

INTRODUCTORY NOTE A TRIBUTE TO HULDRYCH ZWINGLI

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Last year, in follow-up of the Martin Luther Jubilee, *AUSS* devoted a full issue to this pioneer of sixteenth-century Protestant reformers, who had been given such widespread attention in 1983 on the five-hundredth anniversary of his birth. Although the quincentennial of Huldrych Zwingli's birth in 1984 did not elicit the same degree of response, nevertheless Zwingli has been honored, both last year and this year, in various convocations and publications here and abroad. Although we have felt it inadvisable for *AUSS* to devote again a full issue to another personage of the sixteenth century — important though he may be —, we have deemed it appropriate to include as one of our main articles in each issue this year a presentation that in some way highlights the contributions of Zwingli.

Accordingly, in our Spring number, we carried a study by J. Wayne Baker which, though dealing with a broader concern (dialogue and debate between Basel and Zurich on the matter of church discipline), does give a fair amount of attention to the pioneer Zurich reformer himself. In the present number, the major article which immediately follows this introductory note and chronological table is by world-renowned Zwingli specialist Ulrich Gäbler, who probes certain questions at the "cutting edges" of present-day Zwingli research. The final article on Zwingli — planned for our Autumn issue — is being prepared by another authority on the Swiss Reformation, Daniel A. Augsburg, who will highlight important aspects of the Zurich reformer's career that have given him an enduring significance.

Last year, in our *AUSS* Luther issue, we included a brief chronological sketch of that Reformer's career — one taking note also of important events contemporary with Luther's life span. A similar brief chronological sketch of Zwingli's career is provided below, with notice again of certain important events which occurred in his lifetime. For further details concerning the Reformation in Germany, that earlier chronological table may be consulted (see *AUSS* 22 [1984]: 25-32).

Before we proceed to the chronological sketch of Zwingli's life, a summary of the political situation in Switzerland during the time of his reformatory career in Zurich (1519-31) is appropriate. At that time,

Switzerland consisted of thirteen cantons in somewhat loose confederation, plus some "common" and "allied" districts (of which more will be said below). The Confederation originated with the joining of three "forest" or "rural" cantons in 1291—Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Uri. Ten further cantons entered the Confederation as follows: Lucerne (another "forest" canton) in 1332; Glarus and Zurich in 1351; Zug (also a "forest" canton) in 1352; Bern in 1353; Fribourg and Solothurn in 1481; Basel and Schaffhausen in 1501; and Appenzell in 1513. Nominally, Switzerland was part of the Holy Roman Empire; but, by the Treaty of Basel of September 22, 1499, after a decisive Swiss victory over Emperor Maximilian's armies, the Confederation was assured of virtual political independence within the Empire. The Swiss were valiant soldiers; and by Zwingli's time, it had become customary to sell mercenary services (sometimes called "pensioning") to foreign powers, such as France, the Pope, and the Empire. During the second decade of the sixteenth century, Swiss troops fighting in Italy as mercenaries for the French suffered heavy losses—especially in 1515 at Marignano, where Zwingli himself was present as a chaplain.

During the middle to late 1520s, four cantons converted quite thoroughly to the kind of evangelical faith promoted by Zwingli: namely, Zurich, Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen. In Appenzell, some six of the eight districts also opted for the new faith; and Glarus was somewhat more evenly divided between the two religious parties. On the other hand, cantons remaining staunchly within the Catholic camp were the five "forest cantons" of Lucerne, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri, and Zug, plus two cantons farther to the west—Fribourg and Solothurn.

In addition to the thirteen cantons, there were in "Switzerland" various "allied districts," such as the Grisons ("Graubünden"), St. Gall, Neuchâtel, and Valais. There were also "subject territories" or "common bailiwicks," such as the Aargau, Thurgau, and Vaud. Most such territories became divided between the old and new faiths, but the Valais and certain other regions bordering on Italy adhered to Catholicism. (Geneva, the Vaud, and Neuchâtel eventually became Calvinistic.)

