

CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Issue 4: Zwingli: Father of the Swiss Reformation

Zwingli - Father of the Swiss Reformation: From the Publisher

The 500th anniversary year of the birth of Ulrich Zwingli is a good time to take a new look at the Zurich reformer who died with a sword in his hand fighting for freedom to preach biblical faith.

The Swiss historian Wilhelm Oechsli observed that if Zwingli was not the most important character in Swiss history, he was surely the most audacious and most colorful.

Zwingli, bred a mountain man, was an amazing combination of intellect, passion, and wit. He was political to the core. But central to understanding his life and work is the fact that he became a devout student of Scripture. He was transformed and shaped by the Word, yet like all of us, his vision was limited by his own peculiar place and time—the freedom-loving city of Zurich in the early sixteenth century.

From the vantage point of almost a half millennium, the weaknesses and mistakes of Zwingli as a Christian leader are as apparent as his many strengths. But who can say whether the future judgment of history on today's church and its leaders will make our criticism of Zwingli appear pale in comparison? Who dare say what the judgment of God might be on our own shortness of vision and failures of charity?

This is the fourth issue of this fledgling publication. To this point we have published Christian History on an "occasional" basis. Our prayer and our goal is to publish four issues a year on a regular schedule beginning in 1985. The next issue—due for publication late this year—treats the Anabaptist and Mennonite movements, an appropriate follow-up to our look at Zwingli here. Also in preparation is an issue on C.S. Lewis, the great British writer and scholar.

Back copies are available for you to complete your collection of Christian History. Just use the order form on page 34. We have had to go back to press for additional copies of the Wesley issue to meet the demand.

Your support of Christian History is deeply appreciated. Your encouragement through letters has made this effort both a challenge and a joy.

Please keep your ideas coming our way as we try to plan and prepare issues that recover the drama—warts and all—of serious Christians who have struggled for understanding and obedience in years gone by.

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Zwingli - Father of Swiss Reformation: Did You Know?

Two of Zwingli's best known statements are "Truth wears a happy face" and "Not to fear is the armor "

Zwingli was responsible for the Zurich Council's eleemosynary ordinance of January 12, 1525, in which the assets of the monasteries, which were taken over in the Reformation, were used to create a special fund to help the poor. Schools also benefitted from the fund.

Zwingli worked hard to shift the Swiss economy from dependence on mercenary service to agriculture and trade. He urged the people to productive labor with these words: "You are a tool in the hands of God. He demands your service, not your rest. Yet, how fortunate you are that he lets you take part in his work."

As a youth Zwingli displayed musical gifts and learned to play six instruments.

In 1519 while a pastor in Zurich, the plague decimated the city. Nearly 3 of every ten people in Zurich died. Zwingli ministered to the victims and was struck with disease himself, but recovered. He composed a hymn about this ordeal see "Black Death Inspires Zwingli's Plague Hymn").

During 1516–17 Zwingli was pastor in the town of Einsiedeln. Later he acknowledged having a sexual affair while he was there.

As the reform proceeded in Zurich, Zwingli was criticized by conservatives for moving too fast, by radicals for moving too slow. In addition to removing the statues and artifacts from the inside of his church, he also forbade the use of the organ. The people were to give ear to the word of God alone.

At the Marburg Colloquy in 1529 (so named for the castle in which it was held) Zwingli and Luther could agree on fourteen doctrinal points, but could not agree on the last: the meaning of the Lord's Supper. Zwingli urged toleration for differing views. Luther regarded Zwingli's plea for toleration as indication that the Zurich pastor did not take his own view seriously, indeed that Zwingli was not a true Christian minister at all.

Zwingli taught himself Greek and Hebrew to better understand the Scriptures. He copied by hand the Pauline epistles from Erasmus's Greek New Testament and then memorized them.

While a pastor in Glarus Zwingli went as a chaplain with mercenary troops into Italy. The Swiss regularly hired out to fight wars for foreign powers, believing that the stability of their national economy depended on this war industry. During the Italian campaign Zwingli saw 6000 Swiss youth die in the service of the Pope at Marignan. He returned home convinced that "selling blood for gold " was corrupting his people. Because of his efforts to abolish the practice he was forced to leave Glarus.

Zwingli died in battle in 1531, a battle between Protestant and Catholic Cantons. Protestants were disorganized and outnumbered, yet Zwingli preferred outright war to the slow pressure-by-embargo that his allies preferred. He believed that he was fighting to preserve the freedom to preach the Gospel. He was found badly wounded by enemy troops and was dispatched by a sword's blow from a mercenary captain. His last words were reportedly: "They can kill the body but not the soul."

Zwingli married Anna Reinhart, a young widow who brought three children to the marriage and gave Zwingli another three. Zwingli had written a letter to the Bishop of Constance seeking permission for priests to marry, but the Bishop refused. So after two years of secret marriage Ulrich and Anna were married publicly.

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Zwingli and Luther: The Giant vs. Hercules

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The Colloquy at Marburg was called in hopes of reconciling the two centers of the German Reformation—Zurich and Wittenburg, but conflict over the Lord's Supper split their common cause.

November 10, 1983 was the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther. During the 500th anniversary year Luther made quite a splash in the media with full length articles in *Time*, *Newsweek*, the *New York Times Magazine*, and *National Geographic*. An abundance of church celebrations and scholarly conferences took place. There were pilgrimages by Lutherans and other Protestants to East Germany to visit the sites of his living and working.

Not nearly as well-known is the fact that January 1, 1984 was the 500th birthday of another Protestant Reformer, Ulrich Zwingli, of Zurich. Except for Zurich and its environs, Zwingli did not receive nearly the same amount of attention during his 500th anniversary year as Luther.

It was Zwingli's fate to have been cut down in mid-career at the battle of Kappel in 1531 and to have been cast in the shadow of Luther's gigantic stature. But he is an important figure in his own right. He was the father of the Reformed tradition which spread out in many directions—across Switzerland and southern Germany, to France among the Huguenots, Holland, England and Scotland among the Congregationalists and Presbyterians, across to the New World among the Congregationalists of New England and the Presbyterian, Dutch and German Reformed Churches of the Middle Colonies.

Although Zwingli is the originator of this tradition, his role in the shaping of it has been eclipsed by that of John Calvin, the second generation Reformer who, at Geneva on the other side of what is now modern Switzerland, took over the chief leadership of this Reformed tradition a few years after Zwingli's death. German Swiss scholars, in particular, would want to qualify this judgment by insisting that Zwingli's successor at Zurich, Henry Bullinger, also played an important role in molding this tradition.

Older scholarship on Zwingli, especially German, tended to view him through the eyes of Luther and saw him as largely dependent on the great Saxon Reformer though as diverging from him on a few important points. Recent scholarship, especially Swiss, has sought to study Zwingli for his own sake and has come to the conclusion that he was quite independent from Luther in his theological and Reformational development.

Two Paths to Reformation

Luther and Zwingli, born within seven weeks of one another, were co-originators of the Protestant Reformation. Though neither one intended it from the beginning, the reforming movements which they started would lead inexorably to a division in Western Christendom. In addition, though neither one desired it, their differences on the Eucharist would tragically lead to the first major split in Reformation Protestantism between the Lutherans and the Reformed. Though they had much in common—and more often the differences are emphasized rather than the similarities—they were indeed adversaries.

Zwingli, like other Renaissance humanists that were enamored of classical allusions, called Luther in tribute "that one Hercules ... who slew the Roman boar." In this same passage Zwingli will also attribute Biblical titles to Luther: "Here indeed you were the only faithful David anointed hereto by the Lord and furnished likewise with arms." Zwingli would not always be so adulatory in his words to and about Luther. But Luther never spoke so warmly of Zwingli. He called him the "Giant of Zurich" not in tribute but to ridicule. Luther always was of the view that Zwingli thought too highly of himself, that he was a show-off with his display of learning in Greek and Hebrew and the classics.

Though they opposed one another, Luther and Zwingli had a number of traits in common. They were both born of peasant stock but of relatively well-to-do parents. Luther's father was a prosperous miner in Saxony and Zwingli's was a successful farmer and first citizen of his village of Wildhaus in the Toggenburg Valley of the eastern lower Alps. They both became accomplished scholars and developed extraordinary musical talents. They spoke German and were excellent preachers, though Luther spoke in Saxon dialect and Zwingli spoke in "Schweizerdeutsch"—Swiss German. The Germans despised the Swiss, and the Swiss resented the Germans.

They both studied at fine universities, Luther at Erfurt and Zwingli at Vienna and Basel, but their philosophical perspectives were quite different. Luther was educated in the theories of William of Occam, known as "the Razor", because of his principle of economy in argumentation: No more parts than are necessary, the simpler, the better. Zwingli was educated in Thomism after the so-called Angelic Doctor of the Thirteenth Century, Thomas Aquinas.

First, Thomas and Thomism tended to think of the truths of revelation and of reason to be more harmonious than did Occam who thought the truths of revelation lie entirely beyond reason, indeed may even seem to be contradictory to reason. One cannot at all explain the reasonableness of the truths of revelation. Second, Thomas stressed the priority of divine grace and man as the instrument of the divine predestination. In contrast, Occam and his followers stressed the freedom and dignity of man to cooperate with God in working out his own salvation. Man is not the instrument *of* but the partner *with* God.

A further difference in their intellectual training was that Zwingli absorbed much more of Renaissance humanism than did Luther. Although Luther probably owed more to Erasmus than he liked to admit, Zwingli freely acknowledged his great debt to Erasmus. When Erasmus' New Testament appeared in 1516, Zwingli immediately purchased it to copy out the Pauline letters in Greek, and then carried his little pocket edition around with him and memorized it. Erasmus' views on peace, his reliance on common sense reasoning, and the spiritualistic, antiritualistic tendency of his thought would make a deep impression on Zwingli.

Before his break with Rome, Luther was a monk trying to work out his salvation with fear and trembling and would become for his whole career professor of theology at Wittenberg. Zwingli was a parish priest before becoming a reformer and throughout his days as a reformer would remain a pastor at the Grossmunster in Zurich. Luther was something of a monarchist and a social conservative who sided with the princes and came down hard on the peasants when they revolted in 1525. Zwingli was more of a radical and a republican who was also very much a Swiss patriot. Whereas Luther did not think that the Gospel should be defended with the sword but only with the preaching of the Word, Zwingli in spite of an early pacifism would not only advocate the use of the sword for defense both of Fatherland and the Gospel but would die in battle with sword and helmet in hand. On hearing of Zwingli's death, Luther commented: "All who take the sword will die by the sword."

Luther's Struggle As a Monk

The starting point for Luther's Reformation was his own inner struggle for salvation as a monk. Luther entered the monastery in 1505 at Erfurt against the wishes of his father who wanted him to become a

successful lawyer. As a monk Luther tried the path of ascetical works—prayer, fasting, self-beatings, but he found that he could never be sure whether he had enough of them or the right ones. He said that if a monk ever had gotten to heaven through monkery, it would have been he, for he was a most dutiful and obedient monk. He also tried the route of the sacraments, but again he could not be certain, when he made confession or took communion, that he had truly been cleansed of his sins.

But Luther, however much he tried, did not see himself making any progress along the route toward salvation. Rather than sensing that he loved God above all things, he said he hated a God who demanded that, in order to be saved, we love him with whole heart and mind, but who did not provide the ability to do so.

It was in the midst of this spiritual anguish and struggle that he experienced his so-called “breakthrough” as he was reading Paul’s letter to the Romans. “For in it (the Gospel) the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written, ‘The righteous shall live by faith.’ ” (Romans 1:17). He came to the realization that the righteousness of God is not the active righteousness by which God judges and punishes miserable sinners, but is rather God’s passive righteousness by which he mercifully justifies sinners through faith. It is not the righteousness on the basis of which God condemns sinners but the righteousness given in the Gospel and received in faith on the basis of which he forgives sinners. With this new understanding, Luther “felt myself straightway born afresh and to have entered through the open gates into paradise itself.” At last he found joy and release.

Zwingli: Pastor and Patriot

The starting point for Zwingli’s Reformation was different. Zwingli was not a monk troubled by the predicament of his own soul. He does not seem to have the same intense soul-searching struggle that Luther had, though he did engage in a battle with his own lusts. He confessed that he had great difficulty in maintaining the requirement of clerical celibacy, but he knew he was not alone in his failure.

He said: “Out of one hundred, nay out of one thousand, there is scarcely one chaste priest.” At the earliest opportunity, he sought out a wife when he came to Zurich, although he kept their marriage secret for a while. On behalf of eleven other priests and himself, Zwingli would draft a petition to the Bishop of Constance “to allow priests to marry or to at least wink at their marriage.”

