Church History <u>Lesson 29 - Ulrich Zwingli and the "German" Swiss Reformation</u>

1. Introduction - The Reformation Outside of Germany

- **1.1.** In the last two sessions we focused on the extraordinary life and ministry of Martin Luther. In those sessions our focus was the Reformation inside of Germany.
- **1.2.** However, it is important to understand that the Reformation spread outside of Germany almost immediately. One of the first and most important places where Reformation broke out was Switzerland.
- **1.3.** Because of Switzerland's location and culture, to study the Reformation there we need to break it into a "German" and a "French" reformation. This is not because they had radically different theologies or practices, but because they spoke different languages and had different cultural expressions.
- **1.4.** We will study Zwingli and the "German" Swiss Reformation this time, and then move to Calvin and the "French" Swiss Reformation in future sessions.

2. The Early Life of Ulrich Zwingli

- **2.1.** Zwingli was born in the small village of Wildhaus in Switzerland in January 1484. Thus, he was an exact contemporary of Luther, being only two months younger. His family were farmers, and as was common, had many children. Zwingli was the third of nine children. His father also named Ulrich was also the local magistrate.
 - **2.1.1.** Ulrich Zwingli was born in a small Swiss village in January 1484, less than two months after Luther. Gonzales, location 1004
 - **2.1.2.** Zwingli was born on New Year's Day 1484 in the small alpine village of Wildhaus in Saint Gall. He was the third child among nine siblings in a family of farmers. His father, also named Ulrich, served as the Amtmann, or chief local magistrate. Woodbridge and James, location 3021
- 2.2. Zwingli was brilliant, and received a good education. During his time in Bern (1496-1498) he came under the influence of Erasmian humanism. This influence was further nurtured during his time at universities in Vienna and Basel, and it remained with him for the rest of his life. In good Erasmian fashion he became proficient in Greek and devoted himself to the study of the Greek New Testament, having been ordained as a priest of the Swiss village of Glarus. Although many Swiss priests were ignorant of the Scriptures, Zwingli made a personal copy of Erasmus' Greek New Testament, and kept it with him at all times so he could memorize as much of the New Testament in Greek as possible. During this time he also read the early church fathers, corresponded with Erasmus, and grew in the conviction of the primacy of Scripture over all else.
 - **2.2.1.** Zwingli himself seems to have undergone several reformations. Initially, he was heavily indebted to Erasmian humanism, which he first encountered during a two-year stint in Bern (1496–98) studying under the humanist Henry Wölfflin and then nurtured further at the universities of Vienna and Basel. Woodbridge and James, location 3024
 - 2.2.2. he studied in Basel and Bern, where humanism was thriving. He then went to the University of Vienna, and again studied in Basel. After receiving a Master of Arts degree in 1506, he became a priest in the Swiss village of Glarus. -Gonzales, location 1005

- **2.2.3.** There he continued his humanistic studies, and became proficient in Greek. Gonzales, location 1006
- 2.2.4. records show that many parish priests in Switzerland at that time were ignorant, and that some had never even read the entire New Testament. In contrast, when Erasmus published his Greek New Testament, Zwingli made a copy of it which he carried with him in order to memorize as much of it as possible. Gonzales, location 1007
- 2.2.5. In typical Erasmian fashion, he devoted himself to the study of New Testament Greek and the early church fathers. He even corresponded with Erasmus himself. What is perhaps most significant about the Glarus years was his growing conviction of the primacy of Scripture. - Woodbridge and James, location 3027
- 2.3. The other major influence on Zwingli at this time was Swiss nationalism. This too would remain a shaping force throughout his life. The Swiss at this time were renowned soldiers, even serving as personal body guards to the Pope. As a result, many Swiss became mercenaries. Thus, in 1512 and again in 1515 Zwingli accompanied Swiss mercenaries to serve as their chaplain. However, the campaign in 1515 went badly for the Swiss, and many of them died. Zwingli thus became convinced that the mercenary service of the Swiss was evil and harmed the moral fiber of the Swiss people as a whole. He said the Swiss were selling blood for gold. As he began to preach against the mercenary trade, he eventually moved from Glarus to parish of Einsiedeln in 1516. It was here that even more of his views began to change, and his fame began to grow.
 - **2.3.1.** In 1512, and again in 1515, Zwingli went on Italian campaigns with mercenary soldiers from his district. Gonzales, location 1011
 - **2.3.2.** This convinced him that one of the great evils of Switzerland was that mercenary service destroyed the moral fiber of society—or, as he would say, that the Swiss were selling blood for gold. Gonzales, location 1014
 - **2.3.3.** Zwingli began publicly to criticize the Swiss mercenary trade. His political opposition to the mercenary trade led to his departure from Glarus to the parish of Einsiedeln in 1516. Woodbridge and James, location 3032

