

**CLERICAL DISCIPLINE AND THE CHURCH
SYNODS IN ZÜRICH, 1532-1580**

Frederick Bruce Gordon

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
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Clerical Discipline and the Church Synods in Zürich, 1532-1580.

by

Frederick Bruce Gordon

Submitted in Requirement for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews.
Candlemas Term, March 1990.



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Declarations

I, Frederick Bruce Gordon, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 108,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date 9 March, 1990 Signature of Candidate _____

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance 350 (General No. 12) in October 1986 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in November, 1987; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1986 and 1990.

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Abstract

This thesis is an examination of the Synod and its administration of clerical discipline in Zürich between 1532 and 1580. It is an investigation to determine how an early reformed institution implemented the teachings on discipline amongst the rural clergy. The basis of the work are the surviving manuscript records of the Synod found in the Zürich Staatsarchiv together with other ecclesiastical records and the writings of the reformers.

The beginning point of the thesis is the historical and theological background to the Synod. The diocesan synods of Constance served as a useful model for Zwingli, as, on the whole, the structure of the rural church was left intact by the Reformation. The Synod was formed in 1528 with a brief shaped by the theological revolution of the 1520s. The idea of discipline as integral to Zwingli's teachings on God, the Church and the Christian life is examined. Bullinger's further explication of clerical discipline is discussed as the basis for the restoration of the Synod in 1532 following Kappel.

The next section examines the structure and composition of the Synod. From the surviving documents it is possible to reconstruct the membership and agenda. The work of the clerical and civil representatives is discussed along with the Synod's working relationships with the other ecclesiastical and civil bodies of the canton. The Synod was part of a hierarchy of discipline which began with the parish and culminated in the Council.

The central part of the thesis is a systematic treatment of the disciplinary cases in the Synod. Using Bullinger's schematic outline for the life of the minister, the cases are divided thematically that they might be studied in light of pertinent theological, political and social factors. The work of Bullinger in guiding the Synod was crucial and considerable attention is given to his writings.

Finally, the thesis offers a detailed prosopography of the ministers involved in disciplinary cases between 1532 and 1580. The information provided indicates the wide range of problems afflicting the Zürich church and the heterogeneous nature of the rural clergy.

The position of the Zürich church in the sixteenth century debates over discipline is well known. It rejected the system of separate church courts employed in the mediaeval and later in the Calvinist churches. This thesis explores what happened when the Zürich reformers and magistrates actually attempted to enforce their concept of discipline upon the clergy.

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Above all I wish to thank my parents and family.

Abbreviations

- ARG - Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*
- Bächtold, *Bullinger*, - H.U., Bächtold, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat. Zürcher Gestaltung und Verwaltung des Zürcher Staatswesens in den Jahren 1531 bis 1571* (Bern, 1982).
- Berner Synodus - Der Berner Synodus von 1552 Edition*, vol. I. G.W. Locher (ed) (Bern, 1988).
- Decades - The Decades of Henry Bullinger*. Translated by H.I. Edited for the Parker Society by Rev. Thomas Harding (Cambridge, 1849-52).
- Diarium - Heinrich Bullingers Diarium (Annales Vitae) der Jahre 1504-1574*. Zum 400. Geburtstag Bullingers am 18. Juli 1904. E. Egli (ed), (Basel, 1904).
- Dürr & Roth, *Actensammlung - Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis Anfang 1534*, vol. II 1528-1534. (Basel, 1937).
- Egli, *Actensammlung*, - E. Egli, *Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-1533*, (Zürich, 1879).
- HBBibl. I.* - Joachim Staedtke, *Heinrich Bullingers Bibliographie I*. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der gedruckten Werke Heinrich Bullinger (Zürich, 1953).
- HBBW I-IV - Heinrich Bullinger Breifwechsel*. 4 vols.
- HBLs - Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*. (Neuenberg, 1921-1934).
- Mansi - Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*,...J.D. Mansi (ed).
- NZZ - Neue Zürcher Zeitung*.
- SI - Schweizerisches Idiotikon. Wörterbuch der schweizerdeutschen Sprache*. (Frauenfeld, 1888f).
- StAZ.* - Staatsarchiv Zürich.
- Z - Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke*. (Berlin/Leipzig/Zürich, 1905ff).
- ZKG.* - *Zeitschrift Für Kirchengeschichte*.
- ZPB.* - *Zürcher Pfarrerbuch 1519-1552* (Zürich, 1953).

For My Parents

1. Introduction

A reader venturing into the field of Reformation studies might well wonder what common ground remains between scholars probing the records of sixteenth century societies. Recent scholarship has done much to dethrone the clarities of the old orthodoxies with their assumptions of a direct relationship between the leading theologians and their public, and the well defined categories of urban reformations. Yet what, one might ask, has it to offer in return? Has the study of the Reformation become buried under the weight of particulars rendering general conclusions untenable, or has the emphasis upon local studies repaid attention by offering historians an insight into the dynamic forces which moulded the Reformation and suggested ways of understanding the uneven path of its progression?

Reformation historians are still attempting to formulate the parameters by which their subject can be discussed. Those seeking to define a 'social history' of the Reformation have been attacked for a lack of sympathy for, or understanding of, theological considerations. Theologians stand accused of oversimplification in assuming a uniform absorption of the reformed faith by the people; whilst those who have stressed the Reformation as an 'urban event' are said to have both glossed over difficulties troubling to their models and to have ignored the impact of the Reformation upon the rural areas, where the majority of the populace lived. The lessons derived from these on-going dialogues, far from suggesting that historians cannot agree on anything, have led to a more profound appreciation of the utter complexity of the Reformation. The categories of thought imposed on the sixteenth century from the point of view of the twentieth have failed to be definitive because they are foreign to the minds of men and women, for whom there was no distinction of sacred and secular, social and political, or, in many cases, of confessional alliance. Professor Rublack has argued recently that studies of urban reform must henceforth treat social and religious

actions as mutual contexts.¹ Surely, such an approach, comprehending both the intellectual background of the theologians and the pursuit of salvation amongst men of all social strata, together with the political and social context in which this drama was worked out, would be the most fruitful.

This thesis is a local study attempting to discern something of the communication, reception and implementation of reformed Christianity in Zürich from the period following the death of Huldrych Zwingli at Kappel in 1531 until 1580, five years after the death of his successor, Heinrich Bullinger. At the centre of this investigation is the institution of the Synod in Zürich, the principle disciplinary body charged with overseeing the life and work of the clergy in urban and rural parishes. The Synod was the focal point of the Zürich church. It did not possess any legislative powers nor any authority to administer punishment. Indeed, it was purely an advisory body which informed the Council of problems in the church and awaited the reply of its political master. At a glance, as an ecclesiastical institution seemingly denuded of all authority, it appears to be the logical consequence of the historical progress of the Zürich magistrates in appropriating all aspects of the church within their jurisdiction. Yet, its records are not only the richest source of information on the fate of the church and her ministers in rural areas, but they shed considerable light on the tensions within the Zürich church in the sixteenth century.

The principle interest of this thesis is the Synod's role in the administration of discipline amongst the clergy. Accordingly, the core of the evidence are the surviving manuscript records of the Synod's sessions. Fortunately, these are complimented by an extensive archive of documents pertaining to the Zürich church in the sixteenth century.

¹ Hans-Christoph Rublack, 'Is there a 'New History' of the urban Reformation?', in E. Kouri & T. Scott (eds), *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe: Essays Presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton on his Sixty-fifth Birthday*. (London, 1987), 121-141.

The method employed in the research was to begin with a systematic study of the manuscripts of the Synod (StAZ. E.II.I. & E.II.Ia), recording the cases of ministers and the reports given in the Synod of problems in the parishes. From the case material, much of which is quite slim, it was possible to begin to construct a picture of the dialogue between ministers coming in from the rural areas and the ecclesiastical and political leaders in the city. Once the cases were organized thematically, it was possible to place them in the wider context of the Zürich church through use of other sources such as the documents of the Council, the Ehegericht, the examiners' committee etc. The records of the Synod, however, remained the focal point. Following from the initial ideas of K. Maeder, who suggested in his study the reciprocal nature of the Synod with its exchange of information between *Stadt* and *Landschaft*,² this thesis seeks to push his conclusions a step further by determining exactly what happened. In so doing, a primary question emerged, how did the Zürich reformers administer discipline amongst their clergy and what can this tell us about the progression of reform in the canton?

The thesis takes the following form; beginning with the historical and theological background, it proceeds to a treatment of the structure and composition of the Synod before tackling the case material. This threefold approach reflects the assumptions of this work. Firstly, that the Synod in Zürich was not merely a creation of the Reformation, for it was firmly rooted in the mediaeval church. The appropriation of the synodal form by the reformed church reveals the positions of Zwingli and Bullinger towards ecclesiastical reform. They were able to give to it a theological expression. The Synod was inseparable from the theology it was commissioned to uphold. Accordingly, a discussion of the theological principles essential to the idea of discipline and the Synod is given.

² K. Maeder, 'Bullinger und die Synode', U. Gäbler & E. Zsindely (eds), *Bullinger Tagung 1975: Vorträge gehalten aus Anlass von Heinrich Bullingers 400. Todestag*. (Zürich, 1977). 69-76.

The second section intends to demonstrate through a discussion of its structure, operation and participants how the Synod was an integral part of the hierarchy of discipline in Zürich. This hierarchy extended from the parish communities at the bottom to the Council, which retained control over ecclesiastical affairs. The infrastructure of the church in Zürich formed a web of responsibilities and jurisdiction; the Synod absorbed and digested the various branches of the church and produced a running commentary on the life of the church upon which the Council depended. The third section, as the study of the cases heard in the Synod, asks the question of how the principles set out in the first two sections responded to the reality of the situation in Zürich. The case material is divided along the lines determined by Bullinger in his schematic outline for the minister's office. The use of this schema reflects Bullinger's influence over the Synod during his life. It was a useful means by which the case material could be treated systematically whilst keeping faith with the theological context in which the Synod operated. In breaking down the cases the intention is to present the disciplinary cases within the wider scope of religious, social and economic factors influencing life in the parishes. The final section is a prosopography of ministers appearing in the records of the Synod. The information given is not an attempt to produce exhaustive bibliographical profiles but rather a compilation of the evidence compiled from the records of the Zürich church used in this study.

Finally, something should be said about the scope of the thesis. The dates 1532 and 1580 are partially arbitrary. The year 1532 marked the restoration of the Synod following the publication of the new synodal ordinances. It was the first major institutional reform effected under the leadership of Heinrich Bullinger, and, therefore, lends itself as a natural starting point. The year 1580 is a less obvious choice for a terminating point; it is five years after Bullinger's death and during the short reign of his successor, Rudolf Gwalther. The year was not of any particular importance to the Zürich church. The original intention was to look at the development of the Synod over

the range of about fifty years in the hope of examining the wide range of issues and problems involved.

Whilst a systematic study of the Zürich Synod has not been done, there is a rich tradition of historical and theological writing which has made such an endeavour possible. The relative paucity of literature in English is regrettable for many reasons, not least of which is that the importance of Zürich as a reforming city remains obscured to English readers, perpetuating its image as a second division player standing in the shadow of Geneva. It has been the work of Swiss, German, and more recently American, scholars which has pointed the way forward in plumbing the depths of the Zürich Reformation.

Recent scholarship had succeeded in bringing out the complex relations between political and religious authority in period following Zürich's defeat at Kappel. Most notable is the work of Hans Ulrich Bächtold,³ Helmut Meyer,⁴ Heinzpeter Stucki⁵ and K. Maeder.⁶ Bächtold's study of the means by which Bullinger worked, and often argued, with the Council is the most comprehensive examination of the Zürich church after Zwingli's death. The debt of this study to his conclusions will be evident throughout. Meyer and Stucki have attended to the political questions, and offer, from different angles, a detailed analysis of the formative political events of the 1530s.

³ Hans Ulrich Bächtold, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat Zur Gestaltung und Verwaltung des Zürcher Staatswesens in den Jahren 1531 bis 1575*. (Bern, 1982).

⁴ Helmut Meyer, *Der Zweite Kappeler Krieg. Die Krise der Schweizerischen Reformation*, (Zürich, 1976).

⁵ Heinzpeter Stucki, *Bürgermeister Hans Rudolf Lavater. 1492-1557. Ein Politiker der Reformationszeit*. (Zürich, 1973).

⁶ Kurt Maeder, *Die Via Media in der schweizerischen Reformation. Studien zum Problem der Kontinuität in Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*, (Zürich, 1970).

Together these works form a coherent picture in which an institutional study might find its place.

There are two important works specifically on the Synod. The first is the influential article by Kurt Maeder mentioned previously in which he argues that the Synod was the crucial meeting point of the magistrates with the church. Maeder stresses that the Synod must be seen as more than just a disciplinary body, for its meetings provided for the exchange between city and countryside essential for the preservation of a territorial church. This argument has been expanded upon by subsequent scholarship. Professor Büsser, in his address on the Synod, has emphasized the sense of historical continuity of the Zürich Synod with the mediaeval church.⁷

The Synod has also received the attention of scholars treating the Zürich Reformation in general or concentrating upon other aspects. Professor Walton provided one of the earliest analyses in English of the character of the Zürich Reformation.⁸ With Büsser, he sees the Synod and the Ehegericht as representing the culmination of church/state relations begun in the middle ages. Bächtold, in his book has also treated the Synod. Recent articles by Hans Ulrich Rublack and W.J. Baker have addressed the Synod under Zwingli and in the first years of Bullinger. Finally, in her doctoral thesis on Bullinger and the clergy in Zürich, Pamela Biel has also shown the importance of the Synod as a means of social control.⁹ These works together with other studies have given rise to the questions which this thesis intends to address.

⁷ F. Büsser, 'Synode - gestern und heute. Vortrag', *Wurzeln der Reformation in Zürich*. (Leiden, 1985), 231-235.

⁸ R. Walton, 'The Institutionalizing of the Reformation at Zürich', *Zwingliana*. 13 (1972), 497-515.

⁹ P. Biel, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Office of the Minister: The Reformed Clergy at Zürich 1530-75*. Unpublished Thesis (Columbia University, 1988).

The Reformation in Zürich resulted in important changes for the clergy. Not only were the old forms of worship and piety overturned, but the whole life of the minister was re-shaped with the obligation to regularize their relationships with women by marrying and raising a family. Ministers were expected to expound texts and preach the doctrines of the reformed faith. They became agents of social control for the magistrates and the church in their role as supervisors of public morality. Together with local civil officials they were entrusted with the propagation of and adherence to the laws of the state. The domestication of the clergy effected by the Zürich Reformation made ministers regular members of the communities in which they lived. Marriage, family and exemplary moral conduct was integral to their role.

The Reformation gave to the minister a new brief and, theoretically, altered his social position; but it did little to alter the society in which he was to carry out his work. The needs of the parishioners remained intact. They still suffered from the horrors of plague, crop failures, and, increasingly during the sixteenth century, from a shortage of land and inflationary price rises. Life was harsh in the rural areas, and for the peasantry there were precious few sources of relief. The new faith, with its emphasis upon the Word, was challenged to meet the spiritual needs of those who found comfort in the older practices of Catholicism and folk religion. It is within this area of tension that one might look for causes of error amongst the clergy. Between the doctrinal debates and advances in confessional unity shaping the reformed faith amongst the leading theologians and the deprivation and superstitions of the rural folk stood the minister. He was the medium through which the reformed faith was passed from the seat of learning within the city walls out into the parishes. The minister was responsible to both the authorities of the government and church and to his own community, whose interests might be quite different. The synodal records have much to offer on the tensions and problems involved in the communication, implementation, and reception of the Reformation message.

Heinrich Bullinger had a clear understanding what the minister and parish ought to be. Unlike Luther, he did not eschew either politics or the intricacies of legislation; he employed them at every turn to preserve the course of the Reformation. Bullinger was also acutely aware of the dynamics of communicating the reformed faith. The domestication of the clergy and social discipline were integral parts of this communication. The Synod in Zürich is an interesting study because there was no simple dichotomy between high minded urban reformers and the realities of parish life. Bullinger thrived on the minutiae of church affairs, and kept himself abreast of events in the most far flung communities in the canton. His tireless activity on the committees of the church enabled him to know most of the clergy personally. This was extremely influential in the process of discipline. This thesis offers no apologies for the attention paid to the work of Bullinger; a study of the Zürich church in the mid sixteenth century without proper attention to his work would certainly be a Hamlet without a prince. His leadership of the church in Zürich during the turbulent seas of the period was based upon a stark realism of what could be expected.

This thesis seeks to investigate the background and structure of an institution and how it was employed in the furthering and preservation of the Reformation in Zürich. The questions which will arise in the course of this study touch on many points crucial to our evolving understanding of the nature of the Reformation. Did ministers succeed in absorbing and propagating the new faith? To what extent did the redefinition of the pastoral office manage to contain anti-clerical sentiments and curtail immorality amongst the ministers? Were the ministers accepted in the communities into which they were placed, and were they sufficient to the needs of their parishioners? How did ministers respond to folk spirituality, with its mixing of Catholic, Protestant and purely superstitious beliefs? How did the church handle incompetent and ignorant clergymen inherited from the pre-Reformation period?

The debates over discipline in the sixteenth century have been well studied and set out. The conflict between the Zürich and Genevan positions on the administration of discipline is crucial to the understanding of later national reform movements. Research thus far has concentrated upon the writings of the reformers. This study intends to examine how discipline was actually administered amongst the clergy in Zürich.

2.0 The Theological and Historical Background of the Zürich Synod

2.1 The Mediaeval Inheritance

The formation of the Zürich Synod in 1528 was the beginning point of a reformed Protestant response to the question of how discipline was to be maintained amongst the clergy. Whilst a point of departure in the creation of new institutions reflecting the Zwinglian understanding of ecclesiastical polity, the Zürich Synod served as a model, though often considerably modified, to the later reforming movements in Switzerland, France, Germany and Britain. Yet, a look into its origins reveals the direct connection with the intellectual and reforming movements of the fifteenth century.

The association of synodal government with reform was well established in the Middle Ages. In the twelfth century the papacy engaged in an attempt to bring about a systematic reform of the church through general councils and provincial synods.¹ In the third section of the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council concerning the organization of the church,² metropolitans were required to hold provincial synods after the model of the Early Church. It was, however, in the fifteenth century during the zenith of the Conciliar movement that clerical synods were given particular prominence as a means of church reform. Cesarini, in the fifteenth session of the

¹ Franz-Josef Schmale, 'Systematisches zu den Konzilien des reformpapsttums im 12. Jahrhundert', *AHC*, 6 (1974), 21-39.

² M. Gibbs and J. Lang, *Bishops and Reform 1215-1272: With Special Reference to the Lateran Council of 1215*. (Oxford, 1934), p.100.

Council of Basel, took a leading role in the drafting of the decree concerning the necessity of regular diocesan and provincial synods to correct local abuses amongst the clergy.³ This reforming decree was part of the Council's intention to grant greater authority to the bishops in the regulation of clerical morality.⁴ The text reads:

*Prima autem die convenientibus dioecetano et omnibus aliis qui huiusmodi Synodo interesse tenentur, infra missarum solemnias, vel post, dioecetanus vel alius eius nomine verbum Dei proponat, exhortando omnes ad bonos mores sectandum, abstinendum a vitiis, et ad ea quae pertinent ad Ecclesiasticam disciplinam et officia singulorum, et praesertim ut hi, quibus animarum cura commissa est, diebus dominicis et aliis solemnitatibus plebem subjectam doctrinis et monitiis salutaribus instruant. Postea legantur statuta provincialia et Synodalia, et inter alia aliquis compendiosus tractatus, docens quomodo Sacramenta ministrari debeant, ut alia utilia pro instructione sacerdotum. Deinde ipse dioecetanus de vita et moribus subditorum solerter inquirat, labem simoniacaev pravitatis, contractus usurarios, concubinatam, fornicationem, et alia quaevis crimina et excessus, debita correctione cohibeat. Alienationes rerum Ecclesiasticarum a iure prohibitas revocet, clericorum abusus, et aliorum subjectorum, qui circa divinum officium et delationem debiti habitus defecerint, in melius reformet et emendet.*⁵

The Basel reformers envisaged these provincial synods as carrying out the disciplinary work of the general council in the dioceses. To this end, the duties of the

³ G. Christianson, *Cesarini, The Conciliar Cardinal: The Basel Years, 1431-1438* (St. Ottilien, 1979), p.133.

⁴ H. Jedin describes the council's proposals for regular synods as an important beginning in the struggle against clerical immorality in the church. He writes '*Die Dekrete des Sess. XV über die Abhaltung von Provincial- und Diözesansynoden und der Sess. XX gegen den Konkubinat der Kleriker waren ein Anfang der nicht weniger dringend nötigen Reform der Glieder -aber eben doch nur ein Anfang.*' H. Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, vol. 1, (Freiburg, 1977), p.13.

⁵ Mansi, XXIX, p.75.

bishops were enumerated, and where the senior clergy failed to look after their charges the Council stipulated the punishment of suspension from their office:

Quod si metropolitani vel dioecesani praedictis terminis in celebrandis provincialibus et Episcopalibus Synodis, cessante legitimo impedimento, fuerint negligentes, medietatem omnium fructuum et obventionum ratione suarum Ecclesiarum ad eos pertinentium, fabricae ipsarum Ecclesiarum applicandam eo ipso amittant. Qui si in eadem negligentia per tres proximos menses perseveraverint, ab officiis et beneficiis sint ipso facto suspensi. ⁶

Christianson argues that in the formulation of the decrees concerning discipline there was an important difference in understanding between Cesarini and Tudeschis over the implementation of corrective measures.⁷ For Tudeschis, the central text of Matthew 18.15-17 was interpreted to mean that the church was constrained to carry out correction of abuses regardless of the price; whilst for Cesarini, reform was to be pursued with regard to the common good and corrective measures should not be allowed to encourage either impiety or sacrilege through their severity. This difference of interpretation not only posed difficulties for the Conciliar reformers of the 1430s and 40s, it remained a crucial question for Zwingli and Bullinger in formulating the disciplinary policy of the clerical synod in the sixteenth century.

The history of these reforming ideas in the fifteenth century is complex. The defeat of the Basel Council at the hands of the revitalized papacy under Eugenius IV, who managed to deprive the Council of the essential support of the leading rulers of Europe, precluded the possibility of a systematic implementation of the reforms. Yet, the German princes, who had remained neutral during the council/papacy struggle,

⁶ Mansi, XXIX, p.77.

⁷ Christianson, p.178.

supported those Conciliar reform doctrines which envisaged the restoration of greater local autonomy to the clergy.⁸ These reforms squared with the princes' determination to bring ecclesiastical lands and privileges within their governance.

The formal collapse of the Conciliar movement by the 1440s did not extinguish the reforming flame. Although the Conciliarists and the supporters of the papacy had quarreled over the nature of authority in the Church, there was fundamental agreement on the need for reform. The structures of reform proposed in the decrees of the Basel Council found considerable support amongst even those who had supported Eugenius IV. Most notable amongst these was Nicholas of Cusa, who journeyed through the principal ecclesiastical provinces of Germany in 1451/2 on behalf of the pope attempting to effect disciplinary reforms. Cusa visited the provinces of Salzburg, Magdeburg, Mainz, Cologne and Trier and used his authority as papal legate to work in conjunction with the archbishops and bishops to call provincial and diocesan synods. These synods were the means by which he promoted his reform programme against the problems of laxity amongst the monastic orders, malpractice in the conferral of benefices, immorality amongst the clergy and the situation of the Jews.⁹ The synods provided Cusa with access to the main body of the diocesan clergy and he employed various means to explicate his message. First of all the synods would issue reforming decrees concerning disciplinary matters, then Cusa would preach sermons (frequently

⁸ J.W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV The Council of Basel and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire*, (Leiden, 1978), p.343.

⁹ D. Sullivan, 'Nicholas of Cusa as Reformer: The Papal Legation to the Germanies 1451-52.' *Medieval Studies*, 36 (1974) p.382-428.

in the vernacular), hold prayers for the papacy and the restoration of the earthly hierarchy of the church, and give instructions to clergy.¹⁰

Cusa's energy in his extensive travels throughout Germany was impressive, and his commitment to reform through synodal government exemplified his concern to remedy the church of its various illnesses. Lamentably, his work bore little fruit. The deep divisions within the church during the Conciliar period had broken the back of a unified reform movement. Individual attempts to improve the situation were hopelessly entangled in the political implications of the failure of the Council of Basel. Cusa, as a defector from the Conciliar cause, was accorded a cool reception by the princes of the German church, who saw his activities as more than a little hypocritical.¹¹ Despite the formal holding of synods in the provinces, there was little real attempt to tackle issues such as clerical concubinage or plurality of benefices, or, in the case of bishops, plurality of dioceses. When Cusa left a province it was clear that his visit had made little impression.

An example of Cusa's attempted reforms was the provincial synod in Mainz, which opened on 15 November, 1451. The first act of the synod was to reissue the reforming decrees of the Basel Council from 23 November, 1433. The reforms addressed by the Mainz synod were far reaching and aggressive; the issues discussed included usury, the Jews, interdicts on the faith, festival days, the suppression of local abuses, the refusal to licence new religious orders, the implementation of the reforming Bull of Nicholas V (1450), the reforming of the monastic orders and religious houses, the due observance of the sacraments, the control of confessors by the bishops, and

¹⁰ Sullivan, p.401.

¹¹ Stieber, p.340.

pilgrimages.¹² The Council of Basel had set the standard for clerical discipline and the history of synodal government throughout the fifteenth century was of the repeated attempts to implement its decrees.

Within the province of Mainz lay the diocese of Constance, a sprawling ecclesiastical territory which embraced much of southern Germany and German speaking Switzerland (including Zürich). It was within the context of the attempts by a succession of bishops in Constance to bring about reforms that the forces which shaped the Zürich Reformation were at play. The bishops of Constance in the fifteenth century had made use of diocesan synods both to attempt to strengthen their own jurisdiction and reform their clergy. In theory these synods possessed strong weapons with which they could effect discipline amongst the clergy. The principle means were excommunication, suspension and the interdict. Boniface III's definition of these three forms of discipline exerted wide ranging influence over the mediaeval church.¹³ The interdict contained two parts, the censure (*poena medicinalis*) and the expiation punishment (*poena vindicativa*).¹⁴ Against the clergy a synod might apply either a local or personal interdict. This meant that a priest was forbidden from either holding divine worship or administering the sacraments.¹⁵

¹² C-J. Hefele & Dom H. Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles d'après Les Documents Originaux*, vol. 7, (Paris, 1916), p.1222.

¹³ G. May, 'Interdict', *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol.XVI. (1987), p.222.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.223.

¹⁵ E. Jambert, 'Interdit', *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique*, vol.V. (1953), p.1473.

In the early part of the century bishop Marguard von Randegg (1398-1406) had sought to centralize the power of legislation in his episcopal court through the issuing of reforming decrees.¹⁶ Professor Maier describes the extent of Randegg's synodal reforms:

Im Besonderen erließ Randegg Vorschriften zur Disziplin des Regular- und Weltklerus, zum Pfründenerwerb, der Verwaltung der Sakramente, so zum Beispiel zur Taufe (Bestellung von Taufpaten) und Ehe, ebenso zur Verwaltung der Kirchengeräte und Paramente. Weitere Statuten dienten dem Ausbau bischöflicher Rechte. Hervorgehoben seien ein Verbot für Kleriker, sich Bündnissen gegen die Bischöfe anzuschließen und das Statut, daß kein Kleriker ohne die Erlaubnis des Bischofs das Bürger- oder Schutzrecht einer Stadt annehmen dürfte.¹⁷

This dual concern with the eradication of practical abuses together with the prevention of the clergy falling under the increasingly powerful control of the secular rulers dominated the episcopal courts of Constance in the fifteenth century. Bishop Otto von Hachberg (1410-1434) continued the reforming work with his synod of 1423 wherein he declared the residential obligations of deans and the suppression of the wandering clergy, known as the *clerici vagabundi*. Further, Hachberg stated that all disputes amongst the laity of an ecclesiastical nature were to be resolved in church and not civil courts.¹⁸ Hachburg attempted further to resolve the long-standing problems between the secular and religious clergy. To accomplish this he had to take direct action

¹⁶ K. Maier, 'Die Konstanzer Diözesansynoden im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit', *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte*, 5 (1986), 53-70.

¹⁷ Maier, p.58.

¹⁸ Maier, p.58.

to reverse the startling decline in the corporate life of the religious houses in the diocese, such as that of the Augustinians at Ittingen.¹⁹

Little seems to have come of Hachberg's reforms, but with the opening of the Council of Basel in the 1430s a new impetus to church reform was born. In 1436 Bishop Freidrich von Zollern published the synodal statutes for the diocese of Constance which set down the following points of reform: the clear establishment of the rules governing the impediments to marriage, the prohibition of plurality, the legitimating of the rights of the sons of clergy to receive benefices, the observance of the Council of Basel's decrees against concubinage, and the enforcement of interdicts.²⁰ Bishop Freidrich held a three day Synod in 1436 in which these ordinances were proclaimed. The General Vicar of the diocese preached to the assembled clergy gathered in the Münster in Constance on their obligation to uphold these reforms. The Synod was further distinguished by an unusual event on the third day of the session: the clergy attending were summoned to the Münster to give answer for their conduct. This is the first evidence for an exchange or dialogue between the church leaders and the lower clergy so integral to the reformed synods. Unfortunately, it is also known that only about half the expected clergy of the diocese bothered to attend the synod.²¹ There were about three hundred and sixty representatives of the secular and religious clergy in Constance for the Synod.²²

The most energetic of the reforming bishops in Constance during the fifteenth century was Heinrich IV von Hewen (1436-62). During his considerable tenure in

¹⁹ A. Braun, *Der Klerus des Bistums Konstanz im Ausgang des Mittelalters*, (Münster, 1938), p.167.

²⁰ Maier, p.59.

²¹ Braun, p.167.

²² Ibid.

office he applied himself with zeal to bring about reforms in the face of opposition from his own chapter in Constance, the religious houses and the territorial princes. He advanced his reform programme in a set of diocesan statutes in 1438.²³ These were followed by a synod in 1441, likewise relatively poorly attended with only about two hundred clergy present.²⁴ Heinrich's reforms centred on the removal of clerical concubinage. In 1452 he warned the clergy to desist from these illegal relationships. The following year, he required the deans to compile lists of clergy in their territories known to be living in concubinage. And, in 1456, he wrote a diocesan letter on the subject of concubinage.²⁵ He warned both priests and the higher clergy that they had twelve days to break these bonds and seek absolution for their sins.²⁶ Heinrich's reforms were also concerned with strengthening the office of the rural dean as his representative in local matters and the cleansing of the religious houses, which were a plague upon the fifteenth century bishops.²⁷

Under Bishop Hermann von Breitenlandenberg (1462-1474) further reforming synods were held which both reaffirmed the earlier directives and added further corrections. In 1463 the synod in Constance set down regulations governing the office of the rural dean, clerical discipline, the hearing of Sunday and feast day sermons, and most drastically, the preclusion of Jews from mixing with Christians and the forcing of

²³ Braun, p.168.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Braun, p.169.

²⁶ Ibid., p.171.

²⁷ Ibid.,p.171.

them to wear distinguishing badges.²⁸ His synod of 1466 attracted only about three hundred and forty clergy.²⁹ A clear example of the abuses which these synods were combating is seen in the records from a mandate to the clergy issued from Constance dated the 16th of September, 1469:

*er hat zum besten der geistlichkeit statuten
gegeben. Gleichwohl halten diese mehrere der priester und kleriker des
kurat- und nichtkuratklerus zu seinem schmerze nicht ein, halten
konkubinen, entlassen sie nicht oder werden wieder rückfällig, gehen
ballistarum exercitiis nach, spielen karten u. würfel, sitzen in
wirtshäusern oder sonst mit ausgelassenen laien zusammen und lästern
ihren schöpfer, die hl. mutter Maria und die heiligen, nehmen an
schmausereien teil und weltlicher schlechtigkeit. Auftrag, die
synodalstatuten zu verkünden, entlassung der konkubinen und
verdächtigen weiber innerhalb eines monates und einholung der
absolution unter strafe der privation des beneficiums oder zuziehung der
inhabilität, ablaßung von spielen und 'ballistaruss exercitiis' unter
strafe; sie sollten ferner die untertanen anhalten, von ehebruch, unzucht
und unerlaubten zusammenlebens abzulassen und diese mahnen;
eheleute, welche nicht zusammenleben, sollten sie zum
zusammenleben anhalten innerhalb eines monates unter androhung des
ausschlusses von den sakramenten; verbot der absolution in verbotenen
fällen, außer wenn die berichtväter urkunden vorzeigen mit bischöfl.
vidimus angebracht auf der rückseite eigenhändig oder dem des
generalvikars. Vorbehalt der absolution aller, welche sich gegen diesen
erlaß verfehlen.³⁰*

This mandate reveals the similarity of disciplinary problems amongst the clergy in the pre-Reformation period with those found in the time of Bullinger and the reformed synods. Although concubinage was a well established form of living amongst the clergy, officially it was not tolerated. Its widespread occurrence in Constance may well account for the high level of adultery and whoring amongst the clergy in Zürich after the Reformation. Card playing, dicing, drinking in taverns with the laity, together

²⁸ Maier, p.59.

²⁹ Braun, p.172.

³⁰ *Regesta Episcoporum Constantiensium: Regesten zur Geschichte der Bischöfe von Konstanz*, vol.4 (1436-1474) Karl Rieder (ed.) Badischen Historischen Kommission. (Innsbruck, 1941). 13643, p.399.

with blasphemy, as will be shown, were likewise the common matter of clerical indiscipline in the sixteenth century. The instructions in the mandate requiring the clergy to renounce their concubines and seek absolution from their errors on penalty of losing their living is echoed in the reformed Zürich Synod, where clergy deposed from their parishes for their errors could only be reconciled and restored to the Synod following a public confession and the seeking of mercy from the clerical body through a written supplication. While the understanding of absolution differed significantly, the structure of discipline, punishment and restoration in the reformed synods in Zürich was clearly based upon the model of the diocesan synods of the fifteenth century.

The episcopal reforms in Constance of the fifteenth century did effect structural changes in the church which were of great importance to the Zürich reformers. Perhaps the most crucial was the office of the rural dean. This was not, of course, an invention of the fifteenth century, but the definition of the deans' position in overseeing the discipline of the church in their chapters was preserved in the reformed ecclesiology. In the various synodal ordinances of the fifteenth century the dean was made the bishop's representative.³¹ He was charged with supervising all the functions of the church in his communities. He acted as a judge in cases of morality, he pronounced the church's judgement of excommunication upon sinners, and he oversaw the implementation of interdicts from the episcopal court.³² In performing these functions the dean possessed by delegation the rights of the bishop and his curia; the deans were described as the *oculi episcopi*.³³ Due to the enormous size of the diocese, the episcopal courts could

³¹J. Ahlhaus, *Die Landdekanate des Bistums Konstanz im Mittelalter*, (Stuttgart, 1929), p.128-9.

³² *Ibid.*, p.130.

³³ *Ibid.*, p.137.

not deal with all the disciplinary cases arising in the parishes. It was this consideration which led to the delegation of disciplinary powers to the deans.

The deans were also in charge of the parish clergy in their chapters. They were to instruct the newly ordained priests, and were required by the synodal statutes of 1497 to submit to the curia lists of vacant parishes that they might be filled according to papal regulations.³⁴ This list was to be submitted twice a year and contain also the names of the patrons for these vacant parishes. The dean, as head of the clergy in his chapter, was responsible for the holding of the most important religious festivals such as commemorative masses and festival days.³⁵

The office of the dean became very powerful during the fifteenth century, reflecting the general weakness of the bishops. The deans gained control over all aspects of church life in their territories; they kept the official records of the church and oversaw the spiritual life of clergy and laity. Their position was not a little enhanced by the financial rewards offered by authority over such matters as marriage courts.³⁶ Without effective control from above, there was every possibility for abuse of this important office. Nevertheless, the reformers of the sixteenth century recognized the importance of the position of the dean as a supervisor in preserving the jurisdiction of the Synod. A mark of the continuity of the reformed church with its late mediaeval predecessor was the preservation of the office of the rural dean.

As the century drew to a close the ability of the episcopal court in Constance to reform abuses was curtailed by political events over which it had no control. The

³⁴ Ibid., p.133.

³⁵ Ibid., p.151.

³⁶ Ibid., p.152.

Swabian war of 1499 alienated the Swiss portions of the diocese from the essentially Swabian ecclesiastical hierarchy.³⁷ This was further complicated by Zürich's situation vis à vis the mercenary question. The Council in Zürich was willing to provide mercenaries for papal service in return for the absorption of ecclesiastical privileges and lands necessary for their ambitious plan of expansion. This undermined the authority of the Bishop of Constance in his Swiss domains and deprived him of important sources of income. As a result, the bishop looked to other means of exacting monies from the clergy; the tax levied upon priests living in concubinage proved a useful alternative, and although it was strictly forbidden by the synodal statutes, this tax acquired an authority based upon custom rather than any official jurisdiction. This confusion of jurisdiction badly compromised the diocesan synod's ability to discipline the clergy and amounted to an admission by the episcopal court that it had lost authority over much of its clerical body, particularly in the Swiss regions.

The reforming spirit was not wholly lost. In 1481 Bishop Otto von Sonnenburg held a synod for about four hundred and fifty clergy. During the course of the session he did something which none of his predecessors, despite their reforming interests, had done; he climbed into the pulpit in the Münster and preached to the clergy on the need for reform.³⁸ Previously the duty of preaching was delegated to one of the senior officials such as the General Vicar.

When Hugo von Hohenlandenberg assumed the office of bishop in 1497 the situation was beyond repair. The diocesan synods had been denuded and the territories over which the bishop might hope to exert meaningful influence were much diminished. Hugo was an interesting man who was not without a reforming spirit,

³⁷ T.A. Brady jr., *Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire, 1450-1550*, (Cambridge, 1985), p.57-71.

³⁸ Braun, p.176.

though it was not broad enough to wrestle with the enormity of the problems. The publishing of synodal ordinances in 1497 testify to Hugo's belief in synods as a means of reform within his diocese.³⁹ These ordinances contained strict guide-lines for clerical behaviour and the considerable detail with which the obligations of the priests were set down is evident from the instructions concerning parochial services and the necessity of disciplining the parishioners:

*Nos volentes huic morbo obviare ac animarum saluti
consuler presenti volumus ordinaus statuto: districte
universis presbyteri curatis nostre diocesis mandantes et
exhortantes eosdem: quatenus plebes et parrochianos suos
qui ad annos pervenerit discretionis ammoneant sub poena
excommunicationis quatenus deinceps singulis dominicis et
festivis diebus officio misse in ecclesis suis interesse
studeant: et predicationem verbi dei diligenter audiant: nisi
legitimo impedimento et causa rationabili quis excusetur: nec
ab officio huiusmodi ante benedictionem sacerdotis donec*

³⁹ The ordinances are entitled: *Constitutiones Synodales ecclesie Constantiensis. Ad laudem dei edite. Anno 1497. Fol. S.1. (Hain 5660) ZB. Gal.II.66.1.* The chapter headings of the ordinances reveal that they are largely a reissuing of earlier and address the problems in the church ranging from clerical children, the residence of clergy within benefices and concubinage to the treatment of the sacraments, forms of penance and the question of mystical rapture. The headings are: *De Summa trinitate et fide Catholica, De officio Decani, De renunciationibus beneficorum, De temporibus ordinationum, De filiis presbyterorum, De clericis peregrinis, De maioritate et obediente, De iudiciis, De foro competenti, De Probationibus, De Sententia et re iudicata, De vita et honestate clericorum, De cohabitatione clericorum et mulierum, De clericis non residentibus, De prebendis, De portione congrua, De institutionibus, Sequitur de testamenti et ultimis voluntatibus, De parochiis et parrochianis, De regularibus, De mendicantibus validis, De custodia eucharistie et reverentia sacramentorum, De sponsalibus et matrimoniis, De iudeis, De adulteris, De raptoribus, De usurariis, De nenis interdictis, De magistris, De penitentibus et remissionibus, Remittantur itaque ad nos feu vicarium nostrum in subscriptis casibus pro absolutionibus, De Sententia excommunicationis, De moderatione censurarum ecclesiasticarum ex synodi Basiliensis.'*

*officium misse compleatur recedant: faciendo ob
reverentiam divinissimi sacramenti genuflectiones interim:
dum hostia salutaris per presbyterum elevatur: cum
devotioneque cordis deum orent pro peccatis.*⁴⁰

These strictures concerning the priest's obligations to uphold the Catholic faith and forms of worship fell upon unfertile ground. There remained the greatest distance between the standards required by the synodal ordinances and the reality of parish life. The synod of 1497 was the last of the pre-Reformation councils in Constance, and its failure to make the slightest difference to the disastrous situation in the diocese points to the fatal flaw at the core of reforming spirit: this was the absence of an effective understructure to support and guide the lower clergy. Although the bishop of Constance was seriously constrained by the political and religious developments in the Empire, the church in the diocese was rotting from the bottom as the parochial clergy were allowed to engage in all forms of abuse. The longer this situation persisted, the possibility of meaningful reform without radical action diminished. The majority of the clergy had lost sense of their office and any interest in conforming to an ethical ideal seemingly quite remote from their everyday lives. Albert Braun has written: *'Diese Bildung war ein um so weniger taugliches Rüstzeug im sittlichen Selbstbehauptungskampf, als das Studium der Gotteswissenschaft zugunsten der Jurisprudenz zu sehr vernachlässigt wurde, so daß viele Kleriker die ethischen Einsichten und Rückhalte nicht gewannen, die das Ringen um ein sittliches Ideal erleichtern.'*⁴¹

The establishment of synods in the diocese was not enough as long as these institutions lacked teeth. It was the Swiss regions of the diocese which proved extremely difficult to administer; for, in addition to the question of aggressive political authorities in the cities and obdurate clergy, the simple fact of the distance between the

⁴⁰ Ibid., Fol.9-9v.

⁴¹ Braun, p.122.

episcopal courts and many of the parishes mitigated against an effective understructure of authority which could dispense the discipline of the synod. Oskar Vasella has shown that this problem of distance was particularly pronounced in the Swiss cantons, with the effect that clergy suspended or dismissed from their parishes by the synods or episcopal courts often snubbed these sentences and continued to celebrate the sacraments.⁴² Excommunication as well as other forms of disciplinary punishment became meaningless, and the resulting decline in clerical morals did much to heighten the anti-clericalism which facilitated the Zürich Reformation. Yet, the failure of the reform synods in the fifteenth century has to be set against the influence which they exercised upon the reformers in the next century. Their structure and purpose was largely absorbed in the institutional reforms in Zürich. Further, while the language of the interdict might have been discarded, the main disciplinary tools of the reformed synods remained as they had been with their mediaeval predecessors censure (*poena medicinalis*), suspension and excommunication. The means may have been different, but the intention remained the same.

When the Synod was restored in 1532, the ecclesiastical and political leaders recognized that its role as a disciplinary body would be effective only if there was an assured means of implementing its recommendations for disciplinary action. This was done through the close cooperation of the civil officials with the church in the parishes.

⁴² *Wohl so ist es zu erklären, daß Geistliche während ihrer Suspension oder auch vor Exkommunizierten zelebrierten und deswegen bestraft wurden, die Strafe sich also zufolge des Widerstands der Laien kaum wirksam genug erzeugte. Entscheidend ist übrigens nicht so sehr, ob in dieser Hinsicht der Seelsorger entschuldbar ist oder nicht, sondern daß er infolge der ständigen Häufung der kirchlichen Strafen zur Leistung ansehnlicher Summen Geldes gezwungen wurde. Es ist daher müßig, von geringen Strafgeldern zu sprechen, wie Hashagen es tat.' O.Vasella, Reform und Reformation in der Schweiz, (Münster, 1958), p.42/3.*

2.2 Zwingli and Church Reform in Zürich

Zwingli's reforms in Zürich during the 1520s must not be seen as standing against the events of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century described above. The course of the Reformation in Zürich in the early years made inevitable the break with Rome, and in the crucial disputations of 1523 Zwingli came to an understanding of the nature of the church in which tradition could no longer be seen as determinative. Yet, as a young student in Vienna and Basel and then as a priest in the in the diocese of Constance, he imbibed the theological and ecclesiological currents of the late mediaeval church, and these played a crucial role in his understanding of the place of discipline)

Church and discipline stood at the centre of the Zürich Reformation as the reformers struggled to answer the challenges which defeated the fifteenth century reform movements. Zwingli's ideas of church and discipline took shape around and were informed by the influences of the mediaeval concept of the *Corpus Christianum* and of Christian Neoplatonism. It is to these two sources that one must return to explain his teachings on Church, community, ministry and discipline which moulded the situation in Zürich throughout the sixteenth century. They are the foundation upon which Bullinger later built his more encompassing and practical reforms.

The beginning point in understanding the Zürich Reformation in the 1520s was Zwingli's absolute belief that he was in no way creating a new church but rather restoring it to its true Catholicity. The conjoining of the names 'Catholic' with 'Roman' was an equivocation which had resulted not only in the tyranny of the popes, but in the spiritual malaise and jurisdictional confusion of the late mediaeval church. The distinction of the church, political authorities and the church's doctrine and discipline as enshrined in its legislation, from the reality of practice in its dioceses and parishes was symptomatic for Zwingli of the usurpation of true authority of the Gospel.

The genesis of the reformed synods lay in Zwingli's 'discovery' of the basis for his ecclesiastical polity. For this the events of 1522/23 are crucial. The year 1522 has come to be regarded as the 'crisis' year of the Zürich Reformation. Ulrich Gäbler has argued that events such as the well known sausage incident, the secret marriage, and the debates with the monks over the doctrine of the intercession of the saints led Zwingli to take a definite stand on his relationship to episcopal authority.⁴³ Gäbler shows that it was during 1522 in his petition to the bishop concerning clerical marriage, the *Apologeticus Archeteles*, that Zwingli had already rejected the claims of the ecclesiastical hierarchy on the grounds of its thorough corruption.⁴⁴ The bishop and his curia no longer possessed any authority to sit in judgement over the church in Zürich. In applying his concept of Scripture as the sole basis of all authority to the questions facing the pre-Reformation church (i.e. fasting, monastic orders, clerical celibacy, and the role of saints), Zwingli concluded that tradition, or human ordinances, conflicted with the spirit of the Gospel. The ecclesiastical hierarchy had allowed itself to be tainted by its adherence to earthly righteousness, thereby abandoning its sacred function.⁴⁵

It does not follow from Zwingli's criticisms of the mediaeval polity that he had formulated his own position on the true form of church government. Zwingli's 'discovery' came with the disputation of January 1523. The events of this occasion have been well treated, although there remains some uncertainty regarding the motives

⁴³ U. Gäbler, 'Zwingli in the Year of Decision - 1522', in E.J. Furcha & H.W. Pipkin (eds), *Prophet and Pastor The Work of Huldrych Zwingli After Five Hundred Years*, (Allison Park, 1984), 59-70.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.66/67.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.69.

of the Council and the extent its decision was a victory for Zwingli's reforms.⁴⁶ The refusal of the bishop's representatives to recognize the competence of the assembly to debate matters of doctrine or to take up the challenge posed by Zwingli in his theses written for the occasion almost rendered the whole thing a non-event. However, as Oberman has shown, Zwingli was pushed, by his own frustration with the lack of debate and by Fabri's insistence upon a General Council, to take his arguments a step further.⁴⁷ Zwingli understood that his assembly of gathered clergy and representatives of the ruling magistrates could, when it opened itself to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, become a true synod of the church and make decisions regarding the life and work of the church. This 'synod' was local in the sense that it was making decisions for the church in Zürich, yet it was of itself a true manifestation of the Catholic Church and could debate the introduction of reforms of doctrine and polity.⁴⁸ Zwingli was quick to

⁴⁶ For the details of the two disputations of 1523 in Zürich, see G.R. Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge, 1976), chp.6, p.126-159. The classic analysis of the importance of these debates for the development of reformed ecclesiology is B. Moeller's 'Zwingli's Disputationen: Studien zu den Anfängen der Kirchenbildung und des Synodalwesens im Protestantismus', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, 56 (1970), 275-323. H. Oberman has built upon Moeller's analysis in *Masters of the Reformation The Emergence of a New Intellectual Climate in Europe*, trans. D. Martin, (Cambridge, 1981), p.210-239. Hans-Christoph Rublack, 'Zwingli und Zürich', *Zwingliana*, 16.5 (1985), 395-426. C. Dietrich, *Die Stadt Zürich und ihre Landgemeinden während der Bauernunruhen von 1489 bis 1525*, (Frankfurt am Main, 1985), p.155-58.

⁴⁷ Oberman, p.228-231.

⁴⁸ Moeller sums up Zwingli's conclusions on the Synod of 1523: '*Tatsächlich war es Zwingli's Konzeption von dem christenlichen Gemeinwesen Zürich, die hier im gemeinsamen Bemühen und in aller Form ihr Verwirklichung fand. Man suchte das Wort Gottes in den Verhandlungen regieren zu lassen, und Geistliche wie Politiker achteten peinlich darauf, daß allein dieser Maßstab galt; das Gespräch sammelte sich um Zwingli, er trat auf als der zuständige Schriftausleger und "Hirt" der Stadt;*

draw out the implications of the assembly which were given expression at the second disputation in October of the same year. Oberman argues that it was at the second 'synod', called to debate the issues of the mass and religious images, that Zwingli clarified the distinction between the 'synod' and the Zürich Council.⁴⁹ The difference was that the Council could by no means pass decrees contrary to Scripture, it was to rule in light of teachings of the God's Word as discerned by the Synod.⁵⁰ The Synod, in its submission to the Holy Spirit, could interpret Scripture and advise the Council accordingly. Doctrine was for the Synod, whilst executive action was to be taken by the Council.⁵¹ The events of 1523 were of the greatest importance in the formulation of the Zürich ecclesiology, as Oberman has written on the nature of the Synod: 'The judge (Holy Scripture) is joined by the *doctores* as consultants, the general clergy as its constitutive membership and the city council as its executive arm. But together all these are 'brethren in Christ'. Neither bishop, general church council, pope nor city council could preside as judge over the assembly's deliberations'.⁵²

The formula of holding disputations, or synods, brought two considerable results: firstly, it resolved the issue of finding institutional expression for Zwingli's reforms, and, secondly, it provided a 'model' by which Zürich could spread its

Bürgermeister und Räte erschienen als Beschützer und Förderer der Verkündigung des Wortes; alle Ansprüche des Bischofs wurden souverän beiseitegeschoben. 'Zwingli's Disputationen', p.300.

⁴⁹ Oberman, p.230/1. Potter, p.131-34, Dietrich, p.179/80.

⁵⁰ J.A.F. Thomson argues that in general doctrinal questions in the fifteenth century were held to be within the jurisdiction of the church; the papal right to define doctrine was not challenged by the secular authorities. Heresy, however, was different in that the church often relied upon secular rulers to act in the punishing of offenders. *Popes and Princes 1417-1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church*, London, 1980), p.185.

⁵¹ Oberman, p.231.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.232.

reforming ideals to the other cantons and southern German city states.⁵³ With regard to the second point, Zwingli's greatest triumph was in the disputation of Bern in 1528. Once again, it proceeded without serious opposition from the Roman Catholics. Nevertheless, the occasion was of great importance as the adoption of the reformation by the Bernese safeguarded the Zwinglian cause, and, further, because Zwingli's exposition of the Apostles' Creed delivered in his sermon before the assembly is a crucial statement on his doctrine of the church.⁵⁴ The disputation once again proved to be catalyst of important ecclesiological developments. On the article "One Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church", Zwingli gives his mature rendering of the legitimacy of local churches, which, whilst maintaining their independence to order their own affairs, are united in their common confession of Christ. This, he argues, distinguishes them from the Anabaptists:

Dann ich nit geredt hab, daß gloub durch alle artickel hin muesse also genomen werden, oder aber wir mueßind ouch in die urstende des fleyschs vertrauwen, das nitt ist; sonder wir gloubend, das die urstende des fleyschs sin werde. Darumb so erlüterend wir uns hie, daß nit vil kilchen sygend, sonder nun ein kylch sye und der kilchen sye nit ein tyranny der apostlen, ein sondere kilch, sonder die lerer, die prediger, die propheten, die apostel (cf. I Cor. 12.28 & Eph. 4.11) sygend alle nun ein kilch, und das also, das, so man von den besundren kilchen redt als zuo Ulm, Basel, Costenz, Lindou so ist im also, daß die kilch mit allen glideren und empteren ein kilch ist: oder so man von der allgemeinen kilchen redt ist im aber also. Deßhalb ouch der Töuffer kilch und sündernung, die von uns ußgangen sind,

⁵³ Brady, *Turning Swiss*, p.203-209.

⁵⁴ Potter, *Zwingli*, p.253-63. Potter interprets the Bern disputation as a decisive moment in the Swiss Reformation. A Catholic Bern, he argues, would have isolated Zürich and rendered Calvin's work in Geneva impossible. p.257. On Zwingli's relations with the Bernese Reformation, see H. R. Lavater, 'Zwingli und Bern', in *450 Jahre Berner Reformation: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Berner Reformation und zu Niklaus Manuel*. edited by the Historisches Verein des Kantons Bern, (Bern, 1980) 60-103. In the same volume see also, G.W. Locher, 'Die Berner Disputation 1528', 138-155.

*drumb, das sy nit von uns sind (I Joh. 2.19), nit ein kilch sind, sunder ein zerschnittne, abgetrettne rott.*⁵⁵

Against the Roman Catholics Zwingli argues for the distinction between 'believing in' and 'believing' the Holy Catholic Church. In other words, the Roman Church has falsely stressed adherence to form over content of the Church.:

*Es spricht ouch das symbolum secundo conditum nit: 'in unam sanctam', das ist: 'in ein heylige' etc, sunder 'ein heylige'. Also ouch der apostolische gloub spricht nit: 'Ich gloub in die heyligen, christlichen kilchen,' deßhalb uns die Bápstler vilvaltig verführend, sunder: 'ich gloub ein heylige, christliche kilchen' etc.*⁵⁶

The triumph at Bern marked the zenith of Zwingli's influence in Zürich, and it was following his return home that the final piece of institutional reform was effected. This was the founding of the Synod.⁵⁷ The use of the term 'synod' again requires some clarification, as the institution of 1528 was quite distinct - although related - from the assemblies of 1523 discussed above. The mandate setting out the jurisdiction of the Synod in 1528 limits its competence to the discussion of church doctrine and the

⁵⁵ Z.VI.i. 489-490

⁵⁶ Ibid. In his introduction to the critical edition of the sermon, L. von Murhalt gives an appraisal of Zwingli's method and tone. He finds in Zwingli's mature work a harmony of philosophy and theology working together in his treatment of the essential points of the Christian faith: *Charakteristisch für diese zwinglische Schriftenreihe ist ja der Umstand, daß Zwingli hier ebenso sehr sein Denken wie seinen Glauben entfaltet, seine Philosophie wie seine Theologie. Diese beiden Disziplinen sind aber nach seiner Meinung gar nicht scharf voneinander zu trennen, da sie es ja beide mit ein und demselben Gegenstand, mitt Gott, dem Schöpfer und Urgund des Seins, zu tun haben.* Z VI.i. 446. The important implications of Zwingli's use of philosophy and theology follows in the discussion of the theoretical basis of his ecclesiology.

⁵⁷ The events surrounding the formation of the Synod in 1528 and the details of its composition and work are discussed in the following section.

disciplining of the clergy.⁵⁸ In practice, as will be shown, this was further confined to discipline and the exchange of information; the Council was not prepared to leave doctrinal discussions in the hands of the clergy. This Synod was, as Walton has argued, the final stage in the absorption by the ruling Council of the whole sphere of ecclesiastical affairs.⁵⁹ In a polity wherein civil society was co-terminous with the church under the rule of the godly magistrate, the institutional means by which the clergy might be disciplined was essential. Zwingli criticized the mediaeval church for setting human tradition against Scripture as a legitimate source of authority. Yet, he knew that the evangelical faith, holding Scripture alone to be the basis of legitimacy, required a sound ecclesiological structure. This was the key to Zwingli's reforming programme; he was free to embrace within his ecclesiology institutions and traditions of the Early and Mediaeval churches with the clear understanding that they stood under the judgement of Scripture.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Egli, *Actensammlung* 1899. See below p.95-102

⁵⁹ R.C. Walton, 'The Institutionalization of the Reformation at Zürich', *Zwingliana*, XIII.2 (1972), p.506. Also, J.W. Baker, 'Church, State, and Dissent: The Crisis of the Swiss Reformation, 1531-1536.', *Church History* 58 (1988), 135-152.

⁶⁰ An interesting example of this is Zwingli's use of canon law to counter the arguments of his opponents. Schmidt-Clausing in his study of the subject shows how Zwingli, unlike Luther, saw canon law as a useful weapon in argument. F. Schmidt-Clausing, 'Das Corpus Juris Canonici als reformatorisches Mittel Zwinglis', *ZKG* 80 (1969), 14-21. W. P. Stephens points to Zwingli's use of canon law in his comprehensive statement of Eucharistic theology in his *Lord's Supper* of 1526 (Z IV). W.P. Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli*, (Oxford, 1986). p.237.

2.3 The Theological Context of Institutional Reform

Zwingli's conception of reform as restoring the Church to its true Catholicity took shape around the seminal events of the disputations of the early 1520s in Zürich and in Berne in 1528. The installation of the Synod in 1528 exemplified how his reform programme could at once bring about a drastic re-ordering of ecclesiastical institutions in accordance with a new vision of the godly community and yet draw heavily from the traditions and practices of the late mediaeval church. The previous section dealt with Zwingli's indebtedness to the attempted reforms in the diocese of Constance in establishing the Synod as a disciplinary body for the clergy. But if one is to study the development of the Synod in sixteenth century Zürich, it is essential to understand the theological legacy which he bequeathed to his Church. Underpinning all the institutions of reformed Zürich lay Zwingli's theology of God, Man, the Christian life and the Church. Although Bullinger, in his long tenure as head of the Zürich church, expanded and refined the teachings of his predecessor, he did not break with them. Therefore, it is important to give some attention to the theological context of ecclesiastical discipline first as set down by Zwingli and then as understood by Bullinger.

Discipline, is the means by which both Christian society and individuals are called back to their principle, which is the divine *logos*. To explain this requires some attention to Zwingli's teachings on the regeneration of the soul and the establishing of the *Corpus Christianum*. The difficulty, of which Zwingli was himself aware, was to comprehend how divine authority and power could be expressed through human institutions without being corrupted by their subjectivity. Zwingli's criticism of the mediaeval church lay in his view that it adhered to human righteousness, valuing free will and merit, and took upon itself the right to interpret and mediate heavenly justice and grace. Yet, at the same time, the Church (in one sense) and society are comprised of both virtuous and evil men who are in constant need of correction. Zwingli sought

the path by which the ecclesiastical and civil leaders might, in their common adherence to the Word, transform their communities into living expressions of the Christian commandment of love. The Christian hope is to live according to divine righteousness; and, therefore, to examine the theological basis of this hope one must turn to Zwingli's doctrine of God, whose forgiveness and grace make discipline in the ecclesiastical and civil community possible.

2.3.i Zwingli's Christian Philosophy and the Divine Names

Zwingli's two most systematic theological treatises, *De Vera et Falsa Religione* (1525)⁶¹ and *De Providentia Dei* (1530), begin with a treatment of God Himself (*Deus Ipse*). It is the necessary beginning point of all Neoplatonic works that God, as the self-diffusive principle of all, must be considered first in His simplicity or goodness. God does all things according to His divine nature, therefore one must know something of that nature before speaking of its manifestation in creation. But this leads into the age old problem of how human knowledge can possibly be sufficient to such a question. Zwingli's reply, given in the early chapters of *De Vera*, is simply that all human knowledge is possible through the self-revelation of God, who not only gives to man knowledge of His existence but also provides the natural agents (or categories) through which he might think about Him.⁶² It is utterly impossible for man to rise to a

⁶¹ R. Stauffer, in "L'influence et la critique de l'humanisme dans le *Vera et Falsa Religione* de Zwingli", in *Interpretes De La Bible*, (Paris, 1980) p. 87-102, gives a useful analysis of Zwingli's debt to humanism, particularly with regard to certain key theological terms.

⁶² *Videmus hic aperte, quod dei est ea, quam nos naturae nescio cui ferimus acceptam, de deo notitia...Et natura quid aliud est, quam continens perpetuaeque dei operatio, rerumque omnium dispositio?* Z. III. 641. 14-17

knowledge of God: God must reveal Himself. This He has done in the Scriptures, the divine Word as made accessible to men. In the canons of the Old and New Testaments God has not only shown His providential care for creation, but has provided man with a vocabulary with which he can speak about God. Further, that the human mind knows the Scriptures to contain divine truth is also dependent upon God through the gift of faith. Faith reveals the names ascribed to God in the Scriptures to be true, and Zwingli argues that all human reason derives its value from the leadership of faith.⁶³

Zwingli's subordination of all things to the rule of faith in no way precludes a Christian philosophy.⁶⁴ Although Zwingli frequently indulges in polemics against the inventions of philosophy and the subtleties of the scholastics (particularly Thomas Aquinas), his theological writings reveal a profound study of both the patristic and mediaeval philosophical tradition.⁶⁵ The briefest reading of his writings reveals his

⁶³ The moving principle in Zwingli's argument would seem to be derived from Gregory of Nazianzen's dictum: 'Take for your guide faith rather than reason; for the realization of your weakness in regard to things that are nearest to you judge the value of your reason and understand that there are things that are beyond it.' *Orat. XXXI. 22 (172, 1-3. PG 36. 157a)*, as quoted by I.P. Sheldon-Williams, in A.H. Armstrong, ed. *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*. (Cambridge, 1970), p.440

⁶⁴ Professor Stephens *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli*, (Oxford, 1986) p.81, seems to find a tension in Zwingli's writings between his 'biblical' and 'philosophical' works. He argues that those who give prominence to *De Providentia Dei* present the philosophical rather than the biblical view of Zwingli's theology. This distinction does not allow for Zwingli's own position that philosophy is an instrument for the explication of the Bible and in no way has a legitimate logic contrary to Scripture.

⁶⁵ Professor Locher gives the following sources for Zwingli's theological positions: 'a) scholastik im Sinne der zeitgenössischen 'via antiqua', b) Erasmischer Humanismus c) Der Wiener Humanismus d) Schweizer Humanismus e) Die Kirchenväter, besonders die Kappodozier und Augustin.' G.W. Locher,

delight in quoting Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and even the Greek poets in support of an argument.⁶⁶ Zwingli believed that the disciplining of the mind meant training it to recognize God's freedom to reveal divine truth wheresoever He chooses. Yet he was not a theological eclectic who drew at random from theological sources. This examination of his doctrines will argue that Zwingli drew deeply from the mediaeval tradition of Neoplatonism, exemplified by Thomas Aquinas, rooted in Greek patristic thought.⁶⁷ In addition, Zwingli's tendency towards the treatment of all philosophy as

Die Zwinglische Reformation in Rahmen der europäischen Kirchengeschichte, (Göttingen & Zürich, 1979), p.201

⁶⁶ Zwingli's position on reason and philosophy is closer to Luther's than some scholars seem to allow (see F. Schmidt-Clausing, *Zwingli* (Berlin, 1965), p.92). Both see reason in fallen man as leading to a belief in human worthiness. However, as Althaus remarks: 'One must distinguish in reason, as in man himself, between the essence created by God and the distortion of that essence....Natural man is admittedly not able to do this. It can only be done when a man has first been enlightened through the holy spirit and made free, that is, when he believes the Word'. P. Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, trans. R.C. Schultz, 1966, rpt.(Philadelphia, 1970), p.70

⁶⁷ A. Schindler has made an important study of the place of the *corpus* of 'Kirchenväterschriften' in Zwingli's theological development. In a helpful remark on Zwingli's use of philosophical method, Schindler says: '*...Er kann wesentliche theologische Aussagen, besonders im Umkreis von Gotteslehre, Vorsehung und Erwählung, mit wenig Autoritäten, aut mit wenig biblischen Autoritäten darlegen. Er folgt hier einer philosophisch-theologischen systematik, von der er voraussetzt, daß sie jeder Mensch verstehen können müsste.*' *Zwingli und die Kirchväter*, (Zürich, 1984), p.44-45

moral philosophy reflects the influence of Renaissance Aristotelianism mediated through the northern humanist tradition.⁶⁸

The intention here is not an in depth treatment of Zwingli's theological sources, although they will be noted in due course, but rather the establishing of the grounds for analysing his work. The rule of measure for a *Philosophia Christiana* is Zwingli's argument that the transcendent God who reveals Himself in the Scriptures has also made available the categories that man might know Him; therefore where pagan philosophers have spoken divine truths it is because they have been His vessels.⁶⁹ Philosophy has no independent authority, it does not point to another truth against Scripture; where it is truthful it enhances man's understanding of the Scriptures, where false it is to be discarded.⁷⁰ This is the principle by which Zwingli believed that the theologian should proceed, and it reflects his certainty in the ability of the Christian to decide upon the correctness of any teaching. There can be no doubt that Zwingli's

⁶⁸ For the Renaissance background to the interpretation of philosophy as moral philosophy and its connection with sixteenth century humanism, see E.F. Rice, *The Renaissance Idea Wisdom*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1958) p. 30-45

⁶⁹ 'Die Philosophie ist wirklich bei Zwingli noch eine ancilla theologiae; ihre Forschung ist durchaus nicht voraussetzungslos, ihr Ergebnis nicht "frei". "Wahrheit" besitzt sie nur, soweit sie sich mit der Glaubenswahrheit in Einklang befindet; sie kann, darf, soll dieselbe bestätigen; wie sollte sie es nicht?' G.W. Locher, *Die Theologie Huldrych Zwinglis im Lichte seiner Christologie*, erster Teil, (Zürich, 1952), p.45

⁷⁰ Professor Locher writes: 'er setzt sich auch nach der Hindwendung zu Paulus in einem platonisierenden Geist- und Seelenverständnis fort. Wichtig bleiben die Ansätze zu historisch-kritischen und philologischen Methoden.' *Die Zwinglische Reformation*, p.201

view of true Christian philosophy was shaped by the traditions in which he was educated.

Zwingli argues that the beginning point of man's knowledge of God is His self-revelation as pure *esse*. That is, in His statement to Moses (Exod.3:13) 'I am that I am', God has both shown His otherness from creation and, further, that He is the *esse* of all created things.⁷¹ The connection made by Zwingli between knowledge of God as pure *esse* and of the dependence of all things on this being is found in nearly all Christian Neoplatonists. Gregory of Nazianzen says that *esse* (*οὐσία*) is properly of God alone as it is identical with Him, while it is an attribute of the creatures who participate in the being of the creator.⁷² Augustine writes: ...and consequently as from Him everything that is good has its being, so from Him is everything that by nature exists; since everything that exists by nature is good;⁷³ and Thomas adds: *in esse enim divino includuntur omnia quae credimus in Deo aeternaliter existere, in quibus nostra beatitudo consistit.*⁷⁴

The important point is that man's knowledge of God is grounded in the utter simplicity of the divine. This is what God made known to Moses on Mt. Sinai and later to posterity through Scripture. But Scripture then reveals more names, and Zwingli moves on to consider what it means to speak of God as Good (*Summum bonum*), Wisdom (*Sapientia*), and Power (*Vis*). Such names are the *Πρόδοι*

⁷¹ 'Quo verbo se deus totum exhibuit; perinde enim est, ac si dixisset: Ergo is sum, qui meipso sum, qui meopte Marte sum, qui esse ipsum sum, qui ipsemet sum'. Z. III 644. 2-4

⁷² Cited from *Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, p.441

⁷³ Augustine, *The Nature of the Good*, trans. M. Dods, c.19, *The Essential Augustine*, p.54

⁷⁴ Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* . Q.1, Art. 7c

(outgoings) of God's nature; they are emanations which are directed towards the human intellect. The evidence favours a Thomistic background to Zwingli's teachings on divine names. Zwingli shares with Thomas, against earlier pagan and Christian Neoplatonists, an absolute confidence in man's ability to make positive predications about the first principle, viz. God.⁷⁵ For Zwingli the names do not refer to real distinctions within God, but rather are a divine allowance to man's discursive thinking:

*Quae tamen omnia unius eiusdemque numinis et
οὐσίας esse scimus, non aliter quam hic potentiam,
bonitatem ac veritatem, quae ratione ac finitione
quidem discriminata sunt, unum tamen atque idem
summum bonum esse oportere demonstravimus.⁷⁶*

The name of God as *Summum Bonum* is immediately related to His being pure *esse*. In his interpretation of Matthew 19.17 where Christ says *Quid me vocas bonum? Solus deus bonus est*, Zwingli writes: *In quibus verbis intelligi datur solum deum sic esse bonum, ut absolute perfecteque bonus sit quodque de ratione boni nihil esse possit.*⁷⁷ Professor Locher has explored thoroughly the relationship in Zwingli's theological language between God's goodness and His simplicity.⁷⁸ Zwingli seeks to maintain the

⁷⁵ For a clear discussion of Thomas' positions, see W.J. Hankey, *God in Himself, Aquinas' Doctrine of God as expounded in the 'Summa Theologica'*, (Oxford, 1987), p.63

⁷⁶ Z. VI.iii. 77.15-78.2.

⁷⁷ Z. VI.iii. 71.4-6.

⁷⁸ *'Dass Gott "gut" ist, erkennen wir nicht an dem, was sonst gut sein mag, sondern Gutes gibt es nur, weil Gott gut ist, und unser Urteil über gut und nicht- gut hat sich am summum bonum zu orientieren, welches in Gott seine Wirklichkeit hat - nicht nur eine Idee. Gott ist somit Sach- und*

causal priority of God's goodness in order both to preserve it from the limitations of mundane categories, and further to argue that all lesser goods are derivative of it.⁷⁹

The other Scriptural names for God which Zwingli treats flow from the primary terms *summum bonum* and *simplex esse*. Each of the names is pregnant with moral meaning, reinforcing Zwingli's belief that they are an essential part of the revealed knowledge crucial to salvation. One does not find it profitable to press too far Zwingli's similarity to Aquinas in naming God, for there is a profound difference of interest. Whereas Thomas speaks first of the inner relations of the Trinity as the basis of creation⁸⁰, Zwingli does not engage in such mysteries. The influence of the Greek fathers can perhaps be seen in Zwingli's perception of the inscrutability of the inner life of the Godhead. Names such as Wisdom (*Sapientia*) or Truth (*Verum*) are more important to Zwingli in revealing God's position as governor of creation and His providential character.

Erkenntnisgrund des Guten in Einem, G.W. Locher, *Die Theologie Huldrych Zwinglis im Leichte seiner Christologie*, erster Teil, (Zurich, 1952), p.71

⁷⁹ 'Si ergo tam numerosa creaturarum omnium soboles valde bona erat, ita, ut singula et universa essent bona, iam autorem eorum clarum est, bonum esse oportere atque tale bonum, quod a nullo esset, sed seipso constaret; essetque, ut omnium, quae sunt, vis et essentia, sic omnium bonorum fons et scaturigo.' Z. III. 645. 13-17. H. Schmid brings out an important point in relation to this question of the dependence of created things upon God: 'Während es vorher als das an sich und für sich Gute verstanden wurde, erscheint es jetzt als dasjenige, das es mit seinen Geschöpfen gut meint. Es ist nicht mehr das Gute, sondern der Gute und hat sich damit in etwas grundsätzlich anderes verwandelt. Vollkommenheit und Güte sind nicht dasselbe.' *Zwinglis Lehre von der göttlichen und menschlichen Gerechtigkeit*, (Zürich, 1959), p.108

⁸⁰ See W.J. Hankey, *God in Himself*, p.115-135

Finally, Zwingli passes to the question of how one might speak of God as Power (*Vis*). His formulation of the problem shows his fondness for Cappodocian theology. Like the Gregorys and St. Basil, Zwingli says that since God is the essence of all things: *Hoc ergo bonum non ociosa quaedam res est aut iners, ut supina immotaque iaceat, nec se movens nec alia; paulo enim superius patuit essentiam et consistentiam esse rerum omnium*⁸¹ Rather by His *ἐντελέχεια καὶ ἐνέργεια* (which are His perfect, efficient and consummating power) God is able to keep, direct, and govern everything that in all things made or done no fault can intervene able either to impede its power or defeat its purpose. Zwingli's language of *esse, vita, sapientia* is the closest he comes to actually naming the triads common to earlier Neoplatonic thought.⁸² Nevertheless, the direction of thought is clear: God's powers make known His will in the act of creation. The term Good implies a creative nature in the Godhead, and this creative nature is fulfilled through the divine powers.⁸³ God is known through creation, not in any pantheistic sense, because all created things have their

⁸¹ Z. III 645 26-28

⁸² Zwingli uses the names *esse, vita, and motus* to describe God as the source of all things in creation while preferring the terms *sapientia, scientia, and prudentia* to speak of God's providential nature. . Z.III 647.9

⁸³ Köhler rightly argues that Zwingli uses traditional arguments with '*neue Nüancen*'. However, he seems to ascribe to Zwingli's position a dependence of God upon his manifestations. "*Er (Gott) steht über ihnen, aber ihre Manifestation ist Ehrensache für ihn, sie dient seiner Ehre und Majestät. Eifersüchtig wacht Zwingli über seines Gottes Ehre. Sie wird der Gipfelpunkt seiner Gottesschauung.*"

W. Köhler, *Die Geisteswelt Ulrich Zwinglis*, (Gotha, 1920), p.83

existence from Him and are sustained through participation in His goodness.⁸⁴ This participation is to be understood through the forms (*νοητά*) which are created by God. Zwingli refers to these forms in an approving quotation of Seneca's reference to Plato.

*Haec exemplaria rerum omnium deus intra se habet
numerosque universorum, quae agenda sunt, et modos
mente complexus est. Plenus his figuris est, quas Plato
ideas adpellat immortales, immutabiles, infatigabiles. Itaque
homines quidem pereunt, ipsa autem humanitas, ad quam
homo effingitur, permanet; et hominibus laborantibus ac
intereuntibus illa nil patitur.*⁸⁵

In traditional Christian Neoplatonic theology, these forms, or *rationes*, are the discursive content of God's knowledge held in unity in the divine *logos* (or Christ). In the act of creation the *rationes*, without any loss to themselves, participate in the conferrment of *esse* so that created beings, while being divine in origin are distinguished from God precisely because of the derivative nature of their *esse*. This distinction is of the highest importance in considering Zwingli's moral theology, as it appears in the strict separation which he draws between the spirit and the flesh.⁸⁶ The

⁸⁴ Wernle sees in Zwingli's "*Gotteslehre*" two tendencies which must be explained, pantheism and determinism. Against the charge of pantheism, Wernle writes: '*Der Schein des Pantheismus aber wird von ihm dadurch erweckt, daß er seinen theistischen Gottesbegriff, um dessen Denknöwendigkeit aufzuzeigen, mit dem platonischen Realität ausstatet und allem konkreten Sein zugrunde legt*'. P. Wernle, *Der Evangelische Glaube II. Zwingli*, (Tübingen, 1919), p.151-152

⁸⁵ Z. VI.iii. 107.2-7.

⁸⁶ Professor Locher argues that Zwingli's emphasis upon the pure spirituality of God over against man's fleshly nature and God's demand that man rise to his spiritual calling are persistent Erasmian elements which survived the break between the two men. see Locher, *Zwingli's Thought*, (Leiden, 1981), p. 178-80, 241-242.

way back to God is an inward turning, towards the discovery of the knowledge which He reveals to man, followed by the desire to reform creation after the divine order.

2.3.ii Providence, Law and Election

To grasp Zwingli's conception of God one must understand how the divine is at once a pure simplicity whose actions in no way impair its unity. As already noted, Zwingli demands that God's powers are the completion of His perfection, and that without the ability to act He would have no claim to utter supremacy.⁸⁷ Hence Zwingli defines providence as the *perpetuum et immutabile rerum universarum regnum et administratio*.⁸⁸ Providence is the supreme manifestation of divine goodness: *Ille vero ultro suppeditat omnibus omnia, nihil repetens, quam ut liberaliter a se donata hilares ac grati capiamus*.⁸⁹

The ethical consequences for man are found in these two words gladness and gratefulness. For if God cannot be wearied or exhausted through giving, and rejoices in giving, and as He cannot help giving then the onus is upon man to open himself to his beneficent Father and learn of God's intentions for him. But, as Professor Locher

⁸⁷ Zwingli makes this point in numerous places, for example in *De Providentia: Hoc enim cum universa intueatur, nisi universa quoque disponet, aut impotentia aut malignitas in causa est. Sed cum idem numen et omnia possit et in omnia bonum ac benignum sit, iam evidens est, quod, ut novit omnia, sic universa quoque disponit, ordinat et constituit, de quo mox fusius.* Z. VI.iii 77.6-11 F.