Post-Zwinglian Switzerland saw various "allied districts" and "common bailiwicks" gain the status of cantons: Aargau, Geneva, Grisons, Neuchâtel, St. Gall, Thurgau, Ticino, Valais, and Vaud.

As for the city of Zurich itself, at the time of Zwingli's arrival in 1519 it was subject ecclesiastically to the Bishop of Constance—an allegiance broken as the city and canton turned Protestant. The political affairs were conducted by two burgomasters, a "Small Council" (Council of Fifty), and a "Great Council" (Council of Two Hundred).



HULDRYCH ZWINGLI

(from an oil painting by Hans Asper, produced shortly after Zwingli's death in 1531)

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF ZWINGLI'S CAREER (WITH NOTICE OF CERTAIN SIGNIFICANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS)

Introductory Note: Inasmuch as no biographical sketch of Zwingli is given above, the entries in the "Zwingli" column are often more detailed than would otherwise be the case (see also the biographical highlights provided by Ulrich Gäbler in his article in this issue of AUSS). In the "Other Events" column, references to Luther and the German Reformation are sparse, inasmuch as a considerable amount of information in this regard has been provided earlier, in "Meet Martin Luther: An Introductory Biographical Sketch" and "A Brief Chronology of Luther's Career" in AUSS 22 (1984): 15-32.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Zwingli</i>	<i>Other Events</i>
1484-1506	Early Life (Prepastoral Period)	
1484	Born in Wildhaus, Jan. 1	Innocent III becomes pope (1484-92)
1489-94	At Wesen with uncle (Bartholomew Zwingli); elementary schooling	Alexander VI becomes pope, 1492 (1492-1503) Columbus lands in West Indies, 1492 Maximilian becomes emperor of Holy Roman Empire, 1493 (ruled 1493-1519)
1494-1500	To Basel in 1494 (study under Gregory Bünzli); to Bern by (or before?) 1498 (study of classics in school headed by Heinrich Wölflin)	Vasco da Gama reaches India by sea route, 1498
1500-02	In Vienna, university study (also perhaps an earlier matriculation in 1498?)	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Zwingli</i>	<i>Other Events</i>
1502–06	In Basel, university study; Bachelor of Arts, 1504; Master of Arts, 1506 (Thomas Wytttenbach among professors)	Pius III pope for less than a month in 1503; Julius II becomes pope (1503–13) Heinrich Bullinger born, 1504 (lived 1504–75)
1506–16	Period of Service as Parish Priest in Glarus	
1506	Appointed vicar in Glarus, to succeed Johannes Stucki; ordained priest on Sept. 29, celebrates 1st Mass in Wildhaus; takes up duties in Glarus in October	John Calvin born, 1509 (lived 1509–64) Henry VIII accedes to English throne, 1509 (ruled 1509–47) Erasmus writes <i>Praise of Folly</i> , 1509 Roman Catholic 5th Lateran Council convenes, 1512 (1512–17)
1513	Chaplain with Swiss mercenaries at Battle of Novara	Leo X becomes pope (1513–21)
1514	Dedication of a “Dialogue” (not extant) to Desiderius Erasmus (Zwingli a great admirer of the “Prince of Humanists” until at least 1519; breach developing thereafter, with a climax in 1523 when knight-humanist Ulrich von Hutten, in flight from Germany, was received warmly by Zwingli after being refused asylum by Erasmus)	
1515	Chaplain with Swiss mercenaries at Battle of Marignano; heavy death and injury toll leads Zwingli to oppose Swiss mercenary service, except for the pope <i>The Ox and Other Beasts</i> (allegorical expression of Switzerland’s position among surrounding powers, with opposition to Swiss mercenary service)	Francis I accedes to throne of France (ruled 1515–47) 1st volume of humanistic <i>Letters of the Obscure Men</i>

