Van Gorcum and Co., 1954), p. 110; and compare with, Old, *Patristic Roots*, p. 46, n. 1.

[98] This may well have been intended as a circular letter.

To what extent is it lawful to infer from the ancient doctors and from the sixth chapter of John that the words "Hoc est corpus meum" are a figure of speech? Indeed the bread displays the figure of the body of Christ, and is a μνημόσυνον of him handed down to us. For he does not wish his flesh to be given to be chewed σαρκικῶς, but πνευματικῶς.[99]

In the wake of the controversy that was beginning to take root between Luther and anyone who differed from him,[100] Oecolampadius wrote the first of two patristic florilegia on the eucharist entitled, *De genuina verborum Domini: Hoc est corpus meum' juxta vetustissimos authores expositione liber.*[101] In it he described, *via* Augustinian sign-symbol language, what he deemed to be the important principles behind his eucharistic doctrine. He took, like Zwingli, though in a slightly different manner, the words of institution to be figurative. Schaff states that Oecolampadius defended,

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[99] 'Quantum ex veteribus coniectare licet doctoribus et ex sexto capite Joannis, verba illa "Hoc est corpus meum" figuratae locutionis sunt. Gerit enim panis figuram corporis Christi, et μνημόσυνον est illius pro nobis traditi. Non enim vult carnem suam σαρκικῶς ad manducandum dare, sed πνευματικῶς.' *B&A* 1, p. 373, No. 262.

[100] For an excellent overview to the controversy, see, Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther and the False Brethren* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), pp. 82-111.

[101] Johannes Oecolampadius, *De genuina verborum Domini, Hoc est corpus meum, iuxta vetustissimos authores, expositione liber* (Strasburg: Jonann Knobloch, 1525). This work was denounced by Bishop John Fisher in his work, John Fisher, *De veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia adversus Johannem Oecolampadium* (Cologne: Peter Quentell, 1527). See, James V. Mehl, "Ortwin Gratius, Conciliarism, and the Call for Church Reform," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 76 (1985), pp. 169-194.

> . . . the figurative interpretation of the words of institution: 'This is (the figure of) my body,' chiefly from the writings of the fathers, with which he was very familiar. He agreed in substance with Zwingli, but differed from him by placing the metaphor in the predicate rather than the verb, which simply denotes a connection of the subject with the predicate whether real or figurative, and which was not even used by the Lord in Aramaic. He found the key for the interpretation in John 6:63, and held fast to the truth that Christ himself is and remains the true bread of the *soul* to be partaken of by *faith*.[102]

Shortly after the book's publication, the Basel city council called a meeting of a number of men, which included the resident patristic expert Erasmus, and asked them for their opinion about the work's historic and theological legitimacy, and whether it should, or should not, be sold in the city. It was voted down immediately, confiscated, and declared an illegal work in Basel, and later throughout Switzerland. Eventually, though not surprisingly, it was also banned in Paris.[103]

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[102] Philip Schaff, *Modern Christianity: The Swiss Reformation*, 3 ed., 8 vols., vol. 8 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1910), p. 111 [Italics his.]. For the purposes of this chapter Schaff's understanding is suitable, if oversimplified. There is no question that the two Swiss men understood the eucharist differently, even though, at a certain level they did share many things in common. Oecolampadius was not fully 'Zwinglian', nor was Zwingli fully, 'Oecolampadian'. Gäbler argues correctly that '. . . Zwingli clung to the term "Eucharist" and preferred to use the term "act of thanksgiving" (*gratiarum actio*) in Latin, rather than "sacrament" (*sacramentum*).' Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work*, trans. Ruth C. L. Gritsch (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), p. 134. *Sacramentum*, *eucharistia*, *gratiarum actio*, and for that matter, *mysterium*, were never terms that Oecolampadius feared using, but rather, consistently employs from late 1524 - 1531. We will discuss this in much greater detail in later chapters.

[103] Cf., *B&A* 1, pp. 392-393, No. 280; and, Henri Meylan, *D'Érasme à Théodore de Bèze: problèmes de l'Église et de l'école chez les réformés* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1976),

The book elicited negative response from all over Europe. Luther, in typical reactionary fashion, denounced both the book and Oecolampadius. Brenz and a number of other Lutheran pastors from Schwäbisch-Hall responded to the work with their *Syngramma*.[104] In 1527, both Josse van Clichtove (1472-1543),[105] and the English Bishop, John Fisher (1469-1535),[106] wrote scathing replies to Oecolampadius' work. Former friend and Lutheran humanist Willibald Pirckheimer, wrote from Nuremberg at the end of 1525, *De vera Christi carne et vero eius sanguine ad Joannem Oecolampadium responsio*, in which he argued for a Lutheran understanding of the eucharist.[107] As is evident, the book brought cries of heresy, and the Ingolstadt theologian John Eck called for a debate between himself and many of the Swiss theologians.[108]

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pp. 67-68. Interestingly, around this time many of the more radical reformers started contacting Oecolampadius about moving to Basel. For more on this see, Werner O. Packull, "Hans Denck: Fugitive from Dogmatism," in *Profiles of Radical Reformers: Biographical Sketches from Thomas Muntzer to Paracelsus*, ed. Hans-Jurgen Goertz (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1982), p. 65.

[104] *B&A* 1, pp. 401-404, No. 289.

[105] Josse van Clichtove, *De sacramento Eucharistiae, contra Oecolampadium* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1526). Clichtove was a priest, humanist, Catholic theologian, and professor at the University of Paris. See, Hillerbrand, ed., *OER* vol. 1, pp. 368-369.

[106] Fisher, *De veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia adversus Johannem Oecolampadium* The foreword to the work is in *B&A* 1, pp. 577-581, No. 426. Fisher was bishop of Rochester, and chancellor of Cambridge. Not fond of either Henry VIII, or Luther, he dedicated the later part of his life to trying to stamp out protestant influx. For an overview of his life and theology, and especially his response to Oecolampadius, see, Richard Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 1-12, and, 136-139.

[107] Willibald Pirkheimer [Bilibaldi Birckheimheri], *De vera Christi carne et vero eius sanguine ad Ioan. Oecolampadium responsio* (Nuremburg: J. Petreius, 1526); and, *B&A* 1, pp. 434-437, No. 318.

[108] See, *B&A* 1, pp. 408-411, No. 293.

In 1526 the Baden disputation was called.[109] Unfortunately for the Swiss, Baden was Catholic controlled land, and many of the reformers and their respective city councils were uncomfortable about the location. Moreover, early in May, Eck had published his version of *Loci Communes*, in an attempt to rebuff the reformation movements – whether, Lutheran, Swiss, or otherwise.[110] Certain of his cause, Oecolampadius went to the debate as one of only thirty-one evangelicals present, compared to approximately one hundred Catholics. The Zurich city council had refused to let Zwingli attend the debates fearing for his life, so Oecolampadius found himself in a lead role at the debate. Gordon Rupp's description of the debate, though lengthy, is both insightful and entertaining:

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[109] For the best contemporary critical discussion of both Baden and Berne, see, Irena Backus, *The Disputations of Baden, 1526 and Berne, 1528: Neutralizing the Early Church* (Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1993).

[110] Johann Eck, *Enchiridion locorum communium aduersus Lutteranos* (Landshut: Johann Weissenburger, 1525).

The disputation began in the usual leisurely, courteous way, and the two opponents drew near like sailing ships wafted on their syllogistic breeze. The preliminary discourses were unexciting, and indeed tedious. As the judges wilted towards the end of a three hour oration from Oecolampadius, he amiably suggested an adjournment until midday, 'for I too am a little weary' - which the judges amended with alacrity to a recess until one o'clock. But even this did not satisfy the audience and, after some lunchtime lobbying, somebody from the floor suggested that there be a two day respite - ostensibly for the arrival of reinforcements which both sides expected. There were eighteen rounds in all between Oecolampadius and Eck . . . Eck roared and rampaged and danced all around his opponent, asserting and distinguishing and, when pressed, taking refuge in his authority. At one point, John Faber produced unexpectedly a manuscript of Irenaeus which seemed to have disconcerted Oecolampadius. At another point it was Oecolampadius who defended patristic authority, while Eck came near to asserting: 'The Bible, I say the Bible only, is the religion of Catholics.'[111]

[111] Rupp, *Patterns*, p. 29. Also see, Poythress, "Isaiah", pp. 50-51.

Ultimately the debate did not turn out well for Oecolampadius and the other evangelicals, as they were greatly outnumbered.[112] However, the damage done at the disputation did, interestingly enough, help to solidify relationships among members of the Swiss Confederation over-against the intrusions – political, economic, or ecclesiastical – of the surrounding provinces.

This 'non-victorious' colloquy led to the Bern disputation of 1528.[113] Here the evangelicals had aligned their strongest front against the Catholics. Not only was Oecolampadius present, but also Bucer, Capito, Zwingli, and others. It seems that the reformers had learned from the previous disputation, and were willing to take no chances. They set the agenda, by naming the theses to be discussed, and the Catholics were immediately put off balance.[114] The reformers were fully aware of the steam their movements had generated, and were not afraid to flex their proverbial muscles, especially since Eck's dynamic presence was not available to their opponents. From all accounts, the reformers crushed the Roman theologians. In fact, they did such damage to the Roman arguments in the eyes of the general public and the Basel city council, that in February, only one month later, the *Rat* officially passed the 'Freedom of Religion' act

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[112] Two different accounts of the proceedings are recorded in *B&A* 1, pp. 491-503, No. 360. Backus does not give a positive account of Oecolampadius' methodology or his rhetorical acumen. See, Backus, *Baden and Berne*, pp. 19-61.

[113] Those who attended Bern are listed in *B&A* 2, pp. 119-126, No. 537.

[114] This is the main reason for the reformers' victory. See, Backus, *Ibid.*, p. 98.

which granted freedom of worship to all but Anabaptists and Catholics. Miller states:

> This momentous Disputation swayed both the city and Canton of Bern into alignment with the reformation. Inasmuch as Bern was the most powerful canton in Switzerland, the general repercussions of its decision for reformation can hardly be over-estimated. In Basel, specifically, the reformation party became predictably yet more daring.[115]

One month after the disputation, Oecolampadius, at the age of 46, wrote to Zwingli telling him of his marriage to Wibrandis Rosenblatt.[116] She was 27 years old and already a widow. Apparently, shortly after the Bern disputation, Oecolampadius' mother had died and his father needed someone to care for him, so he moved in with his son. Oecolampadius, however, does not appear to have been much of a homemaker, and pragmatically decided that it would be in the best interest of his father and himself to take a wife. Wibrandis bore Oecolampadius three children, all of whom were named in humanistic fashion: Eusebius, Irene, and Aletheia;[117] and she went on to become one of the more famous wives of the early period of reforms.

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[115] Miller, "Unsung Hero", p. 16.

[116] *CR* 96, p. 390, No. 699.

[117] Poythress, "Isaiah", p. 32.

After Oecolampadius' death in November 1531, she married one of his best friends Wolfgang Capito, whose wife had died in the same year. Capito took in the children of Oecolampadius and raised them as his own. Moreover, he and Wibrandis had five of their own children in the following years. In 1541, both Capito himself, and Martin Bucer's wife died of a plague that moved through Strasbourg. On her deathbed, Bucer's wife called Wibrandis and asked her to marry Martin. She did, and bore him two children. Intending to follow Bucer to England, but not making it before his own death, she remained in Basel where she eventually died in a plague in 1564.[118]

In a letter, which Oecolampadius would, in 1530, include in his *Dialogus*, dated April 1529, Melanchthon wrote to Oecolampadius, informing him that he wished their friendship to remain intact, but realized that,

> . . . the horrible dissension of the Lord's Supper has befallen [us] . . .[119]

After an extensive discussion about the problems between the Lutheran and the Swiss over the doctrine, and the need to pay better heed to scriptural sources, Melanchthon states:

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[118] Cf., Lisbeth Haase, *Wibrandis Rosenblatt: ein Leben an der Seite der Reformatoren* (Stuttgart: Edition Anker, 2000); Poythress, "Isaiah", p. 79; and, Ernst Staehelin, *Frau Wibrandis* (Bern & Leipzig: Gotthelf, n. d.). I have not been able to review the latter work.

[119] '. . . incidit horribilis dissensio de coena Domini . . .' See, *CR* 1, pp. 1048-1050, No. 598; *B&A* 2, pp. 308-310, No. 652; and, *MBW* 1, p. 335, No. 775.

> . . . I ask that you might consider how great and perilous the thing is that you have undertaken. It is true that the truth will vanish because of excessive bickering, and it is further jeopardized in this so violent of conflicts. Therefore, it might be better if several good men gather at one colloquy about this matter. I see which seeds of these disputations were sown in the ancient books, and are found also in certain works produced recently before this uproar.[120]

The 'certain works' to which Melanchthon refers are probably the books by Luther and Oecolampadius, as the latter's 1525 *DGVD* had most certainly brought 'the ancient books' to the forefront of the early 16th century arguments.

At the request of Philip of Hesse (1504-1567),[121] the Marburg colloquy was called on October 1, 1529, as an attempt to settle the eucharistic dispute dividing the Swiss and Lutherans, and consequently solidify the relationship between their respective political powers. The two side were represented by Luther and Melanchthon for the Germans, and Zwingli and

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[120] 'Teque rogo, ut consideres, quantam rem, quamque periculosam susceperis. Verum illud est, nimium altercando amitti veritatem, atque haec multo magis periclitatur in his tam violentis concertationibus. Quare satius esset hac de re aliquot bonos viros in colloquium una venire. Video quae semina harum disputationum sparsa sint in veterum libris, sunt et in quibusdam nuper natis ante hunc tumultum.' *Ibid*. Also see, Philip Melanchthon, *Melanchthon Selected Writings*, ed. Elmer Ellsworth Flack and Lowell J. Satre, trans. Charles Leander Hill (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1962), p. 127.

[121] Philip was a 'landgrave, antagonist of the Habsburgs, architect of the Schmalkald League, and champion of the *via media* in confessional disputes.' *OER*, vol. 3, p. 262.

Oecolampadius for the Swiss. Martin Bucer was also present at the colloquy, promoting himself as moderator for the two groups. Because of the misgivings between Luther and Zwingli, they were not paired with one another from the outset. Instead, for the first part of the gathering Luther spoke with Oecolampadius, and Zwingli with Melanchthon.[122] The two sides were, after a few hours, willing to say that the actual cause of all the infighting appeared to be a misunderstanding of terms - mere semantics. However, 'when Zwingli reentered the room' and Luther started questioning him about the Supper, 'sparks began to fly again.' [123] After some time, Oecolampadius calmed the men and asked Luther,

> 'Since we have a spiritual eating, what need is there for a bodily one?' . . . According to some versions of the colloquy, Luther gave a spirited reply; 'I don't care what need there is; I am a prisoner of the word of Christ. If Christ would command me to eat dung, I would do it, knowing that it would be good for me.'[124]

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[122] There is some discrepancy about why this happened. Poythress seems to think that it was because Zwingli and Luther could not stand to be in each other's presence; Poythress, "Isaiah", p. 63. However, Rupp, *Patterns*, p. 42, believes that Luther and Oecolampadius were paired together because they were both doctors, and the other two men were not. Cf., W. P. Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 248-249, where he notes the mediating approaches of Bucer, Oecolampadius and Melanchthon; also, Hagenbach, *Johann Oekolampad und Oswald Myconius: die Reformatoren Basels*, pp. 139-148.

[123] Poythress, "Isaiah", p. 64.

[124] Bard Thompson, *Humanists and Reformers: A History of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), p. 453.

That is right about where the colloquy, at least as concerned the eucharist, ended. There was little ultimate progress made for the cause of uniting the two groups. In fact, it only widened the gap between the Lutherans and Swiss, essentially freezing their sacramental opposition one to another for a number of years to come.[125]

Dismayed by the outcome of the colloquy, and dissatisfied with Melanchthon's new patristic work on the Eucharist, the *Sententiae veterum*,[126] Oecolampadius began and completed his *Dialogus* in 1530. It was the second of his two florilegia on the ancients (one name that he consistently uses for them) and the eucharist. The work is a dialogue between himself and a fictitious character named Nathaniel, who is fond of Luther's and, more to the point, Melanchthon's understanding of the supper.[127] In it, Oecolampadius included two letters between himself and Melanchthon, in which the men had previously discussed the issues surrounding the eucharistic controversy. Also included, so that there might not be any doubt about Oecolampadius' motives or honesty, was Melanchthon's little book, *Sententiae veterum*, in full. Oecolampadius and

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[125] Poythress says that after the colloquy Oecolampadius, 'published *Dialogue*, which was a compilation of Patristic literature proving the Reformed view and stating a spiritual presence of Christ in communion to be the historic faithful view of the Church as opposed to the Papist or Lutheran view . . . The work carried with it such a weighty argumentation that Melanchthon never again gave whole-hearted consent to the Lutheran view and eventually moved quite close to the Reformed position on this topic.' Poythress, "Isaiah", p. 68; Cf., Ralph Walter Quere, *Melanchthon's Christum Cognoscere: Christ's Efficacious Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Melanchthon* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1977), pp. 310-311, where a little less 'confessional' approach is taken.

[126] Philip Melanchthon, *Sententiae veterum aliquot scriptorum, de Coena Domini, bona fide recitatae* (Wittenburg: Joseph Clug, 1530).

[127] See, Quere, *Melanchthon's Christum Cognoscere*, pp. 339ff.

Nathaniel together read this work and then spend the remainder of the *Dialogus* exegeting Melanchthon's patristic texts, while Oecolampadius adds more of his own to bolster his points. The book ends with, of course, Nathaniel becoming a tentative convert to Oecolampadius' position, which may be, in the end, what happened to Melanchthon himself upon reading it.[128]

It would be Oecolampadius' final attempt at eucharistic reconciliation with the Lutherans, based on his reading of the ancient church. But in the end it came to no avail. Though he and Melanchthon remained tentative 'friends', Zwingli and Luther had done too much damage, and concord was beyond anyone's grasp. Shortly before his own death in 1531, he received word of his friend Zwingli's death at the Battle of Kappel. The war had raged for only about a month, but it was a long enough time to devastate the Swiss forces. The Catholic cantons seemed, for the time being, to have gained the upper hand. It was a sad time for Oecolampadius' family and friends. But his sadness did not last long. On a frosty winter morning in November, after receiving the eucharist with his family and friends, Oecolampadius died at forty-nine years of age.[129] As he lay dying, Capito tells us, he recited Psalm 51 and then said '*Salva me Christe Jesu.*'[130]

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[128] Cf., Quere, *Ibid.*, p. 245-247; and, Wilhelm H. Neuser, *Die Abendmahlslehre Melanchthons in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung (1519-1530)* (Neukirchener: Verlag Des Erziehungsvereins, 1968).

[129] Of course, there was some discrepancy about his death. Some people seemed to think that he had blood poisoning. One story is that his enemies said that he had committed suicide, and another that the devil had stolen him away. Schaff, *Ibid.*, p. 119, n. 1. Luther was convinced that the devil ended his life, as God no longer protected him because of his eucharistic theology. *LW* 38, p. 156. Still others argued that he had died of

a complication of his '*os sacrum*.' For the latter see, Georg Binder, "Oecolampad im Birgittenkloster in Altomünster," *Theologisch-praktische Monats-Schrift* 7 (1897), pp. 385-393; and Demura, "Discipline", p. 6.

[130] *B&A* 2, p. 734, No. 968.

CHAPTER 2- THE EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY OF OECOLAMPADIUS

> Nothing is stolen from the faithful, because he guards his own treasure: for the treasure is not a corporeal presence, but the word, through which all things were made, and which dwells in the hearts of the faithful: and yet that treasure is also in our soul, because the soul is with that [treasure] in the heavens.[1]

Introduction

The eucharist, and the centrality of a clear exposition of the theology governing it, was the catalyst for, and content of, one of the most hotly contested issues in the reformations – initially between Roman Catholics and Lutherans, and then eventually between protestants themselves.[2] The

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[1] 'Fideli nihil tollitur, quia servat thesaurum suum: non enim corporalis praesentia thesaurus est, sed verbum, per quod omnia facta, quodque corda fidelium inhabitat: et nihilominus etiam thesaurus ille in animo nostro est, quia animus cum illo in coelis.' Johannes Oecolampadius, *Duo Sermones Apologetici de Dignitate Eucharistiae, quorum priorem in die S. Thomae lecto Euangelio Ioannis 21 posteriorem in vigilia natalis Christi, Basileae Habuit* (Zürich: Froschover, 1550), A 6 $^{r-v}$.

[2] This has been a much-discussed issue since the time of the reformations. For a general historical/theological synopsis see: Jaroslav Pelikan, *Reformation of the Church and Dogma (1300-1700)* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 159ff.; Walther Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther: Ihr Streit über das Abendmahl nach seiner Politischen und religiosen Beziehung*, 2 vols., (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1924-1953); Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation* (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), pp. 76-80; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: A History* (New York: Viking, 2003), pp. 240ff.; Wilhelm H. Neuser, *Die Abendmahlslehre Melanchthons in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung (1519-1530)* (Neukirchener: Verlag Des Erziehungsvereins, 1968); Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2 ed. (London: A&C Black Ltd, 1975), pp. 629-636; Ralph Walter Quere, *Melanchthon's Christum Cognoscere: Christ's Efficacious Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Melanchthon* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1977); Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther and the False Brethren* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), pp. 140ff.; and, Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250-1550: An Intellectual and*

debate was not a new one, however. From at least the 9th century theologians had gone to great lengths, usually in a polemic milieu, to articulate a 'traditional' or 'catholic' understanding of the constitution and function of the eucharistic elements, and the entire rite itself.[3] The reformers then simply revivified a centuries old debate in the west, employing a familiar sacramental vocabulary, but in many instances redefining (and/or recontextualizing) the terms based on their own biblical, patristic, and philosophic presuppositions.[4]

Before we turn our attention, in future chapters, to Oecolampadius' reception of the fathers, and in particular, his knowledge, exegesis and employment of Irenaeus of Lyons in relationship to his own eucharistic theology, it is necessary initially to attempt to demarcate that theology. In this chapter we will first, briefly describe the historical background of the doctrine of the eucharist from the mediaeval period until the time of Oecolampadius' entrance into the conversation. Second, we will analyze Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology, paying special attention to the major

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Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 334-337.

[3] For more on the mediaeval background see: Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 184-214; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1991), A.J. MacDonald, *Berengar and the Reform of the Sacramental Doctrine* (London & New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930), especially, pp. 227-405; Edward J. Kilmartin, S.J., *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, ed. Robert J. Daly (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2004), pp. 79-153.

[4] As an example of this in relationship to Luther see, Ralph Walter Quere, "Changes and Constants: Structure in Luther's Understanding of the Real Presence in the 1520's," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 16, no. 1 (1985), pp. 45-78.

theological themes that informed the development of his own understanding of the sacrament. By approaching the subject in this way, we will be able to better understand what exegetical presuppositions may have informed his doctrine. As well, this will provide a segue to a clearer comprehension of how the hermeneutical lens which Oecolampadius wore colored his reading of the relevant eucharistic passages of patristic authors in general, and those of Irenaeus more exclusively. In order to properly accomplish this, it will be necessary to draw from multiple sources dating from approximately 1521-1530, including sermons and letters, as well as *DGVD* and *Dialogus*. By considering the statements contained in these various sources we should be able, by the chapter's end, to: 1) generally pinpoint Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology at a given time; and, 2) discern any doctrinal development in his thought over the course of his career.

The Mediaeval Background

Eucharistic doctrines, as they were formulated and continued to evolve during the mediaeval period, were themselves obviously based on the theological foundations of earlier patristic writers, and before them, scripture itself. Without question, the two men who would come to hold a more than substantial sway on the development of eucharistic theology in the west were Augustine and Ambrose. Ironically, however, it seems clear from their respective writings and sermons that they espoused divergent

theologies of the presence of Christ in the elements – with Augustine advocating a sort of neo-Platonic dynamic symbolism, while Ambrose's teaching was more clearly centered on a metabolic realism likely of Antiochene origin.[5] From the sixth century onwards, both men were looked to and quoted as authorities on the sacraments in general, and eucharistic theology more specifically. However, in different regions throughout the empire the importance of one or the other's theology appears to have taken on a special place of prominence, with the reflections of each eventually being combined and consequently coming to influence the eucharistic liturgy in different ways. For instance, A. J. MacDonald states:

> The Augustinian tradition had never ceased to operate in the Western Church. While the influence of Ambrose was present in the Gallic and Spanish liturgies, and formed the main strand in the Roman liturgies (Leonine, Gelasian, and Gregorian), yet Augustinian symbolism produced a marked effect upon the structure of the Roman service book. As the centuries advanced the influence of Augustine grew and, together with the teaching of Ambrose, became

[5] Cf., Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 98.9 (CCSL 39, 1386); and, Ambrose, *De fide* 4.10 (CSEL 78, 201). The one important exception in Ambrose to his being understood in a purely realist fashion is found in *De mysteriis* 9.58 (CSEL 73, 115), where he states: 'Christ is in this sacrament, because it is the body of Christ. Therefore it is not corporeal food, but spiritual [In illo sacramento Christus est, quia corpus est Christi. Non ergo corporalis esca, sed spiritualis est].' Also see, Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, pp. 14, 25-26, and 28-30.

> the source of the eucharistic teaching of the pre-scholastic era . . .[6]

MacDonald's reference to the significance of both men in the 'pre-scholastic era' is of importance for our discussion, as much of the eucharistic vocabulary that would eventually come to dominate the reformation debates, and their corresponding theologies, finds its point of origin here. In particular, there are a number of mediaeval theologians who based their own assessments of the eucharist on the teachings of Augustine and/or Ambrose that are worthy of mention, as each in their own way contributed to the organic formulation of a theology of the sacrament.

Gregory I ('the Great')

Gregory was the first monk to be chosen bishop of Rome, a tenure that lasted from 590-604 C.E. The son of a senator, and relative of two former Roman bishops, Gregory was a devout student of the teachings of Augustine, as he understood them.[7] Especially important to him were Augustine's doctrines of original sin and predestination, which in turn informed his understanding of the afterlife. Gregory's theological

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[6] MacDonald, *Berengar and the Reform of the Sacramental Doctrine*, pp. 227-228. Cf., Pierre Batiffol, *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*, 8th ed., vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1930), pp. 339-373.

[7] Everett Ferguson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), s.v., 'Gregory I the Great,' p. 490; and, Charles Kannengiesser, "Boethius, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great," in *The Medieval Theologians*, ed. G. R. Evans (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001), pp. 30-36.

developments in this regard are important, as he postulates what will eventually become solidified in Roman Catholic teaching as the doctrine of purgatory.

Expanding on Augustine's veiled statements concerning postmortem punishments for sins not forgiven during life, Gregory argued that prayer offered by the faithful, for the faithful departed (but not yet spiritually perfected), would be advantageous, as it would be reckoned as meritorious by God. In fact, Gregory maintained, unlike Augustine, that this was a requirement of the catholic faith – something that had to be believed.[8] If the prayers of imperfect Christians were beneficial for those who were enduring the fires of purification, reasoned Gregory, then how much more advantageous would be a pure sacrifice offered to God on their behalf? What then was the greatest sacrifice that could possibly be rendered – obviously the unblemished sacrifice of the Son of God, offered to the Father for the remission of sins, which was in turn memorially re-offered by the clergy in the celebration of the church's Mass.[9] Though the eucharist had been spoken of as a sacrifice presented to God throughout the church's early history, Gregory was at least initially responsible for it eventually being understood in propitiatory terms in the west, and then eventually as a 'good work' (*opus bonum et sacrificium*). This aspect of eucharistic doctrine would become one of the first sacramental issues to be

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[8] Cf., Augustine, *Civ.* 21.13 & 24 (CCSL 48, 779 & 789); Gregory, *Dial. libri iv*, 4.40 (SC 265, 138-146); and, Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 355.

[9] Gregory, *Dial. libri iv* 4.59 (SC 265, 194-196).

refuted by Luther and other reformers, including Oecolampadius, in the early 16th century.[10]

Controversy in the 9th-11th Centuries[11]

Christianity saw a dramatic theological (and socio-political) change in the early mediaeval period as the church came into contact with the Germanic Franks, who to a greater or lesser degree, especially under the leadership of Carolus Magnus (ca. 742-814), maintained and revitalized it, and into whose cultural ethos it was moderately absorbed in northern and western Europe.[12] The nature of the relationship between the church and the Germanic peoples was theologically important for a number of reasons. First, as has been well documented by others, the Franks were not especially keen to deliberate in 'Greek' paradigms – especially when it involved conceptions of the relationship between image and prototype, and participation. The Franks appear, conversely, to have been more comfortable thinking along the lines of symbol and external in relationship to the eternal as image. This philosophical distinction, and lack of ability by the Franks to fully appropriate the position of the Greek fathers, was most

[10] 'Let us, therefore, repudiate everything that smacks of sacrifice, together with the entire canon, and retain only that which is pure and holy, and so order our mass.' *LW* 53, p. 26.

[11] For a good historical overview of the period under consideration here, up until the Council of Trent, see, David N. Power, *The Eucharistic Mystery: Revitalizing the Tradition* (New York: Crossroad, 1997), pp. 241-265.

[12] For more on this see, James C. Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). And for a survey of the synthetic and constructive nature of Carolingian theology see, Willemien Otten, "Carolingian Theology," in *The Medieval Theologians*, ed. G. R. Evans (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001), pp. 65-66.

clearly visible in the Carolingian rejection of the canons concerning the veneration of images handed down by Nicaea II (787). This, according to Kilmartin, provides us with substantial insight into the eucharistic debates that were to begin just a few years after Nicaea II in the west. He states:

> The debate over image veneration can possibly shed more light on the discussions of the doctrine of the somatic real presence of the body and blood of Christ than many of the writings concerned explicitly with this issue. For this early medieval debate reflects the different ways of thinking of the Greek and German-Frankish worlds. The rejection of icons in the *Libri Carolini* is grounded on what the Frankish authors saw as the lack of spiritual quality in the (material) icons themselves. They argued that images, by which they mean primarily paintings, are something purely material, and so cannot contain a mystery. They can serve only as ornamentation, or to represent historical events, or as a help to the memory. The Neo-platonic and Plotinian philosophical nuances which enabled the Greek venerators of images to see a range of acceptable and desirable positions beneath divine *latreia* but still above idolatry or superstition, were not available to the Frankish theologians . . . [13]

[13] Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, p. 81. Cf., Andrew Louth, "Postpatristic Byzantine Theologians," in *The Medieval Theologians*, ed. G. R. Evans (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001), p. 48, where he states: 'The iconoclast claim that the only true image of Christ was the eucharist led to clarification on the part of the Orthodox as to the nature of the eucharistic presence: it was real, not symbolic.'; and,

Augustine's neo-Platonism, to be sure, allowed him to maintain a distinction between a material sacramental image, and the form or true image, which it represented. In other words, signs relate to what they signify. But, distinction does not mean separation, and the bishop of Hippo clearly allows for at least a mode of cognitive participation in and with the reality that the sign signifies. Sacraments then, because they are in fact signs of a sacred thing, are not wholly empty – and hence, the phrase 'dynamic symbolism.'[14] By the 9th century Augustine's emphasis on the symbolic, fused with the Frankish proclivity for the same over against Greek conceptions, will have long-term consequences for the doctrine of the eucharist.

Ratramnus & Radbertus

Ratramnus (d. ca. 868) and Paschasius Radbertus (ca. 790-865) were both monks at the monastery of Corbie during the reign of Emperor Charles the Bald (840-877). The latter was both head of the monastery school and eventually abbot of Corbie itself. Around 831 Radbertus composed a work, at the request of his former student Warinus, who was himself abbot of the monastery at Corvei in Saxony, on the doctrine of the eucharist entitled, *De*

John Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1987), pp. 183, and, 189-190.

[14] See, *Sermo* 272 (PL 38, 1247): 'Ista, fratres, ideo dicuntur Sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur [Those things, brothers, are designated Sacraments, because in them something is seen, [while] something different is understood].'

corpore et sanguine Domini.[15] In the work Radbertus follows what he understands to be the Ambrosian tradition of the conversion of the elements, and appears to have favored the bishop of Milan over other western patristic authors.[16] Following Ambrose, Radbertus laid substantial emphasis on the miraculous presence of Christ in the eucharistic elements. What God does in this regard in the celebration, working through the medium of the priest who pronounces the words of institution, is not so much *contra naturam*, as it is *supra*.[17] It was, for Radbertus, in much the same way that the incarnation was a miraculous event, veiled by mystery. Given that, Radbertus could state:

> Whence the Truth himself said to his disciples:
> 'This is my flesh [given] for the life of the world.'
> And thus, amazingly, I might say, certainly [that flesh] is none other than that which was born of Mary and suffered on the cross, and has risen from the grave . . . And therefore, O man, whenever you drink this cup and chew this bread, you should believe yourself to drink no other blood than [that] which was poured out for you and for all for the remission of sins. And not any other flesh than [that] which was handed over

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[15] *CM* 16, 1-130.

[16] 'Of his predominantly Latin sources, Ambrose had pride of place. Radbertus clearly felt comfortable with Ambrose's imagery . . .' Otten, "Carolingian Theology," p. 75.

[17] 'Vera utique caro Christi quae crucifixa est et sepulta, uere illius carnis sacramentum quod per sacerdotem super altare in uerbo Christi per Spiritum Sanctum diuinitus consecratur.' *Corp.* 4.81 (CM 16, 4.81). Cf., Ambrose, *Myst.* 9.53 (CSEL 73, 112).

and hung on the cross for you and for all.[18]

Christ, argues Radbertus, is *Veritas*. Because Christ is the embodiment of Truth, so when he gives his word in scripture that 'This is my flesh' (Jn. 6:51, and cf., Mt. 26:28, Mk. 14:22, Lk. 22:19), that very reality must be acknowledged as being made present in the sacrament. Presence is guaranteed to all who partake (even the unworthy). But what does this mean for the symbols of bread and wine that still to the human senses appear to be only bread and wine? Radbertus grants that the bread and wine are figures of the body and blood of Christ, but the *veritas* is contained in the elements, and therefore truth and sacramental reality are fused as one thing.[19] As a result, he is able to sew both *figura* and *veritas* into a seamless garment, and in so doing explain the issue of the presence of Christ in the eucharist, and the relationship of the true body of Christ to the elements themselves.[20]

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[18] 'Vnde ipsa Veritas ad discipulos: Haec, inquid, caro mea est pro mundi uita. Et ut mirabilius loquar, non alia plane, quam quae nata est de Maria et passa in cruce et resurrexit de sepulchro . . . Quapropter o homo, quotienscumque bibis hunc calicem aut manducas hunc panem, non alium sanguinem te putes bibere quam qui pro te et pro omnibus effusus est in remissionem peccatorum. Neque aliam carnem quam quae pro te et pro omnibus tradita est et pependit in cruce.' *Ibid*. 1.49 & 15.88 (CM 16, 1.49 & 15.88). Also see, Jn. 6:51.

[19] For a full discussion of this see, *Corp*. 4.4ff., (CM 16, 4.4-78). Radbertus does not attempt to explain how a change in the elements occurs, however, but maintains that they are in fact changed.

[20] Kilmartin rightly states, Radbertus '. . . reflects the conceptual identification of two levels of reality. Reality is seen on only the level of the "thingly." This leads to the simplistic identification of the historical body of Christ with the eucharistic body of Christ.' Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, p. 84.

Ratramnus on the other hand, was concerned to demarcate figure (*figura*) from truth (*veritas*). The two are not to be combined on a substantive level. Bread is bread and wine is wine, both remaining as such after their consecration. However, by similitude the bread can rightly be called 'body,' and the wine 'blood,' and the faithful do participate in the spiritual body and blood of Christ in the eucharist. Ratramnus laid out his position in a work with the same title as that of Radbertus', having been commissioned by Emperor Charles himself, after he visited the monastery at Corbie.[21] Charles was concerned to have two major questions answered: 1) in the eucharist is the body and blood of Christ received in a mystery which is perceived only by faith, or truly? And, 2) do the eucharistic elements become substantially the body of Christ born to the Virgin?[22] Ratramnus summarizes his answer to the emperor's questions rather succinctly in one passage of his book:

> Because they are confessed to be the body and blood of Christ, and because this could not have come about except by a change into something better, and by a change not carried out in a bodily way but spiritually, it is now necessary that this be said to be done figuratively because under the veil of the corporeal bread and the corporeal wine the spiritual body and the spiritual blood exists.

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[21] PL 121, 10-346. Pelikan states that this book was printed in 1531, under the sponsorship of Oecolampadius. See, Pelikan, *Reformation of the Church and Dogma (1300-1700)*, p. 199. However, the earliest edition that I have found was published in Cologne in 1532. Cf., Philip Schaff, *Mediaeval Christianity (A.D. 590-1073)*, 3 ed., 8 vols., vol. 4 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1910), p. 554, no., I.2.

[22] MacDonald, *Berengar and the Reform of the Sacramental Doctrine*, p. 238.

> Not as though there are two things distinguished among themselves: body and spirit. Rather there is one and the same thing: according to one way, bread and wine; according to another way, body and blood of Christ. For according to what they are corporeally, they are corporeal creatures; but according to what they have been made spiritually, they are mysteries of the body and blood of Christ.[23]

It is clear, then, that for Ratramnus, unlike Radbertus, the change (if one can even be postulated) to the elements is figurative or spiritual, not substantial. Their corporeal natures do not change, but remain what they are. However, at the invocation of the priest they are made spiritually, and in a mystery, the body and blood of Christ for the communicant. The elements of bread and wine are not, therefore, empty or void, as Christ is truly received in a spiritual manner – and so presence is established for Ratramnus as well.[24] Nevertheless, the *veritas* and the *figura* remain separate substantial realities in the elements themselves.

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[23] 'At quia confitentur et corpus et sanguinem esse Christi nec hoc esse potuisse nisi facta in melius commutatione neque ista commutatio corporaliter sed spiritualiter facta sit, necesse est iam ut figurate facta esse dicatur quoniam sub velamento corporei panis corporeique vini spiritale corpus Christi spiritalisque sanguis existit non quod duarum sint existentiae rerum inter se diversarum, corporis videlicet et spiritus, verum una eademque res secundum aliud species panis et vini consistit, secundum aliud autem corpus est et sanguis Christi. Secundum namque quod utrumque corporaliter contingitur, species sunt creatureae corporeae; secundum potentiam vero quod spiritaliter factae sunt, mysteria sunt corporis et sanguinis Christi.' *De corpore* 16 (PL 121, 134B-135A); and, Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, p. 86 [translation his].

[24] C. Chazelle, "Figure, Character, and the Glorified Body in the Carolingian Eucharistic Controversy," *Traditio* 47 (1992), pp. 1-36, and especially, pp. 4-10.

Berengarius - Background

The eucharistic debates were re-ignited in the 11th century by the canon of the cathedral at Tours, Berengarius (ca. 999-1088). Around 1050 Berengarius wrote a letter to Lanfranc (d. ca. 1089), the prior of Bec abbey in Normandy (and later St. Stephen's at Caen, and eventually archbishop of Canterbury), hoping to gain support for his rejection of the teachings of Radbertus, while at the same formulating his own positive assessment of Ratramnus' work.[25] By this time Berengarius was well known to his students and the hierarchs of the church alike as being a free thinker who tended to rely on his own study of the scriptures and fathers for the formulation of his theological positions. Thus, when the letter from Berengarius finally made its way to Lanfranc who was staying in Rome, the latter feared association with the canon. Shortly thereafter the contents of the letter were made known and Berengarius, though absent, was condemned by a Roman synod presided over by Leo IX.[26] It took quite some time, but by the early 1060's Lanfranc addressed the issue of Berengarius' eucharistic theology with his work *De Eucharistiae Sacramento contra Berengarium*.[27] In it he set forth a theology that

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[25] The work was, during this period, attributed to John Scotus Erigena (d. ca. 877). Cf., G. R. Evans, "Berengar, Roscelin, and Peter Damian," in *The Medieval Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Medieval Period*, ed. G. R. Evans (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001), p. 87; and, Jean de Montclos, *Lanfranc et Bérenger: La controverse eucharistique du XIe Siècle* (Leuven: Justus Lipsiusstr, 1971).

[26] Cf., H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 60-61; and, Schaff, *Mediaeval Christianity (A.D. 590-1073)*, p. 556.

[27] PL 150, 407-442.

expanded on the work of Radbertus, proposing a eucharistic theology that was very nearly equivalent to that of transubstantiation, which would eventually be formally defined at Lateran IV (1215), less than two hundred years later.[28]

Berengarius spent the next few years being mocked and condemned for his views by councils and synods throughout the empire, and might possibly have been put to death had it not been for the intervention of Hildebrand (ca. 1020-1085).[29] In 1059, at a council held under the oversight of pope Nicholas II (1059-1061), Berengarius was forced to burn copies of his books and take an oath written by Cardinal Humbertus of Silva Candida (ca. 1000-1061), which maintained the substantial change of the elements in the Mass.[30] The statement is as follows:

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[28] 'There is one Universal Church of the faithful, outside of which there is absolutely no salvation. In which there is the same priest and sacrifice, Jesus Christ, whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine; the bread being changed *(transsubstantiatio)* by divine power into the body, and the wine into the blood, so that to realize the mystery of unity we may receive of Him what He has received of us. And this sacrament no one can effect except the priest who has been duly ordained in accordance with the keys of the Church, which Jesus Christ Himself gave to the Apostles and their successors.' Canon 1, from *The Medieval Sourcebook*, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/lateran4.html [retrieved June 3, 2006], taken from, H. J. Schroeder, OP, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils, Text, Translation, and Commentary* (St. Louis, Missouri: Herder, 1937) [translation his].

[29] For more on the councils see, Charles M. Radding and Francis Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078-1079* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 6ff.; and, H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Papacy and the Berengarian Controversy," in *Auctoritas und Ratio. Studien zu Berengar von Tours*, ed. Peter Ganz, R.B.C. Huygens, and Friedrich Niewöhner (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), pp. 109-136.

[30] According to Macy, 'Humbert was in no mood for compromise or even understanding. Five years before, he had laid a writ of excommunication on the high altar of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople . . . One of the areas in which Humbert judged the Greeks to be heretical was in their teaching on the Eucharist. Humbert felt that the Greeks, in some obscure way, denied a true presence of the Lord in the sacrament by their use of leavened bread in the Mass. Humbert, not known for his tact in any case, may well have felt that

I agree with the holy Roman Church and the Apostolic See, and by both mouth and heart I profess to hold the same faith concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which the lord and venerable pope Nicholas and this holy Synod by the authority of the gospels and apostles have handed down and established for me to hold: namely the bread and wine, which are placed on the altar, after consecration are not only the sacrament, but are also the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and sensually, not only as a sacrament, but in truth, to be handled and broken by the hands of the priest and to be ground by the teeth of the faithful, swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and according to these holy gospels of Christ.[31]

Berengarius, however, did not remain silent for long, as he penned a response to Lanfranc written in 1076 titled *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum*,

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both the Greeks and Berengar could be countered once and for all by a clear, bold and strongly worded insistence on the real, physical presence of the risen Lord in the Eucharist.' Gary Macy, *Treasures from the Storeroom: Medieval Religion and the Eucharist* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 22.

[31] 'Consentio autem sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae et Apostolicae Sedi, et ore et corde profiteor de sacramento dominicae mensae eam fidem me tenere, quam dominus et venerabilis papa Nicholaus et haec sancta Synodus autoritate evangelica et apostolica tenendam tradidit mihique firmavit: scilicet panem et vinum, quae in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Iesu Christi esse, et sensualiter, non solum sacramento, sed in veritate, manibus sacerdotum tractari et frangi et fidelium dentibus atteri, iurans per sanctam et homousion Trinitatem et per haec sacrosancta Christi evangelia.' PL 140, 410D. As McCue has correctly stated, 'The profession of faith required of Berengar at the Synod of Rome (1059) may be taken as a decisive triumph of "Ambrosian" over "Augustinian" tendencies.' James F. McCue, "The Doctrine of Transubstantiation from Berengar through Trent: The Point at Issue," *Harvard Theological Review* 61 (1968), p. 386.

again maintaining and expanding upon his earlier position.[32] Eventually, however, because of this work, Hildebrand (who was now pope Gregory VII), was forced to compel Berengarius to formally re-declare his oath to the 'tradition' of the church at yet another council held in Rome in 1079.[33] This oath, like its predecessor written by Humbertus, maintained a theology of elemental conversion, and also delineated the means for the change – God working through the words and ritual actions of the priest, specifically the words of institution.[34] Berengarius consented, at least formally to this statement, which reads:

> I, Berengarius, believe in the heart and confess by the mouth, that the bread and wine, which are placed on the altar, according to the mystery of holy prayer and the words of our Redeemer are substantially converted into the true and particular and vivifying flesh and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord, and after consecration to be the true body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin and which for the salvation of the world hung on the cross as an offering, and which is seated at the right hand of the Father, and the true blood of Christ, which streamed from his side, not only

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[32] Cowdrey, *Ibid.*, p. 65ff.

[33] See, Henry Chadwick, "Ego Berengarius," *Journal of Theological Studies* 40, no. 2 (1989), pp. 414-445.

[34] For an excellent summary see, Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, pp. 98-102.

> according to the sign and power of the sacrament, but in the property of nature and truth of substance.[35]

After uttering the above statement Berengarius returned to the region of Tours, having been granted safe passage by pope Gregory, to live the remaining days of his life in seclusion as a hermit.

The Eucharistic Theology of Berengarius

Building on the work of Ratramnus, Berengarius sought to delineate logical and grammatical categories based on his reading of the fathers appropriate to a discussion of *sacramentum* and *res sacramenti*, and their relationship to the nature of elemental change.[36] According to the record of Lanfranc contained in *De Eucharistiae Sacramento contra Berengarium*, Berengarius considered the abbot's and Radbertus' opinion 'that the bread and wine

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[35] 'Ego Berengarius corde credo et ore confiteor, panem et vinum, quae ponuntur in altari, per mysterium sacrae orationis et verba nostri Redemptoris substantialiter converti in veram et propriam ac vivificatricem carnem et sanguinem Iesu Christi Domini nostri et post consecrationem esse verum Christi corpus, quod natum est de Virgine et quod pro salute mundi oblatum in cruce pependit, et quod sedet ad dexteram Patris, et verum sanguinem Christi, qui de latere eius effusus est, non tantum per signum et virtutem sacramenti, sed in proprietate naturae et veritate substantiae.' DS 700.

[36] N. Häring, "Berengar's Definitions of Sacramentum and Their Influence on Medieval Theology," *Mediaeval Studies* 10 (1948), pp. 109-146, and especially, 109-111. As Radding and Newton have correctly said, 'Berengar's position on the Eucharist defies easy description, a consequence both of the complexity of his views and of the fact that his most important surviving work – the *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum* – was a comparatively late treatise that did not circulate in his own life-time.' Radding and Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078-1079*, p. 10.

does not remain on the altar after consecration,' to be foolishness.[37] Berengarius followed Augustine's dictum in *De civitate Dei* 10.5, that a sacrament is a sacred sign (*sacrum signum*), and its visibility as sign mean that it must by default signify something beyond itself that remains unseen.[38] At consecration (*conficitur*), then, argued Berengarius, the eucharist is thought of as having two distinct, but always interrelated, aspects – the sacrament (*sacramentum*) and the thing of the sacrament (*res sacramenti*). The *res sacramenti* is Christ himself, who is seated at the right hand of the Father in heaven, and who remains physically present there until his second coming, and so the *sacramentum*, in its most narrow definition, signifies the *res sacramenti*.[39] Given this fact, the bread can in no way be substantially changed into the body of Christ. Nevertheless, Christ is spiritually present, as the *sacramentum* must by necessity, be loosely tied to the *res sacramenti*. As Chadwick correctly states,

> . . . the sacrament cannot cease to be a sign, and therefore must retain its nature as distinct from the *res* of which it is a sign and means. The earthly elements can be broken, bitten with teeth,

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[37] MacDonald, *Berengar and the Reform of the Sacramental Doctrine*, p. 285; and, PL 150, 412D.

[38] 'Sacrificium ergo uisibile inuisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est sacrum signum est [Therefore a sacrifice is a visible sacrament of an invisible sacrifice, that is, it is a sacred sign].' CCSL 47.10.5. Here the Frankish proclivities discussed above reappear.

[39] This does not, however, exclude the fact that Christ is, for Berengarius, made present to the communicant. See, Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, p. 18.

burnt, consumed by animals, or even putrefy; but the glorious body of the Lord remains eternally incorruptible in heaven. Nevertheless, Berengar was keen to affirm that the union of *sacramentum* and *res* is parallel to the union of the human and divine in the incarnate Lord.[40]

In *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum*,[41] Berengarius' best-known work, he expands his arguments with the aid of dialectic, utilizing what might be thought of as an embryonic form of commonsense realism.[42] Arguing against both Radbertus and Lanfranc yet again, Berengarius specifically focuses in on the two men's willingness to reinterpret Augustine's understanding of what the bread and wine are after consecration (by reading him through the lenses of Ambrose). Specifically, he argues that they fail in their attempt because they postulate that 'symbol' be a corollary to the elements themselves – bread and wine – before consecration, not the body and blood of Christ. But, according to Berengarius, this cannot be – the bread and wine are really there on the altar, and because they are

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[40] Cf., Chadwick, *Ibid.*, p. 425; PL 150, 421A-426D, & 439B; Häring, "Berengar's Definitions of Sacramentum and Their Influence on Medieval Theology," p. 109; and, *Rescriptum* 1 (CM 84, 1.94), where Berengarius states, '. . . since it is evident that, if there is a *sacramentum*, there must of necessity be a *res sacramenti* . . . [. . . si sit sacramentum, nulla posse non esse ratione rem quoque sacramenti . . .]' [translation Häring].

[41] CM 84, 35-212. This book was formerly known as *De Sacra Coena*, and it is the work for which he was called to Rome to answer to Gregory VII. Most of Berengarius' earlier works have, for obvious reasons, been lost. There does, however, exist an important letter: *Epistola ad Ascelinum* (PL 150, 66).

[42] Berengarius' commitment to reason was total. However, he was willing to acknowledge that there were times when the mind could not fully comprehend, and so only in these instances does he appear willing to fall back on tradition. See, *Rescriptum* 2 (CM 84, 2.171), where he states, concerning Lanfranc's interpretation of Ambrose: '. . . oportet ergo te hoc fide tenere, si raciocinari non sufficis . . . '.

'thingly' they cannot also be symbolic of the elements. Actual and, more importantly, visible things do not need symbols to represent them. Based on this assumption, to argue that the bread and wine are no longer present according to their original substance after consecration, but become the actual body and blood of Christ, is a misnomer.[43]

Moreover, the body of Christ, joined as it was once and for all to his divinity, is immutable post resurrection, and it could not possibly be present on the altar according to a substantial elemental change unless it were cut up in heaven and brought down to earth,[44]

> . . . however, the bread and wine of the altar after consecration are the body and blood of Christ so far as the spiritual nature or the thing of the sacrament is concerned . . .[45]

By employing both scripture and Augustine, Berengarius postulated that the bread and wine are symbolic or figurative of the body and blood of

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[43] MacDonald, *Berengar and the Reform of the Sacramental Doctrine*, p. 305. Cf., Chadwick, *Ibid*, pp. 418-419, where he state, 'At the heart of Berengar's campaign . . . was a concern to recognize that the change brought about by consecrating the appointed elements of bread and wine need not and should not entail the corollary that the species wholly cease to be bread and wine, because that would be incompatible with the Augustinian concept of the sacrament as sign.'

[44] Cf., *Rescriptum* 2 (CM 84, 2.105ff.).

[45] '. . . quamvis panis et vinum altaris post consecrationem sint corpus Christi et sanguis quantum ad spiritualitatem vel rem sacramenti . . .' *Ibid.* (CM 84, 2.147).

Christ in much the same way that 'the rock was Christ' by signification.[46] Even though, according to Berengarius, Christ is spiritually present, the elements remain what they are, without transformation or diminution of their original substance,

> . . . which is the *veritas* of the bread and wine, except that the bread and wine become symbols through which Christ works gracefully in the spirit of the faithful. The sphere of the symbol does not touch the reality . . .[47]

Obviously this is a feature of Berengarius' theology that Humbertus, and years later, the advisors of pope Gregory, clearly recognized. It is a point of concern in the first oath required of Berengarius, which is made obvious by the gross realism that Humbertus espouses. In the early oath, Humbertus is unambiguous in his postulation that post-consecration the elements are 'not only the sacrament,' but are 'sensually' and 'in truth' (*in veritate*) the 'true body and blood.' In the oath from 1079, the Ambrosian formulary is used to describe the post-consecration elements as *the* body and blood of Christ, 'not only according to the sign and power of the sacrament,' – the

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[46] *Ibid.* (CM 84, 2. 105ff.). Cf., 1 Cor. 10:4; and, Augustine, *Ep.* 169 (CSEL 44, 618). N.B., the elements are symbolic, of figurative, but not 'merely' so. This will become an aspect of Oecolampadius' theology as well.

[47] Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, p. 98. However, Berengarius was not ashamed to state that, '. . . dico panem et vinum per consecrationem converti in altari in verum Christi corpus et sanguinem . . .' *Rescriptum* 1 (CM 84, 1.57). Nevertheless, the soul is what is being fed by the elements. Cf., *Rescriptum* 1 (CM 84, 1.98); and Chadwick, *Ibid.*, p. 421.

Augustinian formula – but also, because they have been 'substantially converted,' according to 'the property of nature and truth of substance' (*veritate substantiae*).

In the years following Berengarius, there were many theologians like – Hugh of St. Victor (1096-1141), Robert Pullus (ca. 1080-1150), Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), and others – who seem to have understood the problematic nature of Capernaitic language. Each using their own methodology sought, within the bounds of orthodoxy, to explain the quality of elemental change in ways that would retain the sense of the church's teaching, but would be more palatable to the piety of thinking individuals.[48] Ultimately, the exposition, synthesis and redefinition of these issues would fall to that most famous of 12th century schoolmen – biblical and patristic scholar, and 'systematic theologian,' Peter Lombard.

Peter Lombard

Historical Background

Peter Lombard (ca. 1100-1161) was born in Novara, Lombardy, northern Italy, and began his studies at Rheims, France in the early 1130's, then moved to Paris to attend the school of Hugh of St. Victor in 1136. Within a few short years Lombard began teaching at the Notre Dame cathedral

[48] See, Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)*, pp. 195-198.

school, eventually being made canon in 1145 (and then subdeacon, deacon and archdeacon). He continued teaching in Paris until around 1159, when at that time he was elevated to the position of bishop of the city, an office which he held until his death.[49]

Lombard was an immensely skilled biblical exegete and 'historical theologian.' After some time as an instructor he began compiling the opinions of patristic authors into one cohesive text for his students under numerous subject headings, in order to address all of the major dogmatic issues that would be required of them as future clergymen. Finally, after at least two revisions were made to the work in the late 1150's, the *Magister* completed the text that would become one of the most important doctrinal oeuvres available until the mid-16th century – *Sententiae in IV Libris distinctae*.[50] Books I-III cover: God, creation, the fall, grace and free will, sin, the incarnation, the virtues, and the Commandments, respectively. Book IV, which is the most important for our present discussion, analyzes the seven sacraments, distinctions between the sacraments of the New

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[49] See, Jacques-Guy Bougerol, "The Church Fathers and the Sentences of Peter Lombard," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Backus (Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1997), especially, p. 113; and, Sinclair Ferguson, D. F. Wright, and J. I. Packer, eds., *New Dictionary of Theology* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1988), s.v., 'Lombard, Peter,' pp. 396-397. The most complete recent study is, Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols., (Leiden, New York, Cologne: Brill, 1994).

[50] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in Iv Libris Distinctae*, 3 ed., 2 vols., Spicilegium Bonaventurianum (Rome: Grottaferrata: Collegii S. Bonaventurae Ad Claras Aquas, 1981). All citations, hereafter, will refer to this edition unless otherwise noted. Obviously, Aquinas', *Summa Theologica* is an exceedingly important work in the late mediaeval and early modern periods. However, because Oecolampadius rarely comments on this work, I have chosen not to discuss him here. Lombard was clearly the man with whom he was most familiar, and whose ideas Oecolampadius was most concerned to challenge. At the same time, scholastic theology would have been filtered to Oecolampadius, at least by proxy, from Aquinas, and would be a worthy future study.

and Old Testament, marriage, and final judgment.[51] Specifically, it will be important for us to briefly summarize Lombard's sacramental doctrine – especially in regards to the eucharist – as this was a major point of contention for Oecolampadius which he spent the period from at least 1525-1531 arguing against.

The Eucharistic Theology of Lombard

As we have seen, the attempt by 9th-11th century theologians to strike a meaningful balance between the sort of presence made available in the eucharist on the one hand, and the nature of the conversion of the elements on the other, was a difficult task. Almost all theologians accepted some type of eucharistic presence, but to explain the relationship of the two aspects, especially post-consecration, necessitated the slow, yet constant, evolution of a technical vocabulary. Specifically, *sacramentum*, *res sacramenti*, *veritas*, *virtus*, and other terms were discussed and debated. In years just prior to the work of Lombard, Hugh of St. Victor defined a schema for understanding a three-fold composition of the sacrament that would be built on, and modified by Lombard himself. It included: *sacramentum tantum* (the sacrament only, or the elements), *res et*

[51] For a more complete summary see, Philipp W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 31-33.

sacramentum (the true body and blood of Christ), and *res tantum* (the thing only, or the church).[52]

Methodologically, Lombard attempted to follow the Augustinian model of the distinction between signs (*signa*) and things (*res*), so much so, that he structured the whole of his *Sententiae* around this topic.[53] In Book IV.1.2, he begins his discussion of the sacraments by quoting Augustine's definition from *De civitate Dei* 10.5. However, he also further clarifies this definition, incorporating some of the language that had developed in the years preceding him, which we have previously discussed. He states:

> 'A sacrament is the sign of a sacred thing.' However, a sacrament is also called a 'sacred secret,' in the same way that it is called a sacrament of deity: so that a sacrament is a sacred thing signifying and the sacred thing

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[52] Cf., 'Itaque tria in hoc sacramento consideranda sunt: species visibiles, quae sacramentum sunt et non res, et verum corpus Christi quod sub specie est panis et vini, tertium ipsa efficacia sacramenti, quae spiritualis caro Christi et virtus sacramenti appellantur . . .' Hugh of St. Victor, *Summa Sententiarum*, 4.3 (PL 176, 140D); Hugh of St. Victor, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De Sacramentis)*, trans. Roy Joseph Deferrari (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1951), pp. 308-309: 'For although the sacrament is one, three distinct things are set forth there, namely, visible appearance, truth of body, and virtue of spiritual grace.'; and, Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, p. 121, where he states: Lombard '. . . seems to be the first scholastic source to situate the grace signified by the eucharistic sacrament *outside* the sacrament itself. He uses the triad: *sacramentum, res contenta et significata, res significata et non contenta* to which correspond: *species, caro et sanguis, unitas ecclesiae*.'

[53] 'Veteris ac nouae legis continentiam diligenti indagine etiam atque etiam considerantibus nobis, praeuia dei gratia innotuit sacrae paginae tractatum circa res uel signa praecipue uersari. [As we were again and again considering the content of the old and new law by careful examination, the prevenient grace of God has made it known [that] a discussion of the sacred page especially turns upon things and signs].' *Sent.*, I.1.1.2.

> signified . . . a sacrament is the visible form of invisible grace.[54]

Furthermore,

> Indeed it is properly called a sacrament, which is thus a sign of the grace of God and a form of invisible grace, that it bears its image and exists as [its] cause. Therefore, the sacraments were instituted not only for signifying grace, but also for sanctifying.[55]

For Lombard, unlike some of his contemporaries, sacraments are narrowly defined.[56] Sacraments signify the greater reality of the divine, over against, the 'profane.' Because they function as divine signifiers they carry within themselves, and are a form of, the invisible grace of God, which is a means of sanctification for the participant. As an aid to the process of sacramental sanctification, then, they function in a threefold manner – to increase

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[54] '"Sacramentum est sacrae rei signum.' Dicitur tamen sacramentum etiam 'sacrum secretum,' sicut dicitur sacramentum deitatis: ut sacramentum sit sacrum signans et sacrum signatum . . . sacramentum est invisibilis gratiae visibilis forma.' *Sent.*, IV.1.2; Augustine, *Civ.*, 10.5 (CCSL 47, 10.5).

