

A report on the state of research into the Reformation in German-speaking Switzerland can begin with a very positive assertion: Compared with other epochs of Swiss history (intellectual, cultural, political and economic), the subject of the Reformation in the Swiss Confederation has been and is being studied with exhaustive thoroughness. The same claim can be made by comparison with corresponding work in other countries, not excepting Germany with its leading role in the history of the Reformation. To begin with, the list of source compilations and publications series on the Reformation theme in German-speaking Switzerland is most impressive. Furthermore, the number and rank of scholars who have engaged in such study is of a high order. There is scarcely a significant historian or theologian (thinking especially of the systematic theologian and church historian) who has not concerned himself intensively with the theme of the Reformation. Consequently the state of Reformation research in German-speaking Switzerland is very far from being underdeveloped.

Zwingli

Notwithstanding the claim made above, it is by no means the case that Swiss research in the field of Reformation history is without further tasks to fulfil. On the contrary, a closer look conveys the rather one-sided impression that the Reformation in German-speaking Switzerland is limited to what concerns the single Reformer, Huldrych Zwingli, and even more narrowly, to the less than twelve years of his activity in Zürich.

It is of course acknowledged that there was a Reformation outside the bounds of Zürich: in Bern with Haller, Capito, Zurkinden, and Niklaus Manuel, in Basel especially with Oekolampad, in St. Gallen with Vadian and Kessler, in Glarus with Tschudi, and in the Drei Bünden with Comander, and so forth. Yet apart from a few local and personal interests, the non-Zürich Reformation has been virtually eclipsed, both at home and abroad, behind the figure of Zwingli as the real founder of the Reformed Church. As Gottfried W. Locher in particular has affirmed, this interest in Zwingli and especially in his theology has 'reached unexpected proportions and intensity' throughout the whole world during the past decade. One reason among others for this is the fact that, in his own way, he pursued a clear path through some central themes which enjoy tremendous currency today; so that the attentive ear may detect his Reformed voice even amidst the ecumenical choir. To such themes belongs the now much discussed socio-ethical responsibility of the Church and its role in the sphere of social crisis, representing an oft-neglected yet abidingly effective motif in the Zürich reformation. Another theme is his emphasis upon the Spirit in relation to the written and preached Word, although this runs counter to the trend of hermeneutical discussion during the last decade.

Precisely this welcome development, however, should not obscure the fact that there are still many obvious research projects concerning Zwingli himself. This holds in the first place

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for Zwingli's actual literary works. When Emil Egli and Georg Finsler in 1905 took up the task of producing a critical edition of *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke* in the context of the *Corpus Reformatorum*, they hoped to be able to complete their work by the 400th. anniversary of the Zürich Reformation, i.e. in 1919. Two world wars hindered the carrying out of the plan, so that out of the three series of the total work, only the second (the correspondence) had been completed by 1971. The first series (comprising the theological, ecclesiastical and political books and writings of Zwingli in chronological order), covering the period up to 19 August 1530, has been printed; and the remainder, to the death of Zwingli, is practically ready for the press. The third series (marginal glosses and exegesis) has scarcely proceeded beyond the editing of Zwingli's exegetical writings of the Old Testament. This means that we are still lacking a critical edition of the exegetical writings on the New Testament, an edition of the notes taken on Zwingli's sermons on the Old and New Testaments first discovered a few years ago by Leo Weisz, as well as an edition of his hymns. For a meaningful use of such a large literary residue there is a definite need also for an index of persons, subjects, Biblical references, citations from Church Fathers and classical figures, etc.

The situation regarding works about Zwingli is similar. Admittedly we now have, alongside the older works by Stähelin and W. Köhler, the four-volume biography by Oskar Farnier which was completed by Rudolph Phister in 1960. The biographical works by Fritz Schmidt-Clausing and Martin Haas are likewise valuable supplements. But in respect of a clarification of all biographical details (for example, Zwingli's academic career), and in particular Zwingli's theology in relation to his involvement in the political sphere, the research is not far advanced. As far as the theology in general is concerned, the best work today is being done by J. V. Pollet and Gottfried W. Locher. In 1950 J. V. Pollet, a Dominican from Paris and honorary doctor of the Theological Faculty of the University of Zürich, contributed to the *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique* a full exposition of Zwingli's theology, based on all previous research and a thorough knowledge of sources, thereby introducing the 'conciliar turning-point' in the Catholic picture of Zwingli. Locher, a systematic theologian in Bern, published the first volume of his *Theologie Huldrych Zwinglis im Lichte seiner Christologie* in 1952, followed by a more wide-ranging summary exposition in the article "Zwingli" in the third edition of *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Since then he has written an essay, "Grundzüge der Theologie Huldrych Zwinglis im Vergleich mit derjenigen Martin Luthers und Johann Calvins, Ein Ueberblick," not to mention numerous individual research articles. A twofold basic approach characterizes Locher's work: on the one hand he brings sharply to attention the Biblical elements and therewith the Christology, as the centre of Zwingli's theology (i.e., binding himself more closely to the patristic and scholastic background than to the humanistic); on the other hand he sounds the note of Zwingli's independence as a reformer over against Luther.