Date	Zwingli	Other Events
1516-18	Period of Service as Chaplain in Einsiedeln (in Chapel of Benedictine Abbey)	
1516	Transfer to Einsiedeln because of animosity of French partisans in Glarus; becomes preacher in chapel of Benedictine abbey (Zwingli's leave from Glarus considered temporary, with an assistant priest officiating for him there)	1st ed. of Erasmus's <i>Novum Instrumentum</i> , 1516 (Greek NT, with Latin translation and notes)
	Beginning of exposition of the Gospel lections on the basis of <i>sola scriptura</i> (according to Zwingli's later recollection)	2d volume of <i>Letters of the Obscure Men</i> , 1517 Luther's 95 Theses, 1517
1518	Made pontifical acolyte Public attack (from pulpit) of monk Samson's sale of indulgences (Samson promptly recalled) Concluding sermon in Einsiedeln, Dec. 27	
1519-31	Period of Service in the Great Minster of Zurich	
1519	1st sermon as priest in the Great Minster, Jan. 1 (begins exposition of Gospel of Matthew) Contact with some of Luther's early writings (mention in a letter in February)	Charles I of Spain becomes Emperor Charles V of Holy Roman Empire (emperor, 1519-56; d. 1558) Luther and Eck in Leipzig Debate
	Stricken by Plague in September; recovery (his brother Andrew later died from Plague); deep religious reaction to the illness and recovery, expressed in hymn "Help, Lord God, Help in This Sore Strait"	

Date	Zwingli	Other Events
1521	<p>Made a canon in the Great Minster, with increase in remuneration</p> <p>Attack on Swiss mercenary service, leading Zurich to refuse participation in treaty placing all other Swiss cantons under French pay</p>	<p>Luther at Diet of Worms, April 17–18; imperial ban on May 26 and papal excommunication in October (Bull drafted in January, issued in October)</p>
1522	<p>Attack on Lenten fasting, in April</p> <p>Secret marriage to a widow, Anna Reinhart (public announcement made in 1524)</p> <p><i>Treatise On the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God</i> (a sermon preached earlier to Dominican nuns), expressing emphatically Zwingli's acceptance of the principle of <i>sola scriptura</i></p> <p><i>Beginning and End (Archeteles)</i>, strongly defending Scripture authority as opposed to papal and episcopal authority</p>	<p>Adrian VI becomes pope (1522–23)</p> <p>Luther's "September Bible" (1st ed. of Luther's German NT)</p>
1523	<p>Participant in 1st Zurich Disputation, Jan. 29; presentation of his "67 Articles"</p> <p>Meeting with Hinne Rode, who brought Cornelius Hoen's letter on the Eucharist to Zurich, in summer</p> <p>Replacement of Latin with German in some baptismal ceremonies, Aug. 10</p> <p><i>Essay on the Canon of the Mass</i>, in late August</p> <p>2d Zurich Disputation, Oct. 26–28 (main topics, Mass and images)</p> <p><i>Short Christian Introduction</i>, in November (basics of evangelical belief)</p>	<p>Clement VII becomes pope (1523–34)</p>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Zwingli</i>	<i>Other Events</i>
1524	<p>Use of pulpit to promote reforms terminating pilgrimages, removing images, etc.</p> <p>Publication of NT in Swiss dialect; initiation of work on OT (<i>see also note 1, following this chronological listing</i>)</p> <p>Birth of first child, daughter Regula, July 24</p> <p>Meeting with Guillaume Farel and Antoine du Blet, who visited Zwingli in Zurich and encouraged him to write a work for circulation in France</p>	<p>Rise of Peasants' Revolt in south-west Germany (ending in 1525, with severe slaughter and the death of Thomas Müntzer)</p> <p>Catholic alliance: "forest cantons" of Lucerne, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri, and Zug</p>
1525	<p><i>On True and False Religion</i> (with prefatory letter to Francis I), in March—written in response to request of Farel and du Blet (earliest truly comprehensive treatise on Protestant theology)</p> <p>Holy-Week celebration of Lord's Supper in evangelical fashion—ordinary table, both bread and wine to communicants, use of German language, etc., April 13, 14, 16</p> <p>Influence in establishing <i>Ehegericht</i> ("Marriage Court"), which was to become the main organ of church discipline in Zurich</p> <p>Influence in transforming the endowed chapter of the Great Minster into a theological school, the <i>Carolinum/Prophetzei</i></p> <p>Publication of Cornelius Hoen's letter on the Eucharist</p> <p>Participation in three disputations with Anabaptists (Anabaptists declared losers by Zurich City Council)</p>	<p>"Anabaptism" inaugurated in Zurich among some of Zwingli's followers who had earlier begun to urge steps beyond his reform measures; first adult "rebaptism" among these "Swiss Brethren" was that of Georg Blaurock by Conrad Grebel, in January (Felix Manz was another early Anabaptist leader in Zurich, in whose house this baptism was probably performed)</p>