Rather than a monk concerned for his own salvation, Zwingli was a parish pastor and Swiss patriot who was concerned for the salvation of his own people. His fear was not for his personal plight, but for the plight of his people.

From the beginning he had a deep love for his native Switzerland with its towering mountains and beautiful valleys. His surroundings shaped his speech and his translation of the Scriptures. Green pastures in Psalm 23 became lovely Alpine meadows. *In schoner Alp weidet er mich* (“In the beautiful Alps he tends me”). He compared the Word of God to the Rhine River: “For God’s sake do not put yourself at odds with the Word of God. For truly, it will persist as surely as the Rhine follows its course. One can perhaps dam it up for a while, but it is impossible to stop it.”

He likewise was a strong partisan of Swiss independence. The Swiss states, Cantons as they were and are still called, gradually bound themselves together in a confederacy in order to get freedom from their Hapsburg overlords. Because of their fierce love of liberty and individualism and because of their valor as soldiers, the Swiss were successful in wresting their independence from these rulers of Austria and much of Germany. Zwingli remembered that already as a child he was a zealous patriot: “Even as a child, if anyone teased us Confederates and upbraided or slandered us, I resisted them and even ran into danger on that account; for anyone who dishonours the Confederation also dishonours me.”

As a pastor he took his duties seriously. He writes in 1523 about his attitude as a young pastor: “Though I

was young, ecclesiastical duties inspired in me more fear than joy, because I knew, and I remain convinced, that I would give account of the blood of the sheep which would perish as consequence of my carelessness.”

He showed himself to be a courageous pastor when he gave no thought to his own safety as he ministered to victims of the plague that hit Zurich shortly after he began his ministry there. He himself was smitten and nearly died. This experience, no doubt, led to a maturing in his religious development. While in the grip of this illness, he wrote the Song of the Plague in which he shows a sturdy faith in the all sufficiency of divine grace in Christ.

He would agree completely with Luther about the matter of justification by faith. But his reflections during his illness went beyond himself and his own misery. They included also his people. He compared his own mortal illness with the sickness of his people which could lead to spiritual death. Conversely, Zwingli compared his recovery to the reformation of Church and society.

Zwingli's Social Preaching

Zwingli's patriotic convictions and his pastoral concern for his people are manifest in his attitude toward mercenary service. He had become increasingly disturbed by the involvement of many of the Swiss in this profession. The Swiss were excellent soldiers who would hire themselves out to the highest bidders among the kings and princes of other nations. While he was a pastor at Glarus, Zwingli began to deplore the spilling of Swiss blood on foreign soil under the command of foreign generals.

At first, oddly enough, he was opposed not to mercenary service as such, but only to service under the king of France. It was all right for the Swiss to hire themselves out to the Pope. Undoubtedly influenced in part by Erasmus' pacifism, he would eventually turn entirely against the mercenary system, even though, because Switzerland was a poor country, foreign service had been for a long time an important source of revenue for the country. He criticized not only the waste of young manhood through senseless violence, but also the corruption of men's souls through avarice and pride and the pillaging of helpless civilians. He saw the entire country as having deteriorated spiritually and morally under the lure of the gold from foreign princes. He had himself once accompanied the troops from Glarus down to Italy and knew whereof he spoke.

He preached: "The situation is very serious, we are already contaminated. Religion is in danger of ceasing among us. We despise God as if he were an old sleepy dog ... Yet it was only by his power that our fathers overcame their enemies because they went to war for their liberties, and not for money ... Now, puffed with pride, we pretend that nobody can resist us, as if we were strong as iron and our foes slack as pumpkins."

His outspoken preaching against this lucrative profession would cost him his pulpit in Glarus. Fortunate for Zwingli, he was able to secure other pulpits— first at the village of Einsiedeln and then in the big city of Zurich at the Great Cathedral where under his preaching the Reformation was introduced and where he continued to preach against mercenary service so powerfully and convincingly that he was able to persuade the City Council to put an end to it in Zurich.

On the whole, his preaching and the Reformation which it introduced had more of a social dimension than that of Luther. It was concerned not just with personal religious reform but also with the reform of society. Heinrich Bullinger, his friend and successor, gives us this report concerning the content of Zwingli's sermonizing: "He praised God the Father, and taught men to trust only in the Son of God, Jesus Christ, as Saviour. He vehemently denounced all unbelief, superstition and hypocrisy. Eagerly he strove after repentance, improvement of life and Christian love and faith. He insisted that the government should maintain law and justice, and protect widows and orphans. That people should always seek to retain Swiss freedom." With that last point it is clear that Zwingli, even though he was an advocate of peace, did not

favor peace at any price which would threaten the independence of his native land.

In his preaching he was concerned not just with Christian faith and love exercised by individuals but with justice established by the laws of the community. Calvin will inherit this Zwinglian concern for social justice and it will characterize much of the Reformed tradition all the way down to the present.

Where They Differed

As Reformers, Zwingli and Luther had much in common. They both rejected the authority of the Pope and held to the authority of Scripture alone; they both agreed to the principle of justification by faith alone; they both rejected the sacrifice of the Mass.

But Zwingli did not think Luther's Reformation went far enough: "You would have cleansed the Augean stable, if you had had the images removed, if you had not taught that the body of Christ was supposed to be eaten in the bread."

Luther for his part was harsher in his judgment of Zwingli. He regarded Zwingli as a **Schwärmer**, a fanatic, because of his rejection of the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Luther linked Zwingli with other fanatics such as Andreas Carlstadt, his former colleague at Wittenberg, who, while Luther was holed up in the Wartburg Castle, radicalized Luther's Reformation by throwing out the Mass, destroying images, removing his clerical garb, donning the peasant's sombrero and demanding to be addressed as **Bruder Andreas**. When Luther returned to Wittenberg, he put an end to the revolution set in motion by Carlstadt and other like-minded prophets, and would eventually drive them out and brand them as rebellious spirits and false prophets who were instruments of the devil. Because of Zwingli's rejection of the real bodily presence of Christ in the Supper, Luther would place Zwingli in the same camp.

Christ in Communion

Although Luther attacked the medieval Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation (which holds that the bread and the wine are changed into the very body and blood of Christ), he continued to maintain that the body and blood are present "in, with and under" the bread and the wine, a view called later "consubstantiation." Luther rests his argument on a literal reading of the words of institution: "This is my body."

Zwingli, on the other hand, came to think of this view as crass materialism which he saw as little different from the papist doctrine. Such an understanding goes counter to John 6:63: "It's the spirit that gives life; the flesh is of no avail." To Zwingli this text clearly contradicts the necessity and the usefulness of a physical presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and in the debate Zwingli cites it constantly as proof of his position. Besides, according to Acts 1:9, Christ ascended into heaven and now sits at the right hand of God, and since it is characteristic of a body to be limited by space, Christ cannot both be in heaven and in the elements of the Eucharist. Therefore, the words of institution, "This is my body" must be interpreted in a figurative manner as "This **signifies** my body." For Zwingli the Lord's Supper was essentially a sacred feast at which Christ's death was commemorated and contemplated in faith and in which Christians enjoy a transforming fellowship with one another. Christ is present not physically, but spiritually in the hearts of the believers only.

Luther countered by rejecting Zwingli's interpretations of these biblical texts. The words "spirit" and "flesh" in John 6:63, as elsewhere in the Bible, do not refer to spiritual and fleshly **things** but spiritual and fleshly **acts**. To be of the flesh is to **do** anything without faith. To be of the spirit is whatever we **do** when God's Word is added and it is done through faith.

"Spiritual," as Luther says, "is nothing else than what is done in us and by us through the spirit and faith,

whether the object with which we are dealing is physical or spiritual." If Zwingli's view were true that "the flesh is of no avail" means physical objects are of no use to faith, then he undercuts the Incarnation and its necessity for our redemption. On the basis of this understanding of flesh and spirit, Luther turns the tables on Zwingli's favorite argument: "Our fanatics, however, are full of fraud and humbug. They think nothing spiritual can be present where there is anything material and physical, and assert that flesh is of no avail. Actually, the opposite is true. The spirit cannot be with us except in material and physical things such as the Word, water, and Christ's body and his saints on earth." In the Eucharist God has arranged for the redemption not just of man's soul, but of the whole man, soul and body. "... the mouth eats physically for the heart and the heart eats spiritually for the mouth, and thus both are satisfied and saved by one and the same food."

As to the other text concerning Christ's ascension, Luther argues that Zwingli is too literal in his understanding of "right hand of God." It refers not to some place in heaven but to God's "almighty power" which makes it possible for Christ's body to be present anywhere he chooses. Zwingli's argument concerning the necessity of a body to be circumscribed by place and time Luther rejects as an offspring of that whore, Reason.

Christ: Human and Divine

Underlying their differences on the Eucharist at this point are also differences in their understandings of Christ. Luther insists on the complete unity of the two natures of Christ, the human and the divine. On the basis of this unity he will argue, as did some of the ancient Greek Fathers, that what is normally to be attributed to the human may be attributed to the divine and vice versa. Because God and man are one in Christ, it is possible to say, "God was born of Mary," "God died on the cross," but it is also possible to say that the human body of Christ is ubiquitous. Christ's body is present everywhere, but he is not present for believers everywhere. He is present for believers when He adds His Word and binds Himself, saying, "Here you are to find me." Such is the case in the supper, when Christ said, "This is my body."

For Zwingli such a view of Christ horribly confuses the human and the divine. Though Zwingli does not deny that in the Incarnation the two natures are united, he puts the emphasis on their distinction. After the Resurrection, Christ ascends bodily into heaven and sits at the right hand of God. Christ is omnipresent only in his divinity, not in his humanity. It is principally by virtue of his divine nature that he is the Saviour of human beings.

"Christ is our salvation by virtue of that part of his nature by which he came down from heaven, not of that by which he was born of an immaculate virgin, though he had to suffer and die by this part; but unless he who died had also been God, he could not have been salvation for the whole world." In the supper we remember Christ's death upon the cross and feed upon his divinity in our hearts with faith.

Marburg Debate Ends

It is astonishing that with such fixed positions and harsh language that they ever chose to sit down with one another at the famous Colloquy of Marburg. Actually, they would not have done so then except for the political and the powerful persuasion of the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, at whose castle high on the hill in Marburg they would meet.

Philip, himself a Lutheran, was very eager for a political and military alliance between the North German Lutherans and the Swiss and South German Zwinglians because by the end of the 1520's all of Protestantism was being threatened by the powerful forces of the staunchly Catholic Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V who, having become free from entangling wars with the French and the Turks, was now in a position to deal with the Protestant heresy in his empire. Philip was determined to bring Luther and Zwingli with their fellow theologians together in order to forge a theological union that could be the basis of an alliance. As a result, invitations were sent to both Zwingli and Luther to take part in a doctrinal

discussion at Marburg. Zwingli accepted eagerly; Luther, only most reluctantly. They agreed on fourteen of the fifteen articles of faith set forth, but disagreed vehemently on the Eucharist.

At the outset of the Colloquy, Luther challenged Zwingli to prove to him that the body of Christ was not present in the Eucharist. Luther wrote with chalk on the table the words, "This is my body," a quote to which he constantly returned throughout the debates. When Zwingli argued that the passage had to be understood as a metaphor (as in "I am the vine" and "I am the bread of life"), Luther countered that any metaphorical interpretation had to be proven, not assumed, and that the burden of proof must fall on those who prefer the nonliteral rendering.

Thus, while Luther was a literalist concerning his favorite text, "This is my body," so was Zwingli about his, "Christ ascended into heaven," and "The spirit gives life, the flesh is of no avail."

At several points the debate was harsh and acrimonious. At other points the parties appeared to seek each other's forgiveness for namecalling and for their breakdown of charity.

The Marburg Colloquy only proved what was already clear from the earlier written debate that no meeting of the minds on this central issue was possible for two theologians with such different interpretations of Scripture, Christ, and Sacrament. To be sure, at the conclusion of the Colloquy at Marburg, agreement was quickly reached at fourteen articles of faith, but not on the fifteenth.

Perhaps Luther's comment to Martin Bucer, the reformer from Strassburg, summed up the grounds on which he and Zwingli parted: "We are not of the same spirit."

With such an attitude it is no wonder Philip did not get the religious and political unity he wanted and that Protestantism would remain split into these two major camps.

Zwingli's Social Concern

Some scholars, who have studied Zwingli as a liturgist, have spoken of the transubstantiation, not of the bread and wine and of the body and blood of Christ, but the transubstantiation of the whole people of God into a new people and their unity and love exhibited.