Büsser argues that Zwingli, following Aquinas, develops a strong anthropocentric concept of the universe. Without man the world is empty and purposeless, and that is why God created man that His will might be effected through him. F. Büsser, Z.VI.iii, p.15.

⁸⁸ Z. VI.iii. 81.5-6.

⁸⁹ Z. VI.iii. 81.18-20.

has argued, there is a great distance between the idea that all creation must serve God's plan, and the idea that the believer renders such service from the heart and sees it as the point of existence, as the very presence, the real beginning of his eternal election.⁹⁰ Before one can speak of man's response to God in faith, which involves discipline, attention should be drawn to those manifestations of God's providence which have shaped man's relationship to God, viz. the Law and election.

Both election and the Law are products of the divine will. Zwingli's definition of election captures his understanding of God's freedom: *libera sit citra omnem respectum bene aut male factorum de nobis dei constitutio*.⁹¹ Zwingli sees both of these as confirmation of God's kindness towards mankind in that the intention of both is to provide the means for man's salvation.⁹² The Law, which will be treated more thoroughly in relation to the regeneration of man, is God's self-disclosure to man: *quod prae universis amplectendum ac deamandum sit*.⁹³ *Lex ergo lux est. Si lux est, iam dei mens, intellectus et voluntas est*.⁹⁴ Zwingli speaks of the Law as reflecting God's justice but flowing from His goodness; it not only reveals the divine nature but also

⁹⁰ G.W. Locher, *Zwingli's Thought*, p.139

⁹¹ Z. VI.iii. 159.2-3.

⁹² *In causis enim hae duae sunt praecipuae: efficiens et finis. Nihil autem a divina sapientia cum possit citra finis contemplationem fieri, iam colligitur nihil produci ad ea, cuius finis et ea, quae ad finem usque comitantur, nunc sint longe ante prospecta et statuta, quam producantur. Vita igitur et actio non minus sunt a divina providentia cuivis homini constitutae atque ipsa nativitas et generatio.*
Z. VI.iii. 189.16-190.4.

⁹³ Z. VI.iii 133.1. On the pedagogical nature of the law, see Schmid, p.121-122

⁹⁴ Z. VI.iii. 132.11-12.

establishes the relationship between man and God, for *Illi ergo natura et ingenium sunt, quae nobis lex sunt. Et cum praecipit: "me unum ama", primum discimus eum non ex lege, quam illi ponere nemo potest, sed natura et ingenio amare. Secundo discimus et nos illum iure amare debere. Ita ut ipse supra legem sit, nos sub lege, ut ille sit amor, qui nobis praecipitur.*⁹⁵ The connection which Zwingli draws between Law and Providence has much to do with his concern in establishing the complete freedom of God. The Law is God's nature expressed in creation in the form of commandments; it is a standard by which man knows God, himself, and his responsibilities to God. To men this law may seem arbitrary as they cannot fathom why the rules might not be different. However, Zwingli does not allow for this, because the Law, as the perfect reflection of God's essence, can in no way differ from his nature.⁹⁶ This implication of this self-revelation is that *iam ista traditione sua duorum nos certos facit: unius, quod ad deum cognoscendum nati (1 Tim. 2.4), alterius, quod ad illo fruendum destinati sumus.*⁹⁷

Election, which Zwingli closely ties to providence, is also an expression of divine freedom. Professor Locher has pointed out how the connection between the two rests upon Zwingli's insistence that God is the one God whose nature is to exercise power and sovereignty.⁹⁸ Election is primarily attributed to the divine will because it is

⁹⁵ Z. VI.iii. 133.13-17.

⁹⁶ *Iudex aequitatis ac iuris custos, cum citra adfectus morti addicit, a labe purus est: et deus, qui est ipsa aequitas cuiusque universa peculium sunt, homicidium incurreret, cum hominem occidit - qui nihil, quam quod aequum et sanctum est, potest? Constat igitur legem, ut proprius accedamus, numinis ingenium, voluntatem et naturam esse, quod ad essentiam legis attinet.* Z. VI.iii. 134.19-23.

⁹⁷ Z. VI.iii. 135.6-9.

⁹⁸ Locher, *Zwingli's Thought*, p.125

a free disposition towards man which takes no regard for human characteristics.⁹⁹ There are no external constraints upon God at the moment of creation when He chose the elect to live eternally through Christ.¹⁰⁰ The limitations arise out of the paucity of man's thought, which is not given to discern the reasons for God's decisions.

Election and law both have to do with freedom. Not only with the divine freedom which is their sources, but with the freedom of the Christian. They are the fruits of God's providence and therefore are the means to the restoration of both individual and community.¹⁰¹ The Law is both the standard by which man is judged

⁹⁹ *'Et quamvis istud quoque me non fugiat: numinis dotes, puta sapientiam, scientiam, prudentiam et caeteras tales esse, ut, quicquid una sit, etiam altera sit (hoc enim, quod numera est, undique simplicissimum est cum omnibus dotibus ac virtutibus suis), tamen est ordo quidam naturae inter ista, ut unum ante aliud natura intelligatur ab intellectu humano, qui non est natus, ut omnia simul unoque inspectu videat quemadmodum deus,...'* Z. VI.iii. 158.6-12.

¹⁰⁰ Zwingli often points out that the witness of the pagans to divine truth suggests that even they can be included within the company of the elect. *'Nihil enim vetat, quo minus inter gentes quoque deus sibi deligat, qui sese revereantur, qui observent et post fata illi iungantur; libera est enim electio eius. Ego certe malim, si optio detur, Socratis aut Senecae sortem eligere, qui, ut numen unum agnoverunt, ita mentis puritate sategerunt illud demereri, quam aut pontificis Romani, qui tamen se deum vel ipse indicaret, si licitator adsit, aut cuiusquam regis, imperatoris ac principis, qui hunc ficulnum deum tuetur.'* Z. VI.iii. 182.15-183.3.

¹⁰¹ Zwingli maintains the unity of creation, election and redemption as parts within the providential act of God. Only to human minds do they appear unconnected. *'Immo temere factura erat hominem, nisi tum, cum videret lapsurum, statuisset redimere. Sempiterna etiam sunt consilia dei (Ps. 33.11, Jes. 25.1); sempiternum ergo aequae est redemptionis consilium atque creationis.* Z. VI.iii. 222.1-4.

and the rule of life to which he is conformed in Christ. It is by no means inherently bad, for it is the expression of the divine will. Rather, it is the foundation upon which all human existence must be based: *Providentia enim legem dat, ut recte hanc inter creaturas rarissimam hominum classem moderetur.*¹⁰² Election is God's gracious act by which through Christ He makes it possible for man to return home.¹⁰³ Only within the realm of election can one speak of the Christian community as existing at all. Therefore one must consider these two principles of Law and election when coming now to treat the psychological regeneration of man through grace.

2.3.iii The Scientia Dei and Man as Imago Dei

All things depend upon a God who is both free and generous by nature. His creation is good by virtue of His having brought it into existence, and His desire is that man, who is the highest form of creation, might be reconciled to Himself through knowledge. In several places Zwingli remarks that man is so much in the image of his creator that he stands in relation to the world as God does to creation.¹⁰⁴ This is possible only when the soul has been so reformed as to will the divine and order all temporal things according to its will.

¹⁰² Z. VI.iii. 140.17-19.

¹⁰³ Election is the very foundation of the Christian life. Zwingli is careful to point out that it precedes faith in the sense that when God chose the elect through Christ He gave to them that knowledge of Himself essential to salvation. *'En, qui ad vitam beatam destinati et ordinati erant, crediderunt! Constat igitur, quod, qui credunt, sciant se esse electos; qui enim credunt, electi sunt. Antecedit igitur electio fidem... Fit etiam, ut, quincunque fidei rationem audiunt, sed non capiunt, destinati sint et ordinati ad aeterna supplicia.'* Z. VI.iii. 180.27-29 & 181.4-6.

¹⁰⁴ *'Est igitur homo id mundo, quod homini deus.'* Z. VI.iii. 118.5-6.

The image of his creator in man was severely damaged, but not destroyed, in the fall. Throughout his writings on the fall, Zwingli always identifies as its basis a self-love which perverts the soul and precludes a true love of God.¹⁰⁵ In *De Peccato Originali Declaratio* (1526), Zwingli writes: *Peccatum autem in nobis inhabitans aliud non est quam vitium corrupte carnis, quae amore sui perpetuo concupiscit adversus spiritum. Spiritus enim rei publicae studet, caro privatae.*¹⁰⁶ The fall for Zwingli is to be understood within the distinctions he makes between body and soul, of flesh and spirit. Man, insofar as he is God's creature, is a spiritual being whose proper end is communion with God. This communion cannot exist through the flesh or material things, an important point for Zwingli's sacramental teachings, but solely through spiritual. The fall results in man abandoning his spiritual nature and wholly going over to the fleshly.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ *'Omnes enim nobis malumus bene esse quam aliis: filautiva ergo, id est: amor sui, causa fuit, cur malesuadae obtemperaret uxori Adam. Natura ergo est homo sui amans, non ea natura, qua institutus fuerat praeditusque a deo, sed qua sorte, quam deus dederat, non contentus domi suae voluit boni mali que peritus, imo deo aequalis fieri.'* Z. III 657. 22-27 Zwingli's understanding of original sin was much attacked his opponents who saw in his theology, perhaps, as some modern commentators have suggested, as the result of his humanist background, a weak view of the consequences of the fall. Against such opposition, Zwingli defined his concept of original sin as follows: *'Est ergo ista ad peccandum amore sui propensio peccatum originale: quae quidem propensio non est proprie peccatum sed fons quidam ac ingenium'*. Z.V 376.16-18 Such a view had important implications for both Zwingli's teachings on the Christian life and the sacraments.

¹⁰⁶ Z.V 377.9-12

¹⁰⁷ *Neque enim aliter fieri potest, quum caro simus, quam ut perpetuo, quae carni sunt, sapiamus: at ista omnia malicia ipsa sunt, ex qua pessimi deinde rami prodeunt, quemadmodum Gal.5 (Gal. 5: 19-21) docuit Paulus. Mala igitur mens, malusque est animus hominis ab ineunte aetate, quia caro est,*

It is the loss of knowledge in the fall which enfeebles man and leaves him able only to discern the fleshly - which is death.¹⁰⁸ But the fall reveals the goodness of divine providence.¹⁰⁹ While it might appear to men that God is unrighteous in allowing man's fall, which He foresaw, such an accusation fails to comprehend the higher purpose behind the act. Since man must both know and enjoy God it is essential that he be cognizant of God's attributes, viz. goodness, righteousness and justice etc. In the garden man was still perfectly at one with God, but he did not know Him. The providential plan for the fall is that man in being redeemed from his own sinfulness might be brought into a new relationship with God wherein he chooses to live in Christ

quae sui amans est, gloriae, voluptatis, reique cupida. utcunque dissimulet, quaecunque praetextat.' Z. III 659. 6-12

108 *'Ietz habend wir den weerlosen, todten, onmechtigen Adam, das ist: die zerbrochnen menschlichen natur, funden, namlich das: Hett sy das einig gebott nit übergangen, wer sy all zyt on kummer, jamer, ellend, in allen eeren unnd freuden vom geyst gottes gefuert und gewisen worden, das ouch anzeigt die nackende, die inn vor dem val nit bekümmert, aber nach dem val von stund an schamrot macht, zuo eim zeichen, das, so dick der mensch s'holtz des wüssens yßt, das ist: uff sich, sinen rat, sinne, vernunft halt, unnd gott verlaßt, zuo schanden kumpt. Und so er das verbott gottes übertretten, hat er sich ye des geists und der gnaden gottes verzigen unnd under das gesatz oder verbott geworffen und sich dem gsatz und tod eygen gemacht; dannenhar er under dem gsatz ze leben zwungen, darunder er aber uff eigener krafft nit lebendig werden mocht; dann er tod was.'* Z. II 34.33-35.10

109 *'Nam sapientiae est viam invenire, qua quid in lucem des; unde et hoc sapientiae est homini iter ad iusticiae cognitionem praeparare. Deinde, quod sapientia hallucinata non sit, hinc patet, quod hominis redemptio non est posterius constituta quam creatio. Aeterna enim esse oportet, quaecunque numen habet. Sed sapientiam habet; ergo aeterna est. Aequae igitur ab aeterno est constituta redemptio atque creatio. At redemptio constitui non potuit, ni sapientia vidisset fore, ut laberetur homo.'* Z. VI.iii. 148.7-14.

through faith and knowledge.¹¹⁰ To enjoy God is to know the extent of His graciousness towards man and this is possible only through experiencing the deprivation of life under the law. Zwingli takes considerable interest in the psychological process of the restoration of man to his place as *imago dei*. His most systematic treatment of the topic is found in *De Vera et Falsa Religione* (1525), in which Zwingli outlines the intellectual nature of the return of the soul to God. The return has three independent, though related, stages: knowledge of God, knowledge of self, and knowledge of Christ.

The beginning point for a knowledge of God is exactly when man is wholly lost in his pursuit of the fleshly. Even though God does reveal Himself in creation, fallen man has no true apprehension of Him.¹¹¹ All peoples have had some conception of God, but, without any true knowledge, *diviserunt ergo eum ante omnia in plures, quod infinitam eius potentiam nullo modo caperent, et mox quemlibet eorum propria*

¹¹⁰ *'Bono igitur angelorum et hominum factus est uterque ad istum modum, ut labi posset. Lapsu enim angeli perfidia et mendacium emergerunt, hominis lapsu peccatum et iniusticia. At ista velut indices veritatis ac fidei, innocentiae et iusticiae vultum utriusque ordini demonstrant. Creando itaque hominem deus, ut labi posset, bonitatem suam manifestavit; lapsu enim divinae iusticiae splendor illuxit. Quo iterum obiter adparet miseros gloriam dei praedicare, cum enim exempla sint iusticiae illius, quomodo illi maius aliquid possunt tribuere?'* Z. VI.iii. 145.11-146.3.

¹¹¹ *'Porro, quid deus sit, tam ex nobis ipsis ignoramus, quam ignorat scarabeus, quid sit homo. Imo divinum hoc infinitum et aeternum longe magis ab homine distat, quam homo a scarabeo, quod creaturarum quarumlibet inter se comparatio rectius constet, quam si quamlibet creatori conferas. Et caduca omnia sibi mutuo viciniore et agnatiore sunt, quam divino aeterno interminato, quantumvis in eis imagines divini illius et vestigia, ut vocant, invenias.'* Z. III 643. 1-7

*inventione, alia atque alia figura induerunt.*¹¹² True knowledge comes through God's self revelation in the Scriptures and the Law. However, even this revelation would not be comprehensible to men if it was not accompanied by the gifts of grace and faith.¹¹³ These latter two are what reform the soul that it might be open to receive knowledge of God.¹¹⁴

Knowledge of God then engenders within the individual a self knowledge; that is an understanding that against the goodness and perfection of God man is a sinful, corrupted creature who cannot in any way satisfy the demands of divine justice.¹¹⁵ Zwingli writes:

Pietas ergo, sive religio haec est: Exponit deus hominem sibi, ut inobedientiam, proditionem ac miseriam suam non minus agnoscat, quam Adam. Quo fit, ut de se penitus desperet, sed simul exponit liberalitatis suae sinus et amplitudinem, ut qui iam apud se desperaverat, videat sibi superesse gratiam apud creatorem parentemque suum tam

¹¹² Z. III 642. 1-3

¹¹³ 'Der Glaube ist aber nicht nur der subjektive Reflex der objektiven, von Gott gewirkten Busse, wie die Obige Glosse vermuten lassen könnte, er wird zum Inbegriff der Umkehr selbst und gewinnt daher ein streng objective- theozentrisches Gespräch.' A. Rich, *Die Anfänge der Theologie Huldrych Zwinglis*, (Zürich, 1944).

¹¹⁴ *Nisi enim fides adsit, qua homo credat omnem vocem a deo prolatam veram esse, tam longe aberit a sui cognitione, quantum inter spiritum carnemque interest. "Per legem enim cognitio peccati" (Rom.3.20.) Est autem lex spiritualis, nos autem carnales'. Z.III. 661. 10-14.*

¹¹⁵ *Isto, quod prius erat dei ignara. Ubi autem dei ignoratio est, illic nihil quam caro, peccatum, existimatio sui est. Postea vero, quam deus agnoscitur, iam perspicit homo se intus et in cute, cognitumque abiicit'. Z. III 717. 9-12*

*certam ac paratam, ut ab eo, in cuius gratiam nititur, avelli nulla ratione possit.*¹¹⁶

God stirs up this feeling of despair through an activating of the conscience within the faithful man.¹¹⁷ The conscience is very important in that it is a pure witness to God.¹¹⁸ Its home is in the Word of God, so when it has been roused from dormancy by grace it wanders in a state of anguish, unable to be satisfied by material goods. Finally: *verbum ergo domini, qui fideles sunt, sic amplectuntur, ut naufragi tabulas. Quid enim est, quo conscientia se consolari queat, quam unico dei verbo?*¹¹⁹ What prompts the conscience is the soul's memory (*memoria*) of its divine foundation:

Nunquam ita opprimitur animus, ut sui perpetuo obliviscatur; nunquam carnis fastu ac tyrannide sic deiicitur, ut ab admonendo quantumvis sero desistat, ut e diverso spiritus miti parenti summa fide ac indulgentia liberos prosequenti

¹¹⁶ Z. III 668. 23-29

¹¹⁷ Cf. M. Baylor's study, *Action and Person Conscience in Late Scholasticism and the Young Luther*, (Leiden, 1977). Zwingli speaks a lot about the conscience with respect to man's knowledge of God and self, however he does not dwell upon the precise place of the conscience in the soul. There does seem a strong similarity in approach to what Baylor sees in the post 1526 Luther, for whom the conscience 'is both a rational and emotional power, its locus in the human nature must be deeper and more primary than the distinction between reason and will; it lies at the core or heart of the person and its emotional manifestations, especially, decisively shape the context of the interior life of the individual.' p.210

¹¹⁸ Schmid points out how Zwingli connects the conscience with natural law. Both serve to point the way to God. Schmid, *Zwingli's Lehre*, p.116

¹¹⁹ Z. III 670. 33-35

*par sit.*¹²⁰

Further: *Nusquam invenerat spem prophetae conscientia, nusquam requiem. Sed posteaquam dei memoriam repetebat, iam aderat quies et delectatio.*¹²¹

When the conscience completely despairs man is seemingly furthest away from his God; yet, this is a necessary moment before reconciliation can take place. For despair is holy in that it causes man to abandon all hope in himself and all other created things. He knows that if he is to be saved that it must be by the gracious will of God, and he is himself now open to that salvation.

Salvation comes, of course, in Christ. Zwingli writes in the *Fidei Ratio*:

*nullum aliud pignus divinae bonitatis et clementiae certius esse ac indubitatus (nihil enim aequè firmum ac deus est); et non est aliud nomen sub sole, in quo nos oporteat salvos fieri quam Iesu Christi. Relinquantur ergo hic cum operum nostrorum iustificatio et satisfactio tum sanctorum omnium sive in terra sive in coelis degentium de bonitate et misericordia dei expiatio aut intercessio*¹²²

Professor Locher has argued that Zwingli's Christology is developed in agreement with Augustine and the older scholastics; its intention, through a strict adherence to *vere deus, vere homo*, is to show that God is really found and received in the man Jesus.¹²³ Thus, the soul knows the saving action of Christ: *invenit divina*

¹²⁰ Z. VI.iii. 123.9-13.

¹²¹ Z. III 672. 15-17

¹²² Z.VI.ii 796. 16-22

¹²³ Locher, *Zwingli's Thought*, p.177. See p..173-78 for a brief though profound discussion of the relation of Lutheran and Zwinglian christologies.

*bonitas, quo iusticiae quidem satisfieret, misericordiae vero sinus absque iusticiae detrimento liberaliter pandere liceret*¹²⁴

In knowing Christ, the soul knows that all that is necessary to its salvation has been accomplished for it: *Ut enim deus per filium suum hominem creavit, ita per eundem in mortem prolapsam reparare statuit, qui eiusdem esset creatio et reparatio.*¹²⁵ One sees here the connection between the conscience and the Law. The *ius naturae*, which is in the hearts of all men, pointed the way, albeit unsuccessfully, to the commandment of love which is fulfilled in the knowledge of Christ. When Christ is known the soul rests in the assurance that its inner witness (which Zwingli can speak of as either the conscience or the law of nature) is at one with the divine word. Thus for Zwingli the Law of God becomes the joyful and spiritual basis for human existence; no longer is it an external standard by which one is found wanting.¹²⁶ Faith in Christ, which is the free gift of God, is described by Zwingli, quoting Paul, as being the very essence or substance of things hoped for;¹²⁷ that is, faith is both the activity of

¹²⁴ Z. III 676. 26-28

¹²⁵ Z. III 681. 30-32

¹²⁶ For the Augustinian background to this idea of the recovery of personality, see R.D. Crouse, 'In Multa Defleximus: Confessions X, 29-43, and St. Augustine's Theory of Personality', H.J.

Blumenthal & R.A. Markus (eds) *Neoplatonism and Early Christian Thought Essays in Honour of A.H. Armstrong*, (London, 1981), 180-188.. Also, Cf. Stephens, p.140

¹²⁷ *Habent enim adhuc aliam virtutem ista "ἐπιζομένων ὑποστάσις", id est: "essentia rerum speratarum", puta quod emphatice et hunc sensum reddunt: Fides est essentielle ac firmum istud in animis nostris, quod ab eo datum est, qui est spei nostrae res et expectatio. Quapropter "essentiam, sive: rem essentialem rerum speratarum" indefinite transtulimus, ut sensus uterque comprehendi possit.'*

Z. VI.iii. 171.4-10.

clinging to Christ and being conformed to the Word of God, and it is a passive knowledge, given by God, by which man knows the truth of the Gospel.¹²⁸

Disobedience, or self-love, Zwingli argues, results in the loss of both self-knowledge and knowledge of God. This is the Augustinian argument which is later taken up by Calvin at the beginning of the *Institutes*.¹²⁹ In Christ, the Word entered into human community both to reconcile man to God and, through his actions of obedience to divine and human authority, sanction the claims of human justice over man.¹³⁰ The chaos of disorder is overcome by Christ; human knowledge is restored through the apprehending the truth of God's revelation in Scripture. Christ's obedience to the Father, Scripture, and human authority is the exemplar for the Christian life.¹³¹

Man's mind is a *limpidum clarumque fluentum...unde et veri ac iusti amans ac studiosa est*.¹³² It is eager at all times to return to its true nature as *imago dei*, but this

¹²⁸ Cf. Rich, p.148

¹²⁹ Cf. *Institutes*, 1.2.3.

¹³⁰ 'Lebst du under dem künig uß Franckrych, so gib im, das du im schuldig bist. Also durch den banck hinweg. Denn Christus nimpt darumb nieman von der obergkeit uß, das einer in inn gloubt. Er weißt wol, das wir zuo lastren so fellig sind, das wir ein schuolmeister haben muossent.' Z. II 498. 15-19

¹³¹ A. McGrath points out how for Zwingli the redeemed Christian sees how the law 'corresponds to the noblest aspirations of regenerated nature and knows it as the revealed will of God'. 'Humanist Elements in the Early Reformed Doctrine of Justification', *ARG*, (1982)

¹³² Z. VI.iii. 120.18-121.2.

remains impossible as long as it is drawn down by the flesh. *Mens veri amans et subinde numinis reverens, e cuius substantia cognationem trahit, aequitati et innocentiae studet.*¹³³ Restoration of this kinship is through the threefold knowledge of God, self and Christ. Once this has happened the unitive end of the Christian life for both individual and community is possible. Zwingli speaks to this point in his commentary on Genesis 1:27:

*Hoc quidam ad dominium super creaturas referunt, quod homo cunctis veluti deus praesit; alii hoc ad animum trahunt. Ergo vero imaginem hanc et similitudinem esse puto, quod nos naturae ius dicimus: 'Quod tibi vis fieri, aliis facito'. Haec imago dei inscripta est et impressa cordibus nostris. Animalia enim bruta haec non habent; animantium enim omni generi a natura tributum est, ut se, vitam corpusque, tueantur. Qui ergo iustitiam colunt, qui deum quaerunt, qui deum innocentia vitae Christumque omnibus perinde atque sibi benefaciendo (Cf. Matt. 22.34) exprimunt, hi demum antiquam imaginem dei referunt, quae per Christum repurgata est ac instaurata. Nam sicut in Adam omnes corrumpimur, ita in Christo omnes renovamur (Cf. I Cor. 15.22), cum divina mente praediti nos ad morem Christi gerimus.*¹³⁴

While Zwingli speaks of the contemplation of the divine as the happiness of the soul in this life, there is one essential moral aspect of knowing God which must be attendant to the Christian life. That is true repentance and moral rectitude. The Gospel has two parts in revealing the divine will for man: in the first part it declares salvation to have been accomplished through the death and resurrection of Christ; secondly, concerning repentance: *sed qua homo sibi ipsi cognitus erubescit, pudetque eum veteris vitae duplici nomine, tum quod sibi ipsi tantopere displiceat ac doleat, tum quod videat alienissimum esse a Christiano homine oportere, ut iis in vitiis contabescat, ex quibus se ereptum credat et gaudeat.*¹³⁵

¹³³ Z. VI.iii. 120.11-12.

¹³⁴ Z. XIII 13.35-14.10

¹³⁵ Z. III 702. 13-16

Zwingli believed his return to Pauline theology re-established the centrality of Christ's atonement in the Christian life and worship. The complete efficacy of the atonement has the most practical implications for man. Zwingli, referring to 1 Peter, follows Paul's summation of the faith: *videlicet, quod christiana religio nihil aliud est, quam firma spes in deum per Christum Iesum, et innocens vita, ad exemplum Christi, quoad ipse donat, expressa.*¹³⁶ Divine justice never wavers in its demand for perfection from man. Through the transforming power of grace the mind is first reformed to know God and Christ; from this follows the moral demand that man form his life after Christ and not fall back into the old sins.¹³⁷

The Christian life is that of piety, or virtue. That is, having renounced the flesh, man moulds his life to those virtues given by God, namely the theological virtues of *fides*, *spes*, and *caritas*. While Zwingli allows that there is an ascending order to these virtues, as with the attributes of God, all that is in one must be in the others or else some defect would be implied.¹³⁸ In his fulfilment as *imago dei* man has overcome through Christ that division of spirit and flesh which made impossible his knowledge of God. In the new life the flesh is completely subordinated to the spirit, and all of man's external actions are expressions of his inner comprehension of

¹³⁶ Z. III 705. 8-10. Zwingli refers particularly to 1 Peter 4: 1-11.

¹³⁷ *Patet ergo poenitentiam esse non modo cognitionem sui et abnegationem, sed abnegati custodiam quoque ut sit perpetuo, quod speres, dum in spe ambulas, nec desit, quod metuas, nempe, lapsum peccati* Z.III 705. 10-13.

¹³⁸ *Necque hic quisquam miretur, vereaturque a nobis confundi tres istas virtutes theologicas. Nos sane hoc ex sacris literis didicimus, quod, nisi quaelibet harum virtutum sit altera, plane nihil sit, nedum virtus.* Z. III 849. 14-17

God.¹³⁹ The life of virtue stems from a confidence in the knowledge of God's will, and that through election and faith the soul may remain steadfast in God.¹⁴⁰ This does not mean that sin is eradicated from the lives of the faithful, for the Christian life is full of lapses and frequent springing up of thorns. The point remains that through faith in Christ there is a constant repentance which cleanses and reminds the soul that its sins no longer condemn it.¹⁴¹ Zwingli speaks of the groaning spirit, or faithful heart, interceding on man's behalf to God: *qui corda novit, plane videt, quid fides aut pia mens consultet....*¹⁴²

Commentators have rightly said that Zwingli's interest lay in the salvation of the community. However, before he addresses the problem of the godly community Zwingli treats the question of the position of the individual soul before God. The restoration of the individual man to his divine likeness is the foundation for the true community of God.

2.3.iv Gospel, Community and Discipline

In Christ God established His relationship to man in election, and further the principle institutions of the Christian state: the Church and civil government. These were to be the disciplining and guiding arms to which the people owed their obedience; and this obedience was based upon the grounding of the Church and state in the supreme authority of the Gospels. The Word of God, as contained in the Scriptures, is the objective order by which all men, all human institutions, and even the Church itself

¹³⁹ Cf. Rich, p. 135-36

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Locher, Zwingli's Thought, p. 256-266

¹⁴¹ Z. III 719. 16-17

¹⁴² Z. III 720. 23-24

must be judged. When speaking of the Church as being judged by the Word Zwingli refers solely to two of his three interpretations of the term *ecclesia*; those of the Church as the professing body in the world, and of the local congregations. Zwingli begins his definition of the Church by interpreting the Greek *συναγωγήν ἐκκλησίας* *unde clarum est: ecclesiam sic non modo pro piis, sanctis, ac fidelibus, sed etiam pro impiis sceleratis ac perfides, dummodo ex semine Abrahe secundum carnem cumque piis mixti essent, accipi.*¹⁴³ This is the Church, so Zwingli argues, of which Christ is speaking in the parables of the wheat and the tares (Matt. 13:24-30), and of the net (Matt. 13:47-50). It is the historical Church founded on Pentecost and ruled by councils, popes, and bishops through the centuries. Because it contains both the good and evil it is capable of falling into error through the machinations of men. It is in constant need of correction to prevent it from straying from its foundation in the Word.¹⁴⁴

The second, and more particular, use of the term *ecclesia* refers to the local Churches and individual congregations. Likewise, these contain both the faithful and the reprobate, and it is in light of this that Christ instituted both the ministry and the sacraments. The very purpose of the ministry, which shall be attended to later, is to bring the Word of God before the people to call them to repentance and faith. These two forms of the Church existing in the world presuppose the primary understanding of the term *ecclesia* as the body of elect, which though one in Christ is dispersed throughout

¹⁴³ Z. III 253. 16-19

¹⁴⁴ J. Pollet writes: *'Mann könnte versucht sein, in dieser Unterscheidung eine Parallele zu jener zwischen Kirche und Staat zu sehen. Zwingli hat jedoch die Überzeugung, daß die Kirche selbst ein corpus permixtum sei (S. Augustin), und von daher dem gleichen Gesetz wie die Civitas Terrena unterstehe. Genau das erlaubt es dem Rat, als dem Garanten der menschlichen Gerechtigkeit, hier mit diziplinarischen Vorschriften einzugreifen.'* Zwingli und die Kirche Scholastik und Humanismus in Kirchenbegriff Zwinglis', *Zwingliana*, XVI, p.497

time and space. This body alone, because it is continually cleansed by the blood of Christ, is unerring in the sight of God.

His testimoniis manifeste docemur, quod per Christum nobis via perpetuo patet ad deum (cf. Eph.2:18) ut qui sit super domum, hoc est: ecclesiam dei, perpetuus sacerdos constitutus et propiciator; sed hac ratione ut fidei confessio inconcussa maneat. Hi ergo sine ruga sunt et macula, qui in Christo sunt; is enim solus eas abstergere potest ¹⁴⁵

One sees how clearly Zwingli's doctrine of the Church is firmly rooted in his teachings on the righteousness and mercy of God. The mercy of God in electing the faithful to the Church in no way detracts from the necessity of fulfilling His justice. God does not make any concessions to man's sinful nature, He does not lower the standards that sinful men might slip through. Rather, He demands that His Church be spotless and unfailingly true in its confession. This places the Church in a whole new light. The consequence of this teaching, as with Luther, remains the complete destruction of the Church as the mediator of grace. Man is free because his end has been desired for him and is wholly beyond his control. The external relations between man and God which formed the basis of the mediaeval church life are swept away by Zwingli's teaching on the direct relationship between the soul and its principle, the Word.

Zwingli's attack upon the Roman church centred on his belief that it had taken unto itself the power to issue commandments quite apart from Scripture. In article 16 of the 67 theses, he equates the rites of the mediaeval church with those human doctrines condemned by Christ.¹⁴⁶ In deciding for itself the essentials of salvation the Church robs God of His supreme authority and ignores His benevolence in accomplishing

¹⁴⁵ Z. III 256 24-29

¹⁴⁶ Z. II 87. 24-34

man's health. Such arrogance Zwingli repeatedly ascribes to the false doctrine of free will and merit.¹⁴⁷ The rebellious assertion of man's inherent worth manifested itself in two ways in the mediaeval church: firstly through the creation of unnatural communities, which have nothing to do with God's commandments, and, secondly, with the false claim of so-called spiritual rulers to temporal authority.

When speaking of unnatural communities, Zwingli directs his wrath against the monastic orders. His main criticism is that these orders, in seeing the spiritual life as something apart from the world, arrogantly break the common bond of all Christians.¹⁴⁸ Their flight from the world and its communities destroys the most Christian form of obedience - that is the Christian obedience of charity towards one's neighbours. If the Christian life is found in the moulding of the self to one's exemplar (Christ), it must then be manifested in a life which seeks to keep the self pure while attending to the needs of others.¹⁴⁹ The monastic vows, upon which the orders are based, are wholly fallacious for two related reasons; firstly, if they prescribe anything contrary to the Gospel then they must be rejected immediately; and, secondly, where their prescriptions are the same as biblical injunctions they are irrelevant, for God's commands are the duty of all Christians and not of select groups. The commandments of God flow from His eternal will and mercy, and Zwingli argues that absolutely nothing can be either added or subtracted from the divine word. Man must not be preoccupied with his own salvation, for that has been removed from his control, but rather with the transforming of the world. This is the way to the true community.

¹⁴⁷ Z.II 255.11-14

¹⁴⁸ Z.II 256.26-28

¹⁴⁹ Z. II 260. 25-28

Until the day of judgement the Church must labour in the world under the guidance of the Word and Spirit, which preserve its unity. The parochial church, though constituted by members of the unerring Church, must continuously be reconciled to Christ through repentance, confession and faith.¹⁵⁰ Zwingli angrily rejects the idea that hierarchy could in any way be a mark of the Church; for the degree to which a Church exists is not its visibility -which is a consideration- but the extent to which its life and witness are grounded in the word of Christ. In so far as the Church is true to its calling it is the unified bride of Christ; externals have nothing to add in this regard.¹⁵¹ Zwingli contrasts in his *Apologeticus* the true Church with the false:

*Studete intra eam ecclesiam numerari que Christi sanguine respersa est, ut odio habeatis ecclesiam malignantium. Quid vobis cum ea ecclesia, que carni innititur et sanguini?*¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ *Ecclesia Christi sponsa, quandoquidem hic numquam coire potest, attamen verbo semper opus habet. Fit, ut per partes et membra sua, hoc est: peculiare ecclesias, cum pastorem tum verbum exterius iudicet; sed per verbum dei, quod in mentibus fidelium scriptum est. Z. III 268. 20-23*

¹⁵¹ 'Basic to Zwingli's identification of the church with the city is not only the assumption that the church is a mixed body and hence subject to the same law in the *civitas terrena* but also a belief that the preaching of the Gospel makes possible a piety which is shared by all. Thus the hierarchical distinctions implicit in the mediaeval view of the role of the laymen, the secular clergy and the religious are swept away so that true citizenship grounded in piety could be enjoyed by all'. R. Walton, 'The Institutionalization of the Reformation at Zurich' *Zwingliana*, XIII, 497-515, also see F. Büsser on the importance of Zwingli's *Hauptwerke* in assessing his understanding of the *Bekennnissen* and *Dogmen* of the early church in his ecclesiology. 'Zwingli und die Kirche. Ueberlegungen zur Aktualität von Zwinglis Ekklesiologie', *Zwingliana*, XVI.3 (1984) p.192.

¹⁵² Z. I 320. 6-8.

Repentance and confession are possible only where people learn of God through the proper preaching of the Word. This is why there is a two way relationship in Zwingli's theology between the Church and its clergy. The Church requires a well ordered, well governed clergy to sustain it on its foundation, while the clergy are unable to complete their task without the guidance of the Holy Spirit, which moves in the Church. In the sixth article of the *Expositions* Zwingli gives the definition of a minister which remained fixed throughout his writings: *Also ist 'ein priester' sin nüt anders, denn: ein eersamer verkünder sin des worts gottes und ein wächter zuo dem heil der seelen.*¹⁵³

This definition touches upon the two essential aspects of the preacher; the preaching of the Word and the supervision of the moral life of the community.¹⁵⁴ These two principles, far from being abstract standards, are based upon the authority conferred by Christ when he gave to Peter the keys of the kingdom.¹⁵⁵ Zwingli's consideration of this text follows the logic of the earlier Conciliarists and anticipates

¹⁵³ Z. II 439. 16-19

¹⁵⁴ *Cavete igitur et vobis ipsis et toti gregi, in quo spiritus sanctus vos posuit speculatores, ut pascatis ecclesiam dei quam proprio sanguine aquisivit. Ecce gregem, ecce speculatores, ecce concionem pascendam non regendam, ecce concionem non hominis sed dei, quod eam proprio sanguine invenerit. Quid tam arrogans verbum usurpastis? Pastores pascunt, non regunt.* Z. I 319. 16-21

¹⁵⁵ *Claves ergo metaphorice adpellavit Christus animorum liberationem et consolationem. Quae tum fit, quum spiritu sancto illustrante mysterium Christi intelligimus, eoque fidimus. Solvere ergo nihil est aliud quam desperantem saluti mentem ad certam spem erigere. Ligare vero est obstinatam mentem deserere.* Z. III 734. 5-9

Calvin's exegesis.¹⁵⁶ The first point which Zwingli draws from the passage is the denial of any special authority for Peter above the other Apostles in virtue of Christ's words to him.

*Darnach weistu wol, daß dieselben schlüssel nit des
bapts sind allein, noch Petri allein, sunder aller deren, die
mit dem gotswort entledigend und bindend; sind ouch allen
denen gemeinlich und gemeiner schar der jungeren
allersamen ggeben Jo. 20 (John 20:23)¹⁵⁷*

Consequently, the position of the bishop of Rome as supreme in the Latin Church is an historical error, based upon the misconception of the communal power of the keys.

The second point addresses the actual nature of the binding and loosing. Zwingli connects the two powers with the two swords, which he interprets as representing not the sacred and temporal authority, but the two Testaments of the Bible.¹⁵⁸ Again, the connection is based upon the Word as the source of all authority. This is interpretation of binding is nothing other than the application of discipline, the

¹⁵⁶ For the Conciliarist arguments see A. Black, *Council and Commune The Conciliar Movement and the Council of Basle*, (London, 1979), particularly chapters 5-7. Also, Calvin, *Institutes*, IV.XI.I

¹⁵⁷ Z. II 106.33-107.4, also *De Vera: Quod si ista responsio: "Tu es Christus, filius dei", meruit, ut claves promitterentur, ut certe meruit, omnibus ergo promissae sunt claves; nam omnes praedicaverunt Christum esse filium dei, ut hic Ioan. 6 iam auditum est. Z. III 725.32-726.*

¹⁵⁸ *Daran wir eigentlich erlernend, das die zwey schwert, dero sich Christus nach dem nachmal vernuoget (cf. Luc. 22:38), nit den gwalt der herren, sunder das wolgeschliffen wort guttes, imm nūwen und alten testament geoffnet, bedütet habend Z. II 308 22-25*

removal from the Church of obstinate sinners who threaten the unity of the body through public scandal. Excommunication, as the last and most drastic stage of discipline serves to reconcile sinners to the Church rather than to pronounce a final judgement upon them.

When Zwingli speaks of loosing he is referring to the power of the word to free men through faith from their wickedness. Just after the abolition of the old rites in Zürich in 1525, Zwingli wrote in *De Vera*:

*Exemplo, quod Petrus per 'pascere' verbo 'reficere' intellexit, quoniam tam constanter verbo institit, ut cum reliquis apostolis censeret, non aequam esse propter mensae ministerium omittere verbi provinciam, Act.6 [6.2]. Et quod nusquam legimus Petrum quemquam inaugurasse sua potestate vel autoritate, sed potius ab aliis apostolis esse missum, Act.8 [8.14], ubi cum Ioanne mittitur Samariam in auxilium Philippi.*¹⁵⁹

Through administering the Gospel the minister brings the healing word which relieves the disorder of the fallen soul. Yet, while Zwingli certainly denies to the Christian priesthood any sort of sacrificial role as noxious to the perfect atonement of Christ, one begins to see the pivotal place of the minister as a mediator of the divine word to his people. It is only through the reading and preaching of the external word that the soul is stirred to remember its inner principle. The whole end of man, which is to know his God, requires of the clergy, who are those chosen for their piety and learning, that they serve as teachers. The place of the minister within the community is to preach repentance and reconciliation so that both individuals and the whole community might turn back to God. The institutions of the Church and its ministry are holy because they have been founded by God and confirmed by Christ; therefore, man owes obedience to them only insofar as they are the vessels through which God reveals His grace and

¹⁵⁹ Z. III 733.9-15.

binds together His people. They have no authority or honour outside of that received from the hand of God. It is this principle which stands behind Zwingli's understanding of a reformation of the Church.¹⁶⁰

As for the various offices of the ministry, Zwingli sought to follow his understanding of the New Testament. He divided the ministry into four parts: apostles, bishops, prophets and ministers. Following his interpretation of Paul, Zwingli says that there is no distinction to be made between bishops and ministers. There is, however, an important distinction to be understood within the prophetic office between its two principle components, preaching and moral guidance.¹⁶¹ Zwingli sees in the Christian minister the unity of the Old Testament prophetic office with the New Testament ministry of reconciliation. The bishop is primarily concerned with watching the flock and reprimanding through discipline those who go astray. The care of the congregation is clearly in his hands, though he must not act without the consent of the Church.¹⁶² Zwingli clearly sides with those Conciliarists who saw authority as flowing upwards in the Church. Ecclesiastical discipline is the prerogative of the bishop, though recent scholarship has rather narrowly confined this to mean excommunication.¹⁶³ The bishop, through both the godliness and cleanliness of his own living, was expected to root out evil in the congregation with only the two swords of the Gospels, and not by

¹⁶⁰ F. Büsler, 'In Defence of Zwingli', E.J. Furcha and H.W. Pipkin (eds.) *Prophet Pastor Protestant*, (Allison Park, 1984), p.1-21.

¹⁶¹ *Also habend wir zween underscheid des ampts der propheten: Eins ist, wie die propheten im alten testament dem üblen geweert und das guot pflantzet habend; also ouch die wächter oder pfarrer im nūwen testamentestament tuond.* Z.IV 397.33-398.1

¹⁶² Z. II 276.25-28

¹⁶³ Cf. Stephens, p. 270-4

force. In a way, he might be thought of as carrying out the practical aspects of reconciliation.

The prophet in Zürich was to serve the same role he carried out in ancient Israel; to proclaim the Word of God and warn both the people and rulers of God's justice. In the *Von dem Predigtamt*, Zwingli speaks of the prophet as having preeminence in the interpretation of the Scriptures; for the expounding of Scripture should not be left in the first place to the congregation, but to those set apart and trained in exegesis and the ancient languages.¹⁶⁴ Scriptural interpretation was not to be entrusted to the congregation, but to those set apart and trained in the ancient languages. However, he also is clear that the congregation, as the company of faithful, are the judges of the prophets: they alone through the Holy Spirit can decide whether he speaks the truth.¹⁶⁵ This was the purpose behind Zwingli's founding in 1525 of the Prophezei in the Grossmünster. Prophets learned to expound the Word and declare its truth even unto death.

*Summa: Falsi prophete sunt, qui signis et prodigiis, ne dicam prestigiis electos etiam fascinant, Christum ostendunt ubi lubet. Sequitur: A prophetis enim Hierusalem egressa est pollutio super omnem terram. Hierosolymis hodie nulli sunt prophete, a quibus pollui possimus, sed unde mundus polluitur, illic nimirum adparet esse Hierosolyma.*¹⁶⁶

As in Israel, a prophet's failure to proclaim the truth would result in divine judgement upon the whole nation. Therefore, the necessity of clerical discipline becomes clear. There is no such thing as an indelible character placed upon the minister

¹⁶⁴ Z. IV 395.20-23

¹⁶⁵ *Usß dem gott, der in inen wonet. Wo gott in eim menschen ist, da verstadt er glych, was zuo gottes eer und friden des nächsten geredt wirt oder nit.* Z.IV 395. 29-31

¹⁶⁶ Z. I 288. 18-20,25-28.

at his ordination; when a preacher is no longer firmly grounded on the Word he ceases to be a minister. Thus a congregation with an errant minister is in danger of no longer being a true Church.

The minister's responsibilities for effecting repentance and reconciliation through his duties of preaching and moral guidance find their supreme expression in the sacramental life of the community. The two sacraments instituted by Christ, baptism and the Eucharist, stand at the very centre of the Christian life. Zwingli defines the term *sacramentum* as *invisibilis gratiae visibilis figura sive forma*.¹⁶⁷ They are a public and corporate profession by God's people of what He has accomplished for them in Christ.¹⁶⁸ In baptism the believer publicly recognizes the covenant established by God through election and commits himself to the rectification of life demanded by Christ.¹⁶⁹ The Eucharist is the community coming together to give thanks for their salvation through Christ's atonement. These two corporate acts are raised beyond being simple human acts of remembrance through the presence of the Holy Spirit. The bread and wine are the symbols of Christ's body sacrificed on the cross and to participate in the celebration of the Eucharist is, as Courvoisier remarks, to recognize that one's salvation depends utterly on Christ's death.¹⁷⁰ Further, through the presence of the

¹⁶⁷ Z.VI. 200

¹⁶⁸ J. Courvoisier writes: 'Precisely because of its significance for the whole congregation baptism has a corporate and, indeed, a churchly meaning. It is more important for the church than for the believer himself, who, after all, is always ensured of his salvation by the grace of God.' *Zwingli, A Reformed Theologian*, (London, 1964), p.67

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Locher, *Zwingli's Thought*, p.219

¹⁷⁰ Courvoisier, p.74

Spirit of God Christians are able not only to be united with their fellow parishioners in the Eucharist, but also the parochial church is made one with the Church universal.

Zwingli seeks to remove from the sacraments any sense of their being of their own accord able to relieve the burdened conscience. To say that, according to his theology, would be to have the matter backwards. For the sacraments are outward expressions of what the soul already knows to be true. The elect are very much conscious of their deliverance and they do not require material elements to reassure them. One might say that for Zwingli the celebration of the sacraments is the completion in this world of man as *imago dei*. For as the Creator is both pure *esse* and *vis*, whose being is His act, so man as His highest creation most resembles Him when his powers of thought and of act are brought together in the celebration of the sacraments.

The role of the minister was a formidable one; he was required to train his flock that they might enter into the sacramental life of the Church in the knowledge of what it signified. The highly intellectual nature of Zwinglian ecclesiology demands that the minister be a learned and patient teacher of his congregation. When necessary to the preservation of the unity of the Church the minister was to employ ecclesiastical discipline. In his hands, through the authority of the Word, are the tools of reconciliation and failure to use them properly was, as Zwingli warns, the greatest blasphemy.

The intention of this survey has been to examine some of the main theological points which underlay the subsequent development of clerical discipline in the Zürich Reformation. Clerical discipline involved two central points: the proper training of the clergy, and the need to regulate their behaviour. The importance of this disciplining for the Zürchers was the importance of heaven and hell: the ministers were very much the instruments of bringing the necessary knowledge for salvation. At the conclusion of his

chapter on the Church in *De Vera et Falsa Religione*, Zwingli expresses his hope for the effective reformation of the Church essential to the restoration of Christian society: *Sed spero quod, cum ecclesiae Christi firmitatem et fundamentum videris, ab errore pristino si animum revocaturus, et cum ea amicitiam fortunasque omnes iuncturus.*¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Z. III 4-6.

2.4 Bullinger on Discipline and the Synod.

Theologically, Heinrich Bullinger was Zwingli's true successor. In his teachings on the doctrines of God, the Church and the Christian life, Bullinger tended to expand and draw out the implications of Zwingli's arguments rather than to alter them. Nevertheless, the differences between the two men were significant. The Church in Zürich which Bullinger led for forty four years was profoundly shaped by the results of the Kappel wars. Bullinger himself possessed a temperament quite unlike Zwingli's; he knew that Zürich's role as the leader of reformed Protestantism would depend upon the use of humanism and not military force to build confessional unity. Bullinger employed many tools in the service of furthering the Reformation in Europe. His vast correspondence, the huge corpus of his theological writings and his personal contacts with statesmen and Church leaders through mutual friends all served his grand design of restoring unity to the Catholic faith.

There is no possibility, or even need, here of giving a full account of Bullinger's theology. The intention is to outline Bullinger's doctrine of the Church and the place therein of synods and discipline. Bullinger shared with Zwingli his interest in preserving the integrity of the Catholic faith. He was concerned with the idea of 'reforming' and discerning the true nature of the Church. Like his predecessor, his primary interest was with ecclesiology and Church reform; other theological questions received less attention. In his two important works from his latter career, the *Decades* and the *Second Helvetic Confession*, which were themselves texts crucial to the development of confessional unity, Bullinger pays considerable attention to defining the Church.

In his exposition of the Apostles' Creed in the first Decade, Bullinger follows Zwingli in making a distinction between the universal (Catholic) and particular Churches. The universal Church, Bullinger states with Zwingli, is the fellowship of the

faithful past, present and future. The witness of this Church remains perfect because it is continuously cleansed by the blood of Christ. However, it was with the particular Church that Bullinger was most interested. As Ernest Koch has written, Bullinger was concerned with determining the unity and distinctiveness of the Church.¹⁷¹ In Bullinger's terms, the problem of understanding the unity of the Church is a question of salvation history. Against his critics, Bullinger argued that the legitimacy of the Church was derived not from outward structures or rites but from the eternal promises of God made to the Israelites and fulfilled in the Christian Church.¹⁷² Wayne Baker has explored the importance of the continuity of the Christian Church with the chosen race of the Old Testament as the basis of Bullinger's covenant theology.¹⁷³ This idea of the unity of the two Testaments in relating the history of the Church informs every aspect of Bullinger's ecclesiology.

This idea of the covenant is implicit in Bullinger's discussion of the sense in which the Church can be spoken of as being 'particular'. In the *Decades*, Bullinger says the term has two usages. Firstly, the Church has particular ages, such as the

¹⁷¹ E. Koch, 'Die Lehre von der Kirche' in J. Staedtke (ed.) *Glauben und Bekennen Vierhundert Jahre Confessio Helvetica Posterior*, (Zürich, 1966), p.523.

¹⁷² Bullinger treats the church in chapter seventeen of the Second Helvetic Confession. On the continuity between the church in the Old Testament and the New, Bullinger writes: 'Yet both these sorts of people (Israelites and Gentiles) have had, and still have, one fellowship, one salvation, in one and the same Messiah; in whom, as members of one body, they are all joined together under one head, and by one faith all partakers of one and the same spiritual bread and drink.' *Creeds of the Churches A Reader in Christian Doctrine from the Bible to the Present*. ed. J.H. Leith, rpt. (Oxford, 1973), p.142. All citations of the Helvetic Confession are from this translation.

¹⁷³ J.W. Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: The Other Reformed Tradition*. (Athens, 1980). esp. chaps. 3 & 4.

period of Adam, the Patriarchs, the Prophets and finally the Christian Church.¹⁷⁴ The Christian Church is the final stage of the historical movement of God's plan for his peoples. Secondly, the Church is particular in the sense of there being a Church at Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome or even at Zürich.¹⁷⁵ What unites these various manifestations of the Church is that all are under the headship of Christ. From the very moment of creation Christ became the sole head of the Church eternal and particular. It is the unity of the faithful in him which is the unblemished eternal Church:

'...we understand, that the Church is called undefiled and altogether clean, not in respect of itself, but because of Christ. For the Church of Christ is so far forth holy, as that yet every day it doth forward in profiting, and is near perfect so long as it liveth on earth. And yet not withstanding, the holiness of it is most absolutely perfect in Christ.'¹⁷⁶

Christ is present in the particular Churches, which he governs in his spirit, interceding on behalf of the faithful who struggle in the world:

For the faithful are purely cleansed by Christ, who washeth them with his blood; but, yet, because the flesh does strive with the spirit so long as life remaineth on earth, therefore the godly have need with faith and the Holy Ghost to wash and wipe their feet, that is, the reliques and spots wherewith they are distained by their daily conversation in this world.'¹⁷⁷

The Catholicity of the particular Churches does not depend upon their historical traditions or hierarchies, but upon whether they exhibit the true 'marks' (*notae*). In the Helvetic Confession Bullinger sets down two distinguishing marks of the Church: firstly, the 'lawful and sincere' preaching of the Word of God, and, secondly, the

¹⁷⁴ Decades, I.ix. p.161.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.,

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p.162.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p.162/3.

proper administration of the sacraments.¹⁷⁸ In the Confession Bullinger gives priority to the preaching of the Word. The members of these Churches are required to strive continually to open themselves to hear the Word, to repent daily of their sins, and maintain the bond of unity between themselves and their neighbours. The signs or marks of the Church are not absolute; Bullinger explains that no Church is to be bound by them.¹⁷⁹ Also, in the *Decades*, he gives other additional signs of the Church, such as repentance, discipline, true prayer and admonition through the Word.¹⁸⁰ Koch argues that Bullinger seeks in the Confession to define the limits of the Church, to set out the grounds upon which particular Churches of differing traditions in various countries could agree.¹⁸¹ Bullinger did not believe that because Zürich was the first of the reformed Churches that all subsequent Churches were bound by its rites and practices. Thus he writes 'And, therefore, we read in the ancient writers that there were manifold diversities of ceremonies, but that these were always free; neither did any man think that the unity of the Church, was thereby broken or dissolved.'¹⁸²

Bullinger believed that the particular Churches would vary in their customs and rites from place to place, but remain united in their common adherence to the 'essential' marks. These Churches would always contain a mixture of the wheat and the tares. As Zwingli had stated, the earthly Church was composed of the righteous and unrighteous living together. The elect were known to God alone, whilst the magistrate and Church in dispensing discipline could only judge a man by his external actions.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ Leith, p.146.

¹⁷⁹ Leith, p.147.

¹⁸⁰ van der Linde, p.345.

¹⁸¹ Koch, p.523.

¹⁸² Leith, p.148.

¹⁸³ 'Yet these men, while they do pretend religion, are accounted to be in the church, although they are not of the church: even as traitors in a commonwealth, before they be detected, are accounted in the

Nevertheless, the faulty nature of the Church in the world necessitated a strict discipline. For Bullinger, discipline, though not strictly a mark of the Church, was essential to the life of the Church. His position on discipline for the Church was consistent throughout his career. To him, the Scriptures and the early fathers of the Church gave clear witness to the form of discipline to be exercised by Christians.

The Zürich reformers believed that discipline was the responsibility of both the minister and the magistrate. The ministers, through the power of the keys to proclaim the kingdom of God, are required to instruct and correct the people through preaching and visitation. The magistrate, however, retains full authority to administer punishment for transgressions against civil laws and the teachings of the Church. For minister and magistrate alike the Scripture teaches that discipline is to be applied "that all things should be done decently and in order" (1 Cor. 14.40), without any oppression or tumult. For the Apostle witnesses that authority was given to him by the Lord "for building up and not for destroying" (2 Cor. 10.8).¹⁸⁴

Bullinger was more pragmatic than Zwingli in his relationship with the Zürich magistrates. Nevertheless, he shared with his predecessor an absolute belief in the right of the magistrate to control the affairs of the Church. This, as has been shown by André Bouvier and Wayne Baker, led Bullinger into a confrontation with Calvin and his successors who believed in separate Church courts for the dispensing of ecclesiastical discipline.¹⁸⁵ Bullinger's view of the godly magistrate is enshrined in

number of good citizens...And therefore the church is very well compared to a drag-net, which draws up fishes of all sorts.' Leith, p.149.

¹⁸⁴ Leith, p.160.

¹⁸⁵ A. Bouvier, *Henri Bullinger Le successeur de Zwingli*, p.83-109. For two treatments of the wider implications of the debate between Zürich and Geneva concerning discipline see J.W. Baker, 'In Defence of Magisterial Discipline: Bullinger's "Tractatus de Excommunicatione" of 1568'. Heinrich

the thirtieth chapter of the Helvetic Confession: ' Let him therefore hold the word of God in his hands, and look that nothing be taught contrary thereunto. In like manner, let him govern the people, committed to him of God, with good laws, made according to the word of God in his hands, and that nothing be taught thereunto. Let him hold them in discipline and in duty and in obedience.'¹⁸⁶

This held true for the clergy as well, who were responsible to the magistrates for their life and work. Bullinger, following Zwingli looked to the early Synods of the Church to establish the institutional form by which clerical discipline could be effected. Bullinger draws upon Scripture and Early Church texts to support his argument. His principle Scriptural text was from Acts 20, where Paul called together the elders of Ephesus to admonish them. In the disputations of 1522/23 Zwingli had first drawn attention to the similarity of the Zürich Church with provincial Churches under the Roman emperors. Bullinger and his fellow Churchmen in Zürich developed this idea and employed it with considerable success as a means of promoting the Church reforms in their state as a model for other countries. In the fifth Decade, Bullinger quotes the Imperial Constitutions of Justinian as the authority for the clerical synod.

'And forasmuch as we ourselves, by reason of this negligence, have found many to be entrapped with sundry errors and sins, we command them all, that in all provinces every year, either in the month of July or September, one synod be holden, and that the priests meet together, either at the patriarch's or the bishop's, and there matters of faith be handled, and also of canonical questions, and of the administration of ecclesiastical things or of reproveable life, or other matters which require correction.'¹⁸⁷

Bullinger 1504-1575. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 400. Todestag. vol.I.49-70, and J.W. Baker, 'Calvin's Discipline and the Early Reformed Tradition: Bullinger and Calvin', R.V. Schnucker (ed.), *Calviniana Ideas and Influence of John Calvin.* Sixteenth Century Essays, vol. X. (Kirksville, 1988), 107-120.

¹⁸⁶ Leith, p.190.

¹⁸⁷ *Decades*, V.x. p.506.

With the conversion of Constantine came the founding of the Christian state. The magistrates then assumed the role of representatives of God which the kings of Israel had occupied. Synods were the means by which these rulers could control the clergy and eradicate heresy from the Church. Rudolf Gwalther, in the preface to his commentary on Galatians (1576) recounts to the young James VI of Scotland, to whom the work was dedicated, of the great deeds of the Christian emperors who convened synods and councils to cleanse the Church.

*Constantini exemplum postea secutum est Gratianus imperator, qui Constantinossi Synodum Episcoporum coegit: cuius autoritate Macedonii et Eudoxii haeresis, qui spiritum sanctum negabant Deum esse, confutaretur. Simili exemplo deinde Theodosius Magnus Ephesinam synodum convocavit contra Nestorium, qui Christi personam et huius unitatem distrahens, duos Christos fingebat, alterum Deum, alterum hominem huic assistentem...Martinianus Imperator Episcopos plures sexcentius Chalcedonem convenire iussit: et quia aliquot Synodos de hac re insidiosas et rixarum atque tumultuum plenas prius habitas fuisse sciebat, in quibus res à verbis ad verbera usque devenerat, ipse medius inter Episcopos consedit, ut ferventiorum consilia atque sententias moderaretur.*¹⁸⁸

The use of these examples served two important purposes. Firstly, they provided the essential historical evidence to counter the arguments from tradition of the Roman Church. Secondly, this concept of a 'golden age' of the Church became a common humanist device for argument by which reformers, in writing on problems and events in the Early Church, could speak to debates current in the sixteenth century. Bullinger used this method effectively when he associated the Anabaptists of his day with the Donatist movement. In so doing he was free to employ the works of Augustine in the service of the Zürich Church.

The Synod's authority in Zürich was derived from the examples of that period when the Church was rightly ruled by the Christian emperors before the bishops of

¹⁸⁸ R. Gwalther, *Ind. Pauli Apostoli/ Epistolam ad Galatas/ Homiliae LXI.* (Zürich, 1576), fol.b 2r.

Rome abused their authority with false claims to preeminence. Bullinger had inherited this theory from Zwingli; yet, it was not without certain problems. As the text from Gwalther states, the councils convened by the emperors were forums for theological debate in which heretical views were refuted. Bullinger's conception of the Synod for Zürich was much less grand. The *raison d'être* of the Synod in Zürich was discipline, and not theological discussion. Bullinger himself, in the Helvetic Confession, reveals an equivocal approach to the historical councils. In the second chapter he writes of councils: 'wherefore we suffer not ourselves, in controversies about religion or matters of faith, to be pressed with the bare testimonies of fathers or decrees of councils; much less with received customs, or with large numbers of those who share the same opinion.'¹⁸⁹ This begs the question of how he can look to the early councils as authoritative in doctrinal matters whilst seemingly rejecting the legitimacy of later councils? The answer is found in Bullinger's understanding of history and authority. Synods as a means of discipline are legitimate because they have Scriptural precedent and are a practical means of implementing the strictures of the faith. They are valid only insofar as they do not contravene biblical teachings. The Church is not bound to any particular form of synod and their composition may vary from place to place. The authority of the synods is not dependent upon any historical connection with the period of Justinian or Theodosius. The provincial synods of the early Church are exemplars and not binding on subsequent Churches.

The key text in identifying Bullinger's position on councils and synods was his *De Conciliis* of 1561.¹⁹⁰ It was dedicated to Bürgermeister von Cham and intended to

¹⁸⁹ Leith, p.135/6.

¹⁹⁰ Bullinger, H., *Von den Conciliis Wie von den Apostlen un/sers Herren Christil in der allerersten kirchen ein Concilium zuo Hielrusalem gehalten/ und mit was grosser frucht/ und fridens sömlichs beschähen sye: dargälgen wie in den lesten zyten der wält/ von 500./ jaren här/ und noch vil länger/ die Römischen/ Böpst ire Concilien gehalten habind/ und mit/ was grossem schaden unnd*

dissuade any of the political leaders in Zürich who were attracted by the claims of the Council of Trent by refuting the legitimacy of papal councils. The work takes the form of a detailed history of councils from the Old Testament to his own time. Bullinger exhibits an extensive knowledge of not only the biblical and Early Church texts -which would be expected- but also of the legislation and apologists of mediaeval councils.

According to Bullinger, there are three forms of councils: particular, national and general or ecumenical.¹⁹¹ The argument is familiar: in the Scriptures and Early Church the true principles of the council were established only to be perverted by the pretensions of the mediaeval papacy. Bullinger establishes the following principles as the essential criteria for a 'free' council; that Scripture alone is the basis of judgement, that all is done in submission to the Holy Spirit, that no one Church should exert authority over another (Bullinger refers to the quarrel between Jerusalem and Antioch), that the council be free from any form of binding legislation or oaths (such as canon law or the oaths forced on the Church by popes), that secular rulers must be involved in convening and overseeing of the council, and that the authority of councils and of

verwirrung der/ gläubigen sömlichs vollbracht sye/ verzeich-inet uß den historien/ durch Heinrichen/ Bullingern/ dienern der kirchen/ zuo Zürich: und in zwen/ teil abgeteilt. (Zürich, 1561), HBBiBL. I, no. 405.

¹⁹¹ *Dann es ist ein Particular Concilien, da an einem besonderen ort etliche sich besamlend, unnd von Kirchen geschäftten radt schlagend. So ist ein National oder Provincial Concilium, da ein gantze nation oder provintz als Tütschland, Franckrych oder Engelland sich besamlet der kirchen sachen zuo beradtschlagen. Demnach ist ein general, catholicum, oecumenicum oder allgemein Concilium, da allgemeinlich (so vil müglich) uß allen landen und kirchen ein berüffung und samlung beschicht, mit einanderen sich zuo entschliessen was in der kirchen händlen zuo thun oder zuo lassen sye.' Ibid., fol.1v-2.*

the fathers be recognized as inferior to Scripture.¹⁹² By these standards Bullinger has no difficulty demonstrating the difference between the apostolic and mediaeval councils. Whilst sympathetic to the reforming spirit of the councils of Constance and Basel, he argues that the Church had become too entangled in the snares of human legislation and the greed of the popes in sustaining or expanding their authority for any possible benefit to be reaped. The machinations of Eugenius IV at the councils of Basel and then of Ferrara, Bullinger writes, were directed at not only consolidating papal authority in the west, but also at bringing the Greeks to heel under the authority of Rome.¹⁹³ Bullinger cannot wholly side with the Conciliarists, for their appeal to canon law and tradition was equally contrary to the spirit of the free apostolic council. In the end, Bullinger judges the reforming spirit of the mediaeval Church to have achieved little:

Die deformation, das ist, das unwäsen der kirchen deß man sich so lange zyt erklagt, ist noch bißhar beliben: das verwüsten unnd mißbruchen aller heiligen dingen ist belyben: die zerstörung guotersitten in allen stenden ist beliben: die monarchy des bapsts und oligarchy der Bischoffen, so aller heiligen gschrift zuo wider, sind beliben: summa, alle daruß erfolgte gsatz sind unverbesseret beliben. ¹⁹⁴

Bullinger concludes that the unreformed nature of the Roman Church, together with the misplaced assumption of the papacy that they possess the right to assemble councils of the Church, renders the Council of Trent a false assembly with which Zürich should

¹⁹² *Darumb ist der Concilium werd und ansähen minder dann der geschrift, welche über alle Concilien und über alle Vätter ist. Also hat gehalten vom Nicenischen Concilio, welches doch under den 4 das furträffenlichest ist, der heilig Augustinus in sinner disputation wider Maximinum den Arianer.* Ibid., fol.82v.

¹⁹³ fols. 138v-140r.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., fol. 156v-157.

have no dealings. Although he does not argue so explicitly, the assumption of the work is that the Synod in Zürich fulfils the apostolic criteria.

Discipline, whether amongst the clergy or laity, was intended to edify and build up the Church rather than to break it. Bullinger's greatness as a reformer flows from his consistency in applying in practice what he argued in texts. In the Second Helvetic Confession he sets out the nature of discipline to be exercised amongst the clergy in the Synod:

'...there ought be to discipline among the ministers- for there should be intelligent inquiry in the synods touching the life and doctrine of the ministers- those that offend should be rebuked of the elders, and be brought into the way, if they be not past recovery; or else be deposed, and, as wolves, be driven from the Lord's flock by the true pastors if they be incurable. For, if they be false teachers, they are in no wise to be tolerated.'¹⁹⁵

The framework for Bullinger's ideas on the application of discipline was the crucial text of Matthew 18.15-19.¹⁹⁶ It was from here that Bullinger drew support for his belief that the Church was obliged continually to forgive and seek to reconcile sinners. Despite his willingness to place the reins of discipline in the hands of the civil authorities, Bullinger really had little faith in the ability of men to discern the spiritual state of others. Therefore he was loathe that the Church should drive out the reprobate until it seemed beyond doubt that they would be reconciled with the faith. As human judgement is based upon external acts, the Church could not be rash in its use of

¹⁹⁵ Leith, p.160.

¹⁹⁶ For a discussion of this biblical passage as the basis reformed church discipline, see Ph. Denis, 'Le recours à L'Écriture dans les Églises de la Réforme au XVIe siècle: Exégèse de Mt. 18, 15-17 et pratique de la Discipline', *Histoire de l'Exégèse au XVIe siècle. Textes du Colloque International Tenu à Genève en 1976*. O. Fatjo & P. Fraenkel (eds), 286-298.

excommunication. In opening his commentary upon this text of Matthew, Bullinger refers to a sermon of John Chrysostom in which his views on forgiveness find expression. Chrysostom writes on Matthew 18.21:

'Therefore let me add, he (Jesus) brought forward his own love to man, that by the comparison, as he saith, thou mightest learn, that though thou forgive seventy times seven, thou continually pardon thy neighbour for absolutely all his sins, as a drop of water to an endless sea, so much, or rather much more, doth thy love come short in comparison of the boundless goodness of God, of which thou standeth in need, for that thou are to be judged, and give an account.'¹⁹⁷

In his commentary on Matthew, Bullinger argues that when the Church must punish a sinner, it must first discern whether the error arises from weakness and ignorance or from obstinacy. Towards the weak, following Paul, Bullinger states that the Church must not exhibit undue harshness lest this cause greater harm. The bond of charity by which all Christians must live precludes giving offence. Discipline is intended to heal and not divide. However, concerning the obstinate (*Contumaces*), who are at war with the faith, the Church is empowered to act severely in order to protect the faithful. Bullinger defines the obstinate as wilful adversaries to the Church:

*Contumaces autem sunt qui nec veritatem nec libertatem sanctorum ignorant, attamen malitia quadam animi sese veritati opponunt, cupientes quidem aliquid sibi dari, non ut aliquando respiscant, sed ut oblata sibi occasione tandem et libertatem subvertant, et superstitionem suam fortius stabiliant.*¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Gospel of St. Matthew, The Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church* vol.34. pt.III. (Oxford, 1851), p.827.

¹⁹⁸ *In Sacrosanctum/ Jesu Christi Domini nostri Evangelium secundum Matthaeum/ Commentariorum libri XII/ per Heinrichum Bullingerum.* (Zürich, 1554). fol.173r. Bullinger makes the same point in his commentary on Titus: '*Diligenter enim miseri causa ac innocentis discernenda est à perditis et pervicacis. Nec quenquam pigere debet sustinere dominum aliquandiu, proximoque per*

Bullinger further describes that nature of the offences of the obstinate:

*Iam illicita et prohibita hominis facta quibus offendi possunt homines, ea sunt, quae contra leges dei, contra decorum, ius et phas fiunt, aliosque ad paria incitant studia atque flagitia. Huiusmodi videntur esse idololatria, adulteria, stupra, usura, ambitio, luxus vitae in victu et vestitu.*¹⁹⁹

Once the sinner has been identified, the Church must follow the steps set out in the Scriptures for admonishing. This was true both for the minister acting in the parish as well as for the Synod dealing with errant clergy. The three grades of discipline are private admonition, public exhortation and, finally, expulsion from the Church. Bullinger is clear in his hope that private admonition by fellow ministers would be enough to correct problems. It is based upon the love of friendship and ought to take account of the state of the person involved²⁰⁰. When the private admonition failed to yield fruit, then a stronger remedy was required in order to overthrow those impediments to the sinner's faith. This involved the calling of witnesses to establish

charitatem inservire. Debemus enim alic aliorum onera portare.' Heinrichi Bullingeri/ Commentarii/ In omnes Pauli Apostoli Epistolas, atque/ etiam in Epistolam ad Hebraeos. (Zürich, 1582). p.486.

HBBibl. I. no. 146.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid., fol.173r.*

²⁰⁰ *Primus gradus est familiaris, privata et amica admonitio. Offendit fidelis scelere aliquo patrato bonos, id vero tibi perspectissimum est, accedito ergo hominem, et argue ipsum inter te et ipsum solum. Et autem Arguere diserte edicere, ob oculos statuere peccatum, et citra figuram palàm explanare ut intelligat quo cum agis quàm egerit turpiter. Adicitur et finis ad quem tendat admonitio pariter et admonitionis fructus sive utilitas. Huc tendat ut lucrifacias fratrem, lucrifacias autem deo, eripias è consuetudine diaboli, cui hactenus per scelerum consortium fuit implicitus. Et hic quidem finis et modus quoque et admonitionis. Ubi enim fratrem lucratus fueris, non longius progreditur admonitio.'*
Ibid., fol.175r.

the nature of the sins involved and the delivering of a more public rebuke. Bullinger argues that Christians (or in the case of the clergy, the Synod) must not fail to be strong in administering this work of the Church.²⁰¹ When it becomes clear that the private and public forms of admonition are having no effect, then the Church is charged in the Gospel to cleanse itself of those who are polluting it with their sinfulness and endangering the faith of the godly. Bullinger again cites Chrysostom in support and argues that there comes a point at which a Church must act to defend its true nature.²⁰²

Bullinger greatly disliked the idea of the Church threatening people with damnation. This he considered to be presuming on God's judgement. Nevertheless, as

²⁰¹ *Secundus gradus est adhibitibus aliquot testibus, severior graviorque adhortatio. Si enim amica, familiari et privata admonitione nihil profeceris apud sceleratum assumito aliquot viros graves, quos apud reum autoritate valere novisti, et iam iis praesentibus vehementius urgeto quem à consuetudine scelerum depressum cupis. Testes autem istos adiungito tibi, ut vel eorum autoritate et praesentia adhortatione percellatur, vel si ea sit impudentia, qui postea negare possit hactenus ne tantillum quidem cum ipso de resipiscentia actum esse, ut tum duo isti aut tres, iuxta legis sententiam Deut. 17. testificari possint, omnia esse tentata quae ad emendationem pertinere videntur, sed frustra, illo omnem admonitionem ac adhortationem aspernante.* Ibid., fol.175r.

²⁰² *Tertius gradus est gravis coram ecclesia reprehensio. Si enim peccator fuerit intractabilis, durus, impenitens et frontis adeo perfrectae, ut omnem contemnat admonitionem et adhortationem, pergat autem turpi conversatione et sese et alios contaminare, iam totum negotium deferendum est ad ecclesiam, ut coram hac increpetur acerbius, et pudefiat palàm. Porrò Ecclesia cui deferendus est impurus et inflexibilis, non est universalis illa omnium sanctorum congregatio, sed optimorum sanctissimorumque virorum collegium, à qualibet ecclesia disciplinae ac correctioni huiusmodi destinatum. Nam et Chrysostomus hunc locum Dic ecclesia, enarrans. Dic praesulibus, inquit, et praesididentibus. Et nos in Comment. nostris ad I. Corin. cap. 5. plura de eo consignavimus, unde repeti possunt.* Ibid., fol.175r.

is clear from his comments on Matthew, he understood the necessity of separating the wolves from the sheep. Bullinger continues in the commentary to give a full account of his position on the Church's use of the more severe forms of discipline. He defines excommunication as the removal of a sinner from the body of the faithful. It is not a pronouncement of God's judgement upon that person; it is a legitimate tool of the Church, not to be applied lightly or for reasons outwith those pertaining to the faith. Bullinger attacks the use of excommunication in the Roman Church where innocent men were condemned for their faith; the Church, he counters, has no right to excommunicate a person who has not denied teachings of the Gospels: *'Non enim pro haereticis anathematizant qui nihil prae fracte contra canonem sacrum asserunt / neque fulmine anathematis feriunt, quos aegestas ad mendicitatem redegit, adeo ut rasis et unctis quod debent solvere nequeant.'*²⁰³ In contrast, the true grounds of excommunication are in the magistrates use of the sword to root out evil in the community:

*Damnat autem ecclesia veras haereses, excommunicat avaros, lenones, scortatores, ebrios, / breviter homines incurabiles, et scandalum praebentes pertinaciter. Recte enim distinguitur inter sceleratorum delictorumque genera vel species. Sunt enim qui pertinaces ultro in religionis verae, pacis publicae, bonorumque legum eversionem manifeste tendunt, qui blasphemiae in deum, haereseos pertinacis, concitationis seditionem, latrocinii, parricidii, aliorumque maleficiorum plene convicti sunt, et totum ecclesiae ac reipublicae corpus ita insiciunt contagione, ut his superstitibus ac salvis, illud subsistere, salumque esse nequeat. Tales vero iussit dominus gladio magistratus excindere.*²⁰⁴

Clerical discipline in the Zürich Synod was based upon the principle of fraternity which flowed from the equality of all ministers. Theoretically, the hierarchy in the reformed Church was to be merely an administrative convenience; no minister

²⁰³ Ibid., fol.175v.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

was by right superior to another. The ministers assembled in the Synod collectively retained the authority of the mediaeval bishop in supervising the work of their colleagues. They were bound by the principles set out in Scripture and charged with maintenance of the clerical office.