Date	Zwingli	Other Events
1526	<p><i>Brief Introduction Concerning the Last Supper of Christ</i>, in January—forerunner of Eucharistic controversy with Luther (<i>see also note 2, following this chronological listing</i>)</p> <p>Birth of 2d child, son Wilhelm, Jan. 29</p> <p>Expression of disapproval for imprisonment of “Swiss-Brethren” Anabaptists Blaurock, Grebel, and Manz, although disgusted by their “rashness” (stated in letter of March 7 to Joachim Vadian)</p>	<p>Disputation at Baden in the Aargau between Catholics and Swiss reformers (Zwingli was not present)</p> <p>1st Diet of Speyer: <i>cuius regio eius religio</i></p> <p>Turkish victory at Mohács, Hungary</p>
1527	<p>Increasingly negative attitude toward Anabaptists (e.g., assent in the killing of Manz by drowning, in January)</p> <p>Open attack (in <i>Friendly Exposition</i>) on Luther’s view of Eucharist (<i>see also note 2, following this chronological listing</i>)</p>	<p>Charles V sacks Rome</p> <p>“Christian Civic Alliance” inaugurated between Swiss evangelical territories—beginning with Zurich-Constance alliance (<i>see also note 3, following this chronological listing</i>)</p>
1528	<p>Birth of 3d child, son Ulrich, Jan. 6</p> <p>Participation in Bern Disputation, in January</p> <p>Influence in Zurich’s establishment of a “synod” (organization with oversight of doctrine and morals; comprised of ministers of Zurich canton, two lay persons from each parish, and eight government representatives)</p>	<p>Bern declares itself Protestant, in February (through influence of Berchtold Haller et al., and following the Disputation in January)</p>
1529	<p>“1st Peace of Kappel,” June 25 (<i>see also note 3, following this chronological listing</i>)</p> <p>Participant in Marburg Colloquy, Oct. 1-3 (<i>see also note 2, following this chronological listing</i>)</p>	<p>Basel declares itself Protestant, in February (through influence of Johannes Oecolampadius et al.)</p> <p>2d Diet of Speyer: revocation of <i>cuius regio eius religio</i> (and “protestation” by group of Lutheran princes and cities, on April 19)</p> <p>Turkish siege of Vienna</p>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Zwingli</i>	<i>Other Events</i>
1530	<p>Birth of 4th child, daughter Anna, May 4</p> <p>Preparation of <i>Fidei ratio</i> (a confession of faith), in June–July; dedicated to Charles V, for presentation at Diet of Augsburg (but not read there)</p> <p>Influence and participation in seeking alliances with Venice and France, 1530–31 (<i>see also note 3, following this chronological listing</i>)</p>	<p>“Augsburg Confession” (Lutheran; drafted by Philip Melancthon), presented to Diet of Augsburg on June 29</p> <p><i>Confessio tetrapolitana</i> (prepared by Bucer and Capito for the four cities of Strassburg, Constance, Lindau, and Memmingen), presented to Diet of Augsburg on July 9</p>
1531	<p><i>Short Exposition of the Christian Faith</i> (dedicated to Francis I; carried to Paris in July)</p> <p>Chaplain with troops at “2d Battle of Kappel”; killed in the battle, Oct. 11 (<i>see also note 3, following this chronological listing</i>)</p>	<p>Turkish victory at Güns, Hungary</p>