[55] 'Sacramentum enim proprie dicitur, quod ita signum est gratiae dei et inuisibilis gratiae forma, ut ipsius imaginem gerat et causa exsistat. Non igitur significandi tantum gratia sacramenta instituta sunt, sed et sanctificandi.' *Sent.*, IV.1.4.2.

[56] Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, p. 146.

humility, to instruct, and as an encouragement to good works.[57] In total, there are exactly seven sacraments that so aid the Christian.[58]

In the eucharist Lombard finds the epitome of all the other sacraments. Why? Because,

> . . . by means of the eucharist we are brought to perfection in the good . . . Whence it is excellently called 'eucharist,' that is, good grace, because by this sacrament, not only is [there an] increase of power [i.e., virtue] and grace, but he is wholly received, who is the fountain and source of the entirety of grace.[59]

A number of important points need to be made about Lombard's definition. First, the eucharist enables the communicant, because it bears the grace of God, to be brought ever closer to godlike perfection. Second, the *Magister* subtly accentuates a particular aspect of the semantic range of the term 'eucharist' (i.e., 'thanksgiving') to suit his theological methodology – it is 'good grace,' and by 'good' he seems to mean 'abundant.' Third, this 'good

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[57] 'Triplici autem ex causa sacramenta instituta sunt: Propter humiliationem, eruditionem, exercitationem.' *Sent.*, IV.1.5.1.

[58] 'Iam ad sacramenta nouae legis accedamus: Quae sunt baptismus, confirmatio, panis benedictionis, id est eucharistia, poenitentia, unctio extrema, ordo, coniugium.' *Sent.*, IV.2.1.1.

[59] '. . . per eucharistiam in bono consummamur . . . Unde excellenter dicitur eucharistia, id est bona gratia, quia in hoc sacramento non modo est augmentum uirtutis et gratiae, sed ille totus sumitur, qui est fons et origo totius gratiae.' *Sent.*, IV.8.1.

grace' disseminates both *gratia* and *virtus*, which are required of a Christian for spiritual perfection. Like those before him, Lombard here fuses the Ambrosian and Augustinian traditions. Lastly, this is made possible because Christ himself, who is the very embodiment of *gratia* and *virtus*, is completely or wholly received in the sacrament. But, what can we discern from Lombard's use of the phrase 'sed ille totus sumitur,' in relationship to both the risen and eucharistic Christ?

After discussing the analogy of the incarnation in comparison to that of the eucharist, Lombard reasserts the (non-)Augustinian definition of a sacrament as 'the visible form of an invisible grace,' [60] and postulates a distinction between *res sacramenti*. Following, but at this point, narrowing Hugh of St. Victor's threefold distinction, he states that first, it is the flesh and blood of Christ which is the thing contained and signified. Second, following Augustine's, *In Evangelium Johannis tractatus* 26.15, is the thing signified and not contained, which is the 'unity of the church,' or the mystical body of Christ.[61] What is of special importance here, as Henry de Lubac has correctly noted, is Lombard's historical reversal of (as compared to the patristic and very early mediaeval period), the conception of the 'true body' of Christ being found in the eucharist (rather than 'true body' describing the church), while the 'mystical body' is a composite of the

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[60] *Sent.* IV.8.6. Cf., Oecolampadius' debate with Pirckheimer concerning the validity of a number of Lombard's faulty references to Augustine in Chapter 3, pp. 200-206.

[61] 'Huius autem sacramenti gemina est res: Una scilicet contenta et significata, altera significata et non contenta. Res contenta et significata est caro christi quam de uirgine traxit, et sanguis quem pro nobis fudit. Augustinus, super ioannem: Res autem significata et non contenta est unitas ecclesiae in praedestinatis, uocatis, iustificatis et glorificatis.' *Sent.* IV.8.7.1. Cf., Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 26.15 (CCSL 36, 267); and, *Sent.* IV.8.7.2.

members of the body of Christ – the church (rather than 'mystical body' describing the sacrament).[62] This reversal, in an attempt by Lombard to synthesize the thought of the theologians who preceded him, will have lasting consequences for christology, eucharistic theology, and ecclesiology – and as we shall see, will be (at least partially) reversed by Oecolampadius.

Finally, it is necessary to note Lombard's disdain for the eucharistic elements being understood as nothing more than a sign or figure of the body and blood of Christ. In Book IV.10.1.1, he states:

> Similarly, there are others who transcending the insanity of the ones preceding, who measuring the power of God according to the mode of natural things, contradict the truth more audaciously and perniciously, asserting [that] the
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> body and blood of Christ is not on the altar, nor is the substance of bread and wine converted into the substance of flesh and blood; but that Christ said: 'This is my body' just as the Apostle said: 'The rock was Christ.' Indeed they say that the body of Christ is there only in sacrament, that is in sign; and chewed by us only in sign.[63]

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[62] Cf., Henri de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum. L'eucharistie et l'église au Moyen Âge. Étude Historique.*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1949), p. 117; and, Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, pp. 154-155.

[63] 'Sunt item alii praecedentium insaniam transcendentes, qui dei uirtutem iuxta modum naturalium rerum metientes, audacius ac periculosius ueritati contradicunt, asserentes in altari non esse corpus christi uel sanguinem, nec substantiam panis uel uini in substantiam carnis et sanguinis conuerti; sed ita christum dixisse: Hoc est corpus meum,

The obvious focus of Lombard's opposition is to the teaching of Ratramnus and Berengarius. It may be fair to say he misunderstood both men though, because he appears to comprehend both their positions as being merely symbolic, and nothing more. Nevertheless, to postulate no change in the elements is for Lombard a grave mistake – made by audacious and pernicious individuals. The reason for this is relatively simple, at least on and ecclesiological and sociological level – the sacraments, and the eucharist in particular, are the means for the dissemination of the grace of Christ. Christ as head of the church has given himself for the church, and he is himself made especially present to the member of the church (the *corpus mysticum*) by his true body (*corpus verum*) in the conversion of the elements on the altar. Furthermore, the priest who speaks the words of institution over the bread and wine makes Christ's true body present. Lombard rightly understood (if not explicitly stating it), that if the bread and wine are only signs, then by default his two-fold distinction between *corpora* could easily be overturned, consequently overturning the hierarchical role of the church, which in late mediaeval period might also have meant the upsetting and overhauling of mediaeval European society's socio-political and economic structures and strictures. Ultimately, these ideas would in fact be challenged in the early modern period, and for just such reasons.

Oecolampadius was one of the first men in Basel to openly confront, and

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sicut apostolus dixit: Petra erat christus. Dicunt enim ibi esse corpus christi tantum in sacramento, id est in signo; et tantum in signo manducari a nobis.' *Sent.*, IV.10.1.1. Also see, Matt. 26:26, Mk. 14:22, Lk. 22:19, and, 1 Cor. 10:4.

attempt to overthrow this eucharistic paradigm and reform the liturgy itself, which, as others have duly noted, had more than just theological consequences.[64]

The Eucharistic Theology of Oecolampadius

Conceptions Prior to the Sacramentarian Controversies (1521-1524)

Prior to Oecolampadius' formal entry into the debate with Rome and the Lutherans in late 1524, there is little available information about his sacramental theology in general, or his eucharistic theology more particularly. Essentially no evidence exists in his correspondence that would render substantial clues so as to aid in a reconstruction of his perception of this particular sacrament. The one extant source which is able to shed some light on the issue, however, is a sermon that he preached on May 30, 1521, while still in the monastery at Altomünster titled, *A Sermon Concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist'*.[65]

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[64] Cf., Olaf Kuhr, *"Die Macht des Bannes und der Busse": Kirchenzucht und Erneuerung der Kirche bei Johannes Oekolampad (1482-1531)* (Bern & New York: Peter Lang, 1999), pp. 147-158; Ernst Staehelin, *Das Reformationswerk des Johannes Oekolampads* (Bern: Gotthelf, 1932); and, Akira Demura, "Church Discipline According to Johannes Oecolampadius in the Setting of His Life and Thought" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1964). Oecolampadius was, however, concerned that things were taking longer to change in Basel than he would have hoped. In a July, 1527, letter to Erasmus Ritter (ca. 1481-1546), one of the main reformers of Schaffhausen, commenting on liturgical revision, Oecolampadius stated: 'Pauca enim mutamus adhuc in his [Indeed, thus far we have changed few things in regards to these things].' *B&A* 2, p. 79, No. 499.

[65] Johannes Oecolampadius, *Sermo de Sacramento Eucharistiae* (Augsburg: Grimm und Wirsung, 1521). Also see, Ernst Staehelin, *Das Theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads* (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1939; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1971), pp. 142-146. Demura, "Discipline", p. 233, erroneously states that this was preached in 1525. Wandel believes this sermon was preached while Oecolampadius

This sermon displays the synthetic education, in microcosmic fashion, of a man who had been formally educated in the *via antiqua*, but who also studied under 'progressives' such as Wimpfeling, worked alongside of humanists like Erasmus, read Luther, and who, because of the requirements for his master and doctoral degrees, knew the *Sententiae* of Lombard and other schoolmen only too well. It is a rather lengthy and complex sermon that blends, within broadly defined parameters, all of the various pedagogical influences that came to bear on his thinking.

The sermon itself opens in a formal fashion, following the homiletical dictates of the day – calling its listeners to regard the importance of the service, by being attentive with both ears and souls.[66] This, however, was not yet a sermon based on *lectio continua* (a form of preaching that Oecolampadius would eventually require of himself and all those who took to the pulpit in Basel), but rather didactic in character, as the title would suggest.[67] Immediately following the introduction, Oecolampadius relates the three major points that he wants to cover in the homily:

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was the *Dompredíger* of Augsburg, but only because she misdates Oecolampadius' entrance into the monastery at Altomünster as taking place in April 1521, rather than April 1520. See, Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 59-60.

[66] '. . . vos attentis auribus et animis favete.' *Ibid*.

[67] For an overview of Oecolampadius' homiletical style and methodology see, Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church: The Age of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002), pp. 53-65.

> First, the proper use of the sacramental symbols of bread and wine. Second, worship owing to the presence of Christ. And last, mystical incorporation, too, in the mystical body by means of the bread, and the true body of Christ . . . [68]

Oecolampadius begins with the first point by maintaining that people must be careful when they talk about spiritual matters, especially if that talk turns to idle speculation, as 'our curiosity is always unpleasant to God, and is perilous everywhere [it is found], thus here [it is] extremely perilous.'[69] So from the outset, Oecolampadius encourages his audience to be wary of idle discussions about something so profound as the eucharist, though it is also telling that he himself feels little trepidation about the nature of the subject. The mystery of the eucharist instituted by Christ is a profound one, but it can be talked about, just not persistently questioned or rationalized. From this point he continues by stating:

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[68] 'Primum sacramentalium symbolorum panis, et vini usus legitimus. Dein debitus praesenti Christo cultus. Postremus mystica incorporatio et corporis mystici per panem verumque Christi corpus . . .' *Sermo de Sac.*, A ii [v].

[69] 'Curiositas nostra semper deo ingrata, et ubique periculosa, ita hic periculosissima.' *Ibid.*, A iii [r].

> Wherefore, simply and without hesitation we believe the true body to be present and to be contained under this bread, [and] also the blood under the wine . . . How he who is seated at the right hand of the father above the heavens, also is truly present on altars, is for us impossible to understand, and neither should we be confused or anxious for no reason. The omnipotent possesses the seat of his majesty in the heavens, and he is not lacking to our mysteries or our faith.[70]

Clearly in 1521 Oecolampadius retained a 'traditional' view of the eucharist in so far as he was willing to acknowledge that by faith, the true body (*corpus verum*) of Christ is both present and contained under the elements.[71] Obviously this is language reminiscent of the scholastic period in general, and suggests that on a certain level Oecolampadius remains in the Radbertian or Lombardian stream by describing the eucharist as the 'true body.' However, he also appears less than apprehensive about describing the sacramental mystery – as knowledge of something is different than idle speculation about it – and in fact tells his audience not to be overly concerned about it either. Why? Because God is omnipotent and

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[70] 'Quocirca simpliciter et absque haesitatione credamus adesse et contineri sub hoc pane verum corpus, sub vino autem sanguinem . . . Quomodo is qui ad dexteram patris residet super coelos, sit et in altariis vere praesens, quia nobis impossibile cognitu, ne turbemur, ne simus frustra anxii. Tenet omnipotens sedem maiestatis suae in coelis, et hic mysteriis et fidei nostrae non deest.' *Ibid.*

[71] Notice, however, that this is not yet the technical '*de fide*' faith. It should also be noted that Oecolampadius' 'sub hoc pane' and 'sub vino' sounds a bit like Luther's statements in *De abroganda missa privata Martini Lutheri sententia*, even though it was not published until one year later. Cf., *LW* 36,174 and *WA* 8, 411-476.

reigning in heaven, and that is what is important to admit before anything else. Moreover,

> For which reason you know Basil calls this mystery ἀντίτυπον [sic] , that is, an image. As for all the rest, whether the substance of bread and wine cease to be (according to the subsistence of accidents or according to quantity), whether it is transformed and converted into the body of Christ, or whether it then contains Christ, that what hitherto it seemed to be is, and at the same time ought to be called, bread, is nothing to us – concerning that the schools at leisure argue.[72]

Oecolampadius' citation of Basil is important in that, by using ἀντίτυπον, he is able to invoke the legacy of eastern patristic tradition, and maintain his stance within the stream of the church universal. As well, it allows him to suggest to the monks and nuns that the bread and wine are, at the very least, images of the body and blood of Christ. At this point, it is uncertain whether Oecolampadius conceives of Basil's term in a 'wholly' platonic manner – namely, the participatory relationship between image and prototype – but it appears as if he is in the process of moving towards what will become for him a modified Augustinian, and hence dynamically-symbolic, view of the eucharist. What is certain is that the methods of the

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[72] 'Qua ratione Basilius mysterium hoc ἀντίτυπον [sic] hoc est exemplar scite vocat. Caeterum panis vinique substantia an esse desinat (per se subsistentibus accidentibus vel per quantitatem) an in corpus Christi transeat et convertatur, an Christum ita contineat, ut simul adhuc quod videtur esse, sit, dicique debeat panis, nihil ad nos, de eo litigent ociosae scholae.' *Ibid.*

schoolmen are of no interest to him, and because their debates appear to be rather pointless, he can poignantly state:

> Thenceforth it is foolishness running from altar to altar making a commotion. After consecration that bread is either wheat, or it is not – certainly it is not wheat to us, but it is heavenly. Whether it is leavened or unleavened – for us it is ἄζυμον. Christ is the Pascha.[73]

Rhetorically, Oecolampadius continues the sermon by highlighting Basil's relationship between type and antitype by maintaining that Christ himself is *the* Pascha – the living Passover, who was prefigured in type in the meal of unleavened bread and bitter herbs shared by the Israelites before fleeing Egypt. Moreover, the eucharistic bread, though formed of wheat, is not wheat. Echoing the language of both Irenaeus and the New Testament, he articulates that it is heavenly bread, leaving the assumption, based on what was said previously, that it is much more than just a bare symbol.[74] Continuing, he says,

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[73] 'Insipientum fuerit hinc inde, ab ara ad aram discursare et tumultuari. Panis ille post consecrationem sive sit sive non sit triticeus nobis certe non est triticeus, sed coelestis, sive fermentatus sit, sive infermentatus nobis certe ἄζυμον. Pascha est Christus.' *Ibid.*, A iii ^{v}-A iv ^{r}.

[74] Cf., *AH* 4.18.5 (SC 100B, 612-613); and, Jn. 6:41.

> Whatever it is, as long as it fulfills the role of figure and sign, it conceals the true body of the present Christ by a kind of veil. I do not say 'figure' or 'type' only, as with Abel's handful of first-fruits,[75] or the offering of Melchizedek,[76] or the paschal lamb,[77] or the manna,[78] or the shew-bread,[79] or the bread of Elijah baked over hot coals.[80] God forbid such blasphemy . . . For this bread is not only a sign to us, but it is the very body of the Lord . . . And thus we simply confess the flesh and blood of Christ to be present and contained, by what means, however, we do not search out, since it is neither necessary or useful.[81]

While residing at Altomünster, Oecolampadius unmistakably understands Christ to be truly present in the eucharist. Moreover, this is not simply a figurative or typological presence, but rather the true body and blood of Christ is somehow made manifest. However, using the language of

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[75] Gen. 4:4. Oecolampadius appears to have confused Cain and Abel's offerings, but we can surely just reckon it a homiletical slip of the tongue.

[76] Gen. 14:18.

[77] Ex. 12:21.

[78] Ex. 16:31-35.

[79] Ex. 25:30.

[80] 1 Kgs. 19:6.

[81] 'Qualiscunque est, nobis duntaxat figurae et signi vices gerens, verum Christi presentis corpus velamine quodam obtegit. Non dico figuram, et typum tantum, ut manipulum primitiarum Abel, ut oblationem Melkizedek, ut agnum paschalem, manna, panes propositionis, subcinericium Heliae, et caeteras veteris testamenti figuras. Absit id blasphemiae . . . Panis enim hic nobis non tantum signat, sed est corpus ipsum domini . . . Carnem itaque et sanguinem Christi adesse et contineri simpliciter fatemur, quo pacto autem non exploramus, siquidem nec necessarium, nec utile.' *Sermo de Sac.*, A iv ᵛ.

Ratramnus, the exact mode of presence is unknown, as the symbols of bread and wine veil Christ.[82] In a very real way then, this particular *sacramentum* is, for Oecolampadius, true to the original derivation of its name – it is not so much 'mystical,' as it is μυστήριον.

In the second part of the sermon dealing with how the cult ought to perform in the presence of Christ, Oecolampadius begins by highlighting aspects of salvation history in such a way as to emphasize the ubiquitous presence of the divine nature of Christ, and subtly begins drawing attention away from the consecrated elements as the focus of veneration and/or worship.

> The body of Christ is present. Consequently Christ himself – God and man – is present. Him we adore, to him we genuflect, him we desire. Him we praise on earth, the one whom the heavenly hosts praise in heaven, and the one they contemplate in glory, we look upon by faith . . . We are being incorporated into Christ by eating, and we pass over into the spirit of the Lord . . . thus we are Christiform by grace . . . Augustine says, 'Believe and you have eaten.' Faith makes God present to us. Faith feeds us God himself . . . and whenever or wherever we believe, we truly always eat Jesus the Son of God and Mary, the savior of the world.[83]

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[82] See, p. 87, *supra*.

[83] 'Corpus Christi adest. Adest consequenter et Christus ipse deus et homo, hunc adoramus, huic genua flectimus, hunc desyderamus. Hunc nos laudamus in terris, quem coelestes exercitus laudant in coelis, et quem illi in claritate contemplantur, eum nos fide

A number of important points should be noted concerning these statements, as there are themes present here that will be expanded upon and redefined by Oecolampadius later in his career. First, again it is important to note that Oecolampadius perceives Christ to be present in the consecrated elements of the eucharist, and this manifestation of Christ appears to be in his totality – both God and man. However, he slowly moves the focus of his audience away from the bread and wine themselves. Christ is present in the eucharist, Oecolampadius seems to be saying, in the same way that he is everywhere present to faith. In other words, the true body and blood of Christ – not a spiritual body alone, nor one that is grossly flesh and blood, but the risen and ascended body and blood of Christ – is everywhere made available by faith. And by faith, no matter when or where a person activates this faith, he or she partakes of Christ.[84] The ultimate focus, even in 1521, is on the worship of Christ, not the eucharist.

intuemur . . . Utrique Christo incorporamur manducando, utrique in spiritum domini transimus . . . nos hic Christiformes gratia . . . Crede ait Augustinus, et manducasti. Fides presentem nobis facit deum. Fides deo ipso nos pascit . . . sed quocunque tempore, quocunque loco credimus, Ihesum dei Mariaeque filium salvatorem orbis, vere semper manducamus.' *Sermo de Sac.*, B i ^{v}-B ii ^{r}; and, Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 25.12 (CCSL 36, 254); Lk. 2:3.

[84] This is all the more pronounced given the fact that Augustine's 'manducasti' is clearly dependent on 'crede.' Also, earlier in the homily Oecolampadius made the case that the eucharistic rite had evolved throughout the history of the church, then implied that the ritual performance need not be held within the four walls of a church alone. That discussion obviously laid the rhetorical and theological groundwork for his comments here. See, *Sermo de Sac.*, A iv ^{v}.

Further along in the homily Oecolampadius recounts Paul's words from 1 Corinthians 11:26, and also the words of institution spoken by Christ at the Passover meal, wherein he emphasizes the memorial nature of the rite. The bread symbolizes the host – and as he stated earlier, Christ himself is the host of hosts, and the sacrifice of sacrifices – which brings to mind the sacrificial act of Christ on the cross. By recalling these events, having been aided by the elements, the eucharist reveals itself to be *the* memorial of Christ, both objectively and subjectively. Oecolampadius states:

> As well, this recollection is our giving of thanks . . . Whence also the name for the mystery has been given – εὐχαριστία – which is properly interpreted 'giving thanks.'[85]

The giving of thanks is accomplished by the people of God, who Oecolampadius defines in the third part of his homily, as the mystical body of Christ.[86] As there is only one head, one baptism, one faith, one sacrifice, and one supper, and consequently one mystical body of Christ, it means

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[85] 'Atque hec recordatio, nostra est gratiarumactio [sic] . . . Unde et mysterio nomen inditum εὐχαριστία quid interpretatur proprie gratiarumactio [sic].' *Ibid.*, C ii ʳ.

[86] Though it is outside the scope of this project, it worth noting that *gratiarum actio* becomes an important component of the eucharistic theology of Zwingli in and around 1523. It may well be that he derived his idea from Oecolampadius. See, W. P. Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 185 & 231. In June, 1522, while staying with Sickingen, Oecolampadius had published a short work in which he focused at one point on '*gratiarum actiones*,' but this time the emphasis was, at least immediately, unrelated to the sacrament. Rather, the 'giving of thanks' was meant to be 'pro beneficiis suis in vos, praesertim, quod pro vobis in cruce tam amaram mortem obierit.' See, Johannes Oecolampadius, *Quod expediat epistolae et evangelii lectionem in missa vernaculo sermone plebi promulgari, Oecolampadii ad Hedionem epistola* (Ebernburg: n. pub., 1522), B 8 ᵛ.

that charity should, or rather must, abound among the faithful. This is the sacrifice to be made to one another as members of the Christ's body, and of which the true body reminds us.[87] Revisiting again scholastic dogma, Oecolampadius sharply criticizes it for promoting, because of the very nature of its internal logic, the replication of the sacrifice on the altar, anniversary masses, and other such memorial masses, without concern for charity – calling it sacrilege, trickery, and fiction.[88] Charity, however, as a good work, is not meritorious before God. Rather, it is a requirement, of which Christ is the foremost model. He closes the sermon stating:

> Hereafter we are fed on the gospel of truth, having no confidence in our works, and placing our hope and ultimate happiness in Christ alone.[89]

Though he has attempted to maintain traditional language, especially about eucharistic presence, and has sought to demarcate a line somewhere between that of the two major scholastic schools, Oecolampadius nevertheless is clearly betraying his move towards a dynamic significationist position. As well, the impact of Luther is abundantly present, especially in regards to *solus Christus*. Ultimately, and somewhat ironically,

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[87] *Sermo de Sac.*, C iv ʳ-D i ᵛ.

[88] Also see his polemic against the 'idolatry' of the 'Feast of Corpus Christi' in, *DGVD*, B iiii ᵛ.

[89] 'Porro nos evangelica veritate pasti nihil in operibus nostris confidentes, et in solo Christo spem et beatitudinem nostram statuentes.' *Sermo de Sac.*, D iii ʳ.

this homily is as much concerned with christology – specifically, christocentrism – as with the eucharist. Given that fact, it affords us an early insight into what will become one of the main hermeneutical principles of Oecolampadius' thinking.

Views During the Sacramentarian Controversies (1524-1531)

Historical Background

The sacramentarian controversy began in earnest in 1524 when the former colleague and friend of Luther, Andreas Karlstadt, published a small work on the supper in the form of a dialogue which, in one section of the book, analyzed the Greek text of Christ's words at the last supper: 'τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου' (Matt. 26:26, Mk. 14:22, Lk. 22:19).[90] Karlstadt argued that the neuter τοῦτό could not grammatically refer to the masculine ἄρτον of the previous verse, but rather referred to the neuter τὸ σῶμα. In essence, then, Karlstadt postulated that Christ at the supper pointed not to the bread when he said 'this is my body,' but rather to his own physical body. Basically, the purpose of such an argument was twofold: to diminish the import of (if not completely do away with) the sacrament, and as well, legitimize a 'spiritual interpretation,' against the dogmatic claims of Rome.

[90] Andreas Karlstadt, *Dialogus oder ein gesprechbüchlin Von dem grewlichen vnnd abgöttischen miszbrauch, des hochwirdigsten sacraments Jesu Christi* (Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1524).

Immediately Luther countered Karlstadt by writing, *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, in essence denouncing him as heretic and labeling him a 'sacramentarian.'[91]

In the same year Zwingli wrote a letter to the Lutheran pastor Matthaeus Alber of Reutlingen, wherein he suggested a representative interpretation of the verb 'is' in the words of Christ at the last supper – namely, that *est* should be understood as *significat*. Most scholars agree that Zwingli was able to fully develop this theology after reading a letter by Dutch jurist Cornelius Hoen, who argued the same point, and who himself may have built on the work of humanist Wessel Gansfort (ca. 1420-89).[92] Eventually, Zwingli published Hoen's letter in his *De vera et falsa religione*,[93] on March 23, 1525. Although Luther knew of the letter, he wrote nothing about it until the publication of Zwingli's work, wherein he responded in 1526 with *The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ – Against the Fanatics*.[94]

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[91] *LW* 40, 79ff.

[92] For more on Hoen see, Bart Jan Spruyt, "Cornelius Henrici Hoen (Honius) and His Epistle on the Eucharist (1525): Medieval Heresy, Erasmian Humanism, and Reform in the Early Sixteenth-Century Low Countries" (Ph.D. diss., Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1996). The Latin text of Hoen's *Epistola christiana* is found on, pp. 270-280. A German translation from 1525 follows on, pp. 282-297. Also see, Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli*, p. 37; and, Heiko Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation*, trans. Paul L. Nyhus (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 268-276.

[93] Ulrich Zwingli, *De vera et falsa religione* (Zürich: Froschover, 1525); and, *Z* IV, 64.512-518.

[94] *LW* 36, 335-61.

Moreover, Oecolampadius had embroiled himself in the debate in 1525 with his publication of *DGVD*. One should note that Luther's 'Fanatics' is plural, and besides Karlstadt and Zwingli, he also included Oecolampadius in this group. For Luther the reason was straightforward, as he believed that Oecolampadius too took a purely symbolic view of the eucharist as his own.[95] However, unlike Zwingli, Oecolampadius argued that Christ's phrase '*hoc est corpus meum*' was, following Tertullian, the equivalent of '*hoc est figura corporis mei*,' and he was convinced that this was both the witness of the scriptures and the majority of the fathers as well.[96] Exactly how the transition from the theology that he espoused while at Altomünster to that which he held from 1525 until the time of his death took place is impossible to know precisely because of a lack of source material. Nevertheless, there are hints in his correspondence and other works that can begin to point us in the correct direction. What can be said at the outset of our discussion of this transitional period is that the substance of Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology was probably a bit more subtle than Luther and his other detractors would have liked to admit.

Preamble to His Theology During the Controversy (1523-1524)

With the publication of his short homily, addressed to Caspar Hedio (1494-1552), *Quod expediat epistolae et evangelii lectionem in missa vernaculo*

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[95] See, *LW* 36, 345.

[96] Cf., *B&A* 1, p. 337, No. 235; Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.40 (CCSL 1, 559); and *DGVD*, C 5 ᵛ.

sermone plebi promulgari of 1522, Oecolampadius focused, as the title suggests, on the need for a vernacular reading of the scriptures in the mass,[97] so that,

> . . . we shall be illumined, by hearing the word of the Lord, which is bright and both illuminates the eyes and gives understanding to the little ones, and according to divine promises confirms the soul in faith and hope. Only after this may you offer yourselves to God. You may offer, I say, neither gold or silver, but you yourselves in sacrifice and holocaust . . . [98]

Again there are 'early' signs of what will become norms for Oecolampadius. Specifically, two things are apparent. First, it is the 'word of the Lord' that facilitates divine enlightenment, offering, so to speak, light to the blind and understanding to those spiritually lacking – i.e., to 'the little ones.' (Matt. 11:25) Second, when the process of enlightenment has begun, based on the revelatory nature of the scripture, the Christian is then able to offer himself or herself wholly to God as a sacrifice – a whole burnt offering. The connection, then for Oecolampadius, has shifted from the offering of the

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[97] Not long after this was published, Johannes Oecolampadius, *Das Testament Jesu Christi* (Zwickau (?): n.pub., 1523), which is essentially a slightly modified German Mass. See, Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, pp. 166-167.

[98] '. . . illuminemini, audiendo verbum domini, quod lucidum est et oculos illuminat, intellectumque dat parvulis, ac divinis promissionibus animum in fide et spe confirmat: Demum post haec vos deo offeratis, Offeratis [sic] inquam, non aurum vel argentum, sed vos ipsos in sacrificium et holocaustum . . .' *Quod expediat.*, B 8 ^{v}. See also, Matt. 11:25. A German translation of this sermon can be found in, Karl Rudolf Hagenbach, *Johann Oekolampad und Oswald Myconius: die Reformatoren Basels: Leben und ausgewahlte Schriften* (Elberfeld: R.L. Friderichs, 1859), pp. 191-200. Cf., *DGVD*, C 5 ^{r}.

bread and wine in his sermon of 1521, to the offering of the self by 1522. From a logical standpoint, having argued in his sermon at Altomünster that there is no need to multiply eucharistic sacrifices, but rather only the need for thanksgiving (*gratiarum actio*), it makes sense that with the now heightened emphasis on scripture as that which bestows spiritual benefits, that a corresponding emphasis on the importance of the eucharist as sacrifice would be downplayed. But all of this begs the question of why the 'word of the Lord' should be hierarchically elevated above the sacraments of the church, and especially the eucharist? Again the christological focus of Oecolampadius comes into play – Christ as the very Word of God, speaks through his word. He states,

> By the word of God, as if by heavenly bread and true manna, you are nourished and grow into the perfect man. Christ says, 'Man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God' . . . Where the word of God is found, Christ cannot be absent. And so, while you hear me, you do not hear me, but Peter or Paul or John, or whatever scripture is being read – indeed you do not hear those men, but Christ in them.[99]

[99] 'Verbo dei, ut coelesti pane, et vero manna vegetamini et crescitis in virum perfectum. Non in solo pane, ait Christus, vivit homo, sed in omni verbo quod procedit ab ore dei . . . Ubi verbum dei, ibi abesse non potest Christus. Itaque dum me auditis, non me auditis, sed Petrum vel Paulum vel Ioannem, vel cuius scriptura recitatur, imo non illos auditis, sed in ipsis Christum.' *Quod expediat.*, B 5 ᵛ. Cf., Eph. 4:13, Matt. 4:4, and Lk. 4:4.

Christ is the heavenly bread and true manna that feeds.[100] Therefore, by extrapolation, the 'Word of God' is connotatively duplex in the thinking of Oecolampadius – the written word is valid, because the true Word is trustworthy. But it is the Word as Logos incarnate, crucified, and resurrected that is often the focal point in his thinking.

Near the end of his address he states:

> And thus, Christ, the lamb of God, is the one sacrifice once offered, but we are correct to remember his sacrifice continually . . . For we offer ourselves and others as a living sacrifice to Christ, which is pleasing to God, since [it is] the true body of Christ, and that bread, is the symbol of that mystical body . . . '[101]

The notion of offering has not disappeared from the eucharistic theology of Oecolampadius by 1523, nor will it ever disappear. But what has changed is the mode of offering – it is not a re-sacrificing of Christ on the altar, but a self-sacrifice of the people to the Lamb of God who once and for all was sacrificed on the cross. Moreover, Oecolampadius, unlike his homily on the

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[100] For a substantial list of names for the Word of God, see Oecolampadius' August 1524 introduction to Johann Bebel's publication of the Greek New Testament in, *B&A* 1, pp. 301-302, No. 209.

[101] 'Itaque Christus ille agnus dei, unica hostia est semel oblata, verum nos eius sacrificii continuo memores recte sumus . . . Offerimus enim nos ipsos, et alios Christo hostiam vivam, atque deo placentem, cumque corpus Christi verum, et panis ille, mystici illius corporis symbolum sit . . .' *Quod expediat.*, C 2 ᵛ.

eucharist given while in the monastery, has reversed the Lombardian distinction of *corpus verum* being a referent to the consecrated elements themselves. Now, rather, the *corpus verum* seems to be equated with the church – the members who make a perpetual offering of themselves in perpetual memory of Christ's sacrifice. As well, not only is the *corpus verum* linked with the ecclesial body of Christ, but so too is the *corpus mysticum* equated with the eucharistic body of Christ. So, within a period of little over a year, Oecolampadius has (if de Lubac's thesis is correct about Lombard's reversal), at least in this regard, bridged the mediaeval gap and returned to a more 'patristic' understanding of the true and mystical bodies of Christ.[102]

About a year later, sometime in late 1524 the tracts of Karlstadt made their way to Basel, and it was shortly thereafter that the first reference to Oecolampadius' knowledge of his texts was recorded.[103] In a letter to the monk Veit Bild, Conrad Adelmann relayed that 'Zwingli and Oecolampadius truly favor the opinion of Karlstadt concerning the sacrament of the altar, [and] it also escaped my notice.'[104] Whether or not Adelmann is wholly correct about Oecolampadius' adoption of Karlstadt's theology, there is reason to believe that he, at least initially, found the views of Luther's

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[102] Compare his discussion in *Dialogus*, where in a phrase from Pseudo-Chrysostom's, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* 11, he emphasizes the phrase: 'IN QUIBUS NON EST VERUM CORPUS CHRISTI, SED MYSTERIUM CORPORIS CHRISTI CONTINETUR' [emphasis his]. *Dialogus*, I 4 [r]; and, *Op. imp. Matt.* 11 (PG 56, 691).

[103] See, *B&A* 1, pp. 328-329, No. 226.

[104] 'Quod vero Zvinglius et Oecolampadius faveant opinioni Carlstadii de sacramento altaris, id quoque me latet.' *B&A* 1, p. 332, No. 230.

former colleague somewhat tenable, even though he was unfamiliar with all of his works.[105] In a letter possibly written to François Lambert of Avignon (d. 1530), who at this time had taken up the mantle of Luther, and was curious about the validity of consubstantiation over against Karlstadt's views, Oecolampadius states:

> I have read one or two of Karlstadt's books; I have not been able to buy all of them. However, the other [statements], which with bad faith towards him, you have put together from his treatises, I will not now attack, although comparing these things with what he has written, it seems that it would be easy for me to counter what you allege.[106]

It may appear from these statements that Oecolampadius treats the theology of Karlstadt in a generally amicable manner. From the overall context of the letter, however, it is clear that Oecolampadius is concerned not to demarcate the majority of his theological positions, but rather one major aspect of Karlstadt's teaching. Oecolampadius favors his opposition

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[105] It is clear, however, that Oecolampadius developed his early views (1521-1523/4) independent of Karlstadt, and for that matter, Zwingli. If anything, attribution should go to Hoen. Oecolampadius may have been shown Hoen's letter by a Dutchman named Hinne Rode around 1523, as he records Rode's visit in a letter and discusses the possibility of the publication of Gansfort's works. Cf., Spruyt, *Ibid.*, pp. 244-251; *B&A* 1, p. 204, No. 142; and, Pelikan, *Reformation of the Church and Dogma (1300-1700)*, pp. 158-159.

[106] 'Unum et alterum librorum Carolstadii legi; neque enim omnes coëmere potui. Alia autem, quae ex illius libellis male affectus in eum colligis, iam non oppugno: tametsi conferens cum his, quae ille scripsit, videor mihi facile eludi posse, quae affers.' *B&A* 1, p. 337, No. 235. Staehelin is uncertain about the letter's recipient.

to both transubstantiation and consubstantiation. Continuing his comments, he says,

> Christ, that true bread from heaven, is always the bread of Christians and the faithful. We always eat the flesh of the Son of Man, but in a spiritual mode – I did not say spiritual [flesh].[107]

Reiterating the biblical phrase that we have heard from him before, that Christ is the 'bread from heaven,' Oecolampadius focuses his attention yet again on the soteriological aspects of his christology. It is Christ himself that is manducated by the faithful in a spiritual mode – in other words, in a spiritual, or possibly psychological, and consequently, subjective manner. It is not, however, the eating of a docetic Christ – the spiritual body of Christ – and is obviously, on his part, an attempt to stand apart from Marcionism. Further explaining himself, Oecolampadius states:

> But the bread and wine, although they might truly be bread and wine, are nevertheless employed for another use, namely to bear the figure of body and blood. Therefore it is just as if the bread and wine are not bread and wine to us, whereupon we are unwilling to be satisfied by those external

[107] 'Christus, verus ille panis coelestis, semper est panis christianorum et fidelium. Semper manducamus carnem filii hominis, sed spirituali modo, non dico spiritualem. *Ibid.*, p. 338. Cf., Jn. 6:41 & 50.

> [things], which we consume, but by these [things], by which, if we are Christians, we are perpetually fed and intoxicated.[108]

Here we see yet another major difference in the conception of Oecolampadius as compared to his period in the monastery. In 1521, even though he was unwilling to describe the 'how' of the substantial change of the elements, he was emphatic that the bread and wine did in fact become the true body and blood of Christ during the Mass. Here, however, there is for him, no change to the sacramental elements. They maintain their original substance. But, because Christ has commanded the rite, the bread and wine are functionally elevated beyond common bread and wine according to their 'use.' In other words, the elements are sanctified or sacred elements (in distinction to common or profane), when employed for a special purpose, and that special purpose is to carry or 'bear the figure of body and blood.' As figures of the body and blood, the elements then represent 'spiritually' (i.e., emotively or psychologically), to the memory, the sacrifice of Christ.

Theological Shift During the Controversy (1525-1531)

[108] 'At panis ac vinum, licet vere sint panis et vinum, ad alium tamen usum adhibentur, nempe ut figuram gerant corporis et sanguinis. Itaque panis ac vinum nobis quasi non sunt panis et vinum, nolumus tunc externis illis, quae sumimus, saturari, sed his, quibus, si christiani sumus, perpetuo vescimur et inebriamur.' *Ibid.*

In 1525 there is yet another shift that takes place in the sacramental theology, of Oecolampadius. From what can be deduced from his earlier sermons and writing, Oecolampadius does not attempt to define *sacramentum*, but rather seems to assume a mediaeval Augustinian (and possibly Lombardian) definition – namely, that a 'sacrament is the sign of a sacred thing,' and perhaps, 'a sacrament is the visible form of invisible grace.'[109] However, in the period under consideration the *Basler* begins to define, or from the mediaeval prospective, redefine, his personal interpretation of *sacramentum*. In a letter, possibly written to the astronomer Nicholas Prugener (ca. 1494-1553), Oecolampadius sanctions one aspect of his new definition:

> The sacramental signs, by which the sacramental promise is confirmed, by which my sins are remitted, so that it may be more credible to my weak conscience, are not for me the bread and wine. For it means nothing to me, who seeks after greater things, what kind of bread and wine is administered; but I seek a more wonderful means [*efficacia*] to strengthen my feeble mind.

[109] He never uses these definitions in *DGVD*, except to critique them, which seems to me to be adequate proof of Oecolampadius' attempt to distance himself from scholastic, and specifically Lombardian, paradigms, at least in 1525. See, *DGVD*, D 3 ˅. However, in his introduction to the Cyril's *Opera*, in 1528, he says: 'Indeed at no time have I impugned [the idea that] "the sacrament is the visible form of invisible grace" . . . [Nunquam enim impugno, sacramentum esse invisibilis gratiae visibilem . . .].' By this time, Oecolampadius' back was against the wall as Lutherans, Romans and Anabaptists were all castigating him. So, here he attempts to postulate his catholicity. Unfortunately, his ability to politically and theologically vacillate, reinterpret, and evolve, makes it extremely difficult to nail down exactly this aspect of his theology during this period. Cf., *B&A* 2, p. 218, No. 597; Cyril, *Divi Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Opera, in tres partita tomos: in quibus habes non pauca antehae Latinis non exhibita*, trans. Joannes Oecolampadius, (Basel: Cratander, 1528); and, Chapter 3, pp. 206-212.

> However, they can be nothing else than the very same body and blood of Christ: not figures of the body or blood, but the body, which was betrayed and died for my sins, and which the angels in heaven enjoy with delight, which Christ has promised to give, and which he has given as food – not carnal, but spiritual. Similarly, the blood also, which flowed from [his] side and was poured out for my sins . . . By which it is surely attested that this body is a seal . . .[110]

Admittedly, without our previous survey of the evolution of Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology, this might be a difficult passage to unravel. But, based on what we have thus far seen, it is relatively straightforward. Nevertheless, it may be helpful to examine briefly an open letter written by Oecolampadius in the same year to help further explain it. He states:

> To what extent is it lawful to infer from the ancient doctors and from the sixth chapter of John that the words 'Hoc est corpus meum' are a figure of speech? Indeed the bread displays the figure of the body of Christ, and the μνημόσυνον of him is handed over for us. For he does not wish his

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[110] 'Sacramentalia signa, quibus sacramentalis promissio confirmatur, qua remittuntur peccata mea, ut credibilior sit infirmae conscientiae meae, non mihi sunt panis et vinum. Nihil enim ad me, qui maiora quaero, qualis panis vel vinum adhibeatur; sed requiro mirabiliora quaedam ad imbecillem mentem meam solidandam efficacia. Illa autem non sunt, nisi ipsummet corpus, et ille ipse sanguis Christi: non figura vel corporis vel sanguinis, sed corpus, quod traditum est et passum pro peccatis meis, atque id, quod angeli in coelo delicate fruuntur, quod Christus promisit se daturum, et dedit in cibum, non carnalem, sed spiritualem. Similiter et sanguis, qui e latere profluxit et pro peccatis meis effusus est . . . Quo nimirum testatur hoc corpus sigillum esse . . .' *B&A* 1, pp. 362-363, No. 252. Staehelin is uncertain of the recipient.

> flesh to be given to be chewed σαρκικῶς, but πνευματικῶς. Someone might ask: 'How may flesh satisfy the soul, or indeed, how may soul be fed by flesh?' It is contrary to the nature of things. Or shall we propose new miracles? Indeed, the flesh that has been given is invisible, covered by the veil of bread . . . Therefore, if it is believed to be in this manner, it will feed, and the bread will be the spiritual flesh of Christ. 'Why do you prepare teeth and stomach,' the blessed father said, 'believe (that is: be faithful) and you have eaten.' The manducation is spiritual, not sacramental.[111]

There is a strain of spiritualism or mysticism present in Oecolampadius' notion, and on more than one occasion he mentioned that he wished only to be Θεοδίδακτος, whether through the medium of scripture or the sacrament.[112] The 'spiritual' aspect is represented very clearly in his eucharistic theology and is noticeable in these admissions – namely, that in order to satiate his 'weak conscience' these 'figures of the body and blood'

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[111] 'Quantum ex veteribus coniectare licet doctoribus et ex sexto capite Joannis, verba illa "Hoc est corpus meum" figuratae locutionis sunt. Gerit enim panis figuram corporis Christi, et μνημόσυνον est illius pro nobis traditi. Non enim vult carnem suam σαρκικῶς ad manducandum dare, sed πνευματικῶς. Dicat quis: Quomodo animam satiet caro, vel etiam carnem anima pascat? Contra rerum naturam est. Aut ponemus nova miracula? Invisibilis autem erat caro danda, panis velamine tecta . . . Igitur si hoc modo credatur, pascet, et panis erit spiritualis caro Christi. "Ut quid paras ventrem et dentem," inquit beatus pater; "crede (hoc est: fidelis esto) et manducasti." Spiritualis est hec manducatio, non sacramentalis.' *B&A* 1, p. 373, No. 262. His statement here: 'the bread will be the spiritual flesh of Christ' should be contrasted with his statement *supra*, p. 121: 'We always eat the flesh of the Son of Man, but in a spiritual mode – I did not say spiritual [flesh].' Oecolampadius is, at his own admission, not a Marcionite, but it is this sort of inconsistency upon which his opponents capitalized. Cf., Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 25.12 (CCSL 36, 254).

[112] Cf., *Quod expediat.*, B 8^{v}; and, *B&A* 1, p. 365, No. 254.

in and of themselves are inadequate. Moreover, Christ does not want his flesh to be manducated carnally. If this is then the case, what need is there for the eucharist at all? According to Oecolampadius, he requires Christ himself to cleanse his sins, and by faith Christ does that, offering himself in a spiritual manner in the sacrament.

The flesh of Christ is truly present to faith, and so, as we have seen before, these are not 'empty' figures for him. In this sense there are two important aspects to notice: first, again echoing Ratramnus, the invisible flesh has been given, but it is 'veiled' by the bread; and second, in an attempt to mimic Tertullian and possibly Irenaeus, Oecolampadius postulates that the symbols prove that the (true, or truth of the) body of Christ exists.[113] The reality though is not too be confused with impanation, nor obviously, consubstantiation or transubstantiation.[114] Moreover, when the elements are partaken of, the manducation is not sacramental. In other words, it is through an act of faith whereby the 'sacramental promise' of Christ is confirmed, not by a substantial bodily presence. The sacramental signs in and of themselves, offer nothing of the substantive body of Christ.[115] What Oecolampadius is very obviously attempting to do is overturn Lombard's *sacramentum* and *res sacramenti* distinction, or more to the point, his threefold subcategory of *sacramentum*, *sacramentum et res*, *res et non*

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[113] Cf., *Marc.* 4.40 (CCSL 1, 559); *AH* 5.2.2 (SC 153, 30-32); and, Chapter 5, pp. 308ff.

[114] Oecolampadius dismisses impanation, because he argues that Augustine nowhere taught it. See, *DGVD*, D 4 ^{v}.

[115] Also see, *DGVD*, B viii ^{r}.

sacramentum – the *res* of the *sacramentum et res* is not substantively present in, or to, the elements, nor can it be, unless possibly by faith alone.[116] According to Oecolampadius, Christ is seated at the right hand of the Father in heaven where he will remain until his second advent.

When Oecolampadius penned *DGVD* in the summer of 1525, one of his major concerns, as has been previously stated, was to dismantle the system that Lombard had constructed – and hence, the 'normative' sacramental theology of late mediaeval scholasticism in general.[117] One of the ways in which he attempted to do this was *via* a pronounced emphasis on the resurrection of Christ and his session *ad dexteram patris*. Keeping in mind his conception of *sacramentalis*, Oecolampadius argues in accordance with both the pericope from Matt. 26:11, Mk. 14:7, and Jn. 12:8 - 'For you always have the poor with you, but you will not always have me,' and the liturgical formula of the *sursum corda* – that Christ has been lifted up into the heavens and is to be seen no more by human eyes.[118] So, he says:

[116] See, *Sent.* IV.10.2.

[117] In a letter dated May 21, 1525, Oecolampadius comments on a friend's eucharistic opinions, attempting to reassure him. Tellingly he says: 'Neither is it new, as they falsely accuse, but it is catholic, nor do I believe a wiser thought [sc. *illa opinion*] has ever come into anyone's mind since the time of Augustine. [Neque illa nova, ut calumniantur, sed catholica, neque opinor in mentem alicuius cordatioris venisse usquam post Augustini tempora].' *B&A* 1, p. 367, No. 256.

[118] Cf., Col. 3:1. Again, another jab at Lombard. See, *Sent.* IV.10.1.5, where the *Magister* quotes this verse, but is polemicizing against those who argue for an invisible presence.

> . . . hearing the *sursum corda*, what is being said is not 'turn [your] hearts toward the bread, or towards the altar,' but 'lift them up,' that is to say, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of the Father.[119]

Moreover,

> . . . it is an article of faith that Christ is seated at the right hand of the father . . . We are surely urged to confess that the true body of the Lord is not on the earth, otherwise the truth of the body might be destroyed.[120]

In order to substantiate his point Oecolampadius uses an *argumentum ad verecundiam*. The session of Christ is both a biblical and creedal article of faith. It is a given for any true Christian, and he seems wholly convinced that there is an actual 'place' in which Christ physically resides.[121] As such, in order to truly perceive Christ, they must turn their 'hearts' towards heaven – not towards the bread or the altar, as Christ is not to be found

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[119] '. . . Sursum corda audientes, non dicitur Corda advertite erga panem, vel erga altarium, sed sursum, ubi scilicet est Christus in dexteram patris sedens.' [emphasis his] *DGVD*, B iiii ᶠ. This will become an important part of Calvin's thought, and consequently influence Reformed theology. In fact, Calvin's argument somewhat parallels Oecolampadius'. See, John Calvin, *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), 4.17.17-18.

[120] '. . . articulus est fidei, sedere Christum ad dextram patris . . . Nos sane urgemur fateri verum corpus domini non esse super terram, nam hoc esset veritatem corporis auferre.' *Ibid.*, K vii ᶠ-ᵛ. Cf., *Dialogus*, I 1 ᶠ.

[121] Melanchthon chastises him for this, saying that he has in essence shut Christ up in the heavens, as if in a prison. See, CR 1, pp. 1048-1050, No. 598; *B&A* 2, pp. 308-310, No. 652; or, *MBW* 1, p. 335, No. 775. Luther also notices this. See, *LW* 37, pp. 55-56; and, David R. Law, "Descent into Hell, Ascension, and Luther's Doctrine of Ubiquitarianism," *Theology* 107 (2004), pp. 251-252.

there. Oecolampadius emphasizes, from a subjective (and again, highly spiritualized) standpoint, the internal or spiritual nature of the eucharist, while at the same time reiterating what for him is the objective fact of the local presence of the 'true body' of Christ.

And here we see a new definition of *verum corpus*. In 1521 it was conceived of in accordance with the *sacramentum – res sacramenti* rule. By 1523 the phrase was a referent for the church. And now, in 1525, until the end of his life, Oecolampadius explains *verum corpus* as the body of Christ *ad dexteram patris*.[122] From the standpoint of eucharistic theology, this new formula conveniently does away with the problems inherent in the logic of the 'sacramental' *sacramentum et res* formula. Oecolampadius can speak of the body of Christ being present *in sacramento*, which distinguishes it from the mediaeval presence *sacramentalis*.[123] The former equates to, and is synonymous with *figura corporis*, the body of which the bread must not more than signify; otherwise the 'truth of the body' will be relinquished.[124] Ultimately, following Augustine, for a body to be a true body it must be located in a particular place.[125] Again, a christocentrism,

[122] Occasionally Oecolampadius will use the term *naturalis*, especially near the end of his life. Only very infrequently will he use *reale* or *locale corpus* to describe the resurrected body of Christ. Nevertheless, all appear to be wholly synonymous with *verum corpus*. E.g., '. . . corpus suum adesse, ut in sacramento, id quod non arguit localem corporis in pane praesentiam, ut ibi dicamus esse corpus reale, ubi est in sacramento.' *DGVD*, A vii ʳ. Cf., *Ibid.*, K iv ʳ.

[123] *Ibid.*

[124] Certainly, Oecolampadius' *veritatem corporis* cannot be equated with Hugh of St. Victor's.

[125] See Chapter 3, pp. 200ff.

conscientious of the preservation of the true humanity of Christ, over against a ubiquitous body, is evident.

In a letter written around March 10, 1527, Oecolampadius delineates eighteen theses concerning the sacrament, and they offer us the most condensed overview of his thought on the subject that he will ever write. In essence, these eighteen points narrow the focus of, and crystallize (sometimes in obtuse ways), what has been, as we have seen, the evolutionary process of his eucharistic theology. They are:

> 1. I assert [that] to say, the bread of Christ is substantively the body, is intolerable.
>
> 2. I believe that the natural body of Christ is in only one place, namely in heaven; otherwise it would not be the true body.
>
> 3. I willingly confess that the body is present to the bread, in the same mode that it is present to the word itself, by means of which the bread is made a sacrament and visible word.
>
> 4. The sacraments, unless they have been instituted by Christ and sanctified by the word of faith, are no more superior or dignified than the image of Cocles.[126] Both images and sacraments are one thing according to substance, and signify something else than what they are according to their own substance.

[126] Horatius Cocles was memorialized in Roman legend for holding back, from the Sublician bridge which crossed the Tiber, an invading Etruscan army. An ancient statue of

5. The word of promise will not be destroyed, even if the bread is not substantively the body of Christ. Indeed, Christ did not promise that this would take place. On the other hand, if this promise can be proven, I, for my part, will assert nothing more.

6. The words of the supper hold this promise, the body of Christ has been given for us, and in so far as he died for us, by his death he has destroyed ours, and [his] blood has been given for us, in so far as it was poured out for us for the remission of sins.

7. This word of faith sanctifies the sacraments.

8. The truth of the mystery is not denied. On the contrary, those who embrace these promises confess it in the greatest and most pure way. Indeed these alone truly manducate the flesh and drink the blood spiritually.

9. 'The word accomplishes everything which God wishes.'[127] It is agreed! But add that God wishes to grant only this by an external word, or symbol, or the scripture, that they may admonish! Everything else is worked by his Spirit.

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a one-eyed man stood at the foot of the Capitoline and the Romans believed it to be an image of him. See, Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), s.v., 'Horatius Cocles,' p. 727. Humorously, Oecolampadius is playing on words: *statua* (= 'image') and *cocles* (='one-eyed man').

[127] This is a paraphrase of a quote found in a letter dated March 1, 1527, from Johannes Haner (ca. 1480-1545) to Zwingli. See, Z IX, 597.14-16.

10. The body is given to the bread through the word, just as the word has the body in itself.

11. Through faith the most absent body of Christ is most present to the soul.

12. Through faith the mind of the faithful knows in a particular way what sort of thing the body of Christ is in the visible and audible word, so that you say, 'truly and substantially, although through a mirror dimly;'[128] but this does not make the bread substantively the body, neither is the natural body located in different places, nor is the face of a man in different places, because it is seen in different mirrors.

13. Whoever have been allotted the spirit of Christ through faith, not only do they have the flesh of Christ present in [their] souls, in the same way that those who delight in the memory of the most faithful of friends, have their friends dwelling in their souls, but furthermore συνεκδοχικῶς, because they truly have the spirit of Christ within themselves, just as in his temple; they also truly have his body, although it is in heaven, from which his divinity cannot be separated.

14. Christ bears our flesh in heaven, and on the earth in a similar manner we [bear] the flesh of Christ according to the species.

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[128] 1 Cor. 13:12.

15. The entire presence of the flesh is very useful, however, it is not useful and remote from anything required by faith, if we say that the bread is substantively the body, or we assert that the body of Christ is in many places simultaneously.

16. Those who reject the trope of speech in the words of the supper, declare themselves to be contentious and interpret scripture contrary to the analogy of faith.

17. They speak well and religiously, who say that they themselves approach the body of the Lord or chew the body, [while they speak] contemptibly and profanely who say that they themselves receive only the bread and a sign; indeed, they declare their own lack of faith. One who is faithful thinks himself affected by injury and taken to be a traitor, if it is said [that] only the sacrament and not also the reality, which the sacrament signifies, has been chewed, although the sacrament [is] by the mouth, the reality by the soul (i.e., mind). This is clear from the way the ancients speak.[129]

18. It is to be observed, by us who teach, in what great darkness the people are plunged, so that they may come to know the mystery as clearly as possible and without subtlety of words, lest they be ruined [by sinking] into still greater blindness. [130]

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[129] Yet another probable reference to Augustine's, 'crede et manducasti.' See, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 25.12 (CCSL 36, 254).

[130] '1. Intolerabilem sermonem dico panem substantive esse corpus Christi. 2. Naturale corpus Christi credo in uno duntaxat loco esse, nempe in coelo; alioqui non esset verum

There is a visible and logical progression in the theological content of Oecolampadius' theses, and the majority of the themes present in them reflect our previous discussion. However, a brief analysis is in order. First, the reformer reiterates, as a point of preeminent importance, that the bread is not the substantive body of Christ. Second, and again following Augustine, the body of Christ is localized in heaven. If it were not, then it would not be 'a true body,' as it must have a 'place.' Obviously, this is stated to counter the ubiquitous body required for consubstantiation. His

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corpus. 3. Corpus adesse pani libenter fatebor eo modo, quo adest ipsi verbo, per quod panis fit sacramentum et visibile verbum. 4. Sacramenta, nisi essent a Christo instituta verboque fidei sanctificata, non essent statua Coclitis superiora vel digniora. Et statua et sacramenta aliud sunt secundum substantiam et aliud, quam secundum suam substantiam sunt, signant. 5. Sermo promissionis non excidit, etiam si panis non sit substantive corpus Christi; hoc enim Christus non promisit futurum; nam si haec promissio posset probari, equidem ultra non contenderem. 6. Verba coenae hanc promissionem habent, nobis datum corpus Christi, quatenus pro nobis mortuum est et sua morte nostram abolevit, et sanguinem nobis datum, quatenus pro nobis effusus est in remissionem peccatorum. 7. Hoc verbum fidei sanctificat sacramenta. 8. Veritatem mysterii non negat, imo maxime purissimeque confitetur, qui hasce promissiones amplectitur. Is enim solus vere spiritualiter manducat carnem et bibit sanguinem. 9. 'Verbum efficit omnia, quae Deus vult.' Placet! Sed subde, quod Deus vult externo verbo vel symbolo vel scripturis hoc tantum tribuere, ut admoneant! Reliquum spiritu suo operatur. 10. Pani per verbum corpus datur, sicut verbum habet in se corpus. 11. Per fidem absentissimum corpus Christi animo praesentissimum est. 12. Per fidem mens fidelis in verbo visibili et audibili corpus Christi, ut in verbo, cognoscit tale, quale est, ut tu dicis, 'vere et secundum substantiam, licet in mysterio per speculum in aenigmate, sed hoc non facit panem substantive esse corpus, neque naturale corpus ponit in diversis locis, sicut nec facies hominis in diversis locis est, quia in diversis speculis videtur. 13. Qui spiritum Christi sortiti sunt per fidem, non solum in animis praesentem carnem Christi habent, ut ii, qui fidissimorum amicorum oblectantur memoria, amicos habent animis insidentes, sed etiam συνεκδοχικῶς, quia vere Christum iuxta spiritum eius in ipsis tanquam templo eius habent; habent et corpus eius vere, licet in coelo sit, a quo divinitas non est seiuncta. 14. Christus in coelo carnem nostram gestat et nos in terra carnem Christi iuxta speciem. 15. Omnis illa praesentia carnis valde utilis est; inutilis autem et absque elencho fidei, si panem substantive corpus dicamus aut corpus Christi in multis locis simul esse asseramus. 16. Qui tropum sermonis in verbis coenae reiiciunt, contentiosos se declarant et praeter analogiam fidei scripturam interpretantur. 17. Bene et religiose loquuntur, qui se dicunt accedere ad corpus Domini vel manducare corpus, prophane et contemptim, qui tantum panem et signum suscipere se dicunt; declarant enim infidelitatem suam. Iniuria fidelis se affectum et pro proditore haberi putat, si solum sacramentum et non etiam rem, quam sacramentum signat, manducasse dicatur, tametsi illud ore, hanc animo. Hinc apparet suos loquendi veterum. 18. Observandum nobis docentibus, in quantis tenebris caliget populus, ut quam apertissime et absque subtilitate verborum cognoscat mysterium, ne in graviores caecitates ruat.' *B&A* 2, pp. 38-40, No. 470. Cf., Gordon E. Rupp, *Patterns of Reformation* (London: Epworth Press, 1969), p. 27; Demura, "Discipline", pp. 229-233; and, Quere, *Melanchthon's Christum Cognoscere*, pp. 192-194.

third point is an idea that we have seen, however at this point Oecolampadius further expands the theological significance of the spiritual presence of Christ, or rather, delimits it. The body of Christ is present in the elements by the same mode that it is present in the scriptures – that is, spiritually – and so is a 'visible word.' The function of the visible word is to present the crucified Christ, in order that the memory of his death for the sins of his people be made present to the mind. Scripture, conversely, works in much the same way. Its words (as we have seen before) are the very words of Christ, and enliven the mind and soul in remembrance of Christ, which consequently spurs one on to charity.[131] Interestingly, however, by applying the same function to both word and sacrament, Oecolampadius appears to be removing an impediment to the presence of Christ. In other words, reading between the lines, there is a sense in which though Christ's physical body is localized in heaven, his deity is dispersed everywhere, and is possibly spiritually accessible beyond the confines of the rites, rituals, and ceremonies of the church.[132] This would seem to be validated by claims that he made in his sermon at the monastery as early as 1521, which we have seen. If this is the case, then there also appears to be an attempt to 'unshackle' Christ from the institutional church – at least from the mediaeval perspective of the distribution of Christ's grace from the treasury of merits, channeled through the clergy to the sacraments themselves. Moreover, the external or visible word does not 'contain'

[131] In the following chapters we will see that he also develops a different idea of what the elements 'figure' – namely, the resurrection.