3. Zwingli's Growing Theology and Break with the Roman Church

- 3.1. In 1516 Zwingli left Glarus and was made a priest of an abbey located at Einsiedeln. Many people came here for pilgrimage, but Zwingli soon began preaching against such practices. He declared that such practices had no support in Scripture and that they did not bring one salvation or contribute to it in any way. This drew a lot of attention to him, as did his denunciation of the selling of indulgences. Furthermore, Zwingli gained wide fame because of his skill as a teacher of Scripture. During this time Zwingli began to preach through biblical texts and books rather than following the texts prescribed by the lectionary. Although the practice of preaching through books of Scripture, known as lectio continua, had been widely practiced in the early church by such greats as Chrysostom, this practice had been abandoned for so long that it created a huge stir. Clearly, his theology and practice was making a clear break with the teachings and practices of medieval Roman Catholicism.
 - **3.1.1.** After spending ten years at Glarus, Zwingli was made a priest of an abbey to which many went on pilgrimage. He soon drew attention to himself by

- preaching against the notion that exercises such as pilgrimages could avail for salvation, and declaring that he found nothing in the New Testament in support of such practices. Gonzales, location 1017
- 3.1.2. In Einsiedeln, Zwingli's growing facility with the Greek and Hebrew of the biblical text led him to begin preaching in a different way. Instead of preaching from appointed texts as directed by the lectionary, he expounded the biblical text, verse by verse, chapter by chapter (lectio continua), and quickly gained a reputation for his expositional preaching. Woodbridge and James, location 3034
- **3.1.3.** Moreover, his activist brand of Erasmian humanism compelled him to denounce publicly the exploitive Franciscan indulgence-seller Bernard Sampson and run him out of town. Woodbridge and James, location 3036
- 3.2. In December 1518 Zwingli was to be transferred to Zurich. The people in this important city had heard of Zwingli's excellent preaching and strong biblical knowledge and they elected him to serve as their priest and teacher at the Grossmunster (Great Minster). However, as part of the procedure, Zwingli confessed to a sexual encounter with a young woman while he served at Einsiedeln. However, since the main competitor for the post was a priest with 6 illegitimate children the people forgave this past sin and he went to Zurich, preaching his first sermon there on January 1, 1519. From the start, the quality of his preaching, and the fact that it was done in the vernacular, caused a sensation within the city. When combined with his learning and personal devotion and piety, he quickly won approval of many. His popularity was further enhanced during the plague of 1519. During this plague over a quarter of the population died, and Zwingli himself almost died as he fearlessly and constantly cared for his ailing flock.
 - 3.2.1. Zwingli's biblical fervor and reputation for excellent preaching prompted his selection as leutpriester (people's priest) in December 1518 at the Grossmünster (Great Minster) in Zürich on the banks of the Limmat River. Woodbridge and James, location 3038
 - **3.2.2.** His appointment was nearly undone by his confession of a sexual dalliance with a local girl while serving in Einsiedeln. But for the fact that his main competitor for the post was a priest with six illegitimate children, Zwingli may have never preached a single sermon in Zürich. Woodbridge and James, location 3039
 - **3.2.3.** His fame grew to the point that in 1518 he was transferred to Zürich. By that time he had reached conclusions similar to those of Luther. Gonzales, location 1019
 - **3.2.4.** Yet he did preach his first sermon on January 1, 1519, and it created quite a sensation among the Zürichers. Although his expository preaching in the vernacular was highly unusual, Woodbridge and James, location 3041
 - **3.2.5.** Zwingli's preaching, devotion, and learning soon won him the respect of his parishioners in Zürich. In 1519, the city suffered a plague that killed over a quarter of the population, and infected Zwingli as he tended to his flock; he barely survived. Gonzales, location 1025
 - **3.2.6.** Between August 1519 and February 1520 more than a quarter of the population of Zürich became victims of the plague. Zwingli did not retreat from his pastoral responsibilities as he sought to console the sick and dying. Woodbridge and James, location 3060