The movement from the diocesan synods of the fifteenth century to the works of Bullinger on discipline might at first glance seem a large one. This section has attempted to chart the historical and theological background to work of the clerical Synod in reformed Zürich. Its roots were well established in the mediaeval Church, but it was the success of Zwingli and then of Bullinger in taking up this tradition of synodal government and defining its place in their humanist inspired ecclesiology that ensured its prominence in the sixteenth century. Zwingli's doctrines of God, the Church and the Christian life provided the back bone for institutional reform in Zürich. The extended treatment of his thought in this section is intended to flesh out those principles which formed the underpinning of Church life. The Zürich reformers did not separate ecclesiology from theology; hence, no study of the institutions can ignore their intellectual origins. This forms the essential basis to the study of the structure and composition of the Synod.

3.0 The Structure and Composition of the Synod.

3.1 Introduction

The Synod met regularly under Zwingli's guidance until the second Kappel War nearly brought to an end the Reformation in the Zürich. When Bullinger and Jud re-drafted the synodal ordinances in the autumn of 1532 they preserved the essential form of the Zwinglian Synods, though its place in the church was defined by the delicate religious and political situation of the 1530s. This section seeks to outline the structure and format of the Synod in Zürich beginning with its founding in 1528. The intention is to discern the practical workings of the institution as it met twice a year in the city. Such an investigation must also take account of the other ecclesiastical and political bodies with which the Synod cooperated in its disciplinary work. To this end, an attempt will be made to give a brief outline of those principle structures and offices in both the city and land of Zürich concerned with the religious life of the canton. This is not a political history but an attempt to provide the context in which the Synod operated in sixteenth century Zürich.

3.2 The Zwinglian Synods.

The records of the Synods held between 1528 and 1531 give the impression of lively meetings marked by the energy of the new church in dealing with the numerous problems posed by bringing about the reforms. The first Synod of 1528 was a gathering of the ministers and preachers of the city and country on April 21 in the Rathaus in the city.¹ One hundred and eighteen ministers met to hear the new

¹ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1391, p.600-610.

synodal ordinance read, to take the oath of office and hear complaints against their brethren. This Synod was given the basic form common to all later meetings in the sixteenth century. First the names of the ministers attending were enumerated, statements from the Council were heard, the oath administered, then the *Censura*, and finally other considerations pertaining to the life of the church. The protocol of the Synod delineated the obligations of the clergy with regard to the Synod. The opening statement of the Council mandate establishes the connection between the Synod and the recent disputation at Bern; the comprehensive statement of faith delivered at Bern had become the standard by which ministers must live:

Sidmal unser Herren ein offen mandat lassen usgon, darin si alle widerspännigen habend warnen lassen, wo inen etwas wider die verjechnen artikel, die man in stadt und land predget, angelegen wäre, sich dieselben uf die disputation gen Bern verfüegen und da irer meinung rechnung geben und nemen wölltind; und da nieman die artikel dero von Bern prädicanten widerfochten, sind si guoter hoffnung, es sye nieman, der die understande fürhin ze widerfechten oder darwider ze tuon; wo aber jeman dess gesinnet, wellend mine Herren, dass sich derselb oder (die)selben harfürstellind und von unseren prädicanten bericht nemind, ouch irer meinung inen rechnung gebind.²

The ordinances proceed to the question of how candidates for the ministry were to be examined concerning their life and doctrine. If the appointed examiners were satisfied with a candidate's learning, inquiries were made concerning his moral rectitude before a positive recommendation for ordination could be made. As for ministers already in the parish, the Synod was required to know whether they were upholding the marriage laws through the regular reading of the ordinances. The ministers were told they were to be diligent in resisting the Anabaptists through the proper teaching of the Scriptures. Finally, the Council made it clear that all of the clergy, whether assistants, monks or members of the chapters (*Chorherren*), were responsible to the Synod and would be

² Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1391, 21 April, 1528, p.602.

examined when necessary.³ Then the ministers took the oath of office promising obedience to the Synod and the magistrates.⁴ Following the official part of the meeting, the Synod commenced the *Censura* in which it entertained complaints against the ministers. The number of ministers mentioned in the *Censura* is quite remarkable when compared with later Synods under Bullinger. Also, the record of the Synod lists the various problems and complaints but does not suggest that the Synod did anything more than admonish. There is no evidence in this first Synod of the forms of discipline, such as imprisonment in Wellenberg or dismissal employed latter.

On the 19th of May of the same year a second Synod was held, this time for the other clergy such as canons, monks, assistants (*caplane*) and members of the various religious orders still present in Zürich.⁵ As with the earlier Synod, the roll call of names was followed by instruction in the duties of the pastoral office. The Council stated that only those properly ordained and called by itself were to attend the Synod. Those present were not to depart from the Synod until the Council had dismissed them; doing so remained a punishable offence. Any minister knowing a colleague not attending was to inform the Council and speak with him.⁶

All ministers were to take the oath in which they promised to preach truly from the Old and New Testaments following proper Christian understanding and according to the mandates of the Council. Also, they were not to mix in any teaching or dogma which had not already been approved of by the one of the

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p.603.

⁵ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1414, 19 May, 1528, p.618-623.

⁶ Ibid., p.620

biannual meetings of the Synod: *dawider kein dogma und leer, die zwyflig und noch nit uf der ban und erhalten syg, nit inmischen, si sye dann zuovor gmeiner, ordenlichen versammlung der prädicanten, so jährlich zweimal gehalten wirt, anzöigt und von derselbigen erhalten.*⁷ The minister was also to promise obedience to the Council and submit himself to the discipline of the Synod when in error.

It was through the Synod that the Council carried on a dialogue with the clergy concerning the practical problems of the church. A good example of this is the Synod of September 11, 1529. On August 18 the Council issued a statement expressing its concern with the consequences of poor relations between the clergy and the patrons (*Lehenherren*) over tithes off the income of the parishes.⁸ The Council was aware of the situation of clergy not able to support themselves, and it sought a resolution whereby the ministers might be able to fulfil their duties whilst patrons continued to receive their due income without without either side being unduly burdened. In the September Synod there was a discussion of the matter and the Council proposed a solution by which these cases were to be decided by judges appointed by the magistrates to act in their name. The magistrates stated that there were too many cases for them to be loaded down with this obligation. Further, the Council granted to the Ehegericht the authority to settle these disputes over parish income (*prfuondsachen*) between the *Lehenherren* (patron) and the clergy:

dass si dann sölich prfuondsachen dem egericht befehlen und übergeben hettind, darin zuo erkennen und ze richten, wie si ouch umb die esachen richtend und erkennend, und dass ouch allda die gewonlich tax mit dem kosten brucht und

⁷ Ibid., p.621.

⁸ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1600, 18August, 1529, p.672-4.

niemand's zuo höherem oder türerem kosten, dann man sunst gewonlich am egericht pfligt ze geben, und villicht umb vertürung willen des kostens vom rechten abzestan genötet wurde.⁹

The Synod of 1529 also considered reports on the misbehaviour of the people surrounding the festival days of the church, the mandates against gaming, the plight of ministers without any assistants in their parishes, the continuing presence of Catholic forms of worship (altars, religious pictures etc.) in the canton and the troubles posed by the Anabaptists.¹⁰ The obligations of the clergy in the regulating the moral life of the community was spelled out in the discussion of drinking and feasting. The Synod was aware of the problem, amongst clergy and laity alike, of people arriving drunk at church on Sundays and other festival days. To counter this offence, the Council informed the clergy of strict regulations concerning the consumption of alcohol. All people were forbidden to take any alcohol on Sundays and feastdays between their breakfast (*morgenbrot*) and hearing the sermon in the church. As to the amount permissible, the regulations stipulated that no one should drink any more than a nightcap (*schlaftrunk*).¹¹ Nuns were disallowed from drinking any wine at all, and if a person was to see a nun in a tavern (*wirtshus*) they were to report her immediately to the Vogt, the minister or the Ehegaumer.¹² Although nuns were singled out for attention in this mandate, this regulation prohibiting drinking was applied to all the clergy. The tremendous number of complaints against the drinking of ministers in the sixteenth century undoubtedly resulted from this regulation being ignored. The Vogts, the

⁹ Egli, Actensammlung, 1604, 11 September, 1529, p.675/6.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.676/7.

¹¹ Ibid., p.678.

¹² Ibid.

civil representatives in the rural areas were likewise admonished for their laziness and told that they were to be a good example to their communities.¹³

The records for the October Synod of 1530, held unusually over two days, have preserved the most complete account of the agenda of the Zwinglian Synods. The records for the Synod give the following structure:¹⁴

I. Introductory Business.

A. The Executive

1. Attending from the Council: Hans Ochsner, Kaspar Nasal Konrad Gull
Hans Haab

2. Leaders of the Church: Ulrich Zwingli (Grossmünster)

D. Engelhart (Fraumünster)

L. Jud (St. Peter's)

3. Clerk (*Stadtschreiber*): Hans Utinger

B. Formalities.

2. Reading of mandates.

3. Reading of names of those absent from the Synod.

4. The taking of the oath by those who had not yet done so.

C. Business from earlier Synods.

II. Censure of morals.

III. General Questions.

¹³ *welle es doch unser(n) undervögten und amptlütten niena recht liggen, sunder sygind si wol als bald die ersten, die unsern mandaten zuowider handlint und damit der welt ein bös, ärgerlich exempel und byspil gebind, das uns zum höchsten an si beschwache, und si daruf zum allerernstlichisten ermanen, nun hinfür ernstlicher ze sin, sich zuo bessern und flyssiger ufsehen ze haben, damit unsern gebotten stif nachgangen, daran niemand verschont werd; Ibid., p.678.*

¹⁴ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1714, 25-26 October, 1530, p.726-738

IV. Letter to the Council.

V. Advice of the Executive.

This outline of the 1530 Synod illustrates the practical function of the Synod as a mediator between the city and the rural parishes. The composition of the executive by the leading members of the Council and the church ensured the direct exchange of information between the clergy and the magistrates. The first parts of the meeting, from the exhortation and the enumeration of ministers present to the censure of morals was the Council exercising control over the clergy through the functions of instruction and discipline in the Synod. The ministers were told of the mandates they were to read from their parishes and instructed in the true faith by Zwingli - all under the auspices of the Bürgermeister.

In the general questions the clergy were able to voice their own concerns to the Synod, making the senior clergy and magistrates aware of the problems in the rural areas. In 1530 the matters brought for consideration by the Synod concerned marriage requirements for young men and woman, the problem of tithes, excommunication, the Grafschaft Baden, the Anabaptists, the problem of ministers serving in military campaigns and subsequently having to leave their parishes, and relations between the patrons and their benefices.¹⁵ Many of these issues were raised again in the draft of the letter sent by the ministers to the Council. In addition to those matters already mentioned, the letter asked the Council to warn the Vogts and Junkers in the parishes who were neither upholding the church ordinances in the community nor personally adhering to them.¹⁶ The letter also makes the case that ministers were struggling in the

¹⁵ Ibid., p.734.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.734-737.

parishes without any assistance: *Die frommen pfarrer, (so) gern ir allerbests tuond, hand kein hilf, dessglichen die egoumer und verordneten werdend erschücht und alle satzungen und mandaten vernütet etc.*¹⁷ The ministers were also able to provide information regarding the continuity of Catholic practices in certain parishes such as in Urikon where the reformed church appears not to have been established with the result that certain parishes were attending at one neighbouring church whilst others travelled to another. The Catholic chapel in Urikon still possessed its altar and the table for the reformed sacrament had not been installed: *Es sind ouch die altar in der capell zuo Ürikon nit gar zerbrochen und die tafelen noch behalten, villicht ouch da der ander messplunder vorhanden etc.*¹⁸

In reply, the Council answered each of the points raised by the clergy and presented instructions concerning the resolution of the various problems. In the case of the church at Urikon, the Obervogt was to gather the people on the next St. John's day and administer the oath that they be obedient to the faith and attend the services of the reformed church.¹⁹ In the final Synod before the catastrophe of Kappel one finds again in the considerations (entitled *Sententiae*) a wide ranging discussion of topics touching on the Anabaptists, the problems with the monks of Rüti, the organization of parishes, Charles V's wars against the Turks and the response of the Catholic cantons, and the disparity in incomes amongst the parishes of the Freiamt.²⁰

¹⁷ Ibid., p.735

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.737.

²⁰ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1757, 18-19 April 1531, p.752-4.

The breadth and frankness of the exchanges between the clergy and the magistrates found in the pre-Kappel period were not replicated in the records of the Bullinger Synods. The Zwinglian synods emerged at the zenith of the Zürich Reformation. Following the triumph of the Bern disputation the Zürich reformers under Zwingli's leadership were engaged in aggressive policy of expansion that succeeded in bringing the Thurgau, Glarus and Rheintal into the reformed camp.²¹ Zwingli and his colleagues, with the support of the magistrates in the Council, enjoyed an authority in setting the religious and political agenda of Zürich unparalleled following his death. The peace of Kappel in 1531 augered in a different world. Yet Zwingli bequeathed to his successors a flexible institution in the Synod. Its structure, purpose and place in the Zürich church was well established. Bullinger's recognition of the necessity of the Synod for the control of clergy is evident from the speed with which he and Leo Jud drew up the ordinances for its restoration in the autumn of 1532.

3.3. The Synodal Ordinances of 1532.

The aggressive expansion which characterized the Zürich church in the late 1520s was replaced following the battle of Kappel with internal dissension and anxiety over the future of the reformation in the city and its territories. The triumphs of the pre-Kappel period concealed many of the inherent weaknesses of the Reformation in Zürich. The defeat opened a Pandora's box, and, although the Council affirmed in the peace negotiations its adherence to the reformed faith, the new church leadership was forced to face opposition from both political leaders and rural communities.

²¹ Cf. M. Haas, *Huldrych Zwingli und seine Zeit*, (Zürich: 1969), p.211-13.

The appointment of Heinrich Bullinger as chief minister in the Grossmünster, and thereby as *de facto* head of the Zürich church, reflected the Council's desire to have at once continuity and change. Continuity was ensured by Bullinger's strength as a preacher, scholar and teacher of orthodox Zwinglian theology. Bullinger's appointment secured doctrinal continuity with the Zwinglian period, but with regard to the practical applications of the church's teaching there would be change. No less a believer in the magisterial nature of reform and the control of the church by the political authorities, Bullinger perceived the success of the Zürich cause lay not with military victories but in the proper use of the tools of Christian humanism. He believed in the ultimate teachableness of the faith and the power of the truth of the Gospel to bring harmony. The reformation was to be secured in Zürich through well educated ministers truly expounding the Gospel from the pulpits, teaching the catechism and carrying out correction of morals in the community. Confessional unity between states depended upon leading churchmen employing their skills as scholars to work out through debate and the exchange of letters and treatises common statements of faith to be brought before their political masters.

The problems in Zürich inherited by Bullinger were considerable. Most prominent was the division between the city and the countryside. The rural territories felt that they had been led into an unnecessary war by a urban dominated government and church which did not represent their interests, despite the fact that the majority of the population resided outwith the walls of the city. The rural opposition to the magistrates and church leaders manifested itself in dangerous tendencies that left unchecked could undermine the Reformation. The anti-clericalism so characteristic of the pre-Reformation period and the Peasants' War of 1525 which Zwingli had successfully harnessed to the reformation cause was now directed towards the reformed clergy. The growth in numbers of people

returning to Catholic practices or associating themselves with Anabaptist sects was a worrying result of the defeat.

Within the walls of the city the ruling Council was determined to increase its control over the church. This manifested itself in a clearer statement of the limits to the ministers' freedom to preach the Gospel. To the minds of many politicians the precise relationship between the church and the Council required greater definition in order to delineate the respective spheres of jurisdiction. This precipitated the first crisis between the church and Council on November 28 of 1531 when rural officials gathered at Meilen petitioned the magistrates with eight articles, the fourth of which concerned the limiting of ministers to preaching solely on the Gospel and not on political matters.²² The article reads:

Zum vierten, gnädigen lieben Herren, ist unser früntlich pitt und beger, dass ir nunfürhin in üwer stadt prädicanten annemind, die fridsam sygind und uf frid und ruow stellind, und die ufrüerischen pfaffen, so üch und uns, die gern frid und ruow hettind, offentlich an der kanzlen gottlosend, hinweg üegind, dessglichen uf dem land unsern prädicanten ouch sömlichs sagind, dass si uns das gottswort verkündint lut beder Testamenten, und sich die pfaffen, wie vorgemeldet, keiner weltlichen sachen underwindint noch beladint, in stadt und uf dem land, im R. und darnebent, und üch, unser Herren, lassind regieren, als dann einer frommen oberhand zuostand, und keinem pfaffen nufürhin dhein pfruond witer verlichind, dann von einem jar zum andren, und ouch uns uf dem land mit keinen pfaffen übersetzind, so einer gmeind nit angnem sind²³

This article amounted to a direct attack upon the office of the preacher as expounded by Zwingli. Bullinger, who had given his first sermon in the Grossmünster as a guest preacher on November 23, replied that he could not

²² Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1797, p.769-770.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.769.

accept the leadership of the Zürich church under such constraints. On the 13th of December, four days after he was appointed to the Grossmünster, Bullinger made his first representation before the Council concerning the freedom of the preacher.²⁴ He argued for biblical authority of ministers preaching on political themes, and that the Zürich ministers in preaching the unbound Word of God were upholding the tradition passed from the prophets of the Old Testament through the apostles and the teachers of the Church. However, Bullinger himself was well aware of the dangers of this teaching, and he proposed to the Council a *modus vivendi* which took account of the concerns of both parties. In the petition to the Council he included a draft of an oath of office for the clergy which made two important points.²⁵ Firstly, the ministers agreed to the holding of biannual synods where political matters could be discussed. This synod would police the content of preaching in the pulpits of Zürich and her territories. Secondly, in return for submitting themselves to this disciplinary body, the ministers were to be allowed to preach the Word in an uninhibited manner as required of them as preachers. This was the crisis situation out of which the Synod in Zürich was to be reconstituted. The Synod was an essential component for the restoration of the reformed church.

This delicate arrangement was dealt a body blow on June 23, 1532, when Leo Jud preached against moral laxity in Zürich and held the Council responsible for the dreadful situation in which the church found itself. Jud's sermon followed an earlier disagreement with Bullinger over the authority of the Christian magistrate and the place of excommunication in the church.²⁶ In March of 1532 Jud wrote a

²⁴ HBRG, III, p.293-95. Cf. Bächtold, *Bullinger vor dem Rat*, p.15-18.

²⁵ Cf. Biel, p.29-33.

²⁶ W. Baker 'Church, State and Dissent..' p.142

*zuo verwilligen und zuo bestäten hüt datum
für(ge)bracht, und so dann all unser gemüet und
fürnemen, sid bekannter warheit har (bezügen wir an
Gott), allweg und noch dahin gereicht, dass wir
vorab Gottes eer, sin ewige warheit und damit ein
fromms, erbars, gottseligs leben by und under den
unsern gefürdern und züchten und die
gottverletzlichen laster abstellen möchten, und wir in
uns anders nit finden können, dann dass` solich
nachvermerkt christenlich ordnung und verbesserung
göttlicher gschrift und warheit gemäss, mit derselben
begründt, ouch zuo üfning und pflanzung eines
göttlichen, christenlichen lebens dienstlich syge...²⁹*

The Council confirmed the ordinances as constituting the official basis of the clerical office and the Synod.³⁰

Bullinger's ordinances open, not unimportantly, with an affirmation that all freedom for men depends upon the right ordering of authority. For the Christian this means the upholding of the true faith and the subjection of the state to the rule of godly magistrates. The ordinances are accordingly divided into three parts: the election and induction of ministers, the life and learning of the ministers, and finally the constitution of the Synod. The first part, concerning the calling and induction of the minister, begins with an admonition concerning the gravity of the office from Hebrews³¹ and proceeds through the steps by which each minister is to be examined concerning his learning and moral character. Once a minister was chosen by the Council to serve in a particular parish, he was to be introduced into the community jointly by the dean of the chapter and the local Vogt as

²⁹ Egli, Actensammlung, 1899, 6 November, p.826.

³⁰ Ibid.,

³¹ 'No-one takes this honour upon himself; he must be called by God, just as Aaron was.' Hebrews 5.4.

representative of the magistrates.³² The Vogt announced to the community the election of the minister and obliged the parishioners to make known any objections they held against the particular candidate. The following Sunday the ordination took place at the regular hour of worship beginning with the presentation of the candidate. The symbolic act of joint presentation was of the greatest importance in illustrating to the community the minister's status as a servant of the church and the state.³³ Providing no objections to the candidate were forthcoming from the congregation, the dean was to preach on the duties of the pastoral office and confirm the appointment by the laying on of hands.³⁴ The Vogt then addressed the candidate and the people reminding them of their mutual obligations of obedience to the mandates of the Council. The new minister was then to take the oath of office at the next session of the Synod in the city.³⁵

The second portion of the preaching ordinances speaks of the life, learning and pastoral duties required of ministers.³⁶ The headings treated in this section touch all the essential points of the clerical office and formed the standard by which the Synod held every minister to account. These points are: learning, the extirpation of false belief in parish, the reading of mandates, care of the poor, the guarding against blasphemy, the upholding of morals, the overseeing of the oath in the community, regular preaching and prayers, the instruction of children, the teaching of the catechism, weekday preaching, the visitation of the sick, the burial of the dead, working with assistants, the proper holding of services for children

³² Ibid., p.828.

³³ Cf. K. Maeder, 'Bullinger und die Synode', p.73.

³⁴ Egli, p.828.

³⁶ Ibid., p.829.

³⁷ Ibid., p.829-833.

and of the sacraments, personal morality and the obligation to engage in regular study. The demands placed upon ministers by this ordinance were impressive, and the Synod faced the daunting task of upholding this high standard. It was its success and failure in enforcing this standard which forms the material of the next section.

The third and final parts of the ordinances concern the official constituting of the Synod. The purpose of the Synod was to preserve the discipline, unity, the regular admonishment and punishment under which the ministers were to serve.³⁷ The sessions of the Synod were to be held biannually on the first Monday following May day (May 1) and the first Monday following the feast of St. Gall (October 18). All ministers, assistants and teachers in the theological schools were required to attend, and there were to be two chairmen, one from amongst the clergy and the other from the magistrates. Seven other members of the Council were requested to attend the meetings. The agenda of the meetings was briefly sketched as follows: an invocation to God, the enumeration of ministers present, the administering of the oath of office, a presentation from the Council on important matters, and, finally, the censure of ministers.³⁸

3.4 The Documents of the Synod.

The principal surviving records of the Zürich Synods in the sixteenth century are contained in two volumes found in the Staatsarchiv entitled *Synodalakten*. In the first volume are the records from 1530 to 1575, whilst the second contains the records from 1575 to 1630.³⁹ During his life Bullinger

³⁷ Ibid., p.834.

³⁸ Ibid., p.834-35.

³⁹ The manuscript numbers for these two volumes are StAZ. (Staatsarchiv Zürich) E. II.I. and E.II.Ia.

assiduously drew up good copies of the proceedings for the church's own record. Bullinger's text strongly reflects the interests of their author; the records of cases are interpolated with biblical texts and moral commentary belying Bullinger's own thoughts on the matter at hand. The *Synodalakten* are the only continuous account of the biannual meetings of the Synod and this study is based largely upon the material found therein. However, there are other records which not only add considerably to an understanding of the work of the Synod, but serve as a corrective to the impression given by Bullinger's tendency to concentrate on the *Censura* portion of the meetings. The most important of the supporting documents are Bullinger's own preparatory notes for the synodal meetings and the drafts of the synodal records drawn up by the Stadtschreiber (clerk) who was present at the meetings.⁴⁰

The preparatory notes of Bullinger were written in Latin and are the best evidence for the agenda of each of the meetings. Bullinger gives a Latin title for each part of the sessions: *Invocatio*, *Catalogus*, *Sacramentum*, *Externi*, *Senatus*, and *Censura*. There is no mention of the cases or the current matters to be discussed, but Bullinger included -frequently in cryptic form- drafts of the opening prayers and the exhortative address he delivered to the assembled clergy.

The records of the Stadtschreiber are extant only for the 1560s. Nevertheless, when compared with Bullinger's own record of the meetings in the *Synodalakten* they yield interesting information. The Stadtschreiber's texts are full of emendations, and their uneven hand and marginalia suggests that they were written in haste during the proceedings. If this is the case, they likely form the

⁴⁰ Bullinger's notes are found in the Handschriftenabteilung in the Zentral Bibliothek in Zürich. The catalogue number for the volume is Ms. D.220. The notes of the Stadtschreiber are found in the Staatsarchiv in a collection of unbound documents entitled *Synodalia 1520-97*. (StAZ. E.I.2.1a.).

basis from which later drafts were made. The clearly written text of Bullinger's records, in which there are few corrections and little marginalia, were likely drawn up after the meetings when he could revise the Stadtschreiber's work. Bullinger, as co-chairman of the session would have had little time to pen detailed notes. He would have based his records upon both the official texts and any of his own personal notes; yet there are some important differences between the two accounts. In the Stadtschreiber's work the accounts of the Synod run to greater length as he took care to detail all the evidence presented and record all the names mentioned. This is especially true of the *Considerationes* where one finds the representations of the deans given full coverage. Bullinger, on the other hand, tends to summarize the debates and be less interested in particular details. An example of this is from the Synod of May 4, 1568. There was much consideration of the presence of Anabaptists in the parishes of the Freiamt. The Stadtschreiber records the reports from the ministers giving the names of local people's known to be in sympathy with the sectarians.⁴¹ Bullinger, on the other hand, in his account only gives a few lines to the problem and does not mention the names. There really was no need for him to have done so as belonging to the Anabaptists was a civil offence for which the people would have been punished by the Council. He was writing the record for the church. The Stadtschreiber also drafted a good copy of his notes, given the title *Anbringen* which served as the report to the Council.

The importance of reading these other documents written by the Stadtschreiber is in the revelation that Bullinger did not think it necessary to record everything found in the Stadtschreiber's notes in his own draft. He was particularly interested in the *Censura* because it pertained to correction of ministers. As to the matters between the parishes and the Council, he apparently saw no

⁴¹ StAZ. E.I.2.1a. 4 May, 1568.

reason to repeat the detailed work of the official clerk. He provides a summary where he felt it necessary. The important correction offered by this observation relates to the prominence of the *Censura* as the central point of the Synod's business. From Bullinger's records this would seem to have been the case, but, when seen in relation to the few other pieces of surviving official documentation, one sees that the Synod gave almost equal time to the exchange of important information concerning life in the parishes. It is unfortunate that only a small collection of these documents have come down to posterity. In their absence one must depend upon Bullinger's texts as the basis for investigating the work of the Synod.

3.5 The Agenda of the Synod.

When the clergy, lecturers and representatives of the Council had gathered in the Rathaus situated beside the Limmat on the appointed days, the meetings of the Synod were opened with an invocation, delivered by Bullinger, beseeching God's blessing upon their work. The prayers written by Bullinger for these invocations are of interest, for they outline the Synod's perception of itself as a gathering of the true church in continuity with the assemblies of the early apostles. The prayers are rarely identical, but the standard form was as follows:

*Quando convenimus pro conservando Christi corpore: respectandum est an omnia ad caput ad ipsum christum, qui orandus est, ut spiritu suo nobis adsit, quo omniam gloriam nominis eius et corporis utilitatem pertinet.*⁴²

The most frequently employed biblical passage in these invocations was from Acts 20 when Paul gathered the elders of Ephesus at Miletus to make a

⁴² ZBZ. Ms. D-220, May. 1538.

confession of faith and admonish them to maintain the preaching of the Gospel in his absence.⁴³ This passage speaks directly to the problem of the ministers needing to be vigilant against the snares (or wolves) of the world. Interestingly, Bullinger drew upon other sources for his invocations which pertained to antiquity and authority of the Synod. In 1540 he quoted a passage from Justinian's Code of 530.⁴⁴ The intention of this mixture of sacred and profane writings was to demonstrate, as he states in the invocation of October, 1542, that the antiquity and authority of the Synod was derived from both divine and human witnesses: *Novit charitas veram antiquam sit iustitutum synodorum confirmatum divinis e humanis testimonys.*⁴⁵

The next business of the Synod was the taking of attendance. This was referred to as the *Catalogus*, and the names of the ministers attending was arranged according to the chapters to which their parishes belonged. There are only a few of these lists surviving from which it can be concluded that about one hundred and fifty ministers, deans, and lectures attended each of the sessions. The importance of the Synod for disciplinary purposes and for the exchange of information between the city and the country is seen in the rigour with which the church leaders and the Council impressed upon the clergy that attendance was obligatory. One can see from the table listing the complaints against ministers that

⁴³ Keep watch over yourselves and all the flock of which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers. Be shepherds of the church of God, which he bought with his own blood.' Acts 20.28.

⁴⁴ The text is difficult to read and Bullinger offers little assistance as his citation is to chapter 1.2,3. which does not exist.

⁴⁵ ZBZ. Ms. D-220. October, 1542.

non attendance (*Ußblyben*) continued throughout the period.⁴⁶ The Bürgermeister in 1536 told the Synod that ministers not able to travel into the city to attend the Synod had to inform their dean, who would testify to the good cause of their absence.⁴⁷ Those who did not provide an adequate excuse were to be fined.⁴⁸

Following the *Catalogus* was the *Sacramentum*, the taking of the oath of office by ministers recently inducted into their parish. It has been stated that the taking of the oath marked the final stage of a candidate's ordination. He was required to do this at the first meeting of the Synod after the ceremony of formal introduction by the Vogt and dean in the parish. The content of the oath has already been described.⁴⁹ Bullinger retained the form of the oath written by Zwingli.⁵⁰ The oath signified admission to the body of the clergy; the candidate was expressing both his acceptance of the doctrines of the Zürich church and his willingness to submit himself to the discipline of the Synod. A minister's errors, whether of his own volition or not, were a breaking of the bond, symbolized by the oath, which united him with his colleagues and to the church. The taking of oaths was an integral part of Zürich society; just as the minister took an oath of loyalty to the magistrates and teachings of the church, so also did all members of the community take an oath of obedience which was administered by the Ehegaumer.

⁴⁶ see below p.279

⁴⁷ StAZ.E.II.I.201 9 May, 1536.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ see above p.89/90.

⁵⁰ Cf. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1414, p.621.

The section of the Synod's agenda from which there is the least evidence is the *Externi*, the discussion of foreign matters pertaining to the church. It would be fascinating to know whether Bullinger kept the clergy informed of developments which became known to him through his correspondence. Unfortunately, neither the synodal records nor his own personal notes give any clues to what transpired at this point. There is one reference to the progression of talks with the Lutherans over sacramental doctrines. However, this text is somewhat oblique and offers little to suggest whether Bullinger did this frequently. This may well be an example of a part of the proceeding which Bullinger saw little point in writing up.

There is considerably more evidence for the next part of the meeting. In the section entitled *Senatus* the Council brought important matters to the attention of the clergy and admonished the ministers as a whole for failing in their duties. This represented a corporate disciplining of the clergy, and was consistent with the role assigned to the magistrates by Zwingli and Bullinger as the guardians of the church. The representatives of the Council present at the Synod were amongst the most important political figures in Zürich. In Appendix 1 a list of those in attendance is given.⁵¹ Fabian argues that the original intention was for four members of the Greater and three from the Lesser Councils to attend together with the 'old' *Bürgermeister* (that is the *Bürgermeister* who had just completed his six month term).⁵² The list in the Appendix indicates that the *Bürgermeister* was not always present, though at least one of the *Oberstzunft-* and *Säckelmeisters* was always there. These two offices had taken shape during the tumultuous times of

⁵¹ E. Fabian provides a list of the *Oberstzunftmeisters* present at the Synod meetings. *Geheime Räte in Zürich, Bern, Basel und Schaffhausen*, (Basel and Marburg/L., 1974), p.215-223.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.215.

the fifteenth century.⁵³ The Oberstzunfmeisters, as the name suggests, were the leaders of the guild representatives on the Greater and Lesser Councils and their office ranked next only to that of the Bürgermeister.⁵⁴ There were four at one time. The Säckelmeister was the treasurer of the Zürich Council who controlled the budget for the city and its rural territories.⁵⁵ The other member of the Council present at the meetings was the Stadtschreiber, who was the principle clerk. He was responsible for recording the proceedings and producing copies of the mandates of the Council. The Stadtschreiber's office was the central chancellery of Zürich consisting of the incumbent, a subordinate (Unterschreiber), and two other assistants.⁵⁶ Guyer argues that the office of Stadtschreiber was more influential than might first be thought. Far from being a mere scribe, the Stadtschreiber enjoyed the confidence of the Bürgermeister, and his office was a highly valued step on the ladder of political preferment in Zürich.⁵⁷

The presence of these men at the Synod ensured direct communication between the Council and the clergy. The magistrates would be informed immediately of all problems in the church. The remaining part of the delegation consisted of other members of the Council. In commenting upon the role of the Council members at the Synod, Baltischweiler argues that their authority

⁵³ For a discussion of the procedural workings of the Zürich Council in the sixteenth century, see R. Hauswirth, 'Wie verhandelte das Parlement des Alten Zürich?', *Zürcher Taschenbuch*, 93, (1973), 30-49.

⁵⁴ On the development of the office of the Oberstzunftmeister, see Fabian, p.17-20.

⁵⁵ Potter, *Zwingli*, p.51.

⁵⁶ P. Guyer, 'Politische Führungsschichten der Stadt Zürich vom 13. bis 18. Jahrhundert.' in R. H. Rössler (ed.), *Deutsches Patriziat 1430-1740*, (Limburg/Lahn, 1968), p.407/8.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

diminished during the sixteenth century.⁵⁸ He states that in the early years of the Synod the Council's assessors actively engaged in the business of the meetings as colleagues of the clergy, but, as the century developed, they increasingly assumed the function of observers.⁵⁹ Appendix 2, with its list of statements made by the Council members to the Synod, would seem to offer evidence contrary to Baltischweiler's conclusions. This list, the contents of which will be discussed in the next section concerning the cases, indicates the range of issues upon which the Council offered its opinions. Most frequently the Council reminded ministers of their obligations, though often the intervention took the form of a reply to a petition (or *Fürtrag*) from the clergy. These exchanges could be heated, such as when Bürgermeister Hab told the ministers in 1556 that they were not to preach on the issue of church goods, or during the discussions over poor relief in the 1550s and 60s. The Council members appear to have continued their active role in the Synod throughout the period considered; if they had relieved themselves of this function they would have deprived the Synod of one of its principle activities.

When the Council members had completed their representations before the Synod, the meeting proceeded to the *Censura*, or correction of ministers. As this portion of the Synod's work is examined in detail in the next section, only a brief overview will be given here. From Bullinger's personal notes it is clear that the *Censura* commenced with an address from Bullinger himself on the duties of the minister. His notes suggest that he went through the schematic outline of the office and expounded the relevant biblical texts. The notes further suggest that he gave much the same address at each of the meetings; this would account for the

⁵⁸ W. Baltischweiler, *Die Institutionen der evangelisch-reformierten Landeskirche des Kantons Zürich in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. (Diss. Zürich, 1904), p.63.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

appearance of the schema in virtually every entry. Following the address the Synod would begin to consider the cases presented. It is likely that Bullinger and the other members of the Examiner's Committee cooperated to prepare the material. Most of the letters containing either the evidence against a minister or support of his good character were addressed to Bullinger as head of the church. Bullinger then collected the relevant material and then presided over the case in the Synod. If there was disciplinary trouble in the parishes the Synod could be informed through various channels. The dean or one of the ministers might report a colleague, though civil officials such as the Vögte would also make regular communications. Disaffected parishioners petitioned the Synod concerning grievances with ministers, though most frequently these were reported by the dean of the chapter.

In accordance with the pastoral principles of discipline discussed in the previous section the Synod would initially attempt to contain the problem in the parish. This would be done by asking either the dean or the Vogt to speak with the minister in error, attempt to discern the facts of the case, and deliver a private admonishment if necessary. In an age of poor communications, it was important for the Synod to distinguish between gossip, slander and true cases of pastoral indiscretion. If the situation was not remedied, or if the minister was known for his lax behaviour, then questions were asked in the meeting and a public rebuke given. When it became clear that the Synod was dealing with a serious case, the first step was to send investigators, generally the Untervogt or dean, to the parish to gather information by interviewing locals. The best documented case of this sort is that of Balthasar Kuchmeister in 1555.⁶⁰ In the investigation of Kuchmeister, as in many other cases, the investigators went to the public houses and the church to gather the opinions of the parishioners.

⁶⁰ See below p.248-250

Once a minister appeared in the Synod he would be questioned by the members of the Examiner's Committee, who were the executive of the Synod. It was these men who really had the final say in determining whether a minister was guilty or not and what form of punishment was suitable. The committee formally made a recommendation to the Council on the course of action to be followed, though the presence of two members of the Council upon the committee generally, though not always, gave to these recommendations the force of law.

The forms of discipline employed were wide ranging, though the intention for each was to induce repentance and the seeking of reconciliation. The mildest of the medicines was the public rebuke. This was followed by the transferring of the minister to another parish. Of the more severe remedies, the first was the placing of the minister in Wellenberg, a tower which stood in the Limmat facing the Wasserkirche.⁶¹ Finally, the Synod might recommend that a minister be removed from his parish and cut off from any financial assistance. This was the most draconian measure and was frequently employed. The hardship inflicted upon the minister and his family of the loss of the position was an added spur to effect repentance. When a minister was dismissed he was not allowed to attend the meetings of the Synod and he had no standing in the church until he satisfied the Synod (again likely the Examiner's Committee) of his moral betterment. This was done by the writing of a letter containing a full confession of guilt, a willingness to accept the judgement of the Council, and expressing the desire to be reconciled. Further, the minister was required to produce witnesses to attest to his good character.

⁶¹ The original tower likely dates from Roman times. Wellenberg was about fifty feet high and about thirty feet wide. It consisted of three floors each with three prison cells. It stood until its destruction in 1829. 'Der Wellenberger - Kerker in der Limmat', *NZZ*. 351, 31 July, 1970.

3.6 The Synod in Relation to the Other Structures of the Zürich Church.

The Zürich Reformation did little to alter the fundamental structure of the church in the rural areas. As the reformers had appropriated the Synod into their ecclesiology, so too was the parochial structure of the rural church quite suited to their needs. This final part of the discussion of the workings of the Synod attempts to provide a brief description of the other institutions and offices which constituted the church.

The foundation of the mediaeval church was the parish. The Reformation left the left the parochial structures, with their tithes, benefices and system of patronage virtually intact. Zwingli had attacked the burdensome nature of the tithe, but he had not proposed its replacement. Indeed, Bullinger wanted the parish churches to be as self sufficient as possible. The structure of the parish was quite simple. It was centred upon a church where the appointed minister would hold services and conduct religious education. It was also the place where the local morals tribunal (*Stillstand*) would meet. It was the focal point of the community, for the community living within the parish, just as those living in the city, were identified with the church. The minister and church officials were responsible for everyone- an important point in the debates over poor relief. Each parish was ideally to have a minister, although the shortage of candidates until the 1550s made this impossible, whose brief consisted of the regular holding of services, teaching of the catechism, supervising the morals of the community, reading the mandates of the Council, tending to the poor and sick, reading the mandates of the Council, and working together with the civil officials to maintain social

order.⁶² The parish was to be self sustaining by means of the tithes paid by the members of the community and the parish benefice. The monies accrued were to pay the minister's salary, and keep the church buildings in good repair. Baltischweiler says that the two most ancient and important obligations of the parish community were the erection of the church building and of a house in which the priest (later the minister and his family) could live.⁶³ The accounts of the church were handled by a civil official known as the church trustee (*kirchenpfleger*), who was responsible for presenting to the minister and Ehegaumer an accurate statement of parish finances.⁶⁴ A later morals mandate states the trustee was to keep one record of the church accounts and send the other to the Vogt.⁶⁵ This question of parish accounts was extremely vexing for the Synod and Council both because many parishes were poor in keeping accounts and because the insufficient amounts of most benefices were a direct cause of clerical indiscipline. As will be discussed later, many parishes lacked proper housing for ministers, and the income from the tithes, which were established to support single priests, could not sustain a family.⁶⁶ In the growing economic crisis which overtook Zürich in the sixteenth century the Council, while sympathetic to the plight of ministers, was in a difficult position. On the one hand, it could not simply raise the level of the tithe, for fear of provoking unrest amongst the populace, whilst on the other, as the squeeze on arable land increased, it did not possess a free hand to grant the minister a larger holding.

⁶² The obligations of the community towards the church were set out in the morals mandate of 26 March, 1530. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1656, p.702-711.

⁶³ Baltischweiler, p.19.

⁶⁴ M. Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen Verhältnisse in Knonaueramt nach der Reformation 1531-1600*, (Diss. Zürich, 1947), p.110.

⁶⁵ StAZ. E.IV.2 no.9.

⁶⁶ Stiefel, p.103/4.

The parish was also obliged to grant certain monies to its patron (*Lehenherren*). The preservation of the patronage system with its right presentation to a parish is the most striking example of continuity with the mediaeval church. Although by the time of the Reformation the Zürich Council had by means of acquisition through purchase gained the right of patronage to most of the parishes in the canton, there were other important, and Catholic, patrons such as the bishop of Constance, the Cathedral chapter of Constance, and the Benedictine house at Einsiedeln. This arrangement would appear at first to be fraught with confessional trouble; however, there was a clear understanding that this was a legal and not a spiritual relationship.⁶⁷ The Catholic patrons were not entitled to attempt to place Catholic clergy in a parish in Zürich. When a parish with a Catholic patron became vacant, the Zürich Council, acting on the recommendation of the examiners committee, would seek the patron's approval before electing the new minister. However, as E. Wälti, in his study of the parish of Meilen, has shown, this increasingly became a formality as the Catholic patrons lost control over the right of presentation.⁶⁸ The position of the Zürich Council as a patron

⁶⁷ In a mandate of 4 April, 1526, the Council set out the continuation of the rights of patrons. The Council decreed: *was jus patronatus -pfruonden sind, lasst man bliiben wie vormals bestimpt ist*. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 950, p.455.

⁶⁸ Wälti cites the the Council's election in 1547 of Wolfgang Haller to the parish of Meilen as an example of how little influence in the matter the Abbot of Einsiedeln retained. In explaining the case, Wälti says that given the confessional arrangement in the sixteenth century this decline in influence was inevitable. He writes: *Die Erklärung für diese Einschränkung der althergebrachten Rechtsbefugnisse liegt selbstverständlich in den Zeitumständen. Denken wir an die zahlreichen Innovationen der zurcherischen Klöster und die damit dem Staate zufallenden Patronate, wundert es uns kaum, wenn in der Hitze der konfessionellen Auseinandersetzung die Rechte auswärtiger Kollatoren*

was consolidated in the sixteenth century by the purchase of various territories. In 1540 the Council purchased the rights of the vogtei of Benken, thereby acquiring the rights of patronage to the parish church and the monastery of Rheinau.⁶⁹

Together the trustee (*Kirchenpfleger*), the other civil officials with whom the minister worked in the parish were the Untervogt and the Ehegaumer. The Untervogt was the senior representative of the Council in the community. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order and was responsible directly to either the senior territorial governors (the Landvogt or Obervogt depending on whether the territory was a Landvogtei or an Obervogtei) or to the Council. Whereas the minister or Ehegaumer could admonish, the Untervogt could apply the force of law in the community. He was also active in the disciplining of the clergy as the Synod would often require the Untervogt to investigate cases or to ensure that a dismissed cleric vacated his parish.

The Ehegaumer (the name means moral guardian, gaumen = HG. *wachen*) worked with the minister in upholding the morals mandates.⁷⁰ Most frequently the same man would hold the office of Ehegaumer and Kirchenpfleger. During Bullinger's time the distinction between these two offices was not clear. There was no clear cut delineation of duties. When there were moral problems in the parish the Ehegaumer would hold a morals tribunal in the church after one of the Sunday services (hence the name of the tribunal *Stillstand*). The position of the Ehegaumer was created in 1526, when, a year after the founding of the Ehegericht

beschnitten und eingeengt wurden. E. Wälti, *Das Kloster Einiedeln und die protestantische Pfarrei Meilen von 1526-1826*, (Einsiedeln, 1952), p.47.

⁶⁹ H.W., Ernst, *Kirchengemeinde Benken*, (Benken, 1964), p.29/30.

⁷⁰ Stiefel, p.24-26. A. Lagiardèr, *Geschichte von Stadt und Landschaft Zürich*, Vol.I, (Zürich, 1945), p.318.

in Zürich, the Council set out its plans for the disciplining of the laity in the rural areas. The original function of the Ehegaumer was to administer the oath of loyalty taken by all members of the community.⁷¹ The Ehegaumer's brief did not include the authority to punish; the Stillstand was not a morals court, rather a tribunal wherein the facts of a case could be discerned. Nevertheless, his position in the community as an overseer of morals, meant that the Ehegaumer, like the minister could be quite unpopular. The difficulty of holding this position in small communities is clear from the complaints of ministers of the lack of civil officials to assist them. The Ehegaumer could admonish, but if the case was more serious he was to pass it along to the Vogt in order that the Chorgericht (or Ehegericht) might be informed. The Chorgericht was simply another term for the Ehegericht, the institution founded in 1525 first as a marriage court and then as the principle morals court.⁷²

The parishes were gathered into chapters (*Kapitels*), each under the guidance of a dean, about whom something has been said. The chapters contained anywhere from four to twenty parishes as there were no regulations governing size.⁷³ The primary responsibility of the dean was the supervision of his fellow ministers.⁷⁴ Their brief included the overseeing of the church ordinances in the chapter, the admonishing of ministers and the making of regular reports to the

⁷¹ Baltischweiler, p.36.

⁷² No discussion of the Ehegericht will be given here as its functions are detailed later, principally in the section 'Integra Familia'.

⁷³ The chapters were: Stein, Eglihaus, Winterthur, Elgg, Frauenfeld, Regensberg, Wetzikon, Kyburg, Zürichsee, and the Freiamt.

⁷⁴ The difficulty that many deans had in carrying out their duties is reflected in their complaint to the Synod of 1543. The deans stated that they had too much work and were not able to look after their parishes. StAZ. E.III.298/9. 23 October, 1543.

Synod. When there was a problem with a minister, the dean, accompanied by another minister, was to visit the troubled parish and administer the fraternal admonition. It was when this failed that the Synod was to be informed.⁷⁵

There were two forms of ministerial gatherings outwith the general Synod. The first was the gathering of the ministers of the chapter with their dean. Baltischweiler suggests that these took place in the city on the day before the synodal meetings.⁷⁶ These collegial gatherings (*Kapitelversammlung*) were intended that the dean and his colleagues might deliver any necessary fraternal corrections, and further that any important information from the ministers on points of interest could be collected by the dean to be reported in the Synod.⁷⁷ The second form of gatherings, known as the Prosynode, are rather shadowy affairs as little is known about them. They consisted of the deans meeting together with the leaders of the Zürich church to discuss the response of the church to matters pertaining to the magistrates. The civil rulers were excluded from the meetings and expressed their annoyance on several occasions by forbidding the gatherings.

Following the various Prosynode were the general synodal sessions themselves. The Synod worked with another extremely influential body known as the Examiners' Committee (*Examinatorkonvent*). This committee was virtually an executive of the Synod; it controlled the agenda and made decisions over punishment and the recommendations for vacant parishes. It was formed in the 1520s, when it consisted of one representative from each of the Greater and

⁷⁵ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1900, p.835/6.

⁷⁶ Baltischweiler, p.127.

⁷⁷ In 1579 the Bürgermeister told the clergy these meetings possessed only the authority to warn and not administer any punishments.

Lesser Councils, two ministers, and two of the theological lecturers.⁷⁸ The committee was reconstituted in 1532 with a slightly altered composition. The two members of the Council were joined by the three principle ministers in the Zürich (Grossmünster, Fraumünster, and St. Peter's), the two professors of theology and the two archdeacons of the Grossmünster.⁷⁹ In 1564 there was a further alteration as two more members of the Council were added to the committee. The work of the committee was extremely influential, and it was involved in the central questions facing the church in Zürich. It examined candidates for the ministry on their life and doctrine, and when a parish fell vacant, it would make a recommendation of three names to be considered by the Council (the so called *Fürschläge*).⁸⁰ An example from 1566, when the committee put forward its recommendations for the parish of Flaach on the death of Balthasar Kuchmeister, gives an idea of the form of these *Fürschläge*.

*Fromm vest ersamm fürsichtig und wyse herr
Bürgermeister und gnädig lieb herren. Uff das absterben
h. Balthassar Kuchmeister seligen ist uns durch üch
unser gnädig herren befolhen andere geschichte personen
uff die predicatur oder diaconat zuo flaach oder häthin
gen fürsclahen. Da benampfind wir.
H. Hansen Hug, welcher im ettliche iar mitt vil arbeit die
beid kylchen Matelen und Rynow versähen, und also
versähen hat, das er by beiden kylchen röm und güst
erlangt, diewyl er aber ouch nitt kinden beladin wirt, das
er ein bessern stadts notwendig, und er unser gnädig
herren trüwe diener er truuw genissen lassen, habend wir
sömlich etc. anzeigen wöllen.
H. Hansen Löwen pfarrerren zuo Hänkhart welcher sinen
stand ouch gar wol versähen, und ouch mitt vile der
kinder beladen. Zu dem sin lieber vatter M. Löw selig
üch unsern gnädigen herren vil jar trüwlich gedient, und*

⁷⁸ Steifel, p.19.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ A list of the recommendation for the parishes made by the committee was compiled by Wolfgang Haller (a member) and it is preserved in the Zürich Staatsarchiv. StAZ. E.II.108. *Büch der Fürschlägen und Expectanten, 1552-1590.*

wol wärt ist, das er trüwen diensten an sinen kinden, die sich ouch wol halvend gniesse.

H. Henrychen Haaren predicanten zuo Luffen gen, Säschaft zuo Embrach, welcher sich ouch wol an sinem dienst gehalten, und wärt wäre das er ouch das betrachtet wurde.

Hiemitt bittend wir etc. sy wölle disen fürsclag in gnaden von uns uffnehmen. Der gemacht ist frytags des 5 Aprilis im jar Christi. 1566.

*Verordnete examinatore.*⁸¹

Two interesting points emerge from this document. Firstly the committee always seems to have given quite positive assessments of ministers, even though many had recently had disciplinary problems. Secondly, it is important to note the consideration of the minister's children in making a judgement over his suitability. The committee also handled requests from the clergy concerning the improvement of parish income, and the making of recommendations to the Council over the form of discipline required for a case. The importance of this committee cannot be underestimated, for not only did the church leaders work in close contact with their political colleagues, but in examining all the candidates for the ministry and those who stood accused of some offence, it offered Bullinger an excellent opportunity to get to know the clergy of the canton. The personal contact afforded by the Synod and the examiners' committee was an essential component of the disciplinary process in Zürich. Discipline was to be administered with respect to the person and the circumstances involved; this was a Scriptural commandment, and the proof of the institutions' worth was the degree to which they facilitated this goal.

The structure of the Synod was quite simple. Bullinger did not wish to burden the church with a cumbersome institution which might impede its primary objective- the disciplining of the clergy. In its simplicity of form lay its strength, a

⁸¹ StAZ. E.I.30.45.7 (Pfrundsachen Flaach), 1566.

flexibility which allowed the church leaders to respond to the multiplicity of different problems afflicting the Zürich church.

Appendix 1
Members of the Zürich Council Present at Meetings of the Synod

Source: StAz. E.II.I & E.II.Ia.

Nat. Bm. - Bürgermeister of Natalrat (27 December- 23 June)

Bapt. Bm. - Bürgermeister of Baptistalrat (24 June -26 December)

Om.- Oberstzunftmeister

Sm.- Säckelmeister

- 1533 May: Bapt.Bgm. H. Walder, Om. J. Haab, Sm. J. Werdmüller, K. Aescher, Dr.C. Klauser, L. Grebel, K. Rollenbutz, H. Ernst.
 Oct.: Bapt. Bm. D. Röist, Om. J. Haab, Sm. J. Werdmüller, K. Aescher, Dr. C.Klauser, L. Grebel, K. Rollenbutz, H. Ernst.
- 1534 May: Om. R. Binder, I. Thumysen, A. Gessner, K. Aesher, Dr. C. Klauser, H. Hoff (?), Vogt Engels, H. Ernst.
 Oct.: Nat. Bm. D. Röist, I. Thumysen, A. Gessner, K. Aescher, Dr. C. Klauser, H. Hoff (?), Vogt Engels, H. Ernst.
- 1535 May: Sm. B. von Cham, H. Aescher, Om. A. Gessner, I. Thumysen, Dr. C. Clauser, H. Hoff, H. Engels, H. Ernst.
 Oct.: Nat. Bm. D. Röist, Sm. J. Werdmüller, Om. J. Haab, F. Wingarter, Dr. C. Klauser, H. Hoff, H. Engels, H. Ernst.
- 1536 May: J. Edlibach, Sm. B. von Cham, Sm. J. Werdmüller, F. Wingarter, Dr. C.Clauser, H. Hoff, K. Rollenbutz, H. Ernst.
 Oct.: Nat. Bm. D. Röist, K. Aescher, Sm. B. von Cham, Om. B. Bachoffen, F. Wingarter, Dr. C. Clauser, H. Hoff, K. Rollenbutz, H. Ernst.
- 1537 May: Om. J. Haab, K. Aescher, Sm. B. von Cham, Om. J. Kolb, Dr. C. Klauser, Vogt Günthart, K. Rollenbutz.
 Oct.: Om. J. Haab, K. Aescher, Sm. B. von Cham, Om. J. Kolb, Dr. C. Clauser, H. Aberli, L. Grebel.
- 1538 May: Bapt. Bm. H. Walder, K. Aescher, Sm. B. von Cham, J. Kolb, C. Clauser, H. Aberli, L. Grebel.
 Oct.: Nat. Bm. D. Röist, K. Aescher, Sm. B. von Cham, J. Kolb, C. Klauser, H. Aberli, L. Grebel, K. Kramer.
- 1539 May: Om. U. Kambli, J. Edlibach, Sm. J. Werdmüller, K. Nasal, C. Clauser, K. Kramer, H. Aberli, J. Günhart.
 Oct.: Nat. Bm. D. Röist, J. Edlibach, Sm. J. Werdmüller, K. Nasal, C. Clauser, K. Kramer, H. Aberli, J. Günhart.
- 1540 May: Bapt. Bm. H. Walder, Om. I. Thumysen, R. Lavater, Sm. B. von Cham, C. Clauser, K. Kramer, H. Aberli, J. Günhart.
 Oct.: Nat. Bm. D. Röist, Om. I. Thumysen, R. Lavater, Sm. B. von Cham, K. Nasal, K. Kramer, H. Aberli, J. Günhart.

- 1541 May: Bapt. Bm. H. Walder, K. Nasal, Sm. B. von Cham, R. Lavater, C. Clauser, J. Günthart, K. Kramer, H. Aberli.
- 1542 May: Om. J. Haab (for H. Walder), K. Nasal, H. Bleuler, R. Lavater, C. Clauser, J. Günthart, K. Kramer, H. Aberli.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. D. Röist, K. Nasal, H. Bleuler, R. Lavater, C. Clauser, J. Günthart, K. Kramer, H. Aberli.
- 1543 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, K. Nasal, L. Holtzhalb, Sm. R. Lavater, C. Clauser, J. Funk, J. Rümbeili, S. Zeller.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. D. Röist, K. Nasal, L. Holtzhalb, Sm. R. Lavater, C. Clauser, J. Funk, J. Rümbeili, S. Zeller.
- 1544 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, K. Nasal, L. Holtzhalb, Sm. R. Lavater, C. Clauser, J. Funk, B. Ammann, H. Koler.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. Röist, K. Nasal, L. Holtzhalb, Sm. R. Lavater, C. Clauser, J. Funk, B. Ammann, H. Koler.
- 1545 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, K. Nasal, L. Holtzhalb, Om. H. Sproß, C. Clauser, J. Funk, B. Ammann, H. Koler.
Oct.: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, K. Nasal, L. Holtzhalb, Om. H. Sproß, Sm. H. Ran, J. Funk, B. Ammann, H. Koler.
- 1546 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, K. Nasal, L. Holtzhalb, Om. H. Sproß, C. Clauser, J. Funk, B. Ammann, H. Koler.
Oct.: K. Nasal, J. Wegmann, Om. H. Sproß, C. Clauser, J. Funk, B. Ammann, H. Koler.
- 1547 May: Sm. J. Werdmüller, Sm. H. Ran, R. Stoll, F. Peiger, H. Edlibach, B. Keller, Om. J. Müller.
Oct.: Bapt. Bm. H. Haab, Sm. J. Werdmüller, R. Stoll, F. Peiger, H. Edlibach, B. Keller, Om. J. Müller.
- 1548 May: Nat. Bm. R. Lavater, Sm. J. Werdmüller, R. Stoll, F. Peiger, H. Edlibach, T. Wirtz, Om. J. Müller.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. R. Lavater, Sm. J. Werdmüller, R. Stoll, F. Peiger, H. Edlibach, B. Ammann, Om. J. Müller.
- 1549 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, H. Blüler, R. Stoll, H. Rümbeili, J. Rordorf, M. Gabendingen, B. Keller, T. Wirtz.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. R. Lavater, H. Blüler, R. Stoll, H. Rümbeili, J. Rordorf, M. Gabendingen, B. Keller, T. Wirtz.
- 1550 May: Nat. Bm. R. Lavater, H. Habren, R. Stoll, H. Bleuler, H. Rümbeili, B. Ammann, H. Mürer, B. Grossmann, T. Wirtz.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. R. Lavater, H. Habren, R. Stoll, H. Bleuler, H. Rümbeili, B. Ammann, H. Mürer, B. Grossmann, T. Wirtz.
- 1551 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, H. Habren, R. Stoll, B. Sprüngli, H. Rümbeili, R. Schwytzer, H. Mürer, B. Grossmann, T. Wirtz.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. R. Lavater, H. Habren, R. Stoll, B. Sprüngli, H. Rümbeili, M. Wirtz, H. Mürer, B. Grossmann, T. Wirtz.
- 1552 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, H. Habren, R. Stoll, B. Sprüngli, H. Rümbeili, M. Wirtz, J. Funck, H. Jeckli, T. Wirtz.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. R. Lavater, H. Habren, R. Stoll, B. Sprüngli, H. Rümbeili, A. Sprüngli, J. Funck, M. Schnyder, T. Wirtz.

- 1553 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, R. Stoll, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, T. Wirtz, H. Jeckli, A. Sprüngli, J. Kambli.
Oct.: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, M. Wirtz, H. Jeckli, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
- 1554 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, H. Jeckli, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. R. Lavater, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. , Haab H. Kambli, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
- 1555 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, H. Kambli, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
Oct.: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, H. Kambli, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
- 1556 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, H. Kambli, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. R. Lavater, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, H. Kambli, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
- 1557 May: Nat. Bm. G. Müller, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, H. Kambli, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. G. Müller, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, H. Kambli, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
- 1558 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, K. Thomann, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. G. Müller, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, K. Thomann, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
- 1559 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, K. Thomann, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. G. Müller, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, K. Thomann, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
- 1560 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Haab, Om. H. Wegmann, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, K. Thomann, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. G. Müller, Om. J. Stampfer, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, K. Thomann, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
- 1561 May: Nat. Bm. G. Müller, Om. J. Stampfer, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, K. Thomann, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
Oct.: Bapt. Bm. B. von Cham, Om. J. Stampfer, H. Rübli, B. Sprüngli, J. Haab, K. Thomann, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz.
- 1562 May: Bapt. Bm. B. von Cham, Om. H. Bräm, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. G. Müller, Om. H. Bräm, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann
- 1563 May: Bapt. Bm. B. von Cham, Om. H. Bräm, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
Oct.: Bapt. Bm. B. von Cham, Om. H. Bräm, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli, A. Sprüngli, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.

- 1564 May: Nat. Bm. G. Müller, Om. H. Bräm, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. G. Müller, Om. H. Bräm, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
- 1565 May: Bapt. Bm. B. von Cham, Om. H. Bräm, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. G. Müller, Om. H. Bräm, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
- 1566 May: Bapt. Bm. B. von Cham, Om. H. Bräm, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. G. Müller, Om. H. Bräm, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
- 1567 May: Bapt. Bm. B. von Cham, Om. H. Bräm, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
Oct.: Bapt. Bm. B. von Cham, Om. H. Bräm, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
- 1568 May: Bapt. Bm. B. von Cham, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli, H. Kung, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
Oct.: Bapt. Bm. B. von Cham, H. Rübli, Sm. B. Sprüngli (ill), H. Kung, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
- 1569 May: Bapt. Bm. B. von Cham, H. Rübli, Om. H. Wägmann, H. Kung, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. J. Bräm, H. Rübli, Om. H. Wägmann, H. Kung, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
- 1570 May: Bapt. Bm. B. von Cham, H. Rübli, Om. H. Wägmann, H. Kung, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
- 1571 May: Nat. Bm. J. Bräm, H. Rübli, Om. H. Wägmann, H. Kung, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. J. Bräm, H. Rübli, Om. H. Wägmann, H. Kung, J. Grebel, M. Rollenbutz, J. Haab, C. Thomann.
- 1572 May: Bapt. Bm. H. Kämbli, Om. G. Kippenhan, H. Rübli, Om. C. Thomann, H. Kung, M. Rollenbutz, C. Heidegger, H. Holtzhalb.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. J. Bräm, Om. G. Kippenhan, H. Rübli, H. Kung, H. Wirk, M. Rollenbutz, H. Schwerzenbach, H. Holtzhalb.
- 1573 May: Om. J. Wirtz, Om. G. Kippenhan, C. Güntprecht, H. Kung, H. Wirk, M. Rollenbutz, H. Schwerzenbach, H. Schmid.
Oct.: Om. J. Wirtz, Om. G. Kippenhan, C. Güntprecht, H. Kung, H. Wirk, M. Rollenbutz, H. Schwerzenbach, H. Schmid.
- 1574 May: Om. J. Wirtz, Om. G. Kippenhan, C. Güntprecht, H. Kung, H. Wirk, M. Rollenbutz, Sm. H. Schwerzenbach, H. Schmid.
Oct.: Om. J. Wirtz, Om. G. Kippenhan, C. Güntprecht, H. Kung, H. Wirk, M. Rollenbutz, Sm. H. Schwerzenbach, H. Schmid.
- 1575 May: Om. C. Thomann, Om. G. Kippenhan, H. Kung, C. Güntprecht, M. Rollenbutz, H. Wick, H. Schmid, T. Clauser.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. J. Bräm, Om. C. Bodmer, H. Kung, C. Güntprecht, M. Rollenbutz, H. Wick, H. Schmid, T. Clauser.

- 1576 May: Nat. Bm. J. Bräm, Om. C. Bodmer, U. Grebel, C. Güntprecht, M. Rollenbutz, H. Wick, H. Schmid, T. Clauser.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. J. Bräm, Om. C. Bodmer, U. Grebel, C. Güntprecht, M. Rollenbutz, H. Wick, H. Schmid, T. Clauser.
- 1577 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Kambli, Om. C. Bodmer, U. Grebel, C. Güntprecht, M. Rollenbutz, H. Wick, H. Schmid, T. Clauser.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. J. Bräm, Om. C. Bodmer, U. Grebel, C. Güntprecht, M. Rollenbutz, H. Wick, H. Schmid, T. Clauser.
- 1578 May: Bapt. Bm. J. Kambli, Om. L. Schörli, C. Güntprecht, M. Rollenbutz, U. Grebel, H. Schmid, T. Clauser.
Oct.: Bapt. Bm. J. Kambli, Om. L. Schörli, C. Güntprecht, M. Rollenbutz, J. Grebel, H. Schmid, T. Clauser.
- 1579 May: Om. C. Großmann, Om. L. Schörli, C. Güntprecht, U. Grebel, J. Grebel, H. Schmid, T. Clauser.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. J. Bräm, Om. L. Schörli, C. Güntprecht, U. Grebel, J. Grebel, H. Schmid, Sm. M. Staumpfer. T. Clauser.
- 1580 May: Nat. Bm. J. Bräm, Om. L. Schörli, C. Güntprecht, U. Grebel, J. Grebel, H. Schmid, Sm. M. Staumpfer. T. Clauser.
Oct.: Nat. Bm. J. Bräm, Om. L. Schörli, C. Güntprecht, U. Grebel, J. Grebel, H. Schmid, Sm. M. Staumpfer. T. Clauser.

Appendix 2

**Instructions, Admonitions and Informations
Delivered to the Synod by the Zürich Council.**

Source: St.AZ. E.II.I & E.II.Ia.

May, 1533: Concerning the dispute between Zürich and its Catholic neighbours over the Zürich Council mandate of May 29, 1532, (Egli, 1853) forbidding the mass. Ministers were told to uphold the mandate.

May, 1534: 1. Concerning the disciplinary problems at the religious houses of Rüti and Weiningen. 2. The Council's reply to the Fürtrag from Synod (StAZ. A 238.1) concerning the magistrate's reproof of 'sharp' preaching.

October, 1534: Schoolmasters told they would be required to submit themselves to the discipline of the Synod.

May, 1536: 1. Ministers not able to attend meetings of the Synod were to receive permission from their dean. A fine was set for truant ministers. 2. Ministers were told that the Synod ought to concern itself with the life and learning of the clergy and not with worldly matters. Further, the ministers were reminded of their responsibility to use the pulpit to instruct the people in proper morals and on the obligations of the oath.

April, 1537: The Council's response to the Fürtrag from the ministers concerning the improvement of benefices for the parish churches. (StAZ. E.I. 12.I). The Council also warned ministers to stop quarrelling with civil officials.

October, 1537: 1. Schoolmasters told to be diligent in the holding of catechetical education for the young on Saturdays. 2. Concerning church festivals in the rural areas.

May, 1538: Concerning the prohibition of mercenary service (*Reislaufen*).

October, 1539: 1. The Council warned that the clergy were failing to uphold its mandates. 2. A report on the state of ministers in each of the parishes by R. Lavater, C. Nasal, and J. Wegmann.

October, 1540: The Council expressed its concern over the attendance of the clergy at Synod meetings.

October, 1541: The procedure by which deans were to be appointed and sworn in.

May, 1544: 1. The Council prohibited the Prosynode. 2. The Council warned ministers that the parish houses were not being looked after.

May, 1545: 1. The Council set out the regulations for the ordinations of deans. 2. Ministers were told to use their pulpits to preach against moral abuses. 3. The Council warned that the church laws (*kylchenraechnungen*) were not being obeyed.

May, 1548: The Council stated that foreigners who were not ordained ought not to attend the Synod, whilst those who were ordained were entitled to attend the meetings.

October, 1548: The Bürgermeister requested that the clergy show moderation with their language and lead their churches in prayers for Switzerland's deliverance in the present difficult times.

October, 1549: Ministers were admonished by the Council for not reading the marriage laws from the pulpit.

May, 1550: The Council told ministers that they ought to keep the mandates in a book to facilitate regular public readings and to preserve them from becoming lost.

May, 1551: The ministers were admonished about the upkeep of their houses.

October, 1551: R. Lavater warned the clergy to be careful in their preaching in such dangerous political times when relations with the Catholic cantons were tense.

May, 1552: Ministers warned again about the upkeep of their houses.

May, 1553: Ministers told that they were to be careful to establish good relations with the Chorghericht (Ehegaumer).

October, 1554: Concerning the restoration of the parish of Bonstetten.

May, 1556: Bürgermeister Hab tells the clergy that they were prohibited from preaching on the subject of church goods.

October, 1556: 1. The Council stated that lay people were spending too much money on clothes. The ministers were told that they were not to mix socially with the peasantry and adopt their customs. 2. The ministers were told that they ought not to cultivate relations with Catholic priests. 3. The Council told the ministers to establish weekday services in their parishes and instruct the people in the catechism.

May, 1557: Ministers told again to hold weekday services and instruct the people in the catechism.

October, 1558: The Council's consideration of the Synod's *Fürtrag* on the crisis of poor relief. (StAZ. E.I.5.I., no.14).

May, 1559: Further consideration of the poverty problem.

October, 1559: Again the Council speaks to the ministers on poverty and begging.

May, 1562: 1. Concerning the morals mandate, the Council stated that it would supervise its implementation in the city and that it had written to the Vogts to do so in the rural areas. The clergy were to cooperate by reading the morals mandate twice a year from the pulpits. 2. The clergy were also asked to lead the people in prayers for the situation in France.

May, 1563: 1. The Council expressed its dismay at the manner in which the laity were allowing their houses to go to ruin while they spent their money on drink. Ministers were told to be more diligent in instructing people in the proper upkeep of their homes and family life. 2. Ministers told that they were not to employ pictures in the celebration of the Lord's Supper and that they were to use plain bread.

October, 1563: 1. The Council commented on the disorder in the city and rural areas caused by poverty. The clergy were employed to assist in the struggle against poverty. 2. Ministers were told that they would be fined two marks if they participated in the excessive festivities associated with marriage. 3. The clergy told to preach to the people on moral improvement.

May, 1567: 1. The ministers were warned by the Council about the state of their parish houses. 2. The Council told ministers that they were to employ the church goods at their disposal for proper use.

May, 1570: The clergy told that they were to lead exemplary lives.

May, 1571: Ministers told to be diligent in their studies.

October, 1571: Bürgermeister Bräm told the clergy that they ought to read the Ten Commandments to the people once a week.

May, 1572: Bürgermeister Kambli, on behalf of the Council, expressed his concern with the ministers' preaching. They were threatened with dismissal if they continued to abuse their pulpits and not prepare sermons adequately.

May, 1578: The ministers and expectanten were warned about their clothing, preaching and daily study of books. Also, there was a discussion over the Anabaptist situation.

October, 1579: 1. The Council issued another mandate against mercenary service. 2. Those holding Prosynode were told that they had no authority to discipline. This was for the general Synod only.

October, 1580: The Council affirmed its control over the appointment of schoolmasters. It demanded that foreign schoolmasters be examined that their religious beliefs and sympathies be determined.

Parishes in Zürich 1550



4.0 Disciplinary Cases in the Synod

4.1 Introduction

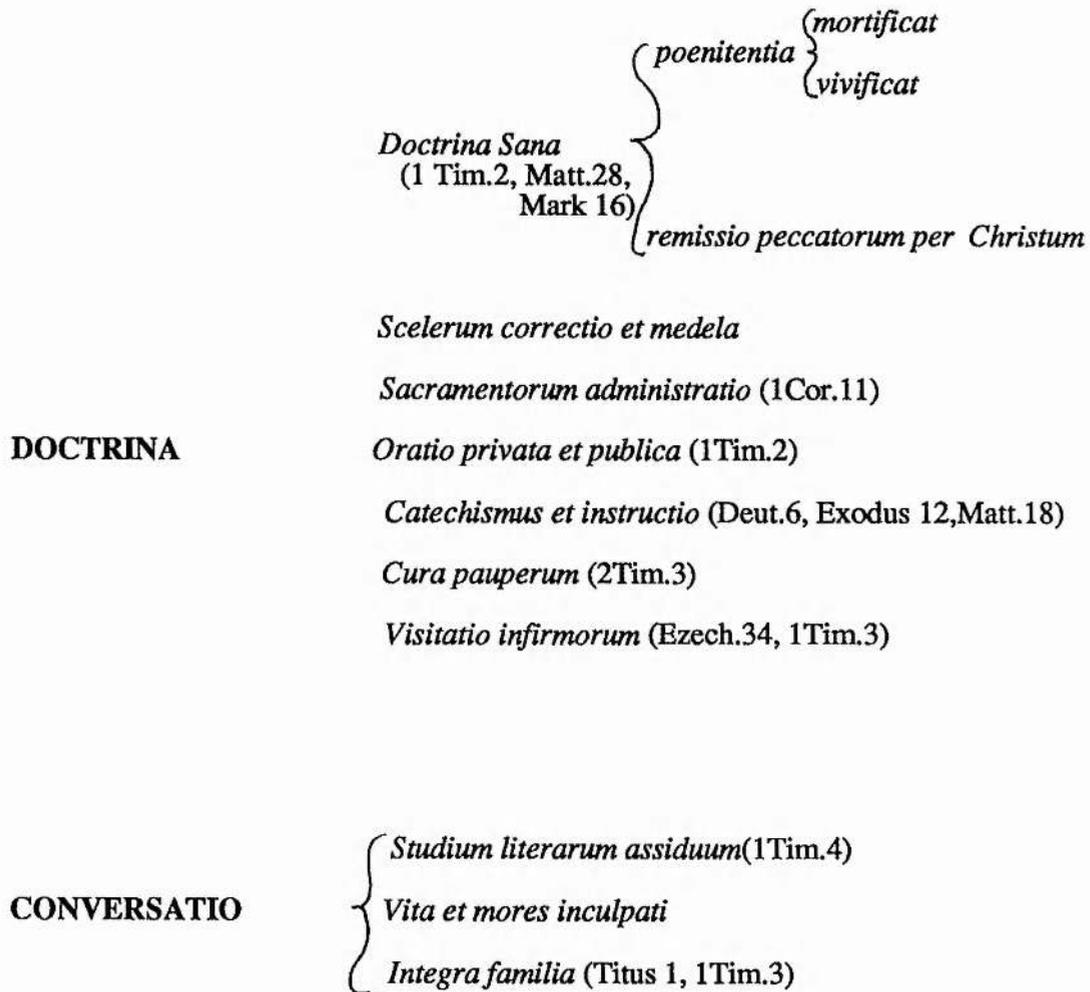
The Synod concerned itself with all matters pertaining to the Christian ministry in Zürich. The ordinances of 1532, which effected its restitution, defined the parameters of the Synod's jurisdiction; the section concerning the *Censura* delineates those aspects of the minister's life subject to inquiry: *Die nachfrag aber in der censura soll erstlich von dem leer, demnach von dem studio, liebe und flyß der gschrift, item von der wandel, leben und sitten und zelestet von wegen des hushabens und husvolks gehalten werden.*¹ The ordinances specify that the examination of ministers must begin with questions concerning their understanding of doctrine and their zeal in studying both the Scriptures and recommended theological texts. Afterwards, the examiners were to concentrate on the minister's personal piety and moral life together with the domestic harmony of his parish household. This general outline of how the Synod was to examine ministers was given a fuller expression by Heinrich Bullinger, who in his synodal notes makes repeated use of a schema of the pastoral office in which the various components of the reformed ministry were mapped out in a logical and concise form. (See Fig. 1)

This schematic outline provides an overview of Bullinger's teaching on the pastoral office with all its constituent parts.² The placing of the schema at the beginning of his notes for each of the synods suggests that it served several purposes; firstly,

¹ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1899, Oct. 1532, p.835.

² ZBZ. Ms.D 220, Cf. Bächtold, *Bullinger vor dem Rat*, p.78, Bächtold comments that the schema is an representation of the preaching and synodal ordinances, and that it represents the two sides of the reformed preacher's life, his learning and moral conduct.

Fig. 1. Bullinger's Schema



Bullinger employed it as a pedagogical tool for addressing the clergy on the duties of their office. Secondly, it formed the programme by which clergy appearing before the Synod were examined; that is, the examiners began with questions of doctrine and moved towards a consideration of how the minister looked after his household. Such a precise explication of the minister's office offers itself as a useful means by which the material comprising the examination and disciplining of ministers by the Synod might be broached systematically. By following Bullinger's own divisions of the life and work of the minister the great volume of material pertaining to the Synod's work in Zürich can be treated thematically. This method of operation further recommends itself for the reason that the following of the order employed by the Zürich church leaders offers a window into a clearer understanding of the assumptions and intentions of the Synod.

Bullinger's guiding hand is evident in every aspect of the Synod's activities. There is no question that any reconstruction of the cases in the Synod is dependent upon his interpretation of the situations. The consistency of purpose in the discipline of the Zürich church under Bullinger pervades the documents. It was effected by strong leadership in the church and the close cooperation of the civil government. The effectiveness of the Synod was a testament to Bullinger's ability to mould it into a stable institution capable of dealing with the multifarious matters arising out of the parishes, where the reception of the reformed teachings had been uneven. It is this faithfulness of the Synod to Bullinger's leadership and teachings that enables one to examine systematically the material involved in the cases and to make sense of the large numbers of statements and mandates issued by the Council concerning the duties and disciplining of the ministers.