[132] See, Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 30.1 (CCSL 36, 289).

Christ, nor is it an 'object of faith.'[133] Because it is not the object of faith, there is no need to maintain the usage of more than the dominical sacraments, and so his fourth point. Those additional sacraments that have been implemented by the church are viewed with disdain.

Points five, six, and seven are interrelated in so far as the focus is on the 'word of promise' that is figured by the *sacramentum*. This promise is defined as the forgiveness of sins, and the death of death, and it is this promise that sets apart, or sanctifies, the sacraments. It is the promise of Christ then, which is both displayed and gives legitimacy to the ritual. Thesis eight is, as well, contingent on those preceding it, as Oecolampadius makes clear that those, and only those, who confess and embrace the promise *de fide* 'truly' manducate the flesh and drink the blood of Christ. But again, this manducation is according to a spiritual mode or manner. Point nine, is a theological conception that we have not mentioned in any great detail, namely that external word and scripture are for the admonition of the believer. The benefits of Christ gifted to the Christian, as a pneumatic process, are worked by the Holy Spirit, or as Oecolampadius sometimes refers to the third person of the Trinity, 'the Spirit of Christ.' Thesis ten is a reaffirmation of the third.

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[133] Cf., Johannes Oecolampadius, *Apologetica Ioann. Oecolampadii de dignitate Eucharistiæ sermones duo; Ad Theobaldum Billicanum quinam in verbis Cænæ alienum sensum inferant; Ad Ecclesiastas Sueuos antisyngramma* (Zürich: Froschover, 1526), I 5 $^{r-v}$, H 7 ^{v}, and, P 7 ^{r}; and, Pelikan, *Reformation of the Church and Dogma (1300-1700)*, pp. 188-189. Pelikan's summary is helpful in this regard. However, based on what we have seen, I would have to disagree with him concerning Oecolampadius' conception of Christ's presence during a homily. He simply overstates when he says, 'For just as Christ was not locally present in the mouth or the voice of the preacher, so also he was not locally present in the bread of the sacrament.'

Proposition number eleven is one of Oecolampadius' most colorful, yet clear statements about his understanding of the substantive body of Christ in relation to the elements – namely, he is 'most absent' to the bread, but 'most present' to the soul (or mind). Again, the emphasis is on the subjective nature of the modal presence of Christ. As if hearing the opposition to this statement, Oecolampadius immediately counters in points twelve through seventeen by arguing that the eucharist is not *tantum sacramentum*, or only a figure, and to say so shows the unbelieving nature of the person who so speaks. The manducation is of both the *sacramentum* and the *res sacramenti*, but one is oral, while the other by faith, further subverting the mediaeval paradigm. According to Oecolampadius' christology, this is the only way that any sort of manducation can take place – as Christ is localized in one place, and based on the analogy of faith, his divinity and humanity can never be ripped one from the other. And so, he concludes the seventeenth thesis by again cannily alluding to a patristic passage utilized continuously throughout his later life – 'believe and you have eaten.'[134]

In the chapters that follow we will see how it is that Oecolampadius employs the theological ideas that have been discussed in this chapter in his reading of the fathers in general, and Irenaeus specifically. As we do so, it will become clear that the concepts of the session of Christ, and therefore, his localized presence in heaven, as well as the substantive

[134] Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 25.12 (CCSL 36, 254).

distinction between the *sacramentum et res sacramenti*, the work of the Holy Spirit in making present the benefits of Christ, the incorporative nature of the eucharist for the church, the place of scripture, and the importance of the eucharist as *the* symbol of the resurrection, all come to bear, as major presuppositions, on his hermeneutical approach to the fathers, whether eastern or western.

CHAPTER 3 – OECOLAMPADIUS' RECEPTION OF THE FATHERS

'. . . let us weigh the words of the blessed father . . .'[1]

Introduction

That Oecolampadius was an avowed humanist and later a committed reformer until the time of his death has been discussed in the previous chapters. Numerous spheres of educational and theological influence supplied the intellectual stimuli necessary for these commitments. First, was Oecolampadius' fondness for the languages of antiquity. Second, was his early appreciation of the pagan poets. Third, was his keen knowledge of the scriptures, especially the Hebrew bible. And finally, was his affection for, and desire to assimilate where appropriate, the ancient Christian authors. However, in order to create a yet more precise picture of Oecolampadius' historiographic and theological methodology in relationship to the eucharist there is a need to address, and continue narrowing, our understanding of Oecolampadius' own patristic familiarity and appropriation. As a corollary, then, this chapter will seek to examine the latter issue.

[1] '. . . nos beati patris expendamus verba . . .', Oecolampadius referring to Chrysostom in, *DGVD*, C 5[r].

Initially, we will make mention of the patristic works that Oecolampadius, throughout his lifetime, had some hand in either translating or editing, and which eventually went to press. This will help clarify at least two important details. First, it validates previous generalizations made in this book about the importance of the church fathers for Oecolampadius. By cataloging the ancient authors and their works it should become glaringly obvious that even at the height of his role as the reformer of Basel just prior to his death, Oecolampadius never lost sight of his own, nor the church's, indebtedness to the fathers, no matter how 'correctly' or 'incorrectly' he may have handled them.

Correspondingly, it may well be argued that this is also a mark of his devotion to the implicit and explicit goals of his own understanding of the role of a humanist-reformer. For Oecolampadius knowledge, the kind which ultimately characterized the *studia humanitatis*, was not just knowledge for knowledge's own sake, but rather the capital by which, and through which, the mind and the individual were given the occasion to purchase freedom from the masters who would control one or both. Naturally, this led Oecolampadius not to the thing that he envisioned would liberate, but rather to the person whom he understood to be the liberator himself.[2]

[2] Obviously, within Oecolampadius' own era this meant freedom from a number or things, namely the political, economic, theological, and to a certain degree, properly articulated and understood, moral control of the papacy. However, the whole of his thinking on this issue was greater than the sum of these issues alone. For Oecolampadius, the freedom that knowledge brought was ultimately one of conscience. Again, for his era it was a freedom construed within a certain socio-economic framework that some today would feel to be rather too restrictive, but nevertheless, for his time and from his perspective it was of paramount importance, and his perspective was nothing short of radical.

Second, by discussing the published works to which Oecolampadius contributed we are permitted an insight into what he found to be both interesting, and important. Having plotted this, we will then, in a general way, be able to suggest at least a limited number of Oecolampadius' theological affections, especially as regards that patristic corpus which he, under no obligatory compulsion but his own, translated throughout the course of his lifetime.

In the second major division of this chapter, we will look more directly at Oecolampadius' knowledge of the fathers via his first major eucharistic work, *De Genuina Verborum Domini, Hoc est corpus meum, iuxta vetustissimos authores, expositione liber*, and his last, *Quid De eucharistia veteres tum Graeci, tum Latini senserint, Dialogus, in quo Epistolae Philippi Melanchthonis et Ioannis Oecolampadii insertae.*[3] As concerns an examination of individual patristic quotes employed by Oecolampadius, we will limit ourselves to these texts alone. However, in order to flesh out some of his possible sources for these quotes we will also reference a minority number of works written in opposition to *DGVD*, and then Oecolampadius' subsequent responses to those works of opposition. Specifically, we will refer to a work by Oecolampadius' onetime patrician friend from Nuremberg, Willibald Pirckheimer (1470-1530), and Oecolampadius' two responses.[4] The reason for this is rather straightforward. In *DGVD*,

[3] Hereafter, in the body text, *DGVD* and *Dialogus*, and in the footnotes, *DGVD* and *Dial.*, respectively.

[4] Willibald Pirckheimer [Bilibaldi Birckheimheri], *De vera Christi carne et vero eius sanguine ad Ioan. Oecolampadium responsio* (Nuremburg: J. Petreius, 1526). For a brief,

Oecolampadius provides, in many instances, at least authorial references for his citations. Depending on the genre type of the work being quoted he expands a number more fully to include information such as book or sermon title, chapter or sermon number, and so forth. However, other than occasionally to mention, in passing, some aspect of an *exemplum* he has consulted or has immediately before him, Oecolampadius almost never mentions his specific sources. Certainly, this is a characteristic common to a great many early-modern writers, but it can pose certain difficulties for the contemporary researcher, specifically when trying to verify the use of a particular original source, be it printed book, or manuscript. However, in the midst of his attempts at literary self-preservation Oecolampadius does specifically mention a very small number of his important sources. Therefore, we will use a few selections from the debate between these two men for this purpose. Finally, in *DGVD* and *Dialogus* there are occasional allusions to, or paraphrases of, patristic authors that Oecolampadius does not explicitly cite. Where these are recognized they will be acknowledged in our catalog. This catalog will, for the first time, list all the patristic references found in *DGVD* and *Dialogus*.[5]

but excellent overview of Pirckheimer, see, Eckhard Bernstein, *German Humanism* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), pp. 95-105. Also, for the theological debate between the two men see, Johannes Oecolampadius, *Ad Billibaldum Pyrkaimerum de re Eucharistiae responsio* (Zürich: Froschover, 1526); and, Johannes Oecolampadius, *Ad Bilibaldum Pyrkaimerum de Eucharistia responsio posterior* (Basel: Cratander, 1527).

[5] Hoffmann's citations of patristic references, though very helpful, are not comprehensive. Moreover, his overall goals are significantly different than that of the present study. See, Gottfried Hoffmann, "Sententiae Patrum: Das patristische Argument in der Abendmahlskontroverse zwischen Oekolampad, Zwingli, Luther und Melanchthon" (Ph.D. diss., University of Heidelberg, 1971), pp. 2-106.

In a manner similar to the first section on published or edited texts, the patristic references will be given in alphabetical order rather than follow the order of the texts of *DGVD* and *Dialogus*.[6] Grouping each particular author's works in this way is helpful for at least two reasons. First, it will offer positive visual, as well as systematic confirmation of which fathers Oecolampadius knew outside of those mentioned in the first part of this chapter. Second, though there is by no means an implicit one-to-one quantitative correlation between the sources that Oecolampadius cites and their formative influence upon his own theological perspective, an abundance of citations from any one father may at least suggest a strong sense of either reliance or disdain.[7]

Finally, keeping the previous statement in mind, we will close this chapter by discussing Oecolampadius' general understanding of the role of the fathers. Here what we would like to ask is, how do the fathers function in Oecolampadius' theological arguments? We will approach this socratically, asking a number of interrelated questions, in the hopes of eliciting the correct responses from Oecolampadius himself. To begin, it will first be necessary to recognize how Oecolampadius himself refers to the ancient theologians, and what this or these designations might mean within the

[6] For this approach, I am indebted to, E. P. Meijering, *Melanchthon and Patristic Thought: The Doctrines of Christ and Grace, the Trinity and Creation* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983), p. 19ff.

[7] Though the discussion surrounds Calvin's reception and use of the fathers, it is worthwhile to note the methodological precariousness of general statements about patristic 'influence' on the reformers, especially when no bibliographical references are given. See, Anthony N. S. Lane, *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), pp. 1-13, and specifically, pp. 8-13.

context of his arguments. Are they *auctoritates*, *doctores*, *veteres*, *magistri*, *fontes*, *divi*, *patres ecclesiae*, simply *patres*, all of these, or none of them? How are these titles different in Oecolampadius' mind, or are they? Are the ancients' opinions worthy of reverence, and if so, why? Can a writer personally be disregarded as immaterial, but his opinions be retained as valid? If their opinions have validity, what makes this so? Is there a distinction to be made for Oecolampadius between those fathers who might be designated 'eastern' and those who are 'western'? If so, how does Oecolampadius draw this distinction? Closely related to this division, is the mostly modern distinction between the Alexandrians and the Antiochenes. Is Oecolampadius aware of the so-called differences, and if so, how does he make this known? If we can adequately answer these questions, then the answers should serve as a springboard for more in-depth and interrelated discussions in later chapters.

The Published Patristic Texts of Oecolampadius

When he moved to Basel in 1515 to live with Froben and work with Erasmus on the *Novum Instrumentum*, it was also the inauguration of Oecolampadius' own career as a 'professional' patristic scholar.[8] However, personal translations of patristic manuscripts initially took some time to be published. At the outset he primarily concentrated the majority of his efforts on editing or indexing Erasmus' and Froben's texts, and doing little on his

[8] The *Novum Instrumentum* included references to Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril, Vulgarius (Theophylact), Jerome, Cyprian, Ambrose, Hilary, and Augustine. Oecolampadius, as we shall discover below, employed all of these individuals in his own works.

own. Functioning in this role, Oecolampadius was exposed to a substantial cross-section of both eastern and western patristic manuscripts and printed editions. His early training with Erasmus and Froben would be an invaluable asset to him for the rest of his life.

The 'Edited' and/or Translated Texts[9]

Hughes Oliphant Old suggests that pragmatism was responsible for at least some of Oecolampadius' initial translation work. According to Old, it was the need to better understand his role as priest-confessor, while working for the bishop of Basel, which influenced Oecolampadius to translate eastern works on penance.[10] As we shall see, the content of the list below seems to bear this out, as many of the texts refer to the interrelated theologies of penance and confession. Clearly, concerns about the ancient sacrament of confession and its relationship to individual spiritual liberty loomed large in Oecolampadius' mind for most of his life. The translation of these patristic texts early in his career was certainly formative for the later development of Oecolampadius' theology of confession, and his understanding of the

[9] For this section I am indebted to, Ernst Staehelin, "Die Väterübersetzungen Oekolampads," *Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift* 23 (1916); Ernst Staehelin, *Oekolampad - Bibliographie* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1963), pp. 57-91; and, Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship* (Zürich: Juris Druck, 1975), pp. 111-118. For those who would like to cross reference the article, I have chosen to retain Staehelin's PL and PG references. However, I have expanded them fully and made corrections where necessary, as well adding CPG references when available. Where Oecolampadius' published texts and the patristic references in *DGVD* and *Dialogus* intersect, I have cited the more modern critical editions in the catalog, if available.

[10] Old, *Ibid.*, pp. 112 & 114.

practice of penance.[11] Besides the pragmatic aspect, Old also suggests that the presence of an ascetic tendency in Oecolampadius played a part in these translations. This is true in a limited way.[12] However, in regard to the totality of eastern writers with whom Oecolampadius was familiar, a strict affiliation between the form and function of penance and confession, and that of asceticism, should not be too rigorously over emphasized.[13]

Oecolampadius does not focus inordinately on texts concerned with ascetic piety, even early in his career. Towards the end of his life, this is clearly not a concern. However, he always spotlights and appreciates the eloquence and theological acumen of certain individual writers, even if his understanding of 'eloquence' and 'acumen' shifts over the years. In the dedication of a Nazianzus sermon to Bernard and Conrad Adelmann in 1519, which he refers to as, 'περί φιλοπτωχίας', Oecolampadius has this to say about Gregory:

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[11] See, Johannes Oecolampadius, *Quod non sit Onerosa Christianis Confessio Paradoxon Ioannis Oecolampadii* (Augsburg: Grimm und Wyrsung, 1521); and cf., Akira Demura, "Church Discipline According to Johannes Oecolampadius in the Setting of His Life and Thought" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1964), pp. 40-43; and, Olaf Kuhr, *"Die Macht des Bannes und der Busse": Kirchenzucht und Erneuerung der Kirche bei Johannes Oekolampad (1482-1531)* (Bern & New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

[12] See Basil's, *Ain Regiment*, and Thalassius', *De charitate, continentia et regimine mentis, infra.*

[13] Old states that via his work on the eastern fathers, '. . . we see the clear evidence of an ascetic tendency in the piety of our Reformer. This tendency in the patristic studies of Oecolampadius becomes even clearer with his other translations.' *Ibid.*, p. 114. There is something of an ascetic strain in Oecolampadius early in his career. However, after leaving the monastery in 1522, and with each passing year, strict asceticism appears to be important to him only insofar as it is something to be very carefully qualified or rejected.

> 'Eius vero authoris est, quo inter Theologos nemo eloquentior, inter eloquentes nemo magis theologus.'[14]

It seems clear that Oecolampadius was initially attracted to many of these writers because he thought of them as both superb orators (underscoring his humanistic concerns) and theologians worthy of consideration (underscoring his dogmatic concerns). Add to this a love of the Greek language itself, and it is relatively easy to understand why Oecolampadius did quite a lot of work with those theologians typically designated 'eastern'.[15]

Basil the Great

> *Wider die Wůcherer, und wie schädlich es sey, wůchergelt auff sich zůnemen, Ain Predig des hailigen Basilii* (1520-1522?)[16]

> *Ain Regiment oder ordnung der gaystlichen, beschriben durch den hayligen Basilium* (1521)[17]

[14] *B&A* 1, p. 82, No. 52.

[15] For example, in regards to Oecolampadius' patristic translations generally, Kinzig states, 'Sie waren nicht allein aus theologischem Interesse motiviert'. See, Wolfram Kinzig, "Oekolampads Übersetzung der Schrift "Contra Iulianum" des Kyrill von Alexandrien," in *Relationen - Studien zum Übergang vom Spätmittelalter zur Reformation: Festschrift zu Ehern von Prof. Dr. Karl-Heinz zur Mühlen*, ed. Athina Lexutt and Wolfgang Matz, (Münster, Hamburg, London: Lit Verlag, 2000), p. 156.

[16] PG 29, 263-280; CPG 2836; Staehelin, *Bib.*, p. 33, No. 61. The date given in the body text is that of the first edition. If there are subsequent editions they are listed in the footnotes.

[17] PG 32, 223-234; CPG 2900 Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 28-29, No. 48.

Both of these translations come from the Altomünster period, and are reflective of the mental landscape and lived life of a disquieted monk in the early modern period. That a 16th century monastic humanist like Oecolampadius would translate texts such as these is not all that surprising. However, the language into which the texts were translated – German rather than the customary Latin – is extremely surprising, and may illustrate Oecolampadius' early concern for the 'everyday person'.[18] The first work listed above is the second sermon of Basil on Psalm 14:5. As Oecolampadius' title states, it was originally preached to counter the abuses associated with usury. However, this sermon was about much more than simply homiletical disapproval of a practice common to 4th century ecclesiastical patricians. Rather, Basil, midway through the sermon considers the misuses and abuses of usury in order to redirect his discussion to a positive end – namely, the laity's need for personal responsibility and self-sufficiency, not as an end in itself, but so that the poor might be benefited. The poor were never far from Oecolampadius' mind, as is apparent by his early translation of Nazianzus.[19] The second work listed above is the translation of an epistle written by Basil to Nazianzus concerning the solitary monastic life.

[18] Staehelin refers to it as, 'propagandistisch wirke', meant to aid Luther against the attacks of Eck. See, Staehelin, *Die Väterübersetzungen Oekolampads*, p. 63-64.

[19] See *infra*, p. 160, n. 48.

Chrysostom [20]

In Dictum Apostoli ad Corinthios. Cum autem subiecta fuerint illa omnia, tunc & filius ipse subijietur ei & etc. De mundatione leprosi, de mysterio ternarij, & cornu olei. Sermo B. Ioannis Chrysostomi (1522)[21]

In Dictum Apostoli Oportet & Haereses esse, cum sequentibus sermo divi Ioannis Chrysostomi (1522)[22]

Sermo de Eleemosyna et collatione in Sanctos (1522)[23]

Comparatio Regis et Monachi (1523)[24]

In totum Geneseos librum Homiliae sexagintasex (1523)[25]

Psegmata (1523)[26]

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[20] See, Henri Omont, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs des Bibliothèques de Suisse* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1886). Most of these manuscripts are found in the University of Basel library. Cf., B.II.16, and A.II.13; *B&A* 1, pp. 175-177, and 193-197, Nos. 123-124, and 131-133, where Oecolampadius discusses the condition of the manuscripts and their publication with Hedio.

[21] PG 61, 338-348; CPG 4428; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 33-34, 35-36, 50-51, & 79, Nos. 63, 68, 104, & 165 (1). Cf., Staehelin, *Die Väterübersetzungen Oekolampads*, p. 70, n. 4.

[22] PG 51, 251-260; CPG 4381; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 34, 35-36, 50-51, 79, Nos. 64, 68, 104, 165.

[23] PG 51, 261-272; CPG 4382; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 36-37, 50-51, 79, Nos. 69-72, 104, & 165.

[24] PG 47, 387-392; CPG 4500; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 40-41, 50-51, 79-80, Nos. 80, 81, 104, 165.

[25] PG 53, 21-385 and PG 54, 385-580; CPG 4409. Originally this work contained sixty-six homilies on Genesis that Oecolampadius translated and to which he attached commentary. Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 40, 47, 50-51, 79-80, Nos.,79, 97, 104, 165 (2). There is a typo in entry 79. It states that the next entry should be 96, but in actuality, it is 97. Also, *CWE*, vol. 12, No. 1736, p. 284, n. 3, incorrectly insinuates that this was originally published in 1525, when in fact the 1525 edition was a reprint edition.

[26] There is some confusion about the final number of translations found in this work. The solution to the conundrum hinges on quantitative exactitude in regards to the anonymous translations done by Oecolampadius immediately prior to his death. Cf., Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, pp. 174-181; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 38, 48-49, 50-51, 79-80, Nos. 75, 99, 104, 165; and, Ernst Staehelin, *Oekolampads Beziehungen zu den Romanen: Habilitationsvorlesung gehalten an der Universität Basel* (Basel: Verlag von Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1917), p. 9, and 12ff. I have not been able to view a copy of this work.

Homiliae in epistulam ii ad Corinthios (1530)[27]

In Acta Apostolorum Homiliae Quinquagintaquinque (1530)[28]

Without question, one of the most theologically and literarily significant ancient theologians for Oecolampadius was 'the Golden-mouth'. One need only count the number of Chrysostom's homilies and other texts translated by Oecolampadius – astoundingly, somewhere around two-hundred of them – to get a sense of his appreciation for the archbishop. Translating Chrysostom was a project that began in 1522 in Mainz and lasted throughout the entirety of Oecolampadius' adult career, ending in Basel. Oecolampadius was himself the first to translate, from the Greek, the sixty-seven homilies on Genesis that have come down to us today. *Gold-nuggets of the Goldenmouth*, otherwise known as, *Psegmata*, contained forty-six various titles of varying genres – homilies, treatises, and letters. Oecolampadius was strongly criticized by Germain de Brie (a.k.a., Brixius) (d. 1538) for his translation of Chrysostom's *On St. Babylas*, found in this work – de Brie arguing that Oecolampadius had made two hundred errors. Within a few months Oecolampadius attempted to clear himself of these charges in his preface to the Cyril *Opera*.[29] The *Comparatio Regis et Monachi*, was a work by Chrysostom on the monastic life. Oecolampadius

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[27] PG 61, 381-610; CPG 4429; Staehelin, *Bib*, pp. 79, No. 165 (1).

[28] PG 60, 13-384; CPG 4426; Staehelin, *Bib*., pp. 79, & 80-81, Nos. 165 (1), & 167.

[29] Cf., *B&A* 2, pp., 145-153, Nos. 555-557; *B&A* 2 pp. 217-218, No. 597; and, Staehelin, *Die Väterübersetzungen Oekolampads*, pp. 78-84.

dedicated it to Johannes Palgmacher, the penitentiary priest at Altomünster.

Between 1523 and 1530 there appears to have been a Chrysostom publication lull for Oecolampadius, as pastoral duties, and other interests, began to take more and more of his time. However, even when he was not translating or editing Chrysostom, he was quoting and utilizing him in other treatises.[30] In 1530, Froben in his Chrysostom *Opera*, published Oecolampadius' translation of twenty-nine homilies on 2 Corinthians anonymously. Added to it, and published the following year, were fifty-one of Chrysostom's homilies on the book of Acts. This work was typeset and released by Froben, but under the guise of being Erasmian, even though Erasmus believed the homilies on Acts to be spurious.[31] A few of the translations made by Oecolampadius were not used, as Erasmus himself had completed a handful of them. Erasmus wrote the foreword, leaving most readers to assume that it was his work. We have previously mentioned that neither Froben nor Erasmus cared much for Oecolampadius or his theology by the mid-1520's and both men feared having his name attached to the work. However, they needed an experienced translator of Chrysostom, and since Oecolampadius had abundant familiarity, the task fell to him. Ultimately though, again, the

[30] However, see pp. 212ff., *infra*.

[31] *CWE*, vol. 12, No. 1736, p. 285.

sermons on Acts, like those on 2 Corinthians, were published anonymously.[32]

Cyril of Alexandria

De recta fide ad Reginas (1528)[33]

Contra Julianum apostatam pro religione Christiana libros X (1528)[34]

De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate liber unus (1528)[35]

De eo quod verbum dei factum sit homo (1528)[36]

De recta fide in Christum ad Theodosium (1528)[37]

Dialogorum cum Hermia de Trinitate libri septem (1528)[38]

In dialogo de sancto spiritu (1528)[39]

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[32] Erasmus, ed., *D. Joannis Chrysostomi archiep. Const. opera* (Basel: Froben, 1530-1531). Cf., J. van Banning, *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum (Praefatio)* (Turnholti: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1988), pp. 339-340, and 342-343.

[33] PG 76, 1201-1336; CPG 5219; and, Pusey 7, 263-333. Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 74-75 & 98, Nos. 156 (3) & 200 (2).

[34] PG 76, 504-1064; CPG 5233. For books 1 & 2, see SC 322. Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 74-75 & 98, Nos. 156 (3) & 200 (2).

[35] PG 68, 133-1125; CPG 5200; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 74 & 98, Nos. 156 (2) & 200 (1); Omont, *CMG*, A.III.17, Fol. 163.

[36] PG 77, 1089-1096; CPG 5259; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 84, & 98-99, Nos. 174, & 200 (3). There is some debate about the validity of this text being Oecolampadius' translation. It does not appear in the first edition of Cyril from 1528, but does find its way into a collectanea entitled, *Ioannis Cassiani Viri Disertissimi, De incarnatione Domini libri VII. iam recens aediti. Item Beati Cyrilli sermo, de eo quod verbum dei factum sit homo*, published by Cratander in 1534.

[37] PG 76, 1133-1200; CPG 5218; and, Pusey 7, 1-153. Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 74-75 & 98, Nos. 156 (3) & 200 (2).

[38] PG 75, 657-1124; CPG 5216; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 74 & 98, Nos. 156 (2) & 200 (1); Omont, *CMG*, A.III.17, Fol. 192.

[39] PG 75, 1124-1145; CPG 5216°; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 74 & 98, Nos. 156 (2) & 200 (1).

Liber Cyrilli ad Euoptium Episcopum (1528)[40]

All of the translation work that Oecolampadius did on the Alexandrian bishop was published in 1528. Cratander wanted to release a Cyril *Opera*, and enlisted Oecolampadius to help with the three-volume work. The first volume was a compilation of the previously published translation of Cyril's *Commentary on John* by George of Trebizond (ca. 1395-1484), with addenda by Josse Clichtove (1472-1543), to which was added Oecolampadius' rather lengthy dedicatory epistle.[41] This first volume also included *In Leviticum Libri XVI*, which at the time was thought to have been composed by Cyril, but was actually the work of Origen. The second volume contained another translation by Trebizond, the *Thesaurus*, as well as Oecolampadius' translations of *Dialogorum cum Hermia*, *In dialogo de sancto spiritu*, and *De adoratione*. Volume three incorporated only the remaining translations of Oecolampadius himself – namely, *De recta fide, ad Reginas*, and *Contra Julianum*.[42] The original Greek manuscript used by Oecolampadius for *Contra Julianum* is no longer extant, but his Latin translation betrays a markedly different Greek original than any known to

[40] PG 76, 385-388; CPG 5222; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 98-99, No. 200 (3). This translation by Oecolampadius was added to the fourth volume of the second edition of the *Opera* published in 1546. It is not found in the first edition, and its Oecolampadian legitimacy is questioned. Staehelin thinks, based on the publication of *Antidotum contra diversas omnium fere seculorum haereses*, by Johannes Sichardt in 1528, it is possible that there were two different Cyril texts in Basel in 1528, one of which was genuinely Oecolampadian, and Cratander simply confused Oecolampadius' with the second translation after both had been lying around the printing house for sometime. See Staehelin, *Die Väterübersetzungen Oekolampads*, pp. 68-69, n. 3. The work is, however, found in the University of Basel library. Omont, *CMG*, A.III.4, Fol. 574, II.

[41] See, *B&A* 2, pp. 203-225, No. 597.

[42] Oecolampadius refers to these works as, 'rara eruditione referti'. *Ibid.*, p.597.

be in existence today. [43] The codex used for *ad Reginas*, *Contra Julianum*, and *De recta fide*, came from the library of Margrave Philip I, and was originally owned by Capnion, or Reuchlin. The other manuscripts came from the cloister in Basel.[44]

Gennadius I of Constantinople

De Simonia Gennadii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Encyclia epistola (1518)[45]

As the title states, this is an encyclical epistle of patriarch Gennadius of Constantinople (*fl.* 458-471), on simony. According to Quasten, it is his only complete work to come down to us.[46]

Gregory of Nazianzus

Ad Virginem admonitorius (1519)[47]

De Amandis Pauperibus, Gregorii Nazanzeni Episcopi & Theologi sermo (1519)[48]

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[43] For an exceptional discussion of the *Contra Julianum* manuscript see, Kinzig, "Oekolampads Übersetzung der Schrift 'Contra Iulianum' des Kyrill von Alexandrien", pp. 158ff; and cf., William Malley, S.J., "The Contra Julianum of St. Cyril of Alexandria and St. Peter Canisius," *Theological Studies* 25 (1964), p. 70.

[44] Cf., *B&A* 2, p. 203, No. 597-598; n.a., *En Basileia polei tes Germanias: Greichischer Geist aus Basler Pressen* (Basel: Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, 1992), pp. 676-680; and, Omont, *CMG*, A.III.4, and A.III.17.

[45] PG 85, 1613-1621; CPG 5977; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 12, & 102-103, Nos. 8, & 208.

[46] Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, ed. Angelo Di Berardino, 4 vols. vol. 3 (Allen, Texas: Christian Classics, 1977-), p. 526.

[47] PG 37, 632-640; CPG 3035; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 13, 15, 29, & 31, Nos. 10, 14, 49, 53.

[48] PG 35, 857-910; CPG 3010; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 13, 15, 29, & 31, Nos. 10, 14, 49, 53.

Laudes Cypriani martyris (1519)[49]

Laudes Maccabaeorum (1519)[50]

Sermo in Pascha (1519)[51]

Sermo in dictum Evangelii Matthaei XIX (1519)[52]

De Moderandis Disputationibus Gregorii Nazanzeni sapientissimus sermo (1521)[53]

Obviously, Nazianzus was an important figure for Oecolampadius, at least early in his academic and monastic life. All of the translations completed by Oecolampadius were published in 1519, while he was the cathedral preacher in Augsburg. The only exception to this is *De Moderandis*, which was published in 1521. Oecolampadius received the manuscript from Capito, which belonged to the Dominican priory in Basel. Oecolampadius held on to it for a number of years. Apparently, while he was at castle Ebenburg, a Nazianzus manuscript was stored at his parents' home, but eventually made its way back to Basel.[54]

[49] PG 35, 1170-1194; CPG 3010; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 13-14, No. 11.

[50] PG 35, 911-934; CPG 3010; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 13, 15, 29, & 31, Nos. 10, 14, 49, 53.

[51] PG 35, 396-402; CPG 3010; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 13-14, No. 11.

[52] PG 36, 282-308; CPG 3010; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 13-14, No. 11.

[53] PG 36, 174-212; CPG 3010; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 26, 30, & 128, Nos. 41, 51 & 186[a]. See Oecolampadius' letter from Altomünster in July 1521 where he gives the manuscript's Greek title, 'περὶ εὐταξίας ἐν διαλέξεσιν'. *B&A* 1, pp. 152-153, No. 108.

[54] Cf., *B&A* 1, p. 96, No. 61; and, *B&A* 1, p. 199, No. 135, where in 1522 Oecolampadius tells Capito, 'Nazanzenus vero apud parentes meos'.

Gregory Thaumaturgus

Gregorii Neocaesariensis episcopi Canones (1518)[55]

In Ecclesiastem Solomonis Metaphrasis Divi Gregorii Neocaesariensis Episcopi (1520)[56]

'The Wonder-worker' (*ca.* 210-260), was bishop of Neocaesarea, a proponent of Origen's theology,[57] and his miracles were greatly eulogized by Gregory of Nyssa.[58] The first work of Thaumaturgus translated by Oecolampadius deals with the issues of casuistry and penitence. It was written to a now unknown bishop. Oecolampadius' second rendering is simply a paraphrasing of the LXX version of Ecclesiastes. It is interesting to note that the major manuscript traditions assign the authorship of this text to Nazianzus. However, Jerome suggests that it is the work of Thaumaturgus. The fact that Oecolampadius attributes authorship to Thaumaturgus rather than Nazianzus might suggest Oecolampadius' skill as a textual critic even in the beginning stages of his career.[59]

[55] PG 10, 1020-1048; CPG 1765; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 12, & 102-103, Nos. 8, & 208.

[56] PG 10, 987-1018; CPG 3061; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 20, 90-91, & 102-103, Nos. 20, 26, 185 & 208.

[57] See his panegyric to Origen, 'Εἰς' Ωριγένην προσθώητικὸς καὶ πανηγυρικὸς λόγος' (PG 10, 1052-1104; CPG 1763).

[58] See, Gregory of Nyssa's, *Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, in, G. Heil, ed., *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* (Leiden: Brill, 1990).

[59] Cf., V*ir. ill.* 65 (PL 23, 711-714). For a judicious introduction to his life and works see, Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Gregory Thaumaturgus: Life and Works*, ed. Thomas P. Halton, trans. Michael Slusser, (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1998), pp. 1-37.

Jerome

Index in Tomos Omnes, Operum Divi Hieronymi cum interpretatione nominum Graecorum & Hebraeorum (1520)[60]

Oecolampadius worked on indexing Jerome throughout the year of 1517, as Froben needed the book for the newly finished nine-volume Erasmus edition. The index itself was not published until the spring of 1520, but when completed it comprised three hundred and sixty pages. The index was divided into four sections: '1) Index omnium, quae insigniter dicta sunt a divo Hieronymo; 2) Index scholiorum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami super opera divi Hieronymi; 3) An index of Greek words; 4) An index of Hebrew words.'[61] Wolfgang Capito wrote the dedicatory epistle for the *Index*, in which he praised the inclusion of not just Greek and Latin, but also Hebrew words. Clearly, this was also to be understood as praise for Oecolampadius and his linguistic skills.[62]

John of Damascus (Pseudo)

Sermo de his, qui in fide hinc migrarunt, quod sacris operationib. & vivorum beneficiis multum iuventur (1520)[63]

This, probably spurious Damascene text, was translated by Oecolampadius while in the monastery at Altomünster. More than likely he received the text

[60] Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 19-20, No. 24.

[61] Old, *Patristic Roots*, p. 112.

[62] *B&A* 1, pp. 114-115, No. 77.

[63] PG 95, 248-277; CPG 8112; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 21 & 85-86, Nos. 28 & 177.

from Bernard Adelmann.[64] The specific purpose of the translation, Oecolampadius tells us, was to attempt to shed light on questions raised about the relationship between prayer and good works, and their consequent influence on those who have died. He mentions to Conrad Peutinger (1465-1547), the man to whom the treatise was dedicated, the following:

> Indeed, as soon as I had stumbled upon this oration of the Damascene, I thought of those questions which had once been debated at the party, to which you invited me together with others.[65]

Apparently Oecolampadius was hoping that the translation would have far reaching affects. Again, because of his interest in the relationship between confession and penance, this text on the merit of prayers for the dead was significant for Oecolampadius' later theological developments.

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[64] See n. 76, *infra*.

[65] 'Ut primum enim in hanc Damasceni orationem incidi, recordatus sum eorum, quae olim in convivio, ad quod me una cum aliis vocaras, disputata fuerunt.' *B&A* 1, p. 132, No. 90. For a discussion of Oecolampdius' renderings from Greek into Latin see, Irena Backus, "What Prayers for the Dead in the Tridentine Period? [Pseudo-] John of Damascus, 'De his qui in fide dormierunt' and its 'Protestant' translation by Johannes Oecolampadius," in *Reformiertes Erbe: Festschrift für Gottfried W. Locher zu seinem 80*, ed. Heiko Oberman, (Zürich: Theol. Verlag, 1993), pp. 13-24.

John VI of Jerusalem

Ioannis Damasceni Vita, A Ioanne Patriarcha Hierosolymitano conscripta (1522)[66]

This translation is a hagiographic text on the life of John of Damascus. Oecolampadius lists the author as Patriarch John VI of Jerusalem (*fl.* 838-842). However, his historical and textual analysis is somewhat problematic. There were four different patriarchs named John within a four hundred and fifty year period in Jerusalem (*ca.* 706-1156), and the manuscript title reads only, *S. Joannis, Hierosolymitani patriarchae, homilia in vitam S. Joan Damasceni*, giving no suggestion as to which John authored the work. The *Vita* is now thought to have been composed sometime in the eleventh century – substantially later than the reign of John VI.[67] Although Oecolampadius later loses interest in John of Damascus, and in fact comes to view him in a rather negative light, during the early 1520's he deems him a significant enough figure in the history of the eastern church to warrant translation. The text can be found in a manuscript containing sixty-two different works titled *Menologium*, in the Basel library.[68]

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[66] PG 94, 429-489; BHG 884; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 33 & 85-86, Nos. 62 & 177.

[67] For more on the date of composition and its possible author see, Andrew Louth, *St. John Damascene: Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 16, n. 2.

[68] Omont, *CMG*, A.III.12, Fol. 354vo.

Nicephorus Chartophylax

De Ligandi et Solvendi Potestate, Nicephori Chartophylacis Constantinopoli. archiepi. Epistola (1518)[69]

Chartophylax, or 'The Archive Keeper', whose true name was Nicephorus Gregoras (*ca.* 1295-1360), was a Byzantine historian and arch-opponent of Gregory Palamas and the hesychasts. Again, like other translations from the early period in Oecolampadius' career, this very short letter also covers penance, but from the perspective of an eastern canonist.

Peter of Alexandria

De Poenitentia Petri archiepiscopi. Alexandrini & martyris Canones (1518)[70]

This is the fourth work, again on penance, along with those of Thaumaturgus, Gennadius, and Nicephorus from 1518, to have been published in one book.[71] All of these texts were translated while Oecolampadius was working as a priest-confessor for the bishop of Basel. Staehelin states that the manuscripts for all of them can be found in the

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[69] PG 100, 1065-1068. Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 12, & 102-103, Nos. 8, & 208.

[70] PG 18, 468-508; CPG 1639; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 12, & 102-103, Nos. 8 & 208.

[71] Johannes Oecolampadius, ed. *De poenitentia Petri archiepiscopi. Alexandrini et martyris Canones. Gregorii Neocaesariensis episcopi, Canones. De Simonia Gennadii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Encyclia epistola. De Ligandi et Solvendi Potestate, Nicephori Chartophylacis Constantinopoli. archiepi. epistola.* (Basel: Froben, 1518).

Basel University library under the title, *Theodori Balsamonis commentarius in canones ss. Apostolorum et conciliorum etc.*[72]

Thalassius

De charitate, continentia et regimine mentis Thalassii hecatontades quattuor (1520)[73]

Little is know about Thalassius other than the information we are given by Maximus Confessor in his *Questiones ad Thalassium*, and a handful of letters that exist.[74] What we do know is that Thalassius was a presbyter and abbot for a community in the Libyan desert.[75] Oecolampadius received this manuscript from Bernhard Adelmann while in the monastery at Altomünster. Adelmann wrote Pirckheimer in July of 1520 to tell him that he has sent a number of sermons by John of Damascus to Oecolampadius that he assumed had not been previously published, as well as this work by Thalassius.[76] Again, from Oecolampadius' perspective, the theological concerns justifying the text's translation are charity and self-discipline.

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[72] See, Old, *Patristic Roots*, p. 112, n. 8; and see, Omont, *CMG*, A.III.6.

[73] PG 91, 1428-1470; CPG 7848; Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 21 & 102-103, Nos. 27 & 208.

[74] See, CCSG 7 & 22; PG 91, 616-617, 633-637; and, CPG 7699.

[75] See, http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/t/thalassios.shtml [retrieved February 10, 2004].

[76] '. . . nam misi sibi complures sermones Damasceni prius, ut existimo, non translatos, tum etiam Thalassium de charitate . . .', *B&A* 1, p. 132, No. 89, n. 2.

Theophylact of Ochrid

Theophylacti Archiepiscopi Bulgariae, in quatuor Evangelia enarrationes (1524)[77]

On 19 November 1522, Oecolampadius wrote to Wolfgang Capito from Basel stating that he was very hopeful of laying his hands on a manuscript of Theophylact.[78] By 1524, Oecolampadius had published the archbishop's four commentaries on the gospels. In his introduction to the work, Oecolampadius states that Theophylact combines the thoughts of a number of ancient authors in his exegesis, but most thoroughly reflects the thoughts of Chrysostom. Moreover, Oecolampadius' opinions concerning Theophylact probably played a role in Calvin's opinion of him as well. Johannes Van Oort states concerning Calvin and Theophylact,

> . . . in his *Praefatio* to the planned edition of Chrysostom's homilies, Calvin gives his (probably more ripe) assessment of the eleventh-century exegete by stating that 'whatever praiseworthy qualities he has he borrowed from Chrysostom'.[79]

[77] PG 123, 139-124, 318. Staehelin, *Bib.* pp. 45, 52-53, 65-66, 76, 80, 81-82, 85, 92-94, Nos. 93, 108, 138, 139, 159, 166, 169, 176, 189-192.

[78] 'Magnopere et Vulgarium desideramus', *B&A* 1, p. 199, No. 135.

[79] Johannes Van Oort, "John Calvin and the Church Fathers," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Backus (Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1998), p. 694. Cf., *CO* 9, 834; and, William Ian P Hazlett, "Calvin's Latin preface to his proposed French edition of Chrysostom's homilies: translation and commentary," in *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England, and Scotland, 1400-1643: Essays in Honour of James K. Cameron*, ed. James Kirk (Oxford, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1991), pp. 144-145.

By around 1530 Oecolampadius appears to have lost whatever admiration for Theophylact that he may have once had, as he says that the work is only for the discriminating reader, as there are theological notions contained in the commentaries (especially as concerns eucharistic doctrines), that suggest Theophylact's thought lacks judiciousness, and that could easily be confusing if not properly contextualized.[80] Though it may only be a bit of rhetorical sophistry, Oecolampadius even goes so far as to say that he could not be more amazed that Melanchthon would take refuge in such miserable help in his *Sententiae Veterum*! [81] It appears that Oecolampadius used a 14th century manuscript from the Basel Dominican cloister for his translation.[82]

General Analysis of the Published Texts

In light of this summary of published and/or edited patristic texts, what if anything can we deduce? First, we would like to suggest the obvious – namely, that the amount of patristic work specifically sent to press by Oecolampadius over the entirety of his career demonstrates a deep commitment to both humanism and ancient theologians and their theology. Manuscript translation was clearly an electrifying pursuit for

[80] Of course, Catholic scholars challenged Oecolampadius' translation of Theophylact. Specifically, the charge was leveled that he excluded certain important phrases from his translation. See, *B&A* 2, No. 746, pp. 442-443.

[81] See, *Dial.*, I 7 ^{v}.

[82] See, *B&A* 1, p. 269, No. 187; and, Omont, *CMG*, A.III.15.

Oecolampadius. However, this reading and translating of texts encouraged the facilitation of Oecolampadius' own theological course and was the *sine qua non* necessary for its mapping. As short segments of this doctrinal road were laid and Oecolampadius moved forward along it, his range of vision began to increase. He could see over this or that theological hill, and the new landscapes seem to have inspired him. Certainly, it prompted Oecolampadius to encourage others, at times boldly, and at other times subversively (from the behind the protection of monastery walls), to follow along. Nonetheless, for those concerned to be able to see even the same road that Oecolampadius saw required a very large magnifying lens, and that lens became the printer's press. Issuance of the individual texts of individual fathers effectively exposed these authors to an early modern audience that tacitly understood their station within the church, even if Oecolampadius' contemporaries disagreed on the specifics of that station. More importantly for Oecolampadius, however, was the fact that mass distribution magnified the issues with which the fathers were concerned. If we are allowed to continue the metaphor of the "path" or "road", based on the quantitative evidence above, we can confidently say that the unique path that Oecolampadius laid and encouraged others to walk, went in a very particular direction. Generally, the early works that he translated and published render him transparent. In other words, as we have pointed out in the textual summaries, the majority of Oecolampadius' early translations orbit the issues of penance and confession, which leads us to postulate that the issues were of great importance to him. More than likely, they were on his patron Bernhard Adelmann's mind as well, as Oecolampadius

received a number of his texts from him. Certainly it was a reciprocal relationship: Oecolampadius, the humanist, interested in the ideas of both the ancient church and Luther, and Adelmann interested in the wider theological and societal reform that would blossom from a close reading of the ancients, each had something personally invested. If Staehelin is correct, the early translations are a particular sort of propaganda. As propaganda then, Oecolampadius wants the thoughts of the fathers, which are similar in many ways to his own thoughts (as he exegetes and then understands them, of course), to be ever present to the thoughts of others as well.[83] This hoped for ubiquity of ideas would lead eventually to their discussion in the public forum. Discussion oftentimes leads to change, and change is what Oecolampadius was daringly, if not also subtly, proposing.

However, how does all of this comport with his translation of larger works like Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Cyril, where we might assume Oecolampadius would have had less 'creative control' (e.g., his later work on Chrysostom), or where he, at key points, may have differed theologically from those he was translating (e.g., Theophylact and Cyril)? Clearly, Oecolampadius was working hard to make a name for himself early in his career, and being at Erasmus' side was the perfect place to do just that. However, as the maturing Oecolampadius became more comfortable with his own abilities and ideas, grew theologically more distant from Erasmus, and when scholars and publishers outside of the Erasmian *sodalitas* recognized those abilities, he would have had more say about which

[83] See n. 18, *supra*.

projects he was willing to take on. Furthermore, as years went by and Oecolampadius became more involved with the university professorship, his pastoral work, and the reforms taking place in Basel, he probably declined quite a lot of additional work, including the translating of texts. However, outside of what was surely a hectic schedule, Oecolampadius found time to translate rather extensive Greek manuscripts containing the works of three main authors.

Generally speaking, two of these fathers are similar in style and hermeneutic – namely, Chrysostom and Theophylact. The third author, Cyril, has in the theanthropic Christ an epistemological starting point essentially analogous to that of Chrysostom and Theophylact. However, geographically Alexandrian, and therefore commonly characterized as more allegorical, Cyril's hermeneutic and exegesis is quite different from that of the other two men. Often, this allegorical bent in ancient authors was the kind of thing that Oecolampadius tended to shy away from in his later career. It is easy to see why Chrysostom then had appeal for Oecolampadius. In a letter to Caspar Hedio (1494-1552) dated January 21, 1523, while commenting on Chrysostom's *Homiliae in Genesim*, Oecolampadius states,

> Here we learn, just how the sacred scriptures might be expounded once separated from allegories.[84]

Moreover, Chrysostom's homilies were based on a *lectio continua* of scripture, which was the approach Oecolampadius himself took at the Basel cathedral. Also, Chrysostom's homiletical method tended toward a biblical-exegetical approach, rather than a topical one. Even when he did preach topical sermons, those sermons usually focused on a set biblical text. Given Oecolampadius' penchant for the biblical text too, his appreciation for the archbishop does not seem at all unnatural. Mayer and Allen state concerning Chrysostom,

> The literal interpretation of scripture generally favoured at this time in Antioch (as opposed to the allegorical method preferred in that other influential eastern city, Alexandria) shines through in the matter-of-fact historical comment, pragmatic theological debate and observations on the techniques employed by Paul and the gospel writers. This preference for directness is characteristic of his preaching in general.[85]

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[84] 'Ibi discimus, quomodo sepositis allegoriis tractandae sint sacrae literae.' *B&A* 1, p. 203, No. 142.

[85] Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen, *John Chrysostom* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 26-27.

Like Chrysostom, an extensive knowledge of sacred scripture, coupled with a liberal education and penchant for personal piety expressed via *charitas* for God and neighbor, eventually delimited Oecolampadius' aptitude for preaching historically matter-of-fact and theologically pragmatic sermons.

Theophylact, though knowledgeable of and prone to use many eastern fathers in his *Explanation*, is quintessentially the recapitulator of Chrysostom.[86] In most instances, this makes him extremely palatable to Oecolampadius as well. However, there were *loci* in Theophylact that made Oecolampadius uncomfortable.[87] For example, even though *Enarrationes* was published by 1524, Oecolampadius chose not to quote from any of it in *DGVD* in 1525. The reason for this is clear. Theophylact states on Mark 14:22-25:

> When 'he had blessed,' that is, had given thanks, 'he broke the bread': which is also what we ourselves do, by adding prayers, 'This is my body,' this, I say, which you partake. Indeed, the bread is not only a figure and some kind of example of the Lord's body, but that bread is converted into the body of Christ. Indeed, the Lord said: 'The bread which I give, is my flesh'

[86] Theophylactus, *The Explanation by Blessed Theophylact Archbishop of Ochrid and Bulgaria*, trans. Christopher Stade, 3 vols., vol. 1 (House Springs, MO: Chrysostom Press, 2000), p. 3.

[87] *B&A* 2, p. 217, No. 597.

> (Jn. 6:51), he did not say, 'it is a figure of my flesh': but, 'it is my flesh.'[88]

This sort of language was both theologically and rationally unintelligible to Oecolampadius. The session of Christ, based as it is for Oecolampadius on scripture and the analogy of faith, is the doctrine by which the mouths of those who would understand Christ's body to be locally present on every altar, during every liturgy, are stopped. For Oecolampadius, the bread is emphatically not, as we have seen, the 'true body' of Christ, and as he goes about the task of proving this point, Theophylact is found to be of little help. The eucharist and certain aspects of Christological doctrine aside, Oecolampadius still finds Theophylact to be a formidable representative of Chrysostom and the Antiochene school, and therefore helpful.

Conversely, Oecolampadius' translation of Cyril raises certain significant issues. It is remarkable to note that the material Oecolampadius translated for the *Opera* was published in 1528, because by this time he had become *the* reformer of Basel. The attainment and maintenance of that position was to a certain degree contingent on his ability to use an incipient form of the

[88] 'Quum benedixisset hoc est, gratias egisset, fregit panem: id quod etiam nos facimus, preces adiungendo, Hoc est corpus meum, hoc inquam quod sumitis. Non enim figura tantum & exemplar quoddam dominici corporis panis est, sed in illum convertitur corpus Christi. Dominus enim dicit: Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea est, non dixit, figura est carnis meae: sed, caro mea est.' Theophylactus, *Theophylacti archiepiscopi Bulgariae in quatuor Evangelia enarrationes, denuo recognitae*, trans. Joannes Oecolampadius (Basel: Cratander, 1525), p. 74 ^{r}. Cf., Theophylact's statements on Matt 26:26 in, *Ibid.*, p. 45 ^{v}; and the more problematic for Oecolampadius, the archbishop's exegesis of John 6:31ff.; *Ibid.*, p. 170 ^{r}-171 ^{r}.

historical-grammatical method in his sermons, while writing the same sort of biblical commentary, or adjusting it for use in theological works like *DGVD*. This was clearly one of the necessary provisions required to appease a growing population of reform minded humanists and theologians – the *litterati* and *eruditi* – of Germany, France, and the ever-fragile Swiss confederacy. A certain exegetical and hermeneutical homogeneity was required of anyone attempting to reform Rome, and yet desirous to maintain some sense of accord between discordant reformers in neighboring regions, and the ancient church. The continuance of the reformations in these regions required a common language and rhetorical style – a linguistic 'normative centering.'[89] Humanists and theologians could rarely completely agree on the specifics of the content that filled the linguistic symbols of the redefined language of reform, but it was most certainly one of the keys needed in order to unlock theological dissension among competing groups.

What was also of equal ultimacy was not exactly what was said by each person (i.e., Luther says 'this' about the sacrament, and Zwingli says 'that'), but rather how the speaker spoke – their emblematic style. Was there *a* rhetoric of viable similarity that held all together, even in the face of competing theological views, against a larger perceived enemy – namely, the papacy? The answer is probably yes. This new rhetoric, as

[89] Author Berndt Hamm states, '. . . by "normative centering" I mean the alignment of both religion and society towards a standardizing, authoritative, regulating and legitimizing focal point.' For more on this see, Berndt Hamm, *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Piety* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 1-49, specifically, pp. 3-8.

Oecolampadius and others understood it, was founded upon the legitimately contextualized and creatively re-contextualized language of scripture, the fathers, and conciliar pronouncements of the church. Analysis of history and grammar, the foundational hermeneutical methodology of the 'new' linguistic science that germinated and grew rapidly in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of continental reforms, and not the mystical and allegorical interpretations of 'less informed' ancient and 'superstitious' theologians, reigned supreme for many of the humanists and reformers.[90]

According to Robert Wilken, Cyril himself understood scripture to be only initially about history and grammar with these two eventually leading beyond themselves:

> The aim (*skopos*) of the inspired Scriptures is the mystery of Christ signified to us through a myriad of different kinds of things. Someone might liken it to a glittering and magnificent city, having not one image of the king, but many, and publicly displayed in every corner of the city . . . Its aim, however, is not to provide us an account of the lives of the saints of old. Far from that. Rather it seeks to give us knowledge of the mystery [of Christ] through those things by

[90] For an interesting discussion see, Peter Matheson, *The Rhetoric of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), pp. 111-156.

> which the word about him might become clear and true.[91]

Spending considerable amounts of time in the midst of an already overloaded schedule translating an ancient theologian whose biblical hermeneutic might possibly lead to the opposite sort of exegetical conclusions for which Oecolampadius was publicly vying seems odd. But, given Oecolampadius' personal public milieu in the 1520's, is it really all that odd to find him working rapaciously on Cyril of Alexandria?

After the publication of *DGVD*, Oecolampadius was openly condemned by certain individuals for revivifying aspects of both Marcionism and Nestorianism.[92] The eucharistic debate, which Oecolampadius understood to be ultimately christological in nature, does indeed become a christological battle, especially for Luther and Roman Catholic polemicists. In relation to Marcionism, Oecolampadius was accused of promulgating a eucharistic/christological docetism founded upon the idea that matter, or rather flesh, was evil and availed nothing. Because he argued that John 6:63 [Vulg. 6:64] ('the flesh is of no use') sanctioned his anti-transubstantiationist eucharistic theology, it was not a far distance for his opponents to travel to recommend that he then must think all matter evil.

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[91] *Glaphyra* (PG 69, 308), as quoted in, Robert Louis Wilken, "Cyril of Alexandria as Interpreter of the Old Testament," in *The Theology of Cyril of Alexandria*, ed. Thomas G. Weinandy and Daniel A. Keating (London & New York: T&T Clark, 2003), p. 16

[92] On Marcionism see, Pirckheimer [Pirckheymheri], *De vera Christi*, D 5 ^{v}, and, G 2 ^{r}-G 5 ^{v}; and for Nestorianism see, Josse Clichtove, *De Sacramento Eucharistiae, contra Oecolampadium, opusculum*, 2 vols. vol. 1 (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1526), p. 40 ^{v}-41 ^{r}.

Moreover, according to the then prevailing understanding of Marcion, if all matter was indeed evil then the divine would not, and in fact could not, participate (or commune) in or with it. According to the Marcionites, Jesus seemed to be a truly flesh and blood human being, when in reality he was much more like a ghost. Oecolampadius states in a number of works published post-1525, and specifically in the dedicatory epistle to the Cyril *Opera*, that he had been falsely accused of asserting that Christ is *phantasticum*.[93]

On the latter label of Nestorianism, Oecolampadius was accused by the Roman polemicist Josse Clichtove of maintaining this aberrant christology. Clichtove declared that Nestorianism taught that Christ was only human and not God, and that Christ had only a human nature, and that nature was not united to divinity. It is not clear from this short statement if Clichtove truly grasps Nestorian christology. He does not seem to be calling Oecolampadius a true dyophysite, but rather his language betrays an Ebionite or adoptionist understanding. In any case, what Clichtove is most concerned about is the unity of the divine and human natures in Christ. As he reads the proceedings from the council of Ephesus, it is this theological aspect that gives primacy to the body and blood of Christ being truly present in the eucharist. The flesh of Christ is life-giving because it is united with the divinity, and is therefore truly the bread of life (John 6:35). Clichtove believes that Oecolampadius has torn the union asunder with his

[93] *B&A* 2, p. 206, No. 597.

eucharistic theology, which automatically enables him to brand Oecolampadius a Nestorian.[94]

Obviously, Oecolampadius sought to counter this argument, and make the case to the listening world that he was neither a Marcionite nor a Nestorian. He did this in a number of ways. First, he wrote two responses, or rebuttals, to Pirckheimer's critique of *DGVD*, in which he argued that he did not hold that the body of Christ was imaginary.[95] He also wrote a number of letters in which he tried to state his christological and resultant eucharistic position clearly. The most systematic of these was written sometime around March 10, 1527 and lists eighteen propositions relating to the aforementioned topics.[96] Even more important, I would argue, for his vindication from the charges of Marcionism and Nestorianism, than the publication of these works was Oecolampadius' translation and editing of the Cyril *Opera*. As we will see in our discussion below, one of the most often quoted patristic fathers in *DGVD* was Tertullian, the arch-polemicist against Marcion. If, as is sometimes suggested, Tertullian knew Irenaeus' works and gleaned much of his theology from him, then this is an important link in the present conversation. Recently, there has been discussion about the relationship between the thought of Irenaeus and Cyril, and exactly how much the latter

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[94] See, Clichtove, *De Sacramento Eucharistiae, contra Oecolampadium* , vol. 1, pp. 40 ^{v}-41 ^{v}.

[95] Cf., Oecolampadius, *de re Eucharistiae responsio*, pp. G 2 ^{v}-G 3 ^{v}; and, *Responsio posterior*, pp., 81 (F 1 ^{r}) -86 (F 3 ^{v}). In the latter, Oecolampadius attempts to defend himself against the charges of Marcionism, reiterates polemic from the previous book, and is generally much more vitriolic.

[96] See, *B&A* 2, pp. 38-40, No. 470. Cf., Chapter 2, pp. 135-138.

knew and borrowed from the former. Specifically, topics such as *skopos*, ἀνακεφαλαίωσις, *theosis*, and 'Adam and Christ typology,' seem to demonstrate an employment of Irenaean ideas by Cyril.[97] Some of these terms and theological ideas are put to use by Oecolampadius too.

Though it is outside the scope of this study, it is worth noting that there may be an organic link in Oecolampadius' mind between the theologies of Irenaeus and Cyril. Oecolampadius does not mention such a link, and at this point in Oecolampadian scholarship it must be inferred from the notions of Oecolampadius himself. Hypothetically, however, if this inference is correct it goes a long way in providing an explanation for his work on Cyril. In Cyril, Oecolampadius finds an ally against the charges leveled against him as a Marcionite, as there is absolutely no place for Christ as *phantasticum* in the Alexandrian's mind, which is also a similar line of reasoning found in Irenaeus. Equally, so long as Oecolampadius properly reads and interprets Cyril, the archbishop becomes a bulwark against the accusations of Nestorianism by Clichtove and others. Finally, and most importantly, even if the hypothesis about Oecolampadius recognizing an organic relationship between the bishop from Lyon and Cyril is completely wrongheaded, in the final analysis it does not matter for our immediate purposes, as we are really concerned to know why Oecolampadius put himself out for Cyril at all. We can postulate that Oecolampadius may have

[97] Cf., Lars Koen, *The Saving Passion: Incarnational and Soteriological Thought in Cyril of Alexandria's Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1991), p. 38; and, Lawrence J. Welch, *Christology and Eucharist in the Early Thought of Cyril of Alexandria* (New York & Oxford: Catholic Scholars Press, 1994), pp. 30, 62, and 104.

translated Cyril and attached his name to the *Opera* even if he would not have agreed with one word of the Cyril's thought (though this is clearly not the case), simply for expediency's sake. He needed an ally, and a powerful one, from the ancient church, in order to make the case that he, in the end, was christologically orthodox – every bit as much as Luther, Pirckheimer, Clichtove, and whoever else was willing to take him to task.