Note 1—Zwingli’s Contribution to the “Swiss-German” Bible. Zwingli, like Luther, had a keen interest in making the Bible available to the common people in their native language. His NT translation into “Swiss-German” came from the press of Christofel Froschouer in Zurich as early as 1524. It was heavily informed by Luther’s NT, which had appeared only two years earlier; but Zwingli’s own systematic exposition of the NT in his sermons at the Great Minster, beginning in 1519, doubtless also made a significant contribution to his translational task. Upon completing his work on the NT, Zwingli immediately took an interest in having the OT translated as well. Leo Jud became a chief workman in this new undertaking, assisted by Konrad Pellikan and Theodor Bibliander. Again, such parts of Luther’s version as were available at the time were utilized; but the completed edition was printed by Froschouer in 1529, some five years before the appearance of the first complete edition of Luther’s German Bible. This 1529 Zurich Bible contained six volumes, with its various sections dated as follows: #1—the Pentateuch, 1525; #2—Joshua–Esther, 1525; #3—Job–Canticles, 1525; #4—Prophets, 1529; #5—Apocrypha, 1529; #6—the NT, 1524. A subsequent edition of 1529–30 lacks the Apocrypha; provides no date for volumes 2, 3, and 4; gives the date for volume 1 (the Pentateuch) as 1530; and indicates that the NT volume was first published in 1527.

Note 2—The “Sacramentarian Controversy.” The “sacramentarian” view—namely, that Christ is not bodily present in the Eucharistic elements of bread and wine, but is rather present symbolically, emblematically, or “sacramentally”—was a departure from both the Catholic and Lutheran doctrines on the matter. The strongest impetus

seems to have come from a letter (i.e., treatise in letter form) by Cornelius Hoen, a lawyer in the Netherlands, setting forth the concept that Christ's words "This is my body" really mean "This signifies my body"—just as is the case with regard to Christ's referring to himself as "a door," "a way," "a corner-stone," and "the vine." (Hoen's position was actually an extension of the more "rudimentary-sacramentarian" view expressed during the preceding century by Wessel Gansfort [d. 1489] in a treatise on the Eucharist.)

Probably prepared in 1520, Hoen's letter was evidently sent to Wittenberg as early as 1521, and it seems to have arrived there while Luther was away at the Diet of Worms (or perhaps while he was at the Wartburg Castle subsequently). Luther became acquainted with Hoen's position, but did not, of course, adopt it. Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, on the other hand, began promulgation of a sacramentarian stance after Hoen's material had reached him in Wittenberg.

The document prepared by Hoen also reached northern Switzerland—carried there personally by Hinne Rode, rector of the school operated by the Brethren of the Common Life in Utrecht (where Hoen had once been a student), and by a companion, George Saganus. In January of 1523, these two advocates of sacramentarianism visited Johannes Oecolampadius in Basel, and in the summer of the same year, they met Zwingli in Zurich. Then, in November of 1524, they traveled to see Martin Bucer in Strassburg. The two Swiss reformers and Bucer were convinced of the correctness of Hoen's views on the Eucharist, as evidenced in their own writings on the subject. As early as March of 1525, Zwingli set forth in his *Commentary on True and False Religion* his new understanding of the Eucharist; also that same year, he published Hoen's letter. Zwingli's *Brief Introduction Concerning the Last Supper of Christ*, published the next year, may be considered a forerunner to his open controversy with Luther on the subject; and his first truly open and formidable direct attack on the Wittenberg Reformer's views was set forth in his *Friendly Exposition* of 1527. This treatise critiqued the position enunciated by Luther the preceding year in his *Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ Against the Radicals*. The *Friendly Exposition* evoked from Luther a quick and vehement response, entitled *That These Words, "This Is My Body," Still Stand Against the Radicals*; and, in turn, Zwingli produced a sharp reply, *That These Words, "This Is My Body," Retain Their Original Meaning*. Both of these "responses" appeared during 1527, and the next year Luther continued the debate, in his *Confession Concerning the Lord's Supper*. In September of that same year, Zwingli and Oecolampadius sent forth jointly a reply to Luther.