To Zwingli the chief matter in the Eucharist was not the subject which he debated with Luther—mainly the communion elements and their relationship to the true body and blood of Christ. The chief matter to Zwingli in the Eucharist was that it was a meal eaten in celebration, in remembrance, and in thanksgiving for what God has done in Christ, but also to exhibit the transformed fellowship of believers. That point is often neglected. Perhaps Zwingli became sidetracked by the debate with Luther on Zwingli's central views of the Eucharist.

Zwingli's sense of Christian community was a most important contribution to his day. It was at the heart of his Swiss Reformation. The Church is not just a collection of individuals, each going about doing their own thing, even receiving grace in different ways from one another. But the Church is a genuine community, one in body and in spirit, having the grace of Christ in common and bearing the fruits of the spirit, the fruits of Christ and the spirit of God. This unity extends beyond just the matters of the spirit, but also to the matters of the body—that is to say, to the social concern of the whole community.

For Zwingli, the actual observance of the Lord's Supper took place around a table in the midst of the fellowship and the bread and wine were passed from the pastor to the assistants and then from one worshiper to another, symbolic of the horizontal dimension of the Eucharist, the greater sense of community. With Luther, the elements containing Christ's body and blood came directly from the priest or pastor to each individual worshiper, symbolic of the vertical dimension, the forgiveness of sins.

In Sunday worship, Zwingli reduced the number of Eucharistic services to four times a year, while Luther's Eucharistic services were every Sunday. For Zwingli, the preaching of the Word was highly important, and so Zwingli developed his Liturgy of the Word, or order of service, more around the sermon than around the Eucharist. For Zwingli, the preaching of the Word was a kind of sacramental act. Luther, on the other hand, maintained the unity of Word and Sacrament in the service of worship, or the Mass.

But the Eucharist never lost its importance to Zwingli. Toward the end of his career, he said that the sacraments bring increase and support to faith and that the Eucharist does this above all others.

Because of the issues posed in the debate with Luther, it has often been alleged that Zwingli did not believe in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. He would not want to be understood that way and emphasized that "I believe that the real body of Christ is eaten in the Supper sacramentally and spiritually by the religious, faithful and pure mind, as also Saint Chrysostom holds."

Further, for Zwingli, the Lord's Supper is a feast of love where the faithful are to exhibit the transformed fellowship of believers bound together in love, mutual concern and service. When they do that, Christ is there, in the midst, by his Spirit.

How ironical that the service of communion, which most dramatically depicts Christ's prayer for Christian unity, would be the one point on which Luther and Zwingli would bitterly divide. But, that was unfortunately not the first, nor the last time for such division among Christians.

One can only conjecture how the face of Protestantism, the map of Europe, and the political and religious configurations of the Sixteenth Century might have been redrawn had the German Hercules and the Swiss Giant been able to find another way to handle their differences on the subject of the Eucharist.

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CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Issue 4: Zwingli: Father of the Swiss Reformation

Zwingli - Father of the Swiss Reformation: The Gallery of Family, Friends, Foes & Followers

Anna Reinhart and Regula Gwalther

(1482–1538) When she married Ulrich Zwingli secretly in 1522, Anna Reinhart was the well-to-do widow of Hans Meyer von Knonau, a soldier of wild habits who had died in 1517. With ten other priests, Zwingli had appealed to the Bishop early in 1522 for permission to marry, but was refused. Thus, he married secretly, and not until April 5, 1524, did he and Anna make their arrangement public. She brought three children to the marriage, and had four others by Ulrich: Regula (July 31, 1524), Wilhelm (January 24, 1526), Ulrich (January 6, 1528), and Anna (May 4, 1530). Only one letter from Ulrich to his wife survives, dated January 11, 1528: "Grace and Peace from God. Beloved wife, I say God be thanked that He has permitted you a happy birth ..." When Ulrich was killed at Kappel, Anna grieved deeply. Heinrich Bullinger took her and the children into his home and treated her like family until she died peacefully seven years later. (1524–1565) Regula, Zwingli's oldest child, is described as the image of her mother, Anna. According to Zwingli's own entry in his pocket Bible, Regula was born on July 31, 1524, on a Sunday at 2:30 a.m. in the house called "Zur Sul" in the Kirchgasse (Church Lane). Brought up with the children of Bullinger after her father's death, Regula married Rudolf Gwalther in 1541 and soon was installed at St. Peter's in Zurich as the parson's wife. Of her six children, Anna, the oldest, is well known through the portrait by Hans Asper and as the wife of Heinrich Bullinger the Younger. Regula died of the Plague on November 14, 1565.

Leo Jud

(1482–1542) Zwingli referred to Leo Jud as "my dear brother and faithful co-worker in the gospel of Jesus Christ." As college students—Zwingli, in his late teens and Jud, just 20—at the University of Basel, they met and studied under Thomas Wyttenbach, whose expositions on parts of the New Testament, especially Romans, inspired both of them to study the Scriptures. Thereafter they were lifelong friends. Jud succeeded Zwingli in 1518 at Einsiedeln in the important post of scholar and preacher to pilgrims and then followed him to Zurich in 1523 to become pastor at St. Peter's. At Zwingli's first disputation in 1523, Jud wasted no time in determining to follow Zwingli's leadership in preaching the pure Gospel, and likewise that same year he married. His thundering September 1 sermon in St. Peter's against images—just a few days after Zwingli's *Essay on the Canon of the Mass* had left the press—fanned the fires that ended up ridding the church of images and the Latin Mass. Besides his unstinting loyalty to Zwingli, Jud used his excellent skills to translate Zwingli's exposition of Scripture into German and Latin; he led the translation of the Zurich Bible in 1529 and provided a careful Latin translation of the Old Testament. In the same unselfish way, he assisted Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's successor.

Cornelius Hoen

(d. 1524) Some men leave behind little trace of themselves, but great influence nonetheless. Little is known about Cornelius Hoen, a lawyer at The Hague and resident of Holland, yet his careful study of Christ's words, "This is my body," led Zwingli to a position on the Eucharist that made certain the gulf between himself and Luther. In 1509 Hoen came into charge of the library of a former dean at the University of Paris, who had engaged in a controversy with Wesel Gansfort over the authority of the Church and tradition. Among these archives was a treatise on the Eucharist by Gansfort. This set Hoen to thinking. Typical of the practice of humanists, Hoen worked out his conclusions in a letter, stating that the

communion should not be a sacrament in the Catholic sense, but merely a commemoration. Hoen's interpretation took the "is" to mean "represents" or "means." In 1521 this letter was brought by Hinne Rode to Luther, who rejected Hoen's interpretation. Two years later Rode visited Oecolampadius in Basel, who read the letter with much interest and urged Rode to present it to Zwingli. At that time, Zwingli's interpretation of communion was somewhat uncertain, but the seed fell on good soil, causing him to write: "In this letter I found a pearl of great value: *is* has the sense of *means*." In the meantime Hoen was arrested on suspicion of "Lutheran" heresies and died shortly thereafter. In 1525 Zwingli published Hoen's *Epistola Christiana*. Hoen's letter symbolizes that humanist phenomenon of autonomous intellectual positions among laymen on questions of Church doctrine.

Erasmus

(c. 1466–1536) "It was an extraordinary proof of your kindness that you were not ashamed of a man so small and so unskilled in letters," writes Zwingli after meeting Erasmus. During his lifetime, this "father of Renaissance humanism"—Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, Holland—corresponded with more than 500 leaders in politics and philosophy. His influence was felt by Luther, Zwingli, Thomas More, the Anabaptists, and others. "Is war anything but the mass murder of the many?" asks Erasmus in *Institutio Principis Christiani*, which Zwingli read in 1515 with the sight of 6000 Swiss dead at Marignano fresh in his memory. During the years of 1514–1519 when Zwingli was formulating his own beliefs, Erasmus exerted great influence upon him—first with Erasmus's translation of the New Testament in 1516. Zwingli discovered foundations for his own ideas in Erasmus's advocacy of the sufficiency of Christ for salvation, his concept of faith as trust, his criticism of papal authoritarianism and superstitions of the Church, his belief that infants dying before baptism are saved, and his argument on fasting. But with Zwingli's move closer to the ex-monk Oecolampadius and Erasmus's insistence on being free of religious, academic, and political ties, relations in 1521 begin to chill. To Zwingli's "Commentary on True and False Religion" in 1524 Erasmus reportedly sighed, "O good Ulrich, what have you ever written that I have not already previously written?" And Zwingli responds in a letter to Vadian: "If only Erasmus had treated my theme with his own style! The whole world would already be of our opinion." But for Erasmus it was "easier to put up with the faults to which one is accustomed. Hence I support the Church until I find one that is better." Among all the Reformers, Zwingli was closest in thinking to Erasmus. Zwingli's letter to Luther in 1527 refuting Luther's claim to be the first discoverer of the Gospel hints that Zwingli mourned parting ways with Erasmus: "Already there were a good number of people who had reached the essential faith, if not better—which you would never admit—at least as well as you. Yes, truly, there were men who, twelve years ago now—and at that time I was on a footing of friendship with them—proved very useful to me and led me to a joyful zeal." What would be the face of Protestantism today if that joyful zeal would have been reciprocal and Zwingli would have had Erasmus as ally?

Philip of Hesse

(1504–1567) Young and astute, Philip understood the importance of a united Protestant alliance to stand against the power of the Holy Roman emperor. Thus, bringing Luther and Zwingli together on the matter of the Lord's Supper was to Philip an essential churchly strategy with broad political implications. Philip declared himself to stand with the Lutherans, but urged toleration of the Swiss and was suspected therefore of being a secret Zwinglian. Despite his failure to achieve union at the Marburg Colloquy (1529), Philip succeeded in building a Protestant alliance, called the Schmalkald League, through which he vigorously promoted Protestantism. The League was troubled, however, as Philip found it increasingly necessary to make concessions to his powerful Catholic neighbors. His standing as a Protestant leader was seriously tarnished by a series of sexual affairs which eventually led to his bigamous second marriage, an adjustment given secret approval by Melancthon and Luther. Philip was only 15 years old when he assumed power over the estates of Hesse, and a mere 17 at the time of his first meeting with Luther, which left him impressed with the monk's personage but indifferent to his cause. Then in 1524 Philip, whose formal education was not extensive, began the reading of Luther's translation of the Bible. His commitment to reform was deepened upon meeting Melancthon in 1527. In the same year he helped

found the University of Marburg for the training of Protestant theologians. For five years (1547–1552) Philip was held captive by the Holy Roman emperor while new leaders emerged to direct Protestant political interests. For the rest of his life, Philip worked in vain for a reunion of the historic and the reformed branches of Christendom.

Grebel/Manz

Conrad Grebel (c. 1498–1526) and Felix Manz (c.1498–1527) were early comrades of Zwingli. Grebel was a layman, from a leading Zurich family, and educated at the universities in Vienna and Paris. Manz was a Hebrew scholar and illegitimate son of a canon of the Grossmünster Church in Zurich. By 1523 these and other radical reformers came to believe that Zwingli was too conservative and that the reforms he advocated were too few. They had all broken the fasts and stood squarely among the image-breakers. But now the radicals opposed the tithe, usury, military service, and the oath. They claimed that the City Council had no business legislating on matters of religion. They met covertly in homes for Bible reading and prayer. Zwingli apparently felt the choice was between orderly change and ecclesiastic anarchy. He urged moderation and patience and engaged the radicals in a series of public debates, but when the radicals began re-baptizing in February, 1525, he sided with the Council in its decision to outlaw private meetings and require that all children be baptized. Grebel, Manz, and others refused, protested the Council's decision throughout Zurich, and were arrested. Grebel was exiled and died of the plague. By order of the Council, Manz was executed by drowning in the River Limmat, the first Anabaptist martyr. Whether Zwingli consented to the death sentence is not known; he did not openly oppose it.