- 3.2.7. By autumn, he too contracted the disease. Bedridden and with his own death before him, Zwingli rather poignantly surrendered himself to the will of God. -Woodbridge and James, location 3061
- **3.2.8.** In his famous prayer-poem, titled the Pestlied (Plague Song), Zwingli solemnly declared to God, "Do as you will for I lack nothing. I am your vessel to be restored or destroyed." This sense of absolute resignation to the divine will, which some see as a Stoic influence, finds fuller expression in his important work On Providence. Woodbridge and James, location 3063
- **3.2.9.** Against the odds, Zwingli did recover from the plague and pursued reform with even more vigor. Woodbridge and James, location 3065
- 3.3. By the time Zwingli arrived in Zurich he had already arrived at a number of the same conclusions that Luther was arriving at in Germany. These were solidified by two incidents. First, when a Franciscan monk arrived to sell indulgences, Zwingli convinced the city government to have the monk expelled. Second, when Francis I and the Pope were at war with Charles V and requested Swiss mercenaries, every canton except Zurich complied. However, further pressure from the Pope convinced the government to change course and send mercenaries. Zwingli strongly disagreed with this action, and it further fixed his attention on the abuses of the Papacy.
 - **3.3.1.** When a seller of indulgences arrived, Zwingli convinced the government that he should be expelled from the city before he could peddle his wares. Gonzales, location 1027
 - 3.3.2. Then Francis I of France, who was at war with Charles V, requested mercenary contingents from the Swiss Confederation, and all cantons sent their soldiers—except Zürich. The pope, an ally of Francis, insisted that Zürich had an obligation to the papacy, and prevailed on the government to send mercenary soldiers to serve under Francis. That incident directed Zwingli's attention to the abuses of the papacy, Gonzales, location 1028
- 3.4. By this time it was clear that Zwingli had many of the same ideas as Luther. His enemies claimed he was a follower of Luther, though Zwingli maintained that he had arrived at these points by the close study of Scripture not from reading Luther. In any event, by 1522 (the same year as the Diet of Worms) Zwingli was working to institute Protestant principles and practice in Zurich. He convinced the government to help him implement this. By this time Zwingli had moved far beyond moral criticisms such as those of Erasmus and was openly criticizing doctrinal teachings and practices of the Roman church. This came to a head during Lent 1522 when Zwingli preached against laws requiring fasting and abstinence during Lent and defended the rights of several of his parishioners to eat meat during Lent, which was prohibited by the Roman Church. However, the parishioners were put in jail for violating the Lent rules. This became famously known as "The Sausage Affair" but the underlying issue was one of the authority of Scripture versus the authority of the church. Zwingli preached against the requirement, showing it had no biblical warrant, and the parishioners were released from jail. The bishop brought charges against Zwingli, but he successfully defended himself by Scripture and was all owed to continue preaching.
 - 3.4.1. Now Zwingli's enemies spread the word that his teachings were the same as those of the German heretic. Later, Zwingli would declare that, even before having heard of Luther's teachings, he had come to similar conclusions through his study of the Bible. Gonzales, location 1033

- 3.4.2. The reformation in Zürich was political as well as theological. Zwingli displayed extraordinary political skill, persuading the city councilors that the political goals of the city were intertwined with the doctrinal teaching of Protestantism. Woodbridge and James, location 3067
- **3.4.3.** His reformation was in a very real sense a reformation in collaboration with the city magistrates a magisterial reformation. Woodbridge and James, location 3069
- 3.4.4. Up to 1522, Zwingli's criticism of the church was confined to matters of moral corruption. But after 1522 his criticisms became more trenchant and reached beyond the moral to the doctrinal realm. In this regard he bypassed Erasmus and entered the domain of Protestantism. Woodbridge and James, location 3070
- **3.4.5.** In any case, by 1522, the year after the Diet of Worms, Zwingli was ready to undertake the great task of reformation, and the Council of Government of Zürich was ready to support him in this endeavor. Gonzales, location 1036
- 3.4.6. The decisive point of departure occurred during Lent of 1522, when Zwingli defended the right of several of his parishioners to reject the church's prohibition against eating meat during Lent. In the famous "Sausage Affair," Zwingli mounted the pulpit in the Grossmünster and argued that Scripture nowhere requires such a rule. The magistrates were persuaded and released the parishioners from jail. Woodbridge and James, location 3072
- 3.4.7. In 1522, when Zwingli preached against the laws of fasting and abstinence, and some of his parishioners gathered to eat sausages during Lent, the suffragan bishop of Constance accused the preacher before the Council of Government. But Zwingli defended his preaching on the basis of Scripture, and he was allowed to continue preaching. Gonzales, location 1040
- 3.5. A few months later Zwingli caused further consternation for his superiors in the church by preaching against clerical celibacy and then requesting permission for he and ten other Swiss priests to marry. By this point Zwingli had already secretly married and was living with a widow named Anna Reinhart, so it was not an idle debate! The bishop denied the request, but Zwingli defied the bishop and the church hierarchy. (He eventually had a public ceremony in April 1524, by which time Anna was pregnant with their first of three children.) This led to three public disputations where Zwingli was to present and defend his ideas. A representative of the bishop was present. The tone was set at the first one where Zwingli stood in front on the gathered crowd with a table with an open Hebrew Old Testament. Greek New Testament, and Latin Vulgate. The bishops representative said the Universities at Paris and Louvain should be consulted on the ideas. Zwingli retorted that then Erfurt and Wittenberg should be consulted as well. However, he continued the final authority lay on the table in front of them - the Scripture. He said "What are these new doctrines? The gospel? Why that is 1522 years old. The teaching of the apostles? Why they are almost as old as the Gospel....We will try everything by the touchstone of the gospel and the fire of Paul." In effect, Zwingli was saying that he and other reformers were simply restoring the faith and practice of the New Testament church - it was the Roman Church that was the innovators! Zwingli argued against clerical celibacy, for salvation by grace alone, the ultimate authority of Scripture over the traditions of the church, rejected papal authority, the mass, good works for salvation, intercession of the saints, the doctrine of purgatory, and