The Patristic References of *De Genuina Verborum Domini*

Below are the catalogued patristic references found in both *DGVD* and *Dialogus*. The column on the far left lists the supposed author of a particular work or works (**Author**). The second column from the left lists the works themselves by title, or by Oecolampadius' allusion to an author or work (**Work**). The third column (**C1**) inventories specifically referenced authors and texts as they are found in *DGVD* and *Dialogus*. Lastly, the column on the far right (**C2**) catalogues either a simple reference to an author or work but without the corresponding text of the work itself, or a possible allusion to an author or text. The numbers given in columns **C1** and **C2** represent the number of times Oecolampadius refers to either an author or a text. So, for example, Augustine's *De Trinitate* is specifically quoted four times throughout *DGVD*, and the superscript number alongside the number '4' gives further information about the exact location the quote can be found – in *De Trinitate* itself, in the critical edition of the work (so in this case, CCSL 50), and its place in *DGVD*. These lists for *DGVD* and

Dialogus, like that of *The Edited and/or Translated Texts* discussed above, are organized alphabetically by author, and for the same reasons.

Author | Work	C1	C2
Agnes		
'Sanguis eius ornavit genas meas'	1[98]	
Ambrose		
De Cain et Abel		1[99]
De excessu fratris sui Satyri		1[100]
De incarnationis dominicae sacramento	1[101]	
De mysteriis	1[102]	
De sacramentis		2[103]
Epistulae	1[104]	
Expositio Psalmi CXVIII	1[105]	

[98] *DGVD*, F 1 [v]. Jacobus de Voragine, *The golden legend: readings on the saints (Legenda aurea)*, trans. William Granger Ryan, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 102.

[99] *Cain* (CSEL 32.1, 339-409), *DGVD*, H vi [v].

[100] *Exc.* 1.43-46 (CSEL 73, 232-234), *DGVD*, B iii [r].

[101] *Incarn.* 4.23 (CSEL 79, 235), *DGVD*, H vi [r].

[102] *Myst.* 5.26 (CSEL 73, 99), *DGVD*, K i [v].

[103] *Sacr.* (CSEL 73, 15-85), *DGVD*, B i [r]; *Ibid.*, (*Ibid.*), *DGVD*, E 7 [v]. These are both general comment about the authorship of the work.

[104] *Ep.* 54.1-2 (CSEL 82.2, 72), *DGVD*, E 7 [v]-E 8 [r]. Oecolampadius lists this as epistle number, 'sexagesimasecunda'.

[105] *Exp. Ps.* 118.18.27-28 (CSEL 62, 411), *DGVD*, F 1 [v]-F 2 [r].

Ambrosiaster

Ad Corinthios prima	1[106]	

Augustine

'caro Christi esse sacramentum carnis Christi'	1[107]	
De civitate Dei		2[108]
De Genesi ad litteram	1[109]	
De sermone Domini in monte	1[110]	
De Trinitate	4[111]	
Enarrationes in Psalmos	3[112]	2[113]
Epistulae	5[114]	

[106] *Ad Cor. prim.* (CSEL 81.2, 127), *DGVD*, I v ᵛ-I vi ʳ. N.B., There is a printer pagination error on the previous page. It reads, 'G v', when it should read, 'I v'.

[107] This is cited as both Prosper and Lombard (Oecolampadius probably has in mind Prosper's, *Liber Sententiarum Sancti Augustini*), quoting Augustine's *Ep.* 98 (CSEL 34.2, 531). However, it is also a reference to Lombard's, *Sent.* IV,10.1.8-9. See, *DGVD*, K ii ᵛ. Apparently Oecolampadius had, as well, access to Scotus' commentary on the *Sentences*. For a discussion of the latter see pp. 200ff., *infra*. Berengarius also uses this exact phrase a number of times in his *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum*. Cf., CM 84.2, 172; 84.2, 182; 84.3, 209.

[108] *Civ.* 21.6-8 (CCSL 48, 21.6-8), *DGVD*, B i ʳ; *Ibid.* 21.19-25 (CCSL 48, 21.19-25), *DGVD*, F 8 ʳ-ᵛ.

[109] *Gen. litt.* 7.12 (CSEL 28.1, 212), *DGVD*, E 6 ᵛ. This is one of a handful of places where Oecolampadius has a complete citation. It reads, 'super Genesim, Lib 7 capite 12'.

[110] *Serm. Dom.* 2.37 (CCSL 35, 2.37), *DGVD*, G 2 ᵛ.

[111] *Trin.* 3.10 (CCSL 50, 3.10), *DGVD*, A vii ʳ-ᵛ; *Ibid.* 3.9 (CCSL 50, 3.9), *DGVD* A vii ᵛ- A viii ᵛ; *Ibid.* 3.4 (CCSL 50, 3.4), *DGVD*, G 2 ʳ; *Ibid.* (*Ibid.*), *DGVD*, G 2 ᵛ.

[112] See, *Enarrat. Ps.* 33.1.10 (CCSL 38, 281), *DGVD*, A vi ʳ; and, *Enarrat. Ps.* 33.2.2 (CCSL 38, 283), *DGVD* A vi ᵛ; *Enarrat. Ps.* 98.9 (CCSL 39, 1386), *DGVD*, K iv ʳ.

[113] *Enarrat. Ps.* 73.2 (CCSL 39, 1005-1007), *DGVD*, D 2 ᵛ; *Enarrat. Ps.* 48.2.8 (CCSL 38, 571-572), *DGVD*, H viii ʳ.

[114] *Ep.*169 (CSEL 44, 618), *DGVD*, B viii ᵛ; *Ep.* 138 (CSEL 44, 133), *DGVD*, D 1 ᵛ; *Ibid.*, (CSEL 44, 131), *DGVD*, K i ʳ; *Ep.* 98 (CSEL 34.2, 531), *DGVD*, K ii ᵛ-K iii ᵛ; *Ep.* 187 (CSEL 57, 81), *DGVD*, K vii ᵛ.

In Evangelium Johannis tractatus	2[115]
Sermones	3[116]

Basil

Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae brevius tractatae)	1[117]
'. . . et ut Basilius dixit, "ἀντίτυπον"'	1[118]

Chrysostom

'& Chrysostomum, & Cyrillum super Ioannem'	1[119]
De paenitentia	1[120]
De oratione	1[121]
Homiliae in Joannem	1[122]
Homiliae in Matthaeum	5[123]

[115] *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 30.1 (CCSL 36, 289), *DGVD*, C 6 ^{v}; *Ibid.*, 25.12 (CCSL 36, 254), *DGVD*, F 5 ^{r}.

[116] *Serm.* 352 (PL 39, 1553), *DGVD*, C 2 ^{r}; *Ibid.*, (PL 39, 1551), *DGVD*, D 1 ^{v}; *Ibid.*, (PL 39, 1551-1552), *DGVD*, D 1 ^{v}-D 2 ^{v}; and cf., *Serm.* 295 (PL 38, 1349).

[117] *Reg. brev.* (PG 31, 1196), *DGVD*, E 1 ^{v}-E 2 ^{r}.

[118] *DGVD*, C v ^{v}, (I have retained the spelling and accent marks as found in *DGVD*). This reference has numerous possible sources. In *Dialogus* Oecolampadius says his source for the word is Basil's liturgy, and more than likely the anaphora. See, *Dial.*, e 8 ^{r}.

[119] *DGVD*, E 3 ^{r} (PG 59, 260ff). Oecolampadius' statement about the need for a careful reading of both fathers whenever they discuss John 6:50ff.

[120] *Paenit.* 9 (PG 49, 345), *DGVD*, D 3 ^{r}.

[121] *De orat.* (PG 50, 780-781), *DGVD*, F 6 ^{v}-F 7 ^{r}.

[122] *Hom. Jo.* 46.3 (PG 59, 261), *DGVD*, H i $^{r-v}$.

[123] *Hom. Matt.* 83.4 (PG 58, 743-744), *DGVD*, B v ^{v}-B vi ^{r}; *Hom. Matt.* 83.5 (PG 58, 745), *DGVD*, D 4 ^{r}; Ibid., (Ibid.), DGVD, C 5 ^{r}. Here Oecolampadius names the specific homily and summarizes section five; *Hom. Matt.* 83.4 (PG 58, 743), *DGVD*, G vii ^{v}; *Hom. Matt.* 83.1-2 (PG 58, 739), *DGVD*, I vi ^{v}.

Homiliae in epistulam ad Hebraeos	1[124]	
Councils		
General statements		3[125]
Cyprian (and, Pseudo)		
De cardinalibus operibus Christi	1[126]	
De dominica oratione	1[127]	
De lapsis	1[128]	
Epistulae	1[129]	
Cyril of Alexandria		
Commentarii in Joannem	5[130]	2[131]

[124] *Hom. Heb.* 17.3 (PG 63, 131), *DGVD*, C 4 ^{v}. Oecolampadius relays that because Gratian was in a hurry to annotate his text and did not bother to consult the originals, he rashly attributed the statement to Ambrose rather than Chrysostom.

[125] *Cyril. ep. tert. ad Nest.* (ACO 1.1.5, 54), *DGVD*, G viii ^{r}. Oecolampadius probably has Anathema 11 in mind. *Ibid.*, (*Ibid.*), *DGVD*, G viii $^{r-v}$; *Ibid.*, (*Ibid.*), *DGVD*, H v ^{v}. Because Oecolampadius references the anathemas, and the manuscript is found along with *epistola ad Euoptium*, (which may or may not be Oecolampadian), it seems plausible that the translation of *ad Euoptium* was his. Cf., n. 40, *supra*; and, Omont, *CMG*, A.II.4, Fol. 574, II., and III.

[126] A reference to, Arnold of Bonnevaux's (Arnoldus Bonavillacensis), *De coena Domini* (PL 189, 1642-1650), rather than Cyprian, which during the early sixteenth century was oftentimes attributed to the Carthaginian. *DGVD*, K i ^{v}.

[127] *Dom. or.* 18 (CCSL 3A, 101), F 7 ^{v}.

[128] *Laps.* 26 (CCSL 3, 235-236), *DGVD*, B iii ^{r}.

[129] *Ep.* 63.17 (CSEL 60, 714-715), *DGVD*, D 4 ^{r}.

[130] *In Jo.* (Pusey 3, 521-522), *DGVD*, F 3 ^{v}-F 4 ^{r}; *Ibid.*, (Pusey 3, 529-531), *DGVD*, F 5 $^{r-v}$; *Ibid.*, (Pusey 3, 473-476), *DGVD*, F 8 ^{v}-G 1 ^{r}; *Ibid.*, (*Ibid.*), *DGVD*, G 1 ^{v}-G 2 ^{r}; *Ibid.*, (Pusey 3, 529), *DGVD*, I vii ^{v}-I viii ^{r}.

[131] See, *In Jo.* (Pusey 3, 514-516), *DGVD*, E 3 ^{r}, and Oecolampadius' statement about the need for a careful reading of both Cyril and Chrysostom whenever they discuss John 6:50ff.; *Ibid.*, (Pusey 3, 514-536), *DGVD*, I viii ^{v}.

'et ut Cyrillus dicit, cognatum gustum'	1[132]
'Ferrum est ignis . . .'	1[133]

Egesippius (Josephus)

'duodecim Apostolos, duodecim panes propositionis'	1[134]

Eusebius

'caeterum quae Gratianus ex Eusebio'	1[135]
Historia ecclesiastica	1[136]

Fulgentius Ruspensis (Pseudo-Augustine)

De fide ad Petrum diaconum	1[137]
Epistulae XVIII	1[138]

Gregory the Great

'Cui non absimilia . . . dicit'	1[139]

[132] *DGVD*, H i [v].

[133] A potential allusion to either, *In Jo.* (Pusey 3, 541), or possibly *Quod unus sit Christus* (Pusey 7, 420-421; SC 97, 506-507), *DGVD*, C 3 [r]. For an English translation of the latter see, Norman Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 130-131.

[134] *Hist. lib. V* (CSEL 66, 311), *DGVD*, F 3 [v]. Interestingly, Oecolampadius calls the author 'Egesippius,' but makes no mention of possible Ambrosian authorship.

[135] *DGVD*, K ii [r].

[136] *Hist. eccl.* 6.44 (SC 41, 159-160), *DGVD*, B iiii [r].

[137] *De fide ad Pet.* 62 (CCSL 91A 62.1148), *DGVD*, D 4 [r-v].

[138] *Ep.*12.26 (CCSL 91, 380-381), *DGVD*, F 4 [v].

[139] *DGVD*, D 3 [v]. Oecolampadius is comparing Gregory's thought with that of Chrysostom's in *De paenitentia*. This is most likely a reference to Gregory's, *Dialogorum libri iv* 4.60-62 (SC 265, 200-207).

Gregory of Nazianzus

General comment about miracles		1[140]

Hilary of Poitier

De trinitate	2[141]	
Tractatus super Psalmos	1[142]	

Ignatius

Epistolae	1[143]	

Irenaeus

Adversus haereses	4[144]	
'Panis e terra est: et corpus Christi e terra.'		1[145]

Jerome

Biblia Vulgata	1[146]	
Commentarii in Ecclesiasten	1[147]	
Commentariorum in Matthaeum libri IV	1[148]	

[140] *DGVD*, B i [r].

[141] *De trin.* 8.13-17 (SC 448, 396-402), *DGVD*, H ii [v]-H iv [r]; *De trin.* 8.13 (SC 448, 396), *DGVD*, H vi [v].

[142] *Tract. Ps.* 64 (CCSL 61, 221-234), *DGVD*, H ii [r].

[143] *Rom.* 7 (SC 10, 136), *DGVD*, F 1 [r].

[144] *AH* 1.13.2-3 (SC 264, 190-194), *DGVD*, B ii [r-v]; *AH* 4.18.4-6 (SC 100B, 606-612), *DGVD*, G iii [v]; *AH* 5.2.2 (SC 153, 30-32), *DGVD*, G iv [v]-G v [r]; *AH* 5.2.3 (SC 153, 36-38), *DGVD*, G vi [r].

[145] A possible allusion to *AH* 4.18.5 (SC 100 B, 610), *DGVD*, C i [v].

[146] *Vulg.*, 1 Reg. 21:13; *DGVD*, A vi [v]

[147] *Comm. Eccl.* 3.12 (CCSL 72, 278), *DGVD*, H vii [v].

Epistulae	2[149]	

John of Damascus

General comment about miracles		1[150]

Origen

Commentariorum series in evangelium Matthaei	3[151]	
Homiliae in Leviticum	4[152]	

Tertullian

Adversus Marcionem	6[153]	3[154]
De paenitentia	1[155]	
De resurrectione carnis	1[156]	

[148] *Comm. Matt.* 4.26 (CCSL 77, 251-252), *DGVD*, I vi ᵛ.

[149] *Ep.* 125 (CSEL 56, 141), *DGVD*, B iiii ʳ; *Ep.* 120 (CSEL 55.2, 479), *DGVD*, I vii ʳ-ᵛ.

[150] *DGVD*, B i ʳ.

[151] *Comm. ser. Matt.* 85 (Orig. Op. Om., 416), *DGVD*, E 8 ʳ-F 1 ʳ.

[152] *Hom. Lev.* 5 (CB 29, 349), *DGVD*, D 8 ᵛ; *Hom. Lev.* 7 (CB 29, 386-387), *DGVD*, F 2 ʳ-F 3 ʳ; *Hom. Lev.* 13 (CB 29, 477), *DGVD*, H vii ᵛ-H viii ʳ; *Ibid.*, (CB 29, 471), *DGVD*, I iiii ᵛ.

[153] *Marc.* 4.40 (CCSL 1, 559), *DGVD*, C 5 ᵛ; *Ibid.*, (*Ibid.*), *DGVD*, C 6 ʳ; *Ibid.*, (*Ibid.*), *DGVD*, C 6 ᵛ; *Ibid.*, (CCSL 1, 560), *DGVD*, C 7 ʳ; *Ibid.*, (*Ibid.*), *DGVD*, C 8 ʳ; *Marc.* 1.14 (CCSL 1, 308), *DGVD*, G vii ʳ-ᵛ.

[154] *Marc.* 1.23 (CCSL 1, 322), *DGVD*, G iv ʳ; *Ibid.*, (*Ibid.*), *DGVD*, G viii ʳ; *Marc.* 4 (CCSL 1, 480), *DGVD*, K vii ᵛ.

[155] *Paen.* 6 (PL 1, 1349-1350), *DGVD*, H vii ʳ.

[156] *Res.* 8 (CCSL 2, 931), *DGVD*, G vii ʳ.

The Patristic References of *Dialogus*[157]

Ambrose

De mysteriis	1[158]
De sacramentis	1[159]
Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam	1[160]

Ambrosiaster

Ad Corinthios prima	1[161]

Athanasius

General References	1[162]
In illud: Qui dixerit verbum in filium	1[163]

Augustine

Contra Adimantum	3[164]
Contra Faustum Manichaeum	1[165]

[157] An asterisk ("*") following any of the references below denotes a patristic citation from Oecolampadius' letter to Melanchthon, which was included in *Dialogus*. The letter is also reprinted in *B&A* 2, No. 680, pp. 343-349.

[158] This is a reference to Melanchthon's quote in *SV* (CR 23, 743-744), where Melanchthon believes that *Myst.*, and *Sacr.* are both legitimately the work of Ambrose. Cf., *Myst.* 9.50-52 (CSEL 73, 110-112); and, *Dial.*, d 1 ^{v}.

[159] A possible allusion to, *Sacr.* 6.1-2 (CSEL 73, 72-75), *Dial.*, m 5 ^{v}-m 6 ^{r}.

[160] *Exp. Luc.* 3 (CCSL 14, 87). *Dial.*, n 6 ^{v}.

[161] *Ad Cor. prim.* (CSEL 81.2, 127-128), *Dial.*, m 6 $^{r-v}$.

[162] *Dial.*, n 4 ^{r}.

[163] *Hom. Luc.* 12:10 (PG 26, 665), *Dial.*, e 6 ^{r}-e 7 ^{v}.

[164] *Adim.* 12 (CSEL 25, 143), *Dial.*, b 2 ^{r}*; *Ibid.* (CSEL 25, 138 & 143-144), *Dial.*, k 6 ^{v}; *Ibid.* (CSEL 25, 143-144), *Dial.*, n 8 ^{r}.

Contra Iulianum	1[166]	
De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII	1[167]	
De doctrina christiana	3[168]	
De Trinitate	1[169]	
Epistulae	8[170]	
General References		2[171]
In Evangelium Johannis tractatus	5[172]	2[173]
Retractationum libri II	1[174]	
Sermones	2[175]	1[176]

Basil

Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones

[165] *Faust.* 19.12-16 (CSEL 25, 510-513), *Dial.*, b 2 [r*].

[166] *C. Iul.* 2 (PL 44, 684), *Dial.*, m 5 [v].

[167] *Div. quaest. LXXXIII.* 20 (CCSL 44 A, 25), Dial., m 7 [r].

[168] *Doctr. chr.* 3.16 (CCSL 32, 91-92), *Dial.*, b 2 [r*]. Oecolampadius lists this as 'Liber 16'; *Doctr. chr.* 3.9 (CCSL 32, 85-86), *Dial.*, f 8 [r]; *Doctr. chr.* 3.16 (CCSL 32, 92), *Dial.*, f 8 [v].

[169] *Trin.* 3.4-10 (CCSL 50, 3.4-10), *Dial.*, b 2 [r*].

[170] *Ep.* 98 (CSEL 34.2, 531), *Dial.*, b 2 [r*]; *Ep.* 169 (CSEL 44, 618), *Dial.*, b 2 [r*]; *Ep.* 187 (CSEL 57, 81), *Dial.*, b 2 [r*]; *Ibid.*, (*Ibid.*), *Dial.*, b 6 [r*]; *Ibid.*, (CSEL 57, 96), *Dial.*, m 7 [r]; *Ibid.*, (CSEL 57, 87-89), *Dial.*, m 7 [v]-m 8 [v]; *Ibid.*, (CSEL 57, 118), *Dial.*, m 8 [v]-n 1 [r]; *Ibid.*, (CSEL 57, 118), *Dial.*, n 2 [v].

[171] *Dial.*, n 4 [r]; *Dial.*, o 2 [v].

[172] *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 80.3 (CCSL 36, 529), *Dial.*, h 7 [v]; *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 50.13 (CCSL 36, 438-439), *Dial.*, n 1 [r]; *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 30.1 (CCSL 36, 289), *Dial.*, n 2 [v]; *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 27.4 (CCSL 36, 271), *Dial.*, n 4 [r]; *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 26.13 (CCSL 36, 266), *Dial.*, o 3 [r-v].

[173] *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 30.1 (CCSL 36, 289), *Dial.*, b 4 [r*]; *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 11.5 (CCSL 36, 112-113), *Dial.*, m 6 [v]-m 7 [r]. This is a reference to Melanchthon's *SV* (CR 23, 744-745), in which there is debate about the quote as it is found in Gratian. Oecolampadius lists the debated selection as coming from, 'in libro 83 questionum distinguit inter deum et corpus'.

[174] *Retract.* 2.5 (CSEL 36, 137), *Dial.* m 5 [v].

[175] *Serm.* 272 (PL 38, 1246-1247), *Dial.*, o 2 [v]- o 3 [r]; *Serm.* 229 (MiAg 1, 30), *Dial.*, o 3 [r].

[176] *Serm.* 132 (PL 38, 735), *Dial.*, e 7 [v].

(regulae brevius tractatae)	1[177]
'ἀντίτυπον'	1[178]

Bede

In Lucae evangelium expositio	1[179]

Bernard of Clairvaux

Epistulae	1[180]
Sermo in cena Domini	1[181]
Sermo super Cantica Canticorum	2[182]
Spuriae	1[183]

Chrysostom

De sacerdotio	2[184]

[177] *Reg. brev.* (PG 31, 1196), *Dial.*, e 7 ᵛ.

[178] See n. 118, *supra*. *Dial.*, e 8 ʳ. Here Oecolampadius states, '. . . in sua liturgia ac ministerio, panem dominicum vocarit ἀντίτυπον . . .'

[179] *In Luc.* 6.22 (CCSL 120, 378), *Dial.*, e 4 ʳ-e 4 ᵛ.

[180] *Ep. de bap. (Ep. 77)* (PL 182, 1031-1046), *Dial.*, k 1 ᵛ. For an English translation of this letter see, Hugh Feiss, "*Bernardus scholasticus*: The Correspondence of Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugh of Saint Victor on Baptism," in *Bernardus Magister: Papers Presented at the Nonacentenary Celebration of the Birth of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Kalamazoo, Michigan*, ed. John R. Sommerfeldt, (Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications, 1992), pp. 360-377.

[181] *Serm. cen. Dom.* 4 (PL 183, 271), *Dial.*, i 7 ᵛ-i 8 ʳ.

[182] *Serm. Cant.* 48.6 (PL 183, 1014-1015), *Dial.*, k 1 ʳ; *Serm. Cant.* 33.2-3 (PL 183, 952), *Dial.*, k 1 ʳ-ᵛ. Oecolampadius lists this as, 'sermone xxxix".

[183] From the mouth of Nathaniel, Oecolampadius places a rather long quote apparently attributed by some to Bernard. However, at the end of the quote Oecolampadius says, 'Non legeram illa apud Bernardum'. I have been unable to find the original author or work. *Dial.*, i 8 ʳ-ᵛ.

[184] *Sac.* 3.4 (SC 272, 142-144), *Dial.*, l 6 ʳ-ᵛ. This is an expansion of Melanchthon's quote in *SV* (CR 23, 739); *Sac.* 3.6 (SC 272, 150), *Dial.*, l 6 ᵛ-l 7 ʳ.

General References		1[185]
Homiliae in ii Corinthios	1[186]	
Homiliae in Joannem	1[187]	1[188]
Homiliae in Matthaeum	5[189]	2[190]

Chrysostom (Pseudo)

Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum	1[191]

Councils

'Ex compendio synodorum'	1[192]

Cyprian (and, Pseudo)

De cardinalibus operibus Christi	1[193]	1[194]

[185] *Dial.*, o 2 [r].

[186] *Hom. ii Cor.* 20.3 (PG 61, 540), *Dial.* I 3 [v].

[187] *Hom. Jo.* 47.2 (PG 59, 265), *Dial.*, I 3 [r-v].

[188] *Hom. Jo.* 46.2-3 (PG 59, 260), *Dial.*, I 2 [v]-I 3 [r]. This is a reference to the first of Melanchthon's Chrysostom quotes in *SV* (CR 23, 737-738).

[189] *Hom. Matt.* 83.4 (PG 58, 743-744), *Dial.*, f 6 [v]; *Ibid.* (Ibid.), *Dial.*, f 7 [v]; *Hom. Matt.* 83.1-2 (PG 58, 739), *Dial.*, k 7 [r]; *Hom. Matt.* 83.5 (PG 58, 744), *Dial.* I 4 [r-v]. This is cited as, 'ex homilia 43'; *Ibid*, (Ibid.), *Dial.*, I 4 [v].

[190] *Hom. Matt.* 83.4 (PG 58, 743-744), *Dial.*, e 5 [v]-e 6 [r]. This is a reference to Melanchthon's text from *SV* (CR 23, 738-739), which differs radically from Oecolampadius' text used in *DGVD*. See, n. 124, *supra*.; *Hom. Matt.* 83 (PG 58, 737-746), *Dial.*, I 5 [r].

[191] *Op. imp. Matt.* 11 (PG 56, 691), *Dial.* I 4 [r].

[192] This is an extensive Greek quote, along with Oecolampadius' Latin translation of it. It may have been contained in the work brought to the Basel cloister library by Ragusa. However, I have not been able to locate its source. *Dial.*, i 3 [r-v]; and, cf., n. 214, *infra*.

[193] *De Unctione* (PL 189, 1653-1656), *Dial.*, m 4 [r]. This is actually Arnold of Bonnevaux, and not Cyprian.

[194] This is Oecolampadius' discussion of Melanchthon's reference in *SV* (CR 23, 742). In reality it is not a quote from the Carthaginian, but is from Arnold of Bonnevaux's, *De Unctione* (PL 189, 1653-1656). Melanchthon does not believe this to be Cyprian, but

De ecclesiae catholicae unitate		1[195]
Epistulae		1[196]
General References		1[197]

Cyril of Alexandria

Ad Reginas	4[198]	
'. . . alicubi sic exponunt'		1[199]
Apologeticus pro XII capitibus contra Orientales	1[200]	
Commentarii in Joannem	4[201]	3[202]
Contra Julianum	1[203]	
Epistulae	3[204]	

neither does he believe it to be by a recent author. Oecolampadius, however, appears to believe that it is Cyprian. See, *Dial.*, m 2 ^{v}.

[195] *Unit. eccl.* 8 (CSEL 60, 216-217), *Dial.*, n 6 ^{v}.

[196] *Ep.* 63.17 (CSEL 60, 714-715), *Dial.*, m 1 ^{v}-m 2 ^{r}. This is a reference to Melanchthon's quote in *SV* (CR 23, 741).

[197] *Dial.*, o 2 ^{r}.

[198] *Ad Reg.* (Pusey 7, 305-305), *Dial.*, h 4 ^{r}; *Ibid.*, (Pusey 7, 271-272), *Dial.*, k 3 ^{v}-k 4 ^{v}; *Ibid.* (Pusey 7, 268), *Dial.*, k 4 ^{v}; *Ibid.* (Pusey 7, 217-218), *Dial.*, k 5 $^{r-v}$.

[199] *In Jo* (Pusey 3, 533-534), *Dial.*, e 7 ^{v}. The debate at this point in *Dialogus* is concerned with a proper exegesis of John 6:55. Interestingly, Oecolampadius includes Luther in his discussion, in addition to Cyril and Augustine.

[200] *Cont. Or.* (ACO 1.1.7, 59), *Dial.*, h 5 ^{v}-h 7 ^{r}. Oecolampadius titles this, 'Cyrillus ad obiectiones Theodoreti'.

[201] *In Jo.* (Pusey 4, 542), *Dial.*, k 2 ^{v}; *Ibid.* (*Ibid.*), *Dial.*, k 3 ^{r}; *Ibid.* (Pusey 3, 530), *Dial.*, l 1 ^{v}; *Ibid.*, (Pusey 3, 530-531), *Ibid.*

[202] *In Jo.* (Pusey 4, 541-542), *Dial.*, k 2 ^{r}. This is the first of three references to, and discussions of, Melanchthon's Cyril citations in *SV* (CR 23, 733); *Ibid.* (Pusey 4, 525-527), *Dial.*, k 5 ^{v}. This is a discussion of Melanchthon's second Cyril reference (CR 23, 734-736); *Ibid.* (Pusey 3, 528-531), *Dial.*, k 5 ^{v}. This is a discussion of Melanchthon's third Cyril reference (CR 23, 736-737).

[203] *Cont. Iul.* 7 (PG 76, 879), *Dial.*, f 3 $^{r-v}$.

Explanatio duodecim capitum	2[205]		
General References			2[206]
Glaphyrorum in Exodum	1[207]		
Dionysius the Areopagite (Pseudo)			
De caelesti hierarchia	1[208]		
De ecclesiastica hierarchia	1[209]		
Eusebius			
Historia ecclesiastica			1[210]
Fulgentius Ruspensis (Pseudo-Augustine)			
Ad Monimum libri III	1[211]		
Ad Trasamundum libri III	2[212]	3[213]	

[204] *Ep.* 83 (Pusey 3, 605), *Dial.*, g 8 [r]; *Ep.* 17 (ACO 1.1.1, 38-39), *Dial.*, h 1 [r-v]; *Ibid.* (ACO 1.1.1, 41), *Dial.*, h 3 [r].

[205] *Expl. xii cap.* (ACO 1.1.5, 25), *Dial.*, h 3 [r-v]; *Ibid.* (*Ibid.*), *Dial.* h 4 [r-v].

[206] *Dial.*, m 2 [r]. Here Oecolampadius is discussing the relationship between Christ's divinity, humanity, and the eucharist. Obviously, there could be numerous references for this; *Dial.*, n 4 [r].

[207] *Glaph. Ex.* (PG 69, 427-429), *Dial.*, k 8 [r]-l 1 [r].

[208] *De cael.* 2.2 (PTS 38, 8-9), *Dial.*, f 7 [r-v].

[209] *De eccl.* 1.2 (PTS 36, 65), *Dial.*, f 7 [v]-f 8 [r].

[210] *Hist. eccl.* 6.44 (SC 41, 159-160), *Dial.*, g 8 [v].

[211] *Ad Mon.* 2.11 (CCSL 91, 46), *Dial.*, o 3 [v].

[212] *Ad Tras.* 2.17 (CCSL 91, 142-143), *Dial.*, n 1 [r]- n 2 [r]; *Ad Tras.* 3.34 (CCSL 91, 180), *Dial.*, n 4 [v].

[213] *Ad Tras.* 2.17-18 (CCSL 91, 141-144), *Dial.*, b 6 [r]*; *Ibid.* (Ibid.), *Dial.*, n 3 [r]; *Ad Tras.* 2.17 (CCSL 91, 142-143), *Dial.*, n 8 [r].

Gelasius of Cyzicus (Pseudo; Anonymous)

Historia Ecclesiastica 3[214]

Gregory the Great

General References 1[215]

'Non in hunc modum seu sensum . . . locutus' 1[216]

Gregory of Nazianzus[217]

Carmina 1[218]

General References 2[219]

Orationes 1[220]

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[214] *Hist. Eccl.* 31.6 (CPG 6034, 57), *Dial.*, b 2 [v]*. Oecolampadius cites, 'τῆς ἀναστάσεως σύμβολα', and believes this to be from a genuine Nicaean canon. Apparently, the manuscript, which was not published until 1599, was found in the Basel cloister library, where Cardinal John Stoichovits of Ragusa deposited it in 1413, at the time of the Council of Basel. For more background on the texts, cf., Pierre Fraenkel, "Beatus Rhenanus, Oecolampade, Théodore de Bèza et Quelques-Unes de Leurs Sources Anciennes," *Bibliotheque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 41 (1979), pp. 64-66; F. Winkelmann, "Die Quellen der Historia Ecclesiastica des Gelasius von Cyzicus," *Byzantinoslavica* 27 (1966), pp. 104-130; Hoffmann, "Sententiae Patrum: Das patristische Argument in der Abendmahlskontroverse", p. 18, n. 1 ('Anmerkungen'); and, Günther Christian Hansen, ed., *Anonyme Kirchengeschichte (Gelasius Cyzicenus, CPG 6034)* (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2002). Hansen's entire Greek text is available online at: http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/gcs/anonyme_kirchengeschichte.pdf.; *Hist. Eccl.* 31.5 (CPG 6034, 56-57), *Dial.*, f 1 [v]-f 2 [r]; *Hist. Eccl.* 31.6 (CPG 6034, 57), *Dial.*, f 3 [v]-f 4 [r].

[215] *Dial.*, n 4 [r].

[216] As in *DGVD*, this is probably a reference to Gregory's *Dial. libri iv*, 4.60-62 (SC 265, 200-207), *Dial.*, i 6 [v].

[217] It is interesting to note that by early in 1529 the Dominicans of Basel had acquired an additional work of Nazianzus, but it was to remain out of the hands of Oecolampadius and other 'heretics.' See, *B&A* 2, No. 637, pp. 284-285, which reads: 'Hunc librum divi Gregorii Nazianzeni pertinentem monasterio fratrum ordinis Predicatorum in Basilea eripuit frater Johannes Ulricus Suevulus, ne veniret in manus impii Lamp aut aliorum hereticorum, sed maneret orthodoxis ad honorem domini nostri Jesu Christi. Anno 1529.'

[218] *Carm. de se ipso* (PG 37, 1227), *Dial.*, c 5 [v].

[219] *Dial.*, l 2 [r]; *Dial.*, o 2 [r].

[220] *Orat.* 40.31 (PG 36, 404), *Dial.*, e 5 [r].

Hesychius of Jerusalem

General References 1[221]

In Leviticum 4[222]

Hilary of Poitier

De trinitate 2[223]

General References 1[224]

Irenaeus

Adversus haereses 4[225]

Jerome

Commentariorum in Epistulam ad Titum liber 1[226]

Commentariorum in Matthaeum libri IV 1[227]

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[221] *Dial.*, m 2 [r]. Oecolampadius probably has references to *In Leviticum* in mind here.

[222] *In Lev.* (PG 93, 1071-1072), *Dial.*, g 1 [r]-g 2 [v]; *Ibid.* (*Ibid.*), *Dial.*, g 2 [v]-g 3 [r]; *Ibid.* (PG 93, 1085), *Dial.*, g 5 [r-v]; *Ibid.* (PG 93, 808), *Dial.*, k 7 [v]. In a letter dated December 1, 1526, Oecolampadius mentions to Zwingli, 'Nunc sub prelo habet [Cratander] Hesychium, antiquum doctorem in Leviticum, qui in re eucharistie bene nobiscum facit . . .' *Z* VIII 789.9-11.

[223] *De trin.* 8.13-17 (SC 448, 396-402), *Dial.* k 2 [r]. This, along with the reference to Cyril also found in *Dial.* k 2 [r], is Oecolampadius' response to Melanchthon's statement in *SV*, which reads: ' . . . non debet plus valere quam alia clara et aperta testimonia Hilarii aut Cyrilli, quae manifeste affirmant corpus Christi adesse in coena.' Melanchthon is concerned with, what he deems to be, Oecolampadius' decontextualization of Augustine's statement about Christ's local presence in heaven. Cf., Augustine, *In Jo.* 27.4 (CCSL 36, 271); and *SV* (CR 23, 746-747); *Ibid.*, (*Ibid.*), *Dial.*, l 8 [r]- m 1 [v].

[224] *Dial.*, n 4 [r].

[225] *AH* 5.2.2 (SC 153, 30-32), *Dial.*, m 3 [r]; *AH* 5.2.2-3 (SC 153, 32-34), *Ibid.*; *AH* 4.18.5 (SC 100B, 610), *Ibid.*; *Ibid.* (*Ibid.*), *Dial.*, m 3 [v]. All four of these citations are references to Melanchthon's *SV* (CR 23, 742-743). Interestingly enough, Oecolampadius does not use Melanchthon's references verbatim, though they are at his disposal. See, *Dial.*, d 1 [r-v].

[226] *Comm. Tit.* (PL 26, 603), *Dial.*, g 4 [v].

[227] *Comm. Matt.* 4.26 (CCSL 77, 251-252), *Dial.*, e 3 [v]-e 4 [r].

Epistulae	1[228]		
John of Damascus			
Expositio fidei			1[229]
Leo the Great			
Epistulae	2[230]	3[231]	
Sermones	1[232]		
Origen			
Contra Celsum			1[233]
Homiliae in Leviticum	1[234]	1[235]	
Pope Gelasius (Pseudo?)			
De duabus naturis in Christo adversus Eutychem et Nestorium	1[236]		

[228] *Ep.* 120 (CSEL 55.2, 479-480), *Dial.*, g 3 ^{v}-g 4 ^{r}.

[229] *Exp. fide.* 13 (PTS 12.86), *Dial.*, e 8 ^{r}.

[230] *Ep.* 80 (PL 54, 914), *Dial.*, h 8 $^{r-v}$. Concerning this reference Oecolampadius states, 'Scribit etiam Anatholio, quod obscurius Lanfranco citanti erat, sic.' Cf., Lanfranc's, *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (PL 150, 407-442). *Ep.* 28 (PL 54, 756-782), *Dial.*, n 1 ^{r}.

[231] *Ep.* 28 (PL 54, 756-782), *Dial.*, h 8 ^{r}; *Ep.* 139, (PL 54, 1102-1108), *Ibid.*; *Ep.* 124 (PL 54, 1061-1068), *Ibid.*

[232] *Serm.* 91 (CCSL 138 A, 566), *Dial.*, h 8 ^{v}- i 1 ^{r}.

[233] *Cels.* 8.57 (PG 11, 1601-1604), *Dial.*, e 3 ^{r}.

[234] *Hom. Lev.* 5 (CB 29, 349), *Dial.*, g 8 ^{v}.

[235] There are a number of possibilities for his allusions here. Cf., at least, *Hom. Lev.* 5 (CB 29, 349); *Hom. Lev.* 7 (CB 29, 386-387); *Hom. Lev.* 13 (CB 29, 477), *Dial.*, e 3 ^{v}.

[236] *De dua. nat.* (Thiel, 541-542), *Dial.*, i 2 ^{r}.

Tertullian

Adversus Marcionem 2[237]

De resurrectione carnis 1[238]

Theodoret of Cyrrhus

Historia ecclesiastica 1[239]

Theophylact of Ochrid

In quatuor Evangelia enarrationes 2[240]

General Analysis of the Patristic References in *DGVD* and *Dialogus*

Even a cursory examination of the above catalogue of authors and their corresponding works unquestionably reveals Oecolampadius' familiarity with the *veteres*. He had good knowledge of the fathers. This catalogue effectively forms a comprehensive listing of the patristic works employed by Oecolampadius in his eucharistic debates – whether pedagogical or polemical.[241] Because both *DGVD* and *Dialogus* encapsulate, respectively,

[237] *Marc.* 4.40 (CCSL 1, 559), *Dial.*, e 3 [v]; *Marc.* 5.10 (CCSL 1, 603.), *Dial.*, e 4 [r].

[238] *Res.* 8 (CCSL 2, 931), *Dial.*, I 2 [v].

[239] *Hist. eccl.* 4.10 (DGCS 44, 229-230), *Dial.*, g 5 [v]-g 6 [r].

[240] *In Matt.* (PG 123, 443-446), *Dial.*, I 7 [v]-I 8 [r]; *In Marc.* (PG 123, 650-651), *Ibid.* Both of these references refer to Oecolampadius' single discussion of Melanchthon's texts in *SV* (CR 23, 739).

[241] It is true that there are additional works that were written about the eucharist by Oecolampadius, such as *Antisyngramma* and *Billiche antwortt*, but both of these, which were published in 1526, essentially follow the argumentation of *DGVD* and contain little new in the way of patristic references. Cf., Staehelin, *Bib.*, pp. 59-62, Nos., 124 & 129, respectively.

Oecolampadius' earliest and latest usage of the fathers within that controversy, they draw attention to a broad and more than adequate sample of his patristic awareness by 1530. But without question Oecolampadius knew more authors and works than he chose to refer to or cite in these particular books.[242] In what follows we will discuss a few of Oecolampadius' most frequently cited patristic authors. We will also, within the context of our consideration of individual patristic authors, suggest in a general way possible reasons for certain of Oecolampadius' choices.

Augustine

In total there are thirty-three different saints and/or patristic authors (or mediaeval theologians who Oecolampadius thinks were patristic authors) named in *DGVD* and *Dialogus*, and who are responsible for at least ninety assorted titles. On a closer examination of the catalogue it becomes immediately evident that Augustine played a major role in both of Oecolampadius' books here being considered. This is not at all surprising as many, if not most, of the first and second-generation reformers tended to use Augustine selectively as a sort of hermeneutical lens. Oecolampadius

[242] For example, in a letter dated September 1530, addressed to Martin Bucer, Oecolampadius mentions the writings of the then little known North African apologist Lactantius. See, *B&A* 2, No. 770, p. 480. Lactantius may have been 'little known' because the *Decretum Gelasianum* listed the work as apocryphal. For more on this see, David Rutherford, "Antonia Da Rho on Patristic Authority: The Status of Lactantius," in *Auctoritas Patrum II: Neue Beiträge zur Rezeption der Kirchenväter im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert - New Contributions on the reception of the Church Fathers in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, ed. L. Grane, A. Schindler, and M. Wriedt (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1998), p. 173, and n. 6. As well, Staehelin suggests that Oecolampadius knew Eusebius via Rufinus, and that he also knew Ammianus Marcellinus' *History*. Staehelin, *Die Väterübersetzungen Oekolampads*, p. 72. Interestingly enough, Oecolampadius may have been familiar with these authors because of Rhenanus' publication of them – works that he concentrated on in 1522 and 1523. See, D'Amico, *Ibid.*, p. 68ff.

was not substantially different from others in this regard. The bishop of Hippo's works are referred to no less than fifty-five times, with Oecolampadius employing at least twenty different books or sermons by Augustine, which is telling of his reception of the bishop.

The *Basler* makes great use of the theology of Augustine's letters – specifically, *Epistle* 187 (*ad Dardanum*) which he cites a total of seven times between the two works. Oecolampadius constantly reiterates throughout both of his treatises that Christ's humanity can never be separated from his divinity, and his body is locally present only in heaven, so he naturally considers the epistle a bulwark to his own position. In addition, Oecolampadius also shrewdly utilizes what he believes is Augustine's phrase from *In Evangelium Johannis tractatus*, that Christ's body 'uno loco esse oportet.' This reading, however, is not genuinely Augustinian, but instead comes from Lombard – as the original reads 'potest' rather than 'oportet'.[243] It is impossible to know whether in 1525 Oecolampadius was privy to the fact that there were variant readings. Given his humanistic and theological training, one could assume that he in fact did know. The Nuremberg aristocrat Willibald Pirckheimer certainly let him know that there was at least one variant. As a result, Oecolampadius' former friend reproved him in *De vera Christi carne et vero eius sanguine*,

[243] Cf., nn., 115, 172 & 173, *supra*.

for his interpretation of Augustine via Lombard, which according to Pirckheimer resulted in nothing more than 'sophistry'.[244]

In his first response to Pirckheimer, Oecolampadius argues that he does not reject all of Lombard, or the validity of some of the citations of Augustine employed by the *Magister*. Rather, Oecolampadius is disgusted that Lombard's adaptation in *Sentences* IV.10 misuses the words of Christ and 'miserabiliter torqueat' Augustine's original intent.[245] He also believes that Lombard wrongly utilized *Epistle* 187 for his arguments in *Sentences* IV.10.1.5. In actuality though, Oecolampadius improperly cites the source as *ad Dardanum*, when in reality it is from *In Evangelium Johannis tractatus*. Ironically, he goes on to suggest, in a roundabout way, that Pirckheimer would do well to consider the unsubstantiated and decontextualized source, and the theology behind it.[246]

It is in fact thanks to Pirckheimer's unrelenting ire about Oecolampadius' handling of Augustine (and disagreement with Lombard) that an immensely fascinating detail emerges a few months later in this debate – namely, Oecolampadius, in his own defense, lists two of his actual sources in his

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[244] Pirckheimer [Brickheimheri], *De vera Christi*, F 5 ᵛ-F 6 ʳ. For a discussion of the problematic nature of Oecolampadius' doctrine for Pirckheimer, see Helmut Böhme, "Willibald Pirckheimer und Nürnberg," in *Reformatio et reformationes: Festschrift für Lothar Graf zu Dohna zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Andreas Mehl and Wolfgang Christian Schneider, (Darmstadt, Germany n. pub., 1989), pp. 231-234.

[245] Oecolampadius, *de re Eucharistiae responsio*, b 4 ᵛ-b 5 ʳ.

[246] Speaking of Lombard he unashamedly states: 'Pituitosus est, qui consulto exemplari non olfacit quid hic commenti.' *Ibid.*, b 5 ʳ.

second responses to Pirckheimer. As was mentioned earlier, sixteenth century authors occasionally give the name of their cited source or paraphrase the title of a particular work, but rarely give exact bibliographical references, as does Oecolampadius here. He states:

> Libri Sententiarum scriptis Scoti adiuncti, et Venetiis impressi, anno domini 1506. et liber Decretorum impressus Basileae excusus anno domini 1512.[247]

The first book named by Oecolampadius is Scotus' commentary on Lombard's *Sentences*, published in Venice by Andreas Torresanus in 1506. The second book is Gratian's *Decretum*, printed and published in Basel by Johann Amerbach in 1512.[248] In order to legitimize his own exegesis of Augustine, Oecolampadius simply (and sarcastically) dismisses Pirckheimer, along with his editions of the *Sentences* and *Decrees*, implying that the *Nuremberger* is nothing if not completely confused:

> First you defend [yourself] by Lombard, or rather his book of collectanea, which correctly ascribes the maxim to Augustine, saying: 'The body of Christ in which he has been resurrected, must

[247] Oecolampadius, *Responsio posterior*, c 3 ^{v}.

[248] Cf., John Duns Scotus, *Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum, Primus Quartus scripti Oxoniensis doctoris subtilis fratris Joannis Duns Scoti ordinis Minorum super sententias* (Venice: Simonem de Luere, 1506); and, Gratian, *Decretum Gratiani* (Basel: J. Amerbach, 1512). Cf., Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, p. 305, nn. 6 & 7.

be in one place, however his truth is diffused everywhere.'[249] And yet you accuse me, that I myself have brought [forward] a mutilated testimony. Indeed, these are the words of Augustine: 'The body in that same form, which has been seen by the saints who are in heaven, must be in one place': yet you assert that you read the same thing in the *Decrees*. In addition you object that the passage is not found in *ad Dardanum*, and that I am obligated to point out from where I obtained it. [250] These things ought to have been seen as trivial, but instead you futilely attempt to pressure me with more of this stuff, further lessening your own influence in more important matters. Indeed it is very important that your book of *Decrees* has the same citation, as you say – nevertheless, have you employed Augustine correctly? My books read differently, and according to the same words that I have mentioned . . . and they have the very same content as what I myself have read [in Augustine]: I do not know what [edition] you yourself read, for indeed it is clear that your book is full of faults.[251]

[249] Cf., *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 30.1 (CCSL 36, 289); and, Pirckheimer [Pirckheymheri] *secunda*, B 1 ^{r}.

[250] Cf., *Ep.* 187 (CSEL 57, 81); and, Pirckheimer [Pirckheymheri], *Ibid.*, B 1 ^{r}, and B 2 ^{v}-B 3 ^{r}.

[251] 'Patrocinaris primum Lombardo, vel eius libri consarcinatori, quod Augustini dictum dextre tractarit [sic], dicentis: Corpus Christi in quo resurrexit, in uno loco esse oportet, veritas autem eius ubique diffusa est. Et taxas me, quod ego ipse mutilum adduxerim testimonium. Esse enim haec verba Augustini: Corpus in ea forma, qua apparvit sanctis qui in coela sunt, in uno loco esse oportet: et sic ea te in Decretis legisse asseris. Praeterea obijcis locum istum non esse in epistola ad Dardanum, debuisseque me ostendere, unde nam mutuatus sit. Haec levicula videri debuissent, sed quo magis in talibus me premere frustra conaris, tanto amplius autoritati tuae in maioribus derogas. Quanti enim momenti est, quod liber Decretorum tuus sic habet, ut dicis, nunquid propterea recte Augustinum citasti? Libri autem mei secus habent, ijsque verbis quibus

From this debate, at least two important characteristics of Oecolampadius' knowledge of Augustine emerge. Firstly, Oecolampadius was obviously familiar with the Augustine of both Lombard's *Sentences* (via Scotus) and the *Decrees* of Gratian, and was not always disinclined to bolster his own eucharistic arguments with citations from either book. In fact, he seems to prefer some of their renderings to others that were circulating during the period. But at the same time he is unmistakably concerned about a passage's provenance and the proper contextualization of said passages (even though he accidentally mis-cites Augustine in this specific instance), which his comment bears out. Oecolampadius, in fact, goes on to cite selections from both *In Evangelium Johannis tractatus* and *ad Dardanum* for Pirckheimer.[252]

He appears to take this step in order to: first, place Augustine within his *own* framework, and therefore undercut the hegemonic readings of Lombard and Gratian; and second, convince both Pirckheimer and his readers that the 'real' Augustine is the one with authority, not the canonists or the *Magister*. Employing this tactic, Oecolampadius also unmistakably hopes that his reading of Augustine is recognized as 'real' too. Moreover, this situates Oecolampadius' ideological and methodological concerns, at least in the case of Augustine, in not just a 'theological' camp (though it

citavi . . . eundem quem ego legi tenorem habent: nescio quid tu legeris, tuus enim liber mendosus convincitur.' Oecolampadius, *Responsio posterior*, c 3 $^{r-v}$.

[252] *Ibid.*, c 3 ^{v}-c 4 ^{v}.

certainly does do that), but also a 'humanistic' one. Because knowledge of an authorial context appears to have been a methodological necessity for Oecolampadius (e.g., *In Evangelium Johannis tractatus* should be read with *ad Dardanum* in mind, and vice-versa), this tacitly enabled him to position himself in the main of both intellectual traditions – humanistic and theological.

Secondly, Oecolampadius may have been familiar with the majority of the Augustine corpus available to him outside of the published mediaeval *florilegia* and works on canon law. Indeed, this is a permissible assertion because by 1530 when *Dialogus* was published, he refers to five new books by Augustine, along with three new sermons. These are in addition to the six major works, five letters, and one sermon listed in *DGVD*. In fact, while commenting on the way Lombard employed Augustine, he states near the end of *DGVD*,

> As far as Augustine is known to me, he has never been suspected of [teaching], that which the *Magister* assigns to him.[253]

Oecolampadius is not, for obvious reasons, saying that he knows all of Augustine's works. Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine Oecolampadius

[253] 'Quantum mihi notus est Augustinus, nunquam suspicatus est, quod imponit illi magister.' *DGVD*, K ii ^{v}.

not owning or having direct access to at least one of the editions of Augustine's *Opera* that was published in Basel during his lifetime. As bright as he was, he could have never quoted Augustine verbatim from memory in all instances. He surely would have needed many of the actual volumes to be immediately before him in order to cite extensively – *De civitate Dei, De Trinitate, Enarrationes in Psalmos, Contra Adimantum, Contra Faustum Manichaeum, De doctrina christiana*, not to mention the sermons and letters found in *DGVD* and *Dialogus*. Moreover, the books that he wrote over the course of his lifetime – both exegetical commentaries and polemic works – in addition to those pertaining directly to the eucharistic controversy, incorporated extensive Augustinian citations and would have also required direct access to the bishop's works.

Cyril of Alexandria

The second most commonly cited father after Augustine is Cyril of Alexandria. One might be tempted to think that it would be Chrysostom given Oecolampadius' familiarity with, and qualified admiration for him, but this is not the case. Cyril or his respective work is mentioned nine times in *DGVD*, four of which are allusions, while five are actual quotes from his *Commentarii in Joannem*. Interestingly, the number of Cyril citations in *Dialogus* is much more extensive. All totaled, there are sixteen explicit citations and six more general references (with some repetition), but nevertheless this is a substantial increase to the overall number of references, and is attributable to a number of factors.

Firstly, the reality is, by 1530 Oecolampadius was much more familiar with the Cyril corpus than he was in 1525 simply because he had worked on the *Opera*. Secondly, three of the Cyril quotes that Oecolampadius considered were originally cited by Melanchthon in *Sententiae Veterum*, and so are technically not Oecolampadian in origin. However, this does not theoretically bias the reference count unfairly, because Oecolampadius was probably already familiar with these selections in 1525, as some of his citations of Cyril in *DGVD* either overlap, or are very closely situated contextually to those quotes of Melanchthon's. And third, as mentioned above, Oecolampadius needed the christological orthodoxy of Cyril to protect him from the charges of Marcionism and Nestorianism.[254]

This, however, is not to say that Cyril did not pose certain problems for Oecolampadius, especially as regards Cyril's understanding of 'participation.' As is well known, Cyril envisioned a connection between eucharistic participation and the salvation of humanity. Because the Word, who is life himself, was united to a human body, that very body itself becomes life-giving according to Cyril. This Oecolampadius is willing to acknowledge as well. Where the two men differ is the manner in which life is given to the rest of humanity. To Cyril the eucharist is the unambiguous bearer of that life, because it bears Life himself. For example, commenting on John 6:53 in his *Commentarii in Joannem*, he states:

[254] See pp. 174-181, *supra*.

> For those who do not receive Jesus through the sacrament will continue to remain utterly bereft of any share in the life of holiness and blessedness and without any taste of it whatsoever. For he is Life by nature, seeing that he was born of a living Father. And his holy body is no less life-giving, for it has been constituted in some way and ineffably united with the Word that gives life to all things. . . And if the flesh of our Saviour became life-giving, seeing that it was united with that which is Life by nature, i.e. the Word that is from God, when we taste of it we have that life within ourselves, since we too are united with the flesh of the Saviour in the same way as that flesh is united with the Word that dwells within it.[255]

There are at least two things worth mentioning about these assertions, as concerns our discussion of Oecolampadius. First, is Cyril's statement that those who do not partake of the sacrament are without any sort of blessing whatsoever. In other words, those denying themselves (or, by inference, are being denied) of the sacrament, as the bearer of Christ, are at best a kind of second-class Christian, if they are to be considered Christian at all. Second, is the phrase 'when we taste of it', by which Cyril means the life-giving body of Christ united as it is to his divinity, he implies that this mystery is itself vivifying for those who partake of it. How does Oecolampadius understand Cyril on this issue? In 1525, he says:

[255] Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria* , p. 115 [trans. his]; Pusey 3, 529-530.

> . . . I cannot easily deny the authority of Cyril, even though he may speak in a confusing way, as if it is a crime to make known the mysteries to common Christian people.[256]

Rhetorically, Oecolampadius admits that Cyril does function, at least in some sense, in an authoritative role for him, and thus consequently aligns himself with the ancient Alexandrian tradition of the church. Nevertheless, Oecolampadius also positions himself as a new authority – one that can interpret the 'confusing' Cyril for the common people. To prove this point, Oecolampadius cites the first part of Cyril's exegesis of John 6:53, a section just prior to the one quoted above, which accentuates the importance of faith taking root before an explanation of, or participation in, Life is even a viable option. Oecolampadius argues that Cyril's commentary on this verse is meant to counter the opposition of both Jews and nonbelievers, who cannot accept that the flesh of Christ – his human flesh – could be in any way life-giving. But, at the same time, Oecolampadius argues that this entire discussion is ultimately rationally impenetrable, and therefore Cyril did well to acknowledge the importance of faith. Interestingly, he then uses Augustine as a hermeneutic lens to interpret the Alexandrian, saying:

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[256] '. . . Cyrilli authoritatem non temere refutarim, licet satis intricate loquatur, quasi piaculum sit inuulgare mysteria plebi Christianae.' *DGVD*, I vii [v].

> Now all of the debate comes down to this, that we believe that the flesh of Christ, united to the living Word, is life-giving, and believing we eat.[257]

Moreover, he states:

> It is certain that Christ at the supper did not wish to tie our salvation to a ceremonial rite, but rather to teach that it [i.e., our salvation] rests upon faith in him crucified, in order that it might be shown that his body is broken and handed over for us or his blood poured out for us, rather than that the body is contained in the bread and the blood in the wine. Throughout the entire chapter Cyril demonstrates that the flesh of Christ is life giving, which no Christian will deny. But he does not yet show that the body is put into the bread, although he teaches that by the blessing of the mystery, the very son of God is received, a fact which must be accepted, provided that we receive it in faith.[258]

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[257] 'Iam omnis disputatio in hoc incumbit, ut carnem Christi, unitam verbo, credamus vivificam, et credendo manducemus.' *DGVD*, I viii [v]; and cf., *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 25.12 (CCSL 36, 254).

[258] 'Certum est, Christum in caena, salutem nostram, noluisse caeremoniario [sic] ritui astringere, sed docuisse eam, fide, in se crucifixum constare, ut magis spectetur, frangi et tradi pro nobis corpus vel pro nobis effundi sanguinem, quam quod in pane corpus, et in vino sanguis contineatur. Quid autem toto capite probat Cyrillus, quam vivificam esse carnem Christi id quod nemo Christianus negabit. Inditum autem corpus pani nondum ostendit, tametsi doceat, benedictione mysterii, ipsum dei filium suscipi, id quod admissum est, siquidem in fide exerceamur.' *Ibid.*

Note that for Oecolampadius, the institution of the liturgical meal is not a means of salvation. Rather, functionally it serves as a pedagogical model of the sacrifice of Christ, and so supports an already volitional faith. But, the eucharist is more than simply a 'bare memorial' for Oecolampadius: 'the very son of God is received, a fact which must be accepted, provided that we receive it in faith.' In this instance, faith is the prerequisite, and in (or by) faith a person receives Christ. Moreover, using Cyril as a foil, Oecolampadius also places theological weight on the incarnate Word's assumption of humanity's corporate flesh – a flesh which once assumed, is life-giving. The great mystery, following the apostle Paul (1 Cor. 2:7-8, Col. 1:27), is not impanation or the conversion of bread into the body of the risen Christ, but the assumption of human flesh by the eternal Logos. In addition to, but interwoven with this principle, Oecolampadius' christology requires any contemplation of the nature and function of the 'blessing of the mystery' to find its locus in the reception of the resurrected and ascended Christ only in or by faith, not orally. Without a doubt there is a symmetrical linguistic and theological affiliation between Cyril's phrase, and a number of interchangeable words and phrases found elsewhere in Oecolampadius, in which Christ himself is dubbed the μυστήριον or the *sacramentum*.[259]

[259] Cf., *DGVD*, D ii ^{v}, and K i ^{r}. That being said, Oecolampadius will occasionally make statements that seem to place an inordinate amount of weight on the eucharist itself, or are somewhat unintelligible given the overall thrust of his christology. However, when 'eucharist' = 'the giving of thanks' and 'sacrament' = 'sign of a sacred thing', statements like the following one make a bit more sense: 'The Eucharist is the most certain declaration concerning Christ, containing in itself the sacraments of sacraments.' [Est enim Eucharistia certissima de Christo annunciatio, sacramenta sacramentorum in se continens.] *Dial.*, a 3 ^{r}.