Heinrich Bullinger

(1504–1575) After the defeat of the Protestants at Kappel in 1531, Bullinger was chosen to replace the fallen Zwingli as pastor of the Grossmünster in Zurich. As the Zurich artistes, Bullinger performed the functions of a "Reformed" bishop, helping to reorganize the cantonal synod and mediating between the Zurich Council and the clergy. Bullinger was a prolific writer. His widely-published works included *Decades of Sermons* (fifty sermons on Christian doctrine), *The History of the Reformation*, and *The Diary*. He joined John Calvin in producing the *Consensus Tigurinus* on the Lord's Supper. He was the chief author of the First Helvetic Confession, a response to the Wittenberg Concord adopted throughout Upper Germany, and thirty years later with Peter Martyr authored the Second Helvetic Confession, which summarized the beliefs of the Evangelical-Reformed churches in France, Scotland, Holland and central Europe. His still extant 12,000 letters written to theological and political leaders throughout Europe made him both a highly informed theologian and a great influence on Reformed groups all over the world in his day. His correspondents included Henry VIII and Edward VI of England. When, in 1570, Pope Pius made the final breach between the Papacy and the English Church, Queen Elizabeth turned to Bullinger to prepare her reply to the Papal charges. Born the son of a parish priest at Bremgarten, Bullinger studied at the University of Cologne where he became familiar with the works of Erasmus, Melancthon, and Luther whose writings decisively influenced him. When he returned to Switzerland in 1523, he joined the supporters of Zwingli's reformation in Zurich and took part in the Berne Disputation of 1528. The Second Kappel War destroyed his fortune and compelled him to flee from Bremgarten, where he had succeeded his father. He took refuge at Zurich. From there Bullinger consolidated and continued the Reformation begun by Zwingli.

Diethelm Röst

(1482–1544) Himself the mayor of Zurich in Zwingli's day, Diethelm Röst was born in 1482 as the son of the mayor of Zurich. Originally a follower of the Pope, Röst took his stand as the chief supporter of the Reformation at Zwingli's side. He was mayor of Zurich during the decisive years of 1524–44. Without Röst's political support of Zwingli, it is possible that the Reformation in Zurich would not have succeeded. He accompanied Zwingli in 1528 to the debate in Berne.

Oecolampadius

(1482–1531) A genius at scholarship and debate, Oecolampadius was to Zwingli what Melanchthon was to Luther: Less forceful, less popular, less original, but a more careful student and logician, and more temperamentally capable at achieving consensus among disputants. Oecolampadius was born Johann Hausschein or Husschyn, but adopted as his name the Greek equivalent (meaning houselamp). He studied law, philosophy, scholastic philosophy, and theology at Heidelberg and Tübingen completing a baccalaureate at age 19. Seven years earlier, however, he was already composing Latin poetry. In 1515 he was called to the pulpit at the cathedral at Basel, where he soon became a close friend of Erasmus. His spiritual search included two years in a convent, but following a study of Luther's tracts and a growing friendship with Melanchthon, Oecolampadius was won over to the Reform movement. He introduced many of the reforms to his city: Mass in the vernacular, rejection of Mariolatry, and intolerance for Anabaptists. At the famous Colloquy of Marburg, Oecolampadius was second to Zwingli in defense of the Reformed view of the Lord's Supper. When Luther determined on October 3, 1529, that adversaries of consubstantiation were to be abandoned to God's judgment, Oecolampadius replied, "We will do the same, You need it as much as we." Earlier Luther had compared the strength of Oecolampadius' logic and persuasive skill to that of Luther's Catholic adversary, Johann Eck. Oecolampadius waited until the age of 45 to marry. His wife, Wilibrandis Rosenblatt, was already once a widow, and Oecolampadius was to be the second of her four Reformer husbands. To him she bore three children, named for the qualities he prized in his home: Godliness (Eusebius), truth (Alitheia), and peace (Irene).

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The Shepherd-Who is the True Pastor?

In a historic sermon preached on the third day of the second Zurich Disputation, Zwingli set forth his understanding of the ministry in a lengthy message that is timeless in the application. Excerpts from this sermon are found in the "From the Archives" section of this magazine. In this article Dr. Fritz Büsser discusses the central thrust of Zwingli's understanding of the nature of the ministry as articulated in "The Shepherd" sermon.

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The crucial event marking the visible start of the Reformation in Zurich can be traced to the First Zurich Disputation on January 29, 1523, where the mayor and members of the city council decreed "that Master Ulrich Zwingli (may) continue to preach the Holy Gospel and the true divine Scripture as he has done until now for as long a time and to such an extent until he be instructed differently."

At the Second Zurich Disputation, held October 26–28, 1523, practical reforms of the church had already been discussed which arose out of Zwingli's biblical preaching which had been officially approved in January. Some of the reforms were adopted, notably the abolition of the images and of the Mass.

During this Second Disputation, Zwingli gave special emphasis to two themes: The absolutely central importance and primary authority of the Scriptures as the Word of God, and the nature of the ministry, which may be understood as our human answer to this Word.

On the third day of the Second Disputation, Zwingli delivered his lengthy message, "The Shepherd," which actually carried the full title, "How one can recognize true Christian shepherds and also the false, and moreover how one should behave in regard to them." This sermon was delivered to a large and mixed audience of council members and clergy from town and country, a company of probably about 900 people.

Before looking at the thoughts expressed, we must remind ourselves that his hearers were most acutely aware of this bewildering historical context in which they lived. Vast changes, spiritual and material, were pressing on all sides in almost apocalyptic proportions. In such a world, Zwingli posed the question of how can one recognize the good shepherds as distinct from the counterfeit? And of what does their ministry consist?

His exposition on the good shepherds deals sequentially with the three ministries of revelation, reconciliation, and revolution, and at the same time with the three primary Christian virtues of faith, hope and love.

Revelation

The first ministry, which *the* good shepherd Jesus Christ was the first to perform, but which also the Church, the pastors and all of us are called to perform, consists in the ministry of revelation, that is in the ministry of the proclamation of the gospel. What that means, Zwingli explains himself in his sermon in the following way: "Based on it [i.e. the Word of God] the shepherd is to bring his charges to an understanding of their infirmity. If they understand that and perceive that they cannot be saved out of their own power, then he should point them to the grace of God so that they let themselves trust fully in

it. For God has given us for a certain assurance of his grace his only begotten son, Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom we have forever a certain entry to God." [Cf. Rom. 5:2]

Recognition of misery and sin, grace and trust, and thankful discipleship, these three parts of Evangelical-Reformed proclamation are not only found as a summary of the Christian faith in the most well-known book of faith of the Reformed Church, in Question Two of the *Heidelberg Catechism*, but already forty years earlier in Zwingli's description of the good shepherds given at the Second Zurich Disputation!

This ministry, he says, demands self-denial, and should the need arise, one is even forced, as in marriage, to leave mother and father. This ministry demands courageous confession and steadfastness. It demands opposition against all external and inner temptations. In this ministry exemplary discipleship of Christ is at stake; it is a question of the cross, struggle and death.

This ministry does not only demand nice words but a total congruity of words and action, it demands discipleship to Christ, and identity with Christ. Zwingli says: "Just as Christ also, having risen from the dead dies no more, so also they, having laid aside the old being, should put on a new being [Eph. 4:22, 24] which is like God, that is, the Lord Jesus Christ. Putting on this new being is nothing other than living as he lived."

"The shepherd should especially avoid: Putting on a hypocritical dress instead of a genuine one; further, decking himself out with cowls and hooded mantles while he is inwardly full of avarice (as for the most part do the monks and theologians of this time); bowing low but having an arrogant disposition; wearing a white shirt but being more unchaste than the wild boar; wearing high shoes and hat but being full of envy and hatred; murmuring many psalms but leaving the clear Word of God, etc." That means he may not be a hypocrite, no wolf in sheep's clothing, but he must know "that [a] living example teaches more than a hundred thousand words."

Despite the demands put upon the shepherd, Zwingli emphasizes consolation and the confidence which the shepherd may certainly find in the proclamation of the gospel, namely that God assists in the never-ending struggle, supplying all that the shepherd needs: temporal nourishment, but above all, strength, courage, joy, patience and perseverance, and all these by the Holy Spirit.

Reconciliation

Secondly, reconciliation, the miracle of the cross of Christ. It is primarily his "behavior in regards to the other external things" by which a good shepherd is recognized. In principle, the shepherd, or as Zwingli almost prefers to say in this context, the prophet, is to hold on to that commission which God had given to the prophet Jeremiah: "Then the Lord put forth his hand and touched my mouth; and the Lord said to me, 'Behold I have put my words in your mouth. See, I have set you this day over nations and over kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant'" (Jer. 1:9–10).

Basically, the ministry of reconciliation consists in the revelation and proclamation of the gospel, in the pardon of sin, and in devotion to all those in this world who are miserable, sick, imprisoned and persecuted, burdened and suffering. For that reason Zwingli mentions immediately the works of *the* prophet of the New Testament: that Christ had great sympathy with the misled people, and that Christ for the most part taught in a friendly way. That if he ever had to upbraid them, he did not censure them as severely as he did the misleading priests.

Part of the ministry of reconciliation, of the prophetic task, is the fight against violence and vices, an inexorable and merciless opposition against self-interest, avarice, envy, pride, and especially against any form of hypocrisy and idolatry. It is only in this struggle that it becomes evident who really is a follower of Christ. This is shown by the examples which Zwingli uses as illustrations, for the purpose of the issues

involved. He uses the following illustrations: Moses before Pharaoh (the issue of tyranny and oppression), Samuel before Saul ("obedience is better than sacrifice"), Nathan before David (adultery and murder), Elijah against the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel and before King Ahab (the murder of Naboth), John the Baptist before Herod (Herodias) and the example of Christ himself. These prophets show by their lives that the ministry of revelation, proclamation and reconciliation might involve death.

On the other hand, it is precisely this ministry which proves that in reality the foolishness of the cross has power. The reconciling death of Christ, that is faith in the risen Christ, takes away all fear. To die for and with Christ is the greatest honor possible. It is precisely at this place in *The Shepherd* that one finds the most famous of all words of Zwingli: "**Not to fear is the armour.**"

We would completely misunderstand Zwingli's preaching on reconciliation, if we did not take into account that it is not only the pastors who are the shepherds. In principle every Christian stands in the ministry of God, in the ministry of reconciliation. Everybody is his brother's keeper; the pastors and the civil authorities incomparably more so by virtue of their prominent and responsible position.

At that time there was no need for Zwingli to tell this to his audience. The members of the Small and the Great Councils of Zurich who listened to his sermon on the shepherd convened regularly in the city hall to watch over and to debate the concerns of their town, their citizens and their subjects, to make decisions and to pass laws as "God's servant for your good", but also as "servant of God to execute his wrath on the wrongdoer," if necessary by the sword (cf. Rom. 13:4). It had been precisely this government which had also convened the two disputations for the honor of God and for the benefit of the city.

In the following years it was always the council and the citizens of this city of Zurich who supported Zwingli in the implementation of his plans for the reform of church and society. They were the ones who carried the real responsibility. Only they had the necessary competence to abolish the images, celibacy, the monasteries and the Mass. With the income from the secularization of the monasteries they also financed care for the poor and the schools. They also gave the Reformed Church its rule of order, even the order of worship. They gave the city of Zurich a marriage law which would still be exemplary today. Finally, these council members and citizens went to war together with Zwingli for the sake of their faith, and many of them died on the field together with him. But let us be clear: For Zwingli part of the ministry of reconciliation is also military service. He was not a pacifist, even less a militarist, but as a Christian he believed that he must be at the same time a good citizen, and as such also subject to military service.

We must be aware that Zwingli's Zurich of the Sixteenth Century understood itself as a *corpus permixtum*, as a *republica christiana*, where the free citizens were Christians at the same time. In Zurich the population of the town was identical with the visible church. In this organism, divine and human justice belonged together.

Revolution

Revolution is the third point. Revolution and change belong necessarily to the ministry of the good shepherd, of the Church, and of all Christians and citizens, complementing and implementing revelation and reconciliation.

Revolution and change begin in our own hearts through love. Zwingli begins and finishes his exposition on love with two perceptions. At the beginning stands a well-known word: "Love is therefore necessary so that all things be judged and measured by it. For the carpenter is not so certain with his eye; for him, a ruler is also necessary. All courage, skill and faith are nothing, if they are not judged according to love."

As 1 Corinthians 13:4–8 points out: “Love is patient and friendly. Love does not hate. Love is not irksome. It does not exalt itself nor is it rude or improper. It does not seek its own needs. It is not short tempered. It does not keep an account of evil. It does not rejoice over unrighteousness; however it rejoices with the truth. It bears all things, trusts all things, hopes all things. Love never falls away nor commits mistakes. Here you see the type of love that is necessary for the shepherd before all other godly virtues.”

And at the end, Zwingli writes: “It follows that a true shepherd cannot look for a reward. For if he trusts that the recompense is certain, then the faith is already certainly there. If faith is there then along with it follows love. Now if love and faith are already there, then it is out of these that work is done and not with a view of payment. The servants look only at the payment, but the sons look not at the payment but work with loyalty in the house of their father, letting the fact and means of the payment be determined at the discretion of the father. Now we are the children of God [Gal. 4:7] and co-heirs with Christ” [Rom. 8:17].