the practice of penance. The city sided with Zwingli and when Zurich abolished the mass in 1525 it became a Protestant city/canton.

- **3.5.1.** he expanded the scope of his attacks on traditional Christianity by declaring that priestly celibacy was not biblical, and further declaring that those who commanded it did not follow their own injunctions. Gonzales, location 1043
- 3.5.2. He and ten other priests had written to the pope requesting permission to marry. When his petition was denied, he secretly married the widow Anna Reinhart, who would be a faithful companion and supporter the rest of his life. Gonzales, location 1044
- 3.5.3. A few months later, he and ten other Swiss priests petitioned the presiding bishop of Constance to allow them to marry. At the time, Zwingli was already living with the widow Anna Reinhart, so he had a vested interest in this petition. The bishop, of course, denied their request, but in defiance of the bishop, Zwingli secretly continued his living arrangement with Anna. He subsequently married Anna in a public ceremony in 1524, shortly before the birth of their first child. Woodbridge and James, location 3076
- **3.5.4.** This led the Council of Government to call for a debate between Zwingli and a representative of the bishop. Gonzales, location 1047
- **3.5.5.** Zwingli expounded on several theses, and defended them on the basis of Scripture. The bishop's representative refused to respond to him, declaring that a general council would gather soon, and at that time, all the matters currently being debated would be settled. When he was asked to try to show that Zwingli was wrong, he again refused to do so. Therefore, the council decided that, since no one had refuted Zwingli's teachings, he was free to continue preaching. This decision marked Zürich's final break with the bishopric of Constance, and therefore with Rome. Gonzales, location 1049
- 3.5.6. Through a series of three disputations in 1523 and 1524, under the auspices of the city council, Zwingli took a distinctively Protestant stance on clerical celibacy, salvation by grace alone, and the ultimate authority of Scripture over the traditions of the church, while rejecting papal authority, the mass, good works for salvation, intercession of the saints, penance, and purgatory. Woodbridge and James, location 3080
- **3.5.7.** The final rejection of Catholic authority came in April 1525, when the city council abolished the mass in Zürich. From that point on, Zürich was a Protestant city. Woodbridge and James, location 3083

4. Zwingli's Theological Method and Practice - Similarities and Differences with Luther

4.1. In many areas, the Reformation in Zurich was similar to that in Germany. As seen above, Luther and Zwingli shared the same understanding of the Gospel and most theology. They also critiqued many of the same doctrines and practices of the church. When it came to reforming worship, there were also areas of commonality. They abolished the old mass. The new worship gave a far greater place to the preaching of the Word (though this was even more pronounced in Zurich.) Also, communion in both kinds was offered to the laity, and many priests and former monks and nuns were married. Both Reformers linked their Reformation to the civil government, seeking and retaining the favor of the civil magistrate to help in the spread of the doctrines of the Reformation within their realm. Finally, the level of

public education was greatly enhanced. If people were to understand the Word, they needed to be educated!