In this regard an apparent counterpart to Locher has arisen in recent years in the person of Christoph Gestrich. In his dissertation, *Zwingli als Theologe*, the latter addressed himself intensively on the one hand to the subject of 'faith and spirit according to the Zurich reformer' that is, to spiritualism as the central concept of Zwingli's theology; on the other hand, against Locher and other more recent Swiss Zwingli scholars, he renewed the comparison with Luther, raising it to a methodological principle. Gestrich maintains that since Zwingli's own presuppositions nowhere become clearer than in the comparison with Luther,

he will 'not side with those who out of a false favoritism for Zwingli presume to exclude Luther from their purview.' Neither Locher nor Gestrich give a standard exposition of Zwingli's theology. With their opposing views they should be able to pose the most incisive problems for further research into Zwingli's theology; they should on the one hand raise anew and more fundamentally than formerly the question of the patristic and scholastic backgrounds – asking after the influence not only of Augustine, but also of Laktanz, not only of Thomas but above all of Duns Scotus. Especially, however, there is indicated a need for a more thoroughgoing comparison of Zwingli's theology – both as a whole and in individual questions (scriptural principle, Christology, Paulinism, doctrine of predestination) – with that of Erasmus, the Baptists, the Catholic opponents, and of course Luther.

All of this does not suggest that a great deal of routine work has not already been accomplished toward giving a complete picture of Zwingli's theology. In the field of Zwingli research we must not overlook Rich's work on the beginnings of Zwingli's theology, Schmid's work on divine and human justice, the thorough research of Pfister on the problem of original sin and the salvation of elect heathen, nor Köhler's great monographs on the conflict over the Lord's Supper and Church discipline. In the same category are the more recent specialized works by Goeters, Rogge, and Kohls on the meeting of humanism and Reformation in Zwingli and his movement, and certain works on Zwingli's attitude toward the Baptists, to liturgy, and to religious art.

On the subject of Zwingli's political involvement, his part in the shaping of Zürich and Swiss politics, the discussion in recent years has turned toward the problem of "theocracy," or, more concretely, to the question concerning how far Zwingli, as a 'leading member' of the 'Secret Council,' had determined the fortunes of Zürich over the years through a blend of spiritual and worldly government. On this matter also there are basically two contrasting views. There is first that of Leonhard von Muralt (namely, in the *Kommentar* and in the introductions to the volumes of the critical Zwingli edition which he prepared, in the political writings, and in several essays), supported by the independent and original research of his disciples, M. Haas, J. Spillmann, R. Hauswirth, W. Jacob, H. Morf, F. Staub, and H. Meyer. These came to the conclusion that there was no 'Secret Council in the sense of a stable and clear-cut institution in which Zwingli played the leading role, or virtually that of regent.' Although it may be true that for all important questions of a private or public sort affecting the Church, politics, Zürich, Switzerland, there were designated prescriptions or secret orders, and although Zwingli had a major role in these secret circles, laying down or sanctioning the prescriptions, the secret circles nevertheless had only an advisory function in such matters. The final decision always lay in the hands of the Small or the Great Council.

In contradistinction from v. Muralt and his disciples, Ekkhard Fabian put forward findings 'based on a broader foundation of sources' reverting to the concepts of earlier historical accounts by Hundeshagen, H. Escher, A. Farner, W. Oechslin and others. Fabian is strongly convinced that in Zürich, from August 8, 1523 to December 9, 1531, there was a constitutionally-founded Secret Council in which Zwingli was so significantly involved that probably a greater part of the correspondence of the 'anonymous individuals' was (co-)authored by Zwingli. Fabian would therefore like to see this correspondence edited within the scope of the critical Zwingli edition (*Corpus Reformatorum*).

To supplement this German-language work we have also the English exposition by Robert G. Walton dealing with Zwingli's theocracy. Finally one is happy to report that the

Senior Assistant at the *Institut für schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte*, U. Gabler, is working intensively on a long-standing concern of Zwingli research: he is preparing an updating of Finsler's *Zwingli-Bibliographie* from 1897 to the present day, which will not only include all independent works and essays, but at the same time critically review their content.