Lest we be misunderstood, we should mention that here, of course, Zwingli does not speak about payment in hard cash. When he speaks about the work, about love practiced in deeds, then he is thinking of that ministry that truly merges out of love. For Zwingli “out of love” always means out of God, driven by the Spirit of God, but also encouraged and strengthened by the Spirit of God. That the call for justice is part of this love is self-understood. Good shepherds should, however, never forget that to the ministry of revolution belongs first of all the two other ministries, the ministry of revelation and of proclamation of the gospel, and the ministry of reconciliation.

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CHRISTIAN HISTORY

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Black Death Inspires Zwingli's Plague Hymn

Zwingli was on a mineral-springs vacation in August, 1519, when the Black Death broke out in Zurich. Though weak already from exhausting work, he hurried back to his city to minister to victims. Before long he himself caught the disease and seemed likely to perish. But his work not yet done, Zwingli recovered. His famous "plague hymn" recounts his sense of trust and then his joy at regaining health. Stanzas 1–4 were written as the disease first struck, stanzas 5–8 as his health deteriorated. Upon his recovery he finished the final four quatrains.

Help me, O Lord,
My strength and rock;
Lo, at the door
I hear death's knock.

Uplift shine arm,
Once pierced for me,
That conquered death.
And set me free.

Yet, if thy voice,
In life's midday.
Recalls my soul,
Then I obey.

In faith and hope
Earth I resign.
Secure of heaven.
For I am Thine.

My pains increase;
Haste to console;
For fear and woe
Seize body and soul.

Death is at hand.
My senses fail.
My tongue is dumb;
Now, Christ, prevail.

Lo! Satan strains
To snatch his prey;
I feel his grasp;
Must I give way?

He harms me not,
I fear no loss,
For here I lie
Beneath thy cross.

My God! My Lord!

Healed by the hand.
Upon the earth
Once more I stand.

Let sin no more
Rule over me;
My mouth shall sing
Alone to thee.

Though now delayed,
My hour will come.
Involved, perchance.
In deeper gloom.

But, let it come;
With joy I'll rise,
And bear my yoke
Straight to the skies.

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CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Issue 4: Zwingli: Father of the Swiss Reformation

Zwingli - Father of the Swiss Reformation: Christian History Timeline

50 years that changed with faith, fortunes, food and faraway places.

It was an age reaping the benefits of events of the 1450's—when Constantiople's fall to the Turks threatened all of Europe and Gutenberg's innovation of movable type gave more than a select few the privilege of coming to their own conclusions. In Zwingli's lifetime—a mere fifty years—scholars of the church questioned the faith as Rome had taught it, and courageous explorers thrust through ancient myths and fears to discover new horizons. It was a world encountering a new kind of trade, including tasty foods from exotic lands. It was a world becoming stronger—in England, France, and Spain. It was a world equipping itself with giants—moneyed families such as the Medici and the Fuggers, geniuses of form such as Michaelangelo, Da Vinci, and Raphael, singleminded leaders such as Columbus, Henry VIII, Ferdinand and Isabella, and Luther. It was an age to give people hope in princely powers as well as in personal ideals. It was an age beginning to change at a faster pace, yet it was an age when one could still burn as a heretic.

1477 Swiss pikemen distinguish themselves at Battle of Nancy, making them much sought after as mercenaries

1480 Ferdinand and Isabella appoint Inquisition against heresy among converted Jews

1480 Ivan III styles himself Czar of the Russians

1482 Portuguese explorers discover bananas on west coast of Africa

1483 Martin Luther born

1484 "At Hammel in Saxony, on the 20th of June, 1484, the Devil, in the likeness of a pied piper, carried away 130 children, that were never after seen."

1484 Japan's shogun Yoshimasa introduces the tea ceremony

1484 Huldrych Zwingli born at Wildhaus (Toggenburg) in Canton of St. Gall

1485 Battle of Bosworth on August 22 ends England's 15-year Wars of the Roses; Henry VII crowned first king of 117-year Tudor dynasty

1489 Symbols + and – come into use

1490 Beginnings of ballet at Italian courts

1492 Christopher Columbus, with three ships and 78 men set sail on September 6 after first attempt aborted; arrives in the Bahamas, thinking he has reached the East Indies

1492 Isabella and Ferdinand take Granada from the Moors and expel 200,000 Jews

1492 Lorenzo de' Medici dies

1492 Christopher Columbus introduces Europeans to the pineapple, parrots, Indians, peppers, allspice, maize, and sweet potatoes

1492 Nuremberg geographer Behaim constructs first terrestrial globe

1492 Leonardo da Vinci draws a flying machine

1492 Profession of publisher emerges, consisting of typefounder, printer, and bookseller

1493 Maximilian I becomes Holy Roman Emperor

1494 First mobile artillery firing iron cannon balls, used by Charles VIII in Italy

1495 First recorded outbreak of syphilis; infects army of Charles VIII at Naples

1495 Merchant-investor Jakob Fugger ensures powerful political power through leasing of copper and silver mines

1495 The Imperial Diet of Worms attempts to modernize the Holy Roman Empire; proclaims Perpetual Peace, and imposes common penny as general tax

1498 Vasco de Gama establishes sea route between Portugal and India

1498 Savonarola burned at the stake for heresy in Florence

1499 War between Swabian League and Swiss Cantons. Swiss victory forces Treaty of Basel granting Swiss independence

1499 Granada's Moors revolt as Inquisitor de Cisneros introduces forced wholesale Christian conversion

1500 Pope Alexander VI proclaims a Year of Jubilee; imposes a tithe for crusade against Turks

1500 First human Caesarian operation performed by Swiss pig gelder Jakob Nufer

1500 Postal service between Vienna and Brussels established

1501 Music printed for the first time by use of movable type

1501 Peace of Trent between France and Emperor Maximilian I recognizes French conquests in Upper Italy

1501 Erasmus' *Enchiridion* promotes a Christianity based on the Sermon of the Mount

1501 Michaelangelo completes *Pieta*

1502 University of Wittenberg established by Frederick, Elector of Saxony

1503 Canterbury Cathedral completed after 436 years of construction

1503 Da Vinci paints "Mona Lisa"

1503 Pocket handkerchief comes into use

- 1504** Venice sends ambassadors to Sultan of Turkey, proposing construction of a Suez Canal
- 1506** Completes Master of Arts at University of Basel
- 1506** Becomes parish priest at Glarus
- 1507** New geography by Waldseemüller proposes the New World be called "America" after Amerigo Vespucci
- 1507** League of Cambrai formed by Margaret of Austria, the Cardinal of Rouen, and Ferdinand of Aragon to despoil Venice
- 1507** Diet of Constance recognizes unity of Holy Roman Empire
- 1507** Martin Luther ordained
- 1509** Erasmus writes *Praise of Folly* at Thomas More's home
- 1510** African slaves cross the Atlantic to work in Portuguese sugar plantations in Brazil
- 1510** Jakob Fugger lends Maximilian 170,000 ducats to finance war against Venice
- 1511** Pope Julius forms Holy League with Venice and Aragon to drive French out of city; Henry VIII joins Holy League
- 1511** Servetus, Spanish theologian and physician executed in Geneva as a heretic
- 1512** Forces of the holy League meet defeat at Ravenna; coalition of Swiss, papal, and imperial forces drive French and their German mercenaries out of Milan
- 1513** Giovanni de Medici becomes Pope Leo X —"one of most severe trials to which God ever subjected his church"
- 1513** Peasant and labor rebellions spread eastward from Switzerland
- 1515** French decisive victory over Swiss and Venetians at Battle of Marignano; Swiss retain Alpine passes and French gain right to enlist Swiss mercenaries
- 1515** Lateran Council forbids printing of books without permission of Roman Catholic authorities
- 1515** Witnesses Swiss routed in "Battle of Giants" at Marignano
- 1515** Writes satire of mercenary war, *The Labyrinth*, calling for Christian love and brotherhood and end to violence
- 1515** Meets Erasmus, Dutch humanist
- 1516** Out of step with Glarus's French leanings, moves to Einsiedeln; affair with local barber's daughter
- 1516–17** Reads Erasmus's translation of the New Testament, *Novum Instrumentum*
- 1512-1517** Pope Julius II convenes the Lateran Council to undertake reforms in abuses of Church in Rome

1517 Martin Luther posts *95 Theses* in protest of sale of indulgences

1518 Appointed *Leutpriester* at Zurich Grossmünster

1519 Begins New Testament sermon series, signalling new era of Biblical preaching

1519 Ministers to Zurich's plague victims, ill himself 3 months with plague

1519 Leads Zurich to withdraw from alliance with Catholic France; Zurich mercenaries forbidden to hire out to France

1521 Diet of Worms; Luther refuses to recant; gets backing of German princes; begins German translation of Bible

1522 Attends printer Christopher Froschauer's party where Lenten rules are broken; writes "Freedom of Choice in Eating" to oppose fasting

1522 Secretly marries widow Anna Reinhart; signs memorial with 10 other ministers asking the Bishop of Constance for sanction to marry

1522 Develops circle of young clergy and humanists—Grebel, Manz, Reublin, Brotli, Stumpf

1522 Writes *Apologeticus Archeteles*, his testimony of faith

1522 Resigns priesthood; re-employed by City Council as evangelical pastor in same post

1523 Under auspices of Zurich Council, invites Christian Europe to public disputation of 67 theses; authorized by Council to continue preaching the Gospel

1523 Writes "Of divine and human justice" to defend Council's refusal to modify tithes legislation

1523 Holds second public debate on images and mass; recommends that Council authorize removal of images

1524 Publicly marries his wife

1525 Public disputation on infant baptism; draws the battle line for former followers, Grebel and others

1525 Writes two anti-Anabaptist pamphlets, "On baptism" and "On the preaching office"

1526 Convinces council in March to issue edict authorizing execution of Anabaptists

1526 Decides that Swiss unity must be maintained even with force after Swiss-Catholic assembly at Baden

1528 Accepts Berne's invitation to a public debate, resulting in elimination of the mass, images, and alters there

1529 Accompanies Zurich forces to First Kappel War

1529 Meets Luther in Marburg in October for four days of discussion called by Philip, Landgrave of Hesse

1531 Angles for French support for the Reformation by allowing Swiss mercenaries to be hired

1531 Dressed in battle armor, joins the forces on October 11 and is killed

1532 Calvin starts Protestant movement in France

1534 Act of Supremacy; Henry VIII declared supreme head of Church of England

1534 Ignatius Loyola founds Society of Jesus to spread Counter Reformation

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CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Issue 4: Zwingli: Father of the Swiss Reformation

From the Archives: Public Debates

In His 67 Theses Zwingli Highlights His Reformed Beliefs

The First Zurich Disputation on January 29, 1523, was also the occasion for Zwingli's making public his 67 points on contention with the Roman church. The Zurich City Council not only accepted Zwingli's document, but encouraged the pastor to continue with his preaching. Much of Zwingli's teaching, except about the Eucharist, was an expansion of these points. Thus, they were one of the first attempts at a systematic theology of all life, unlike Luther's 95 theses which were limited to a few issues. The following are samplings:

1. All who say that the gospel is invalid without the confirmation of the church err and slander God.
2. The sum and substance of the gospel is that our Lord Christ Jesus, the true son of God, has made known to us the will of his heavenly Father, and has with his sinlessness released us from death and reconciled us to God.
3. Hence Christ is the only way to salvation for all who ever were, are and shall be.
4. He who seeks or shows another way errs, and, indeed, he is a murderer of souls and a thief.
5. Hence all who consider other teachings equal to or higher than the gospel err, and do not know what the gospel is.
6. For Christ Jesus is the guide and leader, promised by God to all mankind, which promise was fulfilled.
7. He is eternal salvation and head of all who believe; these are his body, for his own human body is dead. Nothing is of avail without him.
8. From this follows first that all who dwell in the head (i.e. Christ) are members and children of God, forming the church or communion of the saints, which is the bride of Christ, *ecclesia catholica*.
9. Furthermore, as the members of the body cannot function without the control of the head, so no one in the body of Christ can do anything without its head, Christ.
10. As that man is mad whose limbs (try to) do something without his head, tearing, wounding, injuring himself, so when the members of Christ undertake something without their head, Christ, they are stupid and injure and burden themselves with foolish laws.
13. If anyone wants to hear, he can learn clearly and plainly the will of God, and by his Spirit be drawn to him and become a changed man through him.
14. Therefore all Christian people shall use their best diligence that the gospel of Christ alone be preached everywhere.
15. For in faith rests our salvation, and in unbelief our damnation; for all truth is clear in him.