- **4.1.1.** Rapid changes took place in Zürich under Zwingli's direction. Communion in both kinds—the bread and the cup—was offered to the laity. Many priests, former monks, and nuns were married. General public education, with no class distinctions, became the norm. Gonzales, location 1060
- However there were also differences. For Zwingli, the fundamental principle must 4.2. always be the authority of Scripture. In this he was even more radical than Luther. For Luther, anything that did not contradict Scripture could be practiced in the worship and life of the church. For Zwingli, however, only things finding explicit Scriptural support should be taught and practiced. Thus, anything that was not found int he Scripture should be rejected. Furthermore, anything that detracted from the centrality of Scripture in worship should be rejected. This led to a number of differences int he way the Reformation developed in Zurich from in Germany. Zwingli suppressed the use of instruments in worship, for he did not find modern instruments in Scripture. (And it should be noted that Zwingli himself was an expert violinist, so he was not against music in general - just as part of worship!) Furthermore, communion should only be celebrated four times a year, and the people should remain in their seats. However, communion in both kinds (bread and cup) was given to everyone. In sum, Luther tended to retain more of Roman Catholic practice than Zwingli.
 - **4.2.1.** The fundamental principle guiding Zwingli was that every doctrine and practice must be judged according to Scripture. Woodbridge and James, location 3082
 - 4.2.2. Zwingli's main goal was to restore biblical faith and practice. But in the exact content of this program he differed from Luther, for while the German was willing to retain all traditional uses that did not contradict the Bible, the Swiss insisted that all that had no explicit scriptural support must be rejected. This led him, for instance, to suppress the use of organs in church, for such instruments—as well as the violin, which he played expertly—were not found in the Bible. But he also banned music and other practices that do appear in the Bible, on the grounds that nothing should be allowed to lead the mind away from the central task of hearing the Word of God. Gonzales, location 1054
 - **4.2.3.** Even communion should not be celebrated too frequently, for it could detract from the Word, and therefore Zwingli preferred that it be celebrated only four times a year, and that people remain seated as they partook. Gonzales, location 1058
- 4.3. Part of the reason for these differences also lay in their very different paths to faith, and their backgrounds and relationship to Renaissance humanism. Luther had been a tormented soul who searched and found solace in Scripture that he had never found in all of his studies. Zwingli on the other hand was a devoted humanist who studied Scripture, not because he was a tortured soul looking for relief, but because as a humanist he wanted to return to the source of the faith Scripture. This meant that Zwingli had a much more positive view of the power and usefulness of reason in the service of the faith than did Luther. This difference in background and approach meant that they arrived and similar conclusions from different paths and reasons, and that they tended to stress different aspects of the same truth. For example,

Luther taught predestination based on his experience of knowing himself powerless in the face of sin; only God could save him. Zwingli, on the other hand also taught predestination, but for much more logical reasons based on the nature of God as revealed in Scripture.

- 4.3.1. Since Zwingli's theology coincided with Luther's on many points, it shall suffice here to show the main points of contrast between the two reformers. The main difference between them resulted from the paths that each followed. While Luther's was that of a tormented soul that finally found solace in the biblical message of justification by faith, Zwingli's was that of the humanist who studied Scripture because it was the source of Christian faith, and humanism encouraged such return to the sources. Gonzales, location 1081
- **4.3.2.** This in turn meant that Zwingli had a more positive view of the power of reason than did Luther. Gonzales, location 1085
- 4.3.3. For Luther, the doctrine of predestination was the expression and the result of his experience of knowing himself powerless before his own sin, and therefore finding himself forced to declare that his salvation was not his own work, but God's. In contrast, Zwingli saw predestination as the logical consequence of the nature of God. For the Swiss reformer, the main argument in favor of predestination was that, since God is both omnipotent and omniscient, God knows and determines all things beforehand. Luther would not employ such arguments, but would be content with declaring that predestination is necessary because human beings are incapable a doing anything for their own salvation. He would probably have rejected Zwingli's arguments as the result of reason, and not of biblical revelation nor of the experience of the gospel. Gonzales, location 1091
- 4.4. Furthermore, as a humanist, Zwingli was more influenced by a long history of Neoplatonic philosophy which led to a more suspicious stance regarding the material world. This tradition tended to downplay the importance of the material and to contrast it with the spiritual. This was part of why Zwingli wanted very stripped down, simple worship too much involvement of the senses would stir up the flesh and suppress the spirit. This also underlie part of the difference regarding the sacraments. For Zwingli, a sacramental view created too close a link between the physical and the spiritual. Thus, both baptism and the Lord's Supper were seen as ordinances (where the work of Christ was remembered by the believer) rather than sacraments (where the believer was actually united to the work of Christ in a spiritual way).
 - **4.4.1.** Zwingli's view of original Christianity had been colored by a particular tradition of whose influence he was not fully aware: the long history of a Neoplatonic interpretation of Christianity Gonzales, location 1097
 - **4.4.2.** One element in that tradition is a tendency to undervalue matter, and to contrast it with spiritual reality. This was one of the reasons why Zwingli insisted on a simple form of worship, one that would not lead the believer to the material through excessive use of the senses. Luther, on the other hand, saw the material, not as an obstacle, but as an aid to spiritual life. Gonzales, location 1099
 - **4.4.3.** The consequences of these diverging views were evident in the two reformers' understanding of sacraments, particularly the eucharist. While

Luther held that an inner divine action took place when the outer human action was performed, Zwingli refused to grant such efficacy to the sacraments, for this would limit the freedom of the Spirit. For him, the material elements, and the physical actions that accompany them, can be no more than signs or symbols of spiritual reality. - Gonzales, location 1102