The Synod viewed the life of the minister as a whole, and not as a sum of various parts which could be treated individually. Rarely was a moral offence or violation of the preacher's mandate a single-issue question; in almost every case one

finds oneself in a tangled web in which what began as a complaint about a minister's preaching might proceed to accounts of drinking, swearing and violence in the home. In applying this approach of using Bullinger's schema to divide up the synodal material for discussion, there must always be the *caveat* that these cases are not easily pigeon-holed. The method followed is to treat the material according to the most serious matter mentioned without losing sight of the larger context of the whole case.

4.2 Doctrina Sana

The establishing of the doctrinal basis of the reformed faith in Zürich moved on various levels. There were the crucial negotiations with other Swiss Protestants together with those reformers of other nations resulting in the great developments in confessional unity within Protestantism during Bullinger's lifetime. On the local level, the Synod was engaged in the on-going process of watching over the clergy to ensure the dissemination of the orthodox faith in the parishes. Clearly the Synod was not intended to be an instrument for confessional debate; decisions about theology were in hands of the magistracy, which acted on the advice of the trained theologians and 'prophets' of the city. The Council was eager to restrain the role of the clergy in the formulation of doctrine, for there was no telling what direction a clerical body composed mainly of ill-trained ministers might chart for the canton. Leo Jud's 1532 sermon drew attention to the presence of radical tendencies which might imperil relations with allied Protestant territories and aggravate Catholic neighbours.³ Heresy

³ Helmut Meyer has written: '*Der Zweite Kappeler Landfriede hatte eine Reihe von Fragen offen gelassen; vor allem stand noch nicht fest, wie weit die Rekatholisierung der Gemeinen herrschaffen gehen würde*'. "*Stadt und Landschaft nach dem Zweiten Kappelerkrieg*', in *Heinrich Bullinger 1504-1575 Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 400 Todestag*, vol. I, eds. U. Gäbler and E. Herkenrath. (Zürich: 1975), p.263.

was a political question and it was a matter of the highest political importance that Confessional formulation remain within the control of the political leaders.⁴⁵

The Synod was entrusted with overseeing the implementation and maintenance of reformed teachings from the pulpits of the churches in the city and *Landschaft*. Neither the *Predigtmandat* of 1530 nor Bullinger's synodal ordinances spelled out the specific doctrines to which the clergy were to adhere in their sermons. The fourth Meilen article, which Bullinger and the church leaders had found unacceptable, stated that '*deßglichen uf dem land unsern prædicanten ouch sömlichs sagind, daß si uns das gottswort verkündint lut beder Testamenten, und sich die pfaffen, wie vorgemeldet, keiner weltlichen sachen underwindint noch beladint, in stadt und uf dem land, im R. und darneben,...*'⁶. The Council had not attempted to threaten the theological content of the reformed faith, but rather sought to curtail the freedom of the parish clergy to address political questions. In the section on the life and learning of the preacher, the synodal ordinances do not consider the theological positions which the minister is to adhere to; they are concerned with the practical carrying out of the reformed doctrines in the parishes, such as the Lord's Supper: '*...wie wir vor der meß nachgeloufen, daß wir jetzund das wort Gottes lieb habind, dem nachhaltind und uß demselben die frucht des lydens Christi recht lerind verston, damit man ouch das nachtmal Christi mit warem glouben, rechter danksagung begange.*'⁷ There is an assumption in the Synodal ordinances that the '*recht lerind*' and the '*warem glouben*' have been established, and that no further explication is required.

⁴ Cf. Hp. Stucki, *Bürgermeister Hans Rudolf Lavater 1492-1557. Ein Politiker der Reformationszeit.* (Zürich, 1973), esp. p. 124-140.

⁶ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1797, Nov. 1531, p. 769.

⁷ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1899, October, 1532, p. 830.

The role of the Synod in the preservation of doctrine involved two aspects: the practical spirit exercised by Bullinger and the other church leaders in the treatment of theological error or ignorance, and the Synod's function as a teaching body within the context of the other pedagogical institutions founded in Zürich after the Reformation. The Synod was not interested in heresy trials, for the church leaders were quite aware of how wholly inadequate most of the clergy, particularly in the first two decades following Kappel, were to the proper preaching of the reformed faith and the administration of the sacraments. As discussed earlier, Bullinger was well aware of the limitations of his ministers, most of whom he would have known personally, and his intention was to fill the parishes with a reformed minister of some sort rather than allow them to remain vacant. The goal of this pragmatic approach was to establish the presence of the reformed church in the rural communities, where several forces were competing for the interest of the peasant farmers. The price for the Synod of such a policy was that a high standard of theological competence from those ministers too old to be trained by the reformed schools in Zürich could not be expected.

Bullinger did not despair of improving standards amongst the clergy *in situ*. The Synod played an important role in the education of these clergy through two means; firstly, through the instruction which they received in the faith at the meetings of the Synod, and secondly, by means of the Synod's participation in the examining of ministers both before their ordination and when they were accused of having fallen into error. The best evidence for how the ministers were instructed in the basic elements of doctrine are Bullinger's synodal notes.⁸ The emphasis in the sermons delivered before the *Censura* was always upon moral example and the biblical basis for each aspect of the minister's life. Moses and Paul were held to be the model pastors, and ministers were

⁸ZBZ. Ms. D.220.

exhorted to read the Scriptures to study their words and actions. The sermon notes also give a clear indication of which biblical texts were crucial to Bullinger's instruction on the pastoral office.⁹

The success of the Synod as a reforming institution lay with its consistency in expounding the faith and correcting ministers. Because it was the only meeting of the whole corpus of parish ministers, the synodal sessions in Zürich served as the principle pedagogical forum apart from the schools in the Münsters and the Prophezei. The addresses delivered by Bullinger to the clergy assembled in the Synod were not deeply doctrinal, though they were systematic in the sense that the duties of the ministerial office were set out. A distinguishing aspect of Bullinger's humanism was his belief in the ultimate teachableness of the truth. This belief, which also underlined his view of preaching, demanded that the arguments be laid down carefully and clearly that they might be received by the listener. Hence the remarkable consistency of Bullinger's teaching both in sermons and in doctrinal writings.

There were other important occasions which offered the Zürich church leaders the opportunity to instruct the ministers in doctrine. For those ministers living in or near the city, and who possessed adequate Latin, the leaders of the Zürich church gave important theological addresses twice a year to celebrate Karlstag (January) and Felix- and Regulatag (October). These orations were fine products of Zürich reformed humanism, intended to instruct the students and more learned members of the community with greater detail in the underlying principles of the faith. Some of these addresses have survived, including Bullinger's oration in honour of Zwingli which he

⁹ For biblical references, consult the schema

delivered in 1532¹⁰, and two of Rudolf Gwalther's from 1548. Gwalther followed Bullinger in using the oration to restate the Zürich understanding of the office of minister, and the instructional nature of his address is evident from the following passage concerning the obligations of that office:

Cum nuper hunc οικήτην meum in celebri ministrorum Tigurinae ecclesiae conventu recitavissem, Colline praeceptor observande, idemque fidelissime compater: mox pro tuo in me iure hortari incipiebas, ut eundem excusum multis aliis legendum exponerem. Agnovi tum singularem animi tui erga me benignitatem, qua soles (ut Veronensis ille poeta ait) Meas esse aliquid putare nugas. Licet enim orationis argumentum hoc nostro saeculo consyderatu dignissimum et necessarium sit: nunquam tamen mea haec; quae intra paucissimos dies collegi, ita mihi placuerunt, ut luce digna putarem. Cum vero eadem integerrimi iudicii viro H. Bullingero, patri et moecenati meo unice observando, probarentur, coepi, non nihil animum erigere: maxime cum is postularet, ut suo illi excellentiss operi, quo rerum per Apostolos gestarum seriem temporumque Apostolicorum rationem complexus est, adiungerem. Prodit ergo vobis monentibus laetis (ut spero) auspiciis οικήτης meus, tui nominis patrocini commendatus: quem ut ministris omnibus non ingratum fore existimo, ita velim aliquos filiorum tuorum aliquando instituat, ut ex illis fideles in domo dei famulos et mysteriorum salutis dispensatores videamus.¹¹

Gwalther's oration goes on to treat the office of the minister in much the same humanist language displayed above. These addresses were 'extra' to those offered to the clergy in the Synod. They were by nature more precise and extensive, and their

¹⁰ Cf. F. Büsser, 'De Prophetiae Officio Eine Gedenkrede Bullingers auf Zwingli', *Wurzeln der Reformation in Zürich*, (Leiden, 1985), 60-71. Professor Büsser shows how Bullinger used the address, which was given for Karlstag, 1532, as both an occasion to honour his predecessor and set down his interpretation of the office of minister.

¹¹ *Oiketes, sive servus ecclesiasticus: id est, De Officio ministrorum ecclesiae oratio Rudolphi Gualteri Tigurini, dicta in conventu ministrorum urbis et agri Tigurini. Ianuarii xxviii, Anno M.D. XLVIII, ZBZ. 5.593, 1v.*

learned Latin form would have precluded their being of much use to most of the rural clergy.

Through the providing of regular theological instruction the Synod was struggling to control and regularize the content of preaching in the parishes.¹² An intellectually dangerous challenge to the Synod's supervision of doctrine from the pulpit was posed by Dr. Konrad Forrer, a highly educated man with a degree in medicine who served as both a minister and physician in Winterthur from 1562 until at least 1578.¹³ What distinguished Forrer's case was the uniqueness of a well educated minister being accused of heterodox preaching. Rather than being either simply ignorant or negligent, Forrer was said to be employing sophistry and dangerous forms of rhetoric and dialect in preaching false doctrines (*unbegrünt ding*).¹⁴ The false doctrinal points in Forrer's preaching were: that the Apostle Peter's denial of Christ was a sin against the Holy Spirit, that the flesh and not the soul sins, and that the flowing of blood and water from the side of Christ on the cross was not a miracle.¹⁵ Bullinger intervened personally in the case to refute Forrer's teachings,¹⁶

¹²For Bullinger's instructions on the construction of sermons, see 'Oratio privata et publica'. On the pedagogical aids provided to the rural ministers for personal study in the preparation of sermons, see 'Studia literarium'.

¹³ *Zürich Pfarrerbuch*, p.274.

¹⁴ StAZ. E.II.I.550/1, 8 May, 1565.

¹⁵*Der lyb sündigete und nitt die seel. Petri faal und lougner were die sünd in heyligen geist. Und daß wasser und bluot uß der syten Christi vomm crütz gerunnen, sye kein wunder.* StAZ. E.II.I.550, 8 May, 1565.

¹⁶ *'Und thet im sin red M.Heinrych Bullinger, die er ouch bestätet; erkante, daß war wasser und bluot uß der syten Christi were geflossen, durch ein groß wunder, und das das fleisch nitt allein, sunder mitt der seel sündete...'* StAZ. E.II.I.551. (thet = HG. tun; sich um etwas kümmern. SI. XIII. 303)

and the Synod stated that Forrer was to cease from promulgating such false ideas and be more diligent in the education of the common people: '*das er sich füröhin flyssen sollte der einfaltigkeit.*' Forrer was told that in future he was not to preach any doctrine not given prior approval by the Synod.¹⁷ As a penalty for his disobedience, Forrer was ordered to pay a fine to the poor.

Forrer's prominence as a learned man allowed the Synod to make him an example of its determination not to tolerate preaching that was either false, and therefore harmful to the faithful, or seditious, and damaging to the state. However, in this matter the Synod should not be seen as being the instrument of the Council; for on points of conscience the Synod did not hesitate to defend the minister's right of preaching. The most well known case of such a dispute between the Synod and Council over the content of preaching was that of Rudolf Hüsli in 1555. Hüsli preached a sermon on a text from Matthew 6 in which he openly criticized the Council's handling of church goods for the poor. He compared the Council's distribution of these resources to someone throwing a piece of bread to a barking dog in the hope of placating it.¹⁸ Hüsli argues that poor relief (*almuosen*) is only of value when it is not offered purely for this world (*zytliche eer*). He states: *So das ein falsch almuosen ist, in dem nütt anders dann zytliche eer gesuocht wirt: vil me wirt das falsch sin, das mitt unwürße und zorn gäben wirt, alls wenn den einem bällenden hund ein bitzen brot dar wirffst, das er doch uffhöre töüben. Welche nun almuosen gänd, das jemandts nitt mürde(?) und*

¹⁷*Ouch kein dogma me fürbringen, das er nitt vorhin conferiert mitt dem synodo.* StAZ. E.III.551, 8 May, 1565.

¹⁸A copy of Hüsli's sermon was sent to the Council for examination. It is an important document because it is one of the very few surviving pieces of written evidence of sermons preached in churches outside the city of Zürich. STAZ. E.II. 102, 73-74.

*bösers anfahe, die werffend einem ballenden hund brot dar.*¹⁹ Hüsli condemned in strong language the meanness of the Council and argued that the distribution of these resources was the right of the church. On December 10, 1555, he was pulled from his bed and placed in Wellenberg for having preached seditious ideas and having blackened the name of the Council.²⁰

The Hüsli case was one of the most important in sixteenth century Zürich not because the particular minister involved was of much consequence, but because it became the battleground between the church and the Council over several points crucial to the Reformation in Zürich.²¹ The Council held fast to its belief that such preaching posed a direct threat to its ultimate authority in handling religious matters. The Synod, led by Bullinger's *Fürtrag* of December 1555, defended Hüsli's right to criticize the government as integral to the clergy's requirement to preach the Gospel. In the May Synod of 1556, Gwalther argued that the Council had done a great wrong in placing Hüsli in prison for preaching, and he claimed that this wrong was causing greater offence in the rural communities than the sermon in question: *Da unser herren ein unwillen gefasset, inn gebunden und gefangen hinyn geführt, welches vil me habe geschruwen in allen land, dann wenn Hüßli der predigen zuo gethan.*²² Gwalther also defended Hüsli by saying that he could find nothing inappropriate in the sermon. He challenged the Council to explain why ministers should not address the question of

¹⁹ StAZ. E.II. 102.73. (töuben = to bark).

²⁰ Bächtold, p.168.

²¹ For a full account of the Hüsli case and the debate over the use of church goods, see Bächtold p. 169-187. Bächtold entitles his chapter on the debate '*Der grosse Konflikt 1555/1556*'.

²² StAZ. E.III.443/5. 5 May, 1556.

church goods.²³ Further, the church believed that the Council was wrong in using the monies accrued in the secularization of the religious houses for purposes other than poor relief and the foundation of schools. The debate gradually grew further and further away from Hüsli's sermon and centred on the question of church/magistrate relations. The Synod played a decreasing role in the affair; the Council made it clear that it was one thing for Bullinger and the leading ministers of the city to criticize and advise the government, but quite another for parish clergy. For the Council, there were degrees of freedom of preaching; a sharp rebuke from Bullinger, Gwalther or Wolff could be resolved through personal negotiations, for these men were trusted by the political authorities, whilst criticism from the lower clergy was viewed as sedition. The Hüsli case underlines two important facts about the work of the Synod. Firstly, the Council was very clear on not only the breadth of its own jurisdiction, but also the limitations of the Synod's. It did not hesitate to overrule the Synod in deciding that a doctrinal point was in fact a political one to be treated under its authority. Secondly, the manner in which the Synod's deliberations were quickly elevated to becoming a debate between Bullinger and the Council strongly suggests where the Council believed the important church/magistrate issues were resolved. Bächtold has argued that in the debate over poor relief and control of the church goods there is the conflict between Bullinger's essentially mediaeval perception of the church and the emerging modern state.²⁴

The Synod served as the theological overseer to the Zürich church. It received all reports of irregular teachings and commissioned examiners to look into problem areas and prepare statements from which the Council might be advised on how to proceed. In the larger doctrinal debates, as with the political questions discussed above, in which Bullinger and his colleagues engaged, the Synod played no significant

²³ *'Dann vor 30 iaren sye es rächt x̄n, wider die geistlichen zuo predigen der kylchen güetern halben, warum dann ietzund nitt ouch, diewyl der mißbruchen amm tag lige?'* StAZ. E.II.I.443. 5 May, 1556.

²⁴ Bächtold, p.186.

role other than serving as the forum through which the ministers were made aware of events.²⁵ The Synod's role was in teaching and supervising to ensure adherence to established doctrines.

4.3 Scelerum correctio et Medela

The clergy were entrusted by the Council and Synod with the supervision of their parishioners' lives and the propagation of the ecclesiastical and civil mandates in the communities. The synodal ordinances of 1532 were clear in their instruction to the ministers to inform the people of the decrees of the Council and to be diligent in ensuring obedience to them: *'Dessglych ist abgeredt, dass die mandaten, so von unsern Herren wider unmass und laster usgangen, vil an den canzlen angezogen werdind, wie es sich dann je mit dem text zuotreit, damit das volk zuo zucht, friden und gehorsamen ermanet, der lastern, nit nun der forcht halben, sondern ouch von liebe Gottes wegen abstande.'*²⁶ This reading of the mandates from the pulpit was to be performed at least once a year that the Council's prescriptions against whoring (*huoren*), pimping (*kupplen*), adultery (*eebrechen*) and vice (*laster*) might be known. This use of the pulpit as the means of promulgating moral legislation had been required of the clergy by the diocesan synods of Constance. Clearly the Council made no specific distinction for moral legislation, as adherence to all the laws was understood as imperative to the Christian life, and the clergy were to speak on such wide ranging matters as church

²⁵ An example of this is the report from Bullinger and Jud to the clergy on the state of negotiations between Zürich and Bucer over the response to the statements of Luther on the sacraments. StAZ. E.II.I.230 7 May, 1538.

²⁶ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1899, p.829/30.

attendance, the keeping of the Sabbath, fighting and behaviour in war, gambling (*spilen*), drinking, unsuitable clothing and in economic questions such as speculation in the markets. The proclamation of mandates was not only a minister's duty as a servant of the state, it was an integral part of his teaching from the pulpit; the minister was educating the people in the responsibilities of belonging to the state. Authority from the pulpit was essential to both the propagation of reformed teachings and the exercise of social control by the civil officials in the parish.²⁷ The minister was to preach on the necessity of moral purity for the community and to use his authority both to denounce Catholicism and the errors of its teachings.²⁸

The Council, in consultation with Bullinger, expressed in the ordinances of 1532 its intentions for the clergy in their parishes; this was reinforced in the ordination oath of the ministers, in which they promised to refrain from mixing true doctrine with teachings of doubtful legitimacy not explicitly sanctioned by the Synod.²⁹ The Synod

²⁷ R. Scribner has identified the central place of the pulpit in the struggle between Catholic and evangelical forces in the early Reformation period in his 'Social Control and the Urban Reformation' in *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany*. (London, 1987), p.178-179.

²⁸ 'Dann gemeldte stuck nit minder dann das bapstumb und ze verwerfen sind, und so vil ernstlicher, so vil schädlicher si inbrechind.' Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1899, p.830.

²⁹ In their oath of ordination, the ministers promised 'Das ich das heilig Evangelium und wort Gotts darzuo ich berüefft bin, trüwlich und nach rechtem christenlichen verstand, ouch nach vermög Alts unnd Nüws Evangelischen Testaments, luth miner herren von Zürich vor ußgangnen mandats leeren unnd predigen und darunder kein dogma und leer, die zwyflig und noch nitt uff der ban und erhalten sye, nit ynmischen, sy sye dann zavor gemeiner ordenlicher versamlung, so jährlich zwey mal gehalten anzeigt, unnd vor der selbigen erhalten.' StAZ. E.II.87 197v. 1580. The text cited is from a 1580 reprinting of the morals mandates together with the marriage and synodal ordinances. These ordinances were often reprinted together. The oath sworn by the clergy at the May Synod of 1528 is found in Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1414, p.621.

was often reminded by the Council members that there was a direct connection between those parishes in which unlawful or unruly behaviour was reported and charges of negligence against the local minister. In October of 1552, the dean of the Zürichsee was told, in response to his report of numerous disciplinary problems in his chapter, that it was his responsibility to act against further manifestations of swearing, the bearing of illegitimate children (*huoren kind*) and drinking at funerals by ensuring the proper establishing of the mandates.³⁰ The situation of the clergy in Zürich was complex; the majority of them were not themselves from the city, yet the political and religious leaders in the city relied upon them to bring the Reformation teachings, which were formulated in an urban context, to a rural people who possessed little comprehension of the issues involved and were reluctant to accept the new practices.³¹ The clergy were the agents of reform through their duties of proclaiming the legislation

³⁰ StAZ. E.II.I.394-395 18 Oct. 1552

³¹ This question of what exactly the people expected of their minister and to what extent they understood the teachings of the 'new faith' has challenged historians to reassess the reception of the Reformation in the rural communities. Peter Blickle writes: *'Insofern die Rezeption der reformatorischen Theologie und Ethik seitens der Bauern und Bürger die spätmittelalterliche Institution Gemeinde vor aussetzt, die Theologie gewissermassen durch für den Bauern und Bürger primäre Lebensform der Gemeinde 'gefiltert' wird, drängt sich die Bezeichnung "Gemeindereformation" als begriffliche Abbeviatur für die Frühreformation geradezu auf.'* *'Die soziale Dialektik der reformatorischen Bewegung'*, in Zwingli und Europa, eds. P. Blickle, A. Lindt, and A. Schindler. (Zürich, 1985), p.89.

together with the reformed faith from the pulpit and the supervision of the morals of the community.³²

The constant flow of mandates out of Zürich into the *Landschaft* did not necessarily mean that the *Stadtschreiber* and printers were continually drafting new decrees, as most legislation issued by the Council pertaining to moral and ethical questions involved the reissuing of earlier texts. That the ministers might be able to keep an order to these documents, the Council advised the Synod in 1550 that the mandates be printed in a book and distributed to each minister for safekeeping in his church that he might have them all at hand to announce twice a year.³³ The Zürich Council wished to make the parish church the focal point of the community, particularly in the rural areas; the minister was to stand between the peasant farmers and the Council, on the one hand reporting the goings on and concerns in his charge, and on the other admonishing the people to obey the authority of the state. The Synod records provide evidence that the ministers were found wanting in their zeal to promulgate these mandates; this was a particular problem during the 1530s and 40s when the government was working out the parameters of its moral legislation.³⁴ The Synod of October,

³² For a short, but useful, account of the problems between the rural and urban areas of Zürich during the Zwinglian period and its implications for the remainder of the sixteenth century, see K. Maeder, 'Die Bedeutung für den Verlauf des reformatorischen Prozesses in Zürich, (1522-1532)' in B. Moeller (ed.), *Stadt und Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert*, (Gütersloh, 1978), 91-98.

³³ StAZ. E.II.I.359 6 May, 1550.

³⁴ Problems with ministers not reading the mandates in their churches were even discussed in the Ehegericht; in 1549 concern was expressed in the morals court that many abuses were being allowed to flourish precisely because the minister was not making his people aware of the legislation. The Ehegericht reported: 'Unnd sölliche allen iren predicanten inn der statt unnd uff dem lannd zuo gestellt, mitt dem bevelch, das sy die selben (innsonderheyt aber die eesatzungen) alle jar ze vier ald joch zum

1539, was told by the Council representatives that the clergy were everywhere failing to inform the people of the mandates and that this lapse of responsibility was at the root of numerous abuses in the parishes. Bullinger notes in the margin of the records that the parishes of Horgen, Buch, Berg and Dinhard were singled out for special mention as particularly difficult. The Council leaders called for a reissuing of the mandates against drunkenness, *kylwynen* (church festivals), and *horüng*, (whoring): *Hieruff schreib man ein vernüwerung der mandaten ufs land wider trunckenheit, kylwynen und huory. Und daß die vögt die predger nitt zu sächern machtind.*³⁵

The Vogt and other civil officials in the rural areas were also admonished by the Synod when it thought that they had not acted appropriately in a given case, though the Synod naturally possessed no authority either to discipline them nor even to presume to advise the Council on what ought to be done with them. In 1536 the Obervogt of Regensberg³⁶ was noted in the Synod for his piety and general good

wenigsten zwey malen an der cantzel verlesen unnd ußckünden söltind.' The Ehegericht was considering in this case the parish of Illnau with its problems of unruly young people and blasphemy which were giving offence to the respectable married people (*eelüten*). The Synod was asked by the Ehegericht to admonish the minister and compel him to fulfill the duties of his office '*das vermelte satzungen und mandaten zuo meerer abstellung unnd fürkomnuß angezeigter ergernüßen unnd mißbrüchen mitt ernst gehandthabt, verkünt unnd verlesen werdind.*' StAZ. A.6 14 October, 1549.

³⁵ StAZ. E.II.1.238 21 October, 1539. The Synod of May, 1545, likewise issued a long statement concerning the range of abuses current where the *Kylchrüchnungen* was not respected. StAZ. E.II.1.312-313 5 May, 1545. Cf. StAZ. E.II.1.227, October, 1537. Also the statement from the three leading ministers of Zürich (Bullinger, Gwalther and Wolff) on the necessity of *Kirchordnung* for the protection of the church.

³⁶ Probably Andreas Schmid. Cf. M. Spörri, *Verzeichnis der zürcherischen Land- und Obervögte 1391-1798*, (Zürich, 1943)

character, yet there were serious problems in the parishes of his district (*Vogtei*) where the people had demonstrated little obedience to the mandates and the Obervogt himself seemed ill disposed to punish offenders.³⁷ The Synod had to refer the matter to the Council, though this did not diminish its willingness to report and comment upon the case. Such criticism of civil officials in the Synod was not common, generally it was contained in the report of the deans on their chapters of situations in which they regarded the conduct of the Vogt to be questionable.³⁸ One example are the comments of the dean of Wetzikon to a Synod meeting in 1569 that the Vogt and officials (*amtlüten* - the Ehegaumer or Kirchenpfleger) were unwilling to enforce the laws of the land and had given free licence to such problems as excessive marriage festivities, dancing and poor church attendance.³⁹ The Synod issued a cautious statement suggesting that it was important for the Vogt to act in preventing dancing and other forms of unacceptable behaviour. In comparison, where it was a minister who was not publicly establishing the mandates from his pulpit, such as in the case of Ambrosius Blarer in 1562, the Synod would send an admonitory letter.⁴⁰ The Synod's

³⁷ StAZ. E.II.217 24 October, 1536

³⁸ In 1569 several ministers in Regensberg again complained about the uneven manner in which the Vogts and civil officials (*amplüthen*) were enforcing the church ordinances. Their particular complaint concerned the inconsistency of the officials in imposing fines upon offenders. StAZ. E.I.1.4. 5 October, 1569. Two years earlier, in 1567, the dean of Regensberg reported that the Vogt did not appear in the church for services, and that the Vogt's wife had not come to church at either Easter or Pentecost. This non attendance at church services was said by the dean to be causing great offence in the community. StAZ. E.I.2.1a. 1567.

³⁹ StAZ.E.II.I.599a 18 October, 1569

⁴⁰ StAZ. E.II.I.509 5 May, 1562

criticism of civil officials was a touchy subject which was not taken lightly, for there was no basis for it in the ordinances. It developed as a custom from the church's role as 'prophet' to the state, meaning that all activities of the government could be commented upon from a spiritual point of view.

The moral and ethical content of the mandates was wide ranging, though certain central issues dominated the attention of both the Council and the Synod. Church attendance, the keeping of the Sabbath and participation in the reformed sacraments were matters pertaining to the very existence of the church in the city and countryside. Not surprisingly, the Council and Synod were occupied with problems relating to these concerns. A mandate of 28 February, 1552, speaks of the serious problem of people not attending services either on Sundays or feast days; against such misconduct (*mangel*) the Council warns

Das sich ein jeder obangetzoygter, unnotsammer geschefflen an sonn- unnd fyrtagenn, unnd innsounders morgenns, vor unnd inn der predig fürohin müsige unnd entzieche, unnd mitnammen am morgen zur predig ganng, müeßte es dann am je sonn- ald fyrtag sin, möchte einer das nach denn imbis zuo hannden nemmen. Dann söllte einer oder meer söllichs fürer übersehenn unnd disem ansechen nit gehorsamenn, wurdennd gedachte unnsere herren die selbenn hertenklich straaffenn.⁴¹

This problem of the people not attending the sermons was greatly aggravated by the persistent practice, which Bullinger and the Council sought to suppress, of merchants setting up market in front of the *Rathaus* during the established hours of worship. In 1567 these merchants were warned to cease the displaying and selling of their wares

⁴¹ StAZ. A.42.3 28 February, 1552.

and to attend the sermons. The fine established for not attending services was set at the rather costly sum of one pound and five shillings.⁴²

Attendance at regular church services, and more especially at the sacraments, was the means by which the Council and Synod could supervise the behaviour and beliefs of the people. Where non attendance was in evidence, the church and government were alerted to the presence of problems such as resistance to the reformed teaching, Anabaptist or Catholic tendencies, or simply moral laxity. A printed mandate of 1572 sets out the obligations of the people to attend the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The four days stipulated for its celebration were Christmas, Ascension, Easter Monday and Pentecost, and on those days no work was to be done and all people, young and old, man and woman, were to gather in the parish church for the sacrament. Those not attending the sacrament were to be fined and the parishioners were encouraged to participate in the policing of attendance by reporting to the local officials, and presumably the minister also, those who were staying away.⁴³

When the minister became aware of a parishioner not attending the Lord's Supper (or *Disch Christi*), he was first to instruct privately the person in the true nature of the sacrament (*alles handels der herrennachtsmals*). If this individual approach did not

⁴² StAZ. E.II.87.54/55, 27 April, 1567

⁴³ '... unnd uff sollich tag niemandts weder durch sich selbs nach sine dienst unnd gesind wercken noch arbeiten, deßglychen die krämer, glesserfürer, handwerckßlüt noch andere, es sygen frömbd oder heimbsch, uff dieselben tag ire laden zuo halten und darin nit feylhaben noch verkouffen, sonders mengklich in christenliche liebe halten unnd einandern bruoderlich verschonen söllind, dann welliche daß es werind wyb oder mann, jung oder alt, übersehind, von den unnd den selben jeden insonderheit wöllen wir, so offit unnd dick es beschicht, ein halb march silbers, zuo rachen buoß unnd straaff inzühen lassen und gebietend daruf, daß ein jeder den andern darumb unsern vögten und ampflüten leyden und anzeigen solle.' StAZ. E.II.87.129 10 September, 1572

serve its intended purpose then the minister was to inform the Synod of the problem. This advice was given to the minister at Elgg where a local noble (*Junker*) persisted in neither attending the sacrament nor the regular services of the church.⁴⁴ Such resistance to the Council's requirement of participation in the sacraments of the church was, from the evidence, a widespread and serious problem. In May, 1560, Heinrich Hausheer of Rorbas reported that numerous people were not only not coming to receive the Eucharist, but further, the Anabaptists, and particularly one F. Barbel of Ulm, were active in the area. Hausheer attributed this depletion of numbers in his church to the covert activities of the Anabaptists, and he was told by the Synod that he must make a report to the Vogt of Kilchberg, one Iteihans Thumysen.⁴⁵ This connection between the Anabaptists and the absence of parishioners from the sacraments was common in Zürich, and there are numerous reports similar to that of Hausheer's.⁴⁶ Church attendance was, in fact, one of the prime tests in determining the spiritual allegiances of the people.

A particularly interesting case illustrating the problem of non attendance appeared in 1563, when following a report to the Synod concerning numerous prominent (*fürnāme*) people in various places (*orten*) avoiding participation in the Lord's Supper, examiners were sent by the Synod to look into the matter. The examiners put a series of questions to the people to determine what objections were held against the reformed understanding of the sacraments, and the answers they received underline the extent to which the common people, even in the second half of the century remained ignorant of the elements of the faith:

⁴⁴ StAZ. E.II.I.198 19 October, 1535

⁴⁵ StAZ. E.II.I.484 7 May, 1560

⁴⁶ Cf. The report of the dean of Regensberg to the October Synod of 1569. StAZ. E.II.I.599b 18 October, 1569

*'Dorum ward gefraget, wie und was man gägen den selben handeln sollte? Daruff ward bescheid gäben, daß man nieman gwalltiklich könne darzuo zwingen: diewyl Paulus sage: Probet seipsum homo etc. Dan einen zwingen, das zuo thuon, das er nitt verstadt, sye einen zwingen unwürdig zuo ässen und das urteil oder gericht gottes zuo niessen. Dorum habind unsere herren von allterhar nieman zwungen. Welcher aber zuo des herren disch nitt gange, des gebruche man nitt in gricht oder radt, oder zü händlen der kylchen.'*⁴⁷

This short text brings out several crucial points: it makes clear that resistance to the Council's control of the church and all matters of faith existed amongst the laity into the last decade of Bullinger's life, and it points to the failure of the Zürich reformers to convince the people of why civil coercion to attend church was necessary. That the respondents could not understand the argument about the danger of unworthily receiving the sacrament emphasizes the difficulty Bullinger and the other Zürich church leaders encountered in enforcing this basic tenet of reformed sacramental thought based upon 1 Timothy 11:28.⁴⁸ The text closes with an instruction to both the clergy and civil officials that the people must be made to attend, and that the added difficulty of Anabaptists not bringing their children to church to be baptized must also be dealt with, as it was having a erosive effect upon church attendance.⁴⁹ This case is important also because it provides the only piece of evidence in the synodal records of the examination

⁴⁷ StAZ, E.II.I.519 4 May, 1563.

⁴⁸ This is a corrupted version of the text from the Vulgate. It reads in the original: '*Probet autem se ipsum homo et sic de pane illo edat et de calice bibat.*'

⁴⁹ 'Communion and Community: the refusal to attend the Lord's Supper in the sixteenth century', in D.W. Sabean, *Power in the Blood*, (Cambridge, 1984), p.47. A similarity between the two situations is that in both cases the official sacramental confessions carried the weight of political and ecclesiastical authority, and the governments of Zürich and Württemberg saw the issue of non attendance as being both political and religious.

of the people before the sacrament. The documents do not, unfortunately, shed further light on the extent of this practice. In his study of non participation in communion in Württemberg in the 1580s, D.W. Sabeau argues that quarrels between people in a village were frequently cited as the reason for non attendance at communion. Although ministers in Zürich were charged with resolving public disputes where they could, they were not allowed to forbid participation in the sacrament. This meant that the common people would not have suffered from the crisis of conscience as to whether they could attend the sacrament, as Sabeau suggests was evident in Württemberg.

The important occasions of the church year were frequently the scenes of exuberant festivities in the rural communities, and the Council and Synod became increasingly concerned with the extent of this disruptive behaviour. In article twenty five of *De Vera et Falsa Religione*, Zwingli put his case for the reform in the number of holy days to be observed in Zürich. The Council mandate of 28 March 1526 allowed for the continued observance of a considerable number of festival days integral to the ecclesiastical year of the mediaeval church: Christmas, St. Stephen's day, the circumcision of Christ, Ascension, Easter and Easter Monday, Pentecost, All Saints, Candlemas, the Annunciation, Ascension of Mary, St. John the Baptists day, Mary Magdalene's day and Felix and Regula day⁵⁰ Anton Largiadèr argues that in the 1520s the regulations of Canon Law concerning festival days were still followed.⁵¹ In 1530 a new spirit emerged in Zürich and the festival days were reduced to Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and certain penitential days.⁵² The questions involved in this process of simplifying the church year were of enormous importance. Bullinger regarded feast days as dangerous because they could give rise to immorality and

⁵⁰ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 946, p.453/4.

⁵¹ A. Lagiardèr, 'Das reformierte Zürich und die Fest- und Heiligtage', *Zwingliana* 9.9. (1953) p.511.

⁵² *Ibid.*

superstition. Yet, the Zürich church had to be mindful of the continuing attractiveness of the older Roman rites and practices. In the end, as Lagiardèr remarks, Zürich made the transition from the elaborate system of feast days set out in Canon Law and liturgical books to a simple pattern which had no place for saints and Marian days.⁵³

Nevertheless, baptisms, funerals, marriages and festival days (particularly *Fastnacht*) continued to be celebrated with drinking, games and dancing -all activities forbidden by the morals mandate. A reissue of a morals mandate in 1567 describes such incidents of disorderly behaviour as being rife and demanded the immediate cessation of such activities, setting a fine of five pounds on those found participating.⁵⁴ At the heart of these events were two fundamental causes: firstly, the rural peasantry continued to associate the important religious and social moments of life with festive celebrations which offered relief from the dreariness of life; and, secondly, in rural life in the sixteenth century drinking was a favourite and easy means of alleviating boredom. Concerning the abuse of church events, the most common was the scandalous and pernicious shame (*ergerlicher bößer bruch*) brought upon the church by parents, who, when appearing in the church to present their children for baptism, were drunk, and who continued drinking following the service.⁵⁵ In a related problem, there is evidence of considerable amounts of drinking surrounding funeral services for members of the community. Thus a dean, in a report to the Synod in 1542, commented that the people in the rural areas began and concluded their lives with

⁵³ Ibid., p.523.

⁵⁴ StAZ. A.42.3 1567

⁵⁵ This problem of drinking after baptism was a persistent one in Zürich. Even in 1584 the Council was still telling ministers that they were to speak against such drinking practices. Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.145.

drinking (*also das läben mitt trincken anhebe und beschließe*).⁵⁶ This particular form of alcohol abuse which took place at baptisms was referred to as *Kindervertrinken*, and it was perceived as marring the whole performance of the sacrament. The Council also warned the ministers that they were compounding the confusion surrounding baptism by failing to keep accurate records of the names of those whom they had baptized. This had the effect of complicating the Council's attempts to keep an accurate account of the population in the parishes.

The most frequent problems surrounding communal and religious celebrations were those connected with the marriage feasts (*Hochzyt*) and those festivals variously referred to as *Fastnacht* or simply as pagan celebrations (*heidnisch fest*). Typical of this problem was the dean of Winterthur's report to the Synod in 1561 that in defiance of the Council's forbiddence of marriage celebrations continuing over two days, such festivities were indeed lasting much longer.⁵⁷ The participants would arrive drunk having been in the tavern before the service. When the formal ceremony had concluded the feasting began with music and dancing which lasted up to four days. The Council issued mandates against such parties almost yearly. The argument of these prohibitions centred not so much on whether or not the family ought to be allowed to hold marriage festivities, which was not explicitly denied, but rather on the impropriety of holding such events in a tavern where people would be prone to drink too much and become unruly. In order to counter such practices, the Council suggested alternative arrangements: *Im besten erkennt unnd geordnet, das man die hochzyten nit meer inn den wirtshüßeren, sünder eyn yeder die inn synem huß unnd uff syn eygenen costen haben, unnd wo eyner nit wyte gnuog inn synem huß hette, eyn nachpuren umb platz*

⁵⁶ StAZ. E.II.I.289-290 24 October, 1542.

⁵⁷ STAZ. E.II.I.501 21 October, 1561

bitten möchte'.⁵⁸ The Council was concerned that given their relative poverty, the peasantry were impoverishing themselves further with these costly celebrations. Also, by suggesting that the celebrations be held in a neighbour's house if one's own was too small, the Council and Synod were attempting to displace the tavern as the meeting point of the community.

The effects of this drinking at marriages were spelled out in a 1553 Council mandate written in response to a complaint from Bullinger, Gwalther and Wolff:

*Namlich also wänn unnd so oft ein hochzyt verhanden, so syge durch knaben unnd töchteren, jung unnd alt personen, im kilchgang dermaßen ein zulouffen und ungebührlich wesen. Das den frömden lüten, wann die verhanden, ein große ergernus gebe, und lassind sich die selben gewünderigen lüt, an dem das sy den kilchgang biß an die kilchhof besehen mogint, gar nitt vernügen, sonders louffind ettliche unverschampfer wyß an unnd inn die kilchen, schrygind und tobint.*⁵⁹

In the social and religious disruption caused by these festivities the Synod and Council detected the presence of certain anti-ecclesiastical attitudes which openly discouraged church attendance and encouraged a disrespectful attitude towards the preaching of the word. A interesting sixteenth century parallel is found in H. Medick's study of the spinning bees (*Spinnstube*) which were common in Germany and other parts of Europe. As with the taverns in the Zürich countryside, these spinning bees were perceived by civil and ecclesiastical authorities as places where immoral activities such as dancing, gambling, drinking and indecent singing flourished.⁶⁰ Another similarity is

⁵⁸ StAZ. A.42.3 18 July, 1546. The mandate is entitled '*Das ein jeden syn hochzyt inn synen huss und nit inn wirtzhussen halten.*'

⁵⁹ StAZ. A.42.3 23 August, 1553. (*tobint* - loud behaviour)

⁶⁰ Hans Medick remarks: 'If one side of the *Spinnstube* sociability was the sensual-physical pleasure in dance and play, then the other side - inexorably tied up with it - was the oral-verbal communication

found in the way that both the taverns and the spinning bees were thought to be centres of opposition to the ruling authorities. Further, the presence of 'strangers' (*frömbden lüten*) was also thought dangerous as they were regarded as importers of unhealthy practices and ideas from the outside. The references to these people are somewhat oblique, for sometimes it is clear that the records are speaking of those people who had come to Zürich from the French and Italian parts of the Confederation, whilst at other points they simply mean people who lived outwith the parish. The Council relied upon accurate parish records to provide them with information about the growth and movements of the population. In 1553, complaints from civil officials (*Chorrichtern*) suggested that many ministers were not bothering with such essential records as the baptismal registry.⁶¹ Ministers were told that they were to keep an accurate account of all births, deaths, marriages and disciplinary cases discussed in the local morals court (*Stillstand*). The point that the minister was to work in conjunction with the Ehegaumer in preserving morals was again emphasized.

The Synod required of ministers that their supervision of parishioner's lives extend beyond their behaviour in public events in the community and the church to the

through story-telling, song and jokes. It was a question above all of criticism and control of village community life, of the material life of adults, of the passing on of magic and irreligious customs and the holding up of official religion to ridicule and irony.' Further, as with the marriage ceremonies in Zürich, the authorities criticised the Spinnstuben over the cost to peasant families of such heavy drinking and excessive eating. H. Medick 'Village spinning bees: sexual culture and free time among the rural youth in early modern Germany' in H. Medick and D.W. Sabean (eds) *Interests and Emotions: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*. (Cambridge, 1984).

⁶¹ StAZ. E.II.I.409/10 9 May, 1553 Concerning the keeping of baptismal records: '*Da sye ir begär, daß ein ieder pfarrer nach lut vor ußganger unser herren mandat alle und iede kind, so er toufft, das iar, den tag und monat, ouch gotten und göttij uffzeichne in ein buoch.*'

state of their domestic relations. To this end the Synod cooperated with the Ehegericht, the morals court for the laity, and the Stillstand, the morals tribunal in the parishes, in the exchange of information. Ministers, as leaders in the community were often called upon to give evidence in marital cases being heard in the Ehegericht. The instructions given to the Synod for ministers to preach against and report moral abuses were paralleled by statements from the Council through the Ehegericht on adultery, drinking and marriage feasts.⁶² The close connection between the Synod and the Ehegericht is seen in the reliance of the morals court upon the testimonies of parish ministers in marriage cases. In 1535 the evidence received in the Ehegericht concerning a marital dispute in Dielsdorf was based upon a report compiled jointly by the Vogt, minister and the Ehegaumer.⁶³ The ministers in the Synod were told that they were expected to work closely with the Ehegaumer in their parish that any household problems might be dealt with quickly.

The survival of the old practices in the parishes was no more troublesome than with Fastnacht, the pre-Lenten festival, which continued to be observed in the rural areas. Scribner's work on the various forms of Fastnacht in the pre and early Reformation periods does not list Zürich as a location of the celebration, though Basel and Bern had well organized festivals which were at least partially supported by their

⁶² These documents are found in StAZ. A.6 entitled '*Zürich Stadt und Landschaft Ehegericht Satzungen und dergleiche, 1525-1721.*' Examples of such statements are those of 13 July, 1533 and another undated account from the late 1530s against adultery and blasphemy, and of 4 May, 1566, against drunkenness and marriage feasts.

⁶³ StAZ. A.7.1 Zürich Ehegericht 1535. A similar report from 1544 cited Jan Kilchmeister, minister at Küssnacht, as the source of information in a local marital dispute.

ruling councils.⁶⁴ The evidence for Fastnacht in Zürich neither adds nor detracts from Scribner's thesis that the carnival 'made possible the transition from the new to the old'. However, its perseverance in Zürich testifies to its importance in the minds of common men as an integral part of the year. In 1562 the dean of Regensberg reported the occurrence of a heathen festival (*heidnisch fest*) which gave great offence to the churches in Oberglatt, Bülach, Glattfeld, and several other places.⁶⁵ Fastnacht was traditionally marked with celebrations which had distinctly anti-clerical sentiments, which together with the usual drinking, dancing and games made it unacceptable to the authorities in Zürich, who set a fine of seven shillings upon those found to be participating.⁶⁶ One of the most colourful descriptions of Fastnacht in Zürich is found in a Fürtrag from Bullinger, Gwalther and Leemann in which the celebrations are depicted in terms of pagan festivals of antiquity (viz. Bacchanalia, Lupercalia and

⁶⁴ *Popular Religion*, p.100. There is no support for the idea that plays, processions or travesties had any part in Fastnacht celebrations in the Zürich countryside, though they may well have taken place. All that is known is that they were occasions for drinking, dancing, fighting, and other unspecified activities which seemed hostile to the church and Council. While the Zürich Council unequivocally condemned these events, it did not follow the pattern, shown by Scribner to be the case in other German and Swiss cities, of allowing these festivities as a means of venting the people's energies and frustrations.

⁶⁵ StAZ. E.II.I.508 5 May, 1562

⁶⁶ The mandate against Fastnacht reads: '*Unnser herren unnd Rath der statt Zürich wellend unnd gepietend, das inn bedenckung der geschaarlichen: unnd sorglichen zyt unnd louffen so vor augen sind, uff diss kunfftige unnd yetzige vassnacht, gar niemandt dannzen sollte wider man nach wybs bild, Ing nachhalt heymlich noch offentlich sonnder sich menngklich aller zucht urbarkeit unnd nuwen beflyssen.*' StAZ. A.42.3 17 February, 1549

Cerealia).⁶⁷ The text, written in Gwalther's hand, argues that Fastnacht was a longstanding tradition composed of many feasts. It then gives an account of the various forms of excess:

Erstlich daß die faßnacht ein heidisch fest, ia von vilen heidnischen zuosammen geflickt ist, darab die vralt christenliche kilch alle zit ein mißfallen und grewel ghan hatt. Dann ist kundbar ist, daß etliche der heiden ire bachanalia zuo eeren dem abgott Bachus im jenner mitt füllery, unzüchtigem herunmlauffen verkleideter wiber und manns personen, deßglychen mitt hewischen gschrey und allerley unzüchtiger gebärden begangen habend, darunnder sich dann bywylen allerley schanden zuo tragen, dadurch die Römer, als sy noch heiden und aber frömmer und erbarer warend, dann sy hernach gsin, verursacht werden, sölchs bachusfest in ir statt abzustellen. Demnach so hand die heiden im hornung die lupercalia begangen, was deß abgotts Panis oder Fausti fest, in dem etliche verbuzet durch die statt liesend mitt selzammen sprüngen, schlugend mengklichen, der inn begägnen, ouch die schwangeren frauwen mitt rieman und geißlen. Imm merzen hieltend sy der abgötten Ceres fest, deren sy zuo eeren vil großer führen anzundten, lüeffend ouch by nachtlicher wyl hin und har, darus vil unzüchten entstunndent. Diese drü heidnische fest hatt böse fyend alle in die faßnacht zogen, die sich mehrteils vom nüwen iar an biß in merzen erstrek, und in alle wyß und wag, wie by den heiden die bachanalia, lupercalia und cerealia, begangen wirt, damit ob schon der abgötteren nammen abgethon, dennocht iro fest uch by den christen mitt heidnischer unzücht gehalten wurdint.⁶⁸

Other forbidden activities included cards and various forms of gambling. Drinking was the most common of these matters and the Council set down explicit guide-lines on how transgressors (*überträttenden*) were to be reported and punished. The Council singled out the custom whereby one would drink and then his companions would have to do likewise. When the first had drunk and put his empty or half empty glass back on

⁶⁷ StAZ. E.II.102.355. 1576. The document contains Bullinger's name even though it is dated a year after his death.

⁶⁸ StAZ. E.II.102.355. 1576. *Vralt* - very old; *hewischen* = HG. *narrisch* (carnavalesque) SI. 2. p.1822) *geißlen* - whips, *führen* - fire, *fyend* - devil.

the table he was not to compel his companions to immitate his drinking. Should he attempt to do so, the Council orders that the Vogt be informed and the person fined, regardless of his position. *Sonders so einer truncken, als dann er daß trinckgschirr uff den tisch für sich oder sonst wider niederstellen, und dem ers bracht hat wäder halb oder gar lär zeigen, noch mit wincken, stuppen, mupfen, oder anderen Worten, wercken, wissen oder geberden zum bescheid thuon ansuochen noch nötigen, und so einer daß thette, sol der dem es bracht ist, dasselbig by seinem eyd on verzug unsern vögten und amptlütten zuoleyden unnd anzegeben schudig syn, die volgends von der selben überträttenden person jedes mals es beschicht, fünft schilling buoß gestraax und one verschonen der person zuo unsern handen inziehen.*⁶⁹ This text gives an idea of the extent to which the Council and Church were at war with ingrained customs in the communities. In an attempt to curtail the amount of wine available to any one person, the Council put a limit on the quantity of wine which could be purchased by an individual. The Guild leaders were required by the Council to take action against members who were selling more wine than legally allowed.⁷⁰ In the rural areas control

⁶⁹ StAZ. E.II .87.128v 1572. *lär* = HG. *leer* (empty).

⁷⁰ The 1529 Basel Reformation decree set strict guidelines on how tavern owners were to observe the clock in the Münster and stop serving at the appointed time. Further, they were responsible for sending their patrons home and ensuring that they did not loiter in the streets causing a disturbance: *'Wir wollend auch, das alle zünfft-, gesellschaft-, win und würtshüser summer und winterszyt, so bald man dz glocklin im Münster verlütet hatt, zu geschlossen, die gest und gesellen heim oder an ir rüw gewisen und inen kein win me gegeben werde, by peen eins pfund pfenning unableszlich zü bezahlen. Es soll auch, nachdem das glocklin im Münster verlütet, niemands on ein liecht uff der gassen gon, auch solcher zyt dergassen nit singen noch schryen; dann wolcher das übertritt, soll das nachgeschrey on gnad verbessern.'* 1 April, 1529. Dürr and Roth, *Actensammlung*, 473, p.407.

over the selling of wine fell under the responsibilities of the Vogt.⁷¹ The ministers were to preach against drinking and bring forward to the Vogt any information they possessed concerning incidents of excessive drinking or of other forbidden activities.⁷² The question of drinking must be approached with some care. The attempts of the Council and the Synod to control the abuse of alcohol amongst the clergy and laity must not be interpreted as some sort of sixteenth century prohibition movement. Beer and wine were important forms of drink in a society where the quality of the drinking water was doubtful. This accounts for the position of brewers and wine merchants in sixteenth century society. Nevertheless, the reformers waged war upon alcoholism. Professor Blanke has shown that a concern with immoderate consumption was not exclusive to Protestantism. Along with the Lutherans, Zwinglians and Calvinists, many of the Catholic states brought in legislation limiting the numbers of public houses and acceptable amounts per person.⁷³ Alcoholism was widespread and the reformers had

⁷¹ StAZ. A. 87.129

⁷² Hans Ulrich Bächtold has traced Bullinger's attempts before the Synod and Council to counter the enormous problem of drunkenness. The strongest impediment to the Council and clergy arriving at a working solution to the question was their own fondness of drink. Bächtold remarks: *'Doch gerade weil Pfarrer, Ratsherren und Vogte selber dem Trunke fronten, könne das Uebel zu wenig streng gehandelt werden. Zu viele Vogte seien zu dem selber Wirte.'* *Bullinger vor dem Rat* (Zürich, 1982), p.65-66. The debate over drunkenness amongst the clergy began in 1558 when the Synod was warned by the Council in this matter. After that Bullinger became extremely active before Synod and the Council in appealing for something to be done; however, as Bächtold remarks, the enthusiasm shown by Bullinger and the other church leaders was not wholly shared by the political leaders: *'Diese Zurückhaltung war bezeichnend. Der Rat zeigt sich während der ganzen sechziger und siebziger Jahre nicht geneigt, dem Eifer von Seiten der Kirchendiener nachzugeben, obschon er das Problem der Verarmung und des zunehmenden Elends weitgehend als Problem des Glaubens und der Sitten deutete.'* *Ibid.*, p. 67

⁷³ F. Blanke, *'Reformation und Alkoholismus'*, *Zwingliana.*, 9.1. (1949), 75-89.

to make an important decision on the ethics of drinking. The difficulty was to limit consumption sufficiently to eradicate the worst results of drunkenness without alienating the people through the removal of a central part of the social lives. Luther, Zwingli and Bullinger argued that the people did not have to abstain from drink, but rather take it in moderation.⁷⁴ Professor Blanke argues that the reformers attempted to introduce a new ethical standard in which the individual employed self-control in determining for himself the measure of healthy consumption.⁷⁵ Yet, in the end, as Blanke concedes, the Reformation failed to make any serious inroads against the problem. This is borne out in the evidence for the continuance of drunkenness amongst the clergy in Zürich during the sixteenth century. Certainly it was the bond between drinking, feasting and the church year which proved the most resilient. Easter and Christmas were two occasions particularly noted for celebration. The people would come into the city from the surrounding countryside and the religious celebrations would assume the atmosphere of a fair.⁷⁶ On Easter Monday (*Zimpfeltag*) there would be processions of children through the streets of Zürich, followed by the performance of the traditional Easter plays. Feasting was an important part of these events. The continuation of such activities is, as Hauser argues, evidence for extent to which the

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.87.

⁷⁵ 'Gewiß, das sind Gefahren, mögliche Irrwege der Enthaltbarkeit. Aber Abstinenz muß nicht gesetzlich, asketisch, Verdienstlich aufgefaßt werden. Es gibt auch evangelische Enthaltbarkeit, wo man freiwillig aus der Gnade heraus und aus Liebe zum schwachen Bruder auf Alkohol verzichtet. Ibid., p.88.

⁷⁶ Albert Hauser states that in 1526 approximately six thousand people came into Zürich for the Christmas celebrations. *Von Essen und Trinken im alten Zürich, Tafelsitten, Kochkunst und Lebenshaltung vom Mittelalter bis in die Neuzeit.* (Zürich, 1961), p.103.

church year was integrated into the everyday work lives of a people dependent upon their own labours and the fruits of the earth for existence.⁷⁷

Blasphemy and slander (*lästern*) were closely related to the issues of the festivals and of excessive drinking. Bullinger and his fellow ministers made it clear that the use of blasphemous language put the whole community in peril of receiving God's wrath, while the political authorities were keenly aware that toleration of seditious and slanderous language could undermine the authority of the Council. The October Synod of 1540 discussed the matter and reaffirmed the necessity of rooting out and punishing all users of abusive language while also expressing its fear that the cause of the Reformation in Zürich might be lost on account of the sinful behaviour of the people: *Wenn man nun also fürfaren wil, unnd niemands mit ernst werren, ist nüt gwüssers dan das uns Got straffen wirt, unnd muß mit allerley plagen, kranckheyt, hunger, tüwre, krieg, uffrur, unnd pranndt. Dann wir habend lang sin wort gehört unnd besserend uns nüt. So sagend wir all mit unseren munden unser sach, wirt also nit beston.*⁷⁸ Five years later the issue was raised again in the Synod and the ministers were told how to handle a matter of blasphemy or slander.⁷⁹ Firstly, they

⁷⁷ Hauser writes: *'Die vielen Feste des Kirchenjahres, alle die Feste aus dem Kreis des Lebenlaufes und schließlich auch die bäuerlichen Feste, (Erntefeste, Metzgete, Flurumgang, Milchkauf und so weiter) boten immer wieder Anlaß, sich gemeinsam an Trunk und Speise zu ergötzen. Dazu kamen die Festessen und Trinken an den Markttagen, am Examen, beim Pfarreinsatz, an den Schließen, am Gerichtstag, bei der Zehntenablieferung und bei der Geschworenen - und Richterwahl. Daß das Maß oft nicht eingehalten wurde, erscheint aber durchaus 'brauchmäßig und volktümlich'. Ibid. p.120.*

⁷⁸ StAZ. E.II.I.262 19 October, 1540

⁷⁹The 1532 Bern synodal ordinances expressed concern that all quarrels and disputes were to be treated by ministers out of concern for faith and not for any ulterior, or fleshly, reason: *'Notwendig ist dabei, dass der Prediger nicht aus menschlichen Antrieb tadelt, sondern aus der ewigen Wahrheit als vor Gott*

were reminded that it was their obligation to admonish with God's Word those who used abusive language; this meant they were to meet privately with those suspected of such an offence in order to correct them. Only when a pastoral visit failed were they to report the case to the dean and Vogt that the extent of the problem might be publicly known. When the case was investigated the Synod warned the deans and ministers that they were not to believe lightly (*lichtlich*) the testimony of those who came forward, and they were to separate gossip from the truth in using caution and wisdom to discern the facts of the case. The witnesses were to be asked if they had informed the Vogt, and if they had not then the minister was charged with determining whether or not it was a valid case before passing on his information to the Vogt himself. If this was not possible for any reason then the minister was to report directly to the Bürgermeister. This was the extent of the minister's role in the disciplining of an offender, for, outside the making of inquiries, his function was constrained to admonishing privately and publicly those who broke the articles (*uffsatzes*) prohibiting abusive language.⁸⁰

und inm Angesicht unseres Herren Jesus Christus. Das hat zur Folge, dass er niemals anders tadeln wird als aud herzlicher Liebe, mit der sein gottergebenes Herz durch Christus übergossen ist. Er wird im Tadel auch nicht weiter gehen, als es den Zuhöreren zur Auferbauung dient, soll doch in der Kirche alles 'zur Besserung' geschehen und nicht aus fleischlichen Eifer oder Zank.' Der Berner Synodus von 1532, vol.1 (Bern, 1984), G.W. Locher (ed.), p.107. All citations are from the modern German translation of Hans Georg vom Berg.

⁸⁰ The approach taken in Basel was somewhat different. In the section concerning how the word of God is to be preached, the *Reformationsordnung* says that those who blaspheme must first be admonished and then, should this fail, they ought to be banished: '*By diser verkündung sollend die laster, on ansehens richer oder arme, hohen oder nidern stands personen, mit dem wort gottes ernstlich gestrafft, doch nidische schmach- und schellwort, dadurch erbere personen verleumbdet und verargwonet, underlassen werden. Es were dann, dz einer in öffentlichen lastern nach evangelischer warnung unverschampt verhartete oder ein find des gottlichen wortes und der kilchen were, also das man in*

Blasphemy and slander remained disruptive forces in the parishes throughout Bullinger's time. In 1563, the dean of the Freiamt reported how strongly it was rooted in the behaviour of the people: *zeigt an, wie das gottsestern imm ampt so häfftig zuonäme, daß iung und allt übel schwürend, das ouch ein uffrueriger böser touffischer buob Anderes Guot zü Ottenbach vil unruowen mache.*⁸¹ Punishment for such an offence was generally a fine of some sort in addition to the admonitions received from the minister. In 1572 a Council mandate proposed that those found guilty ought to make a donation to the poor.⁸² Taverns, not unsurprisingly, were the most common location for slanderous and blasphemous language, and where the person involved was a 'stranger', the Council placed the responsibility for warning and even fining the person with the innkeeper: *So unnd wenn ouch ein wirt in unser statt unnd landtschafft frömbde gest, die und nüt zuo versprechen stand, beher berget, und einer der selben schwüer ald gotteslesterte so der wirt pflichtig syn, in deß anfangs zewarnen, unnd so ers darüber wyter thette, als dann er in heissen den herd küssen oder von im ein schilling vorderen der luth vorgemelts ansehens dem nachsten armen menschen ald in das gemein allmuoßen gegeben werden.*⁸³ Blasphemy was understood as posing a direct threat to the corporate life of Zürich and the ministers were continually encouraged to be more diligent in removing it from the community.⁸⁴ Blasphemous

verbannen und die christen vor im warnen muszte: dann mag die rugung solcher personen doch nit usz nyd, sonder von miszfallens der sünden wegen wol beschehen. 1 April, 1529. Dürr and Roth,

Actensammlung, 473, p. 384-385.

⁸¹ StAZ. E.II.1.526 19 Oct., 1565.

⁸² StAZ. E.II.87.127 1572.

⁸³ Ibid.(printed) E.II.87. 128/128v 1572.

language was fractious, and to counter it the ministers were expected to draw the people together in general repentance:

...die pfarrher und predicanten das volck an den cantzlen flyßig darzuo ermanen, inn (gott) ernstlich zebitten und anzerüeffen, das er so gnadig sin welle, und synen zorn von uns ablassen, nüt ansahen unseri großi sünd, und hoch verschulden, sunder sin barmhertzigkeytt, und um sin göttlich hilff und gnad der fruchten halb widerumb mitteilen.⁸⁵

The ministers kept a watchful eye over the ethics of the markets in the towns, and this concern for propriety in financial affairs was extended to all manner of transactions between the members of the community. In October of 1542, the Synod heard an account of how the people were engaging in the mortgaging of property which did not properly belong to them. This *unchristlich* behaviour involved the acquiring of seals from the Council and the receipt of money for property which had not been taken into possession. These transactions, referred to in the report as 'corner deals' (*winckel kouff*), allowed the people to make money illegally, and ministers were told that they must report any such cases to the Council.⁸⁶ Again, the civil officials could be reported in the Synod for the mishandling of monies, as was the Vogt of Andelfingen, Heinrich Vögeli, whose financial misdealings were the subject of Christian Wirt's, the dean of Winterthur, report to the Synod in 1566.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ In Basel blasphemy was understood in the same terms: '*So nun gott, unser hymmelischer vatter, unsz in solchen dienst berufft, das gut zu pflantzen und das uebel zu straffen gebotten hat, damit wir dann unsers ampts trewlich warnemen, habend wir folgende laster by den peenen, darby gemelt, verbotten und unsz einhellenklich entschlossen und vereinbart, die übertretter on alle gnad ze straffen.*'

Dürer and Roth, *Actensammlung*, p.400-401

⁸⁵ StAZ. E.II.87.137, 1572.

⁸⁶ StAZ. E.II.I.290 24 October, 1542.

⁸⁷ StAZ. E.II.I.566, 7 May, 1566.

The mutual dependence of the Rathaus and parish minister in establishing the laws and the exchanging of information was particularly crucial in the matter of the Anabaptists. By the May Synod of 1550, the dean of Bäretschwil could describe the presence of Anabaptists (*die Touffer*) in Grüningen as the 'old complaints' (*die alten Klagend*).⁸⁸ Reports to the Synod of Anabaptist practices generally cited their curious baptismal customs, refusal to follow the laws of the Vogt or Council, secret meetings and non attendance at the parish church as the prime forms of evidence.⁸⁹ In addition the ministers frequently attributed to them all sorts of foul behaviour, such as swearing, adultery, fighting etc. From the Synodal records it can be surmised that they were active in all the chapters, though the most frequently cited areas were the Freiamt, Zürichsee, Bäretswil, Wetzikon and Regensberg. Again the report of the dean of Bäretswil is typical with its account of various goings on in the chapter: there were numerous baptists around Gossau, and in Fischenthal Caspar Bertschiker's wife, named Elsy, did not attend church (*nitt zu kylchen gange*), which was generally interpreted to mean she held sympathies with the sectarians. In Wetzikon, Hans Wyld

⁸⁸ StAZ. E.II.I.361 5 May, 1550

⁸⁹ One of the most detailed accounts of the charges of Anabaptism against a person was the case of Claus Strelor of Haltberg, who appeared before the Ehegericht in 1552. The chief witnesses against him were the ministers Rüdolf Keller of Fischenthal and Martin Mannhart of Wald. Mannhart reported to the Ehegericht of Strelor's refusal to attend church, and of his not bringing his child forward for baptism. The particular matter in question was whether Strelor and his wife could be considered lawfully married as they had not been wedded in a church. On the evidence of the ministers' tales of the Strelers' Anabaptist activities, the Ehegericht decided '*wie u[wer] wisheijt hiervor verständigt Claus Strelers und siner eefrowen halb, von wegen deß, das sy die ee noch nit nach christenlicher ordnung mitt dem kilchganng bestet...*'. StAZ. A.7.2 1552 Zürich Ehegericht.

said to the minister that he would rather live under the Turks than be subject to such men as controlled the Council in Zürich. The unseemly (*ungebürlich*) behaviour of the poor and the farmers meant that they were continuously under the watchful eye of ministers looking out for Anabaptists. Yet this was a difficult occupation, and the report of the dean of the Zürichsee gives witness to how much trouble many of the ministers encountered in determining the true sympathies of the people:

Dorumm sy zuo nämind, also daß ein wyb habe gedören (die sye uß dem hoff Stäfa) den pfarrer von Mänendorff anfallen, worum er die töuffer schälte, es syend bibers lüt und unser herren duldent sy, zuo Wald, da vil sind, und anderschwo. Wenn sy böß warend, hette man sy nitt: aber sy die herren sind in iren gmüeten überwunden etc. Inn Herrliberg, in Grüningen kumend sy zamen ze huffen, in hundert und mee, an der Sylbrugg und anderschwo etc. Diewyl nun alle pfarrer geschworen, iren herren allerley schand zuo wenden und aber das ein großer schand sye, dann man wol wüsse, was unruow man vor iaren gehept und was die töuffer böses angericht, wöllend sy das mitt ernst anzeygen und bitten, daß min herren inen vor wytterm leyd, schand und schaden sin wöllind.⁹⁰

That these meetings were held in the hills or woods only confirmed for the ministers the seditious intention of the baptists. Always the Anabaptists were spoken of as seeking to undermine or oppose (*widerstraffen*) the authority of the church and Council.

The minister acted as watchman over the morals of the community through the use of his pulpit both to preach and also to instruct the people in the laws of the land. His position was precarious both religiously and politically, and the Synod and the Council took considerable care to develop the position of moral supervision to include the educating of the congregation and the reporting to the authorities of all untoward activities. To his non literate congregation, the minister was the principle disseminator of the Christian teachings of the Gospels essential to their lives and of the civil mandates which governed their communal lives. It was the concern for the sacred

⁹⁰ StAZ. E.II.I.439 22 October, 1555. gedören - HG. sich erlaubt habe.

authority of both the church and the state which was the foundation of the minister's role in correcting the morals of the community.

4.4 Sacramentum Administratio

The first celebration of the reformed Eucharist in Zürich at the Easter of 1525 involved a revision of the whole liturgy surrounding the Lord's Supper by Zwingli into a form which remained largely unaltered for the rest of the sixteenth century. In 1559, ten years after the *Consensus Tigurinus*, Ludwig Lavater, Bullinger's son-in-law and Gwalther's successor as Antistes, wrote *De Ritibus et Institutis Ecclesiae Tigurinae*⁹¹ which outlined for the benefit of foreign churches the forms of the Zürich church. It is an important source for the liturgical forms of the performance of the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper in Zürich. Lavater's account relates how things were done in the Grossmünster; the situation for the minister in the rural parish would be quite different. He would have no assistance other than that of the Ehegaumer or Kirchenpfleger.

Before the days on which the Eucharist was to be celebrated the preacher was to instruct the people in the dignity (*würde*) and the benefit (*Nützen*) of the sacrament. The people were then warned that they were not to receive the body and blood of Christ unworthily. When the sermon had ended, a portable table was brought out by the assistants (*dienern*) and placed in front of the congregation; on this table was placed a basket with unleavened bread and a wooden cup filled with wine. Any use of precious metals and stones on the communion vessels, which were to be made of simple materials in the manner of the Early Church was forbidden.⁹² The assistant ministers and the senior theological students gathered around the table as the minister,

⁹¹ L. Lavater, *De ritibus et institutis Ecclesiae Tigurinae opusculum*, (Zürich, 1559).

⁹² Stokar says that although wooden cups and plates (*Schüßlen*) were used, it was common for the vessels to be made of tin. Such tin dishes would be similar to those found in most houses of farmers and artisans. K. Stokar, *Liturgisches Gerät der Zürcher Kirche vom 16. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*.

Typologie und Katalog. (Zürich, 1981). p.16.

accompanied by two helpers, approached that table and began in a clear voice in the language of the people, so that all might understand, the opening prayer of invocation. Following that prayer, the minister together with the two assistant ministers on either side of him, began a series of prayers and readings from Scripture. When these were concluded the Apostles' Creed was recited by the minister, followed by a reading of the Articles of Faith and a preparatory exhortation to the Lord's Supper. The Lord's Prayer was said by all and the minister read a prayer which outlined for the people the nature of Christ's sacrifice, and this led into the reading of the words of institution over the elements wherein the minister took each in hand at the appropriate moment. When the reading was completed, the assistant ministers took the bread and passed it amongst the congregation, who each broke off a piece for themselves. Likewise, the assistant ministers followed with cups that the wine might be distributed. While these elements were being passed amongst the faithful, one assistant went into the pulpit and began reading from St. John, chapter 13, on Christ's washing of his disciple's feet at the feast of the Passover. When the bread and wine had been received, the minister called the people to prayers of thanksgiving for both the gift of the body and blood of Christ and for man's deliverance from sin. The minister closed the service with the blessing '*Geht hin in Frieden!*'. According to Lavater's account, in the rural areas where a minister might have one assistant, or perhaps none at all, the Ehegaumer or Kirchenpfleger was to assist. The people in these rural parish churches would then receive the elements directly from the minister, with the men partaking first followed by the women.

The disciplinary problems surrounding the Lord's Supper inevitably stemmed from the difficulties encountered by Bullinger and the civil officials in replacing the mass in the churches. There is little evidence to suggest the presence of strong anti-mass feelings among either the clergy or laity in the pre-Reformation church in Zürich. Even several decades after the post-Kappel settlement many of the ministers in the church seemed hard pressed to distinguish theologically the reformed Eucharist from

the mass. The variety of ideas concerning the worth of the Lord's Supper held by the ministers together with the persistent problem of non-attendance amongst the laity combined to ensure the prominence of sacramental problems for the Zürich church leadership during the sixteenth century. In most cases the failure of the minister to comprehend the sacrament manifested itself in the improper carrying out of the prescribed liturgy. Hans Hausheer of Rorbas was reported in 1555 as always arriving late for his sermons, and of performing the Lord's Supper so badly that many in his parish refused to attend.⁹³ He seems to have caused great offence in the community by drinking the wine that was to be used for communion, and was warned by the Synod that he was to read the Council's mandate on church attendance from the pulpit that the people might be admonished to return to the services. This, the Synod notes, he had not the slightest intention of doing, nor of reporting those who refused to come to church to the Ehegaumer, Kirchenpflegern or the Vogt. He was told by the Synod leaders that two weeks before the celebration of the sacrament he must preach to the people on the proper meaning of the Eucharist (*zucht und ersamkeit leeren*) in order that it might be properly received and the parishioners daily admonished.⁹⁴ As for his own behaviour, he was to mend his ways and set about the tasks required of his office.

Beyond the general problem of ministers either not holding the services or of doing so badly, there were particular misuses surrounding the elements which the Synod took seriously. In 1540, Joachim Gachlinger of Maschwanden was reported by

⁹³ StAZ. E.II.424 7 May, 1555

⁹⁴ Ibid. Hans Jakob Zurlinden, only one year after his arrival at Rüti, was likewise accused in 1564 of performing the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist in a shameful manner: the Synod spoke of the need to watch over such cases: *deßhalben mine gnädigen herren ergernus zevermyden ein insähen thuen söllend.* StAZ. E.II.544 24 October, 1564.

the Vogt and dean as not having used ordinary bread (*mit gewhonlichem brot*) when celebrating the Eucharist at the previous Christmas.⁹⁵ Gachlinger was using wafers, that he had baked himself, which were decorated with images from the mass (*die Mass bilder gehept*). These wafers, known as *Offlete*⁹⁶ were formed in a hand press.⁹⁷ The Synod objected to this use of imagery and claimed that the affair was causing unrest in his parish. As was often the case, this particular accusation was accompanied by numerous other charges of moral impropriety such as adultery, bad preaching and the failure to carry out church visitations in the parish. In his examination Gachlinger replied that although he did not deny using the wafers, his baking of the bread had not caused a problem amongst the people: *Ich hab also brot gepachen, wie ich ancklagt worden bin, daruß ist aber ghein ergernüß kummen.*⁹⁸ He pleaded ignorance of such complaints against himself and gave a remarkable account of having gone before his own congregation and asked the people whether they agreed with those charges against him before the Synod concerning his life and learning. The reply of the people was that they thought quite well of him and had no serious problems with his work: *do antwortent sy, sy werrend wol ze friden, klagtend nüt, und hättend mich gern.*⁹⁹ The

⁹⁵StAZ. E.II.I.239 11 May, 1540

⁹⁶ SI. I. p.115.

⁹⁷ Stokar argues that the *Offlate (Ublade)* were used as late as 1563 in Zürich. There remains one example of a hand press (Oblateneisen) from Stallikon. On one side it bears the image of the lamb holding the banner of triumph and the inscription: 'DISER + IST + DAS + LAM + GOTS + DAS + DER + WELTE + SÜND + HINNIMPT: 10: CAP.' (John I, 29). On the other side is the inscription of the owner Nikolaus Steiner: 'HERR +NICLAUS + STRASSER + DER + ZYT + PFARERR (sic) ZUO + STALLIKON + 15:78'. Then there follows a quotation from Isaiah 53.11. 'ER WIRT DIE SÜND DER MENGE HINNEHMEN UND DIE UEBERTRATTEN'. Stokar, p. 47.

⁹⁸ StAZ. E.II.I.240 11 May, 1540

⁹⁹ StAZ. E.II.I.240 11 May, 1540

Synod decided to learn from the Vogt's investigations what was true (*daß er erkundigete mitt kuntschafft, was waar oder unwaar*) before passing the case on to the Council for disciplinary action.¹⁰⁰ The final outcome of the affair in 1542 was that Gachlinger was dismissed from his office on grounds of adultery; no mention was made of matter of the Lord's Supper.

Balthasar Kuchmeister likewise landed in trouble over the misuse of the bread in the Lord's Supper. In 1564, again at the Christmas celebration of the sacrament, he was apparently careless with the elements and the bread (*deß herren brot*) was somehow spoilt. This ruining of the Eucharist and the resulting ill will which it generated in the parish was all part of Kuchmeister's troubled relationship with his congregation and with the civil officials -he was known as a contentious man, and he had already been found guilty of slandering the Vogt of Andelfingen by calling him a *Mutterschwyn*.¹⁰¹ The Synod warned him once again against bringing his quarrels into the pulpit and bringing the Lord's Supper into disrepute through erroneous teachings. He was required to pay a fine to the poor widows: *von deß fällers wägen mitt deß herren brot, sol er in der armen wittwen stür gäben ein marck silber*.¹⁰² The Synod issued a statement in 1549 clearly forbidding the use of waffers with pictures (*Offlete*) in favour of plain (*glatt*) bread for the sacrament; those who did not comply with this were to be admonished: *Diewyl ettliche diener oblaten bißhar gebrucht mitt bildern, söllend die nienen mee gebrucht werden, und sol allenthalben glatt brott oder oblaten, glich in statt und land, zuo des herren nachtmal gerüst und genossen werden. Wer anders fürnäme, sol gestrafft werden*.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ StAZ. E.II.1.242 11 May.1540

¹⁰¹ Cf. StAZ. E.II.1.489 22 October, 1560.

¹⁰² StAZ. E.II.1.508 5 May, 1562.

¹⁰³ StAZ. E.II.1.518 May,1563.

Poor relations between a minister and his assistant could also have a detrimental effect upon the administration of the sacraments in the parish. In 1533, Thomas Goldenberger and Johannes Kübler, the minister and his assistant in Ossingen, had their long standing quarrel brought before the Synod.¹⁰⁴ For thirteen years their relationship had been marked by an enmity aggravated by their dreadful wives (*böse, schalkhafte wyber*), who were involved in some sort of whoring (*huorind*). The assistant, Kübler, was not helping the minister with the sacraments, and his wife was reported to have neither attended the Lord's Supper nor the regular services for at least six months. The Synod's comments on the case went beyond warning the ministers that they must reconcile their differences to address the issue of how the wives ought to be punished for their actions. The Synod could not impose any penalty, yet it recommended to the Council that the two wives be placed in Wellenberg for a couple of days. The Synod understood the minister's wife as part of the ministry in the parish and her moral conduct had important consequences for the standing of the church.