Chrysostom

Following Cyril in number of citations is Chrysostom. Oecolampadius employs seven different works by the Antiochene, directly referring to them a total of seventeen different times (or eighteen times if pseudo-Chrysostom is included), while more general references register five times in both *DGVD* and *Dialogus*. Most often quoted is Chrysostom's *Homiliae in Matthaeum* (specifically, *Homilia* 83.4), which Oecolampadius discusses at least twelve times between his two books. His goal is to highlight the implications of what he identifies as Chrysostom's 'insensible' mode of sacramental efficacy. Specifically, Oecolampadius returns over and over again to a discussion of Chrysostom's statement:

> Indeed, nothing that is perceived by the senses has been handed down to us by Christ, under things sensible. But everything which he has handed down is beyond the range of the senses, and thus in baptism by water, which is a sensible thing, the gift that is granted, which is accomplished by the water, is indeed something perceived by understanding. For if you were incorporeal, he would have handed the incorporeal gifts themselves down to you bare, but seeing that your soul has been conjoined with the body, what can [only] be grasped by

> understanding is handed down to you in what can be perceived by the senses.[260]

There are a two interesting things to note about Oecolampadius' condensed translation in *DGVD*. First, if he is not citing this section of Chrysostom from memory, it visibly betrays his own theological presuppositions. And even if he is, it still betrays his presuppositions. Chrysostom's objective in this context is not to exclude or deny the value of materiality, but rather to highlight the importance of cognitive reception, so that he might rhetorically magnify the spiritual benefit of the sacraments for his listeners. While Oecolampadius' translation does not completely exclude Chrysostom's concern for that which is 'perceived by the senses', he nevertheless attempts to capitalize on the first line – 'nothing that is perceived by the senses has been handed down to us by Christ.'

The second interesting point is that the *Basler* changes this translation radically in *Dialogus*. As with many other block quotes in this book, Oecolampadius presents both the Greek text and his Latin translation. The translation in *Dialogus* adheres much more closely to Chrysostom's Greek,

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[260] 'Nihil enim sensibile traditum nobis a Christo, sub rebus sensibilibus Omnia [sic] vero quae tradidit, insensibilia sunt sic et in baptismo per aquam, quae res sensibilis est donum illud conceditur, quod autem in ea conficitur, intelligibile quidem est, Nam [sic] si tu incorporeus esses, nude ipsa dona incorporea tradidisset tibi, quoniam vero corpori coniuncta est anima tua, insensensibilibus [sic] intelligenda tibi traduntur.' *DGVD*, B v ᵛ. There are numerous typesetter errors in *DGVD*, as is evident here. The capitalization of 'Nam' appears to be correct even though a comma precedes it rather than a period. If the capitalization of 'Omnia' is not a mistake, but Oecolampadius' reading, and is in fact meant to signal the start of a new sentence it may suggest, not necessarily a different, but a heightened emphasis on the 'insensible'. Given his manipulation of the translation here, it seems a possibility.

and original theological intent.[261] Certainly it would have to, as contemporaries of Oecolampadius with an aptitude for Greek would no doubt read it carefully. The *Dialogus* translation is not forced grammatically nor, as is so often Oecolampadius' approach, condensed stylistically, and is therefore very readable. Because opponents charged him with playing loose with his translations after the publication of *DGVD* (and some of Chrysostom's sermons), it was necessary for Oecolampadius, in this final eucharistic work, to be especially careful with his translation and exegesis of the fathers. These citations of Chrysostom serve as excellent examples the initial 'creative' and later more 'derivative' methodologies employed by Oecolampadius when translating.[262]

Another insight concerning Oecolampadius' general patristic scholarship comes to light because of his employment of Chrysostom – or rather pseudo-Chrysostom. In *Dialogus*, Oecolampadius refers to 'Homilia XI' from the (Arian!) *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, after quoting a short section from Chrysostom's *Homiliae in ii Corinthios*. Oecolampadius says,

> In a certain discussion of Matthew which they call the '*opus imperfectum* of Chrysostom', and

[261] We do not have the Greek that Oecolampadius used in *DGVD*. It may well have been the same text he employed in *Dialogus*, or a manuscript from the Dominican priory in Basel. There are very minor differences between Oecolampadius' Greek text in *Dialogus* and the one issued by Migne. Of those differences, none impact the theological intent of Chrysostom directly.

[262] For the Greek text, and his Latin translation and commentary see, *Dial.*, f 5 ᵛ-f 6 ᵛ.

> which is by no means disdained by learned men, we read these words...[263]

It is interesting to note that Oecolampadius had, in 1528, denied having anything to do with the publication of the *Opus imperfectum* in his preface to Cyril's *Opera*. Moreover, when the work was released in 1525 it included an introduction by Cratander in which the authorship of the *Opus imperfectum* was questioned. Nevertheless, Oecolampadius is willing to employ the text, even though he does appear to acknowledge that some *docti* disagree about authorship.[264]

As this relates to Oecolampadius' reception of the fathers, however, it is both problematic and telling. The title of the work itself, which indicates that this text was missing portions of the entire commentary, as compared to Chrysostom's complete commentary on Matthew, should have at the very least led to questions about authorship for Oecolampadius.[265] The fact that the work appears in Latin rather than Greek, and is stylistically vastly different than other works by Chrysostom, should have also been a clue for him. Nevertheless, these issues do not *really* seem to come into play in his discussions of the *Opus imperfectum*.[266] It appears, at least in this

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[263] "In explanatione quadam Matthaei quam imperfectum opus Chrysostomi vocant, et a doctis nequaquam contempta est, legimus haec verba . . ." *Dial.*, I 4 ᵛ.

[264] Cf., *B&A* 2, p. 219, No. 597; and, J. van Banning, *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*, pp. 339-344.

[265] *Ibid.*, p. ix.

[266] For example elsewhere as in the case of Ambrose's *De sacramentis*, Oecolampadius is not afraid to contest authorship where internal evidence (or lack of it) justifies such deliberation. Cf., *DGVD*, B i ʳ, E 7 ᵛ, & K i ᵛ-k ii ʳ; *de re Eucharistiae responsio*, d 3 ʳ; and,

instance, that one of the possible methodological factors for Oecolampadius deciding provenance by 1530 was patristic theological accord with his own theology.

Tertullian

After Chrysostom the greatest number of citations issue from the occidental theologian, Tertullian. Oecolampadius refers to him fourteen times in the two books, but the overriding majority of the citations are found in *DGVD*. In total, eleven of the fourteen are located there, and a greater part of these pertain to Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem*. Possibly as early as 1524 Oecolampadius had been collecting quotes from *Adversus Marcionem*, apparently in preparation for his forthcoming book, *DGVD*. In a letter from this period, Oecolampadius mentions that he has looked at Tertullian's argument:

> . . . I am gathering together the argument against Marcion as it is present in Tertullian: who demonstrates against Marcion that Christ truly suffered on the basis of the fact that the bread is a figure (since he [i.e., Marcion] said that the body of Christ lies hidden in the bread, he tried to argue that the body of Christ was a phantasm).[267]

Dial. m 5 ^{v}-m 6 ^{r}. In the latter, Oecolampadius insinuates that Augustine was incorrect in ascribing authorship to Ambrose in both *Retract.* 2.2 (PL 16, 427-435), and 2.5 (CSEL 36, 137); and, *C. Iul.* 2.4 (PL 44, 678-680), and 2.7 (PL 44, 686-688).

[267] ". . . argumentum contra Martionem [sic] colligo, ut est apud Tertullianum: probantem ex eo, quod panis figura sit, Christum vere passum contra Martionem [sic] (quia latens

Based on his statement in this letter, and from his first mention of Tertullian in *DGVD*, Oecolampadius had to be aware that his eucharistic (and by simple deduction, christological) position, depending on how Tertullian himself was interpreted, could be construed as Marcionite, and therefore docetic.[268] Therefore, he sets out to prove to the reader that Tertullian's eucharistic theology and christology is actually in accord with his own – or rather, that his is in accord with that of Tertullian. After he cites *Adversus Marcionem* 4.40, Oecolampadius then briefly discusses the reasons for the debate that took place between Marcion and Tertullian. Marcion, says Oecolampadius, taught that the Old Testament God, law, and creation was evil, and that Christ assumed an imaginary body.[269] Accordingly, Oecolampadius argues, Tertullian developed a buttress to his anti-docetic christological argument based on Christ's theological understanding of his own words at the Last Supper.

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dicebat corpus Christi in pane, arguit corpus Christi phantasticum).' *B&A* 1, p. 337, No. 235.

[268] By mid-January of 1526, shortly after the publication of *DGVD* Theobald Billican did in fact accuse Oecolampadius of being a Marcionite. See, *B&A* 1, p. 451, No. 326. For an excellent overview of the early evolution of the claim against Oecolampadius in light of *DGVD* see, Katharina Greschat, "'Dann sind gottwilkommen, Marcion und Marciönin': Marcion in den reformatorischen Auseinandersetzungen um das Abendmahl," in *Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung - Marcion and His Impact on Church History: Vorträge der Internationalen Fachkonferenz zu Marcion, gehalten vom 15.-18. August 2001 in Mainz*, ed. Gerhard May, Katharina Greschat, and Martin Meiser, (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), pp. 236-241, and 243-248.

[269] *DGVD*, C 6 ^{r}.

> Therefore, by asserting that it would be unworthy to desire anything foreign, he teaches that the bread is a good creation of a good God. Otherwise, he would not have taken it into his hands, nor would he have desired it with desire. Then when he said, 'He made it his own body,' he explained – lest it should be taken as I myself once understood it – so that it is understood as it should be.[270]

Oecolampadius here admits that in his 'former life' he understood the bread to be made Christ's own body. But since that theological position has now changed, how does Tertullian understand himself, and consequently make his 'He made that bread his own body', viable for the reformer? As Oecolampadius reads Tertullian (who is for the *Basler* his own exegete in this passage), he states that Tertullian means that the bread is a symbol, or more technically, 'a figure of the body':

> For he thus explains: 'This is my body,' by asserting that this means, 'a figure of my body.' Do you see how 'body' may be interpreted as 'a figure of the body'?[271]

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[270] 'Dicendo igitur, quod indignum sit concupiscere aliquid alienum, docet panem esse bonam creaturam Dei boni, alioqui non accepisset illum in manus, nec desyderio desyderasset. Deinde cum dixisset: Fecit illum corpus suum, exponit, ne fortasse quis sentiat, quod ego olim persuasus eram, sed ut intelligatur, sicut decet.' *Ibid.* Cf., Lk. 22:15.

[271] 'Exponit autem sic: HOC EST CORPUS MEUM dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei. Vides quomodo interpretetur, est corpus, id est, figura corporis?' *Ibid.* [Emphasis his].

The figure (i.e., the bread) used to represent the body is only able to function as such so long as there is a substantial (*solida*) thing to figure. That substantial thing is obviously Christ's body. For Tertullian there is no room in his christology for a body that only seemed to exist. Therefore, according to Oecolampadius, Tertullian is only too correct in postulating that Christ's body was a veritable body, a 'body of truth' (*veritatis corpus*). The body of Christ taken at the incarnation was most certainly substantially real. However, when it comes to the eucharistic bread, Tertullian's 'made' simply means 'figured', as Oecolampadius understands it. It does not mean that Tertullian was implying that the body of Christ, in order to have been veritable, also had to be latent in bread. Nor did Christ turn the bread into his body at the Passover meal. And most importantly, the eucharistic bread itself is not the justifying factor for the incarnation. In other words, for Oecolampadius, the stream of Tertullian's logic flows in only one direction – from Christ's all too true incarnation to the figure of that incarnation. Because Tertullian is arguing for a veritable *incarnation* from which a figure can be postulated, and not alleging an actual change in the element, or that the figure is the justifying factor for the incarnation, Oecolampadius is not shy to claim his support. He says:

> Truly there is no need to spurn his authority, even though his faith is not approved of by catholics in all respects, nevertheless in these

> matters he has at no time been condemned by anyone.[272]

Oecolampadius' theological self-understanding and reception of Tertullian becomes somewhat transparent in this passage. First, Oecolampadius maintains that he, along with his theology, is in accordance with the catholic or universal teaching of the church. Yet, he does this by proxy. He constructed his sentence so that Tertullian, on this particular issue, is accepted as a representative of the universal church. Even if Oecolampadius' opponents attempt to pursue him and his argument by claiming that as a Montanist, Tertullian was a heretic and as such his theological opinions are invalid, Oecolampadius has provided himself with an escape route. He suggests that Tertullian might not have been correct in everything that he taught by indicating that other theologians do in fact see it that way. However, he personally maintains complete silence on the issue. He is not, at least in this context, worried about the rest of Tertullian. However, in relation to the particular subject at hand – the bread being a figure of Christ's body – Oecolampadius is himself polemically engrossed and needing as much patristic support as he can muster, so he claims that no one in the church universal has ever rebuffed the authority of Tertullian in this matter.

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[272] 'Non est enim spernenda eius authoritas, nam licet alibi fides eius a catholicis non probetur per omnia, in his tamen a nullo unquam reprobatus fuit.' *DGVD*, C 7 ^{r}. Compare Oecolampadius' similar sentiment in *Dialogus*, e 3 ^{v}.

Interestingly, Tertullian is an authority. It is difficult to make out why he is here an authority for Oecolampadius. Is it because he is ancient? Does the fact that he is pre-Nicaean bear on his authority? Is it because his thinking is, in many ways, akin to that of Irenaeus or Augustine? Is he an authority because it has been agreed upon by the church that his christology is indeed correct? Is he an authority because his theology is scriptural? Or, is he an authority simply because he agrees with Oecolampadius? From the immediate context it is impossible to know. However, by constructing the sentence in this way, Oecolampadius is able, rhetorically, to situate himself in the best possible light. Tertullian's christology is endorsed as universally authoritative. Therefore, by simple deduction, because he is in agreement with Tertullian, Oecolampadius' views are catholic (and authoritative?) as well.

What is not as easy to explain is why there are so few references to Tertullian's works in *Dialogus*. The best possible justification is that there was simply too much theological baggage accompanying Tertullian. As reasoned eucharistic debates turned into vitriolic battles by the late 1520s, every side – Swiss, Lutheran, and Roman – was claiming Tertullian. By 1530 it was no doubt in Oecolampadius' best interest conveniently to exclude Tertullian from his arguments.

Ambrose/Ambrosiaster

Following Tertullian in number of citations or references in Oecolampadius' eucharistic tracts is the bishop of Milan, and he plays an interesting role in both books. Oecolampadius refers to or cites selections from various of Ambrose's works eleven times, but many of the discussions surrounding these are as much concerned with textual issues – related to the question of provenance – as they are theological ones. For example, in *DGVD* Oecolampadius cites *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento* 4.23-24, explaining that when Ambrose mentions the oblation upon the altar he is accentuating the faith required of the one offering, which is another way of saying that if a person properly believes in Christ (i.e., the hypostatic union) that in and of itself is appropriate devotion to God. The offering to be 'transfigured' is a secondary concern in this context. It is in fact at this point that Oecolampadius takes the opportunity to explain mistakes made by Gratian when he quoted from this work of Ambrose. First, Oecolampadius notes that Gratian wrongly attributes this to *De Cain et Abel*, and tellingly says that there is nothing like the quote from *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento* 4.23-24 in *De Cain et Abel*.[273] Obviously, we are left to assume by his statement that the *Basler* had read the latter work and was somewhat familiar with it.[274] Second, Oecolampadius insists that because Gratian assumes that Ambrose's mention of the oblation is a reference to

[273] Though Gratian was wrong in this attribution, Oecolampadius is probably mistaken as well. See, Ambrose, *Cain* 2.6.21 (CSEL 32.1, 396).

[274] Scorn for Gratian's inability to properly cite patristic authors is a theme present throughout Oecolampadius' works. Cf., *DGVD*, H vi ᵛ; *de re eucharistiae reponsio*, d 2 ᵛ; and, Nicholas Thompson, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and Patristic Tradition in the Theology of Martin Bucer, 1534-1546* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 75.

'that papist consecration', he consequently forces the doctrine of transubstantiation on the reader by altering Ambrose's original text from *transfigurandum* to *transfiguratum.*[275]

As has been discussed elsewhere, the question of authorship of *De sacramentis* was also important to Oecolampadius, though he did not believe it was composed by Ambrose.[276] He is adamant about this in both of his books, and insinuates that internal stylistic, as well as theological issues discount its legitimacy.[277] Interestingly enough, however, Oecolampadius does not appear to doubt the provenance of the work of the author who comes to be known as 'Ambrosiaster' in either *DGVD* or *Dialogus.* In the case of *DGVD* the lack of mention of questionable authorship regarding Ambrosiaster's *Ad Corinthios prima* is acceptable as Erasmus did not call it into question until 1527, which is well after the publication of Oecolampadius' first eucharistic treatises.[278] However, how are we to understand the reformer's silence on the issue in *Dialogus*? By

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[275] '. . . consecrationem illam papisticam . . .' *DGVD*, H vi [r-v]. Cf., 'Nam etsi credas a Christo carnem esse susceptam et offeras transfigurandum corpus altaribus, non distinguas tamen naturam divinitatis et corporis, et tibi dicitur: Si recte offeras, non recte autem dividas, peccasti.' *Incarn.* 4.23 (CSEL 79, 235).

[276] See, n. 266, *supra.*

[277] *Dial.*, m 5 [v].

[278] *DGVD*, I v [v]-I vi [r]. Cf., Erasmus' comment concerning authorship in the preface to his publication of bishop's *Opera Omnia*: 'Verum sive hoc vere scripsit in Ambrosium, ut inimicus hoc exprobrat Ruffinus, sive in alium, certe a nomine temperavit, quod ipsum venerandae cuiusdam autoritatis est argumentum.', Ambrose, *Divi Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis omnia opera*, ed. Desiderius Erasmus (Basel: Froben, 1527), p. Cccc 2 (= Desiderius Erasmus, *Desiderius Erasmus: Prefaces to the Fathers the New Testament on Study*, ed. Robert Peters (Menston, England: Scolar Press Limited, 1970), p. 117); and for further elaboration on the overall question of authorship, see the exceptionally thorough study, Alexander Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), pp. 1-5, and 161-194.

the time he began to formulate and write this work he most certainly would have been familiar with the then current scholarship, and it is odd that some mention is not made of it.

Near the end of *Dialogus* Oecolampadius discusses the fact that he does not believe *De sacramentis* to be genuinely Ambrosian. What is interesting, however, is that he follows up this conversation with a citation from Ambrosiaster. He prefaces the quote with a question to his debating partner Nathaniel, the essence of which is this – if the author of *De sacramentis* is Ambrose why does his commentary on 1 Corinthians appear to be so stylistically and theologically different?[279] The answer, which the reader is left to surmise is relatively simple – Ambrosiaster's eucharistic theology is more palatable and so sounds more like the Ambrose that Oecolampadius either thinks he knows, or wants to know, than does the Ambrose of *De sacramentis* (or for that matter, *De excessu fratris sui Satyri*, which is not even mentioned in *Dialogus*). Ironically, strictly speaking by 1530 Ambrosiaster, and not Ambrose, appears to be the measure for elucidating what works are to be included in the Oecolampadian Ambrose *Opera*. Moreover, this also helps to account for the diminished number of citations of Ambrose in *Dialogus* and the exclusion of any mention of Erasmus' comments regarding provenance.[280]

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[279] *Dial.*, m 6 ʳ.

[280] Rex is correct to point out that Oecolampadius was keen to emphasize patristic texts that emphasized the figurative aspects of the eucharist, and make them qualify more realist ones by the same author. See, Richard Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 141; and also, John Fisher, *De*

Origen

Somewhat surprisingly, the works of the *grammateus* from Alexandria are next on the list of those patristic authors most often sourced by Oecolampadius. Even though Justinian condemned his writings in the sixth century, they were nevertheless available to theologians throughout the empire via the Latin translations of Rufinus, and were well known during the mediaeval and early modern periods.[281] Origen was fairly well known to Oecolampadius too, as he tells the readers of *DGVD*,

> As far as Origen is known to me, on no occasion does he protect the faith by his own highbrow words – no indeed, not by his own, but God's. In fact he guides [people] beyond his own custom, since he for the most part allows to the reader the freedom to judge.[282]

It should be noticed right at the outset that Oecolampadius does not say he agrees with or even much cares for Origen. Other than the rather telling statement made by Oecolampadius that Origen does allow people to make

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veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia adversus Johannem Oecolampadium (Cologne: Peter Quentell, 1527), pp., 4.1, and, Q 4 ^{r}- Q 5 ^{v}.

[281] E. Ann Matter, "The Church Fathers and the *Glossa Ordinaria*," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Backus (Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1997), p. 87.

[282] 'Quantum mihi notus est Origenes, nusquam tanto supercilio fidem dictis suis, imo non suis, sed Dei vendicat. Agit enim praeter morem suum, quandoquidem plerunque [sic] liberum lectori iudicium permittit.' *DGVD*, F 3 ^{r}.

up their own minds, there are no accolades for the Alexandrian. Clearly the latter part of this statement would appeal to Oecolampadius' understanding of Christian liberty. However, he also seems to be subtly suggesting that what is actually good about Origen's exegesis is in fact the word of God at work within it. In other words, Oecolampadius can be read as saying that it is the scriptures that have something to say in Origen – not necessarily Origen himself. In the end it is all so much rhetoric meant to soften his position in the book. In a private letter to a friend two years prior to the publication of *DGVD* Oecolampadius says of Origen,

> Good riddance to Origen and all of his sons, who obscure the mercy of the Lord for us.[283]

Clearly he does not like Origen's allegorization. It clouds one of the most important doctrinal ideas to be found in Oecolampadius' writings – a merciful God, or rather, the mercy of God through Christ. However, at the same time and almost counter intuitively, Oecolampadius is willing to employ Origen because he allegorizes the eucharist when it is beneficial for proving the validity of his own eucharistic theology. Again, for the sake of repetition, the *Basler* is opposed to allegory, *per se*. However, he is not opposed to exploiting patristic authors whose main hermeneutical approach is that of allegory, if he can at the same time show that even in the midst of

[283] 'Valeant Origenes et filii eius omnes, qui nobis misericordem Dominum obscuraruntl' *B&A* 1, p. 203, No. 142. For a brief account of Oecolampadius' reception of Origen see, Lothar Lies, "Rezeption der Eucharistielehre des Origenes bei den Reformatoren," in *Origeniana Tertia. The Third International Colloquium for Origen Studies, University of Manchester September 7th-11th, 1981*, ed. R. P. C. Hanson and Henri Crouzel (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1985), pp. 291-294.

such 'nonsense' they nevertheless come to prove the consensus of the church, as he understands it. An example of just such a thing occurs after a substantial block quote from Origen's *Commentariorum series in evangelium Matthaei*. Oecolampadius says,

> I know that to certain people these and the like may seem obscure, and against us, but they do much for us.[284]

And again, a little further down in his argument, and after another quote from the same work by Origen, Oecolampadius states,

> And so Origen sets out [his positions], and although they rightly criticize his excessive use of many allegories, nevertheless in this – how souls are fed – he has correctly taught according the consensus of all the ancients . . .[285]

As with Ambrose, the appeal here seems to be consensus with Oecolampadius' own eucharistic theology, and consequently the consensus of the ancient church as he understands it.

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[284] 'Scio quibusdam haec et similia obscura videri, et contra nos, sed pro nobis faciunt maxime.

[285] 'Itaque Origenes disserit, quem licet in plerisque, allegoriis suis immodice usum iure taxent, in hoc tamen, quomodo alantur animae, omnium priscorum consensu recte docuit . . .' *DGVD*, F 1 r. Cf., Lothar Lies, *Origenes' Eucharistielehre im Streit der Konfessionen: die Auslegungsgeschichte seit der Reformation* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1985), pp. 25-36.

Jerome

The seventh most commonly cited father is Jerome. Like Tertullian the majority of references to him are found in *DGVD*. As mentioned above, Oecolampadius was intimately familiar with Jerome, and had an almost unequaled knowledge of the *Opera* since he himself indexed the entire Erasmus edition. But even given his extensive knowledge of Jerome, Oecolampadius only draws on him eight times. Two of these citations are repeat discussions of Jerome's exegesis of Matt. 26:27 in his *Commentariorum in Matthaeum libri IV*. Oecolampadius maintains that he could illustrate other places where Jerome speaks typologically about the eucharistic elements, but he does not further elaborate on their location.[286]

In both *DGVD* and *Dialogus* Oecolampadius also takes up Jerome's epistle 120, *Ad Hedibiam*.[287] In *DGVD*, he refers to this letter after a chain of citations which includes Ambrose, Chrysostom and Jerome on Matthew 26:27, in order to demonstrate that the eucharist is a 'witness to', or 'type' of the body and blood of Christ. However, he does acknowledge that Jerome calls the bread that Christ broke and distributed to his disciples, 'the body of the Lord and savior.'[288] Oecolampadius then rhetorically asks the reader why Jerome might have made such an apparently realistic

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[286] Oecolampadius may have in mind Jerome's, *Epistola* 73 (PL 22, 676-678). *Dial.*, e 3 v.

[287] The citations in *DGVD* appear to have come from memory.

[288] '. . . esse corpus domini salvatoris . . .'*DGVD*, I vii r-v.

statement, and why it would offend a Millenarian (which is the immediate context of Jerome's discussion). What follows is an intriguing historical-exegetical analysis by Oecolampadius of the Millenarian backdrop to Jerome's letter to Hedibia.

Oecolampadius argues that Jerome's statements would have been theologically off-putting to a Χιλιαστής precisely because they are in fact based only on the words of Christ himself.[289] In order further to explain what he means, and to accentuate the dissimilarity between Jerome's view and that of the heretics (which, obviously, is meant to be read as the 'Swiss' view over-against that of the 'papists'), Oecolampadius equates the Millenarians to pagans – those who will, during their thousand-year reign, introduce Salian banquets and the felicity of the Epicureans.[290]

Oecolampadius clearly believes that Jerome is unyielding in his opinion – we are not meant to think in such carnal terms. Rather, when Jerome uses Christ's own words to refer to the bread, he is making the not so subtle point that 'the body of Christ' impresses the memory of his passion upon us. Christ called the bread his body, and so Christians are free to do the

[289] Interestingly, Oecolampadius appears to have no knowledge of incipient Anabaptist millenarianism existing in southern Germany or the Cantons at the time of his writing in 1525 by stating, '. . . nondum extincta erat χιλιαστῶν haeresis.' *DGVD.*, I vii '. However, he addresses the issue in a number of his Old Testament commentaries later in life. See, Arno Seifert, "Reformation und Chiliasmus: die Rolle des Martin Cellarius-Borrhaus " *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 77 (1986), pp. 226-264, especially, pp. 230-240.

[290] *Ibid.*

same, so long as the sense of his words is maintained.[291] Maintaining this sense means acknowledging that Christ's teaching about the supper is intended for those concerned with things spiritual, not those who look only for earthly delights and benefits – either now, or in the eschaton. Accordingly, says Oecolampadius, Jerome means that the kingdom of heaven is not food and drink, but righteousness and joy in the Holy Spirit (Rom. 14:17) – in other words, intangibles. That is why the Millenarians are wrong, why they think like pagans who hope someday to benefit materially and even overindulge in things carnal, and which shows that they are not in any way spiritual people. In other words, Oecolampadius reads Jerome here as simply stating that concentration on any sort of physicality misses the point, especially that of a eucharistic type. For Jerome, argues Oecolampadius, the sign is important in so far as it leads the participant in it back to the passion and forward to Christ who now reigns in session, working on earth and in his followers only through his Spirit.[292]

Fulgentius Ruspensis (Pseudo-Augustine)

Tied with Jerome in number of references is the bishop of Ruspe, Fulgentius. Throughout the late mediaeval period and right up until the first half of the sixteenth century many of Fulgentius' works were thought to have been penned by Augustine. Without question, the most popular and well known of these works was *De fide ad Petrum diaconum*, which

[291] This is an important aspect of Oecolampadius' exegetical approach. See, *DGVD*, B viii ^{r}, where he states, 'Nos sensum, non verba quaerimus'.

[292] *DGVD*, I vii ^{v}.

consists of a list of forty rules pertinent to Christian discipleship. Because of Fulgentius' theological (and to a certain extent, rhetorical) reliance on Augustine, his writings were easily confused with the bishop of Hippo. Oecolampadius, following suit, does believe *De fide ad Petrum diaconum* to be Augustine's work – at least in *DGVD*. He cites the passage as:

> . . . capite decimooctavo ad Petrum Diaconum . .[293]

Likewise in *DGVD*, Oecolampadius lists an extensive quote from Fulgentius' *Epistulae XVIII* (specifically, *Epistula XII*), and appears to believe that it is genuinely Augustinian. In reality Fulgentius is commenting on Augustine's *Sermo* 272.[294] A corrupt selection from this sermon is also found in Lombard's *Sentences* 4.9.1.3, but it bears little resemblance to that of Fulgentius. Fulgentius reads,

> Arbitror, sancte frater, disputationem nostram, praeclari doctoris augustini sermone firmatam, nec cuiquam esse aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc unumquemque fidelium corporis sanguinisque domini participem fieri, quando in baptismate membrum corporis christi efficitur, nec alienari ab illius panis calicisque consortio, etiamsi antequam panem illum comedat et calicem bibat, de hoc saeculo in unitate corporis

[293] *DGVD*, D 4 r.

[294] PL 38, 1246.

christi constitutus abscedat. Sacramenti quippe illius participio ac beneficio non priuatur, quando ipse hoc quod illud sacramentum significat inuenitur.[295]

The bishop, in this section of the letter, mentions that Augustine has very clearly established that baptism makes one a member of the body of Christ, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ demonstrates the unity of the church until the end of time. Ironically, Oecolampadius does not mention Fulgentius at all, but rather introduces this section by stating,

. . . Augustinus in Sermone quodam inquit . . .[296]

Based on this information we might postulate two options for understanding the reformer's silence. First, either Oecolampadius was using a text that was included in the 'genuine' works of Augustine and from which the phrase, 'praeclari doctoris augustini sermone firmatam' had been dropped. Or, second, he had Fulgentius' letter before him and chose only to introduce the paragraph as Augustine as *fons et origo*, and consequently the greater authority. The problem with the latter option is that there is a substantial difference between Fulgentius' letter and Augustine's sermon. Clearly, Lombard is not Oecolampadius' source. Nevertheless, it is at the

[295] *Ep.*12.26 (CCSL 91, 380-381)

[296] *DGVD*, F 4 ^{v}.

same time possible that the *Basler* had the *Sentences* open before him as he wrote this section of *DGVD* (if not the entire *DGVD*), in an attempt to counter Lombard's argument by roughly following his outline. As has been previously stated, one of Oecolampadius' main aims for the writing of *DGVD* was to demonstrate the faulty thinking of Lombard and so disprove his sacramental theology by showing that he in fact does not follow the thoughts of the *vetustissimos authores.*[297]

By the time of the publication of *Dialogus*, however, Oecolampadius appears possibly to have questioned the authorship of *De fide ad Petrum diaconum*, and even *Epistle XVII*, as he cites neither.[298] Clearly, this is an argument from silence, but the exclusion of both of these rather extensive selections lends credence to the fact that the *Basler* was unsure about the passages, and probably wanted to avoid the possibility of his adversaries further questioning either his motives or abilities as they had done with *DGVD.*[299] Though he did not employ either of the above pseudo-Augustinian works in *Dialogus*, Oecolampadius did add some new material from Fulgentius. There is a rather short, but very important selection from *Ad Monimum* inserted near the end of *Dialogus* that Oecolampadius understands to be genuine. This is an important text for Oecolampadius

[297] *DGVD*, A ii ^{v}-A iii ^{r}.

[298] The exclusion of the latter is odd, because it so fully emphasizes those aspects of eucharist theology – especially ecclesiological significance – that Oecolampadius employs throughout both works. For a brief, but helpful analysis see, Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, pp. 59-60.

[299] For multiple examples, cf., Clichtove, *De Sacramento Eucharistiae, contra Oecolampadium* and Fisher, *De veritate corporis.*

because it validates what Ralph Quere has rightly called 'the ecclesial presence' of the eucharist developed (or reinvigorated) by Oecolampadius, which was probably later adopted by Melanchthon as well.[300] According to Oecolampadius, Fulgentius follows Augustine in declaring that the body of Christ, the very church itself, becomes what it is when the sacrament of the body and chalice are offered to the Trinity through the grace of the Spirit. Christ is not carnally present in the elements, but the Spirit is present to relay the benefits of Christ to the many members of the church who are also being preserved in the unity of the body, under one head, which is ultimately signified by the one loaf.

Oecolampadius also both cites and refers to *Ad Trasamundum*. There are two direct block quotes and three obvious inferences to books two and three of Fulgentius' work. The first of the references, without corresponding text, is found in Oecolampadius' epistle to Melanchthon, and is used in the context of the humanity and divinity never being separated in Christ after the incarnation. Clearly, one of the reasons that Oecolampadius finds Fulgentius so appealing is because his christology very closely parallels, or more to the point, accentuates aspects of Augustine's christology which Oecolampadius also finds imperative to a proper understanding of the person of Christ, and consequently, the eucharist. By 1530 Oecolampadius is certainly not indifferent to Fulgentius' christology, eucharistic theology,

[300] Ralph Walter Quere, *Melanchthon's Christum Cognoscere: Christ's Efficacious Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Melanchthon*, (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1977), p. 316.

and ecclesiology – but rather, claims his position to be that of the bishop's as well.

Irenaeus

The next most commonly cited patristic author in both *DGVD* and *Dialogus* is the bishop of Lyons. As will be discussed in the following chapter, Irenaeus was a relatively 'new' patristic figure in the theological debates that were taking place in the early stages of Europe's reformations. Because Oecolampadius appears to have been the first reformer extensively to employ him in theological oeuvres – eucharistic or otherwise – it would be beneficial for both our general understanding of the reception of the fathers in the early reformations, and the embryonic reception of Irenaeus specifically, to further explore the issue. However, before we take that step forward, some final thoughts and suggestions concerning Oecolampadius' patristic method are in order.

Conclusion

Oecolampadius' relationship to the fathers is nothing if not complex. In the introduction to this work we made the obvious, but oft overlooked, point that this humanist-reformer, like any other during the early part of the sixteenth century, went through various stages of personal and theological transition. Acknowledging that these periods of transition existed are important for properly understanding Oecolampadius' various theological *positions* as his

own thought evolved. Neither he, nor his theology, was monolithic. That having been said, we will now attempt to draw some provisional conclusions from the sum of information presented in this chapter.

Oecolampadius' Various Designations for the Fathers

The titles that Oecolampadius bestows upon the ancient authors give us a few clues about how he understands their given roles in his own theology. In *DGVD* Oecolampadius is willing to use many of the traditional labels for the ancient theologians of the church. As the *vetustissimos authores* in the title of *DGVD*, and *veteres*, in the title of *Dialogus*, are no doubt meant to indicate, he is fond of that which is ancient. This word seems to be both a title of respect and a designation that points back through the history of the church to its foundation, to which Oecolampadius wants to connect himself and his doctrinal ideas. However, there is a sense in which this word is devoid of any hagiographic implications, and it is clearly the reason for its use. It is utilized as a descriptor for the fathers more than any other in the two works, and by 1530 seems to be the chief designation.[301]

On the other hand, in the mid-1520s Oecolampadius will also employ the tag *pater* for specific individuals – namely Augustine and Chrysostom. In fact he refers to both of these men by the fuller title, *beatus pater*.[302] There

[301] E.g., *DGVD*, G iii $^{r-v}$; and multiple times in the introduction to *Dialogus*, a 2 ^{r}-a 4^{r}.

[302] Cf., *DGVD*, A vi ^{r}, and C 5 ^{r}.

appears to be a relationship between this specific title and theological concord. As we have already discussed, Oecolampadius holds both of these men's theology and exegetical skills in very high regard, and because of the lack of frequency of this specific phrase for anyone else in Oecolampadius works, it is probably best understood as a designation based on theological harmony. At the same time, a general sense of personal reverence, on the part of Oecolampadius, for the bishops themselves seems to underlie the title. By and large, Oecolampadius will still maintain use of the title *pater* right up till the time of his death.[303] But, trying to understand exactly what the word means to him is difficult.

Oecolampadius wrote *DGVD* not so much as a polemic work, but one that would demonstrate consensus. He argues in a number of places that his position on the eucharist is not a new one. The implication is that he follows the teachings of the ancient church. It is mediaeval and not a few contemporary authors who misrepresent the fathers and turn them into super-human, almost divinely inspired beings, and/or twist the original intent of their works so badly as to completely disfigure their theology. As we have mentioned before, to Oecolampadius' mind the archetype of the latter is Lombard. Oecolampadius wants to rectify the situation by setting about the task of properly interpreting them, and consequently restoring the fathers to their rightful place. For example, at the beginning of *Dialogus* Nathaniel accuses Oecolampadius of developing new eucharistic doctrines. He responds by saying,

[303] E.g., *Dialogus*, a 4 ^{r}.

> Although my doctrine is neither new nor mine, but belongs to the Church, I will nevertheless, in the meantime, suffer to be told that it is new and mine, until you better understand the facts.[304]

What is vitally important to recognize is that even as late as 1530, not at all long before his own death, and many years after he had started his journey down the road of reform, there is still a calculated attempt on the part of Oecolampadius to show that his eucharistic doctrine is in consensus with the ancient church. This is much more than polemic rhetoric. He is convinced that once 'Nathaniel' (i.e., the reader) properly understands the fathers, he will come to see that Oecolampadius' teaching is not an innovation, because it is what the majority of the fathers themselves have taught. Unlike some of the later reformers, Oecolampadius appears to have maintained a genuine respect for a great many of their doctrinal ideas.[305] And so, by default the *patres* become, in a qualified way, a sort of authority

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[304] 'Quamuis hoc dogma nec novum sit nec meum, sed ecclesiasticum, patiar tamen interim novum dici et meum, donec rem melius agnoscas.' *Dialogus*, a 4 ᵛ. Cf., *Ibid.*, o 1 ʳ-o 2 ᵛ.

[305] For example, Tony Lane states of Calvin, 'Calvin's use of the fathers (especially in the *Institutio* and in the treatises) is primarily a polemical appeal to authorities.' And in a footnote that follows, he comments on a quote from Calvin, saying, 'It should also be remembered that he agrees with the fathers less than a study of his citations would lead one to believe. Because of the polemical context Calvin more often than not cites the fathers when they agree with him and ignores them when they do not. In a revealing comment on 1 Corinthians 3:15, Calvin states that fathers such as Cyprian, Ambrose and even Augustine aimed to build on Christ but "often" turned away from the right way of building.' Though Oecolampadius might disagree in many places with the fathers, and he may not even like certain of them, he nevertheless attempts to deal with them to demonstrate consensus. Calvin could essentially care less about consensus. See, Lane, *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* , p. 3, and n. 10.

for him. The title *doctor* appears to function almost synonymously with *pater*, but there is a subtle difference. Like *pater*, Oecolampadius uses the term throughout both works (though not nearly as frequently as the former), and it refers to the ancient theologians in the same way as *pater*. He will also occasionally use the title, *priscis doctoribus*. However, just where the chronological dividing line between *priscus* and *non priscus* is, is almost impossible to tell.[306]

A Chronological Distinction for Who is and Who is not an Ancient?

Based on an analysis of the list of edited or translated works that appeared during the period between approximately 1517 and the time of his death in 1531, there is clearly not a chronological norm for defining who is and who is not a father. In other words, Oecolampadius does not appear to believe, and makes little or no mention of the fact that the writers of the first five centuries of Christianity, say, can be considered authoritative, whereas those of the twelfth century cannot. He is equally as willing to translate Theophylact as Basil. He may have disagreed with Theophylact on a number of key issues pertaining to the eucharist, but that does not mean that he was not in some sense a valid exegete of scripture, and therefore possibly an 'ancient' theologian.

[306] Outside of the patristic realm, Oecolampadius does suggest, not surprisingly, that the 'real' fathers seem to be biblical figures. See, *DGVD*, D 2 ʳ.

From *DGVD* there is a somewhat more chronologically limited group of authors citied. Other than the brief mention of John of Damascus, most of the authors that Oecolampadius refers to were alive and actively writing somewhere between the early 2nd-6th centuries. Given the title of the book and the majority of the authors cited, this seems to helps us understand who Oecolampadius may have understood to be *veteres*. However, when we look at the list from *Dialogus* the timeframe, because of two authors – Bede and Bernard – expands well past the 6th century. In the case of the latter, Oecolampadius cites Bernard of Clairvaux four times, and once discusses a spurious quote. In fact, near the end of the dialogue between Oecolampadius and Nathaniel about Bernard's *Sermo super Cantica Canticorum*, Nathaniel says,

> Mirum est de hoc patre . . . [307]

It is possible that Oecolampadius has Nathaniel call Bernard *pater* for rhetorical or psychological reasons. In other words, for the Lutheran or Roman Catholic reader it might appear that Oecolampadius truly does consider a 'recent' theologian a father, consequently lessening the sting of his overall argument, and possibly even helping to sway the reader to his position. But, given what we have already said about Oecolampadius' desire to demarcate a eucharistic lineage from the ancient church to the

[307] *Dialogus*, k 1 v.

16th century church, it would make sense that Bernard be given the title *pater* because to Oecolampadius' mind he is a member of that lineage and therefore part of the overall consensus of the church.

Eastern & Western Fathers

We have suggested in this chapter that Oecolampadius had a fondness for the eastern fathers, and that this fondness to a greater or lesser degree lasted throughout his lifetime. Based on the quantitative evidence from the edited and/or translated texts Oecolampadius unambiguously devoted a lot of time to them. In fact there is a 12:1 ratio of eastern fathers to western, with the *Index* of the Jerome *Opera* being the only work of a western father to qualify. However, in both *DGVD* and *Dialogus* the split between the two groups is much more equal. *DGVD* has a 9:10 ratio, and *Dialogus* has a 14:13 ratio of eastern to western fathers, depending on how Irenaeus and Hilary are tallied. Based on these numbers, what firm conclusions can we come to? Unfortunately, probably not many. There are just too many variables impacting the count. For example, the inclusion of Bede in *Dialogus* is more than likely a response to Clichtove, who cited the Northumbrian saint in *De Sacramento Eucharistiae, contra Oecolampadium*, which he wrote in 1526 as a response to *DGVD*. This may also be the reason for Oecolampadius' inclusion of pseudo-Dionysius in *Dialogus*.[308] Ultimately there is no way to know, but the reformer may

[308] E.g., Clichtove, *De Sacramento Eucharistiae, contra Oecolampadium*, vol. 1, p. 28 ʳ; and, vol. 2, p. 111 ᵛ.

never have chosen to employ either of these patristic authors if others had not used them against him. Also, there are a number of times when eastern fathers are cited or considered in what appears only to be a response to Melanchthon's citation of them in *Sententiae Veterum*. As with the examples from Clichtove, Oecolampadius may not have admitted some of these quotations had the option been left solely to him.

In closing, these preliminary considerations give us a great deal of insight into Oecolampadius' reception of the fathers. However, the insights are only preliminary. Further reflection on this subject should be an ongoing process. As both a humanist and a reformer, Oecolampadius has much to tell us about how the fathers were employed in the early part of the reformations. There are literally hundreds of additional questions that could and should be asked of this data, because it yet has much to tell us about the *Basler*. In the end, understanding what we can of Oecolampadius' reception and use of the fathers enables us to further appreciate the tenuous nature of the reception of the fathers in the humanistic and theological debates of his day.

CHAPTER 4 – OECOLAMPADIUS' TEXTUAL KNOWLEDGE OF IRENAEUS OF LYONS

> Indeed, the manuscripts [of Irenaeus] have been copied with great carelessness.[1]

Introduction

The monumentally important work of Irenaeus of Lyons (ca. 140-202), *On the Detection and Refutation of Knowledge Falsely So-Called*, as it was originally titled,[2] and later shortened by the Caesarean bishop Eusebius (d. ca. 339) in his *Ecclesiastical History*, to simply *Adversus Haereses*,[3] was little quoted by our Basel reformer in his early career. In fact, not until the mid-1520's do we find the words of the bishop of Lyons flavoring the arguments, whether in book or correspondence, of Oecolampadius.[4] Does this then mean that Irenaeus, along with both his polemic and constructive theology, was immaterial to the Basel reformer? In the ensuing pages of this chapter we will attempt to answer this question. To accomplish this we will first, in a general way, briefly trace out Irenaeus' manuscript

[1] 'Exemplaria enim magna incuria descripta sunt.' *DGVD*, G v r.

[2] See Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, 4. Preface 1; and, cf., Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 5.7.1. Originally written in Greek, the title appeared as,"Ελεγχος καὶ'Ανατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνόμου γνώσεως.

[3] *EH*, 2.13 and 3.23. It appears that if 16th century humanists and theologians did know Irenaeus' other work, *The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*, which was probably written at the end of the second century and a few years after *AH*, it was in name only. Cf., *EH*, 5.26-27; and, John Behr's introduction in, Irenaeus, *On the Apostolic Preaching*, trans. John Behr (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1997), pp. 3-5.

[4] However, for more on Irenaeus' role as bishop, see, Frank D. Gilliard, "The Apostolicity of Gallic Churches," *Harvard Theological Review* 68 (1975), p. 27.

transmission from the late 16th century until the present era. We will then jump, chronologically, approximately five centuries backwards, to consider its reception in the early sixteenth-century. To determine what exactly Oecolampadius knew of Irenaeus' works will be imperative for a complete analysis of the two men's dialogue. We will discuss not only the eucharistic sections of Irenaeus' treaties contained in those of Oecolampadius', but also the non-eucharistic texts of the bishop of Lyons, which influenced the issues in which Oecolampadius had become embroiled. Upon completion of this examination we will have achieved an overall sense of Oecolampadius' general knowledge and use of *Adversus Haereses* from the 1520's until the his own death.

The *Adversus Haereses* Manuscripts

A General Overview

The publication history of Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses* is, at least from the late sixteenth-century until the present day, a relatively uncomplicated affair. The *editio princeps*, an edition which went through seven reprints (1528, 1534, 1545, 1548, 1560, 1563, and 1567), was published in 1526 by Froben for Erasmus of Rotterdam, and *AH* has since been reprinted in numerous editions, each containing editorial and fragmentary additions. In both 1569 and 1570 Gallasius published editions from Paris and possibly Geneva,[5] which contained the Greek portions of *AH* found in the *Panarion*

[5] The Geneva printing is disputed. See SC 100, 37-38.

of bishop Epiphanius of Cyprus (d. ca. 403).[6] Johannes Jacobus Grynaeus in 1571 built on the work of both Erasmus and Gallasius by publishing an edition that contained a sizable addition to Book 1, not found in Erasmus' edition. Shortly thereafter Parisian priest and professor of theology Franciscus Feurardent published a Latin version of *AH* in 1575 that went through six reprints, and contained sections of Book 5 that were previously unpublished. In 1702 the Lutheran turned Anglican, J. E. Grabe, published a new edition.[7] Grabe's was followed by the Benedictine monk Massuet's 1710 Paris edition, and it is the latter work that would for years hold sway in Irenaean scholarship. C. M. Pfaff, in 1713, published four fragments dealing with the Eucharist thought to be of Irenaean origin. However in 1900 Harnack conclusively proved these supposed vestiges from the library in Turin to be spurious.[8] In 1882 J. P. Migne adopted Massuet's text and sub-divisions for his *Patrologia Graeca*, and those sub-divisions have since become the norm.[9] In 1853 Stieren published a two-volume edition in Leipzig entitled *Sancti Irenaei Lugdunensis quae supersunt omnia*, which has been variously utilized in more modern works.[10] However, it was W. W.

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[6] The Greek text of the *Panarion* was made available to Gallasius and those after him by Janus Cornarius' 1544 edition. For more information see, K. Holl, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Epiphanius - Ancoratus und Panarion* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910), pp. 1-5.

[7] J. T. Nielsen wrongly ascribes the date of this publication to 1575. See, Irenaeus, *Irenaeus of Lyons Versus Contemporary Gnosticism: A Selection from Books I and II of Adversus Haereses*, ed. J. T. Nielsen (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), p. viii.

[8] See, Adolf Harnack, *Die Pfaffschen Irenäus Fragmente als Fälschungen Pfaffs nachgewiesen* (Leipzig: n.p., 1900).

[9] See, Denis Minns, O.P., *Irenaeus* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1994), p. 7; and, Philippe Bacq, S.J., *De l'ancienne à la nouvelle Alliance selon S. Irénée: Unite du Livre IV de'l Adversus Haereses* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1978), pp. 17-18.

[10] This is the text used by Nielsen. See, Irenaeus, *Ibid*, p. viii.

Harvey's edition that was the most well received before the newest critical editions were published in the mid to late 20th century. Harvey, like Stieren, published two octavo volumes of *AH*, adding thirty-two Syriac fragments from the Nitrian collection of the British Library, and a number of additional Greek fragments. Nearing the end of this long list of publications is the highly regarded critical edition in ten volumes, *Sources chrétiennes*, with French translations, published between 1965-1982. Finally, there is the German edition of *AH* found in *Fontes Christiani*. For obvious reasons, knowledge of, and familiarity with, the varying *AH* editions is nothing less than imperative for any modern scholar concerned with studying Irenaeus. But, how does this assist our understanding of pre-sixteenth-century Irenaean textual evidence? Even more specifically, how does all of this assist our understanding of when, where, and by whom, *AH* manuscript(s) were obtained by Oecolampadius, if in fact this information is even available?

As mentioned above, Froben published the first 'complete' edition of Irenaeus' *AH* for Erasmus in the late summer of 1526. However, even today, there are several different arguments for which manuscripts were used by him. The three more or less complete Latin manuscripts of *AH* – *Claromontanus*, which is the earliest and dates *ca.* 9th or 10th century (= *Berolinensis lat.* 43), *Vossianus Leidensis E* 33, dating from *ca.* 1494, and *Arundelianus* 87, which is commonly dated *ca.* 12th century – can all most likely trace their heredity to a mid-fourth or early fifth century translation

from the original Greek.[11] Yet it is possible that an earlier Latin translation may have existed even before these fourth and fifth century copies, for Tertullian (d. ca. 220) clearly suggests familiarity with *AH* in his *Adversus Valentinianos*,[12] where Irenaeus is specifically mentioned, and the outline of his anti-Gnostic polemic is borrowed almost wholesale.[13] Also, it is clear that sometime around 421 Augustine (354-430) gained access to a Latin copy, the creation of which was possibly motivated by the Priscillianist controversy, as he quotes from it in his *Contra Iulianum*.[14] Obviously, other mediaeval copies of *AH* were made in the period between the copying of the one used for *Contra Iulianum* and the dawn of the reformations occurring on the Continent.

Erasmus' manuscripts are a case in point. Though the general transmission issues surrounding his manuscripts are familiar to many, nevertheless our

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[11] Other important extant texts are *Vaticanus lat.* 187 (= Q) *ca.* 1429, and *Salmanticensis lat.* 202 (= S) *ca.* 1457. For a detailed analysis of true complexity of the transmission of the Latin texts see, Sven Lundström, *Die Überlieferung der lateinischen Irenaeusübersetzung* (Stockholm: S. Academiae Ubsaliensis, 1985); and, SC 100 A, 9-50.

[12] *Val.* 5.1 (CCSL 2, 5.1).

[13] Given the fact that Tertullian could read both Latin and Greek, it is impossible to know in which language he read Irenaeus. Nevertheless, it does open up the possibility that *AH* had already been translated from Greek to Latin by the 3rd century. For example, Nielsen asserts, referring to the possible 3rd century translation: 'This translation may be roughly contemporaneous with Irenaeus, at least if one assumes that Tertullian, in *Adversus Valentinianos*, (written *ca.* 208/211) made use of the Latin translation of Irenaeus' chief work.' See, Irenaeus, *Ibid.*, pp. vii-viii. For more on Tertullian's education, including linguistic capabilities, see, Timothy David Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 187-210.

[14] See, *C. Iul.* 1.3.5 (PL 44, 644); and, cf., *AH* 4.2.7 (SC 100 B, 412), and *AH* 5.19.1 (SC 153, 250). For the text's possible link to Priscillianism, and Augustine's knowledge and use of the Greek language, eastern fathers, and Irenaeus himself cf., Henry Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila: The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), pp. 205-206, especially n. 5; Pierre Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources*, trans. Harry E. Wedeck (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 196-208; and, Josef Lössl, "Augustine in Byzantium," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51, no. 2 (2000), p. 269.

knowledge of exactly how, from whom, and when he obtained them is far from complete.[15] Apropos Oecolampadius and this same issue, the uncertainty surely should be factored much higher.

Oecolampadius' Early Familiarity with Irenaeus (pre-1526)

In a verbal volley involving himself and Bathasar Hubmaier (1485-1528), composed between the close of 1527 and July 1528, John Faber (1478-1541), delegate for the bishop of Constance, mentions that he brought with him to the Disputation of Baden in 1526, an Irenaeus manuscript which was there read by Eck. [16]

> . . . I had carried the manuscript (indeed, it was not yet published) with me by wagon, along with many other useful authors; thereupon these words were openly read in front of the audience so that all could hear: 'And our Lord took bread, which is from creation, and gave thanks saying: "This is my body." And similarly with the chalice, which is from the same creation, from which we derive, he confessed to be his blood. And he has

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[15] For further information on possible families see, SC 100 A, 15-50; SC 293, 19-50; and, Marie Louise Guillaumin, "A la recherche des manuscrits d'Irénée," *Studia Patristica* 7 (1966), p. 66.

[16] This was possibly *Vaticanus lat.* 188 (= R) copied sometime during the pontificate of Nicholas V (1447-1455). Cf., José Ruysschaert, "Le Manuscrit 'Romae descriptum' de l'édition érasmienne d'Irénée de Lyon," in *Scrinium Erasmianum*, ed. J. Coppens (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), p. 264ff.; SC 293, pp. 19 & 43; and, *B&A* 2, p. 193, No. 582, n. 4.

> taught the new oblation of the new covenant, which the church in the entire world, having received it from the apostles, offers to God.'[17]

The Baden Disputation began in May of 1526, and by autumn of the same year Erasmus' edition of *AH* was more than likely for sale at book fairs throughout the Cantons and in Germany.[18] It seems only logical that his text could have come to him via Faber. This is all the more conceivable since Faber seems to be specifically suggesting that this particular manuscript (i.e., the 'it' found in the parenthetical statement above), had not yet undergone typeset, and was one of the ones shortly thereafter utilized for Erasmus's publication.

Faber also tells us, in the same letter, that at the reading and hearing of Irenaeus' text Oecolampadius became visibly ill at ease.

> When Oecolampadius heard these things he became perturbed in his high-backed (*erecta*) chair. However, as this was not corroborated in every imaginable way, he sat back, and for a considerable time did not have the courage to

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[17] '. . . ego manuscriptum (necdum enim divulgatus erat) mecum ut plaerosque alios authores meliores curru advexeram; inde palam omnibus audientibus hec verba pro concione praelegi: 'Et Dominus noster eum, qui ex creatura panis est, accepit et gratias egit dicens: Hoc est corpus meum, et calicem similiter, qui est ex creatura, quae est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est, et novi testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam ecclesia ab apostolis recipiens in universo mundo offert Deo', *B&A* 2, p. 192, No. 582. Cf., *AH* 4.17.5 (SC 100 B, 590-592).

[18] However, it may have only initially made it from Froben's press to the Frankfurt bookfairs, from which place it would have been disseminated elsewhere. See, *CoE*, vol. 2, s.v., 'Johann Froben', p. 62.

stand up (so great is the power of truth) . . .[19]

Apparently, as Faber would have us believe, especially given the fact that the two above quotes are in the same immediate relative context, Irenaeus, or at least this passage, was an unknown to Oecolampadius. This, for Faber, was an obvious proverbial feather in his own cap. And, if it were truly the case that Oecolampadius was unfamiliar with at least this section of *AH*, then it would go a long way in explaining his seemingly botched performance at Baden.[20]

However, the record from that eighteen-day debate does not bear out Faber's caricature. As Backus has rightly pointed out, when Eck quotes from *AH* 4.17.5 as an argument for transubstantiation, Oecolampadius counters by alluding to and paraphrasing *AH* 5.2.2, which is included in its entirety below:[21]

[19] 'Ubi Oecolampadius hec audivit, perturbatus in erecta sua cathedra, non tamen usquequaque firmata, subsedit, aliquamdiu non ausus assurgere (tante [sic] vis est veritatis) . . .' *B&A* 2, p. 192, No. 582.

[20] For more on this cf., Irena Backus, *The Disputations of Baden, 1526 and Berne, 1528: Neutralizing the Early Church* (Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1993), pp. 1-78. [Hereafter, *Disputations*]; and Philip Schaff, *Modern Christianity: The Swiss Reformation*, vol. 8 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1910), pp. 98-102, and 112. Schaff holds the *Basler* and his rhetorical prowess in much higher esteem than does Backus.

[21] Backus, *Disputations*, p. 26-27.

> Altogether misleading are those who spurn the universal power of God and deny the salvation of the flesh and its resurrection, saying that it is incapable of purity. According to their beliefs the Lord did not redeem us with his blood, nor is the eucharistic cup the communication of his blood, and the bread we break is not a communion of his body. For blood can only come from veins and from the flesh.[22]

For the purposes of our present study, the theological implication of Oecolampadius' use of Irenaeus at Baden is not at stake. Rather, the important thing to recognize is that Oecolampadius was already familiar with *AH*, or at least this segment of it – familiar enough to paraphrase it from memory and then attempt an argument, no matter how (according to Backus) poorly constructed.

Is the Baden disputation, then, the earliest recorded instance of Oecolampadius' awareness of Irenaeus? Did Oecolampadius come into contact with *AH* there? It seems highly unlikely. Backus, after mentioning that Eck almost certainly obtained the Irenaeus text from Faber, with which he 'perturbed' Oecolampadius, seems to allude to the fact that this might very well have been Oecolampadius' initial utilization of *AH*, stating, 'It is

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[22] 'Vani autem omnimodo qui universam dispositionem Dei contemnunt et carnis salutem negant et regenerationem eius spernunt dicentes non eam capacem esse incorruptibilitatis. Sic autem secundum haec, videlicet nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos neque calix eucharistiae communicatio sanguinis eius, neque panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis eius est. Sanguis enim non est nisi a venis et carnibus.' PL 7, 1124. Backus quotes and translates this section in its entirety for the reader's benefit, but it was not so used by Oecolampadius in the debates. Again, Oecolampadius simply paraphrased it. See, Backus, *Disputations*, p. 27.

interesting to note that Oecolampadius too had access to *Adversus haereses* prior to its publication.'[23]

All of this brings us full circle, and back to our preliminary questions of when, where, and from whom did Oecolampadius obtain his manuscript(s)? Part of that query can now be narrowed down a bit more, as obviously Oecolampadius would have had to come across his Irenaeus manuscript(s) sometime before May 1526 and the Baden disputation. But this still raises the question – where and from whom did Oecolampadius initially receive the text? At this juncture a brief chronological move forward (in order to shed light on the past, so that we might accordingly continue our discussion there), will acquaint us in a very general way with Oecolampadius' overall knowledge of Irenaeus.

In June 1526, which is clearly subsequent to Baden, Oecolampadius employs *AH* in a literary quarrel with his former humanist and Lutheran friend, Willibald Pirckheimer (1470-1530), after the latter took him to task concerning his eucharistic theology.[24] However, there is no mention of the

[23] Backus, *Ibid.* However, compare her essay written four years later in which she is much more confident about Irenaean manuscripts being available at Baden, no doubt based on the research of Quantin. Cf., Irena Backus, "Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer and the Church Fathers," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Backus (New York: E. J. Brill, 1997), p. 636; Jean-Louis Quantin, "Irénée de Lyon entre humanisme et Réforme: Les citations de l'Adversus haereses dans les controverses religieuses, de Johann Fabri à Martin Luther (1522-1527)," *Recherches augustiniennes* 27 (1994), pp. 135-142; Oecolampadius' letter to Zwingli in, *Z* VIII 629.10-630.1, and, n. 3; and *B&A* 1, p. 551, No. 403.

[24] The debate between the two men, though outside the scope of this study, needs further consideration. The emphasis need not be on Irenaeus. But instead, a general survey of the infant Lutheran and Reformed debates taking place specifically between these two men would no doubt shed further historical, and theological light, on the eventual rift between the factions. For a closer look at the debate, cf., Pirckheimer, *De*

bishop from Lyons in any of Oecolampadius' personal correspondence until very late. Between 1530-1531 we find Oecolampadius invoking the name of Irenaeus, where he uses both Irenaeus' theology proper and his christology, against the Spaniard Michael Servetus and his 'aberrant' Trinitarian doctrines.[25] Also in 1530, as mentioned above, Oecolampadius makes use of *AH* books 4 and 5 in his *Dialogus*, quoted and discussed in opposition to Melanchthon's use of *AH* 5.2.2-3 in his *Sententiae Veterum*.[26]

As previously mentioned, the work by which Oecolampadius became famous (or rather, infamous) was his *DGVD*. It is in this work published in September 1525, eight months prior to the Baden disputation, that we find Oecolampadius' first quotations from *AH*. Ironically, the texts that he chooses to mention are not merely paraphrases of, or allusions to, *AH* 4.17.5 or 5.2.2. Rather, Oecolampadius directly and extensively quotes from *AH* 1.13.2-3, 4.18.4-5, 5.2.2, and then later in the work, 5.2.3.