5. The Marburg Colloquy

- **5.1.** In an attempt to unite the various branches of the growing Reformation, a meeting was proposed by Philip of Hesse. He viewed this as a way to create an important alliance between the Lutheran's in Germany and their Protestant brothers in Switzerland in the face of the threat posed by Charles V, the Roman Catholic Holy Roman Emperor. Thus, he invited the parties to meet at his castle in Marburg in October of 1529. The purpose of the meeting was to resolve any theological differences and to establish a defensive political/military alliance.
 - **5.1.1.** Philip of Hesse wanted to capitalize politically on the expansion of Protestantism to form a defensive alliance between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians. Woodbridge and James, location 3129
 - 5.1.2. meet face-to-face at his castle in Marburg (October 1529) to resolve theological differences and thus establish the basis for a political alliance. -Woodbridge and James, location 3131
- 5.2. The meeting included a number of the leading Reformers: Luther and Melanchthon from Wittenberg, Bucer from Strasbourg, Oecolampadius from Basel, and Zwingli from Zürich. To Luther's surprise they quickly reached agreement on fourteen out of the fifteen points that Luther had proposed for discussion. These included virtually every major doctrine of the Reformation and difference between Protestants and Romans Catholics. The lone point of disagreement was over the nature of the Lord's Supper. On this issue Luther famously kept writing writing and saying the words of institution on the table in chalk: Hoc est corpus meum ("This is my body"). Despite early misgivings, even here a great deal was agreed upon. Luther admitted that contrary to Roman Catholic doctrine of ex opere operato, the Supper was of no value unless received in faith. For his part, Zwingli agreed that the Supper is more than a mere memorial - there is a spiritual communion with Christ. For a time it appeared that even here union might be reached, but Melanchthon, who feared that the proposed union might needlessly anger the Emperor, reminded Luther that the Zwinglian position of total denial of the real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist might further alienate German Roman Catholics and end hope of unification. For his part Zwingli still wanted to formally recognize one another as brothers and to practice intercommunion. However, the talks finally broke down over the lone point of the nature of Christ's Presence in the Lord's Supper. Luther, ever the controversialist declared "It is obvious that we do not have the same spirit." Luther had written in 1527 that he would "Rather drink pure blood with the Pope than mere wine with the fanatics" - and this point sadly continued to override all of the other agreements. Thus, the Lutheran and Reformed traditions within the Protestant world developed distinctly and along different paths.
 - **5.2.1.** when political circumstances led Landgrave Philip of Hesse to try to bring together the German and Swiss reformers, the question of how Christ is present at communion proved to be an insurmountable obstacle. This took

- place in 1529, when under the bidding of Philip the main leaders of the reformation gathered at Marburg: Gonzales, location 1111
- 5.2.2. Luther and Melanchthon from Wittenberg, Bucer from Strasbourg, Oecolampadius from Basel, and Zwingli from Zürich. On fourteen out of fifteen issues there was agreement, but not on the meaning and efficacy of communion. Perhaps even there an agreement could have been reached, had Melanchthon not reminded Luther that a compromise with Zwingli on this point would further alienate Catholic Germans whom Luther and his companions still hoped to win for their cause. Gonzales, location 1113
- 5.2.3. Luther had only reluctantly agreed to participate in the Colloquy of Marburg,
 but Zwingli was especially eager to secure a political alliance if at all possible.
 Woodbridge and James, location 3137
- 5.2.4. Philipp Melanchthon, on the other hand, feared that a political alliance with Zürich and the southern Germans might provoke the emperor, so his political sensibilities predisposed him against any formal theological agreement. With these political concerns suffusing the theological discussion, it is little wonder that the talks failed. Woodbridge and James, location 3132
- 5.2.5. Luther proposed fifteen articles to be discussed and was rather astonished that he and Zwingli quickly came to agreement on fourteen of the articles (dealing with topics such as the Trinity, infant baptism, and governmental authority) and even found common ground on much of the fifteenth. Woodbridge and James, location 3140
- 5.2.6. This final article concerned the Eucharist, and both men agreed in rejecting transubstantiation and Christ's sacrifice in the mass. But neither Reformer would budge on the matter of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. Luther insisted that Christ is really substantially present "in, with and under" the elements, while Zwingli stressed that Christ's body is in heaven at the right hand of the Father and therefore could not be really present in the Eucharist. Woodbridge and James, location 3142
- **5.2.7.** writing the words of institution on the table in chalk: Hoc est corpus meum ("This is my body"). This was Luther's shot across the Zwinglian bow that any agreement would acknowledge that Christ is really present in the sacramental elements. Woodbridge and James, location 3138
- **5.2.8.** The success of the colloquy hinged on this one point, and when no theological compromise could be found, the hoped-for political alliance could not materialize. Luther summed up the colloquy by saying, "It is obvious that we do not have the same spirit." Woodbridge and James, location 3146
- **5.2.9.** the phrase attributed to Luther at the Colloquy of Marburg, "we are not of the same spirit," correctly summarizes the situation. Their differences regarding communion were not an unimportant detail in the whole of their theologies, but were rather the result of their divergent views on the relation between matter and spirit, and therefore on the nature of God's revelation. Gonzales, location 1118
- 5.2.10. These and other differences between Luther and Zwingli would give rise to two Protestant traditions, the Lutheran and the Reformed, that would differ particularly on the matter of the Lord's presence in the eucharist. - Gonzales, location 1121