The liturgy of baptism was revised by the Zürich reformers to conform with their theological understanding of the sacrament as the entrance in to the godly community. The child's admission into the church and the community was marked by the baptismal ceremony and its subsequent registration in the parish records. In Lavater's account of the baptismal liturgy in Zürich, the minister opened the service with the admonition that a baby ought to be brought to the church for baptism on the day of its birth, or the next possible day, on account of the danger of early death.¹⁰⁵ The baptism of the child was performed after the sermon and a series of prayers and

¹⁰⁴ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1988. p.875/6. October, 1533

¹⁰⁵ Lavater, *De Ritibus*, fol.10v.

godly community. The child's admission into the church and the community was marked by the baptismal ceremony and its subsequent registration in the parish records. In Lavater's account of the baptismal liturgy in Zürich, the minister opened the service with the admonition that a baby ought to be brought to the church for baptism on the day of its birth, or the next possible day, on account of the danger of early death.¹⁰⁵ The baptism of the child was performed after the sermon and a series of prayers and Scripture lessons which called to mind God's mercy in delivering the Jews through the Red Sea, which was to be understood as the precursor to the sacrament in which the individual was cleansed from the old life to take up the new in faith.¹⁰⁶ The prescribed Scriptural lesson

¹⁰⁵ Lavater, *De Ritibus*, fol.10v.

¹⁰⁶ Lavater's account of the baptismal prayer is as follows: *'Cogitate itaque deum servatorum nostrum velle ut omnes homines in cognitionem veritatis veniant, per unicum mediatorem Iesum Christum, qui seipsum pro multis in redemptionem tradidit. Vult etiam mutuas coniungi preces a nobis, ut in unitatem fidei et cognitionem filii dei redemptoris nostri preveniamus. Oremus igitur dominum, ut huic puello fidem conferat: utque externus baptismus interne per spiritum sanctum aqua salutifera fiat. Orate ergo ad hunc modum. Omnipotens sempiternus deus, qui per diluvium pro severo, sed iusto tuo iudicio, infidelem mundum condemnasti, et Noe fidelem ex immensa tua misericordia octavum servasti, ac induratum Pharaonem cum omni populo suo in mari rubro submersisti, tuum vero populum Israel sicco pede traduxisti, in quo baptismus hic praefiguratus fuit. Oramus te per immensam tuam misericordiam, ut clementer respicere digneris hunc tuum servuum N. et lucem fidei in corde eius accendere, quo filio tuo inseratur, una cum ipso in mortem sepeliatur, atque etiam in novam vitam resurgat, in qua crucem suam quotidie ipsum sequendo alacriter ferat, ipsi adhaereat vera fide, firma spe et ardenti amore, ut hanc vitam, quae aliud nihil est quam mors, tua causa fortiter contemnere, et novissimo die in universali iudicio filii tui intrepide comparere possit: per eundem dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivat et regnat in unitate spiritus sancti, deus per omnia secula. Amen'. De Ritibus, fol.9v-10r.*

Scripture lessons which called to mind God's mercy in delivering the Jews through the Red Sea, which was to be understood as the precursor to the sacrament in which the individual was cleansed from the old life to take up the new in faith.¹⁰⁶ The prescribed Scriptural lesson was St. Mark 10.13-16, the story of Jesus receiving the children and rebuking his disciples for attempting to keep them away. The minister then addressed the parents on the responsibilities of making the profession of faith on behalf of their child; he then turned to the God parents (*Patron*) or witnesses (*Taufzeugen*) to ask that if they wished the child to be received into the baptism of Jesus Christ they must name it. Each child was then baptized by the minister sprinkling water on its head three times in the name of the Trinity. Lavater was adamant that no oil, salt, spittal or exorcism was to have any part in the ritual. After the

¹⁰⁶ Lavater's account of the baptismal prayer is as follows: '*Cogitate itaque deum servatorum nostrum velle ut omnes homines in cognitionem veritatis veniant, per unicum mediatorem Iesum Christum. qui seipsum pro multis in redemptionem tradidit. Vult etiam mutuas coniungi preces a nobis, ut in unitatem fidei et cognitionem filii dei redemptoris nostri preveniamus. Oremus igitur dominum, ut huic puello fidem conferat: utque externus baptismus intene per spiritum sanctum aqua salutifera fiat. Orate ergo ad hunc modum. Omnipotens sempiternus deus, qui per diluvium pro severo, sed iusto tuo iudicio, infidelem mundum condemnasti, et Noe fidelem ex immensa tua misericordia octavum servasti, ac induratum Pharaonem cum omni populo suo in mari rubro submersisti, tuum vero populum Israel sicco pede traduxisti, in quo baptismus hic praefiguratus fuit. Oramus te per immensam tuam misericordiam, ut clementer respicere digneris hunc tuum servuum N. et lucem fidei in corde eius accendere, quo filio tuo inseratur, una cum ipso in mortem sepeliatur, atque etiam in novam vitam resurgat, in qua crucem suam quotidie ipsum sequendo alacriter ferat, ipsi adhaerens vera fide, firma spe et ardenti amore, ut hanc vitam, quae aliud nihil est quam mors, tua causa fortiter contemnere, et novissimo die in universali iudicio filii tui intrepide comparere possit: per eundem dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum qui tecum vivat et regnat in unitate spiritus sancti, deus per omnia secula. Amen.*' *De Ritibus*, fol.9v-10r.

minister had blessed the child, he was to record its name along with those of the parents and the witnesses in the baptismal registry . The importance of this book for religious and civil affairs has already been spoken of. Lavater adds that the book was essential to the Ehegericht when sorting out matters of birth, death and questions of descent.¹⁰⁷

The problems surrounding baptism in the parishes were considerably less complicated than with the Lord's Supper. This was largely because the introduction of the reformed service saw nothing like the profound changes effected in the abolition of the mass and its replacement with a wholly different understanding of the Eucharist. The Zürich leaders forbade the continuance of the old liturgy for baptism and removed all aspects not consonant with their reading of the sacrament's Scriptural basis. This did not require of the average parishioner a radically changed perception of what happened in the performance of the sacrament, and consequently there are virtually no cases recorded of people showing a clear preference for the old Catholic rite, as they did with the Lord's Supper. Outside the Anabaptist problem, the Synod was primarily concerned with ministers not following the proper order of service for baptism. Johannes Tischmacher, in 1534, was said to have completely misunderstood the Gospel and performed baptisms from a bucket in the cloister at Rheinau.¹⁰⁸ Tischmacher's curious actions did not have the serious consequence of discouraging parents from bringing their children to Rheinau for baptism, nor is there evidence that his behaviour resulted from any attachment to the Catholic rite, despite his connection with the abbot of Rheinau, who held the right of presentation to the benefice. The use of the bucket and the apparent misunderstanding of the Scriptures reflected the general ignorance of the clergy with whom Bullinger was dealing with in the first decades as

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., fol.10r.

¹⁰⁸ StAZ. E.II.I.149 5 May,1534

Antistes. Tischmacher's case was further complicated by his fondness for drink, and even though he swore to the Synod he had given up alcohol for two weeks he was warned against allowing it to cause future problems in the monastery.

The participation of ministers in the excessive drinking surrounding the important festivals of the church, especially with baptism and marriages, of which something has been said, diminished considerably their position of authority in controlling and preaching against such festivities. The dean of the Zürichsee reported to the Synod in 1552 that many of his fellow ministers were drunk at baptismal and funeral services, and he cites the particular case of the funeral for Amman Ryffel in Stäfa where approximately a hundred people, led by the minister, became drunk and behaved in a shameful manner.¹⁰⁹ It's a pity, the dean continues, that such things should happen at a Christian occasion (*und ist zuo erbarmen daß sölichs sol gehört werden under den christen sam sy syend rappen und gyren*), and that the minister's behaviour was so degenerate that the people were treated like birds (*rappen und gyren*).¹¹⁰ Neither the Synod nor the Council could allow ministers to become involved in this type of abuse so widespread in the rural areas.¹¹¹ The Synod looked sternly upon any minister who failed to use his judgement in admonishing those who on account of their drinking behaved shamefully in the church. Steffan Rosenheimer found himself in trouble with the Synod for baptizing a child in his church at Rifferswil in 1559 whose parents were clearly drunk.¹¹² When asked to name the child, the

¹⁰⁹ StAZ. E.II.I.386 3 May, 1552

¹¹⁰ Ibid.,

¹¹¹ Cf. The case of Ulrich Polt (Wangen) StAZ. E.II.I.267 3 May, 1541. Polt baptised a child and then went to the tavern and told the innkeeper a scandalous story about a naked man. This tale was thought by the Synod an example of a minister showing complete disrespect for the sacrament.

¹¹² StAZ. E.II.I.451-452 24 October, 1559

name the child, the parents responded that they wished to give the name Jacob to the boy. However, it was not long before the truth surfaced that the child was in fact a girl, and the Synod, and subsequently the Council, reacted strongly against this insult to the sacrament and falsifying of the parish records. The Synod reported: *Es sol an unser herren langen, zuo fürkommen, daß man den heiligen touff nitt also schende mitt vertrincken der kinden, das man ouch den touff nitt zuo einem gewärb macht mitt gwünnen viler gevattern.*¹¹³ Rosenheimer was told that he was to educate the people out of such behaviour and that the Council was to be informed immediately of the particular man involved, one Peter Gottschi, that he might be punished for deceitfully presenting a baby girl for baptism with the name Jacob.

The disciplinary cases concerning the minister's administration of the sacraments to his parish bring out the extent of the difficulty encountered by the Synod in enforcing the reformed sacraments upon both the clergy and laity in the rural areas. Despite the repeated instruction which they received in the Synod, many ministers continued to combine reformed and Catholic ideas of the sacraments together with purely superstitious ones. The acceptance of reformed teachings in the rural areas was slow. This explains, at least partly, why the Synod sought to have negligent ministers severely punished while at the same time refusing to tie church discipline to the sacraments by forbidding those parishioners who were sinning publicly from coming to the table.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Ibid.,

¹¹⁴ The Zürich clergy were expected to educate the people into accepting the reformed teachings on the sacraments and were to limit their disciplinary role to reporting offenders to the civil officials. In Basel, the clergy were given licence to take more direct action: *'Es sollend die leutpriester und diacon ein getrew uffsehen uff alle ire herd haben, und so yemanden in disen lastern verlümbdet und begriffen*

4.5 Oratio Privata et Publica

Prayer was the highest activity of the godly community. In opening his heart to God, man lays bare his personal desires and petitions for himself and the whole church.¹¹⁵ Prayer is the duty of every Christian, and Bullinger divides it into two aspects: private and public. These two types of prayer differ in form rather than in content; for while private prayer might be offered to God by any one in any situation, public prayer is a corporate act performed in the church. Quoting 1 Timothy, Bullinger argues that the minister's duties are to ensure the due forms of public prayers are offered by the community, and that the people are instructed in the meaning and content of these prayers. He writes in the fifth Decade: 'And they are greatly to be blamed, who are most negligent in this behalf than becometh them; neither indeed are they to be suffered, which seldom or never teach diligently, and are cold in stirring up a desire in men to pray. Men by nature are slow and slack in the study of religion, and therefore we have need of a sharp spur: and the charge and office of stirring up, and provoking,

sin vernemend, die sollend sy anfangs bruderlich warnen und straffen. Und so aber yemands nach der ersten und andern bruderlichen warnung nit abston, sonder in lastern offentlich verharren, die gemejne gottes argern würde, den und die soll man verbannen und von des herren nachtmal als lang uszschliessen, bitz sy ir leben gebesseret unnd das mit newer unschuld kuntlich gemacht haben. Und wer in einer kilchen offentlicher lastern wegen verbannt, soll auch in den andern kilchen von des herren nachtmal abgetriben werden.' Dürr and Roth, *Actensammlung*, 473, p.394-395. In Bern, a line more akin to Zürich was followed. The Synod discouraged ministers from talking about excommunication. Cf. G.W. Locher, 'Die Sakramentslehre des Berner Synodus', in *Berner Synodus*, vol.2, (Bern, 1988), p.229.

¹¹⁵ Bullinger, *Decades*, V.v. p.163/4.

is committed to the pastors of churches.¹¹⁶ Therefore the regular and proper holding of services in the parishes was an important concern of the Synod.¹¹⁷

The emphasis of the reformed worship in Zürich was upon prayer and instruction, and the intention of the reformed liturgy was to maintain only those aspects which served these twin goals.¹¹⁸ The three main churches in the city of Zürich, the Grossmünster, Fraumünster, and St. Peter's are said by Lavater to have held their Sunday services at the same hour (in summer between seven and eight

¹¹⁶*Decades*, V.v. p.165

¹¹⁷The establishing of a reformed liturgy was resumed in 1532 with the publication of an influential text which was itself a revision of a 1528 work drawn up by Zwingli. Bullinger played an important role in its formation, and the text, which was reprinted in 1535 and 1563, both reflects his own understanding of prayer and worship and determined the liturgical shape of worship in Zürich in the sixteenth century. The 1535 edition has the following form: *Titel, Inhaltsverzeichnis, Vorrede, Predigt-Gottesdienst* (which is subdivided into *Fürbitte, Offene Schuld, vergebungs, Vater Unser, Ave Maria, Kirchengebet, Gottesdienst-Schluss, comm. pro. defunctis, Zehn Gebote, and Apostolicum*), and liturgies for afternoon preaching services, the Prophezei, baptism and the Lord's Supper. M. Jenny, 'Bullinger als Liturg'. in U. Gäbler and F. Herkenrath, *Heinrich Bullinger 1504-1575 Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 400. Todestag*, vol.1 (Zürich, 1975), p.214. Jenny argues that Bullinger was deeply aware of mediaeval liturgical traditions and wished to preserve many of them in the reformed church. Latin was for Bullinger the language of his own prayer life, and he sought to preserve its use in public worship as far as possible. Jenny, p.225.

¹¹⁸ Lavater writes: '*Caeremonias Tigurina ecclesia paucas, et necessarias tantum retinuit. Quantumque fieri potuit, omnia ad primam simplicissimamque formam vetustissimae atque adeo. Apostolicae ecclesiae restituit. Nec fas est cuiquam ministorum quicquam illorum, quae abrogata sunt, reducere.*' *De Ritibus*, fol., 3v-4r.

o'clock), and for those who were required to work at latter service was held in the Grossmünster at eleven o'clock. During the week services were held twice a day at eight a.m and five p.m., with the exception of Friday, which was a market day. When the hour for worship approached the people were summoned to the churches by the ringing of bells and by young men running amongst the crowds declaring the time of worship.¹¹⁹

The form of public worship in the Zürich churches during the sixteenth century followed a simple pattern. The minister called the people to worship with an opening petition followed by prayers for the whole Swiss Confederation and particularly the Bürgermeister and Rat of the city and country of Zürich. Moving from prayers for the wider church and political community, the minister beseeched his congregation to bring to mind their own sins and the nature of Christ's sacrifice.¹²⁰ The Lord's Prayer was then recited before the minister took up the concerns of the congregation in the intercessory prayers. The reading of Scriptural texts was integral part of this part of the service as the minister was instructed to use the readings that the people might be both instructed and encouraged.¹²¹ The concerns of the congregation were concluded by

¹¹⁹ For the number of feast days allowed in Zürich, see above p.

¹²⁰ *Dicite in cordibus vestris, adhuc modum: omnipotens, sempiterna, ac misericors deus, remitte nobis peccata nostra, et perduc nos ad vitam aeternam, per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum. Qui nos hoc modo orare docuit, Pater noster, qui es in coelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum, etc. Matth. 6. Mox subinguitur Symbolum apostolicum, Credo in unum deum. etc. De Ritibus, fol.6v.*

¹²¹ *Finitis piis et ardentibus precibus, recitat minister ecclesiae locum aliquem ex veteri vel novo Testamento, ex quo, quantum dominus dederit, ecclesiam docet, exhortatur, reprehendit, consolatur, adversarios modeste convincit, pro ratione locorum, temporum, ac personarum, ad aedificationem auditorum.' De Ritibus, fol.6r.*

the minister reading the names of those members of the parish who had passed away during the previous week, and leading the people in prayers both of thanksgiving that God had received those departed into his eternal friendship and that those remaining might themselves be watchful unto death. At this point in the liturgy the people publicly made their confession of sins¹²² and recited the Apostles' Creed. Lavater laments in his description of the Zürich liturgy that in former days it was the custom for the people to recite the Angelic Greeting (*Ave Maria*), and although suitably Scriptural and therefore appropriate in reformed worship, it was no longer used for fear it would give rise to superstitious ideas concerning the mother of Christ. Therefore, once the Creed was said, the congregation was dismissed with the fraternal blessing and admonition: *Concio his verbis dimittitur: Pauperes in vestris eleemosynis, propter die praeceptum vobis commendatos habetote. Orate pro me, idem facturus sum pro vobis. Abite in pace, Dominus sit vobiscum*.¹²³

Such was the general pattern for Sunday worship in the churches; the weekday services, the morning preaching services (*Morgenpredigten*) and the intercessory services (*Fürbittegottesdienste*), had a slightly different character as they were frequently concerned with particular problems surrounding the daily life of the community. This is clear from the following prayer, taken from Lavater's description of the weekday services, in which the connection between the sins of the people and the omnipresent threats to their welfare is made:

¹²² The form of the prayer of confession was as follows: '*Miser ego peccator, confiteor tibi domino deo et creatori meo, me, proh dolor, graviter peccavisse, cogitationibus, sermone et operibus: id quod tu, aeternae deus, optime nosti. Dolet mihi, et gratiam tuam imploro*'. *De Ritibus*, fol.6v. The people then recited the Lord's Prayer.

¹²³ Lavater, *De Ritibus*, fol.7r.

*Omnipotens Deus, ne sinas sanctam tuam gloriam propter peccata nostra contumelia affici. Multipliciter enim in te peccavimus, eo quod aeterno tuo verbo non obtemperamus, et ingratitude ac impatientia iram tuam quotidie in nos provocamus. Quopropter merito nos punis. Sed, o deus, memor esto sanctae tuae misericordiae, et miserere nostri. Concede nobis cognitionem peccatorum nostrorum, veramque poenitentiam, Confirma et corrobora Ministros et Magistratus populi tui, ut fideliter et constanter verbum tuum praedicent, et gladio politico legitime et iuste utamur. Defende nos ab omni dolo et perfidia. Dissipa omnia mala et pernicioosa consilia, quae contra verbum et ecclesiam tuam excogitantur. O deus, ne prives nos spiritu et verbo tuo, sed largire nobis fidem, patientiam et constantiam. Veni in auxilium ecclesiae tuae, et libera eam violentia, illusionem ac tyrannide. Corrobora etiam omnes praevidas et afflictas mentes, et mitte nobis pacem tuam, per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum.*¹²⁴

The centre of the reformed liturgy in Zürich was the sermon. To understand the grounds by which the Synod judged the preaching of ministers it is important to consider Bullinger's own teaching on the subject. In his first Decade, Bullinger argues that whilst God had revealed his word in the Scriptures, not everything is immediately accessible to the faithful; the minister must use the tools of exegesis to draw out the full import of each text. To arrive at a true interpretation of the text, Bullinger sets down the criteria by which the preacher is bound; the most important being that Scripture must not be explicated in terms of personal fantasies but in faithfulness to the Catholic tradition: 'let it therefore be taken for a point of Catholic religion, not to bring in or admit anything in our expositions which others have alleged against the received articles of our faith, contained in the Apostles' Creed and other confessions of the ancient fathers.'¹²⁵ As with the whole work of the Synod, the underlying principle of exegesis and preaching is charity (*caritas*). Following Augustine and the mediaeval commentators on preaching, Bullinger believed that it is charity that binds the preacher

¹²⁴ *De Ritibus*, fol.7v-7r.

¹²⁵ *Decades* I.iii., p.76.

to his people in the interpretations of Scripture. Bullinger follows the Augustinian precepts concerning religious experience (*scientia experimentalis*), which requires the preacher to discern the disposition (*status animarum*); from this knowledge he is able to apply his teachings in the appropriate language (*aptum*). The end of the sermon is to teach, admonish and comfort. Susi Hausamann, in her study of Bullinger's lectures on Romans from 1525, has explored his debt to humanism in formulating the means by which the minister was to educate his congregation in the sermon.¹²⁶ The sermon, for Bullinger, has two parts, the interpretation of texts and the art of oral presentation. To succeed in the first part, the minister must employ all his linguistic and theological tools to bring out the text in the simplest manner possible. Oral presentation requires proficiency in classical forms of rhetoric (*Exordium, Narratio, Confirmatio, and Epilog or Peroratio*).

While this bond of charity is not a surety against the minister erring in his interpretation, its presence precludes ministers being condemned for heresy: 'And whosoever shall bring the darker and more proper meaning of the scripture to light, he shall not by and by condemn the imperfect exposition of that other: no more than he which is the author of the imperfect exposition shall reject the proper sense of the better expositor, but by acknowledging it shall receive it with thanksgiving.'¹²⁷ This underlines again Bullinger's essential teaching on discipline, that as long as a minister was struggling in the Spirit he ought not be condemned, but rather receive the healing remedies of the church.

¹²⁶ S. Hausamann, *Romerbriefauslegung zwischen Humanismus und Reformation; eine Studie zu Heinrich Bullingers Romerbriefvorlesung von 1525*. (Zürich, 1970) p.162.

¹²⁷ *Decades* I.iii., p.79.

The case of Hans Zart illustrates the problem when this humanist instruction in preaching went wrong. Zart had preached four hundred and fifty sermons on the twenty fourth chapter of Genesis.¹²⁸ His approach to preaching, the Synod heard, lacked any method and he was given to fantasizing over texts. The Synod warned Zart that he was to study the Scriptures and learn the proper forms of exegesis, and further he was to explain the biblical passages to the people by making them relevant to their lives: *Sol die geschriff lassen leren und die applicieren pro nostro rel[inquis] personis tempore*. Zart was referred to Luke 24 where Christ is described as opening the minds of the apostles that they might understand the content of the Scriptures. True preaching, the Synod commented, comes only from God's Word.¹²⁹

The well formed pattern of worship with its principle of common prayer was frequently undermined by the negligence of ministers in holding the services. Even Leo Jud, when he was minister of St. Peter's, was told by the Synod in 1535 that he was to concentrate more on his preaching and spend less time on other business.¹³⁰ In the case of Kaspar Beyel of Buchs his failure to perform services was part of a wholly disordered life in which he abandoned his family and parish for long periods of time, and engaged in shameful conversations around the community.¹³¹ Likewise it

¹²⁸ StAZ. E.II.I.436, 23 October, 1555. Zart was both a former Catholic and a foreigner in Zürich. Before arriving in Winterthur he had worked in Austria, Germany and Strasbourg.

¹²⁹ StAZ. E.II.I.436, 22 October, 1555.

¹³⁰ StAZ. E.II.I.195 27 April, 1535.

¹³¹ Beyel was warned that if he was to come before the Synod again on such a matter he would be dismissed: *'Insonders so imm unser herren burgermeister und radt habend warnen lassen, und das durch M. Heinrich Bullingern, daß er nitt mee kumme alls er nitt ettlichen siner underthonen vor radt zuhandlen gehept hat und übel bestanden was.* StAZ. E.II.I.243 11 May, 1540.

was drinking that stood at the root of Hans Landolt's neglect of parochial services. The October Synod of 1544 noted that Landolt was as bad as ever and that his drunkenness, swearing and negligence had deprived him of all authority in the parish with adults and children alike.¹³²

Landolt's situation was one of a minister simply neglecting the duties of his office; yet, other cases give evidence for the presence of deeper tensions in the parishes. Matthias Bodmer, that most frequent object of the Synod's attention, was reported by Konrad Klauser in 1552 for his dreadful preaching in church of Wädenswil. Bodmer's error in preaching is not clear from the record, though he seems to have been careless in his use of biblical texts and to have ignored certain books of the Bible altogether. This is suggested by Klauser's remark: *Do er doch da die evangelisten und Paulum, ouch Petrum, Isaiam und Daviden da uß geprediget.*¹³³ In addition, Klauser points to Bodmer's failure to use his sermons to warn those amongst his congregation who made blasphemous remarks (*H. mattys wenig gestraafft hätte*). This willingness to let such matters go, Bodmer responded, was an attempt to maintain peace in the parish.¹³⁴ Bodmer was by no means a model preacher or shepherd to his people, yet his hesitance in using the pulpit to discipline, as he was required to do, suggests the social pressure felt by the ministers in the community not to be too interfering in the lives of the parishioners. At the same time, the Synod was relentless in correcting ministers who avoided using the proper form of services. Melchior

¹³² StAZ. E.II.I.309 21 October, 1544.

¹³³ StAZ.E.II.I.391 18 October,1552. *da uß* - HG. *dort draussen*

¹³⁴ *Das er wol were ruewig x̄in und hätte disen handel ruowen lassen.* StAZ. E.II.I.391 18 October, 1552

Bucher in Töb, near Winterthur, in the same year as Bodmer, likewise neglected his charge: *hat wenig üffsähung zuo sinen schäfflinen*.¹³⁵ These parishioners neglected by their minister are described as being 'wretched' (*ellend*) and prone to all sorts of disorder (*allem unradt ergaben*). Bucher's control over the parish was further weakened by the fact that he did not live in the community, a situation which virtually precluded any effective ministry (*sitzt in der statt Wintherdur und nitt zuo Döb*). The Synod demanded that he reside in Töb: *er sol hinuß ziehen zu den schaafen und da whonen, da vor andere predicanten gewhonet sind*.¹³⁶

The Synod's attempts to be sensitive to relations between parishioners and the incumbent minister placed it in a difficult position; on the one hand there was the assumption that riotous and godless behaviour amongst the rural peasantry was to be expected, whilst on the other, the Synod wanted to preserve the integrity of the congregation. The Synod was quite prepared to receive and act upon complaints from a parish against its minister. The people of Dällikon in 1534 petitioned the Synod that they were not being looked after with regard to church services, and in particular the sacrament of baptism.¹³⁷ In reply, the assistant, named only Ulrich, argued that he had indeed preached diligently and truly and that it was the fault of the people, who were not coming to the church. The parishioners of Dielsdorf were equally displeased with their minister, Konrad Suter, who not only didn't preach in the parish church, but seems to have held few if any services at all. From the record the impression is given that the people were eager for the services, as they requested that Suter preach early in the mornings to those on the mountains and then later in the parish church: *Dann die uff*

¹³⁵ StAZ. E.II.1.382 6 May, 1552

¹³⁶ Ibid.,

¹³⁷ StAZ. E.II.1.185 20 October, 1534

*der burg begärind, daß man morgens früe inen predige.*¹³⁸ The response to this request has not survived, though Suter did receive a stern warning that in addition to morning services he was to hold services for the old, the ill, and the children.

Konrad Müppein, who had been involved earlier in selling his benefice to Hans Heinrich Müller, wrote a letter to the Synod defending himself against accusations made by the parish officials (*die Älter*) in his parish that he was not tending to the services.¹³⁹ Müppein denied the charge of not preaching, though he did apologize for his absence from the Synod on account of his illness and wretchedness. As part of his defence, and, as a gesture of goodwill, he sent a copy of one of his sermons to the Synod for inspection by the ministers; this proved a shrewd move as the the Synod was satisfied and even took the local mayor (*Schaffner*) to task for permitting the complaints against Müppein to come forward.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ StAZ. E.II.I.380 20 October, 1551. Sebastian Naboltz was told by the Synod in October, 1556, that the holding of services on Sundays was not enough and that weekday services were equally important. The Synod did make some allowance for the difficulties on some parishes by decreeing that there could be a period of four to five weeks in the winter during which the ministers might not be expected to preach as often. StAZ. E.II.I.448 20 October, 1556. At the same Synod, Jorg Schwartz of Oberglatt, was recommended to be sentenced by the Council to spend Saturdays in Wellenberg as punishment for neglecting his church. StAZ. E.II.I.452 20 October, 1556.

¹³⁹ StAZ. E.II.I.183 20 October, 1534. The name Älter refers to the Ehegaumer or Kirchenpfleger.

¹⁴⁰ Where the Synod was already aware of a minister's failings it acted more directly on complaints coming from the people out of the parish. Petrus Schnyder, minister at Laufen, was the subject of a long letter from his parishioners to the Synod in 1535, who wanted him to be removed and replaced by another. The Synod considered the request and passed it on to the Council which promptly deprived Schnyder of his benefice. StAZ. E.II.I.194 27 April, 1535.

This tension between ministers and their congregations which surfaced in the Synod frequently had the result of ministers abandoning their parish to live elsewhere. This problem of absenteeism was augmented by many ministers simply not wishing to go where the Council decided to place them. Several factors came into play in this situation, social tension was one, though geographical and economic considerations were important. The October Synod of 1545 reported that Melchior Bucher was to be moved from his benefice at Meilen to replace Caspar Seligen, who had died, and that Bucher's former parish was to be filled by Michel Zinninger. Zinninger was apparently quite unwilling to accept this appointment, and his resistance to the Council caused great annoyance to the Synod: *Sölichs gfallt einem ersammen synodo tröfflich übel, und heist inn, das er sinem beruoff nachkummen, eer und eyd, ouch ghorsamme leiste, oder synodus entschlacht sich sin.*¹⁴¹ The Synod wished to make the point to Zinninger that not only was he bound by the oath of his office to obedience, but further that the Synod would not tolerate his resistance and that he would be removed from the clergy. The Synod did not look favourably upon the numerous requests which came from ministers desiring to be moved to different parishes. Melchior Bucher's request to be transferred from Winterthur to Töb in 1552 was typical; the issue was the dilapidated parish house (*pfründhüß*), which Bucher had no desire to live in. Nevertheless the Synod remarked unequivocally that he was to tend to the house and the sheep over whom he had been given charge that they did not become unruly: *Da söllend unser herren vermandt werden, daß sy imm das pfruond huß zuorusten lassind, und inn in die pfarr zuo den schafflinen ziehen heyssend, diewyl guot ist, das ein*

¹⁴¹ StAZ. E.II.1.319 20 October, 1545.

*pfarrer sye by sinen schafflinen, besonders so on das ein onrüewig volck an der selben straaß ist.*¹⁴²

What made many of these parishes so unattractive for ministers was the inadequacy of the benefice to support a ministerial family of the type expected by the Zürich church leaders.¹⁴³ The Synod spent a considerable amount of time examining the problems of these parishes before making recommendations to the Council. From the Synod's point of view, there was no way that any form of instruction or worship could be implemented where there were not sufficient monies to support a minister and his family.¹⁴⁴ As late as 1554, the church at Bonstetten was recorded as standing

¹⁴² StAZ. E.II.I.390 18 October, 1552. As late as 1570 Wilhelm Brennwald, minister at Pfungen, was told that he must live in the parish in which he served. StAZ. E.II.I.601 2 May, 1570.

¹⁴³ M. Stiefel, in his study of Knonau, has shown how the level of income available to ministers varied drastically from parish to parish. The main sources of this parochial income were corn, oats, money, wood and straw. There was a parish house, often a barn and an onion or vegetable garden. Some parishes had more extensive farm land and the minister could maintain livestock such as cows. The tithes (*Zehnten*) formed a major part of the minister's living, though again these varied with many parishes continuing such pre Reformation taxes as the Fastenhühner, which in Rifferswil was one piece (*Stuck*) per person, while in Mettmensstetten it was one piece per household. M. Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen Verhältnisse in Knonaueramt nach der Reformation 1531-1600.*, (Diss. Zürich, 1947), p.103-104.

¹⁴⁴ In 1555 the Synod made a supplication to the Council on behalf of Johannes Hug in Hirzel. Hug had to travel out of the city to preach in Hirzel, which was not at this time a parish. He uses the argument of ill health to attempt to obtain more money. The letter states that Hug's income was too small to sustain his ministry. Hug appealed to the Synod that he be permitted to continue receiving his stipendium from the Fraumünster: *Demnach alls Johann Hug uff den Hirtzel geordnet ist, den uff der statt hinus alle sonntag mitt predgen ze versähen, da es guotwillig ist mitt trüwen zuo dienen wie das an inn kummen ist und aber die besoldung klein, alls die uff 50 stuck kumpt, deren 36 guldengällt sind und er aber an der frömb durch kranckheit sines lybs in kosten und schulden kummen ist begärte er, daß*

vacant, and the Synod recommended to the Council that proper resources be put into the parish that the benefice might be made adequate and that the Synod might be able to get on and discuss possible candidates to fill the pulpit: *Sye ouch wäger unser herren gäbind ettwas daran uß dem kylchen guot, dan daß das volck sölle keinen pfarrer haben.*¹⁴⁵ The whole matter was taken up with speed and in the autumn of the same year the Vogt had produced a report which precipitated a detailed discussion of the various financial factors. The Vogt, Hans Rümeli, commented that the community exhibited a clear desire to have a minister amongst them, and that although they held no objection to the preaching of their previous ministers they wanted enough money to fix up the parish house that one of these ministers might actually stay in the community: *Sy hättind kein klag noch mangel amm wort gottes, das inen durch h. Jacoben von Stallikon predget. Dann sy gern wöltind ouch das huß rüste und zanen das einer wol möchte by inen blyben.*¹⁴⁶ The situation was quite similar in Hettlingen, which was reported in 1561 as having a very small income.¹⁴⁷ The parish had been allowed to go without pastoral care for so long that it was down to its last resources and the Synod was forced to make an appeal to the Council that sufficient funds be provided to restart the church: *damit die pfarr widerum angange.*¹⁴⁸

imm von üch minen herren, die gnad gevolgen möchte, daß imm stipendium, das er umm frowenmünster hat, blyben möchte biß sin sach besser wurde. StAZ. E.II.3b. 30 December, 1555.

¹⁴⁵ StAZ. E.II.412/13. 8 May, 1554. Stiefel remarks that 'Oekonomische Interessen waren also hier bei der Besetzung einer Pfarrstelle entscheidend und nicht das lebendige kirchliche Leben einer Gemeinde.' *Die kirchlichen*, p.106. wäger = HG. besser.

¹⁴⁶ StAZ. E.II.419 23 October, 1554

¹⁴⁷ StAZ. E.II.1.495-496 21 October, 1561

¹⁴⁸ StAZ. E.II.1.496 21 October, 1561. The Council was willing to improve a minister's situation by sanctioning an increase in the tithes where need could be shown. Stiefel cites several examples: the

The Council's control over the parishes was also troubled by the practice of ministers exchanging their benefices without permission from the magistrates. This was known as *Pfrundlaufen*, and it proved to be a particular difficulty for the Zürich Council and Synod.¹⁴⁹ This practice was well known in the mediaeval church and it continued in sixteenth century Zürich because of the complicated arrangements by which the rights of patronage for many of the rural parishes remained with Catholic authorities such as the Bishop of Constance or the religious houses of Wettingen and Einsiedeln. The resolution following Kappel had guaranteed the Zürich Council's obligation to honour the rights of the various patrons in the canton. The Synodal ordinances of 1532 forbade the practice of *Pfrundlaufen*, and the Council issued numerous statements against it.¹⁵⁰ Yet it did occur that a Catholic patron pre-empted the Zürich Council and appointed a candidate of his own choice. This was most notable in the case of Heinrich Usteri's appointment to the parish of Thalwil in 1564 by the abbot of Wittingen. The whole situation illustrates the curious accommodation which the Reformed church in Zürich made with the Catholics; this arrangement brought considerable difficulties for the Council's intention of strictly controlling all ecclesiastical affairs in the rural areas. Though it must be noted that there is no evidence of the Catholic patrons resisting the disciplinary authority of the Zürich Synod over the clergy in their parishes.

minister of Stallikon, whose income was raised from a pre-Reformation level of 34 units (*Stück*) to 70 in 1543, and Adam Frey in Hausen who, on account of his numerous children, had his income raised in 1559 from 70 to 80 units. Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.106.

¹⁴⁹ For a treatment of the *Pfrundlaufen* in Zürich, see Bächtold, *Bullinger vor dem Rat*, p.53-58.

¹⁵⁰ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1899, p.827. The Bürgermeister made several statements in the Synod against *Pfrundlaufen* in 1564. StAZ. E.II.I.533.543.

The parishes themselves often lacked the necessary coherent internal structure for an ordered programme of services. Where a minister was old, ill, or simply negligent things could break down very quickly indeed. The neighbouring parishes of Berg and Flaach are an example of this problem.¹⁵¹ In 1564 the Synod was informed that the preacher of Berg was not fulfilling his duties and was stirring unrest in the community by using abusive language. The immediate result was that the minister of Flaach had to step in and look after the two communities that the people might be able to hear the word preached. As both of these parishes were quite large, the inevitable result was that neither was adequately looked after. It had been to avoid such situations that the office of the assistant had been created, though the shortage of clergy determined that as late as 1557 the Synod could still speak of the impossibility of proper services in all the parishes. Until the schools in Zürich began producing enough ministers in the 1550s, the Synod was in the situation of not being able either to provide relief to overworked ministers or easily remove incompetent ones unless the offence was of sufficiently grave. The report in the Synod of 1557 summed up the situation concerning the shortage of clergy : *...und insonders so man predicaturen oder kylchen versähen wölle, nitt gestatte, daß die diaconi verhefft werdint.*¹⁵² The Synod records are full of reports recounting the situations of ministers too old to look after their parish; in many cases it fell to the neighbouring minister to step into the gap until the Synod could provide a replacement. Most frequently it was the dean or the fellow ministers of the chapter which notified the Synod of the severity of the situation in a parish where services and visitations were not being carried out. These reports were generally accompanied by requests that the minister be pensioned off, or, if the parish was too large, that an assistant be appointed. Where the Synod wanted an assistant minister appointed it was felt necessary to give a testimony of the incumbent minister's soundness in preaching and diligence in all his duties, as with the case of Rudolf von

¹⁵¹ StAZ. E.II.1.530 9 May, 1564.

¹⁵² StAZ. E.II.1. 458 4 May, 1557.

Landenberg in the Thurgau in 1545.¹⁵³ The Synod was dependent upon these reports from the Vogts and ministers for its knowledge of what was happening in the rural areas. This system of communication seems to have worked quite well, resulting in an efficient means of problem solving whereby the Synod alerted the Council to a difficulty and made recommendations on what might be done. Such was the case with Johannes Schlegel of Elgg in 1552, of whose parish it was reported: *Ist in einer seer großen pfarr, und ist aber gar zuo einem kind worden, daß die pfarr mitt imm gar nitt versähen ist, und vil mißbrüchen und unordnungen erwachsend etc. Und wiewol man acht, er werde nitt lange mer läben. Sol doch der handel an unser gnedig herren langen.*¹⁵⁴ That Schlegel was likely dying and that serious disruptions were springing up everywhere in this parish without ministerial care was enough to move the Council to retire and replace him with a new minister.¹⁵⁵

The Synod regarded the proclivity of many ministers towards irregular or specifically Catholic forms of worship as the most serious disruption of the reformed services. These Catholic tendencies manifested themselves in various forms ranging from a decided rejection of the reformed teachings to the more common phenomena of ministers retaining older practices. The latter resulted from either popular demand or a misunderstanding by the minister of why they ought to be done away with. Two

¹⁵³ StAZ. E.II.1.321 20 October, 1545.

¹⁵⁴ StAZ. E.II.1.383 6 May, 1552.

¹⁵⁵ Schlegel had been a priest in Zürich before the Reformation and then had served in Höngg, Otelfingen and Elgg. He is listed as being present at the first Zürich Synod in 1528 as the minister for Otelfingen, and is also known to have been present in October 1530 and April 1531. Egli, *Actensammlung*, nos. 1391, 1714, and 1757. When he was retired by the Council from his parish in 1552 he is reported to have said to his successor Josua Mahler: *'Ich bin diesem Volk ein Moses gewesen, sei du ihm Josua!'* Zürich Pfarrerbuch, p.505.

examples of a clear rejection of Zürich theology from the middle period of Bullinger's time are the cases of Konrad Schmid and Hans Heinrich Müller. Schmid was a rather shadowy figure of whom little is known other than that he was from Uster and was ordained into his parish of Töb in 1549.¹⁵⁶ Of his education little more can be said than that he was presumably trained like most candidates in the schools of the city; though his strong pro-Catholic sentiments emerged only one year after his ordination when he was charged before the Synod in May of 1550 with abandoning his parish and traveling to Frauenfeld to hold vespers.¹⁵⁷ Schmid displayed utter contempt for his parishioners and was described as being a proud (*stoltz*) and an exceptionally careless (*prächtigt liederlich*) minister who preferred drinking and feasting to study. The accuracy of such an account of his character must be treated with some caution as every minister who appeared before the Synod on charges of Catholic sympathies suffered the ascribing to him of all manner of moral faults. What makes Schmid's case unusual is not so much that the Synod found him wanting in many ways, but that he had the courage to request to the same meeting a transfer to the benefice of Winterthur. The examination carried out by the Synod found that Schmid clearly rejected the Zürich doctrine of the Eucharist: *Dan er habe noch nie verschworen mäß zuo haben, wölle es ouch nitt verschweren, dann er das heilig sacrament nitt verachtewie die von Zürich etc.*¹⁵⁸ Evidence gathered by the Synod from such places as the local taverns in Töb proved enough for the church leaders to recommend to the Council that Schmid be dismissed: *es hatt sich mitt kundschaftt funden..* The Council readily obliged and by the end of 1550 Schmid had been removed from Töb and disappeared to a destination unknown.

¹⁵⁶Ibid.,

¹⁵⁷ StAZ. E.II.I.360 5 May, 1550.

¹⁵⁸Ibid.,

Ten years later the Synod found itself dealing with another case of one of its own trained ministers going over to Catholicism. Heinrich Müller was ordained first as an assistant in 1553 and then as a minister in the parish of Niederwenigen. As with Schmid, it was only a matter of a couple of years before he was called before the Synod to explain why he was reading from the mass in his church: *Redt dermassen von mäßpriestern und predicanten, daß man gedäncken muoß daß er nitt vil uff sinen stand habe oder halte.*¹⁵⁹ To make matters worse, Müller did nothing to hide his sympathies by proclaiming publicly that preachers (meaning the reformed clergy) were inferior men while priests were honourable: *dan er gesagt, wie der predicanten wäsen so nüt, und der priestern herrlich sye.*¹⁶⁰ Under examination Müller revealed in his answers that no one better represented his own comments about the poor state of learning amongst the reformed clergy than himself; for not only did he not hold weekday services or children's instruction, when he did preach his sermons were described as being wretched. The Synod would not brook such criticism of the ministry and it recommended that Müller be sent to Wellenberg. Five years later in 1565, having shown little desire to shed his Catholic views, Müller was dismissed by the Council from the ministry in Zürich and removed himself to Germany; little more is known of him other than that he entered the Catholic priesthood.¹⁶¹

Music had little place in the reformed worship in Zürich. Removed during the iconoclasm debate and the reform of worship under Zwingli's direction, Bullinger and the other church leaders did nothing to change matters, though Lavater comments in his *De Ritibus* that the singing of Psalms in the vernacular was to be found in various

¹⁵⁹ StAZ. E.II.I.489 23 October, 1560.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.,

¹⁶¹ Zürich Pfarrerbuch, p.440.

churches in Zürich. Yet the liturgy of the Catholic rite, with its extensive use of musical forms, attracted through aesthetic reasons many ministers who showed no doctrinal interest in the old faith. Josias Schärer, the assistant in Gossau, was reported as attending a vespers service that he might hear an organ, which he had never heard before: *In die vesper sye er gangen, daß er die orglen horte, dann er sin läben lang keine gehört.*¹⁶² The Synod's attitude towards the danger of even such seemingly harmless encounters with the Catholic services is encapsulated in the warning to Schärer: *Stat curiositas einem prediger nitt zuo ze erfahren superstitiosa.*¹⁶³ Lorenz Keller in the church of St. George (S.Georgen am Veld) in Winterthur showed that a minister could go considerably beyond simply going to hear an organ when he approved in 1562 the installation of one such instrument in his own church.¹⁶⁴ The Synod branded his actions as ignorant (*unwyßlich*) and dishonest (*unredlich*), and he was told that he should never have approved such a measure, which were rather new in Zürich: *dan man weiß, daß die orglen gar ein nütwer find in der kylchen sind.*¹⁶⁵ That Keller's parish was able to afford the organ is puzzling as two years later a report came to the Synod concerning the appallingly small income available to the minister in the benefice of St. George in Winterthur, and that on top of his regular parochial duties Keller was having to look after the school.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶²StAZ. E.II.I.364 21 October, 1550

¹⁶³ Ibid.,

¹⁶⁴ StAZ. E.II.I.511 20 October, 1562.

¹⁶⁵Ibid. The text makes a reference to 2. Corinthians 14.

¹⁶⁶ StAZ. E.I.2.1a. Zürich Synodalia 1964. Keller remained in the parish of St. George until he succeeded his brother in Pfungen on the latter's death. *Zürich Pfarrerbuch*, p.378.

Various other difficulties arose to impede the Synod's attempt to establish ordered reformed services in the parishes of Zürich. After the dissolution of the religious houses and the absorption of the parochial structures by the reformed church, the Synod and Council were forced to deal with the question posed by the presence of numerous 'field-churches' and chapels. In 1538 the Synod expressed its disapproval of these buildings not only because their presence was contrary to the mandates of the Council as they attracted the people away from the established parish churches, but further because they maintained superstition (*aberglouben*) amongst the communities: *werdent ouch von ettlichen personen geschirmpt. Bringend ergernuß und zwytracht*.¹⁶⁷ To resolve such discord (*zwytracht*) in the community the Synod requested the Council to suppress these chapels and reissue its mandates requiring all people to attend the established parish churches.

One peculiar request from the clergy to the Council concerned the practice in numerous areas in which ministers were required to go to war, presumably to serve as chaplains. This requirement forced the clergy to abandon their parishes; they asked the Council: *wer doch darzwischen predigen, trösten und bätten, touffen und anders zur religion notwendig thun wölle?*¹⁶⁸ The Synod suggested that in order that the parishes might receive the services of preaching and the sacraments the ministers not be removed out the communities to do military service: *so habind unser herren langist*

¹⁶⁷ StAZ. E.II.1.233. 20 October, 1538. Hans Ulrich Bächtold points out that in the Great Mandate (*Grossen Mandate*) of 1530 there was an even stronger statement against chapels which were seen together with the mass, altars, and images as aspects of the old superstitious faith. *Bullinger vor dem Rat*, p.73.

¹⁶⁸ StAZ. E.II.1.385 6 May, 1552.

*angesähen, daß man die pfarrer sölle by den pfarren blyben lassen, zuo dem habind die underthanen gar nitt der oberkeyt ire amptlüth außzuonemmen.*¹⁶⁹

The service of worship remained the focal point of the religious life of the community. It was where the Word was preached, the sacraments received, communal prayers rendered to God and where the minister instructed and admonished his congregation. The establishing of these services in an ordered and regular pattern was one of the principle challenges to the reformers in Zürich. Failure to do so would have precluded the successful extension of the Reformation beyond the city walls of Zürich into the countryside.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.,

4.6 Catechismus et Instructio.

The establishing of a regular pattern of worship in the parishes was the necessary precondition to the instruction of the faithful. The whole point of communal worship lay with both the educating of the people in the word of God and the drawing together of the community in common prayer. The minister stood before the people as their teacher, and the two primary means by which he performed his pedagogical duties were catechizing and preaching. Catechism, according to Bullinger, was the primary form of Christian education intended for the youth and those ignorant in matters of the faith. In the *Decades* he states that it pertains to the minister's duties to carry out public instruction, 'for Catechesis, or the form of catechizing, comprehendeth the grounds or principles of faith and Christian doctrine; to wit, the chief points of the covenant, the Ten Commandments, the articles of faith or Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and a brief exposition of the sacraments.'¹⁷⁰ This thinking on the importance of the catechism was not an innovation in Zürich; Bullinger and his colleagues were picking up the mediaeval tradition and seeking to restore it to its proper function in the parish. The synodal ordinances of 1532 stated that the intention of catechism, or *kinderzucht*, was to educate the people into how and why they were to pray and in the proper understanding of the sacraments:

*Dorumb ist abgeredt, dass diser stund merteils soll Catechismus gehandelt und einfalt, was der gloub, welchs die artikel des gloubens, was gebettet, und wie man betten solle; item welchs die gebott Gottes, und was ir inhalt und verstand sye, erklärt werden, dass nit etwan verruochte menschen funden, die weder des gloubens noch gebetts, und wie si joch leben solltend, bericht syend, also ouch unwüssend zuo dem tisch des Herren gangind, sunder dass ein jeder vorhin (?) dennocht bericht wüsse, was er handle und führohin tuon solle.'*¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰*Decades*, IV.v. p.154.

¹⁷¹ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1899, p.831.

This description of the catechism, written by Bullinger and Jud, defines its object as practical religious knowledge. The minister teaching the catechism needed not only to be well versed in the doctrinal foundations of the reformed faith, but also with the pedagogical process through which the learner was to be brought. Bullinger understood teaching as consisting of various stages through which those being instructed were to pass; as they ascended the ladder of instruction the catechumens were introduced to more advanced teaching in the progression towards perfection in the faith.¹⁷²

The importance of catechizing the people had been recognized by Zwingli from the outset of the Reformation in Zürich when he introduced the Wall Catechism in 1525. This was a copy of the Ten Commandments and the Apostles' Creed intended to hang on the wall in every household. Leo Jud had further regularized the catechism for Zürich in 1532 into a form to which the Synod gave its approval in 1534.¹⁷³ It was known as the Shorter Catechism and it was used until the Synod commissioned Jud again in 1538 to draw up a longer catechism.¹⁷⁴ The form of the first catechism differed remarkably from the 1538 revision: in 1534 Jud arranged the lessons that the children would put questions to the teacher, who would then expound on the faith; the 1538 catechism employed the opposite format of teachers putting the questions to the children that they might recite the correct answers.¹⁷⁵ Jud's intention was that

¹⁷² *Decades*, IV.v p.153-157.

¹⁷³ Bullinger wrote the forward to Jud's catechism. HBBibl.1. no.50. The Bern Synod also declared the responsibility of the clergy to explain to the simple people the content of the Apostles Creed and the Lord's Prayer. *Berner Synodus*, p.135.

¹⁷⁴ P.Biel, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Office of the Minister: The Reformed Clergy at Zürich 1530-1575*, Unpublished thesis (Columbia University, 1988), p.156.

¹⁷⁵ A. Rüegg, *Der Kindergottesdienst in der Schweiz*, (Zürich,1913), p.15.

catechetical teaching was not simply for children but was for the whole family to participate in.¹⁷⁶ His catechism of 1538 was so popular that it was adopted by the reformed churches of Basel, Bern, St. Gall, Schaffhausen, Thurgau, and Graubünden.¹⁷⁷ The Council mandate put the responsibility for the catechizing of children jointly in the hands of parents and the ministers.¹⁷⁸ Children were to receive their instruction on Saturdays at three o'clock when the ministers held special sermons for them. The older boys, according to the instructions of the October Synod of 1537, were to be examined by their school masters in the most important points (*notwendigen stucken*) of the sermon given by the minister.¹⁷⁹ According to Lavater's description of the practices in the Zürich church, on Sunday afternoons the children were to be asked questions on the faith in front of the congregation¹⁸⁰ The shortage of

¹⁷⁶ Bullinger wrote a catechism for adults in 1559 entitled *Catechesis pro adultioribus*. HBBibl.I. no.377.

¹⁷⁷ Rüegg, p.15-16.

¹⁷⁸ Luther likewise charged parents with the obligation to prepare their children for life in the Christian church. In his formative sermon of 1528, in which he set out the framework for his catechisms, Luther writes: 'And who does not know them (the catechisms) should not be numbered among the number of Christians. For when a person does not know this, it is a sign that he has no regard of God and Christ. Therefore, I admonish you adults to hold your children and servants to this; otherwise we shall not admit you to holy communion.' 'Ten Sermons on the Catechism, 1528'. Luther's Works, vol.51, p.137.

¹⁷⁹ 'Es söllend die schulmeister ire knaben geflissen umb die 3 am samstag zur leer catechismi führen. Hernach der prediger geflissen den Catalogum läsen, und die grosseren knaben vragten von den notwendigen stucken, so in der predig gemeldet, ob sy die behalten.' StAZ. E.II.I.225 23 October, 1537. Those boys who did not appear at these sermons were to be reported to the officials (*Pflägern*).

¹⁸⁰ *De Ritibus*, p.55

schoolmasters in the rural areas meant that during Bullinger's time it was not uncommon for ministers to take on this additional role in their parish. By the middle of the sixteenth century all education of the children, beyond the most rudimentary level, took place in the city of Zürich; only Stein-am-Rhein and Winterthur maintained their own secondary schools.¹⁸¹ As the educational system was strengthened the church took a diminishing role in the instruction of children; even the responsibility for catechizing fell to the schoolmaster rather than the minister. The Synod did, however, consider this catechizing of the children by schoolmasters as within its supervision and it was not unknown for these teachers to be admonished by the clerical body.

Gerald Strauss points to the central idea which under lay sixteenth century Protestant thought on the role of catechisms. He argues that the reformers were well aware that despite the spate of moral and ecclesiastical legislation, and the zeal of civil officials and ministers in enforcing them, they could not hope for 'lasting improvement in religion and morality until the people's guiding aims had been transferred.'¹⁸² The Zwinglians shared with the Lutherans the conviction that God alone could bring a man to the Christian life. As discussed in the theological section, the knowledge of God which initiates conversion is revealed by God Himself. Nevertheless, as Strauss argues, the whole intention of catechetical education was the transformation of human nature.¹⁸³ The distinguishing feature of Protestant catechetical education was not only the systematic manner in which it was employed, but its orientation. Bullinger, like Luther, understood the catechism not merely as the primary form of instruction

¹⁸¹ Biel, p.160

¹⁸² G. Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning, Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation*. (Baltimore, 1978), p.152.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

youths (and adults) for church life, but as required preparation for membership in the state.

The implementation of the catechism remained a serious problem for the Synod during the sixteenth century. From the drawing up of the catechisms in the 1530s until well into the 1570s there is a string of reports describing the lack of proper instruction and of how parents were not bringing their children forward to be taught. In 1534 the Synod took direct action against negligent schoolmasters who were not educating the children in the faith by placing them directly under its supervision: *söllend fürohin inn alle synodos die schuolmeister kumen und darinn vermanet und censiert werden*.¹⁸⁴ In cases where a minister was not instructing the children there were two causes: either the minister was simply neglecting his duties through lack of diligence, or his refusal to teach the catechism indicated a fundamental rejection of reformed doctrines. For the most part, the evidence does not suggest that there was widespread objections to the catechism from ministers; problems as violent behaviour, as in the case of Heinrich Nater who had to be admonished for carrying around a large sword, and drunkenness, as with Heinrich Müller of Niederweningen, who was reprimanded in 1564 for spending excessive amounts of time in the tavern and appearing in the church late and drunk, explained why the children were not receiving instruction from the minister.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ StAZ. E.II.I.183 20 October, 1534.

¹⁸⁵ Heinrich Nater's disciplining for carrying a sword in 1555, StAZ. E.II.I.425 7 May, began a series of appearances before the Synod for such diverse reasons as his drunkenness and indulging in the use of 'black arts'. Nater was a native of Schaffhausen who, before being ordained in 1547, matriculated at Basel university where he is recorded as having paid the sum of six shillings. He served in Buch, Schaffhausen and Illnau, and died in 1566. *Zürich Pfarrerbuch*, p.450. *Basel Universität Matrik.*, p.29 Müller's disrespectful attitude towards children's instruction and the pulpit were part of

There were alarming reports from many deans that in their chapters parents were showing little interest in having their children instructed in the faith. Such absenteeism was connected to the wider problem of non-attendance at the church by the parents and suggests the continuity of resistance or indifference to the reformed faith amongst the populace in sixteenth century Zürich. In 1557 the dean of the Zürichsee reported that while there was a good will amongst the ministers of his chapter, the children were not being brought to the church for instruction.¹⁸⁶ In the same year the Synod announced that there would be a five shilling fine on those parents not bringing their children to the church for instruction.¹⁸⁷ Ten years later, the same complaint was voiced by the dean of the Freiamt, who identified two types of places which were attracting people away from the church; the first were the bone houses (*beinhüsern*), which were the focal point of superstitious activity, and, secondly, the taverns: *Wie die elltern die iugent nüt hieltend zuo dem kinderbericht und erwüchsind, das sy nitt bätten kondtind. Das der sonnentag schlächtlich und nüt gehalten wurde, und die klagen ouch in anderen capittlen beschahend, wurdent unser herren gebätten, ein ynsähen zuo thuon. Es beschähe vil aferzaal mitt den beinhüsern. Ward begärt, das man sy danen thäte, ouch die vile der wirtzhüsern.*¹⁸⁸ Both these types of distractions had to be

his whole rejection of the reformed faith as practiced in Zürich. This particular case, StAZ. E.II.I.544 24 October, 1564, came not long before his dismissal from the ministry by the Zürich Council.

¹⁸⁶ StAZ. E.II.I.457, 4 May, 1557, the deans of the Freiamt and Winterthur testified to having the same problem.

¹⁸⁷ Rüegg, p.18.

¹⁸⁸ StAZ. E.II.I.577. 6 May, 1567. The word *aferzaal* is not given in the *Idiotikon*. Dr. Hp. Stucki has suggested that it might be translated into the High German adjective *unfug* (mischievous).

removed. The deans requested that the Council reissue its mandate setting out the necessity of such teaching in the establishing of the godly community and the duties of parents and ministers alike with respect to it.¹⁸⁹ Bullinger writes on the obligations of parents towards the instruction of their children: 'Let the father at home examine his children, and know what they have learned by hearing the sermon. Let both the father and the mother also at home privately do their endeavour to teach their children the ten commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer,; and let them teach them a brief and ready rule out of the Scriptures for the understanding of the sacraments. Let them often and many times cause them to repeat the catechism, and beat into their heads such sentences as are most necessary to put them in memory of their faith and duty of life.'¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ An undated copy of the Council mandate on *Kinderpredigt* from the 1550s reads: *Sodann wellent unser herrn, das zuo pflantzung und ufnung eines gotseligen und christenlichen volcks, ouch damit die jugent inn warem glouben uferzogen, deßglych der gepotten Gottes und bettens bericht werdint. Das doch inhalt und vermög, ußgangen mandaten die kinderpredigen, da dieselben etwas zyts inn abgang kommen, wider umb angefangen, one nachlaß gehalten ouch menkhlicher sine kind zuo denselbigen fürderen und schicken, und sy von den herren predicanten/ des bättens und alles des, so zuo pflantzung und erbuwung der jugent, inn warem glouben gotsforcht, ouch erbaren stand und leben (als obstat) gezimpt, leren und underwysen, und sich indem vorab Gott und inen jemant widersetzen, sonder ir selbs, ouch irer kinden heyl und wolfart ermeßen und sich mengklich gehorsamcklich erzeigen, wie christen lüthen gezimpt und die liebe Gottes erforderet, und so aber jemans sich (als nit gedencken) disem irem christenlichen ansechen, daruf dann der pfarr sampt den eegoumeren ein gflyssenn ufsehen haben söllen, widersetzen unnd so söllichs zuo klag kerne, würde gegen den selben jeder zyt, je nach jedes übertretten ervorderet, mit ernst gehandelt werden. Dann sy je wellen, das diß christenlichen und hochnothwendig werck, von den herren predicanten und undervögten im gang behalten und styf one nachlaß, gehandelt hab und dem von mencklichen gelebt werde. StAZ. A.42.3 undated.*

¹⁹⁰ *Decades*, II.v. p.291.

The catechism was the means by which the children and young adults were to be instructed in becoming members of society. It was also intended to become the basis of the private devotional life of the family. The ministers were in the front lines of establishing the reformed teaching in the households; they were expected to bring to bear catechetical teaching on the social problems rife amongst the youth. Whether it was the periods of unemployment and social unrest, or simply the customs long established in their communities, the young people were prone to the same forms of illegal behaviour common amongst their elders.¹⁹¹ The Zürich Council established strict laws for the punishing of juvenile delinquents; the church's role was to educate and reform them. In response to the question of unruly and disrespectful behaviour amongst young boys and girls the Council wrote to Bullinger in May of 1541 reasserting the obligation of ministers and school teachers to instruct young people in the faith on Saturdays: *Das sy ire bevolchene schuoler, knaben unnd meytlin, flyßig alle sampstag selbs eygener person zur abendpredig füerend unnd da allen ernst fürwendind, das sy züchtiglich unnd tugentlich der predig losind.*¹⁹²

Catechism was the means by which the minister could become involved in the faith of his parishioners. Through its implementation he could learn the state of their beliefs, for unlike the sermon it was a dialogue. The minister would come to know the people of his parish and assess their views on all manner of issues. It was a primary form of social control for the church, which is why the Synod held it to be so important.

¹⁹¹M. Zürcher, *Die Behandlung jugendlicher Delinquenten im alten Zürich (1400-1798)*, (Winterthur: 1960).

¹⁹² StAZ. E.I.1.3a. May, 1541.

4.7 Cura Pauperum.

The treatment of the poor in Zürich was one of the most vexing problems facing the Council and the church leadership during the sixteenth century. Poverty was not new to Zürich at the time of the Reformation, the Council and religious houses had been responsible for the care of the poor in the later middle ages. Yet, as Lee Palmer Wandel has argued in an essay on the connection between Christian images and the community in Zürich, the care of the poor acquired a new spiritual importance with the reformers.¹⁹³ The church and magistrates felt a particular responsibility towards the poor, who were described as 'the living images of God' in the mandate on images of May, 1524, and in the ordinance on preachers of 1532.¹⁹⁴ This obligation towards the poor was confronted by the serious economic problems of the sixteenth century afflicting not only Zürich but all of Europe. Hans Ulrich Bächtold has examined the scope of the poverty question and shown the serious tensions which arose not only between the church and the civil government, but between the ruling authorities in the city and the rural communities. Bächtold has concluded *'Der ursächliche Zusammenhang zwischen Sittenzerfall und wirtschaftlich-sozialer Not wurde zum dominierenden Leitbild bei der Behandlung der Krise in der zweiten*

¹⁹³ Wandel writes: 'A connection between the poor and images was also expressed in Zwingli's sermons, as they were preached and printed. Eleven months before the first iconoclasm in Zürich, Zwingli's preached in his sermon 'The Shepherd' words that were to find particular resonance in the town: "one should clothe the living images of God, the poor Christians, not the wooden and stone idols, for the honor of God"'. Lee Palmer Wandel, 'The Reform of the Images: New Visualizations of the Christian Community at Zürich', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 80, (1989), p.115.

¹⁹⁴Ibid.

Jahrhunderhälfte.¹⁹⁵ This crisis caused by the destitution of the people brought together several issues which threatened to undermine the foundations of the Zürich Reformation. There is a continuing debate amongst economic historians over the causes of the 'depression' in the sixteenth century. Wilhelm Abel argues that it resulted from the interplay of several factors: the squeeze on land by the growth in population experienced in the sixteenth century throughout Europe, the changing nature of European economies, and failure of wages to keep pace with rises in rents and the price of food.¹⁹⁶ Despite the increased cost of living, there is no evidence of any decline in consumption. The Council was called upon to respond to the situation by formulating a comprehensive social and economic system capable of both supporting the truly needy and of preventing those suffering deprivation from becoming restive. A close working relationship with the rural communities and parishes was essential to the Council effecting such a programme, for the whole problem was beyond the capacity of any one institution alone to solve. From the church's point of view, poverty was a direct threat to the piety and morals of the people; it was a religious matter, for poverty, as with disease, was a clear indication of God's judgement upon Zürich.¹⁹⁷ A more vigorous preaching of the Gospel by the ministers was understood as the necessary partner to the reorganization by the Council of its economic resources for poor relief.

¹⁹⁵ Bächtold, *Bullinger vor dem Rat*, p.235. Also see, A. Denzler, *Geschichte des Armenswesens in Kanton Zürich im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. (Diss. Zürich, 1920)

¹⁹⁶ W. Abel, *Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*. Trans. O. Ordish, (London, 1980).p.133.

¹⁹⁷ Bächtold, p.241.

From the 1550s through to the 1570s poverty was very much at the centre of both Bullinger's and the Council's activities. Although it was by no means a recent development in the canton, a perilous situation had arisen demanding a new and more thorough approach by the political and ecclesiastical leadership. The Synodal Ordinances of 1532 had given expression to the general principle by which the church was to conduct itself towards the poor:

Und so uns die armen von Gott insonders befolhen, habend wir wyter einanden ermanet, dass ein jeder uss mityden die siner kilchen ernstlich mit Gottes wort fürstelle, insonders des kilchenguots vil gedenke, wie man es bruchen sölle; daby von einet (?) ermanen, dass man getrűwlich damit umbgange, wie ouch in unser Herren mandat jårliche rechnung bestimpt ist, damit wir uns nit ũbel an den armen wider Gott versündint und die kilchgũeter grösslicher dann der bapst, münchen und pfaffen missbruchind.¹⁹⁸

In the ordinances, Bullinger and Jud stipulated that the attack on poverty was to be through the threefold means of preaching, the reading of Council mandates, and the use of church goods for poor relief. This basic strategy did not change throughout either Bullinger or Gwalther's time as Antistes, though it was left for the practical implications of this policy to be worked out through negotiations with the Council.

The problem of poverty amongst the people involved other factors beyond the lack of means to support themselves and their families. Bürgermeister Lavater's address to the October Synod of 1556 reveals that the church was facing a serious moral problem which proved very tricky to approach; it lay with the people wasting the money which they did have on drink, celebrations and frivolous clothes: ... *daß von tag zu tag, ye länger ye mer in dem volck ein grosse liederliche entstande und sye fürnemlich mitt ungöttlichen wuocherischen kőűffen, mitt uffnehmen und verstecken, ouch versetzen aller gũetern, ouch der allmenden und uff kernen gũllten. Darnåben sye*

¹⁹⁸ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1899, p.830.

*man kostlich in kleydern, in übermässiger zerung, prassen und wüelen und zuotrincken, darus man übel besorge grossen unradt.*¹⁹⁹ The situation was similar to that of the marriage feasts where the Council and Synod had likewise expressed alarm with the frequency with which the people were bankrupting themselves through the holding of large and costly festivities in the taverns.²⁰⁰ The Synod instructed the clergy that they were to preach against such activities and exhort the people to be more domestically minded (*hüßlich*) and moderate in matters of eating, drinking and clothing.²⁰¹

With the continual economic decline in Zürich during the middle part of the century and the readiness of the rural people to waste their money, the Synod received a constant flow of reports from the parishes detailing the desperate plight of those who had been reduced to beggary. The dean, who was the minister of Höngg, told the Synod in 1552 of a poor woman and her children in his chapter who were begging because they had not enough to eat.²⁰² Although there is nothing particularly unusual about such a case, the dean's intentions seem to have been to draw the Synod's attention to both the pitiful state of affairs current in most parishes and the failure of the ministers to do much about it. Relations between the poor or beggars and the clergy

¹⁹⁹ StAZ. E.II.I.446 20 October, 1556. *wüelen* = HG. *schwelgen* (to live luxuriously).

Cf. Bächtold, p.242

²⁰⁰W. Abel has written: 'Men of the sixteenth century scorned the pleasures of the table and bottle as little as had their fifteenth century forbears. They also spent freely on clothes, jewellery and the furnishing of their houses.' p.144.

²⁰¹ Ibid.,

²⁰² StAZ. E.II.I.388 May, 1552.

were often tense, or, in the case of Hans Habersaadt, an official in Rüti, openly hostile.²⁰³ Habersaadt's treatment of the poor was described as unmerciful (*unbarmhertzig*), and he is even said to have beaten some of them so badly that they bled. His uncharitable behaviour brought the reformed faith and the Council into discredit before the Catholics: *bringt by den bapstlern ein nachred dem glouben und der obergkeit*.²⁰⁴ Further, the church goods set aside for poor relief were used by Habersaadt to pay for his drink. The Synod was acutely aware of the damage which could be done to the reformed cause through ministers and parish officials giving a bad example of the faith before the Catholics. It heard that Habersaadt's behaviour had generated considerable ill-will towards the Council and the reformed faith amongst the common man (*gemeinen mann*).

The anti-clericalism felt by those suffering from the economic vicissitudes was augmented by the unsympathetic treatment they received at the hands of the civil officials. The dean of the Freiamt related to the Synod in 1562 how the leaders in Zug, a Catholic canton, had driven the beggars and the sick out of their land: *die von Zug fuerrend ettwan arme lüth, bättler und krancke an die march, schüttindts da uß*. In addition, those beggars living in Zug had been subjected to considerable abuse.²⁰⁵ Two years later the dean of the Zürichsee spoke of the unruly behaviour of the young people amongst the poor in both the city and the cloisters. These youths were apparently disturbing the distribution of alms and thereby bringing disgrace upon the whole system of poor relief. The dean records the comment of the honest people

²⁰³StAZ. E.II.I.298 23 October, 1543. Heinrich Dickenmann of Marthalen was likewise described as *unbarmherzig* towards the poor in his parish. StAZ. E.II.I.375 30 October, 1551.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.,.

²⁰⁵ StAZ. E.II.I.515 20 October, 1562. Cf. Bächtold, p.251.

(*biderb lüth*) that one implants this sin with good works: *man pflantze mitt guoten wercken die sünd*.²⁰⁶ The care of the poor by the church was the focus of criticism of the clergy by the common people, both those in beggary and those better off, and this sharpened the Synod's resolve in the 1550s and 1560s to improve the situation.

The rate of inflation and the inability of men in the rural areas to obtain work not only increased poverty but greatly intensified the discontent felt by the people towards the ruling authorities. The dean of Winterthur put it plainly in 1565 when, on reporting on the level of unrest in his chapter, he stated that the solution to such disturbances lay in providing jobs (*gwerb*) for the poor in order that they be not reduced to beggary.²⁰⁷ A year later the same dean told the Synod that every church in his chapter had problems with the poor.²⁰⁸ The church looked to the Council to develop an economic and social strategy to relieve the burden of poverty to accompany its own battle against the moral degeneracy caused by such destitution. Banking practices, usury and all manner of irregular financial dealings were all attacked by the Synod and the Council, yet, these were difficult times, and outside Zürich Bullinger had little cause to be optimistic about the Protestant movement. The Council had to deal with the problem on two fronts; on the one hand it attempted to rid the state of beggary by declaring it illegal, while on the other it needed to control the excessive amounts of interest (*Zins*) charged by merchants which were aggravating the hardship on the people.²⁰⁹ As Bächtold comments: *Der*

²⁰⁶*Und sye überal ein unzucht und frävel mitt den bättleren: wurde das allmuosen übel an inen angelegt.* StAZ. E.II.I.532 9 May, 1564.

²⁰⁷ StAZ. E.II.I.561 23 October, 1565.

²⁰⁸ StAZ. E.II.I.569 22 October, 1566.

²⁰⁹ A morals mandate issued on 23 July, 1570, gives a clear example of how the Council sought to forbid beggary and channel those requiring assistance away from gathering around places such as taverns

Einsatz der Pfarrer für die Einhaltung des allgemeinen Zinses hatte nun immerhin die Wirkung, daß der Rat die Vorschriften zum Kapitalzins, durch die Androhung harter Strafen verschärft, im Druck verbreiten ließ. ²¹⁰

The use of the minister as a supervisor over the economic life of the community took a more structured form as the Synod and Council formulated a more specific social and economic policy in Zürich during the 1560s and 70s. The Council had in 1558 outlined the ministers' responsibility to teach the people the moral reasons why they were to work and not gather idly in meeting houses. The parish minister was to preach

where they caused trouble for those institutions concerned with the distribution of monies. It is interesting to note that the Council speaks of both foreign and native people and how they are to be treated in a similar manner. Also the mandate makes clear that the young people are a particular source of trouble. ...*Das aller bättel inn der statt Zürich, es syge von frömbden oder heimbschen personen, fryg an einichen unnderscheid der tagen abgestelt syn, dergestalt das niemandts meer, wyb noch man, kind noch gesind, weder an den strassen, gaßen, inn unnd vor den kilchen, ald uff den kilchhoffen, ouch vor unnd inn den gebhülsern, trinckstuben ald anderschwo samlen, bättlen oder gutzlen, sonnders die unnsern unnd frömbden sich des gemeinen allmuossens zuo den augustyneren unnd im spittal, wie inen das geordnet wirt, vernüegen unnd ersettigen lassen. Und welliche das übersehend, söllend die eltern inn gfengknuß unnd die jungen buoben unnder der gätteri gelegt werden, sovil unnd lang biß sy entlich darvon abstand, unnd das ein jeder syn allmuoßen inn die seckli am sonntag by den kilchen gäben sölle und möge.* StAZ. E.II.87.108 23 July, 1570. *Gebhüls* - a private house for the distribution of alms. SI. 2 p.1708. *Kilchhöffen* - cemetery. *Gätteri* - a small cell under the road with an iron grate over which passersby could walk. They were entitled to scrape their boots that the dirt would fall upon those being punished. Old maps of Zürich show that there was a *Gätteri* by the Fraumünster. Cf. W.H. Ruoff, 'Die Gätteri als Form des Kirchenprangers', K. Ebert, (ed), *Festschrift Hermann Baltl*. (Innsbruck, 1978), 421-438.

²¹⁰ Bächtold, p.254.

against the corruption of morals and, further, to decide which of the people in his community were truly in need of poor relief and which were quite fit for taking a job.²¹¹ Bürgermeister von Cham reinforced this point in an address to the Synod when he told the ministers that they were to heal the wounds of the community with the appropriate word of God, for not all those engaged in begging needed to be doing so: *'Begärtind unser herren an die predicanten, das sy ernstlich anhieltend, das nitt jederman sich wëllte in den bättel ergäben, sunder das man sich zur arbeit begäbe, mitt vil anderen komlichen worten.'*²¹²

Bächtold has argued that severe winter weather did much to negate the Council's economic plans in the early 1570s.²¹³ The price regulating system introduced by the Council to control inflation was wholly supported by Bullinger and his colleagues, and Bächtold has described it as: *'eine wirksame soziale Einrichtung Zürichs.'*²¹⁴ Yet such measures offered little relief to those suffering most from the ravages of economic inflation in the second half of the sixteenth century; and, as Bächtold remarks: *Diese Interventionspolitik diente aber nur denen, die etwas bemittelt waren (Bullinger sagte: "rychen und armen"), die vollig Unbemittelten waren stets auf Kirchengüter angewiesen.*²¹⁵

It was in the meetings of the Zürich Synod that the church held its toughest debates over the question of what to do with the poor. Bullinger gave an address to the October session of 1571 in which he took a wide ranging view of the issues involved

²¹¹ StAZ. E.II.I.525 19 October, 1563.

²¹² Ibid.,

²¹³ Bächtold, p.256.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

and the serious consequences facing the clergy. He did not refrain from criticizing either the Council's handling of the resources set aside for poor relief, which he saw as driving the people to the extremes of behaviour reported by the ministers, or the clergy who had themselves failed in their high calling to bring the Gospel to these wretched souls.²¹⁶ Bullinger's case was that the unrest present in both the city and rural areas stemmed directly from the ruination of communities by economic forces beyond their control.²¹⁷ In the address he drew upon the reports of his fellow ministers to portray in detail the extent of the deprivation:

*Es ist kein radstgag, da nitt arme kummind und hilff
begäerind. Deren keinen, fast zuohin, last man unbegabet
hinweg gan. Da man so vil thuot alls man immers vermag,
und schier me, dann man mag. Dann all ämpter übersetzt
sind etc. In 13 iaren, diewyl die allmuosens ordnung
angenommen, habend die burger in der statt gestüret den*

²¹⁶ StAZ, E.II.I.627-630 23 October, 1571. The text has been printed by Bächtold, *Bullinger vor dem Rat*, p.323-325.

²¹⁷The Zürich church's perception of poverty followed mainline Protestant thought in the early Reformation. An interesting comparison to Bullinger's remarks is found in the tract of Karlstadt 'Von abtuhung der Bylder und das keyn Bedtler unther den Christen seyn sollen' (There should be no beggars Among Christians) which emerged as part of the Lutheran reform of poor relief in Wittenberg. Carter Linberg remarks '... Karlstadt's emphases are clear: preventative action against the causes of poverty is of the highest importance even while remedial work needs to continue; civic authority is to play a crucial role; vocational training provides access to society beyond menial labour: the entire program is motivated by Christian response to God's law and saving activity. Although God's constant concern for the poor and oppressed is stressed, they are neither romantically identified with the kingdom of God nor paternalistically regarded as 'objects' for church service.' C. Linberg, ' "There shall be no beggars among Christians" An Early Reformation Tract on Social Welfare by Andreas Karlstadt', in C. Linberg (ed.) *Piety, Politics and Ethics*, (Kirksville, 1984), p.159.