Given the fact that the publication date of this work was prior to Baden and that *DGVD* contains a lengthy quotation from *AH* 4.18, a passage only one chapter removed from the one cited by Eck at the disputation, it is difficult

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vera Christi; Johannes Oecolampadius, *Ad Billibaldum Pyrkaimerum de re Eucharistiae responsio* (Zürich: Froschover, 1526); and, *B&A* 1, p. 549, No. 402. For reference to Irenaeus specifically, cf., Oecolampadius, *Ad Bilibaldum posterior*, c 4 $^{r-v}$; and, Pirckheimer, *De vera Christi*, H 3 ^{v}- H 4 ^{r}, where Pirckheimer quotes exactly Oecolampadius' text from *DGVD*.

[25] See *B&A* 2, pp. 475-476, No. 766. This will be discussed in more detail below.

[26] Philip Melanchthon, *Sententiae veterum aliquot scriptorum, de Coena Domini, bona fide recitatae* (Wittenburg: Joseph Clug, 1530) (= *CR* 23, 733-752); and see, *Dial.*, C 9 $^{r-v}$.

to understand how Oecolampadius could have been 'perturbed,' in the sense of being caught off guard, by *AH* 4.17, as Faber would have us believe. The recognition of Oecolampadius' use of these texts also goes a long way in answering Backus' 'question' of whether or not Oecolampadius had access to an *AH* manuscript.[27] It clearly seems that he did. In fact, we might hypothesize that he had a manuscript (or manuscripts) firmly in hand sometime before late 1524 or early 1525, prior to the publication of *DGVD*. Furthermore, if he was reliant on at least one of the same manuscripts used in the *editio princeps*, Oecolampadius' selections from Irenaeus may offer new clues about the manuscript's (or manuscripts') diffusion and reception.

Erasmus, His Texts, and Their Connection to Oecolampadius

In 1524 Erasmus was still living in Basel, but he and Oecolampadius were no longer seeing eye to eye. On March 22, 1525 Erasmus wrote to the bishop of Metz and also cardinal, John de Lorraine (1498-1550), stating his feelings,

> I have openly dissented from Oecolampadius' doctrines, which I have now declared in published books; and the former friendship between him

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[27] Rupp, years before Backus, communicated the same opinion, namely that Oecolampadius was taken aback by Eck's use of Irenaeus. Rupp may in fact, based on his primary reading of Faber, wherein he uncritically takes him at his own word, be the progenitor of this idea. See, Rupp, *Patterns*, p. 29.

> and me has been turned into observable enmity, which I prefer to a sham friendship. Nevertheless, so that I may admit what is true also about an enemy, he is man of three languages and has more than moderate skill in theological matters.[28]

Erasmus' final statement to the cardinal is very important. Regardless of his personal feelings for his now old friend (and Erasmus seems to have been able to make some distinction between personal and business relationships), he still viewed Oecolampadius as an asset to humanism and even (from a tempered standpoint) theology. Clearly, in a small city such as Basel, had Oecolampadius been able to gain access to a manuscript of Irenaeus' *AH*, Erasmus would most certainly have known about it. Or, by this period, would he have known? If a copy of *AH* were in the hands of Oecolampadius, would he have shared that information with this highly respected former friend, who was now publicly wielding the power of the pen against him? Or similarly, if providence had smiled on him, and Oecolampadius did now own a copy (or at least had access to one or more of them), and Erasmus did have knowledge concerning this, would Oecolampadius, given the heat that had been generated between the Dutchman and himself, have allowed Erasmus access? It is very hard to say.[29]

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[28] 'Ego ab Oecolampadii dogmatibus palam dissideo, quod editis etiam libris declaravi; et amicicia, que mihi olim cum illo fuit, versa est in apertam simultatem, quam ego malo quam fucatam amiciciam. Et tamen, ut de inimico quoque, quod verum est, fatear, vir est trium linguarum ac rei theologicae non mediocriter peritus.' *B&A* 1, p. 314, No. 215; and, *CWE*, vol. 11, p. 77, No. 1559.

[29] As late as 1530, however, Erasmus and Oecolampadius were collaborating with one another on Chrysostom's homilies on Acts. See, *B&A* 2, pp. 391-395, Nos. 702 & 703.

More than likely Erasmus garnered one of his *AH* manuscripts from Faber. By his own avowal of May 1526, Faber wrote to Erasmus offering their 'common' or 'shared' *AH* manuscript after the latter had pleaded with him on at least one other occasion to obtain it:[30]

> Again you urgently solicit our common [i.e., shared] Irenaeus manuscript which, in one way or another, you have formerly requested in earnest: I trust that you will do such good work in restoring [the text] (because of your remarkable manner, that is, your industry and erudition, you will be able to vindicate [the text] from error), that I would never refuse you. Therefore, hope well, and very soon I will make you and Froben beneficiaries of the wish.[31]

Though not explicit in this statement, it seems that Faber had passed his manuscript to Erasmus sometime in the late spring or early summer of 1526, in other words, sometime after Baden.[32] Erasmus helps to clarify this

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Cf., Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship* (Zürich: Juris Druck, 1975), p. 117; and, Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, pp. 456-457.

[30] See, Ruysschaert, *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[31] 'Expostulas iam denuo Ireneum communem nostrum, quem prius quoque una aut altera vice serio efflagitasti: in quo tantum te spero frugis facturum instaurando (qui mirum in modum, ut est industria et eruditio tua, vendicare a mendis poteris), ut numquam recusare ausim. Bene igitur spera, brevi voti te Frobeniumque compotes faciam.' P. S. Allen and H. M. Allen, eds., *Desiderius Erasmus: Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 vols., vol. 6 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), p. 347, No. 1715; and cf., *CWE*, vol. 12, pp. 213-215, No. 1715.

[32] Cf., *Ibid.*, pp. 214-215, n. 2; and, *Ibid.*, p. 190, No. 1704, where Erasmus mentions to the bishop of Lincoln, John Longland, that he is producing a text of Irenaeus that has never before been released.

himself in the dedication of the 1526 edition to Bernard of Cles, then bishop of Trent (1485-1539). He states:

> . . . one [manuscript] having been copied at Rome has been released to us by that distinguished patron of study John Faber . . . [33]

Also in the same dedication we are told that Erasmus used not just Faber's manuscript, but two others as well:

> We have been aided by three copies . . . two having been provided conveniently from monasteries.[34]

In his first edition of *AH*, written in a gloss near the end of Book 3 concerning a divergent reading of the text among the three manuscripts before him, Erasmus referenced the now lost *Codex Hirsaugiensis*, stating:

> Hirs. non habet 'de quoquam.'[35]

[33] '. . . uno quod Romae descriptum illinc ad nos misit egregius studiorum patronus Ioannes Faber . . .' Allen, *Ibid*, p. 384, No. 1738. Cf., Desiderius Erasmus, *Desiderius Erasmus: Prefaces to the Fathers the New Testament on Study*, ed. Robert Peters (Menston, England: Scholar Press Limited, 1970), p. 82; and, *CWE*, vol. 12, pp. 295, No. 1738.

[34] 'Tribus exemplaribus sumus adjuti . . . duobus e monasteriis commodato praebitis.' Allen, *Ibid*.

[35] Cf., *AH* 3.25.5 (SC 211, 486); and, SC 100 A, 36.

This is an important declaration, as it relates to Oecolampadius, for a number of reasons. First, Hirsau was a monastery located not far from Oecolampadius' hometown of Weinsberg, and very close to what would have been the midway point of the region through which he traveled most of his adult life. There can be no doubt about his intimate familiarity with the cloisters of that region. Second, it should also be remembered that he spent a considerable amount of time just east of Augsburg and north of Munich in the monastery at Altomünster, a place that contained at least a modest library, and would have possibly allowed Oecolampadius access to other monastery libraries in the region.[36] It is easy to hypothesize that after his tonsuring at Altomünster Oecolampadius would have had access to any number of manuscripts, some of which he may have retained for the long term. But it is certainly the case that many, even the ones he copied or translated while cloistered, came from outside this monastery as well.[37] His connection to other humanists and publishers like Rhenanus, Froben, Erasmus, Cratander, Pirckheimer, and many others, surely furthered his own personal acquisitions. Indeed, we can hypothesize that a number of

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[36] Cf., Andreas Bigelmair, "Ökolampadius im Kloster Altomünster," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Renaissance und Reformation: Joseph Schlecht Am. 16 Januar 1917 als Festgabe zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag* (München und Freising: Dr. F.P. Datterer & Arthur Sellier, 1917), p. 25ff; Georg Binder, "Oecolampad im Birgittenkloster in Altomünster," *Theologisch-praktische Monats-Schrift* VII (1897), p. 311; and, Georg Schwaiger, "Das Birgittenkloster Altomünster in den Stürmen der Reformationszeit," In *Festschrift Altomünster 1973* (Aichach, Germany: Verlag Mayer and Söhne, 1973), p. 168. Binder claims that the monastery was very inclined towards humanism, and so may well be the reason for Oecolampadius' decision to join this particular house. Schwaiger substantiates this claim, stating: 'Das Kloster besaß einen reichen Schatz an Frühdrucken und handgeschriebenen Büchern.' Beyond these general statements, there is little to no evidence of the monastery's holdings at the time Oecolampadius was there.

[37] Oecolampadius, long before being cloistered, had obtained and was translating a number of patristic texts, as is exemplified by the fact that he was hard at work on certain of Nazianzen's texts as early as 1519. See the letter from Zasius to Amerbach in *B&A* 1, p. 96, No. 61.

his texts would have come from individuals scouring monastery libraries around Germany and Switzerland and then sending the texts directly to him. Moreover, many were received from the private libraries of individuals concerned with the humanistic endeavor of codex preservation.[38] Even the eventual truncation of his monastic career in 1522 does not seem to have greatly hindered his ability to acquire codices. During this period as well, the role of his friends and humanist companions in this endeavor (though the size of this group began to shrink after 1522 because of his ever closer ties to the movements of reform) cannot be overstated. One example of this sort of friend was Beatus Rhenanus.

Beatus Rhenanus

Up until 1519 Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547) was living and working in Basel, editing for the printer Johannes Froben. Upon the death of his father in 1520, who had been a prosperous butcher, Rhenanus became independently wealthy and frequently moved between the family home in Sélestat, and the cities of Strasbourg and Basel. The new personal wealth allowed him the opportunity to dedicate most of his time to academic work, which he favored considerably more than public theological disputation.[39] It was during this period that Rhenanus attempted to find a copy of *AH*. More than likely Rhenanus' search was undertaken so that if a manuscript were located he could edit *AH* himself and then have Froben typeset it. In a

[38] Cf., Bigelmair, *Ibid*, pp. 25-33, and 43; and, Ernst Staehelin, "Die Väterübersetzungen Oekolampads," *Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift* XXIII (1916), pp. 57-91.

[39] For more information see, *CoE*, vol. 1, s.v., 'Beatus Rhenanus', p. 104-109.

letter dated April 7, 1522, John Faber responded to a letter sent to him by Rhenanus, apparently requesting the manuscript:

> You will have Irenaeus as soon as a certain curial official departs, whom I will provide like a pack ass, by which I may be able to satisfy the prayers of you and Froben.[40]

Did Rhenanus ever receive this text? Solid evidence is sparse. Concerning the letter, Ruysschaert states,

> One evidently cannot assert that the promise was held to, or even that it was absolutely sincere.[41]

After making this statement Ruysschaert attempts to validate it by what, to my mind, is a rather weak argument founded on the extant correspondence between Faber, Erasmus, and Rhenanus himself. Conversely, based on the exact same correspondence, I would argue that it seems more certain that Rhenanus did in fact receive the manuscript sometime in mid to late 1522, but for one reason or another was unable to edit it, and consequently returned it to Faber at a later date.[42] Although, it is also just as possible

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[40] 'Hireneum habebis quamprimum curialis aliquis abierit, quem veluti clitellarium asinum curabo, quo tuis et Frobenianis votis satisfacere possim.' Cited in, Ruysschaert, *Ibid*, p. 268. Cf., Beatus Rhenanus, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus. Gesammelt und herausgegeben von Adalbert Horawitz und Karl Hartfelder* (Hildesheim: n.p., 1966), p. 305, No. 221.

[41] 'Mais on ne peut évidemment pas affirmer que la promesse fut tenue, ni même qu'elle fut absolument sincere.' Ruysschaert, *Ibid*, p. 268-269.

[42] This may have become Faber, Froben and Erasmus' 'common' or 'shared' manuscript.

that Faber's manuscript was copied by Rhenanus (or someone else) and then returned to its new owner. Ultimately, it would be, to say the least, odd that a man as busy as Faber would actually take the time, while in Rome, to respond to a request from Rhenanus and make a promise that he never intended to keep.

Based on an analysis of the extant correspondence, one of the first people to be contacted by Oecolampadius after emerging from Altomünster appears to have been Rhenanus himself. In a letter dated February 1522, Oecolampadius mentions, while explaining his former struggles with the monastic life, that he had received letters from Rhenanus. Given the context of this letter, it appears that some of the correspondence from Rhenanus came to Oecolampadius while he was cloistered. Regardless, whether Rhenanus' letters to Oecolampadius were or were not received while the latter was at Altomünster, the particular letter under consideration here at least verifies that the two men were never out of contact with one another for long.[43]

Additionally, what is important at this juncture in our question about the Irenaean manuscripts, is to point out the uncanny timing of these events. On the one hand, we have Faber and Rhenanus' correspondence, and on the other, Oecolampadius' exodus from the monastery at Altomünster and his ensuing correspondence with Rhenanus. If, as suggested above, Rhenanus may have had Irenaeus' *AH* in hand by the time the two again

[43] 'Sed quantum ex literis tuis coniecto . . . ', *B&A* 1, p. 168, No. 119. Cf., *B&A* 1, p. 178, No. 125.

came face-to-face in Basel (sometime in the fall of 1522, or winter of 1523), would he have told Oecolampadius about it? Oecolampadius did spend approximately one month with Caspar Hedio (1494-1552) in Mainz after leaving the monastery, where he found manuscripts containing a number of Chrysostom's sermons.[44] Then a few months later an offer from the publishing house of Cratander (based on the fact that Oecolampadius was in possession of Chrysostom's sermons) encouraged him to return to Basel. Cratander and Froben were competitors – Oecolampadius now working for one, and Rhenanus vacillating with the other.[45] Would that have stopped the two friends from sharing information, or even more to the point, codices, as it may have with Oecolampadius and Erasmus?

It seems feasible to suggest that Oecolampadius may have in fact copied the *AH* manuscript (or portions of it) now in the possession of Rhenanus in 1522 or possibly 1523. These two men were most definitely not 'on the outs', though feelings were on the verge of becoming tense between Erasmus and Oecolampadius. Given their mutual past together, it is very probable that Rhenanus and Oecolampadius would have shared information about any newly obtained text, patristic or otherwise – especially in such a small circle as that of the Basel humanists. That is not to say, however, that some sort of agreement would not have been made –

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[44] Old, *Ibid*, pp. 115-116; but cf., *B&A* 1, p. 176, No. 123, n. 3. Also, see, Wolfgang Jung, "Oecolampads an Hedio," *Blätter für pfalzische Kirchengeschichte und religiose Volkskunde* 39 (1972), p. 197ff.

[45] Cratander clearly had reformation leanings and was no friend of Erasmus after the mid-1520's. However, he and Oecolampadius were close, possibly because of their days together at Heidelberg. See, *CoE*, vol. 1, s.v., 'Andreas Cratander', pp. 357-358.

namely, Rhenanus asking Oecolampadius not to introduce Cratander to the codex. This Oecolampadius obviously did not do. However, if Rhenanus abandoned the idea of publication, for whatever reason, Oecolampadius would then have been free to use sections from it.[46] Also, by this period (ca. 1524-1525) Oecolampadius would have been under no obligation to share this manuscript with the now contentious Erasmus, in essence beating his old employer, at least partially, to press.

All in all, the idea of Oecolampadius obtaining a copy of the text of Irenaeus' *AH* which Faber, the delegate for the bishop of Constance and a man adamantly opposed to reform 'from without', originally sent from the curial library in Rome so that Rhenanus and Froben might edit and publish it, is a fascinating hypothesis. But yet more tantalizing is the possibility that Oecolampadius used selections of Faber's manuscript in an anti-transubstantiationist eucharistic treatise – while Eck, apparently not realizing that Oecolampadius had already published selections from it, also tried to use the same manuscript against the *Basler* at Baden.[47]

Oecolampadius' Later Familiarity with Irenaeus (1526-1531)

Between 1526 and 1531 Irenaeus is cited a number of times by Oecolampadius, sometimes in relation to eucharistic debates, and at other times not. As mentioned earlier, Oecolampadius and Pirckheimer battled

[46] In 1523 Rhenanus published a rather extensive series of church histories by Greek patristic authors, and this may account for the possible abandonment of Irenaeus. See, D'Amico, *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

[47] For a further discussion of the *AH* text itself, as found in *DGVD*, as well as Oecolampadius' possible additional sources, see Appendix 1, pp. 353-371.

back and forth for at least three years over their respective understanding of eucharistic theology, occasionally proof-texting with Irenaeus.[48] In November 1528, Oecolampadius wrote to Erasmus Ritter (*fl. ca.* 1527-1530)[49] from Bayern, and Benedikt Burgauer (1494-1576)[50] who was the priest of St. Laurens in St. Gallen, regarding questions raised by the Apostles' Creed, and more specifically, its reference to Christ's descent into hell. Oecolampadius, after listing a host of events and names, such as Nicaea, Origen, Rufinus, Tertullian, and others, mentions Irenaeus.[51] In 1530 Irenaeus is again quoted extensively in Oecolampadius' *Dialogus.* However, this time Oecolampadius follows, for the most part, the text used by Melanchthon in his *Sententiae Patrum*, which appears to be from Erasmus' published edition.[52]

If up to this point the question remained concerning exactly how much of Irenaeus' *AH* was familiar to Oecolampadius outside of the eucharistic sections, his correspondence between the summer of 1530 and the spring of 1531 suggests that he knew, by this period, the entire text. In a letter

[48] Cf., selections from a letter written sometime between May and June 1526, in which Irenaeus' name is mentioned in regards to Baden in, *B&A* 1, pp. 546-551, No. 402, especially, p. 549.

[49] *B&A* 2, p. 80, No. 499, n. 1.

[50] *B&A* 2, p. 254, No. 614, n. 2.

[51] *B&A* 2, p. 252, No. 614.

[52] Cf., *Dialogus*, D 1 ^{r} and M 3 ^{r}. In the latter, Oecolampadius quotes Melanchthon's text from *AH* 5.2.3 and changes the word *consistit* to *subsistit*, in the sentence, '. . . fit Eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur et subsistit carnis nostrae substantia . . .'

concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, written to Michael Servetus (1511-1553), Oecolampadius states,

> You will complain that I am troublesome and hard on you; for me, however, the cause for complaint is greater. As though I have nothing better to do, you force upon me every pedantic thing concerning the Trinity [published] by the Sorbonne. You take it ill that I commend Athanasius and Nazianzen, theologians of the highest order, and neither do I charge them with error as is your custom . . . You deny two natures in one person; I speak just as John: 'The Word became flesh' (John 1:14).[53]

This is the first extant correspondence that we have between Servetus and Oecolampadius. Obviously, there were other conversations and communications between the two men, as Oecolampadius seems more than familiar with the young Spaniard's theological positions. In fact, it appears that Servetus had become something of a nuisance to Oecolampadius. However, the two men were probably friends for a time, as Servetus stayed with Oecolampadius in Basel.[54] Given Oecolampadius' pastoral disposition, Servetus was probably allowed to stay with him in the hope that he would be able to convince Servetus of the errors in his

[53] 'Conquereris me esse tibi molestum et durum; mihi autem maior conquerendi causa est. Quasi enim otiosus essem, obtrudes mihi, quicquid de trinitate Sorbona ineptiit. Aegre fers, quod Athanasium et Nazianzenum, optime meritos Theologos, probem nec tuo more confutem . . . Tu negas in una persona duas naturas; ego iuxta Joannem dico: Verbum caro factum est.', *B&A* 2, pp. 472-473, No. 765.

[54] See, *CoE*, vol. 3, s.v., 'Michael Servetus', p. 242, where it states that Servetus moved from Bologna (in 1530) to Basel and stayed with Oecolampadius for more than six months.

thinking. Based on the problems of dating exactly the early correspondence between the two men (written sometime between the summer of 1530 and May 1531), it is hard to know if Oecolampadius had read Servetus' *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, though it seems, based on his rather detailed comments, that he probably had.[55] Even if he had not, he nevertheless attempted to return Servetus to trinitarian orthodoxy. In order to promote the theological reorientation of Servetus, Oecolampadius employed the writings of Irenaeus. He writes:

> To Servetus Hispanus, who denies that Christ is the consubstantial son of God, John Oecolampadius.
>
> You beg, that I do not make the sacrament a thing [i.e., a reality or event]. But I in turn pray that you will not make the thing [i.e., the reality or event] only a sacrament. Indeed the apostle called it a Secret, which had not yet been announced openly.[56] Indeed, the incarnation was formerly a secret and not yet a thing [i.e., a reality or event]; however, the sonship truly was. Indeed, the word is coeternal with God the father; for, 'he was in the beginning and he was with God'.[57] However, he was not at that time only in the mystery of a word apart from any natural

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[55] Michael Servetus, *De Trinitatis Erroribus Libri Septem* (Haguenau: n.p., 1531). If Servetus had stayed with Oecolampadius, he may have read the work in draft.

[56] Col. 1:26

[57] Jn. 1:1

signification. For what God was, he was most perfectly. He was in God himself, and so with God. And because the word possesses in himself and encompasses the entire essence of the divinity of the father, rightly is he called the son of God the father. Being born does not belong to flesh alone. Or have you not read, 'What has been born of spirit, is spirit'?[58] [That] the nature of the parent is also important to nativity and filiation, not only having a carnal beginning, in the same way it is also truly called a word, which expresses the mind, even if it happens without recourse to broken air and physical breath.

And thus Irenaeus has everywhere stated: 'And because we have demonstrated in many ways that the word, that is, the son, was always with the father';[59] 'because the word and wisdom were always with him, the son and the spirit, through whom and in whom he made everything freely and spontaneously, and to whom he speaks saying: "Let us make man in our image,"[60] he accepting from himself the substance of the creatures, and the representative of what has been made, and the type of all the ornaments in the world,'[61] and in the same, book 4, chapter 17:

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[58] Jn. 3:6

[59] *AH* 4.20.3 (SC 100 B, 632).

[60] Gen. 1:26

[61] Oecolampadius' in-text references from here forward closely parallel Erasmus. *AH* 4.20.1 (SC 100 B, 634).

'because of this the Jews have withdrawn from God, not receiving the word of God, but supposing that they can know God by himself, the father without the word, that is: without the son';[62] and from book 3, chapter 21: 'indeed for this reason the word became man, and he who is the son of God, was made the son of man, commixed with the word of God, in order that receiving adoption he might become the son of God';[63] in the same chapter he posits his twofold generation;[64] and again in chapter 20: 'we have shown that the son of God who exists with the father, did not begin [to exist] at that point in time.'[65] Everywhere the word of God most clearly asserts that he is the son of the father in reality, and not simply by representing a future son.

All the rest is frivolous, as you argue according to the order by which John said: 'That we believe Jesus to be the Christ and to be the son of God,'[66] as though, when he was anointed, he thus began to be the son of God, while in the same book John clearly, without any additional elements from you, says: 'In the beginning was the word,'[67] and, 'the word became flesh.'[68]

[62] *AH* 4.7.4 (SC 100 B, 462).

[63] *AH* 3.19.1, (SC 211, 374).

[64] *AH* 3.19.1-3 (SC 211, 374-382).

[65] *AH* 3.18.1 (SC 211, 342)

[66] Jn. 20:31

[67] Jn. 1:1

Finally, because you promise that you will continue in this confession, that Jesus is the son of God, I urge, that you might admit that the son of God is consubstantial and coeternal, according to the union of the word, in order that we might claim you as a Christian.

Goodbye![69]

[68] Jn. 1:14

[69] 'Serveto Hispano, neganti Christum esse filium Dei consubstantialem, Joannes Oecolampadius. Obsecras, ne de sacramento rem faciam. Ego vero vicissim oro, ne tu de re sacramentum solum facias. Apostolus enim vocat Arcanum, quod nondum palam annuntiatum. Incarnatio quidem arcanum erat aliquando et nondum res; filiatio autem vere erat. Verbum enim Deo patri coaeternum est; nam in principio erat et erat apud Deum. Non erat autem tunc solum in mysterio verbi absque significatione naturali. Quod enim Deus erat, perfectissime erat. Erat autem in ipsomet Deo et ita apud Deum. Et quoniam verbum totam divinitatis paternae essentiam ac naturam in se possidet ac complectitur, recte et filius dicitur Dei patris. Non enim solius carnis est nasci. An non legis: Quod natum est ex spiritu, spiritus est? Nativitatis enim et filiationis est naturam gignentis referre et non solum carnale initium habere, sicut et verbum vere dicitur, quod mentem declarat, etiamsi citra fractionem aëris et flatum corporeum fiat.

Ita ubique et Irenaeus: Et quoniam verbum, id est: filius, semper cum patre erat, per multa demonstravimus; adest enim ei semper verbum et sapientia, filius et spiritus, per quos et in quibus omnia libere et sponte fecit, ad quos et loquitur dicens: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem nostram, ipse a semetipso substantiam creaturarum et exemplum factorum et figuram in mundo ornamentorum accipiens; et in eodem, libro 4., capite 17: propter hoc Judaei excesserunt a Deo, verbum Dei non recipientes, sed putantes per seipsum, patrem sine verbo, id est: sine filio, posse cognoscere Deum; et libro 3., capite 21: propter hoc enim verbum homo et, qui filius hominis factus est, commixtus verbo Dei, ut adoptionem percipiens fiat filius Dei; in eodem capite et duplicem eius generationem ponit; item eodem capite 20: ostendimus, quia non tunc coepit filius Dei existens apud patrem. Ubi ubique apertissime verbum Dei reipsa filium patris asserit, non solum representatione futuri filii.

Caeterum frivolum est, quod ab ordine argues, quia Joannes dicit: Ut credamus esse Jesum Christum et esse filium Dei, quasi, ut unctus est, ita et filius Dei esse coeperit, quum idem Joannes ita palam sine tuo additamento dicat: In principio erat verbum, et, verbum caro factum est.

Demum, quod polliceris te perseveraturum in hac confessione, quod Jesus sit filius Dei, hortor, ut fatearis filium Dei consubstantialem et coaeternum, propter unionem verbi, ut pro Christiano te habere possimus.

Vale!' *B&A* 2, pp. 475-476, No. 766. For the argument which Oecolampadius appears to be countering, cf., Servetus, *Ibid.*, f 7 ʳ- g 1 ʳ; and, the English translation, Michael Servetus, *The two treatises of Servetus on the Trinity: On the errors of the Trinity; seven books A. D. MDXXXI; Dialogues on the Trinity; two books; On the righteousness of Christ's kingdom: four chapters A. D. MDXXXII.*, trans. Earl Morse Wilbur (New York: Kraus, 1969), pp. 75-79.

A number of brief remarks are in order concerning this letter. First, unlike any other extant correspondence, Oecolampadius references not specifically eucharistic allusions from Irenaeus, but rather christological ones. Oecolampadius refers to 'sacrament' only to make a point – for him the incarnation of the Word is a real 'thing' (i.e., reality or event), and *also* a sacrament. But more important than his own view is that of Servetus, whom Oecolampadius worries is making *res* nothing more than a sacrament. Interestingly enough, this is the only instance in which an extended discussion employing Irenaeus for any topic other than the eucharist is mentioned by Oecolampadius in either a book or correspondence. Second, the christological texts quoted by Oecolampadius come not just from *AH* book four (although three of them in fact do), or book five, or even from book one.

Rather, in this debate, Oecolampadius also selects quotations from book three, a book that, along with any non-eucharist citations in general, had heretofore gone unmentioned by the *Basler.* Specifically Oecolampadius incorporated *AH* 3.18.1; 3.19.1; and, 3.19.1-3 – again, giving us all the more confidence to say that, at the very latest, by 1530 he probably knew, with a familiarity showing some depth of thought, the entire *AH.*[70] And finally, that Oecolampadius' *AH* references in his correspondence with

[70] This caveat, 'at the very latest,' is inserted not as a denial, or even hedging, of the previous claims about Oecolampadius' *AH* holdings. But rather it is made to simply state the obvious – we can, with relative certainty, say that Oecolampadius knew *AH* in its entirety by 1530, whereas the argument about the codices in his possession by the early to mid-1520's relies on a bit more conjecture.

Servetus follow Erasmus' *editio princeps* rather closely, is a sign that by this time he had probably given up working with *AH* manuscripts for what would have no doubt been the much more manageable printed edition.

CHAPTER 5 – OECOLAMPADIUS' EXEGESIS OF THE EUCHARISTIC THOUGHT OF IRENAEUS OF LYONS

> At first sight these words of Irenaeus appear to the one who reads them to assert that our [flesh] is fed by the flesh of the Lord . . .[1]

Introduction

In previous chapters we have seen that Oecolampadius was a capable patristic scholar, from the perspective of his overall familiarity with the *veteres*. The scope of his patristic citations and publications, as well as his innovative interpretation of the texts themselves, clearly demonstrates that he was an important, and controversial, humanist-reformer in the early sixteenth century. In this chapter we will continue our analysis of Oecolampadius' reception of the fathers.

Specifically we will concentrate on his exegesis and employment of Irenaeus of Lyons in furthering his own eucharistic arguments. In order to do this we will look at his analysis of the *AH* texts as found in both *DGVD* and *Dialogus*. Initially, this examination will concern itself with attempting to understand how Oecolampadius himself interpreted Irenaeus' eucharistic theology. To accomplish this, we will study the pertinent texts of *AH*, along with Oecolampadius' comments on them as found in *DGVD*. After completing our look at *DGVD*, we will then turn to the Irenaean texts of *AH* as found in *Dialogus*, and proceed along the same course.

[1] 'Prima facie haec Irenaei legenti apparent asserere, a carne Domini ali nostrum . . .' *DGVD*, G iii ᵛ.

Second, we will consider if and how Oecolampadius' appropriation of Irenaeus' eucharistic theology may have evolved in the five year period between 1525 and 1530 – dates corresponding to the respective publication of *DGVD* and *Dialogus*. Though we will occasionally refer to the scholarly work of others as regards Irenaeus' own eucharistic thought, the overall intention of this particular chapter is not to prove what is, or is not, the 'correct' reading of Irenaeus. Contingently, the aim will also not be to postulate whether Oecolampadius 'properly' interprets Irenaeus. Rather the central goal of this chapter will be to articulate Oecolampadius' own reading and interpretation of *AH*, with the hopes of gaining insight into how Irenaeus may have influenced and/or validated the humanist-reformer's own eucharistic theology.

Oecolampadius' Exegesis of Irenaeus in *DGVD*

Preliminary Considerations

Oecolampadius' initial entry into the eucharistic controversy came in 1525 with the publication of *DGVD*, just a year after debates had begun between Luther and Karlstadt. However, for the Wittenberg theologians the arguments had become vitriolic. Though often reasoned, there was nevertheless a rather substantial *ad hominem* component to much of what was being preached, written and published by both sides, and the eucharistic squabbling of the former colleagues had become at least as

much negative polemic as positive theology. In 1525, when Zwingli became a player with the publication of *De vera et falsa religione*,[2] the heat only further intensified. Given this context it seems important to note that Oecolampadius' argument in *DGVD* was not meant to be, strictly speaking, a polemic against the Lutherans as much as it was an attempt to find patristic concord for an incipient protestant understanding of the sacrament.[3] The patristic concord that he was seeking to demonstrate was 'Swiss' in orientation to be sure; but, this should not require us to conclude that his long-term goals did not include reconciliation with the Lutherans as well. Clearly, Oecolampadius had in his sights what he viewed to be the misappropriation of various patristic sacramental theologies, especially as formulated by Lombard[4]

As we have previously mentioned, for Oecolampadius, too much of the then current sacramental theological construct was based on interpretations of the *Magister*, and by default Gregory the Great and the Fourth Lateran Council. By deconstructing these interpretations upon which so much of late mediaeval eucharistic thought had been based, Oecolampadius clearly hoped to show that there was another reading of the fathers that could be viewed as equally legitimate, if not more exact,

[2] Ulrich Zwingli, *De vera et falsa religione* (Zürich: Froschover, 1525).

[3] Oecolampadius was most definitely opposed to the idea of consubstantiation, but the tone of his rhetoric is mild in comparison to many of the men involved at this early stage. For more on consensus see, Johann Jakob Herzog, *Oecolampade, Le Réformateur de Bale* (Neuchatel: J.P. Michaud, 1848), p. 186.

[4] *DGVD*, A ii ^{v}-A iii ^{r}. Also see, Ernst Staehelin, *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads* (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1939; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1971), pp. 277-281.

than that of Lombard's.[5] Consequently, Oecolampadius also seems to have felt free to go beyond the breadth of the patristic parameters laid down by Lombard, and included lesser known authors – with Irenaeus being just such an example.

Oecolampadius' Reading of Irenaeus' *AH*

Oecolampadius' brief opening discussion of Irenaeus is found only eighteen pages into *DGVD*. At the outset of the book Oecolampadius attempts to highlight a number of foundational concepts important to him, which he viewed as having been both properly used and misused throughout the history of the church – scripture (including a discussion of hermeneutics), the fathers and tradition. In reference to tradition, Oecolampadius is willing to admit that there are legitimate expressions and uses of it. However, as he considers the church's evolving tradition of miracles and the miraculous, he asserts that too often what has been categorized as such throughout the centuries is in reality nothing more than idle superstition. He is adamant about this particular point. At the same time, however, he does not dismiss miracles or the miraculous per se.

As examples of acceptable miracles he lists the creation of the world, the artful formation of the body of Adam, the barren womb of Elizabeth which is

[5] Having said that, Oecolampadius does not appear wholly privy to the fact that he is in reality completely culturally indebted to the Augustinian significationist position that he adopts and reinterprets. Cf., Ralph Walter Quere, *Melanchthon's Christum Cognoscere: Christ's Efficacious Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Melanchthon* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1977), p. 177.

eventually granted the capacity to conceive, and virgin birth of Christ through Mary.[6] These are true and genuine miracles for Oecolampadius – miracles that have been validated by the legitimacy of the scriptures. He states:

> And thus it is accepted by true Theologians that miracles which are not commended by the authority of the canonical scriptures are not to be honored [as such].[7]

A true theologian then is one that begins his theological exploration with the scriptures, which are authoritative. Consequently, it is scripture itself which validates the true miracles of God. By 1530 this seems to have become a regulating principle for the development of Oecolampadius' sacramental theology, and any musings or arguments developed in opposition to this principle will, by default, go awry.

In regards to the eucharist, Oecolampadius is quick to assert that superstitions had developed during the mediaeval period about the miraculous transformation of the bread and wine into the true body and blood of Christ, articulated in the doctrine of transubstantiation. This

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[6] *DGVD*, A v ʳ.

[7] 'Receptum itaque est apud solidos Theologos, non esse celebranda miracula, quae canonicarum scripturarum authoritate non commendantur.' *DGVD*, A viii ᵛ. In the printer's margin this is designated 'Axioma Theologorum.'

problematic doctrine crept into the Roman church, argues Oecolampadius, through essentially two main channels – Satan and paganism, the former influencing the latter. He states:

> . . . I have learned from the Lord [that] the antichrist will reign with signs and false wonders, and the angel of Satan will transfigure himself into the angel of light. According to those who composed the pagan histories, it is not rare for it to rain blood. Julius Obsequens[8] says the ground of Cavra and Cera flowed with rivers of blood, which thing the Lord also did through Moses in Egypt while the magicians also imitated him in this. And the same Julius is the author [who said] that blood flowed from the thumb of Jove at Mount Albanus . . . Why does Rome today in almost every single temple pawn off on pious pilgrims that which is to be marveled at, lest what is true – I am speaking to the superstitious – becomes known to all? And this has been given to Satan to impose on those who suppress the truth in unrighteousness.[9]

[8] Little is known about Julius Obsequens (ca. 4th cent.), other than that he was the author of, *Ab anno urbis conditae DV prodigiorum liber*. It catalogues the miraculous events purported to have taken place in and around Rome from the mid-3rd cent. B.C.E.-12 B.C.E. Oecolampadius appears to be referring to paragraphs 12 & 70 of the text. The Latin text is found online at: http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/obsequens.html#2 [retrieved December 2, 2005].

[9] ". . . didici a domino regnaturum antichristum in signis et prodigiis mendacibus, angelumque satanae in angelum lucis se transfigurare, Apud [sic] eos, qui gentillium hystorias evolverunt non est rarum, sanguine pluisse. Narrat Iulius Obsequens Cavrae et Cerae terram rivis sanguinis fluxisse, quod et per Mosen dominus in Aegypto est operatus imitantibus in hoc et magis, idem Iulius author est [sic]. In Albano monte, e police Iovis sanguinem manasse [sic] . . . Roma quid hodie fere in singulis templis admirandum obtrudat viatoribus religiosis, ne quod verum est, dicam superstitiosis, omnibus innotescit.

The development and implementation of the doctrine of transubstantiation was not simply an error for the *Basler*, but it was the work of Satan himself. The groundwork for the reality and necessity of these types of 'miracles' had been laid almost two millennia earlier by the pagans with the aid of Satan, and by simple deduction the same sort of superstitious ideas were employed by the church. Rome, which is really under the leadership of Satan, he implies, 'suppresses the truth in unrighteousness' by performing the Mass so as to produce a seeming miracle, and consequently the well-meaning, but by implication, uneducated faithful are tricked into believing a falsehood.

AH 1.13.2-3

The above assertions set up Oecolampadius' introduction of *AH* 1.13.2-3, which narrates the pseudo-eucharistic celebration of the gnostics who had made their way from Asia Minor to the Rhone valley during the lifetime of Irenaeus.[10] In order to validate his previous arguments about the

Et quod datum est Satanae imponere, his qui veritatem in iniusticia detinent.' *DGVD*, B ii ʳ. Cf., 2 Cor. 11:14, and Rom. 1:18.

[10] See, *AH* 1.13.7 (SC 264, 204-205). Cf., Elaine H. Pagels, "A Valentinian Interpretation of Baptism and Eucharist - and Its Critique of 'Orthodox' Sacramental Theology and Practice," *Harvard Theological Review* 65, no. 2 (1972), pp. 165-168; Dominic Unger, "The Holy Eucharist According to St. Irenaeus," *Laurentianum* 20 (1979), pp. 105-113; and for an extended discussion of gnostic eucharistic rituals, Pierre Batiffol, *Études d'Histoire et de Théologie Positive: Deuxième Série. L'Eucharistie la Présence Réelle et la Transsubstantiation*, 8th ed., vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1930), pp. 189-203.

corresponding nature of the Roman Mass to that of the profoundly syncretistic form of Christianity that was gnosticism, Oecolampadius states:

> Moreover, I will also mention a case from the first book of Irenaeus' *Against Haereses*, concerning Marcus the magician, a disciple of the heretic Valentinus.[11]

Important to our understanding of Oecolampadius' exegesis of Irenaeus at this point is his statement about the nature of the gnostic eucharistic celebration that was performed by Marcus. For Irenaeus, and our reformer, Marcus was a heretic, both because of his pedagogical relationship to Valentinus and his doctrinally unorthodox theology of the ritual. By articulating this point rather shrewdly, but nevertheless forcefully, Oecolampadius appears to be banking on the validity of his own argument resting on the authority of Irenaeus as an *ancient* (i.e., pre-Constantinian, pre-Nicaean, and obviously, pre-Lateran IV) witness to the heretical and superstitious nature of such a celebration. As such a witness, Irenaeus testifies via his narrative to the fact that even the ancient church recognized magic, trickery, and superstition for what it really was.

Subsequent to the passage from Irenaeus under consideration, Oecolampadius briefly goes on to discuss its significance by returning to

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[11] 'Exemphlum [sic] autem et ex primo Irenaei contra haereses proferam, de Marco mago Valentini haeretici discipulo.' *DGVD*, B ii [r].

his former discussion of the work of Satan. He capitalizes on Irenaeus' choice of words in the final two lines of *AH* 1.13.3. It reads:

> Moreover it is given to be understood that he has a certain demon, by whom he also seems able to prophesy, and however many he deems worthy to be participants of his grace [i.e., Charis], he enables to prophesy. Indeed he mostly devotes himself to women, especially those of honor and great wealth.[12]

And furthermore:

> Yet, for the sake of decency I will not speak of the thing which this most abominable heretic did not cease to create. Who could not but shudder at these sorts of devilish tricks? Nevertheless, it is no new thing for the ancient serpent, to abuse the most sacred things.[13]

Oecolampadius' argument concerning this gnostic eucharistic celebration is somewhat confusing. On the one hand he is concerned to accentuate the

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[12] 'Datur autem intelligi eum et daemonem quendam habere, per quem ipse quoque prophetare videtur, et quotquot dignos putat fieri participes suae gratiae, prophetare facit. Maxime enim circa mulieres vacat, easque honestas et ditissimas.' *AH* 1.13.3 (SC 264, 192-195), *DGVD*, B ii ᵛ.

[13] 'Non dicam tamen homestatis [sic] gratia, quae impurissimus haereticus facere non omittebat. Quis non abhorreret ab hisce diabolicis praestigiis? Tam non est novum serpenti antiquo, sanctissimis quibusque abuti.' *DGVD*, B ii ᵛ.

superstitious nature of these heretical miracles. They are 'tricks.' But at the same time it appears that he in fact does give credence to an actual demonic power being present in Marcus' rite (as Irenaeus clearly did), which enabled the magician, as well as the women with him, to participate in his 'grace', and consequently prophesy. And, according to Oecolampadius, it is the 'ancient serpent' who enables Marcus to abuse the sacred sacramental rite. However, the question of what he means by 'abuse' needs further elaboration. Continuing his thought he says,

> Lest anyone dispute that certain things happen divinely, as happened when, because of their unworthy participation at the table, some of the Corinthians fell asleep, and others became ill, and that many today do not escape the vengeance of the Lord.[14]

Oecolampadius appears to be attempting to examine the concepts of 'power' – both demonic and divine. On the one hand you have the power of Satan actively at work, being channeled through Marcus in his gnostic rite. On the other, you have the power of God actively at work in Corinth. Both are miraculous events in the sense that first, a demonic force seems to be actively at work in the gnostic rite of Marcus, and second, because of their abuse of the celebration, the lives of some Corinthians were extinguished

[14] 'Quod si quis contendat, divinitus quaedam fieri, ut quod propter indignam mensae illius participationem, Corinthiorum alii obdormierunt, alii infirmati sunt, et hodie plaerique vindictam domini non evadant.' *DGVD*, B ii ^{v}-B iii ^{r}. See, 1 Cor. 11:30.

'divinely', while others fell ill. From this emerges Oecolampadius' judgment – namely, that Marcus abused or profaned the sacred eucharistic rite itself by incorporating gnostic, and by extrapolation, pagan elements into its celebration. But, he was only able to perform his magic with the aid of true demonic power. Therefore, the *Basler* is willing to acknowledge a real influence is at work, but it is not a 'miracle' in the proper sense of the word. Miracles are the works of God, while magic is the work of the demonic. But, in terms of the church's eucharistic celebration, what does this then mean for Oecolampadius? Or, to rephrase the question, if Marcus, with the aid of demonic power, is able to change wine into blood, why cannot transubstantiation be a reality for the church? In order to answer this, we must revisit his comments about the Corinthian meal.

As has been previously stated, Oecolampadius does not deny the legitimacy of supernatural phenomena. And the instance of the death and sickness of the Corinthians could easily lead one to believe that it was the Corinthian's unworthy partaking of the eucharistic elements themselves which brought about the punishment. If the elements had been transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, then certainly unworthy participation in them would result in something less than good. After all, the members of the church at Corinth would have been ingesting Christ's true flesh which was hypostatically united to divinity, and therefore they would have taken his very divinity into their bodies.

Though he is willing to acknowledge the 'divine influence' of God as it is related in this pericope, Oecolampadius will not concede that it was the partaking of transubstantiated eucharistic elements which facilitated the illness and death of the Corinthians.

In an attempt to further explain this point, and expand his argument based on his reading of *AH* 1.13.2-3, Oecolampadius cites a small segment from Cyprian's, *De lapsis* 26, in which the martyr related how a defiled man, who after taking the eucharistic body of Christ into his hand, was surprised when it turned into a cinder.[15] What does this then prove about a change in the eucharistic element, if anything? Oecolampadius states:

> I do not deny that the hand of the Lord was involved, but it does not follow for this reason that the body is united to the bread, or that the body was in the bread, otherwise you will prove the meaning of the cinder.[16]

For Oecolampadius it is an act of God that carbonized the element, but it does not mean that it was because the element was transubstantiated. The two theological ideas must be separated; otherwise, you can prove from Cyprian's story that the body and bread were united in the element.

[15] *Laps.* 26 (CCSL 3, 235-236).

[16] 'Non contradico, manum esse Domini, sed hac ratione non evincitur, unitum pani corpus, vel corpus in pane, alioqui et cinerem probabis.' *DGVD*, B iii ʳ.

Additionally, an understanding or articulation of a theology of the eucharist does not need to go beyond what the human mind is able to comprehend. Reason does not need to be thrown out.[17] In a short sentence found almost immediately following *AH* 1.13.3, and just prior to his citation of *De lapsis*, Oecolampadius poses a rhetorical question, asking why signs, or miracles, need to be grandiose (by which he seems to mean, irrational) in order to be considered valid. The implication is clear – the human need for such things is what ultimately leads to heretical views such as those of the gnostics. Rather, signs should relay simple truths.[18] Essentially finalizing his discussion of *AH* 1.13.2-3, Oecolampadius returns to, what is for him, the crux of the argument about how the church should comprehend the miraculous, and what differentiates it from Marcus and other heretics. He states:

> Therefore, in the same way that violators of the mysteries rightly pay the penalty, so it always profits devout worshipers to have a simple faith and unadulterated piety as concerns a miracle.[19]

[17] In a letter dated September 24, 1526, Oecolampadius mentions the same to Zwingli. See, *Z* VIII 722.9-12.

[18] 'Et adhuc suspecta minus sunt signa quam simplex veritas?' *DGVD*, B ii ᵛ.

[19] 'Sicut igitur temeratores mysteriorum iure poenam luunt, ita religiosis cultoribus ad miraculum usque prodest fidei simplex et inadulterata pietas.' *DGVD*, B iii ʳ.

Following his deliberation on *AH* 1.13.2-3, Oecolampadius spends a considerable amount of time articulating the reasoning behind one of the most important aspects of his christology, which is the session of Christ. Based on that discussion, he then segues into an analysis of the relevance that the doctrine has for his own eucharistic theology. Generally he tries to reflect on and convey an Augustinian model – first, that Christ is seated in heaven, and therefore localized in a specific place; and second, that a sacrament is a sign of a sacred thing.[20] In an endeavor to tie these two interrelated ideas together, the reformer spends page after page discussing how it is that Christ feeds the Christian in the supper, or more specifically, what is fed to him or her. In this regard he states:

> . . . pay attention to what the Fathers say: The sacraments of the new law offer salvation. They behold CHRIST himself incarnate and suffering, having been prefigured in manifold ways in the Old Testament, because he himself is both our μυσήρϊον [sic] and sacrament . . . [21]

[20] Oecolampadius does not, however, specifically articulate Augustine's formula from *De civitate Dei* 10.5 (CCSL 47, 277) in *DGVD* for his own use, but it is hermeneutically present throughout. Nor does he repeat Lombard's definition found in *Sent.* IV.1.2. The reason for the neglect is obvious. He does, though, cite *Sent.* IV,1.4, verbatim, but only in an attempt to demonstrate its inadequacy. See, *DGVD*, D 2 ᵛ.

[21] ' . . . animadverte, quando Patres dicunt: Sacramenta novae legis praestare salutem, respicere eos ad CHRISTUM ipsum incarnatum vel passum, multiphariam in veteri testamento praesignatum, quoniam et ipse μυσήρϊον [sic] et sacramentum nostrum est . . . ' *DGVD*, D 2 ᵛ [emphasis his]. Oecolampadius is alluding to Augustine's *Enarrat. Ps.* 73.2 (CCSL 39, 1005-1007), and probably mocking Lombard's *Sent.* IV.2.1, which states: 'De sacramentis novae Legis. Iam ad sacramenta novae Legis accedamus: quae sunt baptismus, confirmatio, panis benedictionis, id est eucharistia, poenitentia, unctio extrema, ordo, coniugium.'

It is Christ himself, seated at the right hand of the Father, who is the mystery or sacrament, and the sacraments – all of them – are representative figures of Christ. As such, the bread, as a sign of a sacred thing – or more specifically, the sign of *the* sacred *res*, which is Christ – models for the ritual's participant, the incarnation and suffering of Christ himself. But it is Christ who, in a spiritual manner, feeds his sheep. Following this reasoning, Oecolampadius says,

> Ample material for the exercise of our faith has been given to us who believe that the body of Christ died for us, and has been raised, and is seated in heaven.[22]

And again,

> And thus CHRIST indeed is the bread from heaven feeding us, but the world was dead, and was not capable of the word, until he offered to the Father in the Holy Spirit his most holy flesh, praying for us, that we might at least believe because of [his] death, we who refused to believe

[22] 'Satis ampla exercendae fidei materia nobis data est, credentibus corpus Christi pro nobis mortuum, et resurrexisse, considereque in caelestibus.' *DGVD*, E 1 ᵛ.

in mere words, and [that] the flesh of CHRIST has become bread, which satisfies the soul. It is otherwise childish and silly to think that flesh enters into our soul. How is the soul capable of the body, for it is not corporeal, nor does it provide a place for the body: for flesh is not flesh unless it is in a place.[23]

For the flesh of Christ to be postulated as fusing with either the flesh or the soul of the believer is, as he says, 'childish' and 'silly.' As well, it would be counter to Christ's own statement in John 6:63. We are fed by faith, and,

> . . . this is [done] by CHRIST himself, and there is no need for the flesh to enter into the soul itself, and lest we should imagine so, the Lord had adequately enough warned us, saying: 'The flesh profits nothing.'[24]

It is against this contextual backdrop that Oecolampadius begins his analysis of *AH* 4.18.4-6. He quotes the bishop simply because on initial blush it may seem as if Irenaeus is making an argument that exactly counters his own, and given the history of the eucharistic debates, many

[23] 'Et ita CHRISTUS quidem est panis de caelo nos pascens, sed mundus mortuus erat, et non capax verbi, donec carnem suam sanctissimam in spiritu sancto obtulit Patri, pro nobis orans, ut saltem per mortem crederemus, qui puris verbis credere nolvimus, et facta est caro CHRISTI panis, qui animam satiet. Puerile alioquin et ineptum est, opinari, quod in animam nostram ingrediatur caro. Quomodo enim anima capax est carnis, quae non est corporea, nec locum praebet corpori: caro autem non est nisi in loco.' *DGVD*, E 6 r [emphasis his]. Cf., Jn. 6:51, and, Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 30.1 (CCSL 36, 289).

[24] 'Atque adeo ipso CHRISTO, neque opus esse, carnem in ipsam ingredi animam, quod ne imaginaremur, satis caverat Dominus, dicens: Caro nihil prodest.' *DGVD*, F 2 r [emphasis his].

people are only too quick to latch on to such 'absurd' ideas.[25] However, Oecolampadius does hint at the fact that the thoughts of the fathers are not always easy to understand, especially for those who are not familiar with the breadth of their writings. Because of this, he is willing to allow that someone may approach an author like Irenaeus and be easily confused about the actual meaning of his words. He states,

> . . . nevertheless certain people do not hesitate to assert this [that Christ's true flesh joins with human flesh], having been moved by the statements of the ancients, whom they little understand. Indeed, they [i.e., the ancients] are not so crass as to fall into those extreme errors, but it would be more correct to impute [error] to us, who have not made ourselves familiar with their tropes and turns of phrase, reading and devouring everything without judgment . . . Therefore, I will mention some of the ancient testimony that seems to suggest that our flesh is fed by the flesh of Christ in this sacrament.[26]

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[25] *DGVD*, G iii [r].

[26] '. . . quod quidam asserere non dubitarunt, veterum dictis moti, quae parum intellexerunt. Neque enim tam crassi fuerunt, ut in extremos illos prolaberentur errores, sed nobis rectius imputandum fuerit, qui tropis et sermonibus eorum non assuevimus, omnia absque iudicio legentes, et devorantes . . . Proferam itaque nonnulla veterum testimonia, quae probare videntur carnem nostrant [sic] a carne Christi in hoc sacramento ali.' *DGVD*, G iii [r-v].

It is immediately following this proclamation that Oecolampadius cites a selection contextually surrounding one of Irenaeus' most famous statements in connection with the eucharist:

> However, our opinion is in agreement with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist in return confirms our opinion.[27]

In an attempt to interpret Irenaeus' statements in a sense consistent with his own eucharistic theology, and as a way to dissuade those who would understand Irenaeus to be arguing for the fusing of the sacramental body of Christ with the body of a communicant, the reformer strives to contextualize and situate this passage within Irenaeus' own broader argument against gnostics who deny the value of either creation or the resurrection. Repeating his sentiments found at the beginning of this passage, but this time with a more specific reference to Irenaeus, Oecolampadius states:

> At first sight these words of Irenaeus appear to the one who reads them to assert that our flesh is fed by the flesh of the Lord, and the bread is the very body of Christ, as some people contend, but

[27] 'Nostra autem sententia consonans est Eucharistiae, et Eucharistia rursus nostram confirmat sententiam.' *AH* 4.18.5 (SC 100B, 610-611), *DGVD*, G iii ᵛ.

> he does not mean this, nor is it the case.[28]

The *Basler* does admit that a preliminary reading of this text appears problematic. However, he is convinced that this is exactly not what Irenaeus means, nor is Irenaeus desirous that people should consider the eucharist in these terms. Rather, according to Oecolampadius, the bishop was intimately familiar with the Old Testament, and given his cultural milieu, was accustomed to the practice of individuals and cults offering oblations.[29] Because of this, Irenaeus played upon the presumed knowledge of his readership concerning these rituals. Consequently he was able, with the aid of scripture, to utilize the cultural familiarity of both Jews and Greco-Romans with sacrificial rituals, in a polemic against the gnostics, with the end being that 'they should abstain from offering what is mentioned.'[30] Maintaining his role as exegete of Irenaeus, Oecolampadius states,

> Indeed the ancients offered fruits, and testified thereby that God was the author of the fruits, which however were allotted to the use of the poor. However, it would be foolish to take certain things from things that are alien and belong to

[28] 'Prima facie haec Irenaei legenti apparent asserere, a carne Domini ali nostrum, panemque esse ipsissimum corpus Christi, ut quidam contendunt, sed nun [sic] hoc vult, neque ita habet res.' *DGVD*, G iii ᵛ.

[29] See, *AH* 4.18.2 (SC 100B, 598-599).

[30] *AH* 4.18.5 (SC 100B, 610-610), *DGVD*, G iii ᵛ.

some evil god, and then give thanks for them to the good god, as Tertullian argued. Bread, which was taken from that oblation and only used in the Lord's Supper, was called the body of the Lord, because it is a sacrament and figure of the Lord's body.[31]

Oecolampadius' truncated analysis is at this point a bit awkward. Nevertheless, he appears to be trying to make a number of interrelated points. First, the ancients offered the fruits of the earth to God in thanksgiving for the creation. The assumption, left to the reader to make, is that both pagans and the Israelites performed these sorts of rituals, with neither group appearing to be, at least in Oecolampadius' interpretation, harshly dualistic. Creation is good – even simple fruit – and as an aspect of that creation, bread 'born' from the fruits of the earth, and taken for the oblation, is also an adequate means for the giving of thanks, and is therefore rightly called, and in fact is, a 'sacrament and figure of the Lord's body.'

[31] 'Offerebant enim prisci de frugibus, deumque frugum authorem testabantur, quae tamen in usum cedebant pauperum. Stultum autem fuisset ex alienis et cuiusdam mali dei rebus, accipere res quibus bono deo gratias agerent, ut arguit Tertullianus. Ex ea oblatione assumebatur et panis singulari usui caenae dominicae serviens, ac dictus Corpus domini, eo quod sacramentum et figura dominici corporis.' *DGVD* G iii ᵛ-G iv ʳ. Cf., *DGVD* C 6 ʳ; *Marc.* 1.23 (CCSL 1, 322); and, Christoph Markschies, "Nochmals: Valentinus und die Gnostikoi: Beobachtungen zu Irenaeus, Haer i 30, 15 und Tertullian, Val 4, 2," *Vigiliae christianae* 51, no. 2 (1997), pp. 179-187. On the Irenaean conception of sacrifice and/or offering see, Helmut Moll, *Die Lehre von der Eucharistie als Opfer: Eine dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung vom Neuen Testament bis Irenäus von Lyon* (Köln and Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1975), pp. 154-178; and, Mark Ronald Francis, C.S.V., "The Origins of the Christian Doctrine of Sacrifice and the Use of the Metaphor of Sacrifice in the Eucharistic Theology of Irenaeus of Lyons and Ambrose of Milan" (M.A. thesis, Chicago, The Catholic Theological Union, 1982), pp. 70-74.

The reformer then interjects the almost mathematical formulary from Tertullian's *Contra Marcionem* 1.23 to further validate his point – if that which is evil is offered to that which is good, or vice-versa, then the soundness of the oblation would, by default, cancel itself out. Furthermore, if creation were evil, Christ would not have adopted the bread to be a 'sacrament and figure' of his own body. But this is clearly not the case.

Oecolampadius states,

> . . . if the bread was not good, then by no means would it have been chosen by Christ for this sacrament, that it might be his body, who is the same word and son of God through whom all things are made and have been created.[32]

In this instance, Oecolampadius' language noticeably mimics that of Irenaeus (and the author of the Gospel of John). Christ is the very Logos of God – the one true and good God – and as such it is through him that the true Demiurge created. Because this God is good, his creation is also good and hence the reason why Christ chose an element of his creation to be a figure or sacrament of his body. Accordingly, argues the reformer, Irenaeus' main intent was to prove the validity of the resurrection by demonstrating the analogous relationship between the bread and the body – both of which are 'good'. This is precisely the reason why Irenaeus could

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[32] 'Si panis ille non esset bonus, neutiquam delectus fuisset a Christo in hoc sacramentum, ut sit corpus eius, qui idem verbum ac filius dei, per quem et omnia fiunt ac creata sunt.' *DGVD*, G iv ʳ. See, Jn. 1:3.

say that his opinion was in agreement with the eucharist, and that the eucharist confirmed his opinion.

But what about Irenaeus' statement that, after the invocation of God, the eucharist is no longer common bread, but consists of two realities – heavenly and earthly? How does Oecolampadius deal with this? He does so by continuing his argument along the same almost rationalistic line of reasoning that he has employed throughout. He says,

> . . . 'earthly' because it is from the earth, from which the gift of God has sprung forth . . . on the other hand, 'heavenly,' because it serves for the giving of thanks, and it has acquired God's calling, by the fact that the name of God has been invoked over it.'[33]

Oecolampadius' elucidation of the dual nature of the eucharist is quite straightforward, with the first part about the 'earthly' paralleling the thought of Irenaeus rather closely. What is 'earthly' – the wheat, from which the

[33] '. . . terrena quia est a terra, e qua dono dei crevit . . . colesti autem, quia gratiarum actioni servit, et percepit dei vocationem, eo quod nomen dei invocatum est super illam.' *Ibid.* See, D. Van den Eynde, "Eucharistia ex duabus rebus constans: S. Irénée, Adv. haereses, IV, 18, 5," *Antonianum: Periodicum Trimestre* 15 (1940), p. 14, where he states: 'Les Anglicans et les protestants en géneral expliquent la ‹ chose terrestre › du pain, nommé dans le contexte ‹ le pain qui vient de la terre › et attribuent de la sorte à Irénée la théorie de la permanence du pain dans l'eucharistie; quant à l'elément ‹ céleste › chacun l'entend d'après ses preferences théologiques, soit du corps reel du Christ, soit de l'Esprit ou d'une vertu de sanctification.'

bread is made – is a gift from God and represents the goodness of God.[34] The 'heavenly' is constituted by the bread being offered to God with thanksgiving, and in the context of that prayer being offered, God is simultaneously invoked. It seems that Oecolampadius understands this to be a one-way dialogical street, if you will. Consistently following his personal hermeneutic, Oecolampadius does not recognize 'invocation' to be synonymous with 'epiclesis,' as that would most certainly mean that there is some sort of miracle (no matter how it might be explained) taking place upon the altar.[35] Rather, the church's thanksgiving, which by its very nature incorporates calling on the name of God, is directed heavenward to God. Therefore, Oecolampadius' interpretation of Irenaeus presumes that God plays little supernatural role in anything involving the essential nature of the sacramental elements other than the initial creation of the wheat and grapes from which they take shape. The ritual movement, nevertheless, is wholly upward.