18. Christ, having sacrificed himself once and for all, is for all eternity a perpetual and acceptable offering for the sins of all believers, from which it follows that the mass is not a sacrifice, but is a commemoration of the sacrifice and assurance of the salvation which Christ has given us.

19. Christ is the only mediator between God and ourselves.

20. God will give us everything in his (Christ's) name, whence it follows that for our part after this life we need no mediator except him.

35. Whereas the jurisdiction and authority of the secular power is based on the teaching and actions of Christ.

36. All the rights and protection that the so-called spiritual authority claims belong to secular governments provided they are Christian.

37. To them, likewise, all Christians owe obedience without exception.

38. In so far as they do not order that which is contrary to God.

39. Therefore all their laws should be in harmony with the divine will, so that they protect the oppressed, even if these do not complain.

40. They (i.e. governments) alone have the right to exact the death penalty without bringing the wrath of God upon themselves, and then only for those who have offended against public order.

41. If they give good advice and help to those for whom they must account to God, then these owe them material assistance.

42. But if they are unfaithful and transgress the laws of Christ they may be deposed in accordance with God's will.

49. I know of no greater scandal than that priests are not allowed to take lawful wives but may keep mistresses if they pay a fine.

56. Whoever remits any sin only for the sake of money is the companion of Simon (Magus) and Balaam, and the real messenger of the devil.

57. The true holy scriptures know nothing of purgatory after this life.

58. The fate of the dead is known to God alone.

59. And the less God has let us know concerning it, the less we should endeavour to know about it.

60. I do not reject human prayer to God to show grace to the departed; but to fix a time for this and to lie for the sake of gain is not human but demonic.

67. If anyone wishes to discuss with me concerning interest, tithes, unbaptized children, or confirmation, I am ready to answer.

CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Issue 4: Zwingli: Father of the Swiss Reformation

From the Archives: Replacing The Mass With a New Order of Worship

With the abolition of the Roman Catholic Mass came the task of explaining the meaning of the Reformed service of worship. In July, 1531, shortly before his death, Zwingli wrote his "Exposition of the Christian Faith" addressed to a Christian king and described therein his new liturgy. It was radical for his time, yet his order of service may sound familiar to many worshipers today. Your own church may wish to use it some Sunday in commemoration of Zwingli the liturgist, or as the order of worship on Reformation Sunday.

HERE FOLLOWS SUBSTANTIALLY THE ORDER OF SERVICE WE USE AT ZURICH, BERNE, BASEL, AND THE OTHER CITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ALLIANCE:

First, in a sermon of appropriate length is preached the goodness of God which He has shown us through His Son, and the people are directed to the knowledge of this and thanksgiving for it. When this is finished a table is placed in front of the choir, so-called, before the steps; this is covered with a cloth, the unleavened bread is placed upon it, and the wine poured into cups. Then the pastor comes forward with two assistants, and they all turn towards the people, so that the pastor or bishop stands between the others, having on only the usual garb worn by men of standing and ministers of the Church. Then the pastor begins in a loud voice, not in the Latin tongue, but in the vernacular, so that all shall understand what is going on, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The assistants respond in the name of the whole church, "Amen." The Pastor: — "Let us pray." Now the church kneels.

"Almighty and everlasting God, whom all creatures rightly worship, adore, and praise, as their Maker, Creator, and Father, grant unto us miserable sinners that we may in sincere faith render that praise and thanksgiving which Thy only begotten Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ, instructed us to do, through that same Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord who liveth and reigneth with Thee, God, in the unity of the Holy Spirit world without end. Amen."

Then the assistant who stands on the left reads, "What is now read is written in the first Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, eleventh chapter,—'When ye come together therefore into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's Supper,'", (v. 20), and the rest as far as, "not discerning the Lord's body" (v. 29).

Then the assistants and the Church respond, "Praise be to God." The Pastor, "Glory to God in the highest." The Deacon, "And on earth peace." The Sub-deacon, "To men a sound and tranquil mind." The Deacon, "We praise Thee, we bless Thee," and the rest to the end of this hymn, the assistants reciting it alternately, verse by verse, the Church understanding the whole and admonished at the beginning that each man is to say over in his heart and consider in the sight of God and the Church the things that are said. The Deacon says, "The Lord be with you." The assistants respond, "And with Thy spirit." The Deacon, "What is now read is written in the Gospel of John, the sixth chapter". The church responds, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord." The Deacon, "Thus spake Jesus, 'Verily, verily I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath everlasting life. I am the bread of life. Your fathers did eat manna,' etc., to the words, 'the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.'" After these words the Pastor says, "Glory to God who deigns to forgive all our sins according to His word." The assistants respond. "Amen." The Pastor, "I believe in one God." The Deacon, "the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth." The Sub-deacon, "And in Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, our Lord." and the rest to the end of the Apostles' Creed, so-called, the ministers repeating it alternately in loud voice just as they did before

the hymn, "Glory in the highest."

Invitation of the pastor to the worthy celebration of the Supper:—"We now desire, dear brethren, in accordance with the custom instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, to eat this bread and drink this cup, as He commanded should be done in commemoration, praise, and thanksgiving, because He suffered death for us, and poured out His blood to wash away our sins. Therefore, let every man examine and question himself, as Paul suggests, as to how sure a trust he puts in our Lord Jesus Christ, that no one may behave like a believer who yet hath not faith, and so become guilty of the Lord's death, and sin against the whole Church (which is His body) by thus showing contempt for it. Accordingly fall upon your knees and pray, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' " etc., to the end. And when the ministers have responded "Amen," let the pastor again pray.

Prayer: "Lord, God Almighty, who by Thy spirit hast united us into Thy one body in the unity of the faith, and hast commanded Thy body to give praise and thanks unto Thee for that bounty and kindness with which Thou hast delivered Thy only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ unto death for our sins, grant that we may fulfill this command in such faith that we may not by any false pretenses offend or provoke Thee who art the infallible truth. Grant also that we may live purely as becometh Thy body, Thy sons and Thy family, that even the unbelieving may learn to recognize Thy name and Thy glory. Keep us, Lord, lest Thy name and glory come into ill repute through the depravity of our lives. We always pray, 'Lord, increase our faith, that is, our trust in Thee, who livest and reignest God world without end.' " The church responds, "Amen." Then the pastor speaks the sacred words with the following actions:—

"The Lord Jesus the same night in which He was betrayed to death took bread" (here the pastor takes the unleavened bread into his hands); "and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me." (Here the pastor hands the bread to the ministers who are standing about the table, and they immediately take it with reverence, divide it between them, and eat. Meanwhile the pastor continues): "After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped," (here the pastor takes the cup into his hands), "gave thanks and said Drink ye all of it. This cup is the new testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death," (ye praise Him and thank Him) "till he come."

After this the assistants carry round the unleavened bread, and each person takes a piece of the bread with his own hand, and then passes the rest to his neighbor. If any one does not wish to handle the bread with his own hand, the minister carrying it round hands it to him. Then the assistants follow with the cups and hand one another the Lord's cup. Let not Your Majesty shrink from this custom of offering and receiving the elements, for it has often been found that men who had accidentally taken seats next each other when they yet felt enmity and hatred towards each other, have laid aside their angry feelings through this participation in the bread or wine.

Another assistant reads again from the pulpit out of the Gospel of John, while the congregation is eating and drinking the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood; beginning at the thirteenth chapter. When all the cups have been brought back, the pastor begins, "Fall upon your knees," for we eat and drink the Sacrament of the Supper sitting and silently listening to the word of the Lord, and when all kneel, the pastor begins, I say:

"Praise, O ye servants, the Lord, praise the name of the Lord." The Deacon: "Blessed by the name of the Lord from this time forth and for evermore" (Ps. 113:2ff). The Subdeacon: "From the rising of the sun unto the going down, etc.," and so again the assistants go through alternately this psalm which the Hebrews say used to be said by their ancestors after eating. After this the pastor exhorts the Church in these words:

"Be mindful, dearly beloved brethren, of what we have now done together by Christ's command. We have

borne witness by this giving of thanks, which we have done in faith, that we are indeed miserable sinners, but have been purified by the body and the blood of Christ which He delivered up and poured out for us, and have been redeemed from everlasting death. We have borne witness that we are brethren. Let us, therefore, confirm this by love, faith, and mutual service. Let us, therefore, pray the Lord that we may keep His bitter death deep in our hearts so that though we daily die to our sins we may be so sustained and increased in all virtues by the grace and bounty of His Spirit that the name of the Lord shall be sanctified in us, and our neighbor be loved and helped. The Lord have mercy upon us and bless us! The Lord cause His face to shine upon us and be gracious unto us! Amen."

The pastor again prays:—"We give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, for all Thy gifts and benefits, who livest and reignest God world without end. Amen." The pastor: Go in peace. "Amen." Then the church separates.

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CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Issue 4: Zwingli: Father of the Swiss Reformation

From the Archives: The Shepherd

Zwingli's Historic Reformation Sermon

Professor Fritz Büsler commented on Zwingli's powerful and lengthy sermon (see "The Shepherd: Who is the True Pastor") delivered on the third day of the Second Disputation in Zurich (1523) when the City Council instituted many of the reforms Zwingli had been preaching since the Council granted him freedom to speak his convictions earlier in the year. The following are excerpts from Zwingli's sermon. (The complete work can be found in *Huldrych Zwingli: Selected Writings*, Vol. 2; Pittsburgh: Pickwick Publications, 1984, edited and translated by H. Wayne Pipkin.)

Therefore Christ teaches to be ready to bear the cross daily, for persecution grows the more the divine word grows. The more that grows, the more the flesh is angered. Therefore they are wrong who think they will soon obtain rest, that they will not have to suffer great persecution for the sake of the word of God. Even though the people come to the Word of God in droves, nevertheless there will be opposition enough from the high ones of this time. Even if they were not there, then all the more the false teachers will stand up, who have more knowledge than love, and for the sake of a hazelnut, will wound all the simple and quiet ones to show how learned they are. Hereby the cross becomes very burdensome and requires new strength; for offense of the simple does not take place without great concern by the strong who are concerned on behalf of the simple. As Paul also says in 2 Corinthians 11:29: "Who is offended that I am not burned?" In short, every day there is a new cross; it must be so. Here the soul is not only taken for the bodily life but for human feeling, intention or counsel. Whoever retreats from the Word of God for the sake of this ephemeral life will lose his life. Whoever depends on his own knowledge, counsel or feeling, thinking therewith to save himself, will destroy his own soul. Therefore the shepherd must deny himself, throw off his self-love, and certainly prepare himself to bear each day a new cross. Christ Jesus himself did so, always subjugating his will to that of the Father, bearing every cross until he came to the honor of sitting at the right hand of God.

When now the shepherd, or any person, empties himself in this way, then the next thing is to be filled again with God, that is, he has all his confidence and consolation in God. This Christ demonstrated in his disciples whom he cares for not only with temporal nourishment (since they follow him) in that they answered that nothing was lacking, when he asked them whether they lacked anything as he had sent them out without staff and sack. (Cf. Lk. 22:35.)

Christ also breathed on them and before he bestowed the office of preaching on them (Jn. 20:22) said to them: "Take the Holy Spirit." For none is suitable for feeding the sheep unless he has emptied himself and only God dwells in him and speaks out of him. Therefore he ordered them not to leave Jerusalem until they had received the promised spirit. (Cf. Lk. 24:29; Acts 1:4). When they had received it with much joy and rejoicing they began from that hour on to preach. Thus must the shepherd lead his sheep into no other pasture than that in which he has previously been nourished, that is, in the knowledge and trust of God. So must he always know God beforehand and have all his solace in him.

Following that, he should begin to preach as Christ began: "Repent!" (Mt. 4:17.) It was with this form that the forerunner John the Baptist also began. (Cf. Mt. 3:2.) Now no one will repent who does not know how evil he is. Therefore, here must sin be preached, and then salvation. Let no one here be led astray by the fact that Christ says in Matthew 10:7 and Mark 16:15 to preach only salvation or the gospel. For always the illness must be recognized before one takes the medicine.

Christ also in those passages takes the word of salvation in terms of grace, for the gospel is the message of the certain grace of God. However, the recognition of sin, which also is necessary, brings nothing other than despair in ourselves and powerfully drives us to the mercy of God. Of that mercy we are certain, for God has given his son for us. Therefore he names the means of redemption in those passages after the medicine. However in Luke 24:47 he links repentance or remorse and forgiveness with one another, saying: "thus in his name (that is, in Christ's) repentance or remorse and forgiveness of sins must be preached to all people." See! Here are the gospel and repentance connected; for no one really rejoices in the gospel who has not previously rightly recognized the disease of sin.