*armen in die seckli in den kylchen, harinn 1587 gulden. über das die gantz wuchen und insonders arm sampstag ettlich hundert an der gassen herumm ummdas allmuosen rennend, und kein vernügen ist. Unser gnedig herren habend vor 2 jaren, den armen, uß Franckrych vertriben, ein mals tusend francken gen Genff geschickt.*²¹⁸

This telling indictment of the Council's treatment of the needy, in this case the refugees from France, reflected Bullinger's anger with Zürich's political leader's failure to act in carrying through the implications of the reformed faith. The Synod was equally harsh with ministers who took a similarly careless attitude towards the poor. Petronius Grebel was disciplined by the Synod in 1571 for telling the poor people who came to him for help that he would do nothing for them: *wenn dann die armen kummend, hilff begärend, sagend die pfläger, sy könnind nüt halffen.*²¹⁹ Grebel, whose other appearances before the Synod involved such matters as drinking and a general lack of diligence in all aspects of his ministry, was recommended by the Synod to the Council for dismissal, and by the October Synod of the same year he was spoken of as having been removed from his parish.²²⁰

Despite repeated quarrels over the employment of the church goods for poor relief, the Synod and Council were clearly in agreement on three main points: the determining of those in need of relief and those capable of working; the relief of parishes from the burden of foreign beggars (*fremden Bettlern*); and the necessity of educating the people out of the habit of frivolous and wasteful living which was only aggravating their poverty. This agreement manifested itself in the formation by the Council of a commission in 1572 of civil and ecclesiastical leaders to determine not

²¹⁸ StAZ. E.II.I.629 23 October, 1571. Bächtold, p.364.

²¹⁹ StAZ. E.II.I.614 8 May, 1571

²²⁰ Grebel was suspended and spent some time in Wellenberg before being restored to the church as a vicar in Witikon, a position which he held from 1573 until his death in 1574. *Zürich Pfarrerbuch*, p.303.

only the correct policy towards the poor but how such a policy might best be implemented.²²¹ The church was represented by Bullinger, Gwalther and Wolff, the three leading ministers in the city, and the most important part of the report for the clergy was the recommendation that each minister was to carry out an investigation of the ability of his church community to support the local poor. This would enable the Council to determine the extent to which a parish was self-sufficient in monies for poor relief and how much additional support was required from outside.²²² In addition, the ministers would compile a list giving the names of those men and women whom they determined to be fit for work. Employment was to be procured in activities useful to the community and those who resisted such a plan were to be placed in workhouses.²²³ A reform of such a comprehensive nature was unique to Zürich, and Bächtold remarks: *In dieser systematischen Weise war bis dahin ein Arbeitsbeschaffungsprogramm nicht formuliert worden.*²²⁴

The poverty problem in Zürich posed a direct threat to both the church and government in that it imperiled the delicate balance between the two through a revival of strong anti-clerical and anti-Council sentiments. The ministers stood in the forefront of

²²¹ Bächtold, p.266-269.

²²² Bächtold, p.269.

²²³ Ibid., p.267. Calvin was also vexed by those in Geneva who simply refused to work and thereby became a burden to the city's charitable institutions. He argued in his Scriptural commentaries that reluctance to work was an offence to God. For a discussion of the approach of three reformers from different camps on the problems caring for the deserving poor, see A.A. Alves, 'The Christian Social Organism and Social Welfare: the Case of Vives, Calvin, and Loyola'. *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, XX.I (1989), 3-21.

²²⁴ Bächtold, p.267.

the crisis and were on the one hand given considerable authority in dealing with the issue, while on the other severely punished when they failed. Zürich attempted to develop a flexible and systematic approach to the economic troubles of the middle and later parts of the century, and the degree of cooperation between the clergy and civil officials argues for the success of the reformed discipline in combining religious and economic concerns, though, in the end, the enormity of the crisis precluded an effective resolution.²²⁵

4.8 Visitatio Infirmorum

Illness, like the destitution caused by poverty, was perceived by the Zürich divines as a manifestation of God's wrath upon the sins of the community. Nevertheless, the religious understanding of disease did not deny the responsibility of the state to effect a proper system of care for those suffering from the variety of illnesses rampant in the canton. Poverty, through the reduction of the people to beggary and theft, destroyed the morals of the community and stirred up unrest against the magistrates. The treatment of disease, Bullinger wrote in the *Decades*, is an aspect of Christian charity; it is the duty of the minister and of neighbours in the community to do all things possible to reconcile the ill or dying to Christ, and further, to ensure that the person has resolved all quarrels with his brethren.²²⁶ The great Zürich humanist,

²²⁵ Bächtold remarks: Bullinger und Gwalther haben dem wirtschaftspolitischen Kampf gegen die Armut die Form eines Programms gegeben. p.274

²²⁶ 'There come about them neighbours and brethren, and every one for his part shows the duties of love and charity: they relieve the needy with their goods, and, if the sick be not needy, then do they show other duties of good will.' *Decades*, V,x, p.521.

Konrad Gessner, made research into medicine, and in particular the healing powers of plants, an important part of his studies.²²⁷ Bullinger and Jud gave institutional expression in the synodal ordinances to Zwingli's own teaching on the responsibilities of the minister to visit the sick at home:

*Und sydmal der fynd unsers heils den menschen
nimmer grusamer anficht, dann in der krankheit und stund
des tods, desshalb der mensch nimmermee trosts, underricht
und stärkung dann im todbett bedarf, habend wir uns
errinnert der leer Jacobi am 5 Kap. dass fürohin ein jeder
pfarrer die synen (wo man anders sin begerte) besuochen,
die kranken trösten und berichten sölle, betten und von
verzyhung, von dem erlösen Christi, von der urstendy und
ewigem leben reden, dass sich die kranken dultigklich in
(den) willen Gottes ergebend und fürohin der zytlichen
dingen vergessind etc. 228*

The Scriptural reference to the Epistle of James 5 (chp. 12ff.), in which the elders of the church are called to pray for the sick and the efficacy of the prayers of the righteous for the suffering is affirmed, was used again by Bullinger in the *Decades* when he outlined the minister's duties towards the dying.²²⁹ The minister was first to

²²⁷ H.M. Koelbing, 'Types de Mediciens du VVie siècle, Expose sur la renaissance de la medecine'.
Tirage a Part du 'Symposium Ciba' 11.3. (1963), p.2.

²²⁸ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1899, p.832.

²²⁹ The Bern synodal ordinances likewise made use of this text in treating the steps through which the minister should lead the dying person. '*Zuerst sollen wir die Kranken an die göttliche Gnade durch Christus erinnern. Er ist in den Nöten bei den Seinen und will weiterhin bei ihnen sein. Es gilt zu zeigen, wie die Auflösung oder Abberufung aus dieser Zeit ernsthaft warten. Wo sie das bei Busse gewiesen werden, damit sie darin ihre Eigenliebe und Glaubensschwäche erkennen lernen und den Herrn von Mehrung des Glaubens bitten. So werden sie von uns, die wir Zeugen der Wahrheit Gottes sein sollen, nicht zu einem falschen Vertrauen verleitet.*' *Berner Synodus*, vol.I, p.159.

bring the person to make a full confession of sin and then comfort him with the promise of God's forgiveness. The minister must then require of the person that he resolve all outstanding disputes that he might die in a state of charity with his family and neighbours. Following the pattern set out by James in his epistle, Bullinger says that the person should make a public prayer with those gathered around him before the minister admonishes him to resign himself to God after the manner of Christ.²³⁰

The perception of illness and disease in the sixteenth century by common people was marked by an attachment to folk medicines and strong beliefs in the healing powers of intercessory spiritual forces. The whole understanding of what it meant to be healthy is difficult to state with precision. Albert Hauser argues that the general well being of an individual was thought to result from the interplay of the natural and social environment. Illness came from many sources; some, like wounds from fighting, problems following from an excess of food and drink, or sexually related diseases, were man made, whilst others, like plague or death in childbirth, were believed to be of nature and manifestations of divine will. Hauser argues further that the occurrence of disease was not thought to be accidental, but a determining fate which exercised a sort of natural selection upon society.²³¹

²³⁰ *Decades*, V.x., p.521.

²³¹ Hauser writes: '*Dass die Krankheit und die von ihr erzeugten Schmerzen auch eine Selektionsfunktion hatten, ist in den Quellen nicht direkt bezeugt, dennoch als sicher anzunehmen. Schmerzen waren für die Vorfahren "sinnvoll", weil sie wissen müssen, wann sie krank oder verwundet waren. Zweifellos war der Schmerz ein Mittel, von anzuzeigen, wann man sich aus dem Kampf (sei es im Gefecht oder auch im alltäglichen Existenzkampf) zurückziehen muss und wann man wieder fit ist für den nächsten Kampf. Der Schmerz, die Krankheit hatt also (und hat es bis zu einem gewissen Grad immer noch!) eine Selektionsfunktion.*' *Was für ein Leben?* p.137.

Bullinger's extensive use of the text from James 5 on the duty of Christians to aid the sick and dying left him with the problem of explaining what was meant by 'let him call the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord.' (James 5:14). Bullinger's explanation in the *Decades* of this Scriptural injunction to anoint with oil was that in the Apostolic period the church was given the miraculous gift of healing the sick.²³² While this gift was still with the church, the apostles and early church ministers could cast out devils and anoint the sick with oil, which would have a restorative effect. Now that this gift had lapsed, James' admonition no longer applied to the church, for oil of itself has no spiritual power on an ill person; in the Roman church its use had become an object of superstitious worship because of the assumption of an inherent healing power being present in the oil.²³³ The minister's role with regard to the sick in Zürich was to

²³² *Decades*, V.x, p.522.

²³³ In his exegesis of the text in the commentaries on the Pauline Epistles, Bullinger gives different argument against the use of oil in anointing the sick. Bullinger states that oil was widely used in the ancient Near-East, principally for the care of the body. Thus there is nothing surprising about the fact that Christ and his Apostles made use of oil when healing others. *Quod unctionem olei attinet, multus fuit olei usus in Palaestina et per universum orientum, praecipue autem adhibebatur ad cultum corporis, ut apud nos solent aquae odoriferae, et ad medicandum corpori.* Bullinger, *Commentarii In Omnes Pauli Apostoli Epistolas, atque etiam in Epistolam ad Hebraeos.* (Zürich, 1582).

fol.K.k.6r.p.669. *HBBibl.* I. no89. Bullinger continues on to contrast oil with prayer. He states that oil is something indifferent in the healing of a sick person whilst prayer truly offered in the name of Christ is the only way that the soul can be restored: *Loquitur enim de cura corporis, de misericordia, deque officiis pietatis egrotis praestandis, de medela suae fideli usu medicine adhibende scilicet cum fide in nomen, id est, potentiam Dei, quae nunc per media nunc sine mediis aegrotos sibi restituit, quam tamen restitutionem sancti non oleo, hoc est curae et medicamentis mediis, sed nomine domini acceptam ferunt.* ¹ *ibid.*

reconcile them to God and their neighbour through repentance and forgiveness. In rural areas, where treatment was more difficult to obtain, Bullinger recommended that the ministers acquire a knowledge of the plants and herbs useful in healing wounds and diseases that they might gain for themselves more opportunities to minister to the people through tending to the sick.

A means of caring for the sick was well established in Zürich by the middle of the sixteenth century. As with Geneva, the houses for the sick and dying were under the direct control of the Council; for Zürich these institutions were made a subdivision of the Alms office.²³⁴ The three main institutions were the Spital, which stood outside the walls of the city and was principally for beggars, orphans and pilgrims, the Blätternhaus at Oetenbach, for lepers, and finally the plague house in Selnau for the terminally ill. Bathing houses offered another form of treatment for those suffering from diseases such as syphilis. However, whilst bathing houses were thought efficacious, there were those who considered their patrons to be of questionable morality. There was some concern that these houses were actually facilitating the spread of some diseases.²³⁵ A measure of the seriousness with which the Council and Synod took in caring for the ill was demonstrated in the establishing of these houses as regular parishes fixed with a minister whose duty was to preach and tend to the sick. In order to control the movement of people out of the parishes, any person coming into the city to one of these institutions was required to have a reference from his local minister.

²³⁴ Biel, p.204-208. For a discussion of the situation in Geneva, see R.T. Kingdon, 'Social Welfare in Calvin's Geneva', *American Historical Review*, 76, (1971), p.50-69.

²³⁵ Hauser, *Was für ein Leben?*, p.133.

There was considerable resistance amongst the ministers to visiting the sick. Frequently this amounted to nothing more than another aspect of a minister's general neglect of his parish. This was true for the case of Hans Schmid, who was reported to the October Synod of 1553 as being awkward in services, of showing no discernment in the reading of texts, and finally of not looking after the dying.²³⁶ Likewise, Ulrich Röst, a frequent offender against the synodal ordinances, was reported by his brethren as not studying, of being careless, and even of lying in bed when he ought to be looking after his parish. His neglect of the sick stemmed from the complete contempt in which he held all of his parishioners. He would announce the hours at which the services would be held and then arrive late and drunk; having then entered the pulpit he was prone to tossing about accusations of dishonesty at various members of the community.²³⁷ Possessing such a contentious spirit, it is not surprising that he showed no interest in either the poor or the sick: *die krancken besuocht er nitt, wie ein pfarrer schuldig. Mags ouch wenig, wie er an krancken gadt, und kumpt wenig oder niemer an die lyhen, wie andere pfarrer.*²³⁸ The members of the Synod found Röst's attempts to defend himself so pathetic that the examiners had to resort to asking his wife for the details of his life. Balthasar Rümeli of Trüllikon shared a similar malevolent spirit towards the ill and was described as being stingy (*gytig*) and unmerciful (*unbarmhertzig*).²³⁹ In the fifteen years of his ministry before his 1560

²³⁶ The judgement of the Synod reads: *Er soll den huot abtuon und eigentlich, onderscheidenlich lesen, sich vor sincopieren und toderen hüeten, damit alle ding in der kilchen ordenlich beschehend.* Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1988, p.875.

²³⁷ StAZ. E.II.I.576 6 May, 1567.

²³⁸ Ibid,

²³⁹ StAZ. E.II.I.483/484 7 May, 1560.

appearance in the Synod, Rümmeli had gained a reputation for extremely uncharitable behaviour which manifested itself in abuse of the sick and the refusal to distribute monies to the poor. It was on account of the multitude of complaints against him that the Synod decided that Rümmeli ought to be punished by being relieved of his position for half a year: *das man sich das halb iar mitt im lyden söllte*.²⁴⁰ The Synod further requested that the Obervogt look into Rümmeli's affairs and make a report. Nothing of the report has survived though it is known that Rümmeli was retired by the Council in 1560, however he remained as minister of his parish until 1561.²⁴¹

The figure of Leodegar Hirzgartner is somewhat more interesting as he was a man with a distinguished career in Zürich, first as Provisor to the schools in Zürich and then as minister in Schwamendingen and Laufen. He was described in the Synod of 1557 as being a good minister but too ill to look after his parish.²⁴² Later, in 1561, the October Synod heard that Hirzgartner was still very ill and that the women of his parish avoiding the church because of the presence of disease: *insonders die wyber, die mydent die kylchen, dann inn die krankheit in der kylchen ankumft*.²⁴² The reaction of these women, with their fear of sick people in the church, throws some light on the hesitancy of many ministers to fulfil their pastoral duties by visiting the sick; fear

²⁴⁰ Ibid.,

²⁴¹ StAZ. E.II.I.456 4 May, 1557. Hirzgartner had served as a minister since 1544 and was the son of Matthias Hirzgartner, who had been a priest in St. Peter's in Zürich and was an early supporter of Zwingli. Leodegar continued the distinguished service to the reformed cause begun by his father, and Bullinger described him fondly as 'einen geschickten und fleissigen mann, welcher viel und wohl schreibe.' *Zürich Pfarrerbuch*, p.343.

²⁴² StAZ. E.II.I.456 May, 1557.

of contracting an infection explains the hostility of many of the clergy towards the ill and, further, accounts for the problems in church attendance. The Hirzgartner case illustrates the destructive effect upon parish life which sickness could cause both by debilitating the minister and by frightening the people away from the church.

The Synod had also looked favourably upon the case of Peter Simmler back in 1533. Simmler, like Matthias Hirzgartner, was amongst the leading lights of the early clergy; he was the last prior of Kappel and had taken part in the Bern Disputation of 1528 before returning to Kappel in the early 1530s to restore the cloister and its school.²⁴³ It had been on account of his various activities with regard to the reform of the education system that Simmler had come before the Synod to explain why he had not been visiting the sick.²⁴⁴ Simmler argued that he was so busy with his work that he could not attend to all his duties and asked if he might be relieved of such tasks as looking after the sick that he might have more time for education matters: *er zeigt an, wie er die brüeder vorhin gepetten, dass si in des amts erliessind, dann er es nit könnde (gschäften halben) nach notdurft verwalten, begerte nochmals, dass man inn erliesse des amts.*²⁴⁵ The importance which the Synod placed upon the care of the sick is clear in its unwillingness to release Simmler from these duties. He was told that he must find a colleague to assist him in his visitations but that there was no question of his being exempted from them.

The connection between medicine and mysterious forms of healing posed difficult questions for the church in determining the role of the minister in Christian

²⁴³ Zürich Pfarrerbuch, p.533.

²⁴⁴ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1988, p.875

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*,

responsibilities to the sick and dying. The confusion in the Synod is clear from the ambiguous use of such words as *segnen* and *zouberwerk* when speaking of medicine. Often they refer to the use of natural medicines, whilst at other points they denote Catholic practices or the involvement with the black arts. The 1533 Synod's condemnation of these arts was followed through the sixteenth century; ministers came to the Synod describing various superstitious rites which were abhorrent to the new reformed order: *Die Pfarrer klagend vil ab den zoubereren, die sich segnens unternemend und sömlich aberglouben denn ouch understond ze schirmen; item, dass etliche die lachsner und betrieger umb verlorne ding (er)forschend, begerend rats, wie si sich hierin halten (söllend)*.²⁴⁶ The Council followed this in the morals mandate of 1539 when it spoke strongly in prohibiting conjuring, prophesizing, and all forms of magic. The problem lasted throughout the lifetime of Bullinger, for in 1571 he wrote a tract against the forms of superstitious activities present in Zürich.²⁴⁷ He knew very well the slowness with which the reformed teachings were proceeding against such ingrained practices.

The general confusion which pervaded the Synod's attempts to come to terms with this aspect of healing is clear from the 1536 case of Hans Oechsli, minister in Bülach. The report states that when a poor sick man came to him Oechsli did not treat him as a minister ought (though the text reads *priester*, the sense clearly means reformed minister) but rather as a devil swearer (*tüfelsschwerer*).²⁴⁸ This meant that he engaged in conjuring devils through placing his thumb in the man's mouth and reciting various words. Oechsli's own colleagues, the dean and minister of Oberglatt (Jörg Schwarz), had reported his actions and in his own defence he replied that he had

²⁴⁶ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1899, p.879.

²⁴⁷ Stiefel, p.124-128.

²⁴⁸ StAZ. E.II.I.216 24 October, 1536.

treated numerous people in this manner and that they had come to him seeking such a rite: *Darüber antwurt er, es sye nitt minder, er habe ettlichs also gehandelt, sye schwach im glouben xin, und begäre gnad.*²⁴⁹ Oechsli did not comprehend the Synod's objection as he was administering the rite which the people had grown to expect and want when they were dying. The distinction between the reformed teaching on the responsibilities to the poor and sick and the old Catholic rites was not clear either to him or many of his fellow ministers. The Synod stated that such abuses were to be severely punished and it recommended to the Council that Oechsli be sent to Wellenberg to live on bread and water for some days.

The Oechsli case reveals the problems which arose for the reformed church when it had to make a complete break with practices of the Roman priesthood deeply rooted in the lives of the rural faithful. In a society for which religious devotion was strongly coloured by a belief in the miraculous intervention of the divine, the priest, through the invocation of the saints and the application of rites, was instrumental in the fight against death by disease.²⁵⁰ Individual saints were invoked as protection from particular illnesses, and the evidence suggests that this form of lay piety held firm against the onslaught of the reformers. The people derived comfort from these practices born of the mixture of the Christian faith with popular legend which the church struggled to eradicate. In 1567 the dean of the Freiamt reported to the Synod that many of his clergy were encountering a peculiar practice amongst the people concerning the bones of the dead (*Todtenbynen*).²⁵¹ The people were digging up the bones of the

²⁴⁹ Ibid.,

²⁵⁰ Hauser, p.137/8.

²⁵¹ Bächtold, p.76/7. Bullinger's Frürtrag against the digging up of bones and placing them in special houses is printed in Bächtold, p.320-22.

deceased and practicing a 'forbidden art' (*verbottnen kunst*). This activity seems to have involved the removal of bones to certain 'beinhäusern' where they were reinterred according to the Catholic rite. The dean's report testifies to the extent of the practice in communities in his chapter. He asked the Council to issue a decree stating that the bones of the dead be left in the ground and that those already dug up be replaced: *Erstlichen der befelch Gottes, das der mensch in der erden bliben sölli, darumb man gwon alle bein, die man yetz hinfür ußgrabt, widerumb inhin würffe*.²⁵² The people, both locals and 'strangers', were to be made to understand that regardless of their motives, this practice was superstitious and punishable. There seems to have been several reasons to explain why the bones might have been dug up. The first is the Catholic situation mentioned above. Secondly, the bones were ground into powder and used in folk medicines.²⁵³ Finally, M. Senn has found that in 1582 the bones of soldier killed in the Kappel wars were dug up by some Catholics from Zug and treated most irreverently. This was an obvious provocation of the Zürich authorities and was followed by a protest by the Council.²⁵⁴ To aid in its uprooting ministers were to send to the Council the names of persons known to be participating that they might be disciplined.²⁵⁵ The treatment of the poor and the sick, as in all other areas of church life, shows the enduring struggle which the sixteenth century reformers in Zürich faced in overcoming rural attitudes prevalent amongst clergy and laity in establishing the reformed faith through teaching.

²⁵² StAZ. E.I.2.1a. 24 May, 1567.

²⁵³ H. Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglauben*, vol. 5, p.6-14.

²⁵⁴ M. Senn, 'Ein Später Bildersturm in Zürich, 1587', in H., Albendorf & P. Jezler, *Bilderstreit: Kulturwandel in Zwinglis Reformation*, (Zürich, 1984).

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

4.9 Introduction

The second part of the schema, to which Bullinger has given the heading *Conversatio*, pertains to the personal aspects of the minister's life, such as his diligence in the study of Scripture and theology, and the moral behaviour of both himself and his family in the community. Bullinger's division was not intended to delineate the public and private spheres of the ministerial office, but rather to describe on the one hand the minister as servant of the state and church, as fulfilling the functions of preaching, administering the sacraments, and working together with the civil officials in the maintenance of public order, whilst on the other the moral character of the man holding this office. The question of the moral conduct of the minister was no less public than the theological content of his sermons, and clerical discipline in Zürich, although rejecting the Anabaptist idea of the essential connection between the morality of the minister and the efficacy of his office, was intended to effect as far as possible moral perfection amongst the clergy. The fraternal nature of the Synod in Zürich was devised to implement the Scriptural teaching on moral correction to the end that ministers might continue to struggle in imitating Christ as the true shepherd. Moral failings might not invalidate the office of a minister *de iure*, but the Synod understood well enough the corrosive strength of immorality upon the functioning of the pastoral office to insist upon the personal conduct of the minister being adequate to his position.

The Synod's concern for the lives of both the minister and his family grew from the belief that they were public examples to the community in which they lived and served. The removal of the mass and the other rites of the Catholic church necessitated their replacement with an entirely different focus for the Christian life. The reformed church in Zürich based this life on a living relationship to the Scriptures grounded in an understanding of its teachings and expressed in a corporate life. The central place of the minister as the teacher of the Word through whom this knowledge was brought to the congregations has been explored; this leaves for consideration his role in following

the moral precepts of Scripture and his teaching of the normative forms of Christian living through example. The minister did not represent Christ sacramentally so much as morally to his church. In his parish every minister was to model himself upon the Christ 'the good shepherd' in his care for the people, who in turn were instructed by his example. It was certainly still a mediating role which the clergy assumed, though of a different character. This idea is given expression in the eighteenth chapter of the Second Helvetic Confession, where at the end of the considerations of the duties of the minister it states: 'And to the end that the minister might perform all these things better, and with more ease, it is required of him that he be one that fears God, prays diligently, and gives himself much to the reading of Scripture, and, in all things, and in all times, is watchful, and does show forth a good example unto all men of holiness of life.'²⁵⁶

The parish churches did not possess as of right the authority to dispense discipline; their role was to inform and advise the civil authorities through the mediation of the Synod. The weapon of the preacher in the pulpit was the authority of Christ granted to his church in the gift of the keys of the kingdom, by means of which the ministers, following the understanding of this text in Zürich, were able to open and close heaven through the preaching of the Gospels. The importance of this authority has been shown in the manner in which the Synod and the Council kept close watch over what was said from the pulpits in the parishes, and in this section the attempt is made to explore the accompanying moral problems which came to the fore in the supervision of the clergy.

²⁵⁶ 'The Second Helvetic Confession', chp.XVIII, in J.H. Leith, ed., *Creeds of the Churches*, (Richmond:,1973), p.159.

4.10 *Studium literarum assiduum.*

The effectiveness of preaching in Zürich was dependent upon the ministers applying themselves to the study of Scripture and theological texts. Zürich's emergence in the sixteenth century as a centre of reformed humanism under Zwingli was furthered and enhanced by the work of Bullinger, Martyr, Myconius, Pellikan and Gessner, whose presence in the city gave considerable intellectual weight to the Zürich church through their continuing application of Erasmian principles of humanism in the formulation of Christian doctrine. On the wider European stage, the fruits of their work were manifold, reflecting the confidence and esteem in which they were held by other reformers. In Zürich their work was no less crucial in giving institutional form to the theological training required of their church to prepare young men in the rigours of reformed theology they were to disseminate beyond the walls of the city in the rural areas. Zürich had not been the seat of a mediaeval university and much of the work in creating a programme of theological instruction was begun from scratch by Zwingli in 1525 with the opening of the Prophezei in the Grossmünster.

The presence of such eminent scholars in Zürich made possible the ambitious reform of clerical education which was effected in the fifty years following the introduction of the Reformation. Nevertheless, the problems faced by the church were formidable, and a consideration of them underlines the distinction which must be made between the speed with which the Reformation took hold in the city and the slowness of its progression in the countryside. On the one hand there was a shortage of young men to be trained as ministers who could take up the positions in the parishes as they became vacant, and on the other, many of the ministers already in the parishes were of such a low quality with regard to their learning and moral conduct that they were of uncertain benefit to the church. Until the church could raise the standard of its ministers through education the integration of the evangelical faith into the rural communities remained problematic. The leaders in the city were faced with two crucial

questions concerning clerical education: what could be attempted through theological education, and how much could be expected of the incumbent ministers.

Bullinger describes the purpose of theological education as the instruction of men to assume the authority granted by Christ to the office of minister. This authority derived from the power of the keys; the preaching of the pure Word of God as the only source of doctrine.²⁵⁷ The exposition of Scripture, Bullinger writes in the *Decades*, is a doctrine of the 'perfecter sort': the church is truly instructed when ministers faithfully interpret the books of the Bible.²⁵⁸ The authority of the minister's office is legitimated by God's presence in the church working in those men charged with propagating His Word, and is in no way dependent upon human source, which is why Bullinger could not accept the connection made by the radical reformers between a minister's own moral perfection and the validity of his office.

The answer to the question of how much the church in Zürich could expect from its ministers in the parishes is found in the mutual relationship which developed between the Synod and the ministers. The ministers were required for their part by their oath of office to preach and serve faithfully, while the Synod attempted to be flexible and sensitive in its supervisory and corrective role. The Synod was patient with erring ministers and was sympathetic to their personal and pastoral difficulties. It continued to recommend correction and even punishment for ministers with considerable severity throughout the sixteenth century, yet it was generous in allowing ministers to return to service as long as there was a clear indication of repentance. In matters of study and doctrine the Synod tolerated the failings of ministers when it felt

²⁵⁷ *Decades*, V.iv.p.149

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p.154

that the fault was being remedied through more vigorous attention to Scripture and theological tracts. This balancing of the inadequacies of the ministers with the particular difficulties of the parish enabled the Synod to maintain considerable discretion in using its authority to recommend punishment.

The reformed minister was himself responsible for continually improving his understanding of the Scriptures and the faith of the Creeds. This posed a problem for the church in Zürich: on the one hand, it wished to grant greater responsibility to the ministers by training them to exposit Scripture and preach to their people from the fruits of their learning; yet, on the other hand, the church and the Council were concerned to ensure that this was not understood as a licence to expound personal opinions and prejudices. The 1532 sermon of Leo Jud served as a continual reminder of the limitations within which the 'freedom of the Gospel' was allowed. Bullinger, in treating this question, frequently employed the text of Second Peter: 'First of all you must understand this, that no prophecy of Scripture is a matter of one's own interpretation, because no prophesy ever came by the impulse of man, but by men moved by the Holy Spirit from God.'²⁵⁹

Young men were trained in the theological schools of Zürich to employ the tools of reformed humanism in Scriptural exegesis, and once they were ministers in the parishes they were expected to continue this study with the aid of the commentaries and

²⁵⁹ 2. Peter 1.20-21. Bullinger, in his own exegesis of the text, writes: '*Aberrant ergo qui humano iudicio aestimant sensum scripturae. Cum enim de sensu alicuius loci controvertitur, expositio vera vel circumstantiis vel per contextum, vel per clariorem, vel per contrarium locum erit ostendenda. Non enim valet hic locus ab autoritate, ut dicamus Thomas, Hugo, Lyranus vel Gregorius eum locum ita exposuere, sed excutiendae rationes cur sic exposuerint, et an expositio consentiat cum ingenio spiritus divini, et quam sit fidei et charitatis regulae conformis*'. *COMMENTARII In omnes Pauli Epistolas, atque etiam ad Hebraeos*. (Zürich, 1582), fol. Ee4r, p.609. *HBBibl.* I, no89.

published tracts produced in the city for their benefit. The restructuring of the educational system after Kappel was dictated by Bullinger's desire to begin the training of ministers from the elementary education of boys. This was brought about by the development of the Latin schools located in the two Münsters in the city to which young boys regarded as being academically promising were sent by the local schoolmasters. These Latin schools were intended to introduce and nurture the boys in the elements of Christian humanism, and both the church and the Council took considerable interest in the curriculum and discipline. A mandate October of 1532 from the Council laid down both the structure and content of the boys' education.²⁶⁰ Academic instruction was to continue all day with the hours of study being punctuated with prayer, Scripture reading and, on three days of the week, the singing of hymns. Church attendance, naturally, was compulsory and regular and the boys were taught to engage themselves in a communal form of discipline to encourage the virtues of discipline they would later employ as ministers.²⁶¹ The mandate further stipulated the allocation of hours and the manner the pupils were to follow in learning their prescribed texts. These texts were to be read and copied, and considerable emphasis was placed upon having the students repeat their lessons until they had absorbed the style as well as the meaning of the author. Greek and Latin were taught, with Homer and Heraclitus set for the Greek studies and Virgil, Terence, Salust, Ovid and Cicero for the Latin. Donatus' *Ars Grammatica* and Melancthon's *Dialecticum* along with Erasmus' work on syntax were the set texts for linguistic instruction.²⁶²

²⁶⁰ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1896, p.823.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*,

²⁶² The mandate of 1532, with its admonition to learning tempered by virtue, expresses the spirit of Christian humanism which underpinned the education reforms in Zürich: *Die soll man zeglich in guoten, christenlichen sitten und warer religion, ouch der latinischen sprach, erzühen und darum die*

The preparation which the boys received in the Zürich schools was intended to prepare them for the more sophisticated instruction in the biblical languages, exegesis and the forms of rhetoric delivered in the Prophezei.²⁶³ The Prophezei was more than a theological college as it was responsible for bringing the interpretation of Scripture to the whole community. As Schmidt-Clausing remarks, Zwingli founded the institution in 1525 with the aim of instructing clergy and laity in the discipline of Christian living. His hope was that those gathered in the Grossmünster would experience the 'real presence' of God through the unity of Word and Spirit.²⁶⁴ This 'presence' was essential to a knowledge of salvation. However, Christoph Zürcher has found in his research on the work of Pellikan that after Kappel the Prophezei assumed increasingly the character of a study group for biblical exegesis (*biblizistischen*

stunden also teilen: am morgon umb die 6 söllend dis(e) zuo denen in der 3 ordnung sitzen und mit einandren hören das nūw Testament. Das soll man latinisch fürlesen ein morgen, und den anderen repetieren. Und soll das nūw Testament nimmer underlassen werden oder uss der schuol kommen, und der es list, soll sich flyssen, dass er es eigentlich vertütsche, demnach dass er kurz und in einem fürgan anzeige, was zuo usbuwung gloubens und der zucht und frommkeit diene. Egli, Actensammlung, 1896, p.823.

²⁶³ F. Büsser, 'Reformierte Erziehung in Theorie und Praxis', *Wurzeln der Reformation in Zürich* (Leiden: 1985), p.199-216.

²⁶⁴ 'In der Prophezei erwies sich Zwingli als der praktische Theologe des Amtes und als kirchlicher Pädagoge. er lebt in der Welt und zwar in der Zeit des wissenschaftlichen Umbruchs, die in der Ausbildung nicht mehr ein Anlernen priestlicher Funktionen sieht, sondern in der mann beginnt, Wissenschaft um der Weisheit willen zu treiben.' F. Schmidt-Clausing, 'Das Prophezeigebot', *Zwingliana* 12.1 (1964), p.13.

Arbeitsgemeinschaft).²⁶⁵ The most enduring fruits of the Prophezei were the Zürich Bible of 1531 and the great series of biblical commentaries of Bullinger and Pellikan produced in the 1530s and 40s.²⁶⁶ It was in the Prophezei that ministers were taught that the Scriptures stood at the centre of reformed theology. Professor Büsser has written:

*Theorie und Praxis der Erziehung in der Zürcher Reformation waren von Humanismus und Reformation bestimmt; die Zürcher Schulen, allen voran die Prophezei mit ihrem artistischen Unterbau, die Lateinschulen, darüber hinaus aber auch die wissenschaftliche Arbeit ihrer Lehrer wurden eindeutig in den Dienst der Reformation gestellt. Das bedeutet gerade in Zürich keineswegs eine Theologisierung des ganzen Lebens, wohl aber den Versuch, von unten auf Menschen zu bilden, die sich zugleich als Christen und Bürger bewährten. Gerade auch als Bürger!*²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ Zürcher writes on the work of the Prophezei: '*Der Unterricht in Bibelexegise wurde ergänzt durch grammatisches Sprachstudium. Mit dem Lateinunterricht waren bereits Rhetorik und Dialektik verbunden, mit dem Griechischen sollte die Einführung in die antike Philosophie erfolgen*'. C. Zürcher, *Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich, 1526-1556*. (Zürich: 1975), p.37.

²⁶⁶ F. Büsser, 'Die kirchlichen Institutionen in reformierten Zürich des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Wurzeln der Reformation in Zürich*, (Leiden: 1985), p.226. Professor Büsser describes the use of the humanist *bonae literae* as a tool for training candidates for the ministry in how the biblical texts were to be interpreted in accordance with the Spirit and how this knowledge was to be communicated from the pulpit. He writes: '*Sowohl das Studium der bonae literae wie die Bibelwissenschaft waren in Zürich stark auf die Praxis ausgerichtet: sie sollten den Prediger instand setzen das Wort Gottes in seiner zeitlichen und überzeitlichen Bedeutung den ihnen anvertrauten Gläubigen für Sonn- und Werktag verständlich zu machen*'. p.226.

²⁶⁷ F. Büsser, 'Reformierte Erziehung...', p.214

In the production of biblical commentaries in Zürich the work of Konrad Pellikan was of enormous influence. Pellikan believed that theological students had to go beyond the understanding of Scriptural texts to know how to apply them in the upbuilding of the church. For Pellikan, every chapter and verse of Scripture contains something important for the teaching of the faith and morals. He realized that the rural clergy, who could not attend the daily meetings of the Prophezei, needed fairly simple commentaries to assist them in preaching and their pastoral duties. This was the underlying concept of his commentary work.²⁶⁸ Like Bullinger, Pellikan was an optimist concerning the educating of the clergy, and in a letter to Vadian he claimed that his commentaries were not intended for the learned but the simple ministers. Zürcher argues that Pellikan provided the necessary link between the scientific method of the Prophezei and the practical concerns of the parish ministers.²⁶⁹

The flow of printed sermons and commentaries from the printing house of Froschauer in the city was the basis of the study material for the ministers in the rural parishes, and it is to these works that the Synod referred when it was telling these ministers that they were to be more diligent in private study. Bullinger provided a guide to private study for ministers in his work *Studiorum Ratio* (1527).²⁷⁰ This work, written as a volume of personal advice to his friend Werner Steiner, is a general treatise on all aspects of learning necessary to the minister. The topics treated include the division of time in the day for learning, the place of profane literature in the studies

²⁶⁸Zürcher, p.87.

²⁶⁹ Zürcher writes: '*In den Kommentaren scheint etwas von der franziskanischen Predigttradition noch lebendig zu sein. Pellikan ist sich aber auch der zentralen Bedeutung der Predigt in der Reformation Zwinglis immer bewusst. Er vergisst nicht, dass er sich durch seine Amtsbrüder ans Volk wendet. Grösssmöglichst Einfachheit und Klarheit ist ihm oberstes Gebot.*' p.92.

²⁷⁰ H. Bullinger, *Studiorum Ratio*, ed. P. Stotz, 2 vols. (Zürich, 1987)

of a minister, the books of Scripture, the role of biblical commentaries, and even concerning the manner in which a minister ought to arrange his room to facilitate study. The chapter on biblical commentaries is germane as Bullinger outlines his thoughts on how they are to be employed by ministers. Commentaries, he argues, ought to be approached with a critical eye; they are useful guides for elucidating texts, but they possess no inherent authority. They are the works of men in contradistinction to the divine nature of the Scriptures. The reader must discerningly reap the fruits of these commentaries whilst being wary of the presence of error. Bullinger writes:

*Quare necessum est, ut lecturus in sacras litteras hominum commentarios principio hoc tibi persuadeas: non omnia citra iudicium esse suscipienda, sed optima et christianissima tantum. Nam ubi lapsi fuerint boni viri, declinandum est, ad errorem vero connivendum, quippe cum ingratis hominis sit, ad quemvis lapsum tragicas sustollere voces.*²⁷¹

Among the writers whom Bullinger commends for reading are Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Tertullian, Erasmus and Zwingli. Bullinger's treatment of biblical exegesis raises certain problems; for if the ministers are to use them correctly, that is by not accepting their contents blindly, they must possess a reasonable education. As most of the ministers until quite late in the period would have had no such training, Bullinger must have required, for the sake of preserving some amount of theological orthodoxy, that the ministers swallow and regurgitate the teachings contained in the commentaries produced in Zürich.

The documents of the Synod give little firm evidence from which one can develop a comprehensive picture of the extent of the problems surrounding study. Certainly, there were problems connected with cases of bad or false preaching, but

²⁷¹ Ibid., vol. 1, p.108.

beyond that the admonition to greater zeal in studying was generally part of the broad and common warning to a minister to improve his service. In the early years following Kappel the level of education amongst the clergy was low, a factor which clearly mitigated against any form of serious exegetical work by the clergy. Typical of this period was the case of Othmar Ith, who served in the church in Hedingen from 1532 until 1536. His work as a minister seems to have amounted to very little as he was said to be occupying himself with drinking and fighting in the taverns.²⁷² The Synod warned him that he was to stay at home and prepare his sermons, a warning which went unheeded as Ith and his colleague in Bonstetten, Vincenz Dietrich, were brought again to the Synod for their brawling with local farmers. On this occasion the Synod took the opportunity to speak against drunkenness amongst the clergy, particularly where it had the effect of ministers arriving in the pulpit intoxicated.²⁷³ Such cases as Ith's were the most frequent form in which the minister's personal study was mentioned in the Synod.

The Zürich Synod demonstrated its pragmatism in the early years in deciding that it was more important to concentrate on the serious moral and structural problems in the parishes. Matters like the deficiency of clerical education would be remedied as the educational reforms took hold. There was little point removing ministers on the grounds of their inadequate learning as there would have been far too many vacant parishes. Whilst in the short term this meant that Zürich church had to tolerate a low standard of preaching in the parishes, there are indications that this policy did yield results. Felix Deck was told in 1533 that if he studied more he would command greater authority from the pulpit.²⁷⁴ Deck had entered the ministry in Zürich on the eve of

²⁷² Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1941, 854. StAZ. E.III.203 9 May, 1536

²⁷³ StAZ. E.III.203, 9 May, 1536.

²⁷⁴ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1941, p.853.

Kappel and he remained in the parish of Mettmensstetten until his death in 1562. He does not appear again in the *Censura* of the Synod and that he became a minister of some standing is suggested by his election as dean of the Freiamt in 1557 succeeding Peter Simmler.²⁷⁵

In the 1550s the Synod took a sterner line against ministers not studying. By this time the educational reforms had taken hold and the church could expect a higher standard of learning, though neglect of private study remained a matter for which a minister received an admonition rather than dismissal from the parish. Where the Synod found the minister to have little interest in applying himself to the reading of commentaries and sermons in the preparation to preach, it was loath to dismiss him unless the offence was part of a more serious matter such as sexual immorality or heterodox teaching. Studying was said in 1552 to be only one of the aspects of Gebhart Vottel's ministry that was wanting, for he had a well known history of drunkenness and fighting that dated back to the Synod of 1541. At that Synod his unwillingness to study was noted and he was warned that a clear demonstration of self improvement through staying at home and studying his books was a condition to his remaining in the parish. In 1554 such an improvement was still not forthcoming and he was dismissed from his parish of Affoltern a.A. by the Council, on the recommendation of the Synod, on 31 May and replaced a week later.²⁷⁶ With Konrad Schmid of Töb in 1550, the Synod commented that his negligence of study was well known, but what precipitated his removal from the parish was his relations with certain Catholics in Frauenfeld.²⁷⁷ It was this interest in Catholicism which apparently accounted for his lack of interest in studying reformed texts.

²⁷⁵ Zürcher Pfarrerbuch, p.241, StAZ. E.II.108 31.

²⁷⁶ StAZ. E.II.I. 427. StAZ. E.II.108 14

²⁷⁷ StAZ. E.II.I. 360, 5 May, 1550.

Another occasion where a minister's private study can be seen as part of the grounds for his removal was where age or infirmity through illness precluded any preparation for preaching. Balthasar Rümmeli in Trüllikon had looked after his parish from 1548, and in the Synod of 1560 he was said to be in failing health on account of his age.²⁷⁸ The examiners were engaged to look into his case and inform the Synod what should be recommended to the Council. The situation was highly unsatisfactory as the minister in Benken, Felix Bluntschli, was having to come across to Trüllikon to hold services. When the examiners returned their report to the Synod they stated three reasons why Rümmeli ought to be retired: he was not studying, he did not visit the sick and was not tending to the poor.²⁷⁹ The Synod saw these problems as sufficient to justify its recommendation to the Council to retire Rümmeli from Trüllikon. When the Council attempted to proceed on this course the minister resisted strenuously, and it was not until a year later on 9 May, 1561, that Rümmeli was retired and replaced the following day by Hans Buchter.²⁸⁰

It was the work of the examiners which provided the Synod with information concerning the private study of ministers. As the younger ministers emerged from the theological schools, particularly as many of them had to serve as schoolmasters until a parish could be found for them, the sort of gross neglect of theological study so common in the 30s and 40s began to decline. The Synod did not possess any means to supervise continually the private routine of a minister, it was in the public acts of preaching and the holding of services that the warning signs of deficient learning

²⁷⁸ StAZ. E.II.I. 484, 7 May, 1560.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ StAZ. E.II.108 45,49v.

appeared. When these signs were picked up by other clergy, deans, or even by the parishioners themselves then the Synod could act through appointing examiners. The example cited earlier of Johannes Zart's hundred and fifty sermons on Genesis without progressing beyond the fifth chapter was reported to the Synod by his own congregation in Winterthur, who complained both of his wretched sermons and of his high handed manner.²⁸¹ The examiners reported that Zart possessed very few books and had eschewed all opportunities to remain at home and prepare his sermons properly. It was this lack of preparation which was said to lay behind his curious performance from the pulpit which caused such a disturbance in the community.²⁸²

4.11 Vita et Mores Inculpati

The synodal ordinances of 1532 stated that when a minister fell into error he brought shame upon himself, his parish and the whole church.²⁸³ Any question concerning the moral life of a minister could not be considered a private matter but as something to be weighed by the whole church as represented through its institutions, namely the Synod. Every aspect of an individual minister's life was open to the

²⁸¹ StAZ. E.II.I. 407, 24 October, 1554.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1899, p.833. The ordinances list the following abuses as examples of the sort of moral behaviour unacceptable for a minister: '*Ouch ganzer kilchen Göttes ärgerlich und schaadlich ist, wenn die pfarrer in unmass, trunkenheit, üppigkeit, unzucht in Worten, wysen und geberden verschreit oder dero mitgsellen, die in obernempton unräten verargwont sind, ouch mit kleidung und anderem üsserlichem wandel sich der massen gestaltind. dass man ein li(e)cht, uuppig gmüet an üsseren zeichen spüren mag.*'

scrutiny of his colleagues in the Synod, and from the synodal records it is possible to determine the most common abuses practised by the clergy in their daily lives.²⁸⁴

It has already been indicated that the most frequent offence amongst the clergy was that of excessive consumption of alcohol. Despite the repeated warnings of the Synod and the Council, drinking was as common amongst the clergy as it was the laity, and throughout the sixteenth century ministers mingled with local farmers and villagers in the taverns and other public houses where they involved themselves in the abuses associated with these places: fighting, swearing, singing and criticism of civil officials. The Synod and the Council together repeatedly warned the clergy that they were to stay away from taverns; drunkenness fell below adultery as the most common grounds cited for the removal of minister. Where the Synod considered the minister involved not to be beyond reclaim the lesser of punishments of a few days in prison or a stern warning were employed.

Drinking, like the neglect of study, was rarely a single issue offence. Although ministers were told to avoid taverns, they were not actually forbidden to drink, and the Synod took action where the minister's drinking manifested itself in further problems such as public scandal, violence, unacceptable language and naturally the failure to preach and hold services. Jacob Hegner of Altstetten, in the Zürichsee chapter, was said in 1534 to be spending too much time fraternizing with the farmers in the

²⁸⁴ Bullinger cites I Timothy 3 when discussing the moral rectitude of ministers. In his exegesis of the text, he expands upon the meaning of the blameless life: *In primis iubet episcopum esse ἀνεπίλεπτον irreprehensibilem, hoc est, qui tam sit vitae inculpatae ut nullo iure reprehendi possit. Excipimus enim hic iniurias et calumnias quibus impij vel optimè meritos de pietate et bonis omnibus nunquam non gravarunt. COMMENTARIJ In Omnes Pauli Apostoli Epistolas, atque etiam in Epistolam ad Hebraeos. fol. O.4v. p.438. HBBibl. I. no.89.*

tavern.²⁸⁵ Hegner was told that he ought not to bring his peasant friends home with him after drinking in the tavern: *die pürenn nitt mitt imm heymfürren*. Not only was Hegner setting a poor moral example, but the work of the farmers was suffering. What is quite remarkable is how Hegner was able to exert such influence over his parishioners in the first year of his ministry in Altstetten. In 1564, Markus Sulzer, the assistant in Wald, was likewise in his first year when he was reported in the Synod as preferring the company of farmers in taverns around Rapperswil to the meetings with fellow ministers in the chapter of Wetzikon which he was avoiding. He was warned that he was to remain in his parish and not travel about.²⁸⁶ Sulzer's case is illustrative of the connection between drinking and the tendency amongst many ministers to wander about leaving their parishes unattended. However, this problem of ministers associating with the drinking customs of locals was not the most serious manifestation of the alcohol issue.

A more dangerous aspect pertaining to drinking was fighting, and the Synod saw this as requiring stronger remedies. Heinrich Bullinger's own brother, Johannes,

²⁸⁵ StAZ. E.II.I.147, 5 May, 1534. A year earlier, in 1533, Johannes Winzüren in Niederweningen was reported as carrying on riotously with the farmers in the tavern and encouraging them by his example to break the morals mandate. StAZ. E.II.I.184, May, 1533. In April 1533 Winzürm wrote to Bullinger and Jud relating an altercation he had had with the Catholic Vogt of Baden, Heinrich Schönbrunner. Winzürm had offended the Catholic authorities in his preaching against the *Landfrieden*. In his letter he defends himself and expresses his willingness to be judged. HBBW.III, p.109-112.

²⁸⁶ StAZ. E.II.I.526, October, 1563. Sulzer was moved to Hinwil in 1567 where he remained until 1572 when he was dismissed from the parish for drunkenness and abandoning the parish. StAZ. E.II.I.614/5. StAZ. E.II.108, 138v. In 1574 was reconciled to the Synod and made the minister of Lipperswil in the Thurgau.

who was the minister in Ottenbach in 1535, was known as a quarrelsome man, and an insult given in a tavern resulted in his punching another man.²⁸⁷ The synodal record reads: *Sadt imm übel an, ein pfarrer soll nitt schleglen, und ein stryrtbar gmüet haben.*²⁸⁸ Brother Heinrich, in his account of the case quotes the Epistle of James 1:20: *ira viri iustitiam dei non operatum.*²⁸⁹ Despite this rather grim portrayal of his character, Johannes Bullinger was not severely punished, perhaps owing to his good learning. The Synod warned him about his volatile temper, but otherwise recognized his contribution to the church. Gebhart Studer's case was quite different; he held the parishes of Uster and Volketswil, and had appeared before the Synod on several occasions on account of his drinking, for which he had spent some time in 1565 in Wellenberg. In 1571 the Synod lost patience with him when his recurring drunkenness resulted in his messing up the funeral of a local named Thomas Meyer, for which he received a warning from the Vogt.²⁹⁰ When the Vogt admonished Studer he was repaid with a torrent of abusive language and a beating. The Vogt, named Schmid, reported that Studer was as drunk as ever and that there was little indication of any moral improvement: *Hat allt vogt Schmid widerum gesagt, ja das er alls vollen wyns sye, alls er ietzund sind.*²⁹¹ Studer had been in the local tavern swearing and when the Vogt appeared Studer struck him: *Dorumm ist H. Gebhart erzürnt, das imm vogt Schmid yngeredt, hat gebochet und übel geschworen, und hätte den vogt gern*

²⁸⁷StAZ. E.II.I.194, 27 April, 1535.

²⁸⁸Ibid.

²⁸⁹ The text reads in the Vulgate '*ira enim viri iustitiam Dei non operatur.*'

²⁹⁰ StAZ. E.II.I.612-14, 8 May, 1571

²⁹¹ Ibid., p.613. (*alls* - HG. *immer so*)

geschlagen.²⁹² When the Synod examined him, Studer replied that he had in fact improved his behaviour and he denied the incident with the Vogt. The evidence, however, was too strongly against him and Studer's witnesses could not save him from being removed from his parish for the second and final time in 1571. The Synod despaired of Studer: *Und diewyl dann gar kein besserung by imm zuo hoffen und heyter von imm geredt, er sye für und für vollen wÿns und nitt wert deß diensts, sol er sines diensts fürohin beroubet sin, und hinuß von sÿnodo gann*.²⁹³ Studer's attempt to seek reconciliation with the Synod on appeal received a curt dismissal. His case was not unusual as there are numerous other accounts of such violent conduct in taverns by drunk ministers. Felix Mülli of Bonstetten was known to the Synod as a heavy drinker, and in 1579 he was reported as coming home late from the tavern at Christmas time and of fighting with locals either in the tavern or on the way home.²⁹⁴ Additionally, when he did arrive home in his drunken temper he struck his wife. Mülli likewise denied the event to the Synod and was sent away with the admonition that he was to lead a life fitting of a minister and improve his conduct.²⁹⁵

Fighting was not always connected with drunkenness and could result from antagonistic relationships between a minister and members of his parish. Jos Hausheer of Schwerzenbach in 1573 was said to be wild and choleric (*taub*) in his conduct towards others, and, as a public demonstration of his aggressive nature, he wore military armour (*panzer*) and carried a sword and a loaded gun (*gladne büchs*), which he fired off at various targets as he wandered through the village.²⁹⁶ This menacing

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ StAZ. E.II.Ia.702, May, 1579.

²⁹⁵ StAZ. E.II.Ia.705/6. October, 1579.

²⁹⁶ StAZ. E.II.I.644, 20 October, 1573.

attitude towards his parishioners rather precluded the presence of effective preaching or pastoral care, and indeed three years later there was a report in the Synod of Hausheer's neglect of learning and the wretched state of his family.²⁹⁷ Hausheer was removed from his parish by the Council on 11 May, 1577, and replaced four days later by another minister, Heinrich Schweizer.²⁹⁸ Heinrich Landenberg in Laufen was similarly said to carry a sword about, and his parishioners stated that he was frequently fighting, drinking and swearing. His appearance, they said, was so disgusting that he was the object of scorn in his own parish, where he was known as the 'pig of Landenberg' (*man im nun die suw von Landenberg sagt*).²⁹⁹

Slanderous or blasphemous language from the clergy, as in Studer's case, accompanied drinking and violence, and the Synod was extremely concerned with the ill-will that a minister might generate in his parish by such offensive talk. Nicholas Steiner in Schwamendingen was said to be given to unhealthy gossip and in the context of a meal had openly criticized various church and political leaders in 1534, a particularly sensitive time when the Council had expressed its anger with the impolitic language of many of the ministers.³⁰⁰ Steiner was known as a contentious man and had appeared in the Synod the year previous on account of his fighting.³⁰¹ In that

²⁹⁷ StAZ. E.II.1.664, October, 1576.

²⁹⁸ StAZ. E.II.108, 172.

²⁹⁹ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1988, p.877, October, 1533. The Synod warned him several times about his conduct and then in 1537 he was dismissed from Laufen by the Council. StAZ. E.II.1. October, 1537.

³⁰⁰ StAZ. E.II.1.145, 5 May, 1534.

³⁰¹ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1988, p.875.

Synod of 1533 Steiner had received a sympathetic hearing from the assembly on account of his service in the Kappel war: *Sin voriger handel ist uffgenommen von unsern herren, deßhalb er inn vergangnem krieg ze Büntzen, umb der warheyt willen übel gelitten hatt.*³⁰² This did not excuse the continuance of such conduct and he was warned by the Synod to refrain from voicing his views and venturing into matters which did not pertain to him. Further, he was told not to gossip and stir up the anger of his community with his unhealthy interest in other peoples' business.³⁰³

The tavern was the place where local information and gossip was disseminated throughout the community, and naturally it was where a minister's loose talk was discussed amongst farmers and villagers. A particularly well documented case of this sort arose in Flaach in 1555 when Balthasar Kuchmeister during the course of a sermon referred to the Landvogt of Andelfingen, Felix Brunner, as 'los', or 'womanish pig', describing apparently the Vogt's physical appearance.³⁰⁴ While this is certainly a case of abuse of the pulpit, it is important to note here how the Synod and Council came to learn the facts of the matter. A different Vogt told the Synod that he had learned of the remark while in a tavern where he overheard some locals speaking about it; their account pointed to a recent sermon preached by Kuchmeister as the source of the comparison: *als er (der vogt) uff ein zyt inn Heinri Lüthis der wirtshuss gegeben, hette er von etlichen personen von dißer glychenus hören sagen, dann es mochte wol grörsers daruß erwachßen, man hette im auch dick unnd vil mit dißer glychnus gelaget. Doch müßte er hat welcher zum ersten darvon geredt, er hett aber*

302 Ibid.

303 StAZ. E.II.I.145, 5 May, 1534.

304 StAZ. E.II.I.435, 22 October, 1555. SI., III. p.1426. the *Idiotikon* lists the Latin '*Scorfa*' and the German '*Mör*' as synonyms. Both of which were used as terms of abuse and ridicule.

*selbs von herren Balthaßer nüt ghordt.*³⁰⁵ On November of the same year the preliminary examination of the case was begun with sixteen members of Kuchmeister's congregation being interviewed and asked if they had heard the remark. Interestingly, while all of the people asked denied having heard the Vogt referred to as a pig, it was not because they did not believe that Kuchmeister would say such a thing, but rather because they, for a variety of reasons, simply did not hear him say it.³⁰⁶ Illustrative of the comments provided by the people interviewed were those of Ulrich Bryßer, who said that he had poor hearing and could not understand what was preached (*Er gehört übel. Darumb er nit allwerben versten konndte was gepredigt wurde*), and Johannes Gumprecht, the former minister of Flaach, who told the examiners that he was ill and not in the church (*Als herr Balthaßer sölliche glychnus an der canntzel geben haben söllt, seye er kranck und nit inn der kilch gsin.*).³⁰⁷ The other witnesses gave similar statements which appear to be more concerned with decrying their own miserable state than with Kuchmeister's case. Their reluctance to participate in an examination conducted by officials of the Synod suggests the extent to which the rural suspicion, or even hostility, towards the city controlled church remained as an important factor in the religious life of the parishes.

More condemning evidence was provided by seven members of the nearby congregation of Hottingen, who were not only willing to testify to having heard Kuchmeister's remarks about the Vogt of Andelfingen, but reported that he had further

³⁰⁵ StAZ. E.I.1.3b.

³⁰⁶ The document is entitled '*Kuntschafft hern Balthasser Kuchmeysters predicantten zu Flach. Siner gethanen predig halb. Darzu er des vögt zü sinem müterschwyn oder Lossen verglychet.*' StAZ. E.I.1 3b. (*Religionsachen*) 1555.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.1 &3.

stated that one Vogt was as good as another (meaning that they were all swine) and that he had made some gratuitous comments about the abbot of Rheinau, who was likewise referred to as a pig.³⁰⁸ In a report from December of 1555, the Stadtschreiber stated that the evidence against Kuchmeister was divided and that further investigation was necessary.³⁰⁹ By the March Synod of 1556 the offended Vogt of Andelfingen had sent in his report confirming the comments made by the seven men implicating Kuchmeister; he described the minister as a poor citizen who ought to be dealt with by the Synod. The Synod told Kuchmeister that he had foul mouth and that it would recommend to the Council that he spend some time in Wellenberg. He was not, however, removed from the parish of Flaach, a recommendation which the Synod may well have regretted not having made as he was again before the Synod in 1562 to answer for his contentiousness and for ruining the Eucharist.

When ministers engaged in abusive or idle talk there was an immediate effect upon the communities in which they lived; however, this problem was aggravated

³⁰⁸ The report of the witnesses as drawn up by the Stadtschreiber gives the following account:

'Sagend all siben. Nachdem sy vergangen somers inn der kilchen zu Hochtigen an der predig gsin habind sy zügen wol gehördt unnd verstanden das her B.K. uffentlich an der cantzlen prediget ein Loss oder müterschwyn unnd ein vogt verglychennd sich einanderen namlichen dengestalt. So ein müterschwyn schon verschnitten wurde behielt sy mit destunder den nammen loss/ bis sy gemetzget würde, also stünde es umb ein vogt. So der selbis ein jar oder zwei vogt gsin. Unnd dannethin glych abgesetzt wurde behielte er mit dester minder denn namen vogt. Glychangestalt hat Cunrat Keller dem vogt zu Andelfingen lüth ders selbingen schryben ouch gesagt.' StAZ. E.I.1.3b. 1555. The report continues on to quote another witness from Flaach who stated that it was in the same sermon that Kuchmeister made his remarks about the abbot of Rheinau.

³⁰⁹ StAZ. E.I.1.3b. 7 December, 1555.

when they carried their indiscretions beyond the boundaries of their parishes by wandering about and spending time in taverns. Such was the situation of Jos Oesenbry of Thalwil and Israel Staeheli of Bülach who took to traveling in the countryside around Dietikon. The account of their journeys in the Synod's records form a tale of meetings with monks, the housemaids of Catholic priests in cellars, and all manner of drunken revelry.³¹⁰ Despite denials from Staeheli, he and Oesenbry were censured by the Synod for their drinking, swearing, and absence from their parishes. The Synod recommended to the Council that the two be sent to Wellenberg, though Oesenbry's parishioner's expressed their displeasure by petitioning the Synod to relieve them of his presence: *min gnedig herren leggend sy beyd hernach in Wellenberg. Oesenbri ward von siner gmeind erbätten, das er widerum ußgelaßen ward, doch muoßt er 10pfund zuo buoß gäben. Israel Stäheli muoßt sin buoß in battler thurn abdiene.*³¹¹

A minister could further compromise himself in his community through participation in the social festivities spoken of earlier. In 1551 the parish of Wädenswil asked the Synod to arrange for the removal of their minister Matthias Bodmer, whose conduct at a marriage festival was said to have blemished the sacred nature of the event. During the celebrations following the service, Bodmer - who had presumably married the couple- sat down and drank and ate until he was completely intoxicated. When it came time to proceed to the table Bodmer began speaking a lot of nonsense and behaved like a fool: *Dann alls ander lüt mütt dem hochzyt nach christenlichem bruch zuo der kylchen gangen, sye er diewyl zuo den schützen hinder dem wyn gesässen.*

³¹⁰ StAZ. E.II.Ia.684, 5 May, 1578.

³¹¹ Ibid. *thurn* = HG. *Turm*. Heinrich Dickenmann was recommended for dismissal in 1551 because he was also drinking with a Catholic, this time the organist at Rheinau, instead of looking after the poor. StAZ. E.II.I.374/5. 30 October, 1551.

*Deßhalben er, alls man zuo dem ymbis kummen, schon vollen wyns gesin. Da er ouch ob den tisch vil geschwatzet und sich närrisch angelossen hat.*³¹² When some of the people present at the celebration rebuked Bodmer, saying that it was not seemly for a minister to dance, the minister simply interrupted them and told the minstrels to play on.³¹³ The Synod stated that it would have taken more serious action against Bodmer if it was not for his age and, as with Nicholas Steiner, his service in the Kappel war.³¹⁴

The abuse of alcohol by ministers was a major cause of tension between the parishioners and clergy. Whether it was simply a case of telling a minister to refrain from taking a 'nightcap' (*Schlaftrunk*),³¹⁵ or of disciplining the more notorious Petrus Grebel, who was running a tavern from his home,³¹⁶ the Synod took an increasingly strong stance against drinking on the grounds that it was ruining the reputations of reformed ministers. Fighting and swearing were two obvious problems, and they were supplemented by gambling and the wearing of clothing deemed inappropriate by the Synod. In 1533 Rudolf von Landenberg caused a disturbance amongst his parishioners in Turbenthal not so much for his drunkenness as for the state of his clothes he wore, which were described as being little more than tatters (*zerhudlete*). The Synod told him

³¹² StAZ. E.II.I. 373/4.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Ibid., Bodmer was later moved to Rafz, and in 1566 the dean, Hans Hug, reported a similar petition from the church there asking that Bodmer be removed on account of his drinking. StAZ. E.II.I.453, 22 October, 1566.

³¹⁵ StAZ. E.II.I.193, May, 1535.

³¹⁶ StAZ. E.II.I.613/4, May, 1568.

to stitch his clothes and that he and his wife must wear seemly clothes.³¹⁷ It is interesting to note that while drinking was so very common amongst the rural peoples, there seems to have been little popular acceptance of drunken behaviour by ministers such as Landenberg; this is evidenced by the number of petitions coming to the Synod from parishes seeking to have their minister moved on account of his drinking. Alcohol abuse, along with poverty and sectarian activity, posed the most serious threat to the establishing of the reformed church in the Zürich countryside.

The personal financial troubles of a minister were less public than immoral behaviour brought on by drinking. The economic troubles spoken of earlier concerning the omnipresent question of insufficient incomes from benefices meant that ministers had sometimes to look to other sources for the money necessary to keep a family. Often their impecuniousness was self-inflicted through wasteful living, but the problem of benefice incomes was real. Money lending and usury of various sorts were common practices in the markets and it fell to the ministers to watch over such activities; but as with many other moral questions, the ministers were frequently participating in rather than preaching against illegal practices.³¹⁸ The inclination of many ministers towards

³¹⁷ The Synod stated: '*er soll abton, sinem ampt gemäs leben, die lumpen zuosammen näjen und ein mass mit sines wybs kleidung halten.*' Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1988, p.877, October, 1533.

³¹⁸In the *Decades*, Bullinger writes that there is nothing wrong with a Christian gaining a lawful commodity on the hire of money or property. These exchanges were to be governed by the Gospel commandment of a man doing unto others as he would have them do unto him. Bullinger interprets the usury condemned in the Scriptures to refer to the wickedness of men in using exchange as a means of depriving other men of their possessions. Bullinger writes: 'But if you want a certain constitution and ordinance, set down by the magistrate, for the gain of your money in every several trade; then let equity, humanity, and charity prevail in your minds, and let the common law sink into your hearts.'

Decades III,i. p.44.

gambling, drinking, and the sort of festivities described earlier required a ready supply of money. Jacob Werndli of Affoltern a.A., is a typical case, of minister who allowed himself to go into debt, and he was warned by the Synod in 1579 that he was to stay away from the taverns until he had paid off the debts which he had accrued through his drinking bouts and his frequent trips outside the parish, particularly to Lucerne.³¹⁹ Werndli had allowed his family to live in poverty while he was running up these debts, and the community was said to be outraged by his offensive speech and conduct.

Hand Ochsner of Pfäffikon had entered into an agreement with another minister over the loan of money, and when he failed to pay back the agreed amount the case was brought to the Synod's attention; the warning from the Synod was that Ochsner had to clear all debts if he was to continue to preach as minister of the church in the parish.³²⁰ Financial problems of another sort afflicted Wolfgang Muntprat of Henggart in 1554 whose mad son (*verruckten sunn*) had been in the wars (quite possibly as a mercenary which might explain why the Synod was so unsympathetic) and returned to his family with debts which the Synod told Muntprat that he was expected to take care of.³²¹ Money troubles were considered by the Synod as bringing the minister's whole moral character into question, and the Synod was quite prepared to discipline those who had allowed themselves to fall into debt.

The *vita inculpati* of a minister was crucial to the establishing of true religion in the parish, for not only did he instruct through preaching but also by moral example.

³¹⁹ StAZ. E.II.Ia.701, May, 1579. Cf. Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.89-90.

³²⁰ StAZ. E.II.Ia.706, October, 1579.

³²¹ StAZ.E.II.I.413, May, 1554.

This study of the moral complications faced by the Synod demonstrates the difficulty of separating out single moral questions as explanations for what occurred; certainly alcohol abuse was the root of much of the problem, but the more general explanation must be that ministers found it extremely difficult to stand back from the practices and customs of the peoples with whom they lived. The public failings of the minister brought the church into disrepute and not infrequently stoked the old fire of anti-clericalism. The people were not willing to accept the minister as being one of them, suggesting that the old separation of the priest from the people was still very much alive in the minds of rural parishioners.

4.12 Integra Familia

The Reformation in Zürich did not bring about radical alterations to the structure of the family. It did promote the institution of the household as integral to the religious life of the state. Bullinger thought of the church in terms of a whole comprised of various constituent parts: with the primary form of social and spiritual relationships found in families. These were gathered together in parishes to form the local church, and the parishes into chapters, which were embraced by the central body of the church, the Synod. The Synod in turn fell under the rule of the magistrates. It was well formulated model in which each higher level comprehended the lower without depriving it of its relative autonomy. At every stage in Bullinger's conception of church and society men and woman fulfilled their political and social obligations through the cultivation of Christian virtue and relationships. Bullinger believed that each part of the hierarchy mirrored the others. That is why he could speak of the family in the same terms in which he described the Council when considering the necessity of the governing authority (be it the father or Bürgermeister) correcting those under its control who fell into error: '...it is the duty of the Christian magistrate, or at least of a good householder, to compel to amendment the breakers and contemners of God's Sabbath and worship.'³²²

The image of the state as a family, and vice versa, was employed by Bullinger to great effect throughout his writings; it is particularly striking in his explication of how, as in the state where the ruler cannot be allowed to become a tyrant, the father does not possess free reign to abuse either his wife or children over whom he has supreme authority.³²³ In his exegesis of the seventh commandment in the *Decades*,

³²²*Decades*, I.iv., p.261.

³²³ For a broad perspective on relations between husband and wife in the sixteenth century, see S. Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), especially chapter 2, p.50-99.

Bullinger outlines the mutual responsibilities owed by a Christian husband and wife to one another: 'Let the husband be the head of the wife, to wit, her adviser and councillor, her ruler and guide, even as we see the members obey the head: let her yield herself to her husband to be ruled and governed; let her not despise his honest council and indifferent commandments. Let them think that they together are one body, or the members of one body. And therefore let them learn by the government of this mortal body how to behave themselves in the guiding of wedlock.'³²⁴

The Reformation in Zürich in the 1520s had been stimulated by Zwingli's petition to the Bishop of Constance concerning the toleration of clerical marriage. Bullinger followed his predecessor in believing that Christ's commandments concerning marriage applied equally to clergy and laity alike, so that 'no man can be defiled with the moderate, holy, and lawful use thereof; and so consequently marriage is permitted to all sorts of men.'³²⁵ The Scriptural basis for this argument rested on Paul's comments on the life of the bishop in 1 Timothy 3. The Zürich Council in 1534 issued a statement demanding that all clergy, in distinction from the Roman church, were to regularize their domestic relations through marriage: *Das alle die, so under dem Bapstumb oder sidhar, es syge von pfarreren, priestern ald predicanten, oder sunst geistlichen personen erbaren, und durch nachvolgende etliche versprechung und offnen kilchgang, gelichet werden sind, für Recht ee kinder, wie die so zum der ee geparen, geacht und gehalten werden sollint.*³²⁶

Marital problems among the clergy reflected those current in sixteenth century Zürich society. Adultery and whoring were commonplace amongst men and woman,

³²⁴ *Decades*, II.x. p.406/7.

³²⁵ *Ibid*, II.x. p.402

³²⁶ StAZ. E.I.1.3a.

and violence and abuse of wives and children frequently tore asunder the parish households; children were neglected and allowed to run unattended in the streets. Albert Hauser had shown how the family in sixteenth century Switzerland was under attack from various quarters: the growth in population, economic changes and the scarcity of resources for living. Hauser writes:

Seit dem 15. Jahrhundert kam es zu einem in den einzelnen Regionen freilich ungleichen, aber insgesamt doch starken Anwachsen der Bevölkerung. Zusammen mit andern Faktoren führte das Wachstum zu grundlegenden Umwälzungen der spätmittelalterlichen Preis- und Lohnstruktur. Einer zunehmenden Knappheit an Lebensmitteln stand ein steigendes Angebot an Arbeitskraft gegenüber. Von diesem Wandel war auch der Haushalt und die Familie betroffen.³²⁷

The maintenance of the parish household was rendered nearly impossible by these social and economic problems. It has been shown how drinking, feasting, and festive occasions offered themselves as diversions to poor, rural communities where there was little work and death through disease or of natural causes was an ever present fear. Bullinger and the Synod, in their representations to the Council (the so called *Fürträge*), showed an acute awareness of the corrosive effect these forces were having upon Christian family life in Zürich. Ministers and their families were not spared such hardships which, together with the disaffection with their placement and the disinterest in their vocation expressed by many of them, led them towards the forms of immoral behaviour they were supposed to guard the community against.

Adultery was the most serious severing of the marriage bonds and it accounted for a large proportion of the disciplinary cases in the Synod. The formation of the Ehegericht in Zürich in 1525 and the new marriage laws set out new grounds for divorce much broader than allowed in either Canon law or in the new ordinances of the

³²⁷ A. Hauser, *Was für ein Leben*, (Zürich: 1988), p.205.

Lutheran states. In Zürich divorce was made possible for impotence, willful desertion, grievous incompatibility, sexually incapacitating illnesses and deception.³²⁸ Before adultery could be proved it was essential that witnesses come forward to confirm both the infidelity of one partner and the good character of the injured party. Often, though not always, the birth of an illegitimate child lightened the task of establishing guilt. Punishment was usually a prison sentence of three days on the grim diet of bread and water, and exclusion from the church and the holding of any public office. The intention of these punishments was to bring about a reconciliation between the partners in the hope of avoiding divorce. The broadening of the rules governing divorce in Zürich did not mean that it was encouraged or simply easily obtainable; the Ehegericht attempted to exhaust all paths to reconciliation before finally granting a divorce, and the Synod, in its treatment of marital problems amongst the clergy, followed in the same spirit. The Synod did not grant divorces, nor did it seem to make recommendations to either the Ehegericht or the Council that a minister and his wife should be divorced. Its' role was concerned with assessing the facts surrounding the life of the minister's family and with making decisions with regard to the impact of these relations upon the parish. Where an examination of a minister revealed serious marital problems, the Synod either issued a warning or recommended to the Council what ought to be done, but where a divorce seemed likely it simply turned the case over to the Ehegericht.

It is important to note the grounds governing divorce in Zürich in order to make sense of the arguments employed by ministers defending themselves against charges of marital impropriety. Rudolf Ammann was accused in the May Synod of 1533 of having involved himself in adultery and polygamy. Ammann's sought the mercy of the Synod

³²⁸ W. Köhler, *Zürich Ehegericht und Genfer Consistorium, Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer*

Konsistorium, (Leipzig, 1932-42), p.192. S. Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled*, p.93. Ozment derives his information concerning divorce from Köhler's work. .

by explaining that he had been living with a sick wife with whom he had not been able to have normal conjugal relations: *Des ebruchs was er gichtig, begert gnaden, angesehen dass er jar und tag ein krank wib gehept, die zuo elichen werken nit geschickt.*³²⁹ According to the marriage laws this defence carried some weight as the Zwinglians, in distinction from the Lutherans, made allowances for those whose spouse suffered from any illness or mutilation which impaired sexual relations.³³⁰ Ammann's chances for mercy from the Synod were greatly diminished by his dishonesty. When it had become known in the parish that he had taken up a young woman he strongly denied the relationship, and he likewise protested against charges that he was the father of the child she was expecting. Ammann's further complicated the matter by sending the girl and the baby to Steinhausen and secretly ordaining one of his parishioners, Hans Schuhmacher, as an assistant in his parish of Knonau to cover for him in his absence. Ammann defended himself by stating that he had not wished to give offence to the community and he argued that there was scriptural authority from Abraham and other Patriarchs for having two wives. The assistant appointed by Ammann had assisted in the failed attempt to conceal the affair from the community and the girl and the baby were moved again to Basel, where the child died. Meanwhile, in Knonau Ammann, who was not content with two wives, took up with a third woman who, when later examined, stated that she had been forced into bed by the minister. During this course of events Ammann's sick wife died and he was reminded that he had made a promise to marry the girl, Anna Hönngger, who had given birth to his child. Ammann declared that he had no intention of marrying again now that he was delivered from the first wife, though he did marry another young woman. The spurned Anna Hönngger threatened to expose the fact that he had married one woman while having

³²⁹ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1941, May, 1533, p.853.

³³⁰ Köhler, p.117

promised himself to another, and when Ammann refused to be moved she explained the case to the Obervogt.