Nonetheless, it appears that Oecolampadius is endeavoring to follow the bishop's argument as closely as is possible, for Irenaeus time and again states throughout *AH* that God is not in need of oblations from humanity,

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[34] This point will be made much more clearly by Irenaeus in *AH* 5.2.3. Here, however, Oecolampadius appears to be reading that text back into *AH* 4.18.4-6. On the importance of the goodness of God in relationship to humanity, Osborn states, 'God's perfection is shown, perhaps even depends on, man's enrichment . . . for man is the receptacle for the fountain of God's goodness, the instrument whereby he is glorified.' Eric Osborn, "Irenaeus and Xenophanes - argument and parody," *Studia Patristica* 36, no. 1 (2001), p. 274.

[35] Granted, 'epiclesis' was not a technical term at the time of Irenaeus. However, it most definitely was by the 16th century. Cf., J. G. Davies, ed., *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1986), s.v., 'Anaphora,' pp. 18-20; and, P. Rodopoulos, "Irenaeus on the Consecration of the Eucharistic Gifts," in *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, vol. 2, (Münster: Aschendorff, 1970), p. 845.

but when properly offered (i.e., with thanksgiving), he accepts them willingly. Ultimately then, and on multiple levels, the eucharist functions pedagogically – it teaches the communicant to show thanks to a good God for a good creation, and similarly, it teaches the same to serve God willingly, it represents the Word's participation in human nature, being a perfect model of the unity of flesh and spirit, and lastly, but most importantly for Oecolampadius, the eucharist is a symbolic representation of the resurrection which teaches the pious Christian to have hope in the future. On this, he says,

> Thus understand an opinion 'congruent with the Eucharist', for we both call the creature of the earth good, and we celebrate a giving of thanks in such wise that we might hope in the resurrection of bodies. For because our Lord Jesus CHRIST rose in his body, after this to die no more, and since we communicate with his flesh, a thing to which we testify by means of the symbol of sanctified bread when we give thanks, it remains [i.e., it follows] that we ourselves may be imperishable. Indeed just as we communicate with Christ through the Spirit, so too with the flesh. And this is what he calls 'to proclaim the communication and unity of flesh and spirit,' otherwise, what is more certain than the corruptibility of our bodies, yet by hope in Christ

> who has risen from the dead, they [i.e., our bodies] are called incorruptible.[36]

Again, Oecolampadius' condensed deliberations need to be unraveled, as he exegetes Irenaeus according to a number of presuppositions of which he assumes his readers have knowledge. Repeating his emphasis on the resurrectional nature of the eucharist, the *Basler* believes that it is in the locus of the giving of thanks to God, that the sacrament is made beneficial to the Christian. In this regard the rite functions in both a promissory and an emotive way. How does it function as promise – because Christ has been raised from the dead to experience only life, and because we participate in (or 'communicate with') his true flesh via the incarnation, it is the ground and starting point of our own future resurrection. But, beyond the participatory nature of human beings with the human nature of Christ, as a general category, there is, according to the reformer, an additional channel for the Christian's participation, and that is accomplished through the work of the Holy Spirit.

On this point Oecolampadius is far from clear in his exposition. However, what it looks as if he envisions is that the Holy Spirit functions as a 'connector' or 'conduit' for this participation in Christ's humanity. The Holy

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[36] 'Congruam sententiam Eucharistiae sic intellige, nam et creaturam terrenam, bonam dicimus, et gratiarum actionem ita celebramus, ut resurrectionem corporum speremus. Quia enim Dominus noster Iesus CHRISTUS in corpore suo resurrexit, posthac non moriturus, et nos communicamus eius carni, id quod symbolo sanctificati panis gratias agentes testamur, reliquum est, ut et nos simus incorruptibiles. Etenim ut spiritu communicamus Christo, ita carni quoque. Et hoc vocat praedicare communicationem et unitatem carnis et spiritus, alioquin quid certius est corruptibilitate corporum nostrorum, spe tamen in Christo qui resurrexit, incorruptibilia dicuntur.' *DGVD*, G iv $^{r-v}$ [emphasis his].

Spirit communicates the grace of Christ's saving work to Christians, which would have been otherwise meaningless if carried out by one who was not fully human. It also demonstrates what Irenaeus meant by the 'unity of flesh and spirit.' The two, which are essentially different, are nevertheless united in such a way that it disproves the gnostic position, but proves that which was handed down from the apostles, and will be granted to the thankful Christian.[37] Oecolampadius is then able to segue from the promissory nature of the eucharist to the emotive. The giving of thanks points to the reality that we are truly his (i.e., why would we 'take certain things from things that are alien and belong to some evil god, and then give thanks for them to the good god?'), and thus it also lends hope of our becoming as he is in his human nature – imperishable.[38]

AH 5.2.2-3

Oecolampadius ends his interpretation of *AH* 4.18.4-6, and begins his discussion of *AH* 5.2.2-3, by stating:

[37] Even though Oecolampadius does not cite it, one suggestion for a fuller understanding of his intent is Irenaeus' comment in *AH* 3.17.2: 'For our bodies have received unity by means of that laver which leads to incorruption, but our souls by means of the Spirit . . . because the Lord accepting this gift from his Father does himself also give it to those who are partakes from himself, sending the Holy Spirit into all the earth. [Corpora enim nostra per lauacrum illam quae est ad incorruptionem unitatem acceperunt, animae autem per Spiritum . . . quod Dominus accipiens munus a Patre ipse quoque his donavit qui ex ipso participantur, in universam terram mittens Spiritum sanctum]' (SC 211, 332-334). Another option might be Augustine's argument about the ontological Trinity – specifically his ideas about procession. Oecolampadius may well be using this as a foil in his interpretation of the economic aspects of the Trinity in Irenaeus. Cf., *Trin.* 15.17.27 (CCSL 50, 15.17.27); *Ibid.*, 15.17.29 (CCSL 50, 15.17.29); *Ibid.*, 15.17.47 (CCSL 50, 15.17.47).

[38] The important phrase here is 'as he is in his human nature.' Because he repudiates any process which might lead from the eucharist to 'theosis,' he nevertheless is keenly aware of the need for participation in the humanity of Christ to accomplish resurrection. But, this is based solely on the incarnation, and not on a substantive change in the elements themselves.

> Also, those things which the same author discusses in book five against the same people who deny the resurrection are equally obscure.[39]

Oecolampadius' mention of the obscurity of Irenaeus' assertions for a second time is rather telling. And though he is clearly trying to claim the bishop as his own, the reformer appears to be a bit tentative about the prospect of being able to actually make the connection between his eucharistic theology and that of Irenaeus. But, his tenacity as a humanist prevails and the philological methodology that he no doubt learned, at least in part, from Erasmus surfaces. Rather than ignoring the complexities of Irenaeus' theology, or dismissing the bishop's assertions here as irrelevant or unintelligible, Oecolampadius instead attempts to set them in their own historical context. He states,

> I am moved for many reasons [to believe] that the words of Irenaeus would not have been nearly as obscure during his own time, as they are for us . . . Also, Irenaeus himself made special use of the apostolic tropes that were better known at that time.[40]

[39] 'Aeque autem obscura sunt, quae idem author in quinto libro narrat, contra eosdem negantes resurrectionem.' *DGVD*, G iv^{v}.

[40] 'Multis rationibus moveor, Irenaei sermonem suis temporibus non fuisse tam obscurum, atque nobis est . . . Et Irenaeus ipse apostolicis tropis, tunc notioribus, peculiariter usus est.' *Ibid.*, G v^{r}.

Certainly Irenaeus' ideas are not, again, easy to digest for someone living in the 16th century, as Oecolampadius is willing to admit. But, two points need to be considered here. First, the *Basler* without question believes that what is hard for him and his contemporaries to comprehend is, nevertheless, ultimately comprehensible. Or, to put it another way, the theological ideas contained within this selection for *AH* would have been readily understood in the 3rd century. Therefore, the ideas that Irenaeus endorses were (and are) valuable, insightful, and seemingly correct, even if time has pulled a veil over the proper interpretation of them for a later generation of readers. Oecolampadius, then, is no cultural or textual relativist. Rather, he draws on an incipient historical-grammatical methodology to accommodate his reading of the bishop, which by deduction (and Oecolampadius' own presupposition) appears to certify that Irenaeus was correct, even in the face of his contemporaries not being able to fully understand Irenaeus.

Second, but closely related to the first point, is Oecolampadius' deferral to Irenaeus' own methodology regarding word usage – he employs and interprets 'apostolic tropes' which he better understood than even 16th century theologians can. This is a bilateral argument for Oecolampadius. On the one hand, Irenaeus is better suited to discuss such things in the manner in which he discusses them, because of his great antiquity. That antiquity, in and of itself, appears to give Irenaeus a special sort of status in the mind of the reformer – he is closer chronologically, not only to the

apostles themselves, but also to the cultural milieu in which the interpretation of their sayings would have had a better chance of being understood accurately. Therefore the Irenaeus' insights are exceptionally significant. On the other hand, these are 'apostolic tropes' – words which, when properly interpreted, carry with them the very weight of scripture itself.[41] This is vitally important for our understanding of Oecolampadius' reception of Irenaeus. If he can adequately link the theology of Irenaeus to the proper interpretation of the scriptures themselves, then the bishop becomes *de facto* an advocate of Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology as well – or rather, Oecolampadius proves himself and his eucharistic theology to be in accord with that which has been handed down to and by Irenaeus. Consequently the consubstantiationists as well the transubstantiationists cannot look to Irenaeus for support, or adequately critique the reformer.

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[41] Oecolampadius' 'apostolic tropes' could refer to one of two things – either the quotes from the scriptures found in this section (1 Cor. 10:16; Col. 1:14; Matt. 5:45; and, Eph. 5:30), and Irenaeus' interpretation of them, or simply to Irenaeus' entire discussion in this section. The choice is not clear. In either case, the point is still made. Zwierlein has correctly pointed out that this same idea is recycled by Oecolampadius in his letter to Melanchthon some four years later. Cf., Conrad A. Zwierlein, "Der reformierte Erasmianer a Lasco und die Herausbildung seiner Abendmahlslehre 1544-1552," in *Johannes a Lasco (1499-1560): Polnischer Baron, Humanist und europäischer Reformator*, ed. Christoph Strohm (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), p. 76, n. 156; *DGVD*, G v ᵛ-G vi ʳ; and, *B&A* 2, p.345, No. 680. However, see Oecolampadius' statement near the beginning of his discussion of Irenaeus, 'Neither, do I particularly wish to do away with the ancient authority of the doctors, so long as they do not depart from the sacred scriptures. At the same time, if they do so depart I will not undertake defending them. Thus, it is necessary for us to swear loyalty to the words neither of recent, nor of ancient writers, but to the truth. [Neque enim unquam doctorum praesertim veterum authoritatem sobmotam [sic] velim, quatenus a scripturis sanctis non recedunt, sicut si recedant, defensandos non receperim. Etenim neque in recentiorum, neque in priscorum verba, sed veritatem iuratos nos oportet].' *DGVD*, G iii ʳ. This seems to me to be more of a rhetorical move on the part of Oecolampadius, rather than an axiom, given the direction of his argument throughout.

In what follows in this section of *DGVD*, Oecolampadius' argument bears a close resemblance to his discussion of *AH* 4.18.4-6, and in many ways parallels it. He again centers his ratiocinations on the resurrection, stating,

> First he argued, If we do not truly rise, and if we are not truly regenerated (for resurrection is regeneration consummated), then it follows that nor has the Lord redeemed us by his blood. . .[42]

In this portion of the text Irenaeus continues his polemicizing against the gnostic disavowal of the salvation of the flesh. More specifically, he argues that those who would deny that the flesh could be regenerated by the work of God are, in every conceivable way, truly vain. The crux for Irenaeus is on the flesh's ability to become what it in fact should be, which is fully human, and its ability to be recapitulated since Christ himself began that process for humanity.[43] However, this appears to be only tangentially Oecolampadius' understanding of the text. Certainly he argues, following Irenaeus, that the resurrection verifies the incarnation. However his emphasis is markedly different.

Whereas Irenaeus seems to equate regeneration with resurrection – the regeneration *or* resurrection of the physical body – Oecolampadius seems

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[42] 'Arguit primum, Si non vere resurgimus, et non vere regeneramur (est autem resurrectio, consuummata [sic] regeneratio) Sequitur [sic] nec dominum sanguine suo nos redemisse . . .' *DGVD*, G v[r].

[43] See, *AH* 3.18.7 (SC 211, 370).

to understand regeneration to mean 'spiritual regeneration' or 'spiritual rebirth'. Consequently, for him, a person first must be spiritually regenerate before he or she can be physically resurrected.[44] Oecolampadius' interpretation of *AH* at this point clearly betrays the lenses through which he sees the text, and these are most certainly the lenses of a burgeoning evangelical understanding of the *ordo salutis*. The spiritual regeneration of a Christian comes only by the sacrificial blood of Christ, and *fiducia* in that sacrifice is the seal of salvation, leading the believer to a true communion with Christ, and ultimately, resurrection.[45]

Continuing with Irenaeus' slightly altered reference to 1 Corinthians 10:16 concerning the eucharistic cup and bread, Oecolampadius finds the bishop to be completely in keeping with the original intent of its author, stating that he only made minor amendments to the scriptural text.[46] Interestingly enough, the reformer appears comfortable with the change made because it actually buttresses his own argument. Oecolampadius mentions that whereas Irenaeus uses the word 'eucharist,' the apostle Paul more fully

[44] In stating this, I am not suggesting that Irenaeus would have disagreed that one needs to be, in some way, spiritually reborn before they can be resurrected. However, he does not appear to equate the terms in the way that Oecolampadius does.

[45] Oecolampadius' articulation of the *ordo* is not nearly as developed as later generation reformers such as Calvin, or the protestant scholastics, but he nonetheless articulates one aspect of the evangelical doctrine, if in its infancy. For more on this see, Akira Demura, "Two Commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans: Calvin and Oecolampadius," in *Calvinus sincerioris religionis vindex: Calvin as Protector of the Purer Religion*, ed. Wilhelm H. Neuser and Brian G. Armstrong (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997), pp. 165-188, especially, p. 171 & 174.

[46] '. . . neque calix Eucharistiae communicatio sanguinis eius est, neque panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis eius est.' *DGVD*, G iv ᵛ. See, Gottfried Hoffmann, "Sententiae Patrum: Das patristische Argument in der Abendmahlskontroverse zwischen Oekolampad, Zwingli, Luther und Melanchthon" (Ph.D. diss., University of Heidelberg, 1971), p. 93.

cited 'the cup of blessing which we bless,' and recognizes this change as Irenaeus being slight, but nevertheless synonymous with the thought of Paul.[47] When the apostle says 'the cup of blessing that we bless,' what he is really saying, according to Oecolampadius, is that 'the cup of Eucharist' is a parallel theological (and grammatical) construct with 'the giving of thanks,' and consequently we are better able to understand Irenaeus by interpreting him with the aid of the epistle of Paul.[48] However, Oecolampadius does not leave Paul behind at this point in the discussion, but continues with a short commentary on the same Corinthian text in order to accentuate the correlation between Irenaeus and the apostle. He finalizes his biblical exegesis and interpretation of this section of *AH* by saying,

> Indeed neither did Paul mean to say here – the bread is the body, or the chalice the blood, or that we so participate that the flesh of Christ is turned into our flesh, or our flesh may be turned into his flesh, or that he might become our flesh substantially, but rather that here are certain symbols by which we number ourselves among the faithful. If, however, we do not rise, it rightly follows that those sacraments do not signify the true blood of Christ, and deceive us in this, that

[47] 'Paulus enim dicit, Poculum benedictionis cui benedicimus, breviter Irenaeus dicit.' *DGVD*, G v [v].

[48] 'Calix Eucharistiae, id est, gratiarum actionis. Ex mente autem Pauli Irenaei quoque depraehendemus.' *Ibid*. This is might be an instance of what it meant for Oecolampadius to understand Irenaeus' 'apostolic tropes.'

they promise resurrection, just as the blessed Bishop adds, explaining the mystery of the sacrament.[49]

AH 5.2.3

The final selection from Irenaeus' *AH* discussed by Oecolampadius in *DGVD* immediately follows the citation above, and there is a considerable amount of repetition in his analysis. The reformer continues to concentrate on the themes of the bread and wine being chosen as symbols of the body and blood of Christ which are, in turn, pointers to the true body and blood, by which the resurrection is verified and granted to those worthy of its reception. Unfortunately, Oecolampadius' version of this section of the text is missing the all important phrase found in many modern critical editions:

> . . . having received the word of God, become the eucharist, which is the body and blood of Christ . . . [50]

Therefore, there is no way to substantiate absolutely what he may have thought about it, or how it would have been interpreted by him.[51] Given

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[49] 'Neque enim Paulus hic dicere vult, panem corpus, vel calicem sanguinem, vel ita nos participes esse, ut caro Christi in carnem nostram, vel nostra in ipsius carnem vertatur, vel nostrum contingat fieri substantialiter, Sed [sic] magis certa symbola, quibus nos in fidelium numero declaremus, si autem non resurgeremus, recte colligeretur, sacramenta illa non signare verum sanguinem Christi, et in hoc fallere, quod resurrectionem polliceantur, sicut beatus Episcopus subdit, sacramenti arcanum exponens.' *DGVD*, G v ^{v}-G vi ^{r}.

[50] '. . . et percipientia verbum Dei Eucharistia fiunt, quod est corpus et sanguis Christi . . .' *AH* 5.2.3 (SC 153, 36-37).

that, we will content ourselves with a brief analysis of his understanding of the text as it was originally published in *DGVD*.

Oecolampadius begins by suggesting that the eucharistic elements were designated as symbols for the specific purpose of proving the true humanity of Christ, and also point to a hope in the resurrection, but if not properly understood they could be twisted and become misleading, as in the case of the gnostics. Speaking for Irenaeus he says,

> And moreover, in other ways the symbols might be misleading, if there is no resurrection, for they signify the true body and the true blood. The blood proves that a true body existed, and the body proves that true blood existed in Christ, and if they are true, then the resurrection is true.[52]

Oecolampadius' repetitive discussion does not appear to be based on his own methodology, necessarily. Reading between the lines, it look as if the reformer sees a similar pattern of repetition in Irenaeus' argument, and so as a consequence he is forced by the text, and the text's author, to follow suit. Certainly there is a pedagogical feature involved – eventually, both

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[51] However, if we may speculate, Oecolampadius would have more than likely approached the exegesis of this sentence in the same way that he did the relatively parallel one found in *AH* 5.2.2, concentrating his focus on the word 'eucharist,' arguing that it is synonymous with 'the giving of thanks.'

[52] 'Porro et in aliis essent fallacia signa, si non esset resurrectio signant enim verum corpus et verum sanguinem. Sanguis probat verum fuisse corpus, et corpus verum sanguinem in Christo, quod si vera, et resurrectio vera.' *DGVD*, G vi ʳ.

writers must assume, the reader will get the point! But even given that, why is Irenaeus so unwavering in the replication of his argument, to the point of being pedantic? Oecolampadius attempts to answer that question.

> Moreover, the argument was constructed so that the human being [i.e., Jesus] should not be believed to have been imaginary – a heresy which would completely destroy the resurrection.[53]

Once more the reformer aligns himself with Irenaeus, because the specifics of the argument are of vital importance to both men. The validity of the latter's opinion and the manner by which he approaches the subject is reason enough for Oecolampadius to mimic him. For Oecolampadius, Irenaeus' keen awareness of, and deliberation on, Christ's participation in human nature is foundational for much of what he himself wants to postulate. We do not and in fact cannot participate in, or manducate, Christ in the sacrament by any means other than a spiritual mode, as he is localized in heaven and therefore physically absent from the altar. The manducation of Christ is only accomplished in and by faith.[54] However, with an almost diviner's sense for how he will eventually be branded, Oecolampadius appears eager to justify his reasoning for the necessity of

[53] 'Tendit autem eo disputatio, ne putativus credatur homo fuisse, quae haeresis penitus resurrectionem tollit.' *Ibid.*

[54] In regards to this, see his rather bold statement: '. . . but if we are believers, we chew the flesh of Christ, whether we are participants of the sacraments, or not [. . . sed si fideles fuerimus, carnem Christi manducamus, sive participes simus sacramentorum, sive non].' *DGVD*, H i r.

the incarnation, in order to avoid adversarial claims that his christology, and eucharistic theology, is docetic.

As he continues his commentary, the *Basler* chooses to highlight Irenaeus' line of reasoning for why the symbols of bread and wine were chosen to represent Christ's body and blood, and furthermore, what (if anything) is accomplished by partaking of them. However, as in other instances that we have seen, his argument is somewhat truncated, and repetitive:

> . . . from those things [wheat and the vine] God has selected the greatest sacraments for us, from which we might learn how great a hope is to be had, and has further commended them to us by calling them body and blood. Now, since he has selected the symbols for the sacraments, by which we are most powerfully nourished, and moreover he has sanctified [them] by invoking his name over them, and wishing that thanks be given through them, how is this not for us a promise of the resurrection? And truly this is an effective argument for the resurrection – that our flesh is being sustained by the body and blood of Christ. With the same words he argued just as [he did] above – that we have communion in the flesh of Christ, and because it is true flesh, and

> the flesh is the son of God's, it is efficacious, so that it may feed, vivify and raise up those who believe.[55]

What becomes immediately clear by reading this explanation is the importance laid by Oecolampadius on faith and hope – the former vivifying the latter. As has been oft repeated by him, the eucharist, because it 'figures' the body and blood of Christ, is also a figure of and for the resurrection, because it is first and foremost a figure of the incarnation (i.e., following Tertullian, for the *veritatem corporis* to be acknowledged, there has to be a *corpus verum*).[56] But, what stands out very poignantly in this section is his rather esoteric language in reference to the communion individuals have with the flesh of Christ. This communion, and a person's ultimate redemption in the flesh, is certainly based on faith (i.e., life will be given to 'those who believe'). However, how are we to understand his statement that, 'our flesh is being sustained by the body and blood of Christ'?

This, prima facie, could be interpreted in a number of different ways, many of which would compete with his own central thesis, which is anti-

[55] '. . . ex illis deum maxima nobis sacramenta delegisse, e quibus disceremus quanta spes habenda, et ultra commendasse, illa vocando corpus et sanguinem. Iam quum illa symbola in sacramenta delegit, quibus potissimum vegetamur, et sanctificarit [sic] super ea nomen suum invocari, et per ea gratias agi volens, quomodo non polliceremur nobis resurrectionem? Est et hoc resurrectionis efficax argumentum, quod caro nostra sanguine et corpore Christi nutritur. His verbis idem arguit ut supra, quod communicamus carni Christi, et quia vera caro est, et caro filii dei, efficax est, ut et credentes nutriat vivificet ac resuscitet.' *DGVD*, G vi ᵛ.

[56] *Marc.* 4.40 (CCSL 1, 559).

transubstantiationist. If this phrase were read out of context, then it could possibly be interpreted to mean that the communicant feeds on the substantive body of Christ in the sacrament. However, given his previous discussion throughout, this is clearly not the case. In order to understand Oecolampadius more fully, it is necessary to revisit one of his earlier comments, where a key element was present in that discussion, which is here absent. Commenting on *AH* 4.18.5 Oecolampadius, as we have previously read, stated:

> For because our Lord Jesus CHRIST rose in his body, after this to die no more, and since we communicate with his flesh, a thing to which we testify by means of the symbol of sanctified bread when we give thanks, it remains [i.e., it follows] that we ourselves are imperishable. Indeed just as we communicate with Christ through the Spirit, so too with the flesh.[57]

In this passage Oecolampadius recalls the resurrection and ascension, and states unequivocally that we communicate with Christ's flesh. In the previous passage of *AH* 5.2.3 he makes a very similar inference, though he uses the word 'sustained' and 'communicate' rather than simply 'communicate.' Even though the two words differ in exact meaning, connotatively there is, nevertheless, a close sequential relationship implied

[57] 'Quia enim Dominus noster Iesus CHRISTUS in corpore suo resurrexit, posthac non moriturus, et nos communicamus eius carni, id quod symbolo sanctificati panis gratias agentes testamur, reliquum est, ut et nos simus incorruptibiles. Etenim ut spiritu communicamus Christo, ita carni quoque.' *DGVD*, G iv [r-v] [emphasis his].

– if we communicate with the flesh of the savior, that same savior sustains our flesh. The one ('sustained') is simply, in this instance, ancillary to the other ('communicate'). And here, the latter quotation helps to shed light on exactly how it is that the 'entire' Christ is communicable and sustaining – it is by way of the work of the Holy Spirit who links the participant spiritually to Christ. However, the importance of Oecolampadius' language should not be missed. The Spirit communicates Christ to the individual, but does so in a spiritual manner.

How are we then to understand the reformer's analysis in *AH* 5.2.3, where he is silent on the work of the Holy Spirit? It seems clear that what he asserts here is almost identical, but he articulates it a bit differently. First, we have communion with Christ's flesh because it is identical to all other human flesh, and so by its very nature it is one of the uniting components between human beings and Christ. Second, we are able to commune with the flesh of Christ because it is the flesh of the Son of God. In other words, as the Son of God, and God incarnate, Christ offered his propitiatory flesh on the cross, was raised, and ascended into the heavens, and whence he sent the promised Holy Spirit upon the disciples, and all of 'those who believe.' The Holy Spirit, then, is the bond for Oecolampadius as regards our spiritual participation with the God-man, and this adds an important pneumatological dimension to his eucharistic theology. At the same time, his pneumatology enables him to preserve intact those aspects of his christology that he holds so dear, namely the session of Christ and the subsequent preservation of Christ's true humanity and divinity. Also, it

allows Oecolampadius to bridge the gap between his christology and soteriology, as the Holy Spirit makes available to the soul and/or mind of the faithful Christian, spiritual participation with Christ.

Oecolampadius' Exegesis of Irenaeus in *Dialogus*

Preliminary Considerations

Whereas the publication of *DGVD* was Oecolampadius' introduction into the eucharistic debate, *Dialogus* was his final major work on the subject. As its title suggests, it narrates a dialogue between Oecolampadius and a fictitious Lutheran sympathizer named Nathaniel.[58] As with *DGVD* the general purpose of *Dialogus* is to discuss the views of numerous patristic authors in relation to the sacrament of the eucharist.[59] More specifically, however, Oecolampadius' intent in penning the text is to address at least two pressing issues – the first is personal, and regards his theological relationship to Melanchthon, while the second is more general, and endeavors to validate the eucharistic theology of the 'Swiss.'

[58] The name 'Nathaniel' is derived from Hebrew and means 'The gift of God.' The name choice may have been significant to Oecolampadius, but we can only speculate as to his intent.

[59] Concerning the format of *Dialogus*, Quere has rightly noted: 'The very form of the work militates against a systematic presentation. Themes occur and reoccur, sometimes in new and sometimes in familiar contexts. Like conversation, it rambles and repeats; but, there is, nonetheless, a discernable structure and movement to the *Dialogus*.' Quere, *Melanchthon's Christum Cognoscere*, p. 312.

First, *Dialogus* was written after the rather passionate sacramental rows mentioned earlier, and what was a failed attempt at complete concord between both sides at the Marburg Colloquy of 1529. In the period between 1525-1529 Oecolampadius, though embroiled in the debate with many learned scholars of various theological stripes, had nevertheless managed to keep his historically friendly relationship with Melanchthon intact. Yet, a tension between the two men had developed by 1529, and it was facilitated by their differing hermeneutical approaches to the texts of the fathers. In 1530 Melanchthon wrote and published a patristic florilegium on the eucharist entitled, *Sententiae veterum*, which was a direct challenge to Oecolampadius' patristic exegesis. This forced Oecolampadius, somewhat against his own will, to enter into yet another public debate concerning the eucharist. Only this time, the debate was to be carried out against one of his oldest friends. In the introduction to *Dialogus* he comments on this:

> . . . let us abstain from those bitter writings, by which up till now attacks have been made, rather let us privately instruct in a friendly way by letters . . . I had certainly offered a letter to Melanchthon, which he has not yet satisfied, unless this is making satisfaction – to look down on the writings from on high, and admit no explanation – that which to me was not giving reason for faith [or, trust], but rather taking it away. Nevertheless, this too has to be tolerated from this man who does

> not wish to be a brother, in addition to other things which his [supporters] have published falsely about us.[60]

Attempting to maintain the stance, at least rhetorically, of an apologist, Oecolampadius rearticulates his long held desire to stay out of public, and mostly unhelpful, squabbles with other reformers.[61] Polemicizing against Lutherans clearly has little redeeming value for Oecolampadius. Even less does he desire an open clash with Melanchthon. Nevertheless, he believes himself to be maintaining the rule of faith, and because he is wholly given over to the preservation of it through its proper articulation, he cannot allow Melanchthon's little book to go unanswered. In the face of what he obviously felt was a betrayal by Melanchthon after Marburg, Oecolampadius must now challenge unfriendly men in the Lutheran camp who have falsely leveled accusations against the Swiss. Clearly, this dictates Oecolampadius' style and methodology throughout.[62]

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[60] '. . . abstineamus ab amaris illis scriptis, quibus hactenus velitatum, et nos potius amice privatis literis erudiamus . . . Obtuleram sane ego Melanchthoni epistolam, cui nondum satisfecit, nisi hoc sit satisfacere, e sublimi scripta despicere, et nullam expositionem admittere, id quod mihi non fuerit rationem fidei reddere, sed tollere. Quod tamen et ipsum ab hoc, qui frater esse non vult, cum aliis quae sui de nobis falso evulgarunt, tolerandum.' *Dialogus*, a 2 ^{v}. The letter to which Oecolampadius refers was written in July or August 1529, before Marburg, and was a lengthy delineation of his eucharistic position. Melanchthon remained silent until the publication of his *Sententiae veterum*. Cf., B&A 2, pp. 342-349, No. 680; and *DGVD*, G v ^{v}-G vi ^{r}.

[61] It should be noted that Romans, however, are very much 'fair game.' On the rhetorical nature of *Dialogus*, Quere states: 'The character of this work as a polemic in dialogue form means that Oecolampadius says "not this interpretation, but rather that," with respect to Melanchthon's use of the Fathers.' Quere, *Melanchthon's Christum Cognoscere*, p. 316. Though I would agree with the latter part of his statement, Oecolampadius' method and language do not consistently bear out a fully polemic intent.

[62] It should be duly noted that Oecolampadius had received a classical education, and therefore his emblematic style in certain ways is an attempted mimicking of those classical

Nevertheless, the personal implications of the writing of *Dialogus* are rather transparent.

Second, Oecolampadius understands the false accusations and *ad hominem* arguments made against the Swiss to be, at least in part, based on their opponents' unwillingness properly to listen to and/or read what they have either said or published. He says,

> Indeed we are thought to deny much of what we have always faithfully taught, and likewise we are thought to affirm things with which we never failed to contradict.[63]

It is the apathy of the Swiss rivals that appears irksome to Oecolampadius, and is a problem which he argues is at least partially responsible for the lack of concord between the majority of reform-minded groups. Many people, with Luther being one of the most outspoken examples, often criticized the Swiss for maintaining and promoting a heretical christology. But as Oecolampadius considers the accusations, he is certain that no one has ever been able to prove the charges against them, nor have the Swiss

or patristic authors with whom he was familiar. More to the point, when Oecolampadius, like Irenaeus, makes comments about methodology, from a purely rhetorical standpoint, he may sometimes mean exactly the opposite of what he actually says. Cf, *AH* 1.1.2 (SC 264, 24-25), where Irenaeus says, '. . . neither are we familiar with composition, nor might we have striven for a skill with the word . . . [. . . neque conscribere consueti neque qui sermonum arti studuerimus . . .].'

[63] 'Multa enim negare putamur, quae semper fideliter docuimus, et multa item asserere existimamur, quibus nunquam non contradiximus.' *Dialogus*, a 4 [r].

adopted or fostered any heterodox christological positions.[64] In Oecolampadius' mind, their eucharistic dogmas were well founded, both on scripture and the fathers. And, therefore, just as the apostles and patristic authors used solid theological arguments to bolster their own positions, never backing down from their opponents, so Oecolampadius will attempt to do the same for the Swiss. In order to accomplish his task, he will employ the reasoned arguments of the original progenitors of those arguments. Rather poetically, the reformer says,

> . . . as if from an inexhaustible quiver, the ancient writers were always in the habit of producing sharpened arrows against all sorts of heresies. Did not Christ in this way reprimand the Jews? And did not Paul from the beginning reprimand the idolaters, and afterwards the schismatics and despisers of the poor? Did not Tertullian and Irenaeus fight Marcion, the Manicheans, and the Valentinians – some defaming the creation and some denying the resurrection? Did not Hilary, by assuming excellent arguments, fetter the Arians, and Amphilochius the Euchites, and Cyril the Anthropomorphites, and in the Councils of Alexandria and Ephesus the Nestorians, and Jerome the Chiliasts, and Augustine the Donatists, and Leo the Great and Gelasius the

[64] 'However, it is extraordinary when our adversaries have at no time demonstrated that we taught improperly either about Christ's divinity or humanity, how it happens that we are unable to understand the trouble over the Eucharist [Mirum autem est, cum adversarii nostri nos de Christi vel divinitate, vel humanitate male docuisse nusquam convicerint, qui fiat ut Eucharistiae negocium intelligere non possimus].' *Dialogus*, a 3 ˅.

Eutychians, and Bernard the ungodly Abelard?[65]

Obviously, the *Basler* mentions these individuals and/or groups in order to set the stage for his arguments in *Dialogus* against the traditional Roman doctrine of transubstantiation and the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation, and specifically consubstantiation as espoused by Melanchthon.[66] To Oecolampadius these theologies of the eucharist are simply heretical, while his theology is on the side of Christ, Paul, Tertullian, Irenaeus, and the entire lot of orthodox theologians.

Oecolampadius does not immediately begin his analysis of Melanchthon's interpretation of the fathers until he has first established his own hermeneutical principles of interpretation, christology, the definition and function of sacramental signification, and anthropological questions relating to participation. Each of these topics is considered in light of various patristic quotations from both eastern and western authors. In a move to remain 'objective', Oecolampadius also includes a letter from Melanchthon to him, and his corresponding response to it. Both of these letters were

[65] . . . sicut hinc quasi ex inexhausta pharetra, veteres scriptores contra omnigenas haereses iacula acuta semper depromere soliti sunt. Nonne hinc Christus ipse Iudaeos, nonne Paulus initio idololatras, et iterum schismaticos, et pauperum contemptores perstringit? Nonne Marcionem, Manichaeum, et Valentinum, partim creaturas infamantes, partim resurrectionem negantes, Tertulianus et Irenaeus expugnant? Nonne Arrianos Hilarius, Euchitas Amphilochius, Anthropomorphitas Cyrillus, et in conciliis Alexandrino et Ephesino, Nestorianos, Chiliastas Hieronymus, Donatistas Augustinus, Leo primus et Gelasius Eutychianos, Abelhardum impium Bernardus, inde sumptis argumentis probe constringunt?' *Dialogus*, a 3 ^{v}.

[66] On Oecolampadius' view of the word 'consubstantiation' (in concert with 'transubstantiation'), let alone its theological legitimacy, see his rather couched remark in *DGVG*, B viii ^{r}, where he states, ' . . . de transsubstatione [sic] vel de consubstantione (uti liceat adversariorum verbis) . . . '. The implication seems to be that the word is at best a misnomer.

written in 1529, before the publication of either man's book. Additionally, Oecolampadius inserts Melanchthon's open letter, which served the purpose of forming an introduction to his *Sententiae*, to his close confidant Friedrich Myconius (1491-1546). All three of these epistles help to contextualize the debate between the men for the reader. After these issues are touched on, Oecolampadius turns specifically to Melanchthon's *Sententiae*, taking most of the authors cited by him into consideration, with Irenaeus being one of these. Having then set out the historical background to *Dialogus*, and briefly offered reasons for Oecolampadius' perceived need for its composition, we will now return to our examination of the reformer's reception of Irenaeus.

Oecolampadius' Reading of Irenaeus' *AH*

AH 5.2.2-3 & 4.18.5

Before reaching a point of entry for an analysis of Irenaeus, Oecolampadius and Nathaniel spend a considerable amount of time wrangling over the legitimacy of Melanchthon's exegesis of the fathers. Specifically, they discuss Cyril, a number of citations from Chrysostom, and then Theophylact, Hilary, pseudo-Cyprian, and Cyprian. When finally they come to Irenaeus, Nathaniel states:

> Since Irenaeus is years prior [to Cyprian], and thus seems to be more venerable in authority, perhaps he will carry more weight with them.[67]

Telling in the statement of Nathaniel is Oecolampadius' concern for the antiquity of Irenaeus and his message. His authority, seemingly derived from its early provenance, appears to be reckoned as more weighty than later authors or even someone as ancient as Cyprian himself. Why this is the case, is not made clear. However, it is the antiquity of the bishop that both Lutherans and the Swiss are able to agree upon, and therefore Irenaeus bears witness to one of the most ancient eucharistic positions in the church. However, according to Oecolampadius, the Lutherans horribly twist the words of Irenaeus, so much so, that even though consensus can be reached about his venerable authority, it cannot conversely be reached as regards the interpretation of his thought.[68] Nevertheless, Oecolampadius is willing to exegete the central eucharistic passages of Irenaeus, in the hope that others will gain a fuller understanding of the original intent of the author. But in order to do this, he requests that Nathaniel first read a selection from Irenaeus that he finds cogent in the debate, and then give a brief explanation of Melanchthon's interpretation.

Nathaniel cites a few of the most theologically compelling sentences for the

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[67] 'Irenaeus ut annis prior, ita et autoritate venerabilior videtur, ille fortasse plus proderit eis.' *Dialogus*, m 2 ^{v}.

[68] '. . . et deinde Luthero ac aliis, Irenaei aliam esse mentem quam ipse putant, verbaque eius misere torqueri, sed narratur surdis fabula.' *Dialogus*, m 2 ^{v}- m 3 ^{r}.

Lutheran case from *AH* 5.2.2-3, and one from 4.18.5, and then offers his very brief commentary on them, stating:

> Therefore, because our resurrection is from this source [i.e., the body of Christ], then certainly the bread is substantially that life giving body.[69]

Of course Oecolampadius cannot allow Nathaniel's interpretation to stand. Instead he returns to themes similar to those also found in *DGVD*, which specifically address resurrection, the work of the Holy Spirit, and the Christian's participation with the true body of Christ. He states,

> On the contrary, if I had been Valentinus or Mani, I would not be terrified, if you were to argue that the bread is the body of Christ, or that we eat the body of Christ carnally, and therefore we are going to rise. The conclusion [of this] is useless. But I would be silenced if I were to be taught [that] the life-giving flesh is ours, and one with us through the Holy Spirit which unites us to him as the head. Indeed it might follow, Christ the head has risen, and therefore we who are [his] members will rise. Because his life-giving Spirit is in us. Moreover, because it is being taught most perfectly in the supper, it greatly strengthens that argument. For we confess that we are fed by the

[69] 'Quia igitur hinc nobis est resurrectio, utique panis est corpus illud vivificum substantialiter.' *Dialogus*, m 3 [r].

> body of Christ, even our bodies. Indeed, they will rise, and are certainly being fed unto eternal life, but this is not because the bread is made the body of Christ substantially, or because it carnally possesses the body of Christ . . . [70]

The first thing to be noted is Oecolampadius' revisiting of the historical context in which *AH* was written. He immediately begins his interpretation by referring to the gnostics with whom Irenaeus was dealing. And what conclusion does he draw from bread becoming the substantial body of Christ, and its relationship to these heretics? It is simply useless. Why? Because, if it were the case that the bread truly contained or became the body of Christ on the altar, the Gnostics (and here we are inferring Oecolampadius' logic), who renounce the physical world, would simply renounce the ritual itself. However, the symbols of the sacrament point us to more than this – namely, that the Holy Spirit, who is life-giving, has united the believer to Christ 'the head,' who has been resurrected, and has ascended bodily into the heavens. Therefore, the Christian is also certain to rise on the last day.

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[70] 'At si ego essem Valentinus vel Manichaeus, nihil terrerer, si sic argueres, panis est corpus Christi, vel Christi corpus edimus carnaliter, igitur resurrecturi sumus. Inutilis enim esset consequentia. Sed inde confutarer si docerer carnem vivificam nostram esse, et unam nobiscum spiritu sancto nos illi ut capiti uniente. Sequeretur enim, surrexit caput Christus, unde et nos resurgemus qui membra. Quia vivificator eius spiritus est in nobis. Id autem quia docetur in coena perfectissime, multum valet argumentatio ista. Fatemur enim nos ali corpore Christi, atque adeo etiam corpora nostra. Quae enim resurgent, utique in vitam aeternam aluntur, sed non hoc inde est, quod panis factus est substantialiter corpus Christi, vel carnaliter corpus Christi habens . . . '. *Dialogus*, m 3 $^{r-v}$. Notice the last clause is a direct refutation of impanation. See, 1 Cor. 11:3, and Eph. 4:15 and 5:23.

Another important phrase in Oecolampadius' commentary relates to the time and place in which the Christian will feed on the body of Christ. He states that Christians are truly fed by the body, and even their own bodies are being fed at this present time, and this feeding is unto eternal life. It is a present reality[71] Comparing this explanation with his interpretation of *AH* in *DGVD*, we can understand Oecolampadius' reference to our bodies being fed even now only in relationship to the bread (and wine), which are part of the creation. As God contains all things in himself, including his creation, it is by means of the mystical work of God, in and through the creation, that the human body is fed and sustained. Oecolampadius understands this aspect of the sacrament as modally functioning in a purely biological fashion – bread sustains our physical bodies. True feeding on Christ is a spiritual work, worked by the Spirit, and is not brought about because 'the bread is made the body of Christ substantially, or because it carnally possesses the body of Christ.'

AH 4.18.5

From this point Nathaniel and Oecolampadius move on to a fuller discussion of *AH* 4.18.5, in which Irenaeus makes mention of the eucharist being composed of two realities – the heavenly and earthly. Nathaniel asks the reformer what he thinks about the bishop's comments. At this point Oecolampadius offers what is one of his most opaque explanations of the sacrament in either *DGVD* or *Dialogus*. He states,

[71] See, William C. Weinrich, "The Image of the Wheat Stalk and the Vine Twig in the *Adversus Haereses* of Irenaeus of Lyon," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 62 (1998), p. 225.

> We freely accept it [i.e., the 'heavenly and earthly'], and indeed never have we understood the Eucharist to be common bread, but as in [that, i.e., in the Eucharist] there is truly bread, by which the body is fed, so it includes the body of Christ, which gives resurrection itself to our bodies. However, it is included by a sacramental mode, so that these two may somehow be one.[72]

Placing emphasis on the 'uncommon' nature of the eucharistic symbol, Oecolampadius attempts to maintain a consistent theological stance. In both *DGVD* and *Dialogus* he argues that the symbols, when *in usu*, are not 'empty,' in the sense of being of no benefit. Conversely, neither should they be understood as 'full' in the Roman sense, meaning that they contain the substantial body and blood of Christ. That being said, Oecolampadius here seems to be offering a more theologically advanced account of the relationship between the bread and the body than that found in *DGVD*. His wording in this passage is very specific. As has been discussed elsewhere, the reformer defines the true body (*corpus verum*) of Christ as that which is localized in heaven *ad dexteram patris*.[73] The true body is not to be found on the altar. At this juncture in his exegesis of Irenaeus he contrasts the

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[72] 'Libenter recipimus, Eucharistiam enim numquam pro communi pane habuimus, sed ut in illa vere panis est, cuius est alere corpus, ita complectitur corpus Christi, quod dat etiam ipsam corpori nostro resurrectionem. Complectitur autem sacramentali modo, ita ut duo haec unum quoddam sint.' *Dialogus*, m 3 ^{v}.

[73] See Chapter 2, pp., 123ff.

'true body' with that which is 'truly bread' (*vere panis*). The correlation between the heavenly and earthly aspects of which Irenaeus speaks is to be found at this locus. The earthly aspect is 'truly bread,' the bread that truly feeds and sustains the human body. Given its composition – being made from wheat, which rises from the earth – the true bread is a metaphor for the resurrection as well. And because Christ has instituted its use as the symbol of his body, neither can it be reckoned as 'common.' In other words, the bread has been sanctified, not by the recital of the epiclesis over it, or by the recitation of the words of institution, but rather because Christ specifically chose it for use by the church.

The 'heavenly' element of the eucharist is also 'included,' which is the body of Christ, the same 'which also gives resurrection itself to our bodies.' At first glance Oecolampadius seems to be postulating something akin to impanation (or, the transubstantiation of the element). However, he carefully qualifies what he means by the inclusion of the body of Christ, in two ways. First, the inclusion of Christ's body is by a 'sacramental mode,' which he elsewhere equates with the concepts of a 'sacred figure of the body of Christ' or a 'mystery.'[74] Second, the two aspects of the eucharistic element – the heavenly and the earthly – are wed and become one 'somehow.' In order to understand more fully what Oecolampadius means

[74] See, *DGVD*, K i [r], where he discusses both the bread and the wine in relation to these terms, stating: 'In sum, to whatever sound authors you refer, you will find none who do not discuss the body of Christ, and teach it to be a sacrament, or a sacred figure of the body of Christ, or a mystery which is the same. And similarly you will come upon the blood of Christ being explained as the mystical cup, or a mystery, or a sacrament of the blood [In summa ad quoscunque solidos diverteris authores, nullum non invenies, corpus Christi exponere, et dicere esse sacramentum, vel sacram figuram corporis Christi, vel mysterium quod idem. Et similiter invenies sanguinem Christi exponi, calicem mysticum, vel mysterium, vel sacramentum sanguinis].'

by these qualifiers, we need to reflect further on what he has to say to Nathaniel about the relationship between the heavenly and earthly aspects of the eucharist. Expanding on his reading of the text, Oecolampadius continues:

> Moreover, outside the use, the bread is a figure. When, however, the work of the Holy Spirit has been added – of whom the bread is not capable of containing, but we [are] – at that time the body is fed by bread, the soul however by faith and internal manducation is being refreshed by the true body of Christ. And the bread which is earthly begins at the same time to be also heavenly.[75]

Notice that Oecolampadius states that when the element is not being utilized in the supper it serves at best *only* as a figure or symbol. In other words, when not ritually employed, it is simply an empty or bare figure. It is, as Oecolampadius' logic would have it, really nothing more than bread. However, within the context of the eucharistic meal, Oecolampadius' pneumatology again comes into play. The Holy Spirit is given not to the bread because it is a 'thing,' and is therefore not *capax* – capable of containing – the Spirit. But rather the Spirit is given to the communicant,

[75] 'Porro extra usum, panis est figura. Ubi autem accesserit operatio spiritus sancti, cuius panis non est capax, sed nos, tunc demum corpus pane pascitur, animus autem fide et interna manducatione, Christi vero corpore reficitur. Et panis qui terrenus est, simul et coelestis esse incipit.' *Dialogus.*, m 3 ᵛ. On human flesh being capable of the Spirit see, Dominic Unger, "Christ's Role in the Universe According to St. Irenaeus, Part II," *Franciscan Studies* 5, no. 2 (1945), p. 122.

who because of his or her participation in a human nature identical to that of Christ, which is composed not only of flesh and blood, but also a soul, is *capax* the Spirit.[76] Consequently, by faith the Holy Spirit imparts to the spirit of the individual the body of Christ for internal manducation. This, moreover, is actually worked in space and time by the Spirit. It is not simply a memorial meal or something that happens only cognitively in the mind of the faithful. There is, at this point, for Oecolampadius, real benefit for the participant, because there is real spiritual activity taking place in the soul of the believer, as he or she is receiving the body of Christ spiritually, which is restorative. Thus the two aspects of the eucharist – the earthly and the heavenly – begin to become one in actuality in the mind, body and soul of the faithful participant.

In order to clarify further his exegesis of Irenaeus for the now somewhat confused Nathaniel, who sees little difference between the theology of the *Basler* and that of the Lutherans, Oecolampadius offers a peculiar similitude comparing the relationship between a bit of charcoal and the sun.[77] He begins by asking Nathaniel to envision a piece of charcoal that gives off but little light, and at the same time, the sun, which is a great light that illumines the entire world. What if, Oecolampadius then postulates, the sun descends from on high and takes on the body of a collier, but soon after chooses to return to its proper place in the heavens? In order to

[76] This is argued as well earlier in *Dialogus*, f 2 ʳ-f 3 ʳ.

[77] This is possibly drawn from Zwingli's analogy of the relationship between flint and fire. Cf., Z VIII 88.6-10; and, W. P. Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 223.

remind others of its brilliance and gloriousness, before returning to its place of origin, the sun leaves behind a sacred symbol of itself in the form of a *carbunculus*, or live coal. In order to commend the live coal to those who would honor it, the sun states, 'This is my body,' and it remains behind after the ascension of the sun for the dual purpose of signification, and the illumination of minds which hope to one day rise to its brilliance. Therefore, it has two natures – one earthly and one heavenly.[78] Oecolampadius asks:

> . . . might you yourself not say that the solemnity consists of a twofold nature – that is the earthly, which I said is charcoal, whose light is exceedingly weak, and the heavenly nature, which illumines minds so powerfully, and which offers so great a hope?[79]

To Oecolampadius' question, Nathaniel responds that he might be willing to agree with this construct. Because the reformer now has his dialogue partner on the proverbial hook, he continues to expand on the function of the twofold nature, stating:

> Moreover, if that charcoal, although there shines little light from itself, neither is it capable of angelic brilliance, nor does it possess in itself any

[78] *Dialogus*, m 4 [r-v].

[79] '. . . non tu illam solennitatem duplici natura constare diceres, terrena scilicet, carbone inquam, cuius tenuis admodum nitor, et coelesti, quae mentes tam potenter irradiet, tantamque spem praestet?' *Dialogus*, m 4 [v].

promise of communicating resurrection, remains in the properties of its own nature just as it was before, and that body assumed by the sun, remains without any change to itself in heaven, can that charcoal be called and be a solar body?[80]

The immediate implication of this statement is clear. The charcoal, which in this analogy represents the bread, remains substantially within its own nature and does not take on any of the substantive qualities of the sun. However, does that fact then necessitate that the charcoal is of no real use? Continuing along this same line of reasoning, in hopes of answering the question he posed above, Oecolampadius and Nathaniel discuss exactly how it is that any benefit can be derived from the charcoal, and if so, more to the point, how exactly it is to be understood. Nathaniel asks if it is not permissible to admit a synecdoche by which that which contains is called after what it contains[81] to which Oecolampadius eventually responds:

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[80] 'Si autem carbo ille, quamvis per se parum luceat, nec capax sit angelici fulgoris, nullamque resurrectionis sibi communicandae promissionem habeat, maneat in suae naturae proprietatibus similiter ut antea, et corpus illud a sole assumptum, sine ulla sui mutatione maneat in coelo, an carbo ille solare corpus appellari et esse queat?' *Dialogus*, m 4 ^{v}.

[81] '. . . sed quid si synecdochen admitterem, ut continens dicatur contentum?' *Ibid*. On this topic in Irenaeus see, W. R. Schoedel, "Enclosing, Not Enclosed: The Early Christian Doctrine of God," in *Early Christian literature and the classical intellectual tradition: in honorem Robert M. Grant*, ed. William R Schoedel, and Robert Louis Wilken (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1979), pp. 75-86.

> And thus, if I had said that the charcoal is the heavenly charcoal for the sake of a similitude, it would have been much more plausible, than if I had said that the heavenly body is naturally contained in the charcoal, and it would be a true assertion that the charcoal is a heavenly body.[82]

But, from Nathaniel's and the reader's perspective what does this mean? Simply, that 'for the sake of a similitude', or likeness, the earthly charcoal can be said to be the 'heavenly charcoal'. However, that is where any comparison must stop, because to say that the 'heavenly body' is contained in the charcoal, is not, given what we have seen of Oecolampadius eucharistic theology, too plausible an assertion. To further extrapolate his meaning, Oecolampadius returns to an analysis of the bread, all the while bearing his charcoal/sun metaphor in mind.

> Therefore, apply the similitude of the bread: it provides nourishment for a short time and has been prepared by us. Yet Christ said concerning himself, that he is the bread of heaven, from which whoever eats, will live forever. The same Christ to commend that ineffable food of his own body, added, 'This is my body,' leaving behind that memorial bread which is a symbol and sacrament of the eternal bread, in that panegyric

[82] 'Itaque si carbonem dixero, coelestem carbonem ob similitudinem, multo verisimilius fuerit, quam si dixero corpus coeleste in carbone naturaliter contineri, et vera erit praedicatio, carbo est coeleste corpus.' *Dialogus*, m 5 ^{r}.

> when we are admonished that by the Holy Spirit working through this symbol, our souls are being fed by eternal bread, even if that bread is not really transformed into the nature of the body of Christ.[83]

As he has stated before, the bread in and of itself feeds the human body, and is only able to maintain it for a short time. Common bread is a fleeting reality both in composition and in use. However, because Christ is himself the true bread from heaven who feeds the Christian with eternal life, he has set the bread apart for use as a symbol and sacrament of his body as a perpetual reminder of his glorious life and work. Furthermore, he sends the Holy Spirit to feed the soul of the believer, by means of the 'sacrament of the eternal bread.'[84] It is clear then, that Oecolampadius understands the eucharist to function on two levels – practically, and as a symbolic means of grace. Or, to phrase it another way:

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[83] 'Accommoda igitur similitudinem panis: ille parvo tempore pascit, et a nobis paratus est: at Christus de se dicit, se panem esse coeli, ex quo qui manducat, vivet in aeternum. Idem Christus ineffabilem illam sui corporis alimoniam, commendaturus adiecit, Hoc est corpus meum, memorialem relinquens panem illum qui symbolum et sacramentum est aeterni panis, verum in panegyri illa dum admoniti hoc symbolo operante spiritu sancto, animi nostri aeterno pane pascuntur, etiam si panis ille in naturam corporis Christi realiter non transeat.' *Dialogus*, m 5 ^{v}. Cf., Jn. 6:51.

[84] See, Juan Ochagavía, S.J., *Visibile Patris Filius: A Study of Irenaeus' Teaching on Revelation and Tradition* (Romae: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1964), pp. 129-140, for an interesting discussion of the role of the Spirit in the church and sacraments in Irenaeus.

Therefore, how could it not be said to consist of two natures, of which one [nature] feeds the body, and the other feeds it for eternity, just as that charcoal emits little light, while the sun fills all things with its light?[85]

The sacramental element, it should be noted, is not the *terminus ad quem* for the manducation of the body of Christ. Rather, it is the Holy Spirit. The charcoal, as a metaphor of the eucharistic bread, 'emits little light,' but the sun, as a metaphor for Christ, 'fills all things with its light,' which is facilitated by the Holy Spirit. The Spirit, then, unites Christ to the believer, and all believers are then united to each other, as Christ is the one head of the church.[86] Again, Oecolampadius' reading of Irenaeus is profoundly pneumatological, so much so that his exegesis of the bishop would simply be unintelligible, not only to himself, but also to his reader, without this component.

Conclusion – Evolution in Oecolampadius' Exegesis of Irenaeus' *AH*

[85] 'Quare igitur non posset dici ex duabus constare naturis, quarum altera corpus ad tempus pascat, altera vero in aeternum, sicut carbo ille parum lucet, sol autem omnia lumine suo implet?' *Dialogus*, m 5 ^{v}.

[86] For more on the work of the participatory nature of the work of the Spirit see, Roch Kereszty, "The Unity of the Church in the Theology of Irenaeus," *The Second Century* 4, no. 4 (1984), pp. 212-214; and for the Spirit as the bond of unity see, Emmanuel Lanne, "Unité et Eucharistie, don de l'Esprit," *Irénikon* 71, no. 1 (1998), pp. 42-61. Oecolampadius is clearly trying to maintain coherence with the thought of Irenaeus on this point.

Preliminary Considerations

Throughout both *DGVD* and *Dialogus*, there are, as we have previously mentioned, themes common to Oecolampadius' reading of Irenaeus' *AH*. Specifically, they highlight the distinct, yet interrelated topics of resurrection, participation in the true body of Christ, and the work of the Holy Spirit. However, the degree to which the above named topics are accentuated differs, in some cases dramatically, between the reformer's treatises. As well as the varying emphases on these issues, there are also new ideas, or additional components to already existing ideas, accompanying Oecolampadius' analysis of the relevant texts by the time of the publication of *Dialogus* in 1530, that are worthy of reflection. In what follows we will briefly consider these issues in the hope of demonstrating evolution of Oecolampadius' thought in relationship to Irenaeus.

Resurrection

Oecolampadius pays a considerable amount of attention to the doctrine of the physical resurrection, not only of Christ, but of Christians, as he interprets Irenaeus. Heuristically, his concentration on this aspect of the *regula fidei* is especially pronounced as he attempts to articulate the bishop's argument to his audience in *DGVD*. As well, it seems clear that from a methodological standpoint Oecolampadius' concern is to accentuate that which Irenaeus also understood to be important, thus contextualizing and endeavoring to maintain the author's original argument and intent, in so far as he understands it.

The locus of the proof of the resurrection, as Oecolampadius consistently pointed out, is to be found in the integrity of a good God, who created the material universe.[87] This, as he understands Irenaeus, enabled God to accept that which was rightly offered to him from his own handiwork. The bread, then, having sprung from the earth by the working of the Spirit of God, was instituted by Christ as a figure of his body. However, the eucharistic element is not meant to point only to the body of Christ prior to his death, or simply to his death, but it is also given as a reminder of his resurrected and ascended body, thus proclaiming the victory of Christ over death.

Oecolampadius, at this point, transfers his reading of Irenaeus' stress on the very material aspects of the elements as proof of the resurrection itself, to a pragmatic reading of one of the main mechanisms of the eucharistic rite. The *Basler* interprets Irenaeus' 'heavenly' aspect of the celebration as 'eucharist' or the 'giving of thanks' (*actio gratiarum*), which means, both the invocation of the name of God, and the church offering herself to God. In order to properly give thanks to God, however, requires the *sine qua non* of faith. But that being said, Oecolampadius is also keen to emphasize the import of the elements for Irenaeus because, even though they in and of themselves do not facilitate the resurrection of the body through a union of the substantive flesh of Christ with the flesh and/or soul of the believer,

[87] See, Eric Osborn, "Irenaeus: God as Intellect and Love.," in *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church*, ed. P. Allen, W. Mayer, and L. Cross (Brisbane: Centre for Early Christian Studies: Australian Catholic University, 1999), p. 184.

they do nevertheless signify, and actually impart, in a spiritual mode, the Christ. If they do not really signify and offer that which they are meant to, argues the reformer, then hope in life beyond the grave is simply in vain, and the eucharistic celebration is of no real use. Thus, the reformer's stratagem in and for discussing *AH* in *DGVD* appears to be mainly (though obviously not wholly) a historical-grammatical analysis. In other words, it is basically an effort by Oecolampadius to rearticulate the central meaning and purpose of the bishop's statements.[88]

In *Dialogus* we also find Oecolampadius speaking of the importance of the eucharist as a justifying argument for the doctrine of the resurrection for Irenaeus. But, there is far less of it than is to be found in *DGVD*, and when he does comment on it, there is a noticeable shift in emphasis. Whereas in *DGVD* Oecolampadius was centrally concerned to show how the eucharistic elements functioned as explanatory proofs of the resurrection for Irenaeus, in *Dialogus* he spends most of his time theologizing about the interrelationship between the elements and resurrection.

Oecolampadius begins his reading in *Dialogus* in much the same way as he did in *DGVD*, by setting the historical context of Irenaeus' work, especially mentioning the Valentinian and the Manichean doctrine, and their respective rejection of the resurrection of the flesh. However, unlike *DGVD*, the reformer immediately launches into a discussion of the Holy

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[88] Cf., Hoffmann, "Sententiae Patrum: Das patristische Argument in der Abendmahlskontroverse", p. 90.