5.2.11.Efforts to end this historic meeting with a joint celebration of the Lord's Supper also failed. The two parties did agree to refrain from further denunciations — an agreement that also failed. - Woodbridge and James, location 3148

6. The Death of Zwingli

- **6.1.** Although Zwingli was based in Zurich, his ideas had quickly spread into southern Germany and into other Swiss cantons. In some of the cantons, the ideas took hold and became the official position the canton became part of the Protestant Reformation. However, in other cantons the ideas did not persuade the leaders and the canton remained Roman Catholic. When placed on top of other causes of friction, it seemed that Switzerland was headed for civil war.
 - **6.1.1.** And many took it upon themselves to spread Zwingli's ideas to other Swiss cantons. Gonzales, location 1062
 - 6.1.2. Within that mosaic, some cantons became Protestant, while others continued in their obedience to Rome and its hierarchy. Religious disagreement, added to other causes of friction, made civil war seem inevitable. - Gonzales, location 1065
- 6.2. Inevitably, cantons tried to prevent the spread of the opposing ideas within their own territory. In Zurich, Roman Catholics were permitted, but were prohibited from serving in government. In the Roman Catholic canton of Schwyz, the Protestant preacher Jacob Kaiser was actually executed as a heretic. In this growing tension the Roman Catholic cantons sought an alliance with the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. In response, Zwingli urged the Protestant cantons to take action. A preemptive military strike was proposed but rejected. Instead, an economic blockade of the Roman Catholic cantons was enacted. In response, the five Roman Catholic cantons joined in a surprise attack on Zurich in October of 1531. Zurich barely had time to prepare for the attack, and could only quickly muster 1,500 to meet a force of 8,000. The battle took place at Kappel, and the army of Zurich was defeated. Zwingli, who had gone out with the first part of the army hoping to allow time for others to prepare, was seriously injured. (Zwingli was actually serving as a soldier and not just a chaplain). When he was discovered, the soldiers tried to force him to pray to the Virgin Mary. When he refused, legend states that he shouted "You may kill the body but you can not kill the soul!" He was then stabbed to death, and his body was quartered and burned, and his ashes were mixed with dung. Sadly, when Luther heard this news he did not grieve for a fallen brother but merely regarded Zwingli's death as the judgment of God for having taken up the sword in behalf of the Gospel.
 - **6.2.1.** The Protestant preacher Jacob Kaiser was executed as a heretic in the Catholic canton of Schwyz. Woodbridge and James, location 3150
 - **6.2.2.** The Catholic cantons took steps to seek an alliance with Charles V, and Zwingli recommended that the Protestant cantons take the military initiative before it was too late. But authorities in the Protestant areas were not willing to be the first to resort to arms. When Zürich finally decided that it was time to go to war, the other Protestant cantons disagreed. Against Zwingli's advice, economic measures were taken against the Catholic cantons, Gonzales, location 1067

- **6.2.3.** But Zwingli's activism got the best of him, and he persuaded the Zürich city council to mount an economic blockade against the Catholic cantons that prohibited Protestant preachers in their territories. Woodbridge and James, location 3152
- 6.2.4. The Catholic cantons refused to accept passively the blockade and launched a surprise attack on an unsuspecting and unprepared Zürich in October 1531.
 Woodbridge and James, location 3153
- **6.2.5.** In October of 1531, the five Catholic cantons joined in a surprise attack on Zürich. The defenders hardly had time to prepare for combat, for they did not know that they were at war until they saw the enemy's banners. Zwingli marched out with the first soldiers, hoping to resist long enough to allow the rest of the army to organize to defend the city. Gonzales, location 1071
- **6.2.6.** In Kappel, the Catholic cantons defeated the army of Zürich, and Zwingli was killed after the battle by a mercenary captain who found him among the wounded. His body was then quartered and burned, amidst much rejoicing by the victors. Gonzales, location 1073
- **6.2.7.** This so-called Second Battle of Kappel ended with a decisive defeat of the Zürichers. Discovered among the wounded in the battle, Zwingli was dealt a deathblow. Then, befitting a heretic, his body was quartered and burned, his ashes mingled with dung. Woodbridge and James, location 3154