When the case came to the Synod it was decided that Ammann was not fit to hold his parish: *Diewyl er dann eins offnen ebruchs schuldig funden, soll er sin amt nit me verwalten, von der pfruond gestossen und in miner Herren ordenliche straf erkennt sin. Dess überigen, mit den zweien wibren, stande unsren Herren zuo, was si darus machind.*³³¹ Although he was deposed from his parish by the Council, Ammann's case is illustrative of how the Synod's policy of restoring ministers who made sincere confession of their errors was quite successful. In October of 1533, the same year of his dismissal, Ammann wrote to Bullinger a letter in which he admitted to all that of which he had been accused and promising to submit himself to the Synod and Council's authority to punish him. He further claimed to have learned from his punishment and was now able to fulfil the true vocation of the ministry. He wrote:

*Deshalb underwirff ich mich gantz guotwillig üwer
ler und straff, wil ouch allzit, wo ich sträfflich erfunden
wird, mich bessren und nit allein mir selbs, sunder ouch
minem nächsten leben und dienen. Diewil ich jetzermal aber
standshalb minen nächsten zedienen mit denen gaben, so ich
von gott us gnaden entpfangen, beroubet bin, welches ich
ouch unangesechen zittlichs gnieß, guotz oder eren, sunder
gott zuo lob und minen nechsten zuo guotem gern thuon
wölte, diewil aber niemant sich selbs darbieten sol, bevilch
ich min guotduoncken üwer lieby, darin zuo urteilen, dann
mich druckt min gwüssny vor gott, den gantzen tag am
märckt müssig stan.*³³²

The supplication was sympathetically received and in 1535 Ammann was appointed to the parish of Kilchberg, nothing further was heard of him in the Synod.

³³¹ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1941, p.854.

³³² StAZ. E.II.441, 71. 21 October, 1533. HBBW. III, p.211/12.

Where a minister's adultery was established, the Synod moved quickly to recommend his immediate removal from his parish. When Rudolf Siber had an affair with a young girl who became pregnant, his case was first discussed in the May Synod of 1576; on June 7 he was removed by the Council from his parish of Illnau.³³³ In 1578 Siber sent a supplication to the Synod containing the necessary confession of guilt, a promise of personal improvement and a request to be restored to full standing in the body of clergy.³³⁴ To enhance his application, Siber provided the Synod with various witnesses from the parish of Frauenfeld, where he had been doing some work for the church after leaving Illnau. These men supported his claims of good works in the community.³³⁵ The Synod subsequently recommended to the Council that Siber be appointed minister in Frauenfeld.

Although the synodal ordinances set down that an adulterous minister was to be dismissed, there is evidence that the Council did not always follow this decree. Hans Kopf, who had served in the parish of Dietikon from 1544, was reported in the Synod in 1547 as having a chaotic household and of not living with his wife -who was described as being old- in the manner of a Christian husband. The report reads: *Ist ouch darzuo von siner frowen dess eebruchs gezigen unnd verschreyt. Dises alles ist für das eegericht gewysen.*³³⁶ The Synod decided that this account of adultery was sufficient grounds for Kopf's dismissal, though the Council opted to move him to the parish of Aadorf in 1548. The Council obviously perceived some good qualities in

³³³ StAZ. E.II.1.660, May, 1576. StAZ E.II.108, 90.

³³⁴ StAZ. E.II.1.691/2. 21 October, 1578.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ StAZ. E.II.1.335, May, 1547.

Kopf despite his moral lapses as he was appointed dean of Frauenfeld chapter in the same year of 1548.

Kopf's case reinforces the argument that discipline in Zürich was dispensed with consideration for the circumstances and character of the minister involved. Nevertheless, for a minister to be moved and not dismissed for adultery was the exception to the rule. For Josua Jäger of Mülheim, in the Thurgau in 1573 there was no such leniency; the Synod made clear its position that although it did not possess the authority to remove ministers (*wir aber in synodo kein gwallt yemandts zuo entsetzen habend*), where it found a minister to be in adultery it was bound to recommend his removal: *Diewyl aber unser ordnung vermag, das ein eebrüchender predicant sines ampts und diensts sölle entsetzt werden.*³³⁷ Jäger was given the opportunity to defend himself; his explanations, however, were unconvincing and the Synod determined that as his open adultery was exercising a bad influence upon other ministers, he ought to be dismissed: *Diewyl er (Kopf) in eebruch sich vertüft, und deßhalben sich deß synodi üßeret, gaht er daruff umm, ouch andere predicanten in Thurgöu dar von abziehen, sol fast ein ursach sin, daß die lehenherren den predicanten tröuwend, sy von den pfründen zestosen, wenn sy unseren synodum besuochend.*³³⁸

Ministers guilty of committing adultery again after having been forgiven for a first offence could expect little mercy from the Synod. Nevertheless, a minister's blackened past was not of itself enough evidence to ensure his dismissal when further accusations came to the Synod. A minister reconciled to the Synod was given a fresh start; further charges of impropriety had to be substantiated as clearly as though he had never been a misdemeanant. In either 1545 or early 1546 Hans Römer was dismissed from the parish of Marthalen for his open adultery. In 1546 he sought the mercy of the

³³⁷ StAZ. E.II.I.645. 20 October, 1573.

³³⁸ StAZ. E.II.I.658. October, 1575.

Synod and was restored: *begäre aber mitt dem s̄ynodo ze reconcilieret ze werden, erckenne sin s̄ünd, s̄ye im leyd, begäre gnad von gott und fürpitt von brüedern. Daruff ward er begnadet und wider in synodum genommen.*³³⁹ Twelve years later came reports of Römer's involvement with another woman. As the Synod was not able to establish the facts fully, it recommended that the dean of Stein chapter to assume his duties until the case was resolved.³⁴⁰ The truth of the allegations against Römer is not known, though in the same year the Synod recommended that Römer be moved to the distant parish of Rüti: a practical solution to a potentially messy situation effected without impugning Römer's character.

Of equal interest was when it was the minister's wife who was the offending party. In the first instance the Synod would attempt to determine whether the minister had caused his wife's infidelity through neglect of his household or violence towards her. If the blame was clearly with the wife, then the minister, as head of the household, was held responsible for not controlling his wife. Ministers were always thought to be at least partially responsible for the faults of their wives. Petronius Grebel's wife was described in the Synod of May 1570 as a whore, yet his wife's behaviour was considered to be yet another manifestation of Grebel's own disordered life which involved the running of a tavern from his parish house.³⁴¹ One way for ministers to disassociate themselves from their wives' behaviour was to pre-empt reports of their bad behaviour arriving in the Synod by reporting their wives' infidelities themselves.

³³⁹ StAZ. E.II.I.332. October, 1546.

³⁴⁰ StAZ. E.II.I.474. October, 1558.

³⁴¹ StAZ. E.II.I.605, 2 May, 1570.

Stephan Rosenheimer told the Synod in 1544 that his wife was involved with another man and that he could no longer be certain that he was the father of her children.³⁴²

In supervising the internal relations of the minister's household the Synod was not only interested in establishing the good reputation of the clerical family but also of protecting the wives and children from abuse. It has been shown that the Synod would act to discipline a minister abusing his wife, both physically and through infidelity, and the same held true for the children. In his study of marriage courts in Basel and Freiburg in Breisgau, Thomas Max Safley has shown that physical abuse, although prosecuted more frequently by the Basel Ehegericht, was tolerated to a certain degree as part of the husband's responsibility to reform his wife.³⁴³ A man, acting either as husband or father, could use force to effect the reform of his family in the manner that the magistrates could on the country: it was part of their Christian duty. What the Synod watched for was abuse of this authority.

There have been numerous references to the miserable state of various ministers' houses, and a common cause of the complaints heard in the Synod was the behaviour of these ministers' children. In 1533 Ulrich Rollenbutz, when asked to explain why his children were stealing from other people in the parish, attempted to evade responsibility by stating that children behave like children (*Kind tuond wie kind*).³⁴⁴ The Synod did not accept this reply forced him to promise that he would bring some order to his home. Jakob Zorn in 1546 was similarly warned for allowing his children to attend dances.³⁴⁵

³⁴² StAZ. E.II.I.308, October, 1544.

³⁴³ Thomas Max Safley, *Let no Man Put Asunder*, (Kirkville, 1984), p.167.

³⁴⁴ Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1988, p.878.

³⁴⁵ StAZ. E.II.I.324, May, 1546.

When the situation was more complicated than the minister simply neglecting to discipline his children, the Synod could demonstrate its more pastoral side. In 1553 the Synod heard that Heinrich Buchmann's wife had left him and that his children were left unattended. These children were described as being wretched and Buchmann was told to that he was to restore order by bringing his wife home. However, the following year a fuller account of the situation emerged and the Synod expressed sympathy with Buchmann's difficulties in handling a wayward son. Buchmann was told that it was known from the book of Samuel that a good man might have sons given to knavery (*büebery*)³⁴⁶ and audacity (*fräffenheit*)³⁴⁷ without it being his fault.³⁴⁸ Buchmann was told that he was to do what he could to reform his children. The Synod likewise expressed its understanding towards Gregor Lewerer in 1550 when it noted that he was no longer married and that he was not able to control the children of his previous wife (*voriger frowen*).³⁴⁹

The manifold demands placed upon a minister in tending to his parish left little time for his own family. Even the best of ministers struggled to balance their public and private obligations. The Synod records give little evidence of the strain which these men and the families were placed under; the underlying causes at the root of these unhappy and disordered households were generally left unrecorded and remain a matter of conjecture. The Synod attempted to be mindful of these difficulties, and, as when considering other aspects of the minister's work, it used its authority with the Council

346 SI., IV, p.946.

347 SI., I, p.1286/8.

348 StAZ. E.II.I.421, 23 October, 1554.

349 StAZ. E.II.I.360, 5 May, 1550.

to intervene on the minister's behalf whenever possible. In 1577 Rudolf Leemann claimed that he could not manage to continue serving his parish and support a growing family. The Synod looked into the situation in his parish of Embrach and recommended to the Council that it provide some assistance (likely in the form of an improvement to the parish income) to this minister of good character who was not able to sustain his household: *Daß er mitt der pfruond nitt nach notturfft versähen, dann er mitt siben kinden beladen, und diewyl er von natur ein eerbiecher und eerenlitiger mann, möge er schwarlich da hußhalten.*³⁵⁰

Beyond the members of immediate family, domestic help also formed part of the parish household for which the minister was responsible. The tension between these servants and the members of the family also contributed to the *unhüsslich* nature of the parish house. A curious example of this is the case of Hans Schröter in Dübendorf in 1541. While Schröter was known to his fellow ministers as a good man, it was thought that he was somewhat careless or naïve in his relations with others.³⁵¹ Schröter and his wife had employed a girl to work as housemaid with the intention of allowing the wife more time for other matters. The wife and this girl struck up a good relationship and Schröter was persuaded to pay the girl from monies of the parish benefice intended for poor relief. This girl, the Synod was told, was suspected of being a whore and of using the money to support her illicit business (*tüchelgwerb*).³⁵² This apparent subsidizing of prostitution by the minister in his parish at the expense of the poor caused a tremendous uproar amongst his parishioners.

³⁵⁰ StAZ.E.II.Ia.677, 22 October, 1577.

³⁵¹ StAZ.E.II.I.267/8, May, 1541.

³⁵² *Tüchel* means a pipe or tube (HG. *Röhre*). However, it is also refers to the *membrum virile*. Thus *Tüchelgwerb* is a clear reference to prostitution. S.I. XII, p.221.

Schröter was told by the Synod to terminate the deceitful arrangement, dismiss the girl, and repay the misspent money.

Domestic help was also the source of considerable unhappiness in the parish house of Lorenz Meyer in 1554.³⁵³ Meyer's wife employed a mother with at least two daughters who were described as contentious woman, jealous of their employer: *sind sy gifftig and nidig wider H. Hansen eefrowen*.³⁵⁴ Meyer's wife was a rather meek person who took the abuse, though she was said to be quite wretched, and it was not until the situation became known in the community that the case came to the Synod's attention. The Synod requested that the local Vogt make a report and instruct the mother to be quiet and tell her daughters that they were to cease being so abusive and to carry out their duties as servants in the house: *die (the officials) söllend muoter und döchtern bescheyden, und der muoter sagen, das sy rüewig sye, und die döchtern gen dienen thüye*.³⁵⁵

The cases in the Synod pertaining to the parish household testify to the pressure upon the personal lives of ministers and their families of the office the clerical office. The minister was not exempted from the social turmoils of the society in which he lived; these cases reveal the inherent tension between the minister's enforcing of the new religious and moral codes from the pulpit and his attempt to abide by them as an example to the community.

³⁵³ StAZ. E.II.I.411/2. May, 1554.

³⁵⁴ Ibid. *nidig* = HG. *neidisch* (jealous)

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

Appendix One
Commentaries and Sermons of Bullinger, Gwalther,
Martyr and Pellikan Printed in Zürich 1532-80.

1. Bullinger¹

- Expositio in epistolum Ioannis (1532) HBBibl.I. 37.
 Commentarius in epistolam Hebraeos (1532) HBBibl.I. 38.
 Commentarius in epistolam Romanos (1533) HBBibl.I. 42.
 Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum (1533) HBBibl.I. 43.
 Commentarius in Petri epistolam utramque (1534) HBBibl.I. 52.
 Commentarius in priorem Pauli ad Corinthios epistolam (1534) HBBibl.I. 53.
 Commentarius in posteriorem Pauli ad Corinthios epistolam (1535) HBBibl.I. 71.
 Commentarii in epistolas Pauli ad Galatas, Ephesius, Philippenses et Colossenses (1535) HBBibl.I. 72.
 Commentarii in Pauli ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum et Philemonem epistolas (1536) HBBibl.I. 81.
 In omnes apostolicas epistolas commentarii (1537) HBBibl.I. 84.
 De omnibus sanctae scripturae libris expositio (1539) HBBibl.I. 114. German translation (1540) HBBibl.I. 118.
 In evangelium secundum Matthaeum commentarius (1542) HBBibl.I. 147.
 In evangelium secundum Ioannem commentarius (1543) HBBibl.I. 153.
 Wahrhaftes Bekantnis der Diener der Kirchen zu Zürich (1545) HBBibl.I. 161.
 In evangelium secundum Marcum commentarius (1545) HBBibl.I. 170.
 In evangelium secundum Lucam commentarius (1546) HBBibl.I. 173.
 Series et digestio temporum et rerum (1548) HBBibl.I. 176.
 Sermonem decades quinque (1549) HBBibl.I. 179. German translation (1554) HBBibl.I. 191.
 Die rechten opffer der christenheit (1552) HBBibl.I. 247.
 Von rechter Hilfe und Erretung in Nlten (1552) HBBibl.I. 260.
 Von wahren beständigen Glauben (1552) HBBibl.I. 264.
 Von der Verklärung Christi (1552) HBBibl.I. 265.
 Von rechter Busse oder Besserung des sündigen menschen (1553) HBBibl.I. 267.
 Vom heiligen Nachtmal (1553) HBBibl.I. 268.
 Dispositio et perioche historiae evangelicae (1553) HBBibl.I. 271.
 Commentarii in novum testamentum (1554) HBBibl.I. 274.
 Von Heil der Glaubigen (1555) HBBibl.I. 278.
 Das Jüngste Gerichte (1555) HBBibl.I. 281.
 De fine saeculi et iuditio (1557) HBBibl.I. 320.
 In Apocalypsim conciones centum (1557) HBBibl.I. 327. German translation (1558) HBBibl.I. 335.
 In Jeremiae prophetiae sermones conciones (1557) HBBibl.I. 357.
 De coena domini (1558) HBBibl.I. 363.
 Ad libros commentariorum Ioannes Oecolampadii (1558) HBBibl.I. 367.
 Festorum dierum sermones (1558) HBBibl.I. 369.
 Die Marienpredigt HBBibl.I. 373.
 Tractando verborum Domini, in domo mei mansiones multae sint (1561) HBBibl.I. 416. German translation (1561) HBBibl.I. 418.
 Threnorum Jeremiae prophetae explicato (1561) HBBibl.I. 419.
 Conciones in Daniele (1565) HBBibl.I. 428.

¹ Source: *Heinrich Bullinger Bibliographie Band 1: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gedruckten Werke von Heinrich Bullinger*. Ed. J. Staedtke (Zürich, 1972). HBBibl.I.

Conciones in Iesaiam (1567) HBBibl. 558.
Von der Bekehrung des Menschen zu Gott (1569/70) HBBibl.I. 561.
De scripturae sanctae dignitate (1571) HBBibl.I. 565. German translation (1572)
HBBibl.I. 566.
Predigten über den 130. und 135 Psalm. (1574) HBBibl.I. 582.

Gwalther²

Oiketes sive servus ecclesiasticum (1548) RGW. 24.
In Joannis epistolas homiliae (1553) RGW. 33
In Acta Apostolarum homiliae RGW. 42.1
In Hoseam homiliae (1560) RGW. 47.
In Juden homiliae (1560) RGW. 48.
In evangelium secundum Marcum homiliae (1561) RGW. 49.1.
Der Prophet Joel gepredigt (1562) RGW. 50.
In prophetas duodecim minores homiliae (1563) RGW. 51.1.
In evangelium secundum Ioannem homiliae (1565) RGW. 56.1.
In epistolam ad Romanos homiliae (1566) RGW. 57.1.
In evangelium secundum Lucam homiliae (1570) RGW. 60.1.
In priorem ad Corinthios epistolam homiliae (1572) RGW. 64.1.
In posteriorem ad Corinthios epistolam homiliae (1572) RGW. 65.1.
In epistolam ad Jakobus homiliae (1576) RGW. 71.1.
Homiliarum in evangelium secundum Matthaem pars I. RGW. 78.1.

Martyr³

In selectissimam S. Pauli priorem ad Corinthios Epistolam (1551).
In Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos (1559).
In librum iudicium (1561).
Preces sacrae ex Psalmis Davidis Desumptae (1564).
In duos libros samuelis prophetae (1564).
In primum Librum Mosis (1569)
In selectissimam D. Pauli Priorem ad Corinthios epistolam (1572).

Pellikan⁴

Psalterium Davidis, ad Hebraicam veritatem interpretatum cum scholijs brevissimis,
Chunradi Pelicani. (1532).
Explicatio brevis, simplex et catholica libelli Ruth. Autore Conrado Pellicano. (1531).
Ruth. Ein heylig Büchlin des alten Testaments, mit einer schönen kurzen Auslegung.
(1555).
Commentaria bibliorum. 7 volumes (1532-1539).
Commentaria bibliorum, volumes 1-6 (1536-1546).
Index bibliorum. (1537).

² Source: 'Verzeichnis der gedruckten Werke von Rudolf Gwalther' (RGW), compiled by Kurt Jakob Rüttschi, Bullinger Briefwechsel Edition, Zürich.

³ Source: M.W. Anderson, *Peter Martyr. A Reformer in Exile (1542-1562). A Chronology of biblical writings in England and Europe.* (Nieuwkoop, 1975).

⁴ Source: C. Zürcher, *Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich 1526-1556.* (Zürich, 1975).

4.13 Summary

The anecdotal method employed in the division of the case material allows for a reading of the synodal records in the context of the religious, political and social life of sixteenth century Zürich. The attention given to individual cases is handsomely repaid as the Synod itself took great care to establish the circumstances of each minister before recommending the form of discipline to be applied. To approach the question of effectiveness of the Synod's discipline, a different tact is required. A numerical breakdown of the cases yields interesting results. The tables provided are useful tools in assessing the ability of the Synod to fulfil its mandate of applying fraternal correction to the end of preserving the unity of the church.

The Synodal records are, by nature, negative in that they are concerned with documenting the errors of the ministers. The average parish cleric, coming into the city twice a year to attend the meetings of the Synod, remains a shadowy figure for posterity unless he was required to defend himself against accusations of error in his duties or moral life. This tends to give the picture of a church full of errant ministers struggling to maintain a semblance of the high ideals of its reformers. To correct this impression, it must be noted that in the period 1532-1580 there were approximately four hundred and fifty and four hundred and seventy ministers serving in the parishes under the jurisdiction of the Zürich Synod. Against this number, a calculation based upon the Synod's records reveals that approximately one hundred and seventy-two ministers were disciplined by the Synod in the same period. This means that more than two thirds of the ministers in Zürich were never mentioned in the *Censura* of the Synod. Beginning with this figure of one hundred and seventy two ministers, it is possible to make further distinctions. More than half (89) of these ministers were only disciplined once, while the

remaining 83 make anything from two to a dozen appearances in the accounts of the *Censura*.

The Synod applied discipline in varying degrees of severity. The primary form was the verbal admonishment given either privately to the minister in his home by fellow ministers or through a letter, or publicly through a rebuke in the name of the whole Synod delivered in the meetings in Zürich. The Synod admonished one hundred and twelve ministers concerning their failings; of these, fifty one ministers had no further disciplinary problems, while the remaining sixty one either received a subsequent warning or a more severe punishment leading to dismissal. The even division between single and repeat offenders attests to the effectiveness of a synodal rebuke.

The next of the milder medicines was the transfer of a minister to another parish. The Synod, of course, did not possess any authority to make such a transfer. It could only make a recommendation to the Council which would act as it saw fit. When the moving of a minister appeared to be the correct course to follow, the Council had to wait until a suitable parish became vacant before anything could be done; often this period of waiting lasted up to three years. The Council was also limited in the number of parishes available to it by the issue of patronage to benefices. Nevertheless, there are twenty seven cases in which the Synod and Council cooperated in transferring a minister to another parish in order to alleviate a disciplinary problem (there is plenty of evidence for ministers being moved for non disciplinary considerations).

The movement of ministers followed the verbal admonitions in having a success rate of about fifty percent. Of the twenty seven ministers moved to a different parish, fifteen had further disciplinary problems, the other twelve did not. The moving of a minister amounted to the granting of a fresh start; this was

essential where the relations between the minister and his parishioners had deteriorated to the point of rendering his position in the parish untenable.

When the lesser remedies had little effect upon a minister the Synod did not hesitate to recommend to the Council that the sterner punishments of imprisonment in Wellenberg or dismissal. The strength of these two forms of discipline was the hardship they inflicted upon the minister. Wellenberg was a thoroughly unpleasant place to spend a few days on a diet of bread and water. It was a temporary measure intended to induce an emmendment of life. When a minister was sent there it did not necessarily mean that he was dismissed from his parish. In some cases the Synod recommended to the Council that the minister spend his Saturdays in the prison. Likewise, when a minister was dismissed from his parish the place to which he was removed was often the tower in the Limmat. What is extremely interesting is the fact that the punishment of spending time in Wellenberg appears to have been the least successful in bringing about the desired results. Twenty two ministers were sent to Wellenberg by the Council on the recommendation of the Synod, and of these it seems that only three did not receive further discipline. One reason for this is the close association between Wellenberg and the dismissal of ministers. Once the Synod found that it was dealing with a difficult case, and that its admonitions were being delivered in vain, the inevitable result was the likely removal of that minister. A few days in prison would not be enough.

The Synod's trump card was its position of being able to recommend to the Council that a minister be removed out of his parish. This was the final stage of the disciplinary process and the Synod was not shy in its application. Nor should it have been, for the Synod was not washing its hands of that minister but rather employing its most drastic measures in the hope that the minister would repent. Although the Zürich reformers abandoned the idea of the indelible mark of the

priesthood, once a man became a minister the Synod was very concerned to preserve him in his office. It did not let any minister go lightly, regardless of how ignorant or hopeless they might be.

The Synod's generosity towards those dismissed is greater than the numbers initially suggest. Fifty ministers were removed from their parishes by the Council. Of these, less than half (twenty four) made their confession of guilt to the Synod and were accepted back on the basis of this supplication and the supporting accounts of character references. The remaining twenty six were not reconciled with the Synod. However, of these twenty six, twelve died within a couple of years of their dismissal. This suggests that the Synod may have employed this dismissal as a form of dishonourable retirement. Given that it often took a couple of years before the Synod would receive back one of its lost sheep, these men, on account of illness or age, may well not have ever applied. Further, three of the ministers dismissed left Zürich altogether. They likely had no interest (as in the case of Hans Heinrich Müller) of returning to the reformed ministry. This means that only eleven ministers in the period were dismissed and had their applications for readmission to the Synod refused. This is a remarkably small number given the amount of disciplinary cases heard in the Synod over the forty eight years in consideration. Another interesting point is that of the four cases where a minister was dismissed brought back and dismissed again, two were reconciled with the Synod for the second time.

Outside the Hüsli case, there were no serious confrontations between the Synod and the Council in applying the forms of discipline discussed above. There is evidence though that the Council, perhaps not surprisingly, took a sterner line on discipline than the Synod did. Perhaps the Bürgermeister and the members of the Zürich Rat were less influenced by moderate and patient tone characteristic of the Synod under Bullinger. There are a number of cases in which the Council did

not follow the recommendations of the Synod; and where this occurred the Council took stronger action against the minister in question than the Synod had felt necessary. An example of this is Thomas Meßmer in 1559 whom the Synod thought ought to be placed in Wellenberg for his sins. The Council in its first meeting following the May Synod dismissed Meßmer from his parish. There are several other cases where the Synod's warnings to ministers were followed by more severe punishments from the Council. From the church's point of view there was no problem with this. Zwingli and Bullinger had surrendered the right of discipline into the hands of the magistrate. It was to be applied as the magistrate felt best; the Synod was there to provide information and guidance.

The difference between the Synod and the Council on the severity of discipline was really a question of degree rather than of fundamental distinction. The high degree of cooperation maintained between the Synod and the Council is of greater importance in the study of discipline in sixteenth century Zürich. In the vast majority of the cases the Council promptly followed the advice which it received from its colleagues in the Synod. The Council meetings of May and December attended to the business of dismissing and replacing ministers. The best documentary evidence for the efficient nature in which ecclesiastical matters were handled between the various bodies of the Council and church is Wolfgang Haller's *Das Buch der Fürschlagen und expectanten 1552-1590*.¹ From Haller's records it is possible to reconstruct the chronology of a minister's dismissal, confession and restoration to the Synod.

In their combined work of disciplining ministers the Synod and Council developed an efficient system which enjoyed considerable success. At least half the ministers required only the milder admonitions to be corrected, and the number who were

¹ StAZ. E.II.108.

learning and the state of their preaching. There are some surprising results such as the relative paucity of complaints against the ministers' treatment of the poor and sick and the considerably larger number of complaints concerning ministers quarrelling amongst themselves than with civil officials. Also, there are some curious gaps, such as the absence of any complaints against preaching in the 1540s. However, the synodal records are not scientific documents and must not be treated as such. The often vague descriptions of cases does not allow for arguments based upon percentage increases or decreases. Nevertheless, the list of complaints gives an important indication of the continuity of problems amongst the clergy: as many ministers were accused of drinking, neglecting their parishes and of fighting in the 1570s as were in the 1540s.

The continuity of disciplinary problems demonstrates that the Zürich church was not able to eradicate the failings of the clergy. There are external and internal reasons for this. Externally, the ministers were faced with the daunting task of reforming the beliefs and behaviour of their parishioners under the most difficult of religious, economic and social circumstances. They were themselves not untouched by the ravages of poverty and disease or the attractions of well entrenched religious and popular customs. Internally, the nature of the discipline developed in Zürich had the effect of containing rather than extirpating problems. Bullinger's church, against Calvin's Geneva, was inclusive rather than exclusive; all forms of discipline were intended to keep ministers and laity within the church. Ministers of weak moral character or those indifferent to the needs of their parishioners were given the benefit of the doubt time and time again. An unlearned drunkard like Matthias Bodmer, of whom the Synod realistically could have expected little good, was tolerated and given repeated warnings. Conversely, Wilhelm Weber, educated at Basel and Heidelberg, was dismissed after the first time he was accused of neglecting his parish. This was not the Synod being erratic, but rather applying a remedy of a strength bearable to the receiver: the ultimate goal was the same.

The reforming movement in Zürich under Zwingli and Bullinger cleared away the structures of the mediaeval church which bound men and women, by the authority of its position as mediator of grace, with its complex web of rites. The Zwinglians emphasized the obligation of each person to learn of God and obey His commandments. Each person was not only responsible for himself but for his neighbour in the community; this applied to clergy and laity alike. Ministers were accountable for their life and doctrine to their fellow ministers and, through the institution of the Synod, to the whole community. It was in response to this dualism of individual and corporate responsibility that the Synod developed a policy of discipline that was flexible and pastoral; yet, in the liberation of the Christian individual the Zürich church found new dangers and errors which ensured that the *corpus christianum* would always remain stained by man's fallen nature.

Table 1
Complaints against Ministers 1532-80

	1530s	1540s	1550s	1560s	1570s
Adultery	3	7	8	3	7
Abuse of Wife	2	1	3	6	5
Wife	3	4	4	5	3
Neglect of Children	0	4	5	5	0
Household	6	14	7	7	8
Drinking	8	27	12	14	19
Fighting	3	4	3	0	3
Misbehaviour	6	1	5	4	3
Useemly Appearance	3	1	1	1	3
Neglect of Parish	3	11	19	12	11
Abuse of Sacraments	4	3	4	2	1
Child Instruction	1	0	5	1	1
Preaching	3	0	15	6	5
Study and Learning	9	12	7	8	4
Parishioners	2	10	8	8	5
Other Ministers	3	8	3	1	3
Civil Officials	1	0	2	0	3
Absenteeism	1	4	3	3	7
Language	4	6	2	0	3
Poor People	0	1	2	0	1
The Ill	1	0	0	3	0
Financial	1	1	1	2	7
Admonishing Parishioners	5	3	6	2	3
Catholicism	3	1	7	6	3
Age	0	2	15	7	1
Non Attendance	2	0	1	3	5

Key to Table 1

Wife - Adultery, drinking, dancing and all forms of misbehaviour by the wives of ministers.

Neglect of Children - Ministers not looking after their own children.

Household - Unspecified complaints against the upkeep of the parish household.

Misbehaviour - Unspecified complaints against the behaviour of the minister in his parish.

Unseemly Appearance - The clothing of the minister.

Neglect of Parish - Failure to hold services or carry out parish visitations.

Child Instruction - Catechetical instruction in the parish.

Preaching - Doctrinal content and presentation.

Parishioners - Poor relations between the minister and his parishioners.

Other Ministers - Disputes between ministers.

Civil Officials - Poor relations between ministers and civil officials (the Vogt etc.).

Absenteeism - Ministers living outwith the parish.

Language - Blasphemy, slander and gossip by ministers.

Poor People - Maltreatment of the needy.

The Ill - Visitation of the sick.

Financial - Personal financial problems of ministers.

Admonishing Parishioners - The reading of morals mandates and admonishing from the pulpit.

Catholicism - Catholic sympathies of the minister or his family.

Age - Ministers too old to tend to their parishes.

Non Attendance - Ministers not coming to the Synod.

Table 2
Ministers moved by Council for Disciplinary Problems

<u>Name</u>	<u>Synod</u>	<u>Transfer</u>
		* indicates further disciplinary problems.
H. Baumann	1573	1575 Kappel > Hausen.
W. Baumann	1566	1566 Weningen > Altstetten.
H. R. Beyel	1572	1572 Kappel > Witikon.
M. Bodmer	1551	1551 Wädenswil > Elsau. *
J.W. Brennwald	1577	1579 Pfungen > Lufingen.
M. Bucher	1552	1552 Winterthur > Töb. *
H. Buchmann	1553	1553 Wiesdangen > Dinhard. *
P. Falkenstein	1553	1553 Winterthur > Wiesdangen.
H.K. Göldi	1569	1571 Dietikon > Zöllikon. *
J. Gumprecht	1543	1544 Dietikon > Flaach. *
H. Haar	1565	1566 Lufingen > Russikon
J. Herter	1546	1549 Weiningen > Pfungen
H. Kopf	1547	1548 Dietikon > Aardorf. *
J. Meyer	1554	1555 Tegerfelden > Töb.
H. Notz	1563	1563 Büchs > Fischenthal * ¹
H. Notz	1571	1571 Fischenthal > Töb. ²
J. Nüßbaumer	1533	1533 Winterthur > Dägerlen.
O. Renner	1579	1579 Küsnacht > ?
C. Rotacher	1558	1558 Veltheim > Horgen. *

¹ Notz was moved by the Council to Fischenthal because the incumbent, R. Keller, was not able to look after his parish. It was an exchange of parishes.

² The Council again involved Notz in an exchange of parishes. This time with K. Säger of Töss.

H.H. Schmid	1576	1576 Hinwil. * ¹
A. Schnyder	1576	1576 Bubikon>Betschwanden.
R. Schwyzer	1550	1550 Richterswil > Stäfa. *
K. Suter	1551	1551 Dietikon > Regensberg
U. Tubbruner	1554	1556 Weningen > Wangen.
A. Widmer	1566	1566 Stein a.m. Rhein >Benken.*
A. Winterli	1564	1564 Kyburg > Affoltern.
J.H. Wirth	1577	1577 Ellikon > Kloten.

¹ The Council intended to moved Schmid from Hinwil, however, there were complications and it was decided that he had to remain.

Table 3

Ministers Sent to Wellenberg

Name	Year	Further Disciplinary Problems
U. Eggstein	1558	N. retired 1558
P. Grebel	1570	Y. dismissed 1571.
H. von Halm	1558	N. dismissed 1558.
J. Hauser	1568	N. dismissed 1568.
R. Hüsli	1555	N. dismissed 1555.
B. Kuchimeister	1553	Y. 1556, 1562.
J. Leu	1553	Y. 1560,61,65.
T. Meßmer	1559	N. dismissed and
L. Meyer	1543	Y. dismissed in 1543 and 1561.
H.H. Müller	1537	Y. dismissed 1565.
H. Oechsli	1536	?
J. Oesenbry	1578	N. returned to Thalwil.
J. Polt	1536	Y. dismissed 1541.
R. Schwyzer	1553	N. dismissed 1553.
B. Span	1562	N. returned to Niederhasli
N. Strasser	1580	N. returned to Ställikon.
G. Studer	1555	Y. Wellenberg 1567
G. Studer	1567	Y. Wellenberg 1568
G. Studer	1568	Y. dismissed 1569.
J. Zorn	1548	Y. dismissed 1549.

Table 4
Ministers Dismissed
1532-80

Name	Year	Reconciled
		Y = Yes. N = No.
R. Ammann	1533	Y. 1535 in Kilchberg.
J.J. Baag	1575	N. died 1585.
K. Beyel	1541	N. died 1542.
H.R. Beyel	1572	Y. 1574 Witikon.
J. Buchter	1558	Y. 1561 Trüllikon.
H. Dickenmann	1551	Y. 1552 Maschwanden.
M. Farmer	1557	N. died 1562.
J. von Gachnang	1540	N. died 1543.
P. Grebel	1569	Y. 1570?
P. Grebel	1571	Y. 1573 Witikon.
J. Gumprecht	1552	N. died 1553.
H. von Halm	1558	N. died 1560.
J. Hausheer	1577	N. died 1580
J. Hauser	1568	N. died 1569?
W. Hönegger	1572	Y. 1572 Hausen.
W. Hönegger	1575	N. Left Zürich.
K. Höw	1562	Y. 1562 Hirzel.
W. Iberger	1533	Y. 1536 Pfäffikon.
J. Jager	1572?	Y. 1575 Mulheim.
F. Keller	1537	Y. 1537 Rümlang.
K. Klauser	1552	N. died 1552.
K. Klinger	1558	Y. 1561 Rafz.
H. Kopf	1547	Y. 1548 Aardorf.

H. Landolt	1547	Y.	1548 Tegerfelden.
G. Lewerer	1554	N.	died 1554?
T. Meßmer	1533	Y.	1533 Birmensdorf.
T.Meßmer	1559	Y.	1559 Grossmünster.
L. Meyer	1543	Y.	1547 Swanden (Glarus).
L. Meyer	1561	N.	died 1564.
H. Michael	1535	N.	died 1535?
H.H. Müller	1565	N.	Left Zürich.
H. Oechsli	1536	?	
H. Polt	1541	N.	died 1541?
H. Römer	1540	Y.	1546 Zurzach.
U. Röst	1567	Y.	1568 Kyburg.
J. Schärer	1551	Y.	? Lipperswil.
K. Schmid	1550	N.	died 1550.
P. Schnyder	1536	N.	Left Zürich.
J. Schwartz	1557	N.	died 1557?
R. Schwyzer	1553	N.	died 1563.
R. Siber	1571	Y.	1578 Frauenfeld.
I. Staeheli	1568	N.	died 1596.
N. Steiner	1533	Y.	1534 Rüti.
G. Studer	1568	Y.	1569 Uster.
G. Studer	1571	N.	died 1585.
M. Sulzer	1571	Y.	1574 Lipperswil.
M. Thöny	1562	N.	died after 1562.
G. Vottel	1554	N.	died after 1554.
U. Wyß	1535	Y.	1537 Eglisau.

J. Zorn

1549

N. died 1549.

5.1 Conclusion

The study of an historical institution inexorably leads to the question of success or failure. Such a question, this thesis has attempted to show, can only be discussed in terms of the assumptions and intentions of its leaders, who piloted it through the stormy seas of the sixteenth century. The Synod was primarily responsible for discerning the state of the church in Zürich and the disciplining of those ministers charged with the spiritual leadership of its members. The Zürich church was the first established reformed polity; its Synod the first institution founded to ensure the dissemination and implementation of the new faith over a wide range of disparate communities outwith the walls of the city. Its struggles and failures, its strengths and weaknesses, when taken together, give us an important insight into the tensions inherent in a comprehensive ecclesiastical reform in a defined territory in the early Reformation.

Zwinglianism is a religion of the Spirit. In its doctrines of the church and sacraments it holds that the ultimate authenticating and discerning force in creation is God's presence in the Holy Spirit. For Zwingli and Bullinger, this pneumatology guided their readings of church history and their conception of social organization. Yet, their criticisms of the mediaeval church alerted them to the resistance of the Spirit to institutionalization. Abuses in the church arose, they argued, precisely where men began to perceive some inherent good in the structures of the church themselves rather than allowing for the utter dependence of the institution on God. The temporal church, with its dependence upon outward forms and human righteousness, was in many ways an inadequate temple of the Spirit. It could err and easily lose those essential 'marks' which signified its position as a true church. Nevertheless, Zwingli, Bullinger and their colleagues were very much men of the church, passionate about its welfare, and consumed with ensuring its preservation and perseverance.

The distinction which the reformers held between fallen creation, warped by man's perversity and encumbered with his fallible institutions, and the call to purity of the church remained an unresolved tension. On the one hand, only the elect of God would receive the triumph over death in Christ; whilst, on the other, they believed that the church had a duty towards the restructuring of the whole society after the *corpus christianum*. This was the most formidable problem facing the reformers in attempting to implement discipline in their church. Could they hope for success, or simply wait on God's judgement to finally sort the wheat from the tares? The Zürich Reformation struggled to maintain the unity of a faith which essentially rejected outward forms and material analogies with the practical necessity of institutional forms. The Synod records have offered an insight to the problems endemic in this struggle as the church sought to preserve its vision in the face of massive spiritual, political and economic forces.

For the reformers the essential character in the interplay between the faith and the community was the minister. He held together the church in the parishes, and it was upon his words and actions that the rural reformation depended. He was by Zwingli's definition a 'prophet'; not in the sense of the Old Testament prophets, or even in the sense that Zwingli or Bullinger were prophets, but in that he entered into a shared vocation with his community. This vocation depended upon two principles: the explication of the Scriptures in the Spirit and the gift of discernment. The minister had to be able to reinterpret the sacred tradition to his people. The whole point of covenant theology was that the local congregation had to understand its place in the eternal bond between God and his chosen people. Through the use of humanist learning and correct explication of Scripture the minister was to unite in the Spirit the people of his church with the Catholic Church. This was the central point of Zwingli's Eucharistic theology; that in the Spirit through ἀνάμνησις (reminiscence) the parochial church was joined to Christ's pure body. This is far removed from any bare memorialism. The minister was the catalyst in this transformation, and where he performed his calling properly the tension between the Spirit and the earthly structures was transcended.

This was the ideal of the Zürich Reformation. Yet, as this thesis has attempted to show, it was this meeting point of the ministers with the laity wherein the seeds of trouble were sowed. The crucial bond between the minister and his people wherein the Scriptures are truly preached and received in godly discernment assumes a communality of interests between the people and their minister. This was clearly not always the case. The Zürich Reformation did not answer all the spiritual needs of the people, and nor could it have. In their festivals of Fastnacht, in their drinking at baptisms and funerals, in their superstitious activities with the bones of the dead, one sees the desire of the people to have a religious significance conferred upon their work, their social gatherings and the land and seasons upon which they depended for their existence, and, in the end, provided comfort in the face of death and disease. This popular spirituality was the declared enemy of the reformers, yet it proved unassailable. One cannot understand the moral and spiritual problems of the clergy in sixteenth century Zürich without considering the pressure they were placed under by the community to give them what was wanted. The gap between this spirituality and a faith which believed that men and women could be won for Christ through teaching and rational arguments was enormous. A minister's position in his community may well have depended upon the extent to which he was willing to compromise his standing in the church. For some the line was drawn at administering older rites, whilst for others it included joining in with the boisterous drinking and dancing.

The evidence of the synodal records suggests that ministers were not readily accepted in the communities. The extent to which they could penetrate the communities into which they were placed is far from clear. To the people, these ministers represented an authority prepared to use coercion to effect its goals. The minister's position in the reformed ecclesiology did not, despite the supposed domesticating of the clergy, overcome the division, or even antagonism, between clergy and laity. Yet, on the other hand, the people wanted a minister. Their position was equivocal; they

wanted the minister of whom they expected good moral behaviour, but did not accept him as one of them; they needed spiritual guidance, but were not necessarily sold on the content of the reformed faith.

This might seem to spell disaster for the Synod. However, it is in light of these important conclusions that its success should be seen. The flexibility of the Zürich church argues for its perceptiveness in weighing these problems and attempting to resolve them. This thesis has argued for the interplay of theology with a wide range of other considerations which entered into the administration of clerical discipline. The Synod was fallible, and Bullinger was quite aware of many errors of judgement, but by its own standard it must be judged a success. It adhered to the biblical principles it professed. Bullinger knew full well that a complete transformation of society would not happen. In the debates over discipline in the sixteenth century between magisterial and presbyterian reformers this did not remain an issue. What is required now is further investigation of how these various theories of discipline were actually implemented in the reformed territories. Only then will the full extent of the debate be known. Zürich bequeathed to the reformed tradition the exalted office of the minister. In the words of a later polity much indebted to Zürich: "The people would be exhorted unto reverence and honor of their ministers, chosen as servants and Embassadors of the Lord Jesus, obeying the commandments which they pronounce from God's mouth and book, even as they would obey God himself. For whosoever heareth Christs ministers, heareth himself and whosoever rejecteth and despiseth their ministerie and exhortation, rejecteth and despiseth Christ Jesus."¹

¹ *The First Book of Discipline. With Introduction and Commentary.* J.K. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1970), p.101/2.

6.1 Prosopography

In the spelling of the names, the forms used by the Bullinger Briefwechsel Edition has been followed. When this has not been possible the *Zürich Pfarrerbuch* was used. The references are to occurrences of the ministers in the text of the thesis. The textual references in the "Case" section are to the synodal records, whilst under "Sources" are listed further information consulted. The literature and page references in the thesis for Bullinger and Jud are not given.

Name: Ammann, Rudolf

b. ? **d.** 1552

Parishes: Leutpriester from 1518, after 1522 minister in Knonau, from 1535 until his death minister in Kilchberg.

Synod: May and Oct. 1533.

Case: Dismissed from his parish in 1533 for adultery and polygamy. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1941, p.853, 1988, p.879. StAZ. E.II.I.115 (Ammann's supplication to the Council to be reinstated to the Synod.)

Sources: ZPB. p.179. Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.82-85. HBBW I, 104, 211/12.

References: 259, 260, 261

Name: Appenzeller, Johann

b. 1540 **d.** 1580

Parishes: Ord.1562, minister in Wattwil, 1565 minister in Niederweningen, 1566 moved to Ossingen. In 1569 he was nominated by the Synod for the parish of Laufen but was not chosen.

Synod: Oct.1573

Case: Appenzeller's appointment in 1566 to the parish of Ossingen was complicated by the long standing difficulties between the Council in Zürich and the Cathedral chapter in Constance over the right of presentation to the parish and the income to support the minister. In 1573 he was found to have committed adultery with the wife of a Messerschmidt. Appenzeller seems to have tricked the husband into believing that nothing wrong was taking place. The Synod and the aggrieved husband were determined to see that justice was done against Appenzeller. StAZ. E.II.I.645/6. StAZ. E.II.108.53,84v,185v.

Sources: ZPB. p.181.

Name: Baag, Johann Jakob

b. ? **d.** 1585

Parishes: Ord.1541, 1543 minister in Hirzel, 1546 in Hedingen.

Synod: May and October, 1575.

Case: Dismissed on account of his careless behaviour and his daughter's Catholicism. Baag argued to the Synod that his daughter had become a Catholic against his will, but the report of the examiners revealed that Baag had not shown any signs of resistance to his daughter's marriage in a Catholic church. In addition, the examiners reported the terrible state of his household. StAZ. E.II.I.652.657/8.

Sources: ZPB. p.182.

Name: Baumann, Heinrich

b. ? **d.** 1576

Parishes: Examined twice in 1569 and then ordained in the same year. First he was a minister in Kappel after having been unsuccessfully nominated for parish of Bülach. In 1570 he moved to Weiach, and in 1571 became dean in Kappel. In 1575 he was in Hausen.

Synod: Oct. 1573.

Case: Baumann had been excused by his dean for some offence, however some leading people in the community had further complaints about him which they presented to the Synod in 1573. These people, led by the local mayor, requested that he be removed by the Synod to another parish when it was convenient. Baumann received a warning about his behaviour from the Synod. StAZ. E.II.I.644.

Sources: ZPB. p.189. StAZ. E.II.259.207/8.(Correspondence 1569). StAZ. E.II.108. 110v-111,113,128,143,161v,169. StAZ. E.II.479. 27. 1566.

Name: Baumann, Wolfgang
b.? d. 1567

Parishes: Ord. 1562, 1563 in Weiningen, 1566 in Altstetten.

Synod: May, 1566.

Case: Baumann was appointed to the parish of Weningen after the abbot of Wettingen rejected the first candidate. Baumann was said to be too poor to remain in the parish of Weningen. The Synod requested that examiners be sent to look into the situation. The examiners reported that they could not find anything wrong with Baumann's care of his parish; the problems were stemming from the terrible state of the parish house and the insufficient income of the benefice to support the minister. The Synod requested that the Council make arrangements for other local clergy to tend to the parish until the income could be improved. StAZ. E.II.I.566. StAZ.

Sources: ZPB. p.190, StAZ.E.II 335-381. 1560 366,292. StAZ.E.II.108, 55-55v,87. *Marburger Matrikel*, 1559, (*Wolfgangus Bawman*), p.37. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.80.

Name: Beyel, Kaspar
b.? d.1542

Parishes: Ord. 1534, 1536 minister in Weiningen, 1537 in Buchs.

Synod: May, 1536, April, 1537, May, 1539, May, 1540, May, 1541.

Case: In 1536 the Synod heard that Beyel was drinking excessively and not holding the Lord's Supper when he ought to be. In reply, he claimed that he had been ill and unable to perform his duties. A year later the Synod heard that Beyel kept a bad house and was still drinking. Further, he was not reading the Council's mandates from the pulpit. His behaviour in the taverns was considered intolerable as he was said to be lowering himself to the level of the local farmers. Beyel told the Synod that he had written to the local civil official confessing his faults and promising to improve himself. The Synod warned him to stay at home and study rather than drink in public places or he would be removed from his parish. Nevertheless, the same complaints arose again against Beyel in 1539, and in 1541 he was examined and the Synod decided that he was no longer worthy of mercy in its considerations. The examiners in 1541 listed the following points as the principle objections to Beyel's ministry: he was frequently fighting and had stabbed one of his parishioners, he was seldom at home and did not appear in the church for his sermons, he was in taverns. Also the examiners noted that the parishioners in Buchs should petition the Council for another minister. It recommended that he be removed out of the parish of Buchs. StAZ.

E.II.I.206/7.222/3.242/3.269/70.271/2.

Sources: ZPB.195.

References: 184

Name: Beyel, Hans Rudolf
b.? d.1581

Parishes: Ord. 1565, minister in Hausen, nominated but not chosen for parish of Bülach in 1569; 1570 in Kappel. In 1574 he was minister in Witikon.

Synod: May, 1572

Case: Beyel neglected his parochial duties and his wife was described as a dreadful person. Yet he was well respected by his community, so the Synod commissioned some examiners to determine what should be done. Beyel was removed from his parish in June of 1572 because he was not looking after the community. He was replaced by the Council on the 3 June, 1572. StAZ E.II.636.

Sources: ZPB. p.195, StAZ. E.II.108, 122v,137v. HBLs. II, p.220, Stiefel *Die kirchlichen*, p.73, 87. *Basler Matrikel*, II, p.135 1561/2. B. Schneider, *Geschichte der Gemeinde Knonau*, p.41,43,53.

Name: Beyel, Werner

b.? d.1607

Parishes: 1572 minister in Hettlingen, from 1568 as Provisor in Winterthur.

Synod: Oct., 1576, May, 1577.

Case: When the Synod was informed that Beyel was living in Winterthur because the parish house had not been improved, he was told that the shepherd must live amongst his sheep. The Synod proposed to write to the officials in Winterthur about improving the state of the parish house that the minister might inhabit it. StAZ. E.II.663, StAZ. E.II.1a. 677.

Sources: ZPB. p.195.

Name: Bluntschli, Felix,

b. ? d. 1587

Parishes: Ord. 1553, in 1555 he was in Benken, and then in 1566 he became the minister in Laufen.

Synod: May, 1564

Case: The Synod was unhappy with the situation in Trüllikon wherein Bluntschli was having to travel there from Benken to hold services because the incumbent minister, Balthasar Rümmeli, was too old and ill. The Synod asked the Council to do something about this. StAZ. E.II.1 484.

Sources: ZPB. p.203, StAZ. E.I.2.Ia (Synodalia) 1564, StAZ. E.II.108, 17, 65v, 82.

References: 241

Name: Bluntschli, Johannes

b.1530 d.1604

Parishes: Examined on 3 December, 1554 and ordained the same year. In 1555 he was minister in Maschwanden, 1557 in Ottenbach and 1571 made a dean.

Synod: May, 1571, May 1573.

Case: In the Synod of 1571 Bluntschli was one of the three recommended to the Council for the position of dean of the Freiamt. Bluntschli was chosen for the position. As dean of the Freiamt, Bluntschli made a report to the May Synod of 1573 on the question of poor relief. StAZ. E.II.1.612.642.

Sources: ZPB. p.204, StAZ. E.II.108, 15v,17,19,128. Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.43,44,56,90. StAZ. E.II.335-381 1552, 256, 892.

Basler Matrikel, II, p.57 1548/9. *Marburger Matrikel*, p.13 1553. H.U. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.76,272.

Name: Bodmer, Mathias

b.1501 d.1581

Parishes: 1530 in Bünzen in Aargau, 1531 minister in Bülach, 1534 St. Jacob in Zürich, after 1540 in Wädenswil, 1551 in Elsau where he was made a dean in 1571.

Synod: May and October, 1544, May, 1546, May, 1547, October, 1551, October, 1552, May and October, 1571, October, 1578.

Case: Bodmer was amongst the most frequently reported ministers in Zürich. Drinking, laziness and a bad household accounted for most of his appearances. StAZ. E.II.I.150/1.305.308.327/8.334/5. 373/4.531.623/4.

Sources: Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1391, 1714, 1941, 1988, StAZ. E.II.335-381, 1521, 349, 271. ZPB. p.205. HBBW. IV, 359.

References: 185,251,252.

Name: Brennwald, Johann Wilhelm

b.1542 **d.**1587

Parishes: Ord. 1566, made an assistant in Kappel, 1568 minister in Pfungen, 1579 moved to Lufingen.

Synod: May, 1570, May, 1577.

Case: It came to the Synod's attention that Brennwald was not looking after his parish because he was ill. Brennwald proved to be difficult when the Synod attempted to arrange for an assistant to help him. He was told to that he ought to live in his parish. The examiners recommended that he be moved to another parish. In 1577 the dean asked the Synod to replace Brennwald because he was too old. StAZ. E.II.I.604/5, StAZ. E.II.Ia.676.

Sources: ZPB. p.219. *Marburger Matrikel*, p.58. 24 Oct. 1564.

References: 189

Name: Breytweg, Hans

b.? **d.**1551

Parishes: minister in Gossau from 1531 until 1551.

Synod: May, 1547, Oct., 1549

Case: There was considerable enmity between Breytweg and his assistant, Hans Landolt, over their respective roles in the parish. The Synod warned that ministers were to establish good relations with their assistants. In 1549 Breytweg's learning was described as being sharp, and his manner of teaching as salty (*versaltzen*) and rash (*raß*). He was warned to be more moderate from the pulpit, for a minister should be careful in his choice of words. StAZ. E.II.I.336,357.

Sources:

Name: Bucher, Melchior

b.? **d.** circa 1553

Parishes: 1524-1551 assistant in Winterthur (Kapitalsdiakon), 1552 in Töb.

Synod: May and October, 1552, May, 1553.

Case: In 1552 Bucher requested to be moved from Winterthur to Töb. The request was refused because of the parish house in Winterthur. He was told by the Synod that he must live amongst his parishioners in order to look after them. In May 1553 he was described as blind and old and wholly unable to look after his parish, and on May 31 the Council replaced him with Felix Sulzberger. StAZ. E.II.I.388.390.405.

Sources: ZPB.p.226. StAZ. E.II.108, 7v.

References: 186,188.

Name: Buchhorner, Johannes

b.? **d.?**

Parishes: 1569-72 minister in Hüttswellen-Veßlingen in Thurgau.

Synod: May, 1570

Case: Buchhorner's involvement in adultery was reported to the Synod. Examiners were requested to look into the case, though Buchhorner himself had not appeared in the Synod. StAZ. E.II.I.606.

Sources: Sulzberger, p.126,136. StAZ. E.II.479, 36, 1569.

Name: Buchmann, Heinrich (Bibliander)

b.? **d.**1559

Parishes: 1529-1531 minister in Zollikon, moved to be minister in Rohrdorf, Aargau. 1535 minister in Hinwil, 1537 in Wiesendangen, 1549 made dean, 1553 minister in Dinhard.

Synod: May, 1549, Oct. 1553, Oct., 1554, May, 1558.

Case: In 1549 the dean of Buchmann's chapter reported that he was fighting with other members of the community. The complaints against him in 1553 and 1554 concern his failure to discipline his children. In 1558 he was said to be unable to look after his parish of Dinhard. The Council retired Buchmann on 21 February, 1559. StAZ. E.II.I.351.408.421.464.

Sources: ZPB. p.226, *Zwingliana*, p.522, Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*, II. p.3. StAZ. E.II.108, 39v-40.

References: 266

Name: Buchmann, Johann Heinrich

b.1561 **d.**1615

Parishes: Ord. 1585, minister in Sulgen, Thurgau; 1590 Niederweningen, 1593 minister in Rafz.

Synod: May and Oct., 1579

Case: The Synod was told that his learning was terrible, that he drank and did not look after his parish. In addition, he was not appearing in the Synod. The dean of Dißenhofen was told to admonish him that there might be some improvement. Later in 1579 Buchmann was again said to be drinking in the taverns. In his examination Buchmann defended himself and told the Synod that he wished to remain in his parish. He produced a witness, one Ammann of Wart, who explained that Buchmann was a good minister who supported the faith and did good work in the parish. StAZ. E.II.Ia.702/3.706/7.

Sources: ZPB. p.226.

Name: Buchter, Johannes

b.? **d.**1566

Parishes: Ord. 1547, minister in Schlieren, 1552 in Egg, in 1560 he was nominated by the Synod for the parishes of Brüten and Trüllikon but was not chosen by the Council, in 1561 he was again nominated for parishes of Pfäffikon and Tattlikon before being chosen for Trüllikon.

Synod: May and Oct., 1558.

Case: In May of 1558 the Synod heard from the Vogt of how Buchter's preaching was so poor that no one attended his services. In October he was found to be involved in adultery and dismissed from his parish. He was reconciled to the Synod on 14 October, 1559. StAZ. E.II.I.464.475.

Sources: ZPB. p.226.

Name: Bullinger, Heinrich

b.1504 **d.**1575

Parishes: Antistes in Zürich from 1532 until 1575.

Synod: May, 1535.

Case: Bullinger was told by the Synod that he ought to be stronger in his preaching and in his dealings with the Zürich Council. StAZ. E.II.I.193.

Sources: ZPB. p.228-229.

Name: Bullinger, Johannes Rudolf
b.? d.1580

Parishes: Examined in 1560 and was ordained in the same year in the parish in Zollikon, 1565 in Berg. He also looked after the parish of Flaach between 1574-77.

Synod: May, 1576

Case: Bullinger had caused great offence in his parish with his swearing. The Synod considered this to be a serious offence and discussed with the local civil officials and the Council what to do. They decided to send some examiners to investigate and in the meanwhile told Bullinger that he was not to attend the Synod sessions. StAZ. E.II.I.659/60.

Sources: ZPB. p.230. StAZ. E.II.108, 45.47. *Marburg Matrikel*, p.33 (1557).

References: 245.

Name: Deck, Felix

b.? d.1562

Parishes: 1530 minister in Hirzel, 1533 in Mettmensstetten, made a dean in 1557 succeeding Petrus Simmler.

Synod: May, 1533.

Case: Deck was told by the Synod that he ought to study more that he might have more authority in the pulpit. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1941, p.853.

Sources: ZPB. p.241. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1414, 1714, 1941. *HBBW III*, 104.

References: 239, 240.

Name: Dickenmann, Heinrich

b.? d.1555

Parishes: Ord. 1533, in 1535 minister in Marthalen, 1552 in Maschwanden.

Synod: Oct. 1550, May and Oct. 1551, Oct. 1552.

Case: Dickenmann was brought before the Synod to answer for many things including drinking, suspicious relations with a monk, treating the poor badly, and abuse of his wife. In the Synod of 1551 it was recommended that he be moved to another parish; the Council, however, decided to dismiss him from his parish of Marthalen, though he was later reconciled again in 1552. StAZ.

E.II.I.363/4.368.374/375.396.

Sources: ZPB. 245. StAZ.A.108.1. 1542.

References: 211, 251.

Name: Dutaler (Duthaler), Thomas,

b.? d.1581

Parishes: Examined in 1573 and and ordained in 1574, 1575 minister in Volketswil and latter in the same year minister in Männedorf.

Synod: May, 1578

Case: When a man brought his child to Dutaler in Männedorf for baptism the sacrament was performed in the house rather than in the parish church. The Synod told Dutaler that all baptisms were to be done in the church. Dutaler had already been involved in a case where the child of some local farmers died unbaptized. StAZ. E.II.Ia.682/3.

Sources: ZPB. p.248. *Basler Matrikel*, II. p.207. StAZ. E.II.108, 108,143,147v,157,159v,161. StAZ.E.II.479, 33,36 1569/70.

Name: Eckstein, Ulrich (Eggstein)

b.? d.1558

Parishes: 1527 minister in Thalwil, 1528 in Rorschach, 1531 Zollikon, 1535 dean in Niederwenigen, same year became minister in Uster, resigned 1558.

Synod: May, 1558.

Case: The Synod was informed in 1558 that Eggstein was no longer performing the services of minister to his community on account of his age and of his drinking. The recommendation was that he ought to be put in Wellenberg as punishment for his drinking. The Council retired him on 10 June and he was replaced the following day by Marx Hofmann. StAZ E.II.464.

Sources: ZPB. p.250, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1056, 1391. StAZ. E.II.108, 34,34v. J. Bächtold, *Deutsch Literatur in der Schweiz*, (1887), p.293-97. HBL. II. p.778ff. *Zwingliana*, IV, 337.

HBBW. II, 244, 252, 292/4, III, 80, 98-100, 209..

Name: Erni, Konrad

b.? b.1560

Parishes: Originally a chaplain in the St. Anna chapel in Stammheim. After 1527 he was a dean in the same chapel.

Synod: May, 1549, Oct., 1550.

Case: Erni reported to the Synod the complaints of the people in his chapter concerning the failure of ministers to uphold the church ordinances. The Synod told the deans that they were to be diligent in ensuring obedience to these ordinances. StAZ. E.II.357.366.

Sources: Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1414, A. Farner, *Geschichte der Kirchgemeinde Stammheim*, (1911) p.209, ZPB. 257.

Name: Etter, Adam Othmar

b.1490 **d.**1565

Parishes: In 1524 he became minister in Trüllikon, then in 1528 in Burg near Stein am Rhein, 1544 in Hettlingen and chaplain in Neftenbach. In 1545 he served in Buch am Irchel.

Synod: May, 1547, May, 1550, Oct., 1553, Oct. 1556, May and Oct., 1561, Oct, 1564.

Case: In his numerous appearances before the Synod Etter was described as a contentious man who treated his parishioners badly. This problem became worse as he grew older. In 1564 he was said to be too old to look after his parish. StAZ.E.II.336.360. 409.449.450.496/7.543.

Sources: ZPB. p.262

Name: Falb, Severus

B.? d.1552

Parishes: Ord. 1537, minister in Zurzach, 1546 in Maschwanden, resigned 1552.

Synod: Oct., 1552.

Case: In 1552 the Synod had received a request from the dean of the Freiamt chapter that an assistant be appointed for Falb who was unable to look after his parish. On December 10 the Council appointed Heinrich Dickenmann to replace Falb. StAZ. E.II.389-390.

Sources: ZPB. p.267, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1484, StAZ. E.I.76 n.7. StAZ. E.II.108, 4v.

Name: Falkenstein, Peter

b.? d.1583

Parishes: Ord. 1549, 1550 in Töb, 1552 chapter assistant in Winterthur, 1553 minister in Wiesendangen.

Synod: May, 1553

Case: Falkenstein had had some disagreement with his parishioners and another minister was serving in his place. The Synod was told that he had treated a poor man shamefully and Falkenstein's examiners had found his answers unsatisfactory. The Synod proposed to write to the Vogt of Kyburg to determine what had happened and what ought to be done about the parish. StAZ. E.II.I.404/5.

Sources: ZPB. p.267. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.226.

Name: Fallenberg, Philipp

b.? d.1589

Parishes: Ord. 1554, in the same year was minister in Albisrieden; in 1555 he was nominated for parish of Maschwanden but not chosen; 1555 he became minister in Tegerfelden, in 1558 he was nominated for the two parishes of Bülach and Horgen but was not chosen for either, 1559 nominated to Dinhard, but the Council appointed him to Griefensee, 1559-1565 Schwerzenbach. The Synod nominated him for Muir in 1568 but he was appointed to Volketswil 1568-71. He was not chosen for either the parish of Pfäffikon in 1571 or Küsnacht in 1579. Resigned 1587.

Synod: Oct., 1565, Oct., 1571.

Case: Fallenberg was reported to the Synod for his unsympathetic behaviour. The local Vogt made an investigation and Fallenberg promised to improve himself. In 1571 the Synod noted he was looking after both Volketswil and Griefensee and that one of the 'expectanten' should be appointed to one of these parishes. This situation had arisen when the Synod and Council attempted in 1568 to do something about the complaints against Gebhart Studer in Volketswil. The Council asked Fallenberg to look after the parish in addition to his own. StAZ. E.II.I.560.625.

Sources: ZPB.267, StAZ. E.II.108, 19,20,36,38,39v,41, 42,105v,107v,133,163v,183v, *Marburger Matrikel*, III p.11 (1550), StAZ. E.II.356, 892. 1552, 1547-51 361.281.

Name: Farner, Michael

b.? d.1562

Parishes: He was ordained a Leutpriester in 1516, 1521 priest in Stammheim, then in the same year chaplain in Diessenhofen. In 1529 he became the minister in Basadingen, Thurgau. Then in 1536 he was in Rüti, and 1542 in Dürnten.

Synod: Oct., 1557.

Case: Farner was called before the Synod to answer for his behaviour. He was fighting in the community and not looking after the parish. The Synod recommended to the Council that another be put in the parish to replace Farner, and on 25 October, 1557, Hartmann Hamberger was chosen to take up the parish of Dürnten.

Sources: ZPB. p.268. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 163, StAZ. E.I.2.1a (Synodalia) (1558). Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.40,42. H. Stucki, *Bürgermeister Hans Rudolf Lavater*, p.139. *HBBW*. IV. 150, 395, 399, 396.

Name: Fäsi, Johannes

b.1539 d.1586

Parishes: Examined in 1556 and was ordained in 1557, 1558 he was nominated for parish of Fällanden before becoming an assistant in Niederwenigen, 1562 minister in Steinmaur, resigned 1578.

Synod: Oct., 1578.

Case: In 1578 the Synod was told that Fäsi was seriously ill and unable to look after his parish. It recommended to the Council that he be pensioned off and

replaced. The Council released Fäsi from the parish of Steinmaur on 25 October, 1578. StAZ. E.II.691.

Sources: ZPB. p.265. StAZ. E.II.108, 23v,34,176v.

Name: Fehr, Balthasar (also named Schuler)

b.? d.1558

Parishes: 1523-58 minister in Berg.

Synod: Oct.,1545, Oct., 1553, May, 1555, May, 1557.

Case: In 1545 Fehr was quarrelling with Hans Gumprecht over a matter pertaining to the parish income. The Synod warned that their quarrel was grounds for dismissal and they were admonished to settle the dispute. Fehr was reported in 1553 as not holding services and of having an unruly wife. By 1555 he was said to be so ill that he could not look after the parish. In 1557 he was reported with B. Kuchmeister for not holding children's catechism. StAZ. E.II.321,408/9.423.456.

Sources: Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1391, *Zwingliana* II, p.453. ZPB. p.269. HBBW.IV, 169. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.205.

Name: Finsler, Benedict

b.1500 d.1556

Parishes: Ord. 1529, assistant in Albisrieden, 1530 Provisor in the Fraumünster, 1533 assistant in Niederweningen. 1541 minister in Buchberg, 1554 in Otelfingen.

Synod: May, 1555, Oct., 1556.

Case: Finsler was said in 1555 to have set a bad example from the pulpit with his preaching. In 1556 he was reported as being ill and not looking his parish. On 20 December Finsler was retired by the Council on account of his illness. The parish was described as being in very poor shape. StAZ. E.II.234.427.451.

Sources: ZPB. p.270, HBLs. III, p.158. StAZ. E.II.108, 14v,15, 24.

Name: Forrer, Konrad

b.? d.1594

Parishes: Ord. 1562, in the same year was minister in Winterthur.

Synod: May, 1565, Oct.,1578.

Case: Dr. Forrer was disciplined by the Synod for preaching unacceptable doctrines. He was reported as teaching that there was no miracle in the flowing of blood and water from the side of Christ on the cross, that the flesh and not the soul sins, and that Peter did not sin against the Holy Ghost. In 1578 the Synod was still suspicious of his teachings and requested that he be examined. He wrote two letters to the Synod defending his positions and claiming the orthodoxy of his preaching. StAZ. E.II.550/1.691. StAZ. E.II.1a.693/4.695-8.

Sources: ZPB. p.274, HBLs.III p.201, StAZ. E.II.143. 1544, .381.1443 1582.

References: 136,137.

Name: Frey, Adam

b.1530 d.1589

Parishes: Ord. 1553, 1554 minister in Albisrieden and in Hausen. In 1557 he was nominated by the Synod for the parish of Dürnten but was not chosen, 1560 in Trüllikon, and 1562 in Rifferswil.

Synod: May, 1565

Case: Was travelling to Dietikon and abandoning his own church on Sundays. Told by the Synod that he must attend to his church. StAZ. E.II.550.

Sources: ZPB.279, StAZ E.II.108, 14v,15v,30. *Basler Matrikel*, II, p.59 1548/9. Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.74,

References: 191**Name:** Frey, Johannes**b.**1538 **d.**1607**Parishes:** Ord. 1560, 1562 minister in Weiach and assistant in Kappel, 1566 in Meilen.**Synod:** Oct., 1575**Case:** Frey was reported in the Synod as having committed an offence with a young woman. The Synod requested that the matter be investigated and put right; Frey was told to undertake to reform himself. StAZ. E.II.1.657.**Sources:** ZPB. p.280, HBLs III, p.247.**Name:** Gachnang, Joachim von (or Gachlinger)**b.?** **d.**1542**Parishes:** Priest in Elgg, 1530 minister in Maschwanden.**Synod:** May, 1540, May, 1543.**Case:** In 1540 Gachnang appeared before the Synod to answer to a long list of serious accusations against his ministry. He was said to have not used ordinary bread in the celebration of the Lord's Supper; he had used wafers with images of the mass, which he had baked himself. Finally, there was the accusation that he had had adulterous relationships with three women, and that his own wife had left him. Gachnang managed to gather support amongst his community and defended himself against the charges. To the charge of mistreating and abusing his wife, he replied that they had only appeared to be fighting because she was deaf and he had to shout to be heard. The Synod had little sympathy with Gachnang's defence and recommended that he be dismissed. Gachnang came to the Synod of 1543 with numerous witnesses that he had improved himself seeking to be restored to the ministry. However, as his examiners were not wholly satisfied with him, the Synod was reluctant to forgive him. StAZ. E.II.1.239-42.291/2.**Sources:** Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1629, Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.33. ZPB. p.290.**References:** 170,171,173.**Name:** Gachnang, Thomas von (also Goldenberger)**b.**1485 **d.**1567**Parishes:** 1520 -1566 minister in Ossingen.**Synod:** May, 1534, May, 1536, Oct., 1554, May and Oct. 1564, May and Oct., 1565, May, 1566.**Case:** Gachnang first came before the Synod in 1534 to explain reports that he had struck his wife in public at the Fastnacht before Pentecost. The Synod asked the local Vogt to look into the matter. The report which came to the Synod in 1536 described Gachnang as not possessing any self-discipline and of not studying. Gachnang was said to be irresponsible in parish visitations and in his preaching. In 1554 he was warned again for his lack of attention to parochial duties. By 1565 he was described in the the Synod as old and foolish. However, in 1566 the Synod appealed to the Council on Gachnang's behalf asking that he be retired honourably on account of his lengthy service to the church through forty years. StAZ.E.II.1.147,203,420. 529.550.559/60.**Sources:** ZPB. p.290, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1391, 1714, 1757, StAZ. E.I.Ia, 1564. StAZ.E.II.108, 81v,84v. HBLs. III, 368. HBBW II, 278.**References:** 173.**Name:** Göldi, Hans Kaspar**b.?** **d.**1588

Parishes: Examined in 1560 and ordained in 1563, in the same year Albisrieden and teacher in Zürich school, 1564 in Dietikon-Urdorf, 1571 in Zollikon, 1583 dean in Fraumünster.

Synod: May, 1571, May, 1580.

Case: Göldi was extremely fond of drink and his over indulgence was causing great problems in his parish. He was reported in the Synod as often travelling into the city to imbibe. He was told to abstain from alcohol. In 1580 the Synod heard a similar report of Göldi's character from the examiners and it decided to write to the Vogt concerning him. StAZ.E.II.611, StAZ. E.II.Ia.721.

Sources: ZPB. p.299.

Name: Göldi, Johannes

b.? d.1598

Parishes: Ord. 1560, in the same year assistant in Küsnacht, 1566 minister in Stäfa, 1568 in Maur.

Synod: Oct., 1569, May, 1574, May, 1578, Oct.,1578, Oct.,1580.

Case: In 1569 the Synod warned Göldi about his drinking and unwillingness to study, which he denied. Five years later Göldi was said to be drinking and eating with both the important people (*hauptlüthen*) and the farmers. Also there was discord (*zerwürffnus*) between him and a member of his parish. Göldi denied the accusations of drunkenness and called upon the Synod to produce evidence that he was not preaching the word of God. He was told by the Synod to improve so that such poor accounts of his behaviour did not come to future sessions. In 1578 he fell foul with the Synod again, this time for wearing improper clothing. The Synod and the local Vogt wrote to Göldi in 1580 concerning the bad state of his household. There was no reply to their letter and he was warned again. StAZ. E.II.I.599.647.682.686. StAZ. E.II.Ia.721.

Sources: ZPB. p.299. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.85.

Name: Goldschmid, Johannes Rudolf

b. d.1591

Parishes: 1548 Provisor in Winterthur, he was ordained in 1552 and served as a teacher in Bischofzell. Later in 1552 he was in Witikon, 1554 in Affoltern a. A., 1564 in Lindau.

Synod: May, 1565, May, 1572

Case: Goldschmid was said to be doing the work of a farmer and not of a minister. He studied little and came to the Synod meetings in a work shirt (*iüppli*). He was little concerned with parish work and the Synod warned him that he had an obligation to the parish given him by the Council. He was to live in the parish house and not in a farmhouse. In 1572 the Synod was informed that Goldschmid was an avaricious (*gytigen*) man when it came to financial dealings in the community. StAZ. E.II.I.551.636.

Sources: ZPB. p.300

Name: Graab, Blasius

b.? d.1566

Parishes: From 1529 he was minister in Fischenthal, , 1546 Hombrechtikon. Resigned in 1566.

Synod: May, 1566

Case: In 1566 he was said to be over seventy years old and unable to look after his parish. StAZ. E.II.I.563.

Sources: ZPB. p.301, Egli, *Actensammlung*,1818. StAZ. E.II.108, 81v.

Name: Grebel, Petronius

b.1534 d.1574

Parishes: Examined and ordained in 1562, 1563 minister in Wetzikon, 1573-74 vicar in Witikon.

Synod: Oct., 1564, May, 1565, May, 1566, May, 1568, May, 1569, May, 1570, May and Oct., 1571.

Case: Grebel appeared before the Synod on numerous occasions for a variety of offences including drinking (He was found to be running a tavern from his house), refusing to study, a poor household (his wife was said to be a whore). On 4 August 1569 Grebel was removed from the parish of Wetzikon and was replaced the next day by the Council by Jesajas Wecker. After his return to the ministry, the Synod warned him in the attempt to get him to improve himself. He spent some time in jail before he was finally dismissed from his parish in 1571. His application for reconciliation in the same year was refused, though he was later restored to office. StAZ.E.II.I.544.552.565/6.594.597. 605.604.626.

Sources: ZPB.303. StAZ. E.II.108, 52,63,130,139v,149v,151v.

References: 216,252,264

Name: Gumprecht, Johannes

b.? d. after 1555

Parishes: An assistant in Waldshut, 1526 minister in Rafz, 1542 in Dietikon-Urdorf, 1544 in Flaach.

Synod: May, 1543, Oct., 1545, May and Oct., 1549, Oct., 1551, May, 1552.May, 1553.

Case: Gumprecht was in trouble with the Synod in 1545 for quarrelling and fighting with Balthasar Fehr of Berg. The Synod told the two ministers that they were to settle their dispute. His drinking and failure to perform services brought him a warning that he might be dismissed from his parish if he did not improve. He was warned again by the Synod, but by 1551 he was still said to be drinking heavily and behaving in a ridiculous manner. He was recommended for dismissal by the Synod of May, 1552. In October the Synod reproved him for approaching it so soon to ask for forgiveness, he was said to be guilty of impudence.

Gumprecht seems to have remained in the parish of Flaach as he appears as one of the witnesses in the case of Balthasar Kuchmeister. StAZ.

E.II.I.151.292.320.349/50.356.374a.377.387.406.

Sources: ZPB. p.310, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1391, 1757, StAZ. E.I.320 (1545), StAZ. E.II.359,2744 (correspondence between Johannes Kambli and Bullinger concerning Gumprecht) 1534. StAZ. E.I.1.3b. (1555). *HBBW* IV, 169-170.

References: 248.

Name: Gwerb, Rudolf

b.1483 d.1563

Parishes: Became a priest in 1507, 1508 cantor in Grossmünster, 1510 chaplain in St. Peter's, 1517 assistant and 1527 minister in Kilchberg. Wounded in battle of Kappel. 1541 in Glattfelden, retired 1559.

Synod: Oct.,1559

Case: In 1559 was reported as being too old to look after his parish of Glattfelden. StAZ. E.II.I.452.

Sources: ZPB. p.312, *HBL* IV, p.26. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1414, 1577, 1714. H. Willi, *Geschichte auf Kilchberg*, p.177. *HBBW* III, 104.

Name: Haar, Hans Heinrich

b.? d.1597

Parishes: Ord. 1551, 1552 Spanweid (?), 1558 Lufingen, 1566 Russikon.

Synod: Oct., 1565, May, 1566.

Case: In 1565 Haar made a supplication to the Synod concerning his parish house in Lufingen. In 1566 the Synod decided that he ought to be examined. StAZ. E.II.1.560.565.

Sources: ZPB. p. 313

Name: Halm, Hans von

b.? d.1560

Parishes: Ord. 1548, 1549 minister in Weiach, 1552 assistant in Kappel, was then minister again in Weiach, 1556 in Bonstetten.

Synod: May, 1558.

Case: Dismissed by the Synod in 1558 and sentenced by the Council to spend time in Wellenberg for his drunkenness, carelessness and his poor treatment of his wife. StAZ. E.II.1.463.