Now if a person has recognized his misery and found after that salvation in Christ Jesus it is not seemly any longer to live in sin. Therefore the shepherd must also carefully prevent the washed sheep's falling again in the excrement, that is, after the believers have come into knowledge of their Savior and have experienced the friendly grace of God, that they should thereafter lead a blameless life so that they no longer walk in death.

Not to fear is the armor. So now you want to say: I would without doubt certainly know even if Christ had not said so, that is, where I do not fear anything, there I would attack all things bravely. If it were given to me not to fear then I would stand steadfast, but not if I am only told not to be afraid. Therefore Christ shows us how to attain the point that we are without fear in John 16:33: "These things have I spoken to you that you have peace in me. You will have anxiety or affliction in the world; but do not be afraid, for I have overcome the world." Here we see the pioneer, Christ. He calls us to be untroubled and to go forward in his work, although at the same time we are faced with affliction. The world cannot do anything different to the shepherd. But herein lies our certain comfort, that he is the victor over the world. And if we are his loyal servants, then he will also overcome these afflictions for us. Therefore we should now be joyous.

And now a summary wherein you can recognize the false shepherds:

1. All who do not teach are nothing but wolves, though they might be called shepherd, bishop, or king. See in this connection how many teaching bishops there are.
2. Those who teach their own dreams rather than the word of God are wolves.
3. Those who teach the word of God, yet not to the honor of God, but for themselves and their head, the Pope, for protection of their fabricated high station, are harmful wolves, coming in sheep's clothing.
4. Those who teach already and teach even with the word of God, but do not, however, disturb the greatest aggravators, the leaders, but allow their tyranny to grow, are flattering wolves or traitors of the people.
5. Those who do not practice with works what they teach with the word are nothing among the Christian people, destroying much more with their works than they build with their words.
6. Those who do not pay attention to the poor but let them be oppressed and burdened, are false shepherds.
7. Those who wear the name of shepherd, yet rule in the worldly sense are the most evil werewolves.
8. Those who gather riches, filling sack, purse, storehouse and cellar are true werewolves. And finally, those who do other things with doctrine than undertaking to plant the knowledge, love and childlike fear of God among the people are false shepherds. They must soon be removed from the sheep or they will devour them entirely.

9. Therefore it is easy to understand that all those are false shepherds who lead from the Creator to the creature.

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CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Issue 4: Zwingli: Father of the Swiss Reformation

From the Archives: Zwingli's Death on the Battlefield of Kappel in 1531

Heinrich Bullinger succeeded Ulrich Zwingli as pastor of the Grossmünster after the latter's death in the battle of Kappel in 1531. The following account of Zwingli's death was written by Bullinger.

On the battlefield, not far from the line of attack, Mr. Ulrich Zwingli lay under the dead and wounded. While men were looting ... he was still alive, lying on his back, with his hands together as if he was praying, and his eyes looking upwards to heaven. So some approached who did not know him and asked him, since he was so weak and close to death (for he had fallen in combat and was stricken with a mortal wound), whether a priest should be fetched to hear his confession. Thereat Zwingli shook his head, said nothing and looked up to heaven. Later they told him that if he was no longer able to speak or confess he should yet have the mother of God in his heart and call on the beloved saints to plead to God for grace on his behalf. Again Zwingli shook his head and continued gazing straight up to heaven. At this the Catholics grew impatient, cursed him and said that he was one of the obstinate cantankerous heretics and should get what he deserved. Then Captain Fückinger of Unterwalden appeared and in exasperation drew his sword and gave Zwingli a thrust from which he at once died. So the renowned Mr. Ulrich Zwingli, true minister and servant of the churches of Zurich, was found wounded on the battlefield along with his flock (with whom he remained until his death). There, because of his confession of the true faith in Christ, our only Saviour, the mediator and advocate of all believers, he was killed by a captain who was a pensioner, one of those against whom he had always preached so eloquently.

Next day, Thursday (12 October), at daybreak, the Five States fired their guns with great jubilation. They remained on the battlefield for all Thursday and Friday in accordance with the ancient custom among the Swiss that they should stay there for three days in case the enemy wanted to attack ... Then they called on their followers to group forces on the Albis and sent for reinforcements from their cities and for support (which they much needed) from their allies in Valais and the south. On the same day the prisoners were invited to identify the dead while the Five States rejoiced in their success.

Above all there was tremendous joy when Zwingli's body was found among the dead. All the morning crowds came up, everyone wanting to see Zwingli. The vituperation and insults hurled against him by many jealous people are beyond description. Mr. Bartholomew Stocker of Zug, himself a chaplain, told me after the war that he had been persuaded to see Zwingli in the company of Mr. Hansen Schonbrunner Senior who had formerly been a canon of the Fraumunster and then returned to Zug. Zwingli's face was more like that of a living man than a corpse. Indeed he had exactly the same look as he had when preaching, which was remarkable, and Mr Schonbrunner could not keep back his tears and said 'Had you but been of our faith I know what a stalwart Swiss you would have been. God forgive your sins.' He then returned to Zug, having come for the sole purpose of seeing Zwingli and shortly afterwards he died.

Later that day a crowd of wild young men collected, including pensioners and mercenaries, whom Zwingli had vigorously attacked and who were equally incensed against him. They considered dividing Zwingli's body into five parts, sending one portion to each of the Five States. Others disagreed: who would want to carry round or send forward a heretic? He should be burnt. Some of the leaders, like Schultheiss Golder and Amman Doos, came forward, saying that a dead man should be left in peace. This was not the place for action of this sort. No one could tell how it was going to be settled—some talked about the need for luck, and so on. To this the noisy gang replied that they had discussed the matter fully and they wanted some action to be taken. So injustice triumphed, and when the leaders saw that there was nothing to be

done they went off.

The crowd then spread it abroad throughout the camp that anyone who wanted to denounce Zwingli as a heretic and betrayer of a pious confederation, should come on to the battlefield. There, with great contempt, they set up a court of injustice on Zwingli which decided that his body should be quartered and the portions burnt. All this was carried into effect by the executioner from Lucerne with abundance of abuse; among other things he said that although some had asserted that Zwingli was a sick man he had in fact never seen a more healthy-looking body.

They threw into the fire the entrails of some pigs that had been slaughtered the previous night and then they turned over the embers so that the pigs offal was mixed with Zwingli's ashes. This was done close to the high road to Scheuren.

Verdicts on Zwingli from scholars and ignorant alike were varied. All those who knew him were constant in their praises. Even so there were still more who were critical either because they really did not know him or, if they had known him a little, were determined to show their resentment and spoke ill of him.

Myconius, a contemporary historian, reported in 1536 his own version of Zwingli's death at Kappel.

Three times Zwingli was thrown to the ground by the advancing forces but in each case he stood up again. On the fourth occasion a spear reached his chin and he fell to his knees saying, "They can kill the body but not the soul." And after these words, he fell asleep in the Lord. After the battle, when our forces had withdrawn to a stronger position, the enemy had time to look for Zwingli's body, both his presence and his death having been quickly reported. He was found judgment was passed on him, his body was quartered and burnt to ashes. Three days after the foes had gone away Zwingli's friends came to see if any trace of him was left, and what a miracle! In the midst of the ashes lay his heart whole and undamaged.

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Impatient Radicals: The Anabaptists

Some of Zwingli's closest early associates felt that he and the Zurich City Council were moving too slowly in implementing the Swiss Reformation. Their protests led to persecution.

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The Reformation of Ulrich Zwingli was scripturally based, one in which the Bible was understood to lie at the basis of the changes being instituted. In the dramatic challenge to the established church which came forth from Zwingli the basis of the reform was self-consciously scriptural.

To the nuns at the Oetenbach cloister in 1522 Zwingli had affirmed most strongly the scriptural principle of authority and asserted that the Bible was basically easy to understand if one but trusted God and depended on his Spirit for enlightenment. He affirmed that the Word of God is "certain and cannot fail." Furthermore it was clear and could be understood by any who truly remained open to the message contained therein. Thereby Zwingli opened the door to the interpretation of Scripture to the whole church. It was not necessary to depend on the ecclesiastical authorities for truth. It would come directly from God through his Word.

It was this foundation on which the Reformed Church had been formed at the First Zurich Disputation in January, 1523. Preaching in Zurich was to be according to the Word of God. Zwingli himself had concluded in his fourteenth article before the disputation: "Every Christian should use the greatest diligence so that the Gospel of Christ alone is preached everywhere."

The Reformation in Zurich was not of a monolithic whole. There were some nominal followers of Zwingli who were "evangelical" merely because they opposed the Catholic Church, and a few others because they wanted to be free of the moral restraints that the church sought to maintain. Zwingli had little sympathy with these weak followers.

One group of Zwingli's devoted early followers was to cause him serious problems. The early leader of this cadre of rigorist Christians was Conrad Grebel, the son of an aristocratic Zurich family. Like Zwingli, Grebel was trained as a humanist, having studied in Basel, Vienna and Paris. He became an early ardent supporter of Zwingli, penning a short poem of appreciation to the end of one of Zwingli's treatises in 1522, the *Archeteles*. He was clearly persuaded by Zwingli's vision of true biblical Christianity.

During these early years of the Reformation, Grebel became friends with another follower of Zwingli, Felix Manz. Together the two were committed to the restoration of primitive biblical Christianity and believed that Zwingli was likewise committed.

In the early years of the Reformation in Zurich, as elsewhere, there was considerable unrest lying just beneath the surface. Not all of the issues were religious, although they had religious overtones at times. Some radicals were attacking the payment of rents, tithes, and interest. At the same time there were occurring sporadic outbreaks of iconoclasm in churches in Zurich and outside, much of it intensified by the preaching of Zwingli and his colleague at St. Peter's, Leo Jud.

During the course of 1523 a serious question was being raised in Zurich about the speed of the Reformation. In an effort to maintain the control of the fast-moving events, the City Council called for a second disputation, which took place in October, 1523. In this disputation it was decided that images should eventually be taken out of the churches and that the Mass was not to be considered a sacrifice. It was decided that the changes would take place only gradually—after the people and their pastors had been thoroughly educated in the reasons for the changes. Only thus could one be certain that changes would be thorough and heartfelt.

Soon after the disputation, Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz, and several others, began to question not the basic content of the reform, but the speed with which it was being carried out. Zwingli was much more the gradualist. Grebel and Manz were ready to wipe out the abuses at one blow.

Zwingli's radical followers became increasingly impatient with their leader. They came to believe that he was not as committed to change as were they. They began to meet together to read and study the New Testament. The more they did so, the more convinced they became that a radical reformation was called for. Their attempts to convince Zwingli to move faster were turned aside. They became more and more frustrated.

In September, 1524, Grebel and several friends who were to become the core of the radical movement wrote a letter to Thomas Muntzer. They said, in essence, "We have discovered that the shepherds have remained in error, even our very own leaders. And we have been in error too, until we have begun to take the word of God in our own hands and to read what it is that God expects of us in living a godly life of true faith and practice."

Clearly, in their impatience, the radical Zwinglians began to depart from the great Reformer. Certainly they were still Zwinglian in one significant way: They were committed to the Bible, but their biblicism was of a more radical sort. They came to affirm that only that should be accepted which was expressly allowed in the Scripture. Zwingli, on the other hand, was convinced that the reforms must be linked to the authority of the civil magistrate.

Soon the radicals began to question the advisability of infant baptism. In a letter to the City Council toward the end of 1524, Felix Manz set forth several arguments to the effect that infant baptism was not biblically justifiable. In response the Council called for a disputation which took place in January, 1525. The Council's decisions went against the radicals. They decreed that children be baptized within eight days of birth, and further, it was even forbidden for the radicals to meet together in private.

The radicals would wait no longer. To continue in the practice of infant baptism would be contrary to everything that they now believed was right and true. A few days later the radical brethren met together in the house of Felix Manz. After praying together, one of the brethren, Jorg Blaurock, asked Conrad Grebel to baptize him. He in turn baptized those who were present. This event is considered today to be the beginning of the Anabaptist movement.

In the days that followed that meeting in the home of Felix Manz, several more baptisms were administered to believers who confessed publicly the repentance of their sins. The number of adherents grew. On the following Sunday Blaurock entered the pulpit at Zollikon near Zurich to proclaim the Anabaptist call to repentance and baptism and had to be forcibly evicted.