Bullinger

If the state of Zwingli research appears comparatively favourable, though short of ideal, the picture worsens as soon as we turn to Zwingli's disciple and figure of comparable rank, Heinrich Bullinger. The life work of Bullinger (1504-1575) remains today largely unknown in spite of the fact that as theologian and churchman he not only guided the fortunes of the Reformed Church of Zürich and the Reformed part of Switzerland during nearly 45 years, but together with Calvin and Beza built a Reformed Europe. (Emil Egli spoke of Bullinger as a patriarch 'who made his presence felt on all sides, everywhere planting Reformed life and nurturing it by word and deed. His was a genuine Reformed mission carried throughout almost all Europe'). Thus, though Bullinger was at least of as great historical and theological importance for the Swiss Reformation as Zwingli, his life's work remains still largely unknown. His more than one hundred and twenty printed works, with few exceptions, remain in printings of the 16th and 17th centuries. The last comprehensive exposition of Bullinger, that of Carl Pestalozzi, dates from 1858.

Fortunately, however, the long-sought Bullinger-Renaissance is gradually coming to view. In recent years individual works have been appearing, e.g., on the young Bullinger (Blanke), and more significantly about individual aspects of Bullinger's theology (Staedtke on the theology of the young Bullinger, P. Walser on the doctrine of predestination, E. Koch on the theology of the *Confessio Helvetica posterior*, H. Fast on Bullinger and the Baptists, W. Hollweg on Bullinger's *Hausbuch*). Finally in 1966 the *Zwingli-Verein* in Zürich and the *Institut für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Zürich* took up the task of systematic research and editing of the complete literary residue of Heinrich Bullinger. At the moment a bibliography of the printed works of Bullinger, prepared by Joachim Staedtke, is in print and the manuscript of the first volume of the tremendous Bullinger correspondence is at least ready for the press. Supported by the *Schweizerischer Nationalfond für Wissenschaftliche Forschung*, the institutions mentioned above are planning a summary edition of Heinrich Bullinger's correspondence as well as study editions of his theological and historiographical works. The principal publication here will clearly be that containing the correspondence, both from and to Bullinger, which by itself is more comprehensive in scope than that of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin and Vadian together, and which today, after centuries of collating (by such persons as J. J. Breiting, J. H. Hottinger, J. J. Simler, Emil Egli, Tr. Schiess) includes more than 12,000 items, with the prospect that it may become still more extensive. With regard to the historical and theological works, selected editions of about twelve volumes is anticipated in either case.

This intensive preoccupation with Bullinger increasingly facilitates research into the full range of circumstances surrounding him: the political, social and economic conditions in Zürich and in Switzerland after Zwingli's death, and particularly the role of his theological and ecclesiastical co-workers. Over a hundred years ago, in the excellent series *Leben und*

ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der reformierten Kirche a description of the lives of Vermigli and Jud appeared alongside that of Zwingli and Bullinger. Besides these, however, there worked in Zürich such men as Pellikan, Joh. Rud. Stumpf, Rud. Gualther, Wilh. Stucki, J. J. Breitingen, and Joh. Wolf, to name only a few. All of these men would deserve in their own right to be rescued from oblivion, but the more so in the interests of a complete understanding of Bullinger's times. A look into the remarkable *Pfarrerbuch* of the Canton of Zürich or the recent, extremely thorough work *Die evangelische Pfarerschaft des Kantons St. Gallen* by H. M. Stükelberger, might stimulate further biographical and perhaps also sociological works about the origins and intellectual development of Reformed pastors. No less important would be the treatment of numerous issues such as the relations of Zürich (Council and Clergy) to the other protestant regions of Switzerland, as well as to Germany, France, and England. Other issues would include the position of Zürich (including a comparison with that of the other protestant strongholds) concerning the great political and ecclesiastical problems of the 16th century, e.g., the Schmalkaldic War, The Council of Trent, the Religious Peace of Augsburg, and the like.

Apart from the wishes which have been mentioned here in connection with Zwingli and Bullinger, still other major tasks are posed, such as new publications covering many known and unknown events of the Zürich and Swiss Reformation history available for research both at home and in archives and libraries abroad, publications of sermons from the time of the Reformation (those of Stumpf, Gualther and others), summary and individual bibliographies, and not least, research into many linguistic problems peculiar to the Reformation era. In addition to this, as H. C. Peyer has observed, social and economic themes relating to both Zürich and Switzerland as a whole should be brought more strongly to the fore, as well as research into the relationship of the principal Reformed centres to their subject territories, the Reformation in the rural congregations, and the creation of a Swiss patrician class in the protestant strongholds.

Locher, for his part, would like to extend the range of Zwingli's *Sämtliche Werke* beyond the death of the Reformer on October 11, 1531, up to 1536. Since Leonhard von Muralt and his colleagues have completed a most thorough research into the relations of the Zürich Reformation to the Swiss Confederation up to the outbreak of the Second Kappel War, Locher considers it necessary to examine more closely the crisis of the Zürich Reformation and its resolution, as well as the subject of Zwingli's posthumous influence. In addition to the detailed theological research referred to above, he wishes to produce a study-handbook of Zwingli's works, a complete translation of Zwingli's letters, works concerning late Zwinglianism, and finally on the controversies between Zwinglians and Calvinists, especially as these occurred in the Netherlands.

University of Zürich