Sources: ZPB. p.319, Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.65,78. H.U. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.161.

Name: Hamberger, Hartmann

b.1528 **d.**1608

Parishes: Ord. 1549, 1551 minister in Dietikon-Urdorf, 1552 in Schwerzenbach, 1559 in Dürnten, in 1561 made a dean.

Synod: May and Oct., 1561, Oct., 1568, Oct., 1569.

Case: As dean of Dürnten he reported to the Oct. 1561 Synod on the presence of Anabaptists in his chapter and the terrible state of poor relief. He argued that there was too much for him to attend to. In 1568 Hamburger reported on the extent of non-attendance at church and the reasons for it which he attributed to dancing and the general low level of moral behaviour. The following year he reported to the Synod once again on the manner in which marriage ceremonies were continuing out of hand despite the Synod and Council's efforts. StAZ. E.II.1.595II.598/9.

Sources: ZPB. p.319, HBLs IV.p.67. StAZ. E.II.108, 2v. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.181, 248, 252.

Name: Hausheer, Heinrich

b.? d.1574

Parishes: He came from Aargau and was ordained in 1531 in Zürich, and then was minister in Rorbus from 1533 until he retired in 1566.

Synod: May, 1555, May, 1560, May, 1566

Case: Hausheer was accused of arriving late in the pulpit to preach and of mishandling the Lord's Supper so badly that many in the parish chose not to attend. Hausheer defended himself by saying that he had only been a half hour late and had not been in the tavern. He also claimed to be amazed by the reports of a lack of discipline surrounding the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Hausheer was warned to uphold the mandate on church attendance and preaching. He was to bring God's Word to the people. To resolve the problems with the Eucharist, he was told that he ought to prepare the people in the two weeks before the celebration in the proper reception of the sacrament. In 1566 the Synod was told that Hausheer was too old to look after his parish; the Synod was to ask the Council to retire him from Rorbus. StAZ. E.II.1.425,484,563/4.

Sources: ZPB. p.323.

References: 148,170.

Name: Hausheer, Jos

b. ? d.1580

Parishes: Ord. 1564, in same year minister in Weiach, 1565 in Schwerzenbach.

Synod: Oct., 1573, Oct., 1576, May, 1577, Oct., 1578.

Case: In 1573 Hausheer was reported for his unseemly behaviour in wearing armour and carrying around a large sword. This was said to be only one of many abuses which included his lack of learning. He was examined in the 1576 Synod where problems concerning his wife and household were investigated and found to be considerable. He was removed from his parish by the Council on 11 May, 1577, and the Synod rejected in 1578 his wish to be reconciled with it. StAZ. E.II.I.644/45.664, StAZ E.II.Ia.675.692.

Sources: ZPB. p.324. StAZ. E.II.108, 172. *Basler Matrikel*, II, p.134.

Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.217.

References: 247.

Name: Hauser, Johannes (Huser)

b.? **d.** after 1569

Parishes: Ord. 1554, first in Hirzel, then minister in Weiach. Then went to Germany where he died of the plague.

Synod: May and Oct. 1560, Oct., 1561, Oct., 1562, May, 1564, May and Oct., 1565, May, 1567, May, 1568.

Case: Hauser was continually before the Synod during his ministry for his drinking and his treatment of his wife and family. Although he promised to improve himself, the Synod lost patience with him in 1565 and recommended that he be put in Wellenberg. In 1568 the Synod once again stated he should either be put in Wellenberg or be dismissed from his parish. He was presumably dismissed because he applied in 1569 to the Council to be reinstated to the Synod. StAZ E.II.I.483.488.495.511.543.544.559.575.593.

Sources: ZPB. p.322, StAZ.E.II.355.(correspondence)185. 1566. StAZ.

E.II.108, 23v,103v,130.

Name: Hauser, Konrad

b.? **d.** 1582

Parishes: Ord. 1576, in same year minister in Hirzel, died of the plague.

Synod: Oct., 1578.

Case: The Synod commented in 1578 that Hauser had altered the hour and day of worship in his community and that the Council ought to be informed of this. StAZ. E.Ia.691

Sources: ZPB. p.323. *Basler Matrikel*, II. p.217, 1572/3.

Name: Hegner, Jakob (Häginer)

b.? **d.** 1566

Parishes: Ord. 1534, minister in Altstetten from 1534. in 1559 he was nominated by the Synod for the parish of Birmensdorf but was not chosen.

Synod: May, 1534, May, 1560

Case: In 1534 Hegner spoke against Niklaus Steiner of eschewing his parish duties through absenteeism, however in the same year Hegner was also accused of such an offence. In 1534 he was also said to spend much of his time in the taverns where he was leading astray the local farmers, whose work was suffering as a result. The Synod in 1560 was told of Hegner's wretched preaching. StAZ. E.II.I.146/7.483.

Sources: ZPB. p.326. StAZ. E.II.108, 40v,82v. *HBBW*. IV. 361.365.366.

References: 243,244.

Name: Heniger, Michael

b. **d.**

Parishes: Flaach

Synod: May, 1540, May, 1541.

Case: The Synod was told that Heniger's wife was very fond of drink, and that her behaviour was so bad that she frequently did not come home. The Vogt of Kyburg was told by the Synod that he was to write to Heniger telling him to control his wife. In 1541 Heniger was said to still not be disciplining his wife, and the case was causing an outrage amongst the people in the parish. The warnings to Heniger from his fellow ministers had likewise gone unheeded. StAZ. E.II.I.243/4.266.

Sources:

Name: Herter, Andreas

b.? d.1557

Parishes: Ord. 1535, 1537-57 minister in Wüflingen.

Synod: May, 1546

Case: Herter was described together with Hans Lang of Velten as being undiligent, and both were told that they were to read more books. Their lack of diligence was causing unrest in their parishes. They were both threatened with dismissal. StAZ. E.II.I.328.

Sources: ZPB. p.332

Name: Herter, Johannes (son of Andreas)

b.? d.1573

Parishes: Ord. 1545, 1546 minister in Weiningen, 1549 in Pfungen, 1551 in Schwamendingen and also Provisor to the Carolinum, 1564 minister in Gachnang.

Synod: May and Oct. 1546,

Case: Herter was warned with Kopf of Dietikon about the fact that neither was living in his parish. Both ministers were residing in the city, and the Synod discussed the importance of ministers residing in their parishes. StAZ. E.II. I.344.360.

Sources: ZPB. p.333

Name: Herter, Joachim (brother of Johannes above)

b.? d.1585

Parishes: Ord. 1565, minister in Stadel, in same year moved to Witikon, 1566 assistant in Niederweningen, and again minister in Stadel, 1567 minister in Wüflingen, died of the plague.

Synod: May and Oct., 1579

Case: The Synod in 1579 engaged in a long debate over Herter's behaviour because he seems to have caused problems on various fronts. He was told that he must attend the Synod meetings, not dispute with the helpers in his parish and not quarrel with the civil officials. Herter defended his position in the Synod with vigour maintaining he had caused no offence. The Synod records allow that he was not quarrelsome in the meetings, but that he ought to be written to and admonished about his behaviour. StAZ. E.II.Ia.708.

Sources: ZPB. p.333.

Name: Hirt, Matthias

b.? d.1565

Parishes: He was ordained in 1562 and in the same year was an assistant in Pfäffikon.

Synod: Oct., 1562

Case: Hirt was not diligent in his studying. The people of his parish found him haughty and proud and they had little desire to hear his sermons. Their complaints

had come to the Synod, but it was not able to question Hirt as he had not been attending. StAZ. E.II.1.513

Sources: ZPB. p.338.

Name: Hirzgartner, Leodegar

b.1524 d.1567

Parishes: Ord. 1544, in the same year Provisor to the Carolinum and minister in Schwamendingen, 1547 minister in Laufen, retired 1562.

Synod: May 1557, Oct., 1561.

Case: In 1557 the Synod was told that Hirzgartner was a good minister but too ill to look after the parish and that a recommendation ought to be made to the Council for him to be retired and taken care of. In 1561 he was still in the parish of Laufen and ill, and his wife was said to be avoiding the church when the sick attended. In 1562 he was retired by the Council and replaced by Gregor Seebach. StAZ. E.II.1.456.495/96.

Sources: ZPB. p.343. HBL.S.IV.p.229. *Basler Matrikel*, (1543-44), p.35.

References: 224,225.

Name: Hirzgarter, Mathias

b.1490 d.1563

Parishes: From 1517 assistant in St. Peter's, 1519 minister in Winterthur. From 1537-59 he was a dean.

Synod: May, 1549, May, 1553.

Case: Hirzgarter made several reports to the Synod concerning the presence of Anabaptists in his parish and of the disruption they were causing. The Synod took note of his information and told him to write to the Council in Winterthur. StAZ. E.II.1.380.406.

Sources: ZPB. p.343, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1391,1757. *HBBW*. IV. p.223/4. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.42.

References: 225.

Minister: Hönngger, Wilhelm

b.? d.1582

Parishes: Ord. 1569, 1570 minister in Mogelsberg (St. Gall), 1570 in Hausen.

Synod: Oct., 1572, May, 1574, May, 1575.

Case: Hönngger was suspended from his parish in 1572 because of his negligence and drinking. The Synod was told that he had no love for the church. In 1574 he was back in Hausen and the Synod was told of his not holding child instruction and of his wine drinking. He was dismissed from the parish in 1575 and went to Solothurn. StAZ. E.II.1.638/9.647.652.

Sources: ZPB. p.345, StAZ. E.II.479 23 1564. *Basler Matrikel*, II.p.159 1565/6. There is a document from the examiners' report to the Zürich Council concerning Hönngger citing evidence from the abbot of St. Gall. StAZ. E.I.1.4. Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.48,73,80. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.220

Name: Höw, Hans Konrad

b.? d.1565

Parishes: He was ordained in 1558 and in the same year was minister in Hirzel before moving to Winterthur to be a chapter assistant.

Synod: May, 1562

Case: In 1562 the Synod noted briefly that Höw was dismissed on account of adultery. StAZ. E.II.1.509.

Sources: ZPB. p.346, *Marburger Matrikel*, IV, 1, 1557.

Name: Hug, Felix

b.1531 **d.**1597

Parishes: Ord. 1556 and immediately became an assistant in Kappel. In 1559 he was nominated unsuccessfully for the parish of Birmensdorf. In 1562 he became the minister in Mettmenstetten.

Synod: May, 1571

Case: Hug's name was one of the three put forward by the Synod for the position of dean of the Freiamt in 1571, though he was not chosen by the Council. StAZ. E.II.I.612

Sources: ZPB. p.359, StAZ. E.II.108, 40v. Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.66,95.

Name: Hug, Johannes

b. ? **d.**1563

Parishes: From 1524 Leutpriester in Höngg, 1537-63 dean.

Synod: May, 1549, Oct., 1556, Oct., 1560.

Case: Hug was a well respected minister and dean of Bäretswil and Höngg. As dean he reported to the Synod in 1549 of the desperate plight of the wife and children of a deceased minister. Hug urged the Synod to recommend to the Council that something be done to look after these families of ministers, for their poverty was causing shame to the church in the parishes. In 1556 he reported that the people of Rafz wanted another minister because their's was drinking, and in 1560 he made an important contribution to the debate over drinking with his report to the Synod on the situation in his chapter. StAZ. E.II.I.351.453.486/87.

Sources: ZPB. p.360, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1268, 1391, 1714. StAZ.

E.II.3a.1550 (Zürcher Religionssachen). Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.65.

Name: Hug, Johannes

b.? **d.**1574

Parishes: Ord. 1555, minister in Hirzel, then nominated for parish of Kilchberg in 1556, however he was appointed in the same year by the Council as assistant in Bülach. Again in same year he moved to be minister in Marthalen, 1570 in Glarus.

Synod: May, 1566

Case: The Synod noted in 1566 that Hug was a good and true minister labouring under difficult circumstances. He was looking after the parishes of Marthalen and Rheinau and had expressed the desire for a better income to sustain his work, though he wished to remain where he was. StAZ. E.II.I.564.

Sources: ZPB. p.360. StAZ. E.I.3.b. (30 December, 1558).

Name: Hüsli, Rudolf

b.? **d.**1600

Parishes: Ord. 1553, minister in Albisrieden, Rafz and since 1554 minister in Töb. In 1555 he was minister in Weiach, 1557 Zollikon and then in 1559 in Dinhard.

Synod: May, 1556.

Case: Hüsli was removed from his parish of Töb and placed in Wellenberg for preaching a highly critical sermon on the Council's treatment of the poor and the distribution of poor relief. The dean of the Freiamt defended Hüsli on the grounds that the sermon contained nothing contrary to the Word of God. Hüsli's case became the focus of a bitter controversy between the church and the Council on the questions of church goods and and the freedom of preaching for ministers. He was moved from Weiach to Zollikon on account of his large family. StAZ.

E.II.I.443-45.

Sources: ZPB. p.358. StAZ. E.II.102, 73-74. (A copy of Hüsli's sermon).
 StAZ. E.II.102, 110-117, May, 1556. (Bullinger's *Fürtrag* in Hüsli's defence).
 StAZ. E.II.375, 481. (Letter of Jakob Rüeger (Schaffhausen) to Bullinger, 3 Jan.
 1556). HBLs. IV. p.311.
References: 137,138,139.

Name: Iberger, Andreas

b.? **d.**

Parishes: He was examined in August, 1569, then was minister in Dußlingen and Bischelsee.

Synod: Oct., 1575

Case: Iberger was described in the Synod as being an adulterer, a whoremonger, and drunkard. His life was an utter disgrace and the Synod decided to write to his Vogt in Thurgau to find out about him. StAZ. E.II.1.658.

Sources:

Name: Iberger, Wolfgang

b.1498 **d.**1576

Parishes: 1533 minister in Wangen, 1536 minister in Pfäffikon.

Synod: Oct., 1533, May, 1573

Case: Iberger was dismissed for his adulterous relations with another woman who became pregnant. In 1573 he was reported in the Synod as being old and not preaching against the blasphemy and slanderous language which was widespread in his parish. It was necessary for assistants from other parishes to help him.

Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1988, p.877. StAZ. E.II.1.642.

Sources: ZPB. p.362. StAZ. E.II.108, 163v.

Name: Ith, Otmar

b.? **d.** after 1536

Parishes: Ord. 1531, 1532 minister in Hedingen.

Synod: May, 1533, May, 1536.

Case: Was told by the 1533 to study more and not behave badly in the taverns with the farmers. In 1536 he was said to be fighting in the taverns. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1941, p.854, StAZ. E.II.1.203.

Sources: ZPB. p.365, Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.71,78.

References: 239.

Name: Jager, Josua (Jeger)

b.? **d.**1587

Parishes: 1551 minister in Weiach, in same year minister in Pfungen, 1558 in Mülheim, Thurgau.

Synod: May, 1552, May, 1555, May, 1572, Oct., 1573, Oct., 1575, May, 1579.

Case: Jager had wanted to succeed his father to the church in Winterthur and the Synod expressed its displeasure with this attempt to keep the office within the family. In 1555 the Synod considered the terrible state of the parish house in Pfungen and Jager was told to tend to it. In several appearances before the Synod in the 1570s Jager was found to be involved in adultery; a request to the Synod that it dismiss him from the ministry which was answered by a statement that it did not possess the authority to dismiss any one. Jager came to the Synod in 1573 seeking its forgiveness and he brought as a witness his brother in law, Joachim Herter. The Synod, aware that Herter's own record was not unblemished, told him to bring a better witness. In 1575 Jager was able to produce character witnesses who were ministers and parish officials in Thurgau, and the Synod

passed this information on to the Council. StAZ E.II.I.388.424.637.645. StAZ. E.II.Ia.702/3.

Sources: *ZPB*. p.366, StAZ E.II.359. 3i04, 1573. *HBBW* IV, 147f. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.315.

Name: Jud, Leo

b.1482 **d.**1542

Parishes: He was a minister in St. Pilf in Alsace, then an assistant in St. Theodor in Basel, and again in St. Pilf. In 1518 he was an assistant in Einsiedeln, and later a Leutpriester in Einsiedeln, 1523 became minister in St. Peter's in Zürich.

Synod: May, 1535

Case: Jud was told by the Synod to be more diligent in his preaching and not to become involved in activities which were not useful to the church. StAZ E.II.I.193.

Sources: *ZPB*. p.367-8. *HBBW*.I, 55.

Name: Kaufmann, Emanuel

b.? **d.**1556

Parishes: Ord. 1553, 1551 sub assistant in St. George's church in Winterthur, 1553 chapter dean in Winterthur.

Synod: May, 1554

Case: Kaufmann was given a severe warning by the Synod about neglecting the school in his parish. StAZ E.II.I.413

Sources: *ZPB*. p.372.

Name: Kaufmann, Erasmus (brother of Emanuel above)

b.? **d.**1606

Parishes: Examined and ordained in 1568, 1569 chapter assistant in Winterthur, 1573 minister in Wülfigen.

Synod: May, 1576

Case: The Synod was told in 1576 that Kaufmann kept a good household but that his learning was deficient and that he did not study. StAZ.E.II.I.660

Sources: *ZPB*. p.372. StAZ. E.II.108, 107v,111v,141v. StAZ. E.II.479, 25, 1565.

Name: Keller, Diethelm

b.? **d.**1568

Parishes: Ord. 1536, 1537 Provisor to Fraumünster, 1541 minister in Maur. In 1564 he was nominated for the deanship of Wetzikon, but t was not chosen. He resigned 1566.

Synod: May, 1547, Oct., 1550, Oct., 1564, May, 1565.

Case: Keller was warned in 1547 about not keeping a good house, his clothing and his overly frequent journeys to the city. In 1550 Keller requested that the Synod arrange for him to have some assistance in his parish. StAZ.

E.II.I.337.365.551.

Sources: *ZPB*. p.375. StAZ. E.II.108, 105v. *HBBW*.III, 261.

Name: Keller, Fridolin

b.? **d.**1575

Parishes: Was first vicar and then minister in Regensberg, 1532 in Zurzach, 1537 in Rümlang.

Synod: May, 1555, Oct., 1556.

Case: Just before Easter in 1537 Keller had been dismissed from his parish on account of an adulterous relationship. In the same year he returned to the Council asking to be reconciled to the Synod. In 1555 Keller was warned for his laziness and refusal to do the things expected of a minister. A year later there was little improvement and Keller received another admonition. StAZ E.II.428/9.453 also a letter from Keller to the Synod in 1555.

Sources: ZPB. p.375. StAZ. E.II.108, 155. HBBW.IV, 147.

Name: Keller, Hans (Krug)

b.? d.1552

Parishes: Since 1530 minister in Weningen, 1536 moved to Zollikon.

Synod: May, 1551

Case: The abbot of Einsiedeln first raised an objection to Keller when he asked the Zürich Council to remove him from the parish of Weiningen on account of his blasphemous remarks against the mass and his preaching against the *Landfreiden*. The Synod received complaints about his learning together with reports that he was involved in the practice of alchemy. The Synod decided that he was to be examined.

Sources: ZPB. p.375, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1714. HBBW. IV, 99 (Letter from Bullinger to Oswald Myconius, 31 March, 1534).

Name: Keller, Lorenz

b.? d.1567

Parishes: He was ordained in 1559 and was first appointed a schoolmaster in Winterthur; the sub assistant in St. George's in Winterthur, 1566 in Pfungen.

Synod: Oct., 1562

Case: Keller was admonished in the Synod for allowing an organ to be installed in his parish church. The Synod told him that this should not have been allowed. StAZ. E.II.511

Sources: ZPB. p.378, StAZ. E.I.2.1a (Synodalia) 1564. StAZ. E.II.108, 81.

References: 196.

Name: Keller, Mathias

b.? d.1586

Parishes: Ord.1576, 1580 in Seuzach.

Synod: May, 1576.

Case: Keller was put forward with Felix Lavater and Jacob Körner as having taken the oath of office in the May Synod of 1576. StAZ. E.II.659.

Sources: ZPB. p.379, *Basler Matrikel*, II, 240, 1575/6.

Name: Keller, Rudolf

b.? d.1565

Parishes: Ord.1548, minister in Witikon, 1549 in Hirtzel, 1551 in Fischenthal, 1563 in Buchs. In 1563 his name was put forward by the Synod for the parish of Wetzikon, but he was not chosen.

Synod: Oct., 1563

Case: In 1563 Keller was described as not being able to look after his parish on account of his age. Keller was also quite ill and the Synod and Council arranged for him to exchange parishes with Heinrich Notz of Buchs, who was complaining that the income of Buchs was not sufficient to support his family which consisted of numerous children. StAZ. E.II.526.

Sources: ZPB. p.379, StAZ. A7. (Ehegericht) 25 Aug., 1552. StAZ. E.II.108, 62,62v.

Name: Klauser, Konrad

b.? d. after 1552

Parishes: Ord. 1538, in the same year minister in Töb, 1542 in Elsau, 1551 in Wädenswil.

Synod: May, 1542, Oct, 1545

Case: The Synod noted that Klauser had a proud and difficult character and that he was not diligent in admonishing his parishioners. In the October Synod of 1545 Klauser defended himself by stating that he had indeed been preaching and he provided the Synod with an account of his income. However, on 3 August, 1552, he was dismissed from Wädenswil by the Council on account of his behaviour and the ill will he was creating in the community. StAZ. E.II.1.280.

Sources: ZPB. p.385, StAZ. E.II.371, 683 (correspondence) 1556. StAZ. E.II.108, 1v. *Basler Matrikel*, II, 2, 1532/3. HBBW III, 74, 76-78, 186.

References: 185.

Name: Klinger, Konrad

b.? d. 1569

Parishes: He was from Embrach and from 1549 served as assistant in Kilchberg before moving to Rafz in 1556. He further moved to Dättlikon in 1561.

Synod: 1558

Case: Klinger was dismissed in 1558 on account of adultery.

Sources: ZPB. p.385.

Name: Knöul, Jakob

b.? d. 1616

Parishes: He was examined in 1566 and ordained in 1567, in the same year minister in Rafz, 1587 in Laufen, resigned 1616.

Synod: Oct., 1580.

Case: The Synod was told that Knöul's wife was frequently travelling to the monastery at Rheinau and that the people of the parish found this offensive. When asked why she was doing this, Knöul replied that his wife and a senior member of the monastery were cousins and that she was visiting him. The Synod told Knöul that he was to keep his wife at home, and that for the sake of his family and the community she ought to have no contacts with Catholic clergy. StAZ.

E.II.Ia.

Sources: ZPB. p.387.

Name: Kolmar, Jakob

b.? d. 1571

Parishes: 1529 minister in Melingen, 1532 in Stallikon, made a dean in 1562.

Synod: May, 1533, May, 1562

Case: In 1533 Kolmar was said to be running a tavern from his house and it was further reported that the people were frequenting it as if it were an inn. In 1554, as dean of the Freiamt, Kolmar complained to the Synod that his chapter was suffering from the inflow of poor people from the neighbouring canton of Zug. He appealed to the Synod to obtain assistance from the Council. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1941, p.856. StAZ. E.III.509.

Sources: ZPB. p.393. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.251.

Name: Kopf, Hans

b.? d. 1574

Parishes: Ord.1544, in the same year minister in Dietikon-Urdorff, 1548 in Aadorf, became dean of Frauenfeld chapter.

Synod: May and Oct., 1547, May, 1548.

Case: The Synod heard that Kopf kept a terrible house and did not live with his wife as a married man ought to. He had also committed adultery and this was known to the Ehegericht. In the October session the Synod commented that Kopf was still not living properly with his older wife and that his adultery case had been heard in the Ehegericht. The Synod recommended to the Council that Kopf should be removed from his parish of Dietikon. In 1548 he was warned by the Synod for not living in his parish. StAZ. E.II.335.341.344.

Sources: ZPB. p.393. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.314.

References: 262,263.

Name: Körner, Jacob

b.1554 d.1576

Parishes: Ord.1576, minister in Wildhaus; in 1580 he was nominated by the Synod for the parish of Horgen, but was not chosen by the Council, 1582 in Rümlang.

Synod: May, 1576

Case: Körner was recorded as having been sworn in at the May Synod after having been examined on the seventh of April. StAZ.E.II.Ia.659.

Sources: ZPB. p.390. StAZ. E.II.108, 169v,190. StAZ. E.II.479, 36,39, 1570, 1572.

Name: Kübler, Johannes

b. d.

Parishes: Ossingen

Synod: May, 1536

Case: The Synod severely warned Kübler, who was the assistant in Ossingen, that he was to cease from his quarrel with his minister, Thomas Gachnang, which had continued for twelve years and had brought shame on the parish. Kübler was not assisting Gachnang with the holding of the Lord's Supper, and his wife was not receiving the sacrament or coming to the church. The Synod decided that his wife ought to be sent to the Ehegericht and then spend some time in Wellenberg on bread and wine. Gachnang and Kübler were told that they would be removed if they did not resolve their differences. In 1536 Kübler and his wife were attending Catholic services, and the Synod told them to cease travelling to he local monastery. It condemned their attachment with Catholicism. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1988, p.877. StAZ. E.II.I:203/4.

Sources:

References: 173.

Name: Kuchmeister, Balthasar

b.1520 d.1566

Parishes: Ord.1546, in the same year minister in Hirzel, Weiach and Knonau, 1551 minister in Flaach.

Synod: Oct. 1553, May, 1554, Oct., 1555, Oct., 1556, May, 1562.

Case: Kuchmeister was one of the most difficult ministers which the Synod had to deal with during the sixteenth century. In 1553 Kuchmeister was reported by the minister of Berg (Balthasar Fehr) for not holding Sunday services nor the instruction of children. In 1554 he was first reported for his unruly behaviour in his own parish; and in 1555 this contentiousness caused a serious problem when Kuchmeister was reported as having slandered the Vogt of Andelfingen by calling him a 'womanish pig'. Kuchmeister was found guilty of the offence and suspended from his parish and placed in Wellenberg. In 1556 and 1562 he was again in trouble first for not holding the required catechisms for children and secondly for causing great offence to the community for allowing the bread for the Lord's Supper to spoil. Throughout his ministry he was said never to study and

continually to bring his quarrels to the pulpit. StAZ. E.II.I.
408/9.414.435/6.448/9.456/7.508.

Sources: ZPB. p.395, StAZ. E.I.36 (1555), the report of the Stadtschreiber to the Council concerning Kuchmeister. StAZ. E.II. 342.38, 1534 (Bullinger wrote to Oswald Myconius on 27 June, 1534, about Kuchmeister whom Myconius had described as a difficult student.), HBBW. IV. 132,134,219,244. StAZ. E.II. (correspondence) 375,481, 1556, 378,1151, 1566. StAZ. E.II.106, 90,92v. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.169. B. Schneider, *Der Gemeinde Knonau*, p.53.
References: 118,172,248.

Name: Landenberg, Heinrich von
b.? d. after 1537

Parishes: From 1526 he was in Turbenthal.

Synod: May and October, 1533, Oct., 1537.

Case: Landenberg was described as swearing cheating and wandering about the community carrying a large sword. He was not present at services. He was warned by the Synod to improve himself. In 1537 the Synod heard that he had not improved himself and decided that it should no longer be burdened with him. He was told not to come back again. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1941, p.855, 1988, p.877.

Sources: ZPB. p.400, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1414,1941, 1988.

References: 247.

Name: Landenberg, Rudolf von

b. ? d. after 1545.

Parishes: From 1519 chaplain in Albisrieden, and from 1537 minister in Richterswil.

Synod: Oct. 1533, Oct. 1537.

Case: Landenberg had come to Zürich from Wittenberg to serve as a minister. As there was some suggestion of previous moral problems, he was requested to provide the Synod with witnesses to his good character. In 1537 he was admonished for his unseemly clothes. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1988, p.877, StAZ. E.II.I. 226.

Sources: ZPB. p.400, Egli, *Actensammlung* 1414, 1714, 1988.

References: 252.

Name: Landolt, Hans

b.? d.1551

Parishes: He was ordained in 1538 and was in 1540 an assistant in Goßau. In 1548 he went to Tegerfelden in Aargau.

Synod: May and Oct., 1543, May and Oct., 1544, May, 1547, May, 154.

Case: In 1543 Landolt was warned about his drinking and told to avoid the company of the taverns and devote his time to study. In 1544 the Bürgermeister reported to the Synod that Landolt had approached the Council promising to improve himself. However, the complaints against him were of drinking, neglecting his children, of abandoning his home, not studying and of poor relations with his parishioners. He was told that if there was no improvement he would be dismissed. In October of the same year more complaints were heard, this time concerning his carelessness with words and gossiping (*schwätzt vil*), and his infrequent preaching. In 1547 he was again reported for his drinking and swearing, but was dismissed for adultery. He appealed to the Synod in 1548 on the basis of testaments of his improvement from fellow ministers. His petition was accepted and he was made a minister in Aargau. StAZ. E.II.I.

292/3.297.305/6.309.336.344.

Sources: ZPB. p.401

References: 185.

Name: Lang, Johannes

b.? d.1551

Parishes: From 1535 he was minister in Veltheim

Synod: May, 1546

Case: Both Lang and Andreas Herter of Wolflingen were admonished for their lack of diligence towards their parishes. They were told to spend more time reading or they would be dismissed. StAZ. E.II.I.328

Sources: ZPB. p.401

Name: Leeman, Rudolf

b.1540 **d.**1594

Parishes: He was ordained in 1568 and first served as minister in Weiach, in 1569 in Embrach. He died of the plague

Synod: Oct., 1577.

Case: Leeman was said to possess good learning though he and his family were suffering from impoverishment because his parish was not able to sustain a minister with seven children. The Synod recommended to the Council that on account of Leeman's good character he and his family ought to be looked after. StAZ. E.II.Ia.677.

Sources: ZPB. p.405, HBL.S.IV. p.641. *Basler Matrikel*, II, 161, 1565/66. In 1566 he was also in the universities of Heidelberg and Marburg. StAZ. E.II.479, 29, 1567.

References: 267.

Name: Leu, Johannes (Jud)

b. 1528 **d.**1597

Parishes: He was ordained in 1546 and was minister in Hirzel from 1547. In 1549 he moved to Wangen and in 1556 was in Henggart where he also looked after Hettingen for a year. In 1556 he moved to Flaach.

Synod: May, 1547, May, 1553, May, 1560, Oct., 1561, Oct., 1565

Case: Leu was warned for his drinking and in 1553 was sent to spend some time in Wellenberg. He was said to spend most of his time with his drinking companions (*truncken gesellschaft*). In 1560 it was his wife who was reported to the Synod. She was bringing unruly people into the house when he was away; at these occasions there was plenty of drinking and dancing. The Synod recommended that she be sent to Wellenberg. StAZ. E.II.I.335.484.496.560.

Sources: ZPB.p.406.

Name: Lewerer, Gregor

b.? **d.** after 1554

Parishes: Ord.1549, in the same year made minister of Otelfingen.

Synod: May, 1550, Oct. 1551, Oct., 1552, Oct., 1553

Case: In 1550 the Synod heard that Lewerer was not keeping a proper household; his wife had died and the children were being allowed to go undisciplined. The Synod, in 1551, heard that Lewerer kept his household badly and that his wife and children were in a dreadful way. Lewerer's drinking seems to have been the root cause as he was said to lay in the tavern for up to eight days at a time. The Synod told him that if such complaints came again he would be recommended for dismissal. In 1552 this problem was again noted and he was warned again that if he did not cease drinking he would be dismissed. A year later the Synod heard that his drinking was not improving and it asked the Stadtschreiber to write to the under Vogt to ensure that Lewerer did not abandon

his duties. In 1554 Lewerer was dismissed for his drinking. StAZ. E.II.1.360.374.394.409/10.

Sources: ZPB. p.407. StAZ. E.II.108, 15.

References: 266.

Name: Lüthard, Konrad

b.? **d.1564**

Parishes: Ord.1531, first he was a minister in Rüti, 1547 minister in Männedorf, 1549 in Thalwil. He died of the plague.

Synod: Oct., 1558

Case: Lüthard was said to be a wretched preacher whom his own parishioners did not want to hear. He looked after his parish badly, though when he appeared before the Synod in 1558 he argued that he wished to look after the parish and asked the Synod to consider his advanced age. He was removed by the Council from Thalwil in 1559. StAZ. E.II.1.473.

Sources: ZPB. p.414, StAZ. E.I.2.1a (1558) report to the Council concerning Lüthart. StAZ. E.II.108.39v. StAZ. E.II.355, 87-87v. (Letter to Bullinger, 10 July, 1537). HBBW. IV, 149-50,152f, 156,162,359,456f,463f.

Name: Mahler, Josua (Pictorius)

b.1529 **d.1598**

Parishes: 1549 minister in Witikon, 1552 in Elgg, in 1568 made a dean. 1571 in Bischofzell, 1575 again made a dean. In 1580 he was nominated by the Synod for the parish of Horgen but was not chosen by the Council. 1582 he was in Winterthur, where he was also dean from 1595. Finally he went to Glattfelden in 1598 where he was also a dean.

Synod: May, 1571

Case: Mahler's transfer from the chapter of Elgg to Bischofzell in 1571 was obviously a problem for the Synod as some explanation was given as to why it was necessary. StAZ. E.II.1.613.

Sources: ZPB. p.416/17, HBL.S.V. p.7. StAZ. E.II.108, 102,190.

Name: Maler, Hans

b.? **d.1604**

Parishes: From 1574 until 1585 he was minister in Sirnach (Thurgau). In 1596 he was minister in Affeltrangen-Märweil.

Synod: October, 1576

Case: Maler became involved in a dispute with a local abbot who was the patron (*Lehenherr*) to his parish. Maler was warned that he ought cease from quarrelling and maintain his humility (*bescheidenheit*). StAZ. E.II.1.665

Sources: Sulzberger, p.40,47,53,169,182.

Name: Manhart, Martin

b.? **d.1557**

Parishes: In 1514 he was chaplain in Flums, and from 1530 he served as minister in Wald, a position he held until being killed in a fight in 1557.

Synod: May, 1538, May, 1540

Case: In 1538 Manhart's daughter was described as being involved in fighting. Manhart himself was likewise a contentious man who, when told that he ought to have more books, replied that he had enough and didn't want any more. When asked about his bad relations with the local farmers, he replied that it was his daughter's fault. Manhart was also not working well with his assistant, Dietrich Thöny. Manhart was warned by the Synod and his daughter was told to report to the local Ehegaumer. In 1540 the report from the Vogt to the Synod stated that although Manhart's learning was deficient he was quite immodest about it. he was

also fighting with the local monks at Rüti. He was told to come and answer before the Council for his behaviour. StAZ. E.II.I.231/2.244/5.

Sources: ZPB. p.418. HBL.S. V. p.16. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1714,1941,1948. *Freiburger Matrikel*, 1493. HBBW IV, 104, 106-7, 160, 163f, 166.

Name: Menniger, Isaak

b.? d.?

Parishes: He was minister in Burg-Eschenz (Thurgau) from 1571 until 1582 and from 1582- 88 he was minister in Steckborn (Thurgau).

Synod: May, 1572

Case: In 1572 the dean of Stein reported to the Synod that Menniger was neither looking after his parish nor attending the sessions of the Synod. StAZ. E.II.I.637.

Sources: Sulzberger, p.126,136. StAZ. E.II.479, 36, 1569.

Name: Messmer, Thomas

b.? d.1567

Parishes: From 1525 chaplain in the Grossmünster, 1529 and again in 1531 minister in Birmensdorf, 1559-60 assistant in Grossmünster.

Synod: Oct., 1538, May, 1559.

Case: Messmer had a rough relationship with the Synod. He was dismissed from his parish in 1533 and was restored after being examined. In 1538 he was in trouble again over child baptism. In 1559 the Synod stated that he had misused the pulpit and ought to be placed in Wellenberg. On 9 May, 1559, he was dismissed from the parish of Birmensdorf and replaced ten days later by Ulrich Tubbrunner. StAZ. E.II.I.231.477/78.

Sources: ZPB. p.428, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 889, 1414, 1757. StAZ. E.II.108, 40v. Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.38,72,79.

Name: Meyer, Johannes

b.? d.1563

Parishes: 1531 in Wetzikon, 1542-55 in Seegräben.

Synod: Oct., 1553, Oct.,1554,

Case: There was nothing wrong with Meyer's ministry until 1554 when the Synod received petitions from his parish for him to be retired on account of his age. StAZ. E.II.I.410.421.475/6.492

Sources: ZPB. p.433

Name: Meyer, Johannes

b.? d.1582

Parishes: Ord.1551, 1552 minister in Tegerfelden, Aargau, 1555 in Töb, 1561 in Stammheim.

Synod: May, 1554, May, 1556.

Case: Meyer appeared before the Synod in 1554 to explain reports of domestic problems concerning his wife and daughter and another woman who seemed to be causing difficulties for his wife who had complained to the Synod. The Synod decided to write to the Vogt and charge him with finding out from Baden what was going on. In 1556 he was quarrelling with Hans Heinrich Müller at a market day in Catholic Baden. Müller threatened to bring legal action against Meyer. Both were warned by Ruland Zayg, and then threatened with dismissal by the Synod for shaming the church with their public disputes. StAZ. E.II.I.411/2.442.

Sources: ZPB. p.433. StAZ. E.II.108, 50.

Name: Meyer, Lorenz

b.1497 **d.**1564

Parishes: 1523 helper to Leo Jud in St. Peter's, chapter assistant. 1524 minister in Stammheim, 1528 made a dean. 1547 minister in Swanden, Glarus, 1552 minister in Dällikon, 1557 minister in Oberglatt. Died of the plague.

Synod: Oct., 1533, Oct., 1543, May, 1545, May, 1555. Oct.1561

Case: Meyer was a difficult character. In 1533 he was reported as being an unruly person who carried a sword around and wore inappropriate clothing. The Synod spoke of him as setting a bad example to his people with his lack of learning and bad behaviour. In 1543 he was involved in the more serious matter of adultery in which the woman became pregnant. For this he was dismissed from his parish and sent to Wellenberg. In 1555 he petitioned the Synod to be transferred from his parish of Dällikon where he claimed he had no help and was not getting on with the people. The Synod's examination revealed a catalogue of problems such as abusive language against the parishioners and domestic violence. It concluded that Meyer was very much at fault. He was certainly dismissed as the 1561 Synod decided that his life was so bad that it could not recommend to the Council that he be brought back to the ministry. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1988, p.875, StAZ. E.II.1.295/6.315.425/27.

Sources: ZPB.p.434. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 345,414,1391,1988. *Basler Matrikel* II, p.344. StAZ. E.II.108, 2. StAZ E.II.335, 2007 (letter to Bullinger, 9 Nov., 1534) *HBBW*. II. 258, IV. 395-97.

References: 268.

Name: Michael, Heinrich (also Dürst or Tüerst)

b.? **d.**circa 1543

Parishes: He was first in Wetzikon, and then minister in Oetwil from 1526-1536, 1540-42 in Seegräben, and then in 1542 minister in Richterswil.

Synod: Oct, 1535

Case: Michael was described as gluttonous in his drinking and as having upset the whole of his community with his behaviour. The Synod decided that he ought not to remain in his parish as there was little sign of improvement. StAZ. E.II.1.198.

Sources: Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1414, 1714, 1757. A letter from Vogt Bleuler of Grüningen to Bullinger concerning Michael's difficulties in tending to the parish with his numerous children. StAZ. E.II. 440, 309 (no.LXII), 12 April, 1536.

Name: Mötteli, Joseph

b.? **d.**1599

Parishes: Since 1547 minister in Märwil, Thurgau, 1551 assistant in Turbenthal. Mötteli was put forward by the Synod for a series of parishes for which he was not chosen by the Council: Greifensee (1559), Rüti (1563), Uster (1565), Otelfingen, Ossingen and Russikon (1560), and Lufingen (1567). In 1568 he became minister Schlatt, 1591 made a dean.

Synod: May, 1552

Case: The Synod considered that although Mötteli was still young he was not diligent in studying or in looking after his parish. he was given the stern warning that he would be dismissed from his parish if he did not improve himself. StAZ. E.II.1.389/90.

Sources: ZPB. p.436, StAZ. E.II.346. 9, 1534. (correspondence). 1534.346.9, 1599.338.139. *HBLs*. V. p.126. StAZ. E.II.108, 41,58v,69,83,88,92v,100.

Name: Müller, Hans Heinrich

b.? **d.**after 1565

Parishes: Ord.1533, in the same year an assistant, 1558 minister in Niederweningen.

Synod: April, 1537, May and Oct., 1555, May, 1556, Oct., 1560, May and Oct., 1564, May, 1565

Case: In April 1537, Müller was accused of having preached falsely on four points: firstly, he had argued that idols in the church were a matter of indifference, secondly, he stated that the Old Testament was of no interest to Christians, thirdly, that one does not need to teach the faith to children, and fourthly, that the Council had no right to handle the goods of the church. Müller stated that he wished to dispute these points in the Synod, however, this was not allowed and the Synod recommended that he be sent to spend some time in Wellenberg. Müller recanted his views and sought the mercy of the Synod, and he was told to study more and to preach better. In 1555 he denounced the teachings of Zwingli and Bullinger as heretical and espoused the superiority of Catholic clergy. In 1556 he was warned by the Synod for fighting in public with J. Meyer in Catholic Baden. He threatened to prosecute Meyer over some offence. He showed contempt for his parochial duties and in 1560 was examined by the Synod for various problems including his relations with Catholic priests, his unwillingness to enforce the reformed church order and hold services, and his moral conduct. In 1565 he denounced the Zürich Synod and compared it unfavourably with the Council of Trent. StAZ. E.II.I.

220.427/8.437.442.489/90.531/2.544.552/3.

Sources: ZPB. p.440, StAZ. E.I.2.Ia.1560 (Synodalia). StAZ. E.II.108, 61v. E.I.30.83.6 (1555) Pfrundakten Niederweningen.

References: 187,194,195,203,204.

Name: Müller Beat Felix

b.1524 d.1620

Parishes: He was examined and ordained in 1566. In 1567 he was nominated for parish of Rafz before becoming the assistant in Kilchberg, 1585 minister in Fischenthal.

Synod: May, 1575

Case: Müller had caused considerable outrage in his parish with his open adultery with a woman who was pregnant with his child. His language was also said to have offended people in the community from the pulpit. The Synod passed the information on to the Council for it to take action. StAZ. E.II.I.651/2.

Sources: ZPB. p.439. StAZ. E.II.108, 90,92,94.

Name: Mülli, Felix

b.? d.1596

Parishes: Ord.1563, 1564 minister in Bonstetten. In 1576 he was unsuccessfully nominated for parish of Lufingen and for the parish of Horgan in 1579.

Synod: May, 1576, May and Oct. 1579

Case: In 1576 Mülli was reported in the Synod as being a good minister who was finding his parish difficult because of the small living attached to it. In the same year the Council attempted to move him to the parish of Hinwil to replace Heinrich Schmid, however, he was not acceptable to the parish and the arrangement was dropped. In 1579 he appeared before the Synod to answer to accusations that he was drinking excessively and returning home late at night drunk causing serious problems in his house. He was said to have been in the tavern at Christmas time and involved in fighting with locals and of striking his wife. Although he denied these reports, he was warned by the Synod to improve himself and lead a life more in keeping with his office. StAZ.

E.II.I.660.702.705/6.

Sources: ZPB. p.444, StAZ. E.II.108, 164v,165,179. Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.82,89.

References: 246.

Name: Muntprat, Wolfgang

b.? d.1556

Parishes: Ord.1547, 1548 minister in Weiach, in the same year moved to Hinggart. Also looked after the parish of Hettlingen.

Synod: May, 1554

Case: Muntprat had a mad son who had been in the wars and who was involved in some sort of financial trouble. The Synod told him that he must clear up the problem. StAZ. E.II.1.413.

Sources: ZPB. p.445.

References: 254.

Name: Müppein, Konrad,

b.? d.after 1534

Parishes: In 1523 he was minister in Thalwil and then in 1524 in Wädenswil.

Synod: May and Oct., 1534.

Case: In May Müppein was warned by the Synod for not attending the sessions. In October Müppein had to answer to accusations raised by his parishioners that he was supporting the mass. Müppein replied in a letter defending himself and offering to send to the Synod a copy of his sermons. The tactic seems to have worked, though little is known of Müppein after this. StAZ. E.II.1.149,183.

Sources: ZPB. p.452., Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1714, 1757. HBBW. IV, 357-359 (Müppein's letter to the Synod), 360f, 363, 365-367. Müppein's defence of his reformed orthodoxy concerning the Eucharist is entitled: *Tractatus de abusibus missae auctore Conrado Müppein, VDM in Wädischwyl anno 34*, StAZ. E.II. 337, 94r-101v.

References: 187

Name: Murbach, Elias

b.? d.1605

Parishes: He was examined in 1552 and ordained in 1554, 1558 succeeded his father as minister in Andelfingen. Resigned 1600.

Synod: May and Oct., 1564

Case: Murbach was admonished by the Synod in 1564 for not establishing the Council's mandates in his parish and for not holding children's instruction. He was also examined after it became known that he was allowing excessive wedding festivities in his parish. StAZ. E.II.1.530.543

Sources: ZPB.445, *Basler Matrik*, II, 83, 1553/54. *Marburger Matrikel*, II, 110. StAZ. E.II.108, 2v,35v.

Name: Nabholz, Sebastian

b.? d.1586

Parishes: Ord.1548, 1549 minister in Hausen, 1554 in Knonau.

Synod: Oct. 1556, May, 1571

Case: In 1556 Nabholz was told by the Synod that the holding of services on Sundays alone was not good enough; he was to hold weekday services also. The Synod proposed Nabholz as one of its three candidates for the deanship of the Freiamt in 1560 following the death of Jakob Kolmar of Stallikon. Nabholz was not chosen. StAZ. E.II.1. 448. 612.

Sources: ZPB. p.446, HBLV V, p.225. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.210.

References: 187.

Name: Nägeli, Christian

b.? d.1586

Parishes: Examined and ordained in 1559, minister in Kirchberg (Toggenberg). In 1562 he was nominated both for a deanship and the parish of Meilen for which he was not chosen, however he became minister in Hausen in 1562. In 1565 he was also put forward for parish of Uster, but the Council appointed him in 1565 to Frauenfeld, and then 1578 in Elsau.

Synod: May, 1580

Case: The Synod was told that Nägeli was not looking after his mother who was old and ill. He explained to the Synod that he was travelling doing legitimate work and was not able to remain at home. The Synod accepted his account of his travels and named him as a good and honest man. StAZ. E.II.Ia.716.

Sources: ZPB. p.447. StAZ. E.II.108, 41,52v,53v,58,69,72v,177.

Marburg Matrikel 13 Aug. 1557 (*Christianus Neigelit*) p.33. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.217,314.

Name: Nater, Heinrich

b.? d.1566

Parishes: Ord.1547, 1549 minister in Buch, Schaffhausen, 1552-62 in Illnau.

Synod: May, 1555, Oct., 1558, May, 1559, May, 1565

Case: Nater was admonished by the Synod in 1555 to improve his preaching and instruction of children. In 1560 he was warned about his drinking and also about meddling with the black arts. This use of black arts seems to have been connected with Nater's treatment of the sick and possibly refers to the use of Catholic rituals. In 1565 the Synod found little improvement in Nater and commented that he complained a lot and generally was a bad minister; he was warned for the last time to improve himself or he would be removed. StAZ. E.II.I.425.474.478.551.

Sources: ZPB. p.450. *Basler Matrikel*, II, 29, 1542.

References: 203.

Name: Notz, Hans Heinrich

b.? d.1587

Parishes: Ord.1553, in the same year minister in Niederhasli, 1558 in Buchs, 1564 in Fischenthal. In 1566 he was nominated for the parish of Russikon, however he moved in 1567 to Lufingen, and finally to Töb in 1571.

Synod: Oct., 1563, Oct., 1571

Case: In 1563 the Council arranged for Notz to exchange parishes with Rudolf Keller of Fischenthal. Then in 1571 Synod heard that Notz was ill and unable to effectively attend to the parish of Lufingen. The Synod decided that again Notz should exchange parishes, this time with Konrad Sanger of Töb.

StAZ.E.II.I.526.624

Sources: ZPB. p.452

Name: Nußbaumer, Johannes (also named Schulmeister)

b.? d.1559

Parishes: City assistant in Winterthur from 1533, oversaw the Filialdienst in Dägerlen 1533-1558.

Synod: Oct., 1533, May, 1542, Oct., 1544, May, 1547, Oct., 1551, May and Oct., 1558

Case: In 1533 Nußbaumer was said to be a difficult man who neither preached very well nor kept a proper household. He was careless with his words, did not study and mistreated his wife. He promised the Synod to improve and was warned that he was not to appear again. The Synod in 1542 heard about his laziness and the poor state of his household. He was also involved in taking money from the church and employing it for his own use. In 1544 the exact same

complaints were heard about his lack of study and household. Nußbaumer sought the mercy of the Synod and was told to look after his many children. In 1547 he was said to have a bad wife and wretched children, of not studying and of commanding no respect in the community. These complaints about his family and household in general were repeated in the Synod of October 1551. In October of 1558 Nußbaumer was said to be too old to look after his parish and the Synod decided that an assistant had to remain in the community to carry out the pastoral duties until the Council could do something else. Egli, 1988, p.876 StAZ. E.II.I.283.309.336.375.463/4.475.

Sources: ZPB.p.454, StAZ E.I.2.Ia (Synodalia), 1558.

Name: Ochsner, Hans

b.? d.1611

Parishes: Ord. 1571, 1572 assistant in Pfäffikon.

Synod: Oct., 1579

Case: Ochsner was involved in a money matter with another minister in which he had not paid the promised amount within the time agreed. Ochsner had received a lone from the minister and had promised to repay it with money from his parish benefice. However, he could not repay his debt as he owed money to another man. The Synod told him he had two weeks to settle his outstanding debts.

StAZ. E.II.Ia.706.

Sources: ZPB. p.455 StAZ. E.II.479, 33,36, 1569.

References: 254.

Name: Oesenbry, Jos

b.1526 d.1592

Parishes: Ord.1551, 1552 minister in Weiach, in the same year he moved to Männedorf. In 1558 he was nominated by the Synod for the parish Horgen but was not chosen by the Council. In 1565 he moved to Thalwil after being unsuccessfully being put forward for the parish of Uster.

Synod: May, 1554, May, 1576, May, 1578

Case: In 1554 there was a report of some parishioners breaking into Oesenbry's house at Fastnacht. When Oesenbry did not want to share the special meal associated with Fastnacht (*Küchti*), they helped themselves and did considerable damage to his home. The Synod stated that Oesenbry ought to be provided with some place of shelter and those responsible were to be located. Oesenbry was questioned by the Synod in 1576 about his excessive drinking. In 1578 a more involved case came to attention of the Synod when Oesenbry and Israel Staeheli were reported as wandering around various communities frequenting taverns. What was most alarming was that the two of them had been drinking in the house of some Catholic priests. The Synod gathered evidence from numerous witnesses and decided that the two ought to be placed in Wellenberg. StAZ.

E.II.I.411.660.683/84.

Sources: ZPB. p.458. StAZ. E.II.108, 69,76. A. Lutz 'Vier Zürcher Vögelfangtraktate' *Zürcher Taschenbuch* (86) 1966, p.66-72. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.54,226.

References: 256.

Name: Ott, Johannes

b.? d.1585

Parishes: Ord.1576, minister in Trogen, 1583 in Ellikon, 1585 in Kirchberg, Thurgau.

Synod: May, 1576

Case: Ott is recorded as having taken the oath of office in the May Synod of 1576 after having been examined on the seventh of April. StAZ. E.II.I.659.

Sources: ZPB. p.462

Name: Peter, Johannes

b.? d.1580

Parishes: Since 1551 minister in Hirzel, 1552 in Zell.

Synod: May, 1567

Case: The dean of Winterthur reported to the Synod that Peter had a Catholic wife who attended mass and did not attend reformed services in her husband's parish. StAZ. E.II.1.577

Sources: ZPB. p.466.

Name: Polt, Ulrich

b.? d. after 1541

Parishes: 1530 minister in Niederhasli, 1534 minister in Wangen.

Synod: May, 1536, May, 1541

Case: In 1536 he was described to the Synod as *wunderlich* and of causing all manner of offence in his community with his language from the pulpit. He was warned by the Synod about such use of words and, further, the Council was recommended to put him in Wellenberg for a few days. In 1541 the Synod heard that Polt, after baptising a child, went to the local tavern and engaged in gossip and drinking during which he blasphemed the Gospels. Additionally there was a case of adultery. The Synod took upon these offences as extremely serious and it recommended to the Council that Polt be dismissed from his parish, which he was in the same year. StAZ. E.II.1.205.209.267.

Sources: ZPB. p.473. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1714, 1757, 1786.

References: 176.

Name: Ramp, Ezechiël

b.1525 d.1584

Parishes: Oct., 1558, Oct., 1568

Synod: Ord.1550, minister in Oberglatt, St. Gall, 1551 in Zell, 1552 in Wädenswil, 1566 in Uster.

Synod: Oct., 1558, Oct., 1568

Case: Ramp was warned by the Synod that he was to be more diligent in visiting in his parish and of observing God's laws. The Synod received a complaint from his mother that he never visited her. In 1568 he was warned by the Synod that he must be diligent in looking after the young people in his parish so that they will attend church services and come to the Lord's Supper. StAZ. E.II.1.468.595.

Sources: ZPB. p.476, HBL5 V, p.525, *Basler Matrikel*, II, 57, 1548/9. StAZ. E.II.108, 76v. An examiners' report from 1552, when Ramp was appointed to the parish of Wädenswil, stated: '*er hat ein guotè kuntschafft an der leer und am leben*'. StAZ. E.I.30.I.132.5

Name: Rampp, Johannes

b.? d.1556

Parishes: Since 1525 minister in Wildberg.

Synod: May, 1543, Oct., 1554

Case: In 1543 there was a report to the Synod that Rampp was creating a disturbance in his parish of Wildberg. Then in 1554 Rampp was reported as being old, and although there seems to have been no problem with his learning there were difficulties with the parishioners who wanted him removed. StAZ.

E.II.1.293.421.

Sources: ZPB. 476, HBL5 V, p.525, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1391, 1655.

Name: Renner, Oswald

b.1560 **d.**1613

Parishes: Ord.1572. minister in Balgach, St. Gall, 1574 succeeded father in parish of Künsnacht.

Synod: May, 1579

Case: In the Synod of 1579 Renner was said to have been a good minister of fine character. The complaint against him from his parish of Künsnacht was about his accent which prevented people from understanding him when he preached. The parishioners stated that his sermons were incomprehensible. The Synod recommended that he be moved to another parish which was not as large as Künsnacht where he might have less difficulties. StAZ. E.II.Ia.701.

Sources: ZPB. p.480. StAZ. E.II.108, 139v,147,183,183v. StAZ. E.II.479, 31,36,38 1568,1570,1571. *Basler Matrikel*, II, 194,1570. *Heidelberg Matrikel*, II, 55,1570. *Marburger Matrikel*, II, 130,1570.

Name: Römer, Hans (Romanus and Tischmacher)

b.? **d.**1563

Parishes: Ord. 1531, minister in Marthalen. He was probably the same man as Johannes Rumannus (or Rhumania) who was minister in Augsburg in 1546/7 though in 1546 he was also minister in Zurzach. In 1551 he was in Turbenthal, and 1558 in Rüti.

Synod: Oct. 1546, Oct., 1558, Oct., 1562

Case: Römer was found guilty of adultery and was dismissed from his parish. In the Synod of October 1546 the Synod recommended that he be reinstated after his examination showed that he had repented and wished to be reconciled to the church. In 1558 he was again suspected of adultery and the Synod commented that the case was to be examined and that although he was to be held innocent until proven guilty the dean should take over his parochial duties until the case is resolved. StAZ. E.II.I.336.474.511/12.

Sources: ZPB. p.485, StAZ. E.II.342,173 1547. 259,2063, 1547. 360,84 1547. 356, 1551. (correspondence)

References: 263,264.

Name: Rosenheimer, Stephan

b.? **d.** after 1562

Parishes: Since 1530 minister in Otelfingen, 1538 in Riffserwil.

Synod: Oct. 1544, Oct., 1559

Case: Rosenheimer told the Synod in 1544 that his wife was involved with another man in an adulterous affair. He said that he doubted whether his children were his own or not. In 1559 he was involved in a difficult case which the Synod considered very serious. He baptised a child of a couple who were drunk who wanted the child named Jacob. It turned out later that the child was in fact a girl. The Synod told Rosenheimer that he must report the people involved and gravely admonish the people against such an abuse of the sacrament. StAZ. E.II.I.308.481/2.

Sources: ZPB. p.488.

References: 176,177,265.

Name: Rotacher, Christoph

b.1520 **d.**1578

Parishes: Ord. 1542, 1543 sub assistant in St. George's church in Winterthur, 1551 minister in Veltheim. In 1557 he was nominated by the Synod to serve in the Fraumünster, but was not chosen by the Council. In 1558 he was moved to be minister in Horgen.

Synod: May, 1558

Case: Rotacher was reported by a fellow minister in Winterthur to be involved in adultery. The case was well known in the community and the Synod warned Rotacher. StAZ. E.II.I.464.

Sources: ZPB. p.488, *Basler Matrikel*, II, p.23 1539/40. *Marburger Matrikel*, II, 12 1540. *Leipzig Matrikel*, I. p.638, 1541.

Name: Röust, J.

b. d.

Parish: Griefensee

Synod: May, 1534

Case: Röust's end was said to be a whore and causing problems with the parishioners. The Synod recommended to the Vogt that she be put in prison and Röust was told that a husband ought to control his wife. StAZ. E.II.I.150.

Sources:

Name: Röust, Ulrich

b.1520 d.1572

Parishes: Ord.1545, 1546 assistant in Turbenthal, in the same year moved to Maschwanden, 1551 in Wila, 1568 in Kyburg.

Synod: Oct., 1551, May, 1552, May, 1561, May and Oct., 1567

Case: Röust appeared before the Synod on numerous occasions for his generally bad character, particularly for his drinking. In 1551 he was said to be drinking with young people in Landesberg, The following year fellow minister Ezechiel Ramm reported Röust to the Synod and the Vogt of Kyburg stated that Röust was the worst drunkard he had ever seen. In 1561 he was said not have improved in any way and in fact was now abusing his wife. All that he had promised the Synod had been ignored. The Synod examined Röust in 1567 on eight points of grievance against his ministry which included not arriving for the services which he had himself announced and of not visiting the sick. The Synod found his answers so poor that they questioned his wife instead. On May 9, 1567, Röust was removed from his parish by the Council and replaced the next day by Rudolf Staheli. In October of the same year he sought the mercy of the Synod; he was described as a wretched and poor man. He received yet another warning and was told if there was a further problem he would be removed. He was made minister in Kyburg. StAZ. E.II.I.379.384.491/2.576.586.

Sources: ZPB. p.486. StAZ. E.II.108, 93.

References: 223.

Name: Rübli, Hartmann

b.? d.1556

Parishes: Ord.1537, in the same year minister in Hirzel, 1540 in Bonstetten, 1548 in Regensdorf.

Synod: Oct., 1550.

Case: In the Synod of 1550 Rübli was reported as being too old to look after his parish and the Synod recommended that the assistant take care of the preaching duties. On the 10th of June the Council approved the appointment of StAZ.

E.II.I.365.

Sources: ZPB. p.488.

Name: Rümmeli, Balthasar

b.? d.around 1560

Parishes: Ord.1545, 1546 minister in Tegerfelden, 1548 in Trüllikon, 1560, retired in 1561.

Synod: May, 1554, Oct., 1556, May, 1557, May, 1560.

Case: The first reports of Rümmeli being too old to look after the parish came to the Synod in 1554. Then Rümmeli was again reported to the Synod in 1556 as being old and unable to look after the parish of Trüllikon. The assistant from Benken looked after the parish for sixteen weeks and the Synod asked the Council to resolve the matter. Rümmeli remained in his parish until 1560 when he was again reported for not studying, and of neither visiting the sick or of looking after the poor. He had resisted the Council's attempts to replace him in 1560, though a year later the Council retired him on 9 May and his successor, Hans Buchter, was appointed the following day. StAZ. E.II.1.413.448.455.483/4.

Sources: ZPB. p.490. StAZ. E.II.108, 45,49v.

References: 223,224,241.

Name: Sägisser, Oswald

b.? d.1564

Parishes: Belonged to the Johanniter house in Küsnacht, 1528 assistant in Küsnacht, also looked after Erlenbach and Herrliberg.

Synod: May and Oct., 1549

Case: Sägisser's dean told the Synod that he was no longer able to tend to the parish and that the community wanted another minister appointed. The Synod was asked to petition the Council for another minister. In the October meeting, when some inquiries had been made, the Synod heard that Sägisser had a long and faithful service to the church and state and there was a request that Rudolf Gwalther present a *Fürtrag* to the Council on behalf of the parish that it might be looked after. StAZ. E.II.1.349.356.

Sources: Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1414, ZPB. p.493. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.177,297.

Name: Sängler, Konrad

b.? d.1576

Parishes: He was a Catholic priest in Rapperswil, and then came in 1560 to Zürich where he was examined in 1560 and ordained in 1561. First he was a minister in Töß, although he was put forward unsuccessfully in 1560 for the parish of Bonstetten, and then in 1571 he moved to Lufingen.

Synod: May, 1566,

Case: Sängler was warned by the Synod to be more diligent in his office and both he and his wife were told that they ought to dress in a more seemly manner. StAZ. E.II.1.565.

Sources: ZPB. p.493. StAZ. E.II.108, 45,46,48v,50.

Name: Schärer, Jakob (Rasoris)

b.1474 d.1556

Parishes: Was a Leutpriester in Männedorf in 1498, 1521 minister in Dinhard.

Synod: May, 1553.

Case: The Synod commented in 1553 that Schärer was about eighty years old and was no longer capable of looking after his parish of Dinhard. The Council was informed and on 31 May he was replaced in Dinhard by Heinrich Buchmann. StAZ. E.II.1.405.

Sources: ZPB. p.496, HBLS VI, p.118. StAZ. E.II.108, 7v. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.177. H. Stucki, *Bürgermeister Lavater*, p.56,70.

References: 196.

Name: Schärer, Josias

b.? d.after 1569

Parishes: 1547 minister in Weiach, in the same year he moved to become assistant in Gossau, then moved to Lipperswil, Thurgau.

Synod: May, 1547, Oct., 1549, Oct., 1550, May, 1551, May, 1568

Case: In 1547 the Synod heard that Schärer was known for his drinking and swearing, though he was not a drinker and he did hold the services in his parish.. He involved himself with a young girl who became pregnant. The Synod requested that the Vogt examine the case. There was also considerable enmity between Schärer and Hans Breytweg, the minister in Goßau. Having considered all these points the Synod recommended that he be dismissed. In 1550 Schärer was before the Synod to explain why he kept such a bad household and why there were so many complaints against his behaviour. The most important complaint was that he had attended a Catholic service of vespers. Schärer answered that he had attended the service in order to hear the organ in the church. The Synod warned him to remain away from Catholic churches because curiosity leads to superstition. In 1568 he was warned about his drinking and told by the Synod that he was a wretched man and a drunkard who ought to remain at home and out of the taverns. He was threatened with dismissal if he did not reform himself. StAZ. E.II.I.336/7.364.356.369.494.

Sources: ZPB. p.496. StAZ. E.II.108, 110.

Name: Schlegel, Johannes

b.? d.1553

Parishes: He was a canon in St. Martin's in Zürichberg, 1525-28 was a helper in Höngg, 1528 minister in Otelfingen, 1530 in Elgg.

Synod: May and Oct., 1552

Case: In the two Synods of 1552 there are reports that Schlegel was far too ill to tend to such a large parish as Elgg. The Synod did not expect him to live much longer and requested that the Council look after Schlegel. The people of the parish also expressed their desire that Hans Buman, who had been assisting in the parish, be made the new minister. The people also complained that Schlegel was no longer able to carry out baptisms or visit the sick. StAZ. E.II.I.383.391.

Sources: ZPB. p.505, HBLs, VI, p.195, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1056, 1391, 1714, 1757, 1824. *Zwingli Sämtliche Werke* VIII, (1914), p.88. StAZ. E.II.108, 3v. HBBW III, 107. Bächtold, Bullinger, p.177,297.

References: 193.

Name: Schmid, Hans

b.1520 d.1605

Parishes: Ord.1545, 1547 minister in Weiach, 1548 in Dübendorf, 1564 made a dean.

Synod: Oct., 1564, Oct., 1571.

Case: Schmid's name was put forward together with those of Diethelm Keller (Muhr) and Wolfgang Iberger (Pfäffikon) for the deanship of Wetzikon in 1564. Schmid was chosen. In 1571 Schmid, while minister at Dübendorf, was recommended by the Synod to tend to the parish of Greifensee when it became apparent that Phillip Fallenberg was no longer able to carry out his duties. The Synod requested that the Council provide some assistance that Schmid might be relieved of these excessive duties. StAZ. E.II.I.544.625.

Sources: ZPB. p.507. *Marburger Matrikel*, II, 12, 1541.

Name: Schmid, Hans Heinrich

b.? d.1611

Parishes: Ord. 1571, 1572 minister in Hinwil, 1591 assistant in Pfäffikon, 1595 minister in Basserdorf.

Synod: May, 1576, Oct., 1580

Case: The dean of the Wetzikon chapter reported to the Synod that Schmid was causing unrest in his community with his quarrelsome character and terrible preaching. The Synod admonished Schmid and warned him to be diligent towards his parishioners. Schmid received another warning in 1580 for his careless behaviour and lack of study. The Council wanted to replace him, however there were too many complications and Schmid remained in the parish of Hinwil. StAZ. E.II.I. 659. StAZ. E.II.Ia.719.

Sources: ZPB. p.507. StAZ. E.II.108, 164v. Bächtold, Bullinger, p.112.

Name: Schmid, Hans Jakob

b.? **d.**1592

Parishes: Ord.1575, following year minister in Weiach, 1583 in Basserdorf.

Synod: Oct., 1580.

Case: Schmid was said to abandon his parish for several days at a time to pursue other things. The Synod told him to improve himself. Schmid was said to have given a good account of himself in the Synod; even so, examiners were asked to look into his case. StAZ. E.II.Ia.722.

Sources: ZPB. p.508.

Name: Schmid, Konrad

b.? **d.**after 1550

Parishes: Ord.1549, minister in TöB.

Synod: May, 1550.

Case: Schmid was described in the Synod of May, 1550, as being both very proud and extremely careless in his ministry. He was known for his drinking and lack of study. What brought the wrath of the Synod upon Schmid was his connection with the Catholic church. He refused to renounce the mass and clearly rejected the Zürich position on the sacraments. He was reported as travelling to Frauenfeld to hold vespers services and of having been critical of the Zürich position on the sacraments. The Synod recommended that he be dismissed from his parish, and he was further punished by the Council in Winterthur which banished him from the the city. StAZ. E.II.I.359/360.

Sources: ZPB. p.509.

References: 194,240.

Name: Schmid, Sebastian

b.1533 **d.**1586

Parishes: Ord.1557, minister in Albisrieden, 1560 in Oberwinterthur.

Synod: Oct., 1571

Case: Schmid appeared in the report of the dean of Winterthur chapter to the Synod in 1571 as a witness to the extent of the problems surrounding the holding of services in the chapter, especially those suggesting an attachment to superstitious activities. StAZ E.II.I.627.

Sources: ZPB. p.509. H. Kläui, *Geschichte von Oberwinterthur 1500-1798*, p.82-84, 123.

Name: Schneewolff, Moritz

b.? **d.**1592

Parishes: Ord.1558, minister in Steckborn, 1567 made a helper in Stein am Rhein by the Zürich Council. He was nominated but not chosen for the parishes of Pfäffikon and Lufingen in 1576 and Herborn in 1577. In 1577 he became minister in Benken.

Synod: May, 1578

Case: When Schneewolff moved to the parish of Benken there was a dispute between the parish and the chapter over the responsibilities of the minister. Schneewolff seems not to have been too well informed on the issues, and the Synod sought to resolve the matter by stating Schneewolff's responsibilities and hoping to restore unity to the chapter. When he was in Steckborn he had come into some trouble over his preaching and his attitudes towards the *Landfrieden* and Scripture. This had occasioned his move by the Council to serve as schoolmaster in Stein. StAZ. E.II.Ia.684.

Sources: ZPB. p.572. StAZ. E.II.108, 95-95v,96-96v,163v,165,172. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.315.

Name: Schnyder, Abraham

b.? d.1614

Parishes: From 1556 minister in Betschwanden, Glarus, 1566 in Bubikon, 1576 back in Betschwanden, 1590 assistant in Bülach.

Synod: May, 1571, May, 1572, May, 1576.

Case: The Synod's main problem with Schnyder was his drinking. In 1571 he was reported as going into a tavern on his travels and, after having become drunk, becoming involved in a quarrel with a Catholic priest. A year later his contentious nature was reported to the Synod when he was accused of having told the poor people on Easter Monday that they were not contributing enough to the church. The Synod asked to have the remark investigated a further report made to the Council. Finally, in 1576 the Synod commented that there was nothing wrong with Schnyder's learning though he was still drinking too much. This drinking, the Synod noted, had been evident from Schnyder's days in Glarus. The report remarks that Schnyder was often to be found in the tavern and that his drinking was generating ill will in the community against Schnyder and the ministry. StAZ. E.II.I.615.637.661.

Sources: ZPB. p.512. StAZ. E.II.108, 167v.

Name: Schnyder, Niklaus

b.? d.1561

Parishes: Since 1519 minister in Fischenthal, 1529 minister in Bäretswil, 1543 made a dean.

Synod: May, 1560,

Case: As dean of Bäretswil, Schnyder gave an extensive report to the Synod in 1560 on the problem of drunkenness amongst the clergy and laity in his chapter. StAZ. E.II.I.487.

Sources: ZPB. p.513. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.65,83.

Name: Schnyder, Petrus (Frick)

b.? d. after 1536

Parishes: From 1516 he was chaplain in Pfäffikon, and then from 1525 was minister in Laufen. In 1536 he moved to Aarburg and later to Brugg.

Synod: Oct., 1533, May,1534, April and Oct., 1535, April, 1536.

Case: The parishioners in Laufen sent a petition to the Synod requesting that Schnyder be replaced because he was not a very good minister. A year later was again reported on account of his quarrelsome behaviour and for fighting. He was removed from the parish by the Council. StAZ. E.II.I.149.194.205.209.

Sources: ZPB. p.513. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1414,1714,1757,1988.

HBBW.II, 83. H. Stucki, *Bürgermeister Lavater*, p.110.

References: 187.

Name: Schröter, Hans

b.? d. 1556

Parishes: From 1524 he was minister in Dübendorf, and then in 1547 he moved to St.Jakob in Zürich.

Synod: May, 1541

Case: The report in the Synod stated that he was a good man but rather unwise in his dealings with other people. He engaged a woman in his house who was suspected of being a whore as a helper for his wife and paid her from the parish's poor relief fund. This caused much dissatisfaction amongst the poor people in parish. This woman, who was from Stockach, became good friends with the minister's wife, and her assistance in the household enabled the wife to be free for other activities, which though not named were considered inappropriate by the Synod. Schröter was told to send the woman away and to pay back immediately the misused money. Also he was told that he was to be firmer with his wife and not allow her to wander away from the house. StAZ. E.II.1.267/8.

Sources: ZPB. p.516, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1391.

References: 267.

Name: Schwartz, Jörg

b.? d. after 1557

Parishes: From 1532 he served as the minister in Oberglatt.

Synod: May, 1535, Oct., 1550, May, 1555, Oct., 1556.

Case: In 1535 Schwartz was warned by the Synod to cease from his dealings in medicines which was regarded as extremely suspicious. Complaints about Schwartz's failure to look after his parish emerged again in 1556 when the people of the parish petitioned the Synod. The Synod recommended that Schwartz spend a Saturday in Wellenberg. On 13 January, 1557, Schwartz was removed from his parish by the Council and replaced by Lorenz Meyer. StAZ. E.II.1.365.428.452.

Sources: ZPB. p.521. StAZ. E.II.108, 26.

References: 187,226.

Name: Schweniger, Karl (Konrad)

b.? d. 1568

Parishes: He was ordained in 1546 and served from 1547 as minister in Hausen, followed by Weiningen in 1549, Dietikon in 1552, and Wildberg in 1556. He resigned in 1568.

Synod: May, 1565

Case: Schweniger was warned by the Synod to cease from drinking or he would be dismissed. StAZ. E.II.1.551.

Sources: ZPB. p.526. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.109/10.

Name: Schwyzer, Elias (Helias)

b.? d. 1604

Parishes: He was ordained in 1562 and in the same year was an assistant in Niederwenigen. In 1565 he became the minister in Buchs after having been unsuccessfully put forward for the Rheinthal.

Synod: Oct., 1580

Case: Schwyzer's ministry was described to the Synod as being poor, and he and his wife were found to be participating in unruly marriage festivities in which they drank too much. Schwyzer and his wife were examined and told that they were to improve themselves. StAZ. E.II.1a.721.

Sources: ZPB. p.527. *Marburger Matrikel*, IV, 6,1558. StAZ. E.II.108, 53v,69,73,106.

References: 247.

Name: Schwyzer, Rudolf

b.1490 **d.**1563

Parishes: Since 1543 minister in Richterwil, from at least 1550 he was in Stäfa.

Synod: Oct., 1538, May, 1543, Oct., 1549, Oct., 1550, May and Oct., 1551, May, 1553.

Case: In 1538 Schwyzer was described as being an undisciplined man who wore a short shirt and green trousers. He was admonished to be more mindful of Paul's chapter in his Epistle to Timothy on the behaviour of the minister. In 1543 Schwyzer was reported to the Synod as being involved with a serious case which required further investigation. It is not clear from the record what the matter involved. Having moved to Stäfa, Schwyzer was found to be involved in adultery. He was told to restore order in his parish and cease from such adultery and drinking. The Synod heard more complaints about his drinking in 1549. In 1551 the Synod heard again that Schwyzer's life was a mess and that he was not preaching. His repeated promises that he would improve himself bore no fruit and the parish was said to be in a terrible way. The Synod referred the case to the Council. In 1553 the Synod recommended that Schwyzer be put in Wellenberg as punishment for his neglect of his parish. Schwyzer was removed from his parish. StAZ. E.II.1.231.293.356.363.368.372/3.393.406.

Sources: ZPB.p.528.

Name: Seebach, Gregor

b.? **d.** after 1575

Parishes: Seebach was examined first on 15 June, 1557, when the examiners were not satisfied and again on 23 November, 1558. He was ordained in 1559, 1558 minister in Berneck, 1562 in Laufen, 1567 in Scherzingen, Thurgau.

Synod: May, 1564, May, 1566, Oct., 1567.

Case: When Seebach was chosen for the parish of Laufen there was opposition to his selection on the grounds that he possessed only a small voice (*klein Sprache*) and the church was very large. Seebach was found guilty of adultery and dismissed from his parish of Laufen. In 1567 he wrote a supplication to the Synod seeking reconciliation. StAZ. E.II.1.529.564/5.586/7. and a copy of Seebach's letter to the Synod 589/91.

Sources: ZPB. p.529. StAZ. E.II.108, 38,53,81v.

Name: Seebach, H.,

b.? **d.**1550

Parishes: From 1515 he was minister in Kyburg.

Synod: Oct., 1535

Case: Seebach was told that he was to be more diligent in the establishing of the church order in his community of Kyburg. The mandates were not being obeyed and the Synod had requested that the Vogt make a report. StAZ. E.II.1.197.

Sources: ZPB. p.529. HBL.S.VI, p.321, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1391, 1714.

Name: Siber, Rudolf

b.? **d.**1597

Parishes: Ord.1562, 1566 minister in Illnau, 1578 minister in Kurzdorf-Frauenfeld, also tended to the parish of Ellikon, 1582 minister in Wagenhausen.

Synod: May and Oct., 1576, Oct., 1578.

Case: Siber was found guilty of adultery and dismissed from his parish in Illnau in 1576. There were numerous fellow ministers who gave witness against him. He was removed from his parish by the Council. In 1578 the Synod received a supplication from Siber requesting that he be forgiven and restored to the ministry.

The Synod found that he had good witnesses to his character and recommended that he receive another parish. The Council appointed him to Frauenfeld. StAZ. E.II