Spirit's unifying bond between the believer and Christ. Though this aspect of Oecolampadius' theology was also present in his reading of Irenaeus in *DGVD*, it seems to have evolved by 1530, and appears to be of much greater importance to him. Rather than simply explaining the intended meaning of the text, Oecolampadius interprets Irenaeus' words wholly in light of his own christology and pneumatology. Nevertheless, the focus on the resurrection, as one of Irenaeus' main emphases for the penning of this section of *AH*, is diminished by Oecolampadius' need to explain how participation with Christ 'works.'

The Holy Spirit & Participation in the True Body of Christ

A corollary principle to the physical resurrection of the body is Oecolampadius' understanding of how one feeds on the body of Christ. Specific to this discussion is his perception of the participation of the believer with Christ, through the Spirit, in a sacramental mode. As mentioned above, his pneumatology does offer some sense of unity to this issue, especially as his ideas evolve between 1525 and 1530.

Because the session of Christ is central to Oecolampadius' attempt to preserve the true humanity of Christ, he will not allow for the transubstantiation of the elements on the altar, nor the ubiquity of the body. Given that, it is both practically and philosophically untenable that the true body of Christ could be fed to the soul and/or body of an individual. Christ

is in one place, and the soul and body are of two separate compositions – one physical and the other spiritual. Oecolampadius is emphatic about these points in *DGVD*, and they dictate his hermeneutic throughout the work. As Oecolampadius understands Roman eucharistic participation in the true body of Christ in 1525, it would require that the bread become the body of Christ. For the 'true body' to be received in the eucharist would necessitate that it equal 'substantial body,' which is impossible for him.

Where Oecolampadius does admit to communication with Christ, and with Christ's Spirit, he appears to postulate this communication based on the incarnation, and the relationship of Christ's human nature to ours. He does also discuss the work of the Spirit linking the believer to Christ in a spiritual manner, but participation is clearly demarcated – the believer participates in the same fleshy nature as Christ because of his incarnation, and with the body of Christ through the work of the Holy Spirit, spiritually. There is no intermixing or intermingling of the two – flesh is flesh, and spirit is spirit.

In *Dialogus*, Oecolampadius revisits these same topics – specifically emphasizing his opposition to any substantial change in the bread. However, there is a heightened articulation and accentuation of a participatory nature of the believer with Christ in the eucharist that was not as clearly articulated in *DGVD*. Here Oecolampadius unequivocally states that the eucharist is not common bread, that believers are fed the body of Christ in a spiritual manner, as well as a 'new' explanation of the 'heavenly' and 'earthly' aspects of Irenaeus' eucharistic discussion. All of these are,

obviously, interrelated ideas for the reformer, but are crystallized in his reading of *AH* 4.18.5. Here he states that in the eucharist is *vere panis*, meaning that there is no substantive change to the element, but nevertheless, the body of Christ is included in it in a 'sacramental mode,' and is therefore fed to the communicant's soul (or mind) by faith and internal manducation.

Negatively, what the *Basler* is trying to avoid is, again, substantial elemental change, which localizes the presence of the body of Christ in many, many places at once. As he argued in both *DGVD* and now in *Dialogus*, the world is not *capax* of the Word, and likewise, the bread, as a 'thing', is not *capax* of the Spirit. However, by acknowledging that the communicant participates in the body of Christ (not a 'spiritual body,' but in the body in a 'spiritual mode'), even with the Holy Spirit communicating that body, he still ends up seemingly suggesting participation in a ubiquitous spirit-body of Christ. How he is able to maintain the true body, localized in heaven, and participation in that body via the work of the Holy Spirit, in a spiritual manner, becomes blurred – at least in this particular instance. Nevertheless, this is his understanding by 1530, which clearly shows the impact and evolution of eucharistic thought, as a consequence of his interaction in the debates which took place from 1525-1530, on his own theological methodology. Moreover, it gives us a greater insight into the development of his reception and exegesis of Irenaeus in light of the same eucharistic controversies.

CONCLUSION

As was stated in the Introduction, Johannes Oecolampadius is a figure who spent a better part of the three hundred years following his death buried in relative obscurity. Hopefully, however, this thesis has proven helpful as an aid to 'dusting off' his life, eucharistic theology, and reception of the fathers – with the main test case being Irenaeus of Lyons' *AH*.

In Chapter One we surveyed Oecolampadius' life, from the earliest sources available to us, until the time of his death in 1531. We noted, as has been made clear throughout this work, that Oecolampadius was a capable humanist-reformer. Oecolampadius' abilities in this arena were contingent on a number of interrelated factors: 1) his educational background; 2) his early employment with Erasmus, and as a priest; 3) his short-lived monastic life (1520-1522); 4) his later employment as a lecturer at the University of Basel; 5) the centrality of his involvement at the Baden Disputation; 6) his involvement in the eucharistic controversies; 7) his translation of numerous patristic texts; and 8) his eventually becoming *the* reformer of the city of Basel itself.

Oecolampadius' education formed the foundation for his life's work. Receiving a classical, yet progressive education under Wimpfeling seems to have grounded him in the theology of the 'Pillars' and the most important mediaeval authors (with a bit of German nationalism mixed in as well). Yet

it also appears to have been a time of intellectual blossoming for Oecolampadius, as he early on demonstrated a certain disregard for the perceived authority of scholastic theology. When he settled in Tübingen he befriended Philip Melanchthon, and through Melanchthon, his great uncle, John Reuchlin. It was here that he began the study of Greek in earnest. He continued that study when he moved back to Heidelberg, but also took on a then suspect study, Hebrew. This, again, demonstrated his willingness to allow himself to grow intellectually, but it also suggests a mild independence from the socio-religious norms of his day. Nevertheless, his knowledge of the three languages would serve him well throughout his life, and in fact enabled him to obtain his first truly scholarly job working with Erasmus on the *Novum Instrumentum*, and then later on, the 'Index' to Jerome's *Opera*. Moreover, his familiarity with the languages also opened up new possibilities for him in regards to the translation of eastern patristic texts, lecturing, and writing commentaries on the Hebrew bible.

In the midst of his own youthful scholarly activity, the winds of change had begun to blow socially and theologically in the Cantons and Germany. Martin Luther had published a number of works that Oecolampadius appears to have found valuable. However, as much as some of his early comments may have shown signs of him becoming an independent thinker, his piety would not allow for too great a break from 'Mother Church.' So, unsure of himself, his personal well-being, and apparently, the state of his soul, Oecolampadius fled to the monastery at Altomünster. It was here that he made two clear, but important decisions. First, though the quiet life of a

humanist was important to him, he nevertheless realized that monasticism wed to humanism was not a realistic course for his life. He would have to pursue humanistic endeavors – namely, the translation of patristic texts – outside of, and away from, his monastery cell. And second, but nevertheless closely related to the first, he was becoming evermore convinced of some of the ideas of reform circulating in his world. So, in 1522 he fled the monastery, eventually returning to Basel, only to make contact with Zwingli, and continue down the road of reform, but this time at a quickened pace.

By 1524 Oecolampadius began calling for the reform of the liturgy, confession, church discipline, and the eucharist with a heightened zeal which heretofore had been much more subdued. It is in this context that he demonstrates a mature knowledge of the *veteres*, publishing numerous translations of eastern fathers (though this had begun at the monastery), as well as employing them in his arguments. Unfortunately, these arguments caused an undue rift between he and his old friend Melanchthon, as well as with Luther by the mid-1520s – and it would be a rift that would not be repaired during his lifetime. Nevertheless, because of the debates that took place, Oecolampadius laid out his own eucharistic theology, bolstered by his knowledge of the fathers, in a manner that he probably would not have, had the problems not developed in the way in which they did.

Some of the theological ideas that eventually find their 'home' in later developed Reformed theology find their inception, sometimes in embryonic

form, and at other times more fully developed, in the works of the *Basler*. In regards to Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology, there is in his ever evolving deliberations concerning the subject, an indebtedness to the mediaeval tradition that almost immediately preceded him. We noted in Chapter Two that this tradition had been passed to Oecolampadius through the channel of an Augustinian symbolism fused with Ambrosian realism. This, moreover, was wed to Gregory the Great's perception that the Mass was a sacrificial offering, culminating in the mediaeval church understanding the eucharistic celebration to be a propitiatory act.

There was, however, debate about the actual nature of elemental change, or lack thereof, throughout the mediaeval period. One of the better-known examples of this is the dispute between Ratramnus and Radbertus. Within the context of our discussion of the eucharistic theology of these two men we observed how Radbertus, in his *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, following Ambrose, argued for a metabolic-realist position in regards to elemental change. Moreover, he acknowledged that the eucharistic elements are figures, but figures wed to *veritas*, which for him was Christ. Consequently, in the eucharistic celebration the elements become, and actually are, the true body and blood of Christ. Ratramnus on the other hand laid out his theology of the sacrament for Emperor Charles, in a work with the same title as Radbertus', stating that *figura* and *veritas* must be separated one from the other. However, Ratramnus did also argue that the elements can rightly, by similitude, be called the 'body and blood of Christ'.

Moreover, Christ himself is received in a spiritual manner under the 'veil' of the bread and wine, though there is no elemental change.

Following Ratramnus' interpretation, and minimally, the Frankish insistence that that which is material cannot contain a mystery, was Berengarius of Tours. Berengarius, in his debate with Lanfranc, emphasized the Augustinian significationist position that a *sacramentum* is a sacred sign that signifies something outside of, and beyond itself, which he argued was the *res sacramenti*, or Christ himself. Given this, Berengarius postulated that the *sacramentum* is distinct from the *res sacramenti* in so far as there is no transformation or diminution of the original substance of the eucharistic elements. Yet, according to him, Christ's 'spiritual nature' is made available to the one receiving the sacrament. As we noted, this position did not sit well with Rome, nor bode well for Berengarius himself, as he was forced to declare two separate oaths that denounced his own theology, and 'forced' him to return to Tours to live the rest of his life as a hermit.

The attempted synthesis of the disparate positions we have been discussing fell to Peter Lombard. The Lombard wrote his *Sentences* employing the Augustinian conception of the distinction between 'things' and 'signs'. Within this context, he postulated that a sacrament is a sign of a sacred thing, yet it also a sacred thing signifying, as well as the thing signified. Hence a sacrament, in combining both aspects, is a visible form of invisible grace. What a communicant receives from the sacrament,

argued the Lombard, is an increase of power [i.e., virtue] and grace, as Christ is wholly received. As well, Lombard suggested that because Christ is the head of the church, the church (*corpus mysticum*) is the place in which grace is to be found, and the vehicle through which Christ's true body (*corpus verum*) is disseminated in the eucharistic celebration. As we pointed out, this appears to be a reversal of the two *corpora* as historically understood among ancient theologians, and is something that Oecolampadius attempted to deal with after 1522, in the exposition of his own eucharistic theology.

One of the earliest examples of Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology comes from his *A Sermon Concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist*, which he preached at Altomünster in May 1521. In summary, we showed how Oecolampadius attempted to maintain a 'traditional' view of the eucharist, especially as concerns the presence of Christ. In regards to this, he stated that the bread is not simply bread, but rather 'conceals' or 'veils' the 'true body' of Christ. Moreover, he also demonstrated an almost anti-rationalistic bias in stating that people should not care how the bread and wine are changed – this is something the schoolmen fight about – but rather, should simply believe that Christ is present. Trying to figure out this mystery, according to Oecolampadius is neither necessary nor useful. But at the same time, Oecolampadius clearly stated that the bread itself should not be 'worshipped'. Rather, Christ is the Pascha, and as such, the faith of the communicant is ultimately what makes him present. To corroborate his assertion, Oecolampadius cited a phrase from Augustine's *In Evangelium*

Johannis tractatus that we saw him use over and over: 'Believe and you have eaten'. Ultimately, then, Oecolampadius, in this instance, understood 'eucharist' to be the church's 'giving of thanks' – its offering of itself – for the work of Christ on its behalf.

This aspect of his thought is made yet more poignantly in his *Quod expediat epistolae et evangelii lectionem in missa vernaculo sermone plebi promulgari* from 1522. Here Oecolampadius states that the Word illumines people so that they in turn can offer themselves wholly to God. It is the Logos of God that speaks through the scriptures, and because of that fact, the Logos is present in the church, which Oecolampadius here describes as the 'true body'. As we pointed out, Oecolampadius was no fan of the Lombard's theology, and this is an attempted reversal of the Lombardian formula. In relationship to the sacrament, Oecolampadius here argued that Christ himself is the 'true bread' (following the Gospel of John), and is eaten in the sacrament in a 'spiritual mode', wherein the 'flesh is covered in a veil' (following Ratramnus and Berengarius). Additionally, Oecolampadius maintained that the symbols 'bear the figure of Christ' in their 'use' by the church, which is an idea we saw him variously articulate throughout the majority of the present work.

From approximately 1525 until the end of his life, we demonstrated that one of the cardinal theological axioms for Oecolampadius as it relates to Christ's eucharistic presence, was that Christ's 'true body' was localized in heaven *ad dexteram patris*. We also pointed out that the wholesale

adoption of this creedal statement afforded Oecolampadius, yet again, a segue for his thinking to shift, as he now defined the 'true body' not as the transubstantiated elements, nor as the church, but as the actual glorified body of Christ localized in heaven. Ironically, we also mentioned that this appears to have been an effort by Oecolampadius to 'unshackle' Christ from the requirements of the sacramental institutions of the church. Or, to phrase it another way, Oecolampadius wanted desperately to delineate a theology in which the church belonged to Christ, not one in which Christ belonged to, or could be manipulated by, the church. His christology dictated that this was the only legitimate expression of the relationship between the Head and his Body.

In defense of his eucharistic theology, especially after approximately 1525, we find Oecolampadius resorting to the ancient patristic writers to help confirm his own arguments. The fathers lent to Oecolampadius' arguments, from his perspective, both catholicity and some semblance of authority. Before and then during the eucharistic controversies we saw, in Chapter Three, how Oecolampadius held a fondness for the translation of Greek patristic texts. Working on the texts of these authors met his own personal needs in at least two ways: 1) they helped to satiate his humanistic desire to devote himself to 'letters'; and, 2) once published they were utilized as theological propaganda in order to support Luther, and then later himself. The earliest of these translations, as we noticed, were mostly concerned with confession and penance. Later in life his work focused mainly on Chrysostom, who he appreciated for his exegetical style and pragmatic

sermons; Theophylact, who he noted was indebted to Chrysostom for the production of his commentaries, though Oecolampadius did not condone his exegesis when it touched on the eucharist; and Cyril, who Oecolampadius translated, we hypothesized, for expediency's sake, because he needed an ally against the charges of Marcionism and Nestorianism being leveled against him by Luther and his followers, as well as Roman theologians like bishop John Fisher, and Josse Clichtove.

As concerns Oecolampadius' reception of the fathers during the eucharistic controversies he found himself embroiled in, his first and last major eucharistic treatises, *DGVD* and *Dialogus*, were combed for patristic references and citations. These were then, for the first time, catalogued and cross-referenced to the modern critical editions, if available. The catalogue is telling in that it paints a fairly comprehensive picture of which patristic authors Oecolampadius knew, as well as gives us some idea about who he may have understood to be 'authoritative'. While being cognizant of the fact that a high numbers of citations from one particular author does not always mean that Oecolampadius was in agreement with that particular author, it nevertheless sheds some light on who he may have found to be the most important. The best example of his admiration for an author, relative to the number of citations, is Augustine. In both *DGVD* and *Dialogus* there are thirty-three different authors referred to, or cited, and over ninety different titles. Of those thirty-three authors, Augustine is cited or his works are referenced no less than fifty-five times. Based on the vast number of works of Augustine utilized by

Oecolampadius, it enabled us to suggest that by the end of his life he probably knew the majority of the then available Augustinian corpus.

We also noticed that Cyril, Chrysostom, Tertullian, Ambrose/Ambrosiaster, Origen, Jerome, and Fulgentius had high tallies in the catalogue, and we suggested various reasons for why this might be so. We have already discussed the reason for Cyril and Chrysostom's reception by Oecolampadius. In the case of Tertullian we demonstrated that, especially in *DGVD*, Oecolampadius utilized his phrase 'figure of the body' as a proof for the *veritatis corpus*. We also noted that Tertullian, according to Oecolampadius, had always been understood to be catholic in regards to his eucharistic theology, and that this suggests that Oecolampadius understood himself to be catholic as well. Oecolampadius' discussions of Ambrose/Ambrosiaster give us an insight into how he made decisions about provenance. As an example of this we noted that he dismissed Ambrose's *De sacramentis* on the grounds that it did not 'read' like other Ambrosian texts, but accepted as being legitimately Ambrose's work the *Ad Corinthios prima* of Ambrosiaster. This led to the conclusion that, at least in this instance, concord between a patristic text (and/or author) and Oecolampadius' personal theology may have served as a requirement for him deciding provenance. Another interesting example of Oecolampadius' reception of the fathers can be found in his use of Origen. The *Basler* makes clear that he does not like Origen's allegories, and as a consequence of this, does not necessarily agree with much of what he wrote. However, when it came to the eucharist, Oecolampadius happily

employed him because he agreed with 'the consensus of all the ancients'. Oecolampadius' language should not be missed, as 'consensus' and 'all' are very important words. Oecolampadius suggests (at least in this statement) that there was actual consensus among the ancient theologians, and Origen is in agreement with those same theologians. Moreover, because Oecolampadius thought himself to be in agreement with Origen, he was also in agreement with 'all of the ancients.' Rhetorically, this validates Oecolampadius' insistence that his theology is neither new nor heterodox. Jerome is important to Oecolampadius because he is intimately familiar with his writings, given his work on the 'Index' for Jerome's *Opera*. Oecolampadius also likes him because of his condemnation of Millenarian doctrine, which the reformer equates with a not so subtle form of Epicureanism latent in the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation. Fulgentius is appreciated because so much of what he has to say is simply a recapitulation of Augustine.

In surveying Oecolampadius' appropriation or rejection of the writings of the fathers, we paid special attention to the titles with which he addressed them. Overwhelmingly, his favorite designation for the authors we saw him mention is 'the ancients', seemingly as a sign of admiration for their antiquity. We also noted that he does not often use the title of *pater* unless referring to biblical figures. However, in the case of both Augustine and Chrysostom, Oecolampadius refers to them as *beatus pater*. Why exactly this is the case, we can only speculate. However, it seems that in order to receive the title *beatus pater*, the ancient writers needed to be in close

theological proximity to Oecolampadius' own positions. As concerns chronological distinctions for who is and who is not a father for Oecolampadius, we drew no clear conclusions. Obviously, he admired many of the ancient writers, but he also includes others in his deliberations that do not fit well within the designation of 'ancient', relative to his own life. We suggested that had polemicists like Clichtove and Fisher not incorporated certain authors, such as Pseudo-Dionysius or Bede, in their arguments against Oecolampadius, wherein he was forced to deal with them, he may never have included quotes from them in his own arguments. Lastly, we established that his early interests seemed to lie with fathers typically designated 'eastern'. However, by 1530, Oecolampadius would utilize fathers both 'eastern' and 'western' in an almost equal ratio.

Chapter Four covered Oecolampadius' textual knowledge of Irenaeus, focusing most specifically on the text of *AH*. We saw that Erasmus published the first 'complete' edition of the work in 1526, and in order to accomplish the task, sourced three manuscripts – one from Faber, one from Hirsau monastery, and the other from an unknown monastery. We also noted that Oecolampadius was the first reformer to use selections from *AH* in his published works, and in this instance, his *DGVD*. Within the context of this discussion we briefly surveyed the proceedings of the Baden Disputation, as relayed by Faber. We remarked that Faber seems to have thought that Eck shocked Oecolampadius when he read from Irenaeus' *AH* at Baden, thus insinuating that it was a work unknown to Oecolampadius. However, we conclusively showed that that was not the case, as

Oecolampadius had published selections from *AH* some months prior to Baden. This, however, raised the question of how, and from whom, Oecolampadius obtained an *AH* manuscript or manuscripts. We suggested that it could possibly have come from Beatus Rhenanus, as he was working with Froben at the time Oecolampadius fled the monastery and returned to Basel. Froben, as we pointed out, was desirous to publish Irenaeus, and was in contact with Faber in 1522 hoping to obtain a copy of the manuscript. Moreover, in his letter to Erasmus of May 1526, Faber refers to a 'common' or 'shared' manuscript – shared among himself, Erasmus and Froben, possibly. This suggests that Froben and Erasmus may have actually already laid hands on the manuscript prior to Erasmus' use of it for publication. At any rate, we surmised that Rhenanus may have in fact allowed Oecolampadius access to it, and selections from it made their way into his *DGVD* of 1525. On the issue of Oecolampadius' later familiarity with *AH,* we stated that it was very likely that he had read the entire work by 1530, as he used excerpts from various books of *AH* in his correspondence with Michael Servetus and others. However, it is assumed that by this period Oecolampadius had probably given up the use of manuscripts, instead employing either the 1526 or 1528 edition edited by Erasmus.

The final chapter of this work dealt with Oecolampadius' reception and exegesis of Irenaeus in both *DGVD* and *Dialogus*. The overall goal was to demarcate how Oecolampadius read and interpreted *AH*, while keeping in mind the context of the evolution of his eucharistic theology as discussed in

Chapter Two. In the first part of Chapter Five we focused on Oecolampadius' interpretation of *AH* 1.13.2-3, the section dealing with Marcus the magician. Here it was noticed that Oecolampadius refused as valid extra-canonical miracles of any sort, promoting instead a sort of nascent 'regulative principle' of scripture, which would eventually become the norm for those in the Reformed tradition. Miracles validated by the scriptures were the only legitimate sort for Oecolampadius. Echoing the sentiments found in his sermon on the eucharist preached while in the monastery – namely, that Christians should not try to figure out mysteries – Oecolampadius argued, believers should have a 'simple faith and unadulterated piety' when it comes to a consideration of miracles. Irenaeus knew this, the ancient church knew this, but the church contemporaneous with Oecolampadius, he suggests, had forgotten that Marcus and his miracles are nothing more than superstitious tricks authored by Satan, and so is the Mass.

When dealing with *AH* 4.18.4-6 and 5.2.2-3 in *DGVD*, passages explicitly concerning the eucharist, we mentioned a number of important issues relating to Oecolampadius' reading of them. In Oecolampadius' attempt to claim Irenaeus' theology for his own, he mentioned that the bishop's writings were 'obscure'. However, he tried to set Irenaeus in his own historical context, and argued that the theology of *AH* is comprehensible. Moreover, we noted that based on his great antiquity (and possibly his close proximity to apostolic times), Irenaeus was an authority for Oecolampadius. Consequently, as we have seen with certain other fathers,

when Irenaeus is properly understood, via Oecolampadius' interpretation of him, it demonstrates both the catholicity of the bishop, as well as that of Oecolampadius. Concerning Oecolampadius' exegesis of Irenaeus' eucharistic theology, we saw that the symbols of bread and wine are 'proofs' of the true humanity of Christ, as well as the truth of the resurrection of flesh – i.e., 'the blood proves the body, the body proves the blood, and both prove the resurrection'. The resurrection of the flesh of the Christian is brought about, at least in part, by the working of the Holy Spirit, who is the bridge between the spirit of the believer and the spirit of Christ. Additionally, we saw that according to Oecolampadius' interpretation of Irenaeus, participation in Christ is both a pneumatological and biological reality, i.e., it is pneuma-somatic. It is pneumatological in that Christ is communicated in the eucharist in a 'spiritual mode', not a physical one. It is biological in that the Logos assumed human flesh, the same flesh as that borne by the entire human race. Therefore, if faith is at work, participation is in the 'entire' Christ, yet there is absolutely no substantive change to the elements.

In *Dialogus*, Oecolampadius' response to Melanchthon's *Sententiae Veterum*, we observed that there were themes present, similar to those found in *DGVD*, in his reading of the eucharistic passages from *AH*. Specifically, we noted that 1) Irenaeus' antiquity appeared to give him authority in the eyes of Oecolampadius; 2) the Holy Spirit is the spiritual bridge between Christ and the communicant; and 3) the eucharistic elements acted as a symbolic promise of future resurrection. Additionally,

we noticed an evolution in Oecolampadius exegesis of Irenaeus; or rather a more nuanced reading of him. In *Dialogus* Oecolampadius developed 'new' terms to describe the element. It is 'true bread' or 'truly bread'; pointing to the fact that it is bread, and only bread, while the 'true body' is the body of Christ himself seated *ad dexteram patris*. However, Oecolampadius also stated that the bread 'includes the body of Christ' by a 'sacramental mode'. This discussion allowed him to interpret Irenaeus' 'heavenly' and 'earthly' aspects. The 'earthly' aspect is 'truly bread', and when 'in use' in the Lord's Supper the Holy Spirit is added to the communicant (notice, not the bread), and the body of Christ, in faith, then refreshes the soul. Consequently, that which is earthly bread 'begins to be heavenly'. Finally, Oecolampadius ended his discussion of Irenaeus with a similitude comparing the charcoal and the sun to the bread and the true body of Christ, concluding that the 'one feeds the body, while the other feeds for eternity'. This final statement seems to me to be an ample, and crystallized, summation of his hermeneutic for interpreting Irenaeus (and many other fathers) throughout *DGVD* and *Dialogus*, as well as his eucharistic theology in general.

In closing, this thesis has attempted to delineate the evolution of Oecolampadius' eucharistic theology within the context of his reception of the fathers. We have pointed out themes common to both, and offered reasons for Oecolampadius' methodology. Moreover, we have noted ideas that eventually come to influence later generation reformers. Therefore, it is hoped that this brief survey will function as an aid for further research into the life and work of Oecolampadius, as he has yet much to tell us.

APPENDIX 1

Introduction

In order to further substantiate the argument made in Chapter Four, a brief comparison of the manuscript(s) used by Oecolampadius in *DGVD*, with those of Erasmus, is necessary.[1] As was stated in Chapter Four, Erasmus received one of his texts for the publication of *AH* from Faber. Also, the question was posed – what if Oecolampadius had access to Faber's text before Erasmus, via his friend Rhenanus? If this, in the end, is not plausible (though I believe it is), it nevertheless might suggest the possibility that Oecolampadius had access to either the *AH* belonging to Altomünster, or the one in possession of the monks of Hirsau, prior to Erasmus employing it. For as we shall see, Oecolampadius' *AH*, as quoted in *DGVD*, agrees at a number of critical junctures with the *editio princeps* of Erasmus.

The *Adversus Haereses* Text of *De Genuina Verborum Domini*[2]

The first Irenaean text used by Oecolampadius comes from *AH* 1.13.2-3, and Irenaeus' mention of the apparent Marcosian magic. Oecolampadius quotes:

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[1] For purposes of comparison, we will use the SC critical edition.

[2] In translating Oecolampadius' quotes from *AH* I have attempted to follow both the grammar and punctuation as closely as is possible, even though the texts are very corrupt in certain places, making English renderings difficult.

Hic[3] calice[4] vino mixto fingebat[5] se gratias agere, et[6] prolixa[7] invocatione[8], rubicundum et purpureum[9] apparere faciebat[10], ut putaretur[11] ea gratia ab his, quae sunt super omnia suum sanguinem stillare, in illius calicem per invocationem eius, et valde concupiscere praesentes ex illo gustare poculo, ut et in eos stillet, quae per magum hunc vocatur gratia. Rursus mulieribus dans calices mixtos, ipsas gratias agere iubet praesente se, et ubi hoc factum est, ipse alium calicem multo maiorem, quam est ille in quo illa seducta eucharistiam facit, proferens et transfundens a minori, qui est a mulieris[12] eucharistia factus, in eum[13] qui est ab alio[14] allatus[15] multo maiorem, statim dicens.

[3] Not attested. All others read, *Pro.*

[4] Not attested. All others insert *enim* between *calice* and *vino.*

[5] Not attested. All others read *fingens.*

[6] All but S and Oecolampadius insert *in.*

[7] Not attested. All others read *multum extendens sermonem.*

[8] Not attested. All others read *invocationis.*

[9] Not attested. All others reverse *rubicundum et purpureum.*

[10] Not attested. All others read *facit.*

[11] Not attested. All others read *putetur.*

[12] Not attested. C reads *mulieri.* All others read *muliere.*

[13] Not attested. All others read *illum.*

[14] Not attested. All others read *eo.*

[15] Not attested. All others read *adlatus.*

Ita illa, quae est ante omnia inexcogitabilis et inenarabilis[16] gratia adimpleat tuum[17] intus hominem,[18] multiplicet in te agnitionem suam, inseminans granum synapis in bonam terram. Et alia[19] quaedam dicens,[20] in insaniam mittens illam infoelicem,[21] admirabilia faciendo.[22] Apparuit, quando maior calix adimpletus est de minori calice, ut et superfunderet[23] ex eo. Et alia quaedam dissinilia[24] faciens exterminavit, et abstraxit post se multas. [25] Datur autem intelligi eum et daemonem quendam[26] habere, per quem ispe quoque prophetare videtur, et quotquot dignos[27] putat fieri participes suae gratiae, prophetare facit. Maxime enim circa mulieres vacat,[28] easque[29] honestas[30] et[31] ditissimas.[32]

[16] Not attested. All others read *inenarabilis*.

[17] Attested in CV and Q. S reads *tum*.

[18] In AQSε *et* is omitted, as with Oecolampadius.

[19] Oecolampadius follows ε.

[20] Not attested. All others insert *et* between *dicens* and *in*.

[21] Not attested. All others read *infelicem*.

[22] Not attested. All others read *faciens*.

[23] Not attested. All others read *supereffunderet*.

[24] Not attested. AQSε all read *dissimilia*. This is probably a typesetter's error.

[25] Not attested. All others insert this between *exterminavit* and *et* and read *multos*.

[26] Not attested. AQSε insert *paredrum*, and CV insert, *pharetrum*.

[27] Not attested. All others read *dignas*.

[28] Not attested. All others insert *et hoc circa* between *vacat* and *eas*.

[29] Not attested. All others read *eas quae*. Also, all others insert *sunt* between *quae* and *honestae*.

[30] Not attested. All others read *honestae*.

Clearly, this section of Irenaeus used by Oecolampadius has a considerable number of divergent readings. However, that does not mean that Erasmus did not source the text, but it does suggest that he had a different editorial basis for his final reading.

The second entry from Irenaeus comes near the middle of *DGVD* and corresponds to *AH* 4:18:4-6, though Oecolampadius cites it as,

> . . . the book *Against Heresies* 3, chapter 33.[33]

The text is as follows:

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[31] Not attested. C inserts *circumporpuratae et* and all others insert *circumpurpuratae et*.

[32] Not attested. C reads *editissimae*, and all others read *ditissimae*. 'This man was pretending to give thanks with a cup mixed with wine, and by long invocation, it was made to appear red and purple, in order that the same Charis might be thought by this [action] (who is one of those superior to all things) to pour drops of her blood, in that cup by his invocation, and the ones present greatly desire to drink from that cup, so that she also might be poured into them, [namely] Charis who is being summoned by this magician. Again giving mixed cups to the women, he commands the same women to give thanks in his presence, and when this has been done, he himself [produces] another much larger cup, than that which the seduced woman consecrates, producing and transferring from the smaller [cup], which was consecrated by the woman, into his which is being produced from another [place] a much greater [amount], at the same time saying, "Thus this one, who is before all things incomprehensible and indescribable – Charis – may she fill your inner man, may she multiply in you her knowledge, sowing the grain of mustard seed in good soil." And also speaking in certain other ways, [he] gives the unlucky woman over to insanity, by requiring the creation of wonders. It appeared, [that] the larger cup is filled by the lesser cup, so that it might overflow because of him. By doing other different things he has both destroyed, and also drug many away after him. Moreover it is given to be understood that he has a certain demon, by whom he also seems able to prophesy, and however many he deems worthy to be participants of his grace [i.e., Charis], he enables to prophesy. Indeed he mostly devotes himself to women, especially those of honor and great wealth.' *DGVD*, B ii [r-v].

[33] '. . . qui libro contra haereses. 3, cap. 33.' *DGVD*, G iii [v].

Quomodo autem constabit[34] eum panem in quo gratiae sunt actae, corpus esse domini sui, et calicem sanguinis eius, si non ipsum fabricatoris mundi filium dicant, id[35] est verbum eius per quod lignum fructificat, defluunt fontes, et dat quidem primum foenum, post deinde spicam, deinde plenum triticum in spica. Quomodo autem rursus dicunt carnem in corruptionem venire[36], et non percipere vitam, quae a corpore domini et sanguine alitur. Ergo aut sententiam mutent, aut abstineant offerendo quae praedicta sunt. Nostra autem sententia consonans[37] est Eucharistiae, et Eucharistia rursus nostram confirmat sententiam.[38] Offerimus enim ei quae sunt eius, congruenter communicationem et unitatem praedicantes carnis et spiritus, Quemadmodum enim qui est a terra panis percipiens vocationem[39] dei. Iam non comunis panis est, sed Eucharistia, ex duabus constans rebus,[40] terrena et coelesti, sic et corpora nostra percipientia Eucharistiam, iam non sunt

[34] Not attested. Oecolampadius' text omits *eis*.

[35] Also attested in ε.

[36] Not attested. Rather all read *devenire*.

[37] Not attested. Rather all read *consonans est sententia*.

[38] Not attested. Rather all read *rursus confirmat sententiam nostram*.

[39] Oecolampadius agrees with ε, rather than reading *invocationem*.

[40] Also attested in V. All others read *rebus constans*.

corruptibilia spem resurrectionis habentia. Offerimus autem ei non quasi indigenti, sed gratias agents dominationi[41] eius, et sanctificanti[42] creaturam.[43]

The third use of *AH* in *DGVD* comes from 5.2.2-3, and reads:

Vani autem, inquit,[44] omnimodo, qui universam dispositionem dei contemnunt, et carnis salutem negant, et regenerationem eius spernunt.[45] Sic[46] autem secundum[47] hoc[48] videlicet nec dominus sanguine suo redemit,[49] neque calix Eucharistiae

[41] Oecolampadius, C and V are the same. All others read *donationi*.

[42] Not attested. S and C read *sanctificantes*. AQ and ε read *sanctificantis*.

[43] Moreover, how will it be agreed that the bread, upon which they have given thanks, is the body of their lord, and the cup his blood, if they do not call himself the son of the fashioner of the world, that is his word through whom wood bears fruit, and fountains flow, "and he gives the first blade, then next the ear, and then the full ear of corn" (Mk. 4:28). Moreover how on the contrary do they say that the flesh comes to corruption, and does not receive life, which is nourished by the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore let them either change their opinion, or they should abstain from offering what is mentioned. However, our opinion is in agreement with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist in return confirms our opinion. Indeed we offer to him what is his, consistently proclaiming the communion and unity of the flesh and spirit, indeed just as the bread that is from the earth receiving the calling of God. For it is not common bread, but the Eucharist, understanding [this to be] from two things, earthly and heavenly, and so our bodies receiving the Eucharist, are not now corruptible having the hope of resurrection. For we offer to him not as if [he] needed [it], but giving thanks for his power, and sanctifying the creation.' *Ibid*.

[44] This is not attested in any other manuscript and is obviously an editorial insertion.

[45] Not attested. Oecolampadius' text is missing the entire phrase *dicentes non eam capacem esse incorruptibilitatis*.

[46] Attested in AQ and ε. All others read *Si*.

[47] Attested in ε.

[48] Not attested. All others read *haec*.

[49] Not attested. Oecolampadius omits *nos*.

communicatio sanguinis eius est, neque panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis eius est. Sanguis enim non est nisi a venis et carnibus et a reliqua quae secundum hominem substantia, qua[50] caro[51] factum verbum dei, sanguine suo redemit nos. Quemadmodum et Apostolus[52] ait. In quo habemus redemptionem per sanguinem eius et[53] remissionem peccatorum. Et quoniam membra eius sumus, et per creaturam nutrimnr.[54] Creaturam autem ipse nobis praestat solem suum oriri faciens, et pluens quemadmodum vult.[55] Calicem qui est creatura sanguinem suum[56] testatus est,[57] et[58] panem qui est creatura suum corpus confirmavit, ex quo nostra auget corpora. Quando ergo et mixtus calix et fractus[59] panis percipit verbum dei,[60] fit Eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur et

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[50] Not attested as ε reads *quae*, and CV and AQ read *quam*.

[51] Not attested. All others read *vere*.

[52] Not attested. Oecolampadius omits *eius*.

[53] Attested in ε.

[54] This more than likely a typesetter's error. It should read *nutrimur*.

[55] Not attested. Oecolampadius omits *eum*.

[56] Not attested. Most read *suum sanguinem*. However, AQ and ε omit *sanguinem – creatura*.

[57] Ironically, *testatus est* is nowhere else attested. Also, it is important to note that immediately after this, Oecolampadius' text omits *ex quo auget nostrum sanguinem*, as does ε, but then picks up again with *et panem*, which ε omits.

[58] Not attested. Oecolampadius' text omits *eum*.

[59] Not attested.

[60] AQ and ε omit *et*, as does Oecolampadius.

consistit nostrae carnis[61] substantia, quomodo negant carnem[62] capacem esse donationis dei, qui[63] est vita aeterna, quae et[64] sanguine et corpore Christi nutritur, et membrum eius fit,[65] quemadmodum[66] apostolus ait, in ea[67] quae est ad Ephesios Epistola.[68] Quoniam membra sumus corporis eius, de carne eius et de ossibus eius. Non de spirituali aliquo et invisibili homine dicens haec. Spiritus enim neque carnem neque ossa[69] habet. Sed de ea dispositione, quae est secundum[70] hominem, quae ex carnibus et nervis[71] consistit, quae de calice, qui est sanguis eius nutritur, et de pane, qui[72] est corpus eius augetur.[73]

[61] Not attested. All others read *carnis nostrae*.

[62] Not attested. All others read *carnem negant*.

[63] Attested in A and Q.

[64] Not attested. All others omit.

[65] Not attested. All others omit.

[66] Oecolampadius, like Q and ε, omits *beatus*.

[67] Attested in Q and ε.

[68] Attested in ε.

[69] Not attested. Oecolampadius' *neque carnem neque ossa* is reversed in all others. As well, *carnes* is read rather than *carnem*.

[70] Oecolampadius, as well as AQ and ε, omits *verum*.

[71] Not attested. Oecolampadius omits *et ossibus*.

[72] *Qui* is also attested by ε. All others read *quod*.

[73] 'But vain, he said, 'in all ways, are they who have contempt for the entire dispensation of God, and deny the salvation of the flesh, and spurn its regeneration. But moreover according to this [way of thinking] neither did the Lord redeem by his blood, and neither is the cup of the Eucharist the communion of his blood, nor is the bread which we break the communion of his body. Indeed blood is not [blood] unless [it comes] from veins and flesh and from the rest of substance according to a human being, by which flesh the word of God has been made, [so that] he redeemed us by his own blood. Just as the Apostle also

The fourth, and final lengthy reference to Irenaeus in *DGVD*, though a few pages forward in Oecolampadius' own argument, nevertheless, continues with 5.2.3, where the above text left off. It reads:

> Quemadmodum[74] lignum vitis depositum in terra, suo fructificat tempore, et granum tritici decidens in terram et dissolutum, multiplex surgit per spiritum dei, qui continet omnia, quae deinde per sapientiam dei[75] in usum[76] veniunt.[77] Sic et corpora nostra[78] ex ea nutria, et reposita in terram, et resoluta in ea resurgent, in suo tempore, verbo dei, resurrectionem eis donante in gloriam dei patris, qui huic mortali

said. "In whom we have redemption according to his blood and remission of sins." (Col. 1:14) And because we are his members, we are also being nurtured by the creation. For he himself exhibits the creation to us making his own sun to rise, and [causing] rain when he wishes. (Matt. 5:45) He testified [that] the cup which is a creature is his own blood, and he confirmed [that] the bread which is a creature is his own body, by which our body increases. When therefore both the mixed cup and the bread having been broken receives the word of God, it is made the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, by which the substance of our flesh is being increased and is established, how then do they deny [that] the flesh is capable of the gift of God, which is eternal life, and is being nurtured by both the body and the blood of Christ, even as it is made a member of him, just as the apostle said, in the Epistle to the Ephesians. "Because we are members of his body, as regards his flesh and as regards his bones." (Eph. 5:30) He was not saying these things about some spiritual and invisible man. Indeed a spirit has neither flesh nor bones. (Lk 24:39) But concerning that dispensation, which is according to a man, which is established by flesh and nerves, which is being nurtured by the cup, which is his blood, and is also being increased by the bread, which is his body.' *DGVD*, G vi ^{v}-G v ^{r}.

[74] Not attested. Oecolampadius omits *et* prior to *quemadmodum*.

[75] Not attested.

[76] Not attested. Oecolampadius' text omits *hominibus*, which is found in AQ and ε.

[77] Oecolampadius' text follows AQ and ε in omitting *et percipientia verbum Dei Eucharistia fiunt, quod est corpus et sanguis Christi.*

[78] Not attested. In all others *corpora nostra* is reversed.

immortalitatem circundat,[79] et corruptibili incorruptionem[80] gratuito donat. Quoniam virtus dei in infirmitate perficitur: ut non quasi ex nobis[81] inflemur, et aliquando[82] extollamur adversus deum ingratam mentem recipientes.[83]

Analysis of Oecolampadius' *AH* Texts

Based on the chart below,[84] a number of suggestions might be tendered regarding the relationship between Oecolampadius' *AH* text in *DGVD*, and that of Erasmus' first publication of the work. First, it seems clear that Oecolampadius was working either with only one very corrupt manuscript, which could be the case, or that he had more than one copy of *AH* at his disposal, which he then published selections from in *DGVD*.[85] The latter

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[79] Attested by ε.

[80] Not attested.

[81] *Nobis* is attested by V. Also, Oecolampadius omits *habentes vitam*, which is not attested.

[82] Not attested, as *et aliquando* is reversed in all others.

[83] Not attested. Others read *accipientes*. 'Just as the wood of the vine having been planted in the earth, fructifies in its own season, and as a grain of wheat falling into the earth and having been dissolved, grows [to be] many times greater by the spirit of God, who contains all things, which thereafter according to the wisdom of God comes into use. And thus our bodies being nourished by it, and being restored by the earth, will also rise again being set free in it, in its own season, by the word of God, granting to the same [body] resurrection for the glory of God the father, who for [the good of] this mortal circumscribes with immortality, and to one liable to corruption freely gives incorruption. (1 Cor. 15:53) "Because the power of God is being perfected in weakness" (2 Cor. 12:3): in order that we might not be puffed up because of ourselves, as we might at some time rise up against God accepting an ungrateful mind.' *DGVD*, G vi A.

[84] *Infra*, pp. 364-366.

[85] See, Jean-Louis Quantin, "Irénée de Lyon entre humanisme et Réforme: Les citations de l'Adversus haereses dans les controverses religieuses, de Johann Fabri à Martin Luther (1522-1527)," *Recherches augustiniennes* 27 (1994), p. 143ff.

seems to be the case simply given the witness of the four specific instances of V present in his text.[86] The fact that these four instances in Œ on all accounts also disagree with ε makes the argument for Oecolampadius having had at least two manuscripts before him all the more convincing. One might even suggest that Oecolampadius, like Erasmus, had three texts available to him. Whether two or three, Oecolampadius in fact states, immediately after the *AH* quote from 5.2.2-3:

> Exemplaria enim magna incuria descripta sunt.[87]

Given this affirmation, plus the rather high number of wholly unattested entries in Œ, it might suggest his familiarity with multiple manuscripts. The connection between Œ and that of ε is also interesting, and of great importance to us here. As can be seen from the chart, ε is the second most closely paralleled manuscript in Œ. Only unattested readings rank higher, (2, 2, 10, 2 : 25, 5, 19, 8). Also, significant is the fact that analogous readings are found in places of importance, such as the insertion in ε and Œ of 'Epistola' in *AH* 5.2.3, where in all other cases it is omitted. Or similarly, but possibly more important within the context of this study, is the omission

[86] Hereafter we will refer to Oecolampadius' sections of *AH* found in *DGVD* as Œ.

[87] *DGVD*, G v ʳ. Though Oecolampadius may simply be generalizing about the state of Irenaean manuscripts, his statement seems more pointed. In fact, it would seem rather more likely that he is referring to texts he has seen, and/or that might be immediately in front of him as he writes. Because there were simply so few manuscripts circulating (at least that we know of), *exemplaria* probably should not be taken as a generalization.

in *AH* 5.2.3, by A, Q, ε, and Œ, of 'et percipientia verbum Dei Eucharistia fiunt, quod est corpus et sanguis Christi.'

Erasmus may not have used much of Faber's manuscript except in places he deemed vitally important, because he apparently only received it after the Baden disputation, and therefore shortly before typesetting. This would seem to further demonstrate and explain both the agreement and discrepancies between ε and Œ. Although there are a few places where A and Q come into play in Œ, especially in AH 5:2:2-3, it does not appear that either of these manuscripts is being followed specifically. Rather, the corresponding heredity between Q and ε is apparent from their agreement. This is logical given the geographical location of Oecolampadius and Erasmus, and the manuscript families most prevalent in that region – namely, A and Q (as well as others considered part of the family Lugdunensis).[88] Overall, the continuity between Œ and ε at certain points seems to suggest that Oecolampadius had before him at least one of the same *AH* manuscripts that Erasmus used for his first edition of *AH*.

A second issue concerning Oecolampadius' citations from *AH* also needs brief mention. What we have here described as 'unattested readings,'

[88] See, SC 100 A, 21-34, especially p. 30. SC editor, B. Hemmerdinger, believes that S is a descendent of the hypothetical *Codex Helvetius*, which Ruysschaert postulates is the third manuscript for Erasmus' *editio princeps*. This may well be the case. But, given the fact that S is only referenced twice in Oecolampadius, we must assume that the *Basler* did not use or have access to it.

Oecolampadius suggests are simply the products of substandard translators. Interestingly, he states,

> Interpres graecitatem reliquit . . .[89]

Erasmus, in his preface to the first edition mentions that he is not sure if Irenaeus wrote in Greek or Latin, but was ready to believe that he wrote in Latin.[90] Clearly, this is not the case for Oecolampadius who either assumes or has first hand knowledge that Irenaeus wrote in Greek. He continues the above sentence by suggesting corrections to the perceived mistranslations:

> . . . ut quum dicit, secundum hominem substantia, id est, humana substantia, Confirmavit, id est, attestatus est, et similia.[91]

First, referring to *AH* 5.2.2, Oecolampadius seems to suggest that if translated literally, *secundum hominem substantia* ('substance according to a human being') is convoluted; the Latin would better read simply, *humana substantia* ('human substance'). For Oecolampadius this appears to be a stylistic issue which, as he works backwards from the Latin to the Greek,

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[89] *DGVD*, G v[r].

[90] Cf., P. S. Allen and H. M. Allen, eds., *Desiderius Erasmus: Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 vols., vol. 6 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926), p. 386, No. 1738; and, *CWE*, *Ibid.*, p. 293.

[91] *DGVD*, G v[r].

focuses on the question of how to take 'τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποστάσεως'. If a Greek fragment were available to him he would have easily been able to deduce that either Latin translation was possible. Though, even without the Greek he was still able to make this suggestion, again, by simply working backwards from the Latin to what he thought the Greek originally read. The second set of terms, however, seems to be a slightly different case.

Turning to *AH* 5.2.2, Oecolampadius asserts that the translator used the perfect active indicative *confirmavit* ('he [has] established/confirmed'), rather than the perfect deponent indicative, *attestatus est* ('he [has] attested/confirmed'). This is interesting simply because it is difficult to know what exactly Oecolampadius is suggesting by this word change. *Fragment greek 4* which comes from John of Damascus' *Sacra Parallela* reads διεβεβαιώσατο, which is an aorist middle indicative, and is the Greek word under consideration for the Latin translation.[92] Indeed, *confirmavit* can sufficiently translate διεβεβαιώσατο, as it adequately relays the aspect of the past tense, and parallels the actual meaning of the Greek word. However, so can, and does, *attestatus est*. One possible suggestion for Oecolampadius' word change is that he may have understood the deponent *attestatus* to maintain a reflexive character. Given this, it would be extremely unlikely that Oecolampadius could have recommended a grammatical correction this exacting – if he is in fact being exacting – without the aid of a Greek fragment. The *Basler* would mostly likely have

[92] SC 153, 32.

needed to know that a translator was reading an aorist middle indicative to have a sense for the possible reflexive aspect of the verb. If this is the case, and Oecolampadius did in fact have access to a Greek fragment, his less than clear suggestion concerning the translation of διεβεβαιώσατο into Latin would pre-date Gallasius' knowledge and consequent publication of the Greek fragments from Epiphanius' *Panarion* by approximately forty years. In the end, whether Latin or Greek, Oecolampadius must have come by his manuscript(s) some months, or possibly even years, prior to the publication of *DGVD*.

Again, we find ourselves back to one of our original questions – namely, where did Oecolampadius get his (and we can now more confidently speak in the plural) manuscripts? As was postulated in Chapter Four, Oecolampadius likely obtained his first manuscript of *AH* from Rhenanus via Faber. But beyond that single manuscript, if he in fact had access to additional copies of *AH*, where would he have found them? First, I would like to suggest the monastic library at Altomünster as a possibility. This is, admittedly, an argument from silence, as little to nothing is known about the actual patristic holdings of the library, but Oecolampadius did a substantial amount of translation work while cloistered there. It is true that others sent manuscripts to him for translation, but this does not automatically exclude the possibility that Irenaeus' *AH* may have been housed there. It is hard to fathom that a humanist of Oecolampadius' caliber would have allowed himself to be tonsured in a monastery with a less than adequate library –

and Altomünster does not appear to have been inadequate in this regard.[93] Basel, and the Dominican library, does not seem to be a viable option. Because Erasmus did not publish his edition until after receiving Faber's manuscript suggests that if the Dominicans owned a copy of *AH*, the Dutchman was not happy with the text. Oecolampadius likely would have been of a similar mind given the statements mentioned above. In other words, he seems to have been privy to the fact that there were varying degrees of accuracy in translation among *AH* manuscripts. Hirsau, from where one of the three manuscripts of Erasmus came, is also a possibility for that used by Oecolampadius, but the particulars surrounding access to the library are questionable.[94] Moreover, the fires that occurred there in 1675 and 1703 make it virtually impossible to know what the library contained.[95] In the end we may never know exactly from who or where Oecolampadius procured his additional manuscripts, but the similarities between Œ and ε would suggest that he and Erasmus had, probably unknowingly, shared at least one manuscript in common.

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[93] Again, the specifics of the patristic holdings are unknown. However see, Georg Schwaiger, "Das Birgittenkloster Altomünster in den Stürmen der Reformationszeit," In *Festschrift Altomünster 1973* (Aichach, Germany: Verlag Mayer and Söhne, 1973), p. 168.

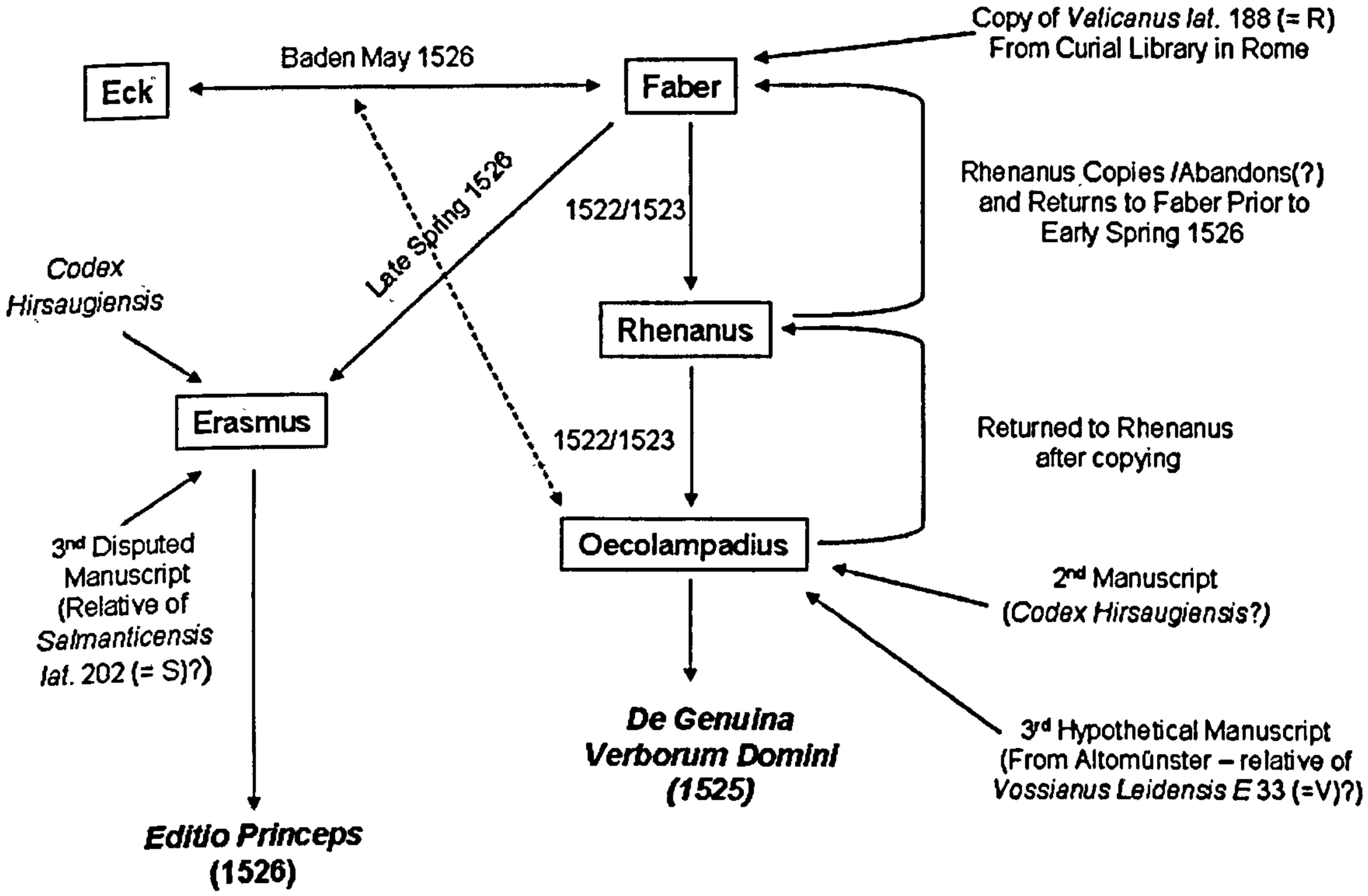
[94] For example, when Rhenanus attempted to procure the Tertullian manuscripts that he used for the *editio princeps*, the abbot was initially most unwilling. See, Pierre Petitmengin, "A propos du "Tertullien" de Beatus Rhenanus (1521) - Comment on imprimait a Bale au debut du seizieme siecle," in *Annuaire / Les Amis de la Bibliothèque humaniste de Séléstat* (Séléstat, Alsace: L Societe, 1980), pp. 93-106; and, for the state of those manuscripts see, John F. D'Amico, "Beatus Rhenanus, Tertullian and the Reformation: A Humanist's Critique of Scholasticism," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 71 (1980), pp. 39-40.

[95] See, Gustavus Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonnae: Max. Cohen et Filium, 1885), p. 219, where the record for Hirsau's library in 1773 shows few patristic manuscripts (just over one dozen). Although the cataloger does state, 'quorum titulos et auctores nolui huc scribere,' we might assume that had Irenaeus' *AH* been present, it would have been an entry.

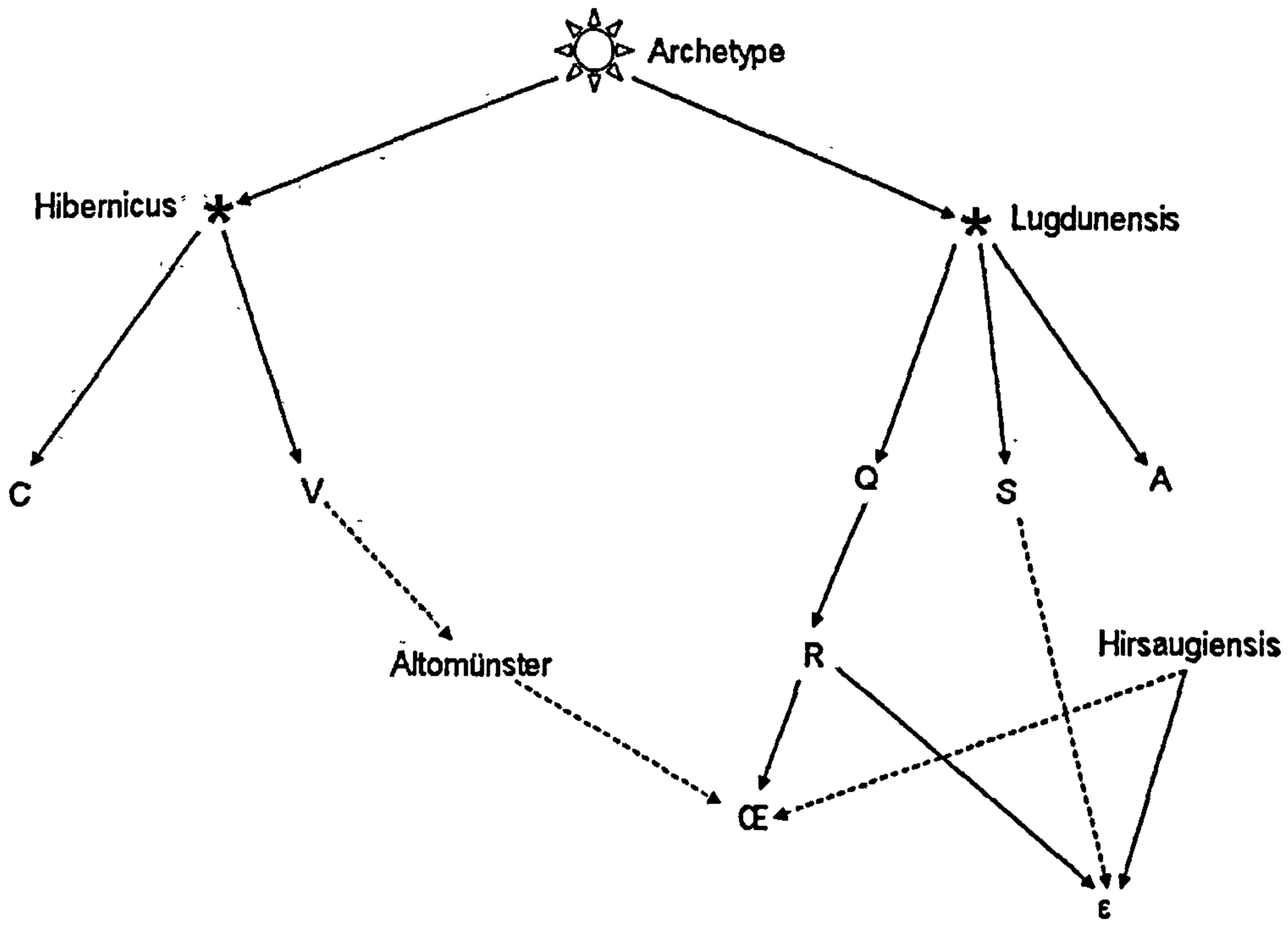
	Oecolampadius' Text (Œ) Compared to Various Manuscripts						
	← Lugdunensis →				← Hibernicus →		
	A	Q	ε	S	C	V	Unattested
AH 1.13.2-3	1	2	2	2	1	1	25
AH 4.18.4-6	0	0	2	0	1	2	5
AH 5.2.2-3	4	6	10	0	0	0	19
AH 5.2.3	1	1	2	0	0	1	8

Arundelianus 87 (=A) *ca.* 12th cent.; *Vaticanus lat.* 187 (=Q) *ca.* 1429;
Editio princeps (=ε) 1526; *Salmanticensis lat.* 202 (=S) *ca.* 1457;
Berolinensis lat. 43 (=[C]*laromontanus*) *ca.* 9th or 10th cent.; *Vossianus Leidensis E* 33 (=V) *ca.* 1494

The Possible Circulation of the Irenaeus Manuscripts Used by Oecolampadius and Others



Stemma for Oecolampadius' Fragments of *Adversus Haereses* In Relation to Erasmus' *editio princeps*



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