7. The German Swiss Reformation After Zwingli

- **7.1.** Shortly after the battle in which Zwingli died, a peace accord was signed. In the accord it was agreed that the Protestants would pay for the costs of the battle, but that religious affiliation was determined by the governing authority of each canton.
 - 7.1.1. The Protestants agreed to cover the expenses of the recent military actions and, in return, each canton would have the freedom to make its own choice in matters of religion. From that time, Protestantism was firmly established in several Swiss cantons, while others remained Catholic. Gonzales, location 1076
 - **7.1.2.** The Second Peace of Kappel was signed shortly thereafter, firmly establishing the principle that religious affiliation was determined by the authority of the cantons. Woodbridge and James, location 3156
- **7.2.** Upon Zwingli's death the Zurich city council invited Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) to succeed Zwingli. Bullinger had been well known in Zurich since 1523 when he had been the head of the cloister school at Kappel, just outside of Zurich. In 1527 he had spent a number of months in Zurich studying biblical languages and participating in small group bible studies. Bullinger proved to be a great and long lasting leader, serving the people of Zurich from 1531 until his death in 1575.
 - **7.2.1.** In Zürich itself, Zwingli's mantle fell to Heinrich Bullinger, a disciple and companion of Zwingli who would continue providing leadership for almost another half century, until his own death in 1575. Gonzales, location 1079
 - **7.2.2.** Upon Zwingli's death, the city council invited Heinrich Bullinger (1504–75) to succeed the fallen Zwingli. Woodbridge and James, location 3158
 - **7.2.3.** Bullinger had been well known in the Zürich Church since 1523, when he became the head of the cloister school at Kappel just outside Zürich. Woodbridge and James, location 3159

- **7.2.4.** In 1527 he spent several months in Zürich studying ancient languages and regularly attending the Prophezei (small group Bible studies). Woodbridge and James, location 3160
- 7.3. Bullinger maintained the status quo where the Zurich city council had ultimate authority over the church. However, his knowledge, service, and godliness won the respect of the council and he exercised considerable influence. Bullinger took in Zwingli's widow and family and cared for them, along with his own family. He preached regularly, wrote commentaries on every NT book except Revelation. Many of his sermons were collected in his famous "Decades" which was a major seller and influence in the following centuries. When he grew sick, he wrote a personal confession of faith to be presented to the city council upon his death. However, when he recovered, this was published and became known as the Second Helvetic Confession. This confession became widely adopted throughout Switzerland, Scotland, Hungary, France, and Poland. In fact, the only Reformed document more widely embraced was the Heidelberg Catechism. Furthermore, Bullinger was a congenial and conciliatory personality, and worked to establish concord with other Reformers. Notably, he was able to forge an agreement with Calvin on the Lord's Supper in 1549. Though his name is not nearly as widely known as some of the other Reformers, Bullinger was one of the most important and influential Reformers in his own day, and for the later church.
 - **7.3.1.** Bullinger proved to be a remarkable leader. In Zürich he supported and maintained the existing dynamic where the Zürich Council had ultimate authority over the church. Woodbridge and James, location 3163
 - **7.3.2.** earned the respect of the city council and thus had significant influence. Woodbridge and James, location 3164
 - 7.3.3. He preached regularly in the Grossmünster and wrote commentaries on all of the New Testament books except the Revelation of John. A hundred of his sermons were collected into his famous Decades, which provided a general summary of his theology. - Woodbridge and James, location 3165
 - **7.3.4.** Perhaps his crowning achievement is the Second Helvetic Confession, which he composed in 1561. Woodbridge and James, location 3169
 - 7.3.5. Believing he was on his deathbed, he wrote a theological last will and testament, which was vetted by his trusted colleague Peter Martyr Vermigli. Bullinger recovered, and his last will and testament became the most influential of all Reformed confessions in the sixteenth century. Woodbridge and James, location 3169
 - 7.3.6. Like the Consensus Tigurinus (1549), with which Bullinger worked out an agreement with Calvin on the Eucharist, the Second Helvetic Confession represented a further consolidation of the Zwinglian and Calvinist branches of the Reformed church. In the end, Bullinger proved to be a great theological unifier, succeeding where Zwingli failed. Woodbridge and James, location 3172

For further reading: Roland Bainton The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century; Michael

Reeves *The Unquenchable Flame* **Next Class: The Radical Reformation**

Reading: Chapter 6 - The Radical Reformation

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