Meanwhile, Bucer and his associates in Strassburg began seeking means for reconciling the differences between the Wittenbergers and the Swiss reformers; and in this effort, a Lutheran prince, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, was to become a key figure. Philip's own friendly attitude toward Oecolampadius (evidenced, e.g., in correspondence in 1528) and, more particularly, political developments of the year 1529 brought the Hessian prince to the very center of the picture. Especially, when early in 1529 the Second Diet of Speyer revoked the *cuius-regio-eius-religio* principle ("as ruler, so religion"), there were heightened fears among reform-minded rulers that Emperor Charles V and the Catholic princes would put forth new efforts to stamp out the evangelical faith. Philip, in view of such a threat, had great concern that there be unity among the German and Swiss Reformation parties; and he arranged for a meeting of these parties in his castle in Marburg. There, on October 1-3, 1529, a colloquy took place which paired in debate Oecolampadius with Luther, and Zwingli with Melancthon. Concerning the fifteen doctrinal articles discussed, there was basic agreement on all except that which pertained to the Eucharist. On this matter, both parties were intransigent, thus shattering hope for the unification that the Strassburg reformers and Philip of Hesse had worked so hard to bring to reality.

Note 3—Zurich, Swiss Politics, and the Reformation. In 1524, when Zurich's reform activities were going on apace, the five "forest cantons" of Lucerne, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri, and Zug became sufficiently alarmed to enter into a Catholic defensive league. This was the forerunner of further religiously determined leagues a few years later. As reformation activities spread from Zurich to encompass other cantons, territories, and cities, these "Protestant" political units began to group, through various alliances, into what became known as the "Christian Civic Alliance." It was inaugurated by Zurich's alliance in 1527 with the city of Constance. Then, through various other treaties, Bern, Basel, Biel, St. Gall, and Mülhausen became part of the "league" by early 1529. In response, during April of 1529, the five "forest cantons" (now also joined by Fribourg) entered an alliance with King Ferdinand of Austria, brother of Emperor Charles V. Among the various incidents of violence that followed, one of the more significant ones was the condemnation and death by burning of Jakob Kaiser, an evangelical preacher from Zurich who had endeavored to proclaim the new faith in Catholic territory. In June of 1529, Zurich moved some 4,000 troops to Kappel, within the canton of Zurich but near the border of Zug. However, no real hostilities occurred between these Protestant soldiers and the larger contingent of Catholic troops that confronted them across the border; and an armistice was declared on June 25, the so-called "First Peace of Kappel." Zwingli thereafter sought new alliances beyond the borders of Switzerland, including overtures toward both Venice and France during 1530-31. (It was in this context that Zwingli dedicated his last major work, *Short Exposition of the Christian Faith*, to Francis I.) But the foreign alliances did not materialize. Zurich, nevertheless, took certain steps against the Catholic cantons, such as placing an embargo on their importation of various foodstuffs and of iron and steel. Thus threatened, these Catholic cantons responded by sending an army of some 8,000 troops across the Zug border to Kappel on October 11, 1531. There, in a bloody battle on that same day, Zwingli himself, who had accompanied the troops, was killed. A further battle on October 24 brought the war to a decisive end, and in November the "Second Peace of Kappel" was signed, highly favorable to the Catholic victors. Thereafter, Zurich's aggressive evangelization of northern Switzerland was halted, so that the Catholic and Protestant regions there became more-or-less static or "fixed." Henceforth, Bern and especially Geneva were to become the chief centers of Swiss Protestant activity. As for Zwingli's own work, Heinrich Bullinger, pastor at Bremgarten, succeeded him in the spiritual leadership in Zurich; but Bullinger did not inherit Zwingli's political influence, nor did he engage in any significant way in his predecessor's political activities.