The council was quick to act. After arresting and examining the majority of the offenders, it was decided that the leaders must leave once and for all, or suffer more serious punishment. The rank and file were fined; the leaders left Zurich, only to be arrested later in the summer in nearby Grunigen. After another disputation and two trials, the three were given life prison sentences but escaped. Grebel died of the plague while in exile. Blaurock fled to the Tyrol where he continued his ministry, eventually dying at the stake in 1529.

Felix Manz was arrested again in late 1526 and on January 25, 1527, was drowned by the authorities with the approval of Zwingli and, apparently, the Christian population of Zurich. He served as a martyr for his faith among the Anabaptists and is considered such until today.

A letter from a present-day Anabaptist to Ulrich Zwingli:

I address you as uncle because in a real sense we are still family and we do owe you much as a father in the faith. To you, we acknowledge, we do owe much, but to the Bible which you taught us even more.

How the passions of the moment reveal the weaknesses of our human frames. We were all caught up in a rising tide of history and we were both fully committed to Christ and the Word of God but how obvious it is now that our commitments are always expressed through our natures that have so much to learn of the love of Christ and the unity of the Spirit.

You insisted on reforming the existing church. We demanded a return to the New Testament. You didn't fully reform, and we didn't fully return. And, we have continued to experience further splits and divisions and mean words, but so have you. Nevertheless, God in His love has still given grace and a ministry to both our movements.

As we look back now, we can both see the issues in a new light and how they could have been handled differently. The enemies as well as the issues have taken new form in my generation, these four centuries later. Can we learn from the mistakes of Zurich? How would you proceed differently? How would we? Both the times and the gospel require our answer! May we begin with forgiveness.

Affectionately,
Anna Stumpf

CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Issue 4: Zwingli: Father of the Swiss Reformation

The Spread of the Zwingli Reformation

Zwingli died before his dreams were fulfilled, but his followers, especially Heinrich Bullinger, spread his Reformed influence throughout Europe, to England, and eventually to America.

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Ulrich Zwingli was the father of the Reformed Reformation in Switzerland but he is the least well remembered of the first generation reformers. He has always been overshadowed by Luther. And the fact that he died in battle has left many unanswered questions about Zwingli's career.

Zwingli hoped first to establish a church in the Canton of Zurich which would serve as the model for a Swiss National Protestant Church. Once this had been done, he planned to spread his doctrine of reform throughout Europe, so that an international Protestant church would be set up which would preserve the best of the traditions of the universal church of the Middle Ages but, at the same time, would be free of the worst abuses of the old church and no longer be governed by the Pope and his corrupt court at Rome.

The European-wide reformed catholic church which Zwingli envisaged was never founded. Zwingli did succeed, however, in introducing his conception of the proper reformation of the church into the major Urban Cantons, the Cantons dominated by cities of German Switzerland. At Berne, Basel, Shaffhausen, and Zurich, Zwingli's conception of how the church should be reformed was followed. For Zwingli this was, of course, only the first step, and for a while it did seem that Zwingli's program would be effective elsewhere in Switzerland.

The peace in Kappel in 1529 left the Protestants free to spread their doctrine in the areas of the Swiss Confederacy jointly administered by the original members of the Confederacy. It was left up to the individual congregations of these regions to decide whether or not to accept the Reformation. In theory, the same freedom was to be extended to the congregations of the Forest or Mountain Cantons of the Confederacy: Schwyz, Uri, Nidwald, and Lucerne and their ally, Canton Zug. This solution was, in fact, not acceptable to the Catholics.

Also unacceptable was the desire of the Protestants to put an end to the custom of selling soldiers for mercenary service to the French and the Papacy. Without the money gained from this practice, the Forest Cantons believed they would be unable to purchase the grain necessary to feed the inhabitants of their mountainous states.

To make matters worse, the Protestant Cantons began to blockade the shipment of grain into the Catholic regions, in order to compel them to accept the spread of Protestantism in their territories. Zwingli opposed this policy and asserted that it would be wiser to go to war with the Catholic regions than to subject them to slow starvation.

Driven to desperation, the Catholic Cantons decided to go to war against the Protestants. They launched their attack upon the center of Protestantism in Switzerland, Canton Zurich, in early October, 1531. The Protestant Cantons had signed a military alliance (the Christian Civic Union) to protect themselves from just such a development, but they were not prepared for war, and there were deep internal divisions among the Protestants.

Zwingli's Dreams Unfulfilled

In the years prior to the outbreak of what is generally termed the Second Kappel War in October, 1531, Zwingli had dreamed of creating a European-wide alliance against the Hapsburgs and had even believed that Catholic France under King Francis I would join this alliance. These schemes were extremely unrealistic and demonstrate the limited understanding which Zwingli had of the diplomatic situation in Europe and how he underestimated the dislike of Catholic rulers like Francis I for the teachings of Protestantism.

In pursuit of these hopes and with the encouragement of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, he had also sought an alliance with the Protestant princes in Germany. The condition for such an alliance was theological agreement between the Swiss Cantons which were Protestant and the Lutheran territorial states. The Landgrave of Hesse arranged the meeting between Zwingli and Luther at Marburg in 1529, known as the Marburg Colloquy. Zwingli and Luther agreed on fourteen doctrinal points but not on the fifteenth which involved the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. This basic disagreement prevented an alliance with the Lutheran states. Except for Berne, the Swiss Protestants did not make an alliance with Hesse, Strassburg, and Constance which were not part of the Swiss Confederacy, but the Protestant Swiss were in fact isolated at a time when the Hapsburgs stood squarely behind the Catholic Cantons as fellow members of the Christian Alliance.

Zwingli also miscalculated the situation in Switzerland. Berne was the key to the Protestant alliance, the Christian Civic Union, because it was the major military Canton of the old Confederacy. Zwingli had depended upon his friend in Berne, Nicholas Manuel, to keep control of affairs in Berne and to keep the city firmly in the Protestant alliance. Manuel died in March, 1530, and Zwingli lost touch with the situation in Berne. The majority of the Bernese favored a policy of westward expansion at the expense of the Duke of Savoy and an alliance with France. They were also not enthusiastic about going to war with the Catholic Cantons, because they felt this would only strengthen Zurich by adding to her territory and military power.

When the Catholic offensive began, Zurich was at first alone. Before Berne came to her aid, Zurich was defeated by the Catholics. Zwingli died fighting in the second line of the Second Battle of Kappel along with thirty other pastors of the Cantonal church. Zurich and Berne made peace with the Catholics and the further spread of Protestantism was stopped in German Switzerland. Zwingli's plans for the establishment of an European anti-Hapsburg alliance and a European Protestant church died with him.

The final result of the lost war was that Berne was free to proceed with the conquest of Canton Vaud which was occupied in 1536. This advance spread Protestantism to the borders of the episcopal city of Geneva whose overlord was the Duke of Savoy. As a result of this development, it was possible to introduce Protestantism to Geneva with Bernese aid. Without Berne's support, Geneva could never have become an international center of Protestantism under the leadership of John Calvin. Indeed, eventually Geneva became more important for the development of international reformed Protestantism than was Zurich.

Bullinger Spreads Zwingli's Ideas

It was left to Zwingli's successor as Bishop (artistes) of Zurich, Heinrich Bullinger, who served over four decades between 1531 and 1575, to establish Zurich as a center of international Protestantism. Until the founding of the Genevan Academy in 1556, the Carolinum at Zurich was the only theological college in Europe where students could study Reformed theology. Later both Zurich and Geneva were overshadowed by Heidelberg and the Dutch universities which became the centers of Reformed thought by the early Seventeenth Century. Nevertheless, Bullinger's leadership made a notable contribution to Reformed Protestantism.

Bullinger's *Decades of Sermons*, which began to appear in 1549, were more widely read in some parts of Europe than were Calvin's *Institutes*. After 1586 they were required reading for English clergymen who had not taken a university degree. The ships of the Dutch East India Company carried the *Decades* as far as Java and Sumatra. Bullinger's *Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles* went through seven editions and were quite probably more widely disseminated than those of Calvin. The incipient covenant theology present in Zwingli's writings was further elaborated in Bullinger's *De Testamento* and *Der alte Gloub*. Bullinger's conception of covenant theology undoubtedly played its role in the development of normative Reformed covenant theology, i.e. the federal theology during the early part of the Seventeenth Century. This theology was brought to North America by the Puritans. Bullinger also deepened Zwingli's Eucharistic theology which certainly did influence the development of the Anglican doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Bullinger also accepted Zwingli's idea that the control of excommunication should be in the hands of the magistrate. Bullinger's efforts to spread this doctrine in the Rhineland-Palatinate through his friend and fellow Argauer the physician, Thomas Erastus, ended in failure. Conflict with Geneva over the Genevan concept of excommunication which meant that the church should bar evildoers from the Lord's Supper overshadowed Bullinger's final years as Bishop of Zurich. Fourteen years after his death, Erastus' defense of the Zurich conception of excommunication was published in London with the help of the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift.

Bullinger's relations with England and Hungary were particularly successful. This success was in part the result of the remarkable correspondence which Bullinger carried on with theologians and political leaders in all parts of Europe. It caused him to be one of the best informed men of his day. In February 1567 the first Synod of the Hungarian Reformed Church met in Debrecen, which was destined to become a major Reformed educational center, and accepted Bullinger's *Confessio Helvetica Posterior* as their national church's confession.

Bullinger's contacts with England broadened the small beginning which had been made towards the end of Zwingli's life, when the Zurich artistes was asked to give his opinion about the validity of Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon. By 1538 Bullinger had dedicated his *De Scripturae Sanctoe Autoritate* and the *De Episcoporum qui verbi ministri sunt* to King Henry VIII. These early contacts were certainly encouraged by Henry's Vice-regent, Thomas Cromwell, though there was no direct contact between Bullinger and Cromwell. The third and fourth *Decades of Sermons* composed by Bullinger were later dedicated to Henry's son, Edward VI (1547–1553), which is an indication that the ties between Zurich and England deepened as time went on.

Bullinger's hospitality to a group of Marian exiles between 1553 and 1558 cemented his close relationship to the English Church. The group included the future apologist for the Church of England, John Jewel, later Bishop of Salisbury, and the future Archbishop of York, Edmund Sandys, as well as Cox of Ely, and Parkhurst of Norwich, and the influential second Earl of Bedford. Bullinger worked together with these bishops to keep the followers of Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper from getting parishes in the Elizabethan Church. He also aided and supported them in every way in their struggle against the Puritans led by Thomas Cartwright, as did his aide, Rudolph Gwalther. The basis for their cooperation was a shared belief that the state should control the external affairs of the church and a conviction on the part of both Bullinger and the English bishops that reformed episcopacy was the proper form of government for Christ's Church. The English did not adopt the Zurich conception of the role of the magistrate and the clergy in governing Christian society as some have claimed. They had already developed a similar conception before they learned of the way in which the Zurich Church was governed. After Bullinger's death, the Swiss connection with England came to an end.

Schlatter and Schaff

Two Swiss Reformed pastors have had an important impact upon North American church history. Michael Schlatter (1716–1790) was a native of St. Gall and came to America in 1746 as a representative of the Dutch Reformed classis of Amsterdam. His work in organizing the coetus (synod) of the German Reformed Church in the Middle Colonies was successful. However, his willingness to cooperate with the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Knowledge of God, in order to help the German Reformed, and his difficulty with the radical pietists led by Philip William Otterbein (1726–1813) cast a long shadow over his final years in the colonies.

The second Swiss Reformed pastor and scholar of importance was Philip Schaff (1819–1893), who came from Berlin to Mercersburg in 1843 and along with John Williamson Nevin (1803–1886) developed the Mercersburg Theology. This theology was really the first American theology which took into account the contribution of German theology and biblical criticism to modern religious thought. This fact did not make it popular in America and Schaff's assertion in his ***The Principle of Protestantism, as Related to the Present State of the Church*** that the Reformation reflected a flowering of Medieval Catholicism upset many.

Schaff was really the father of the "scientific" study of church history in America. The work, ***What Is Church History? A Vindication of the Idea of Historical Development***, was of enormous importance to American church historians. Volume 7 of Schaff's ***History of the Christian Church: Modern Christianity The Swiss Reformation*** reminded Americans of the importance of moderation in Zwingli's theology. Schaff's picture of Zwingli offered an alternative to the more rigid concepts of Reformed theology presented by the adherents of Calvin and his followers. Thanks to Schaff, Zwingli finally began to play a small role in American religious thought.

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Zwingli: Father of the Swiss Reformation: Recommended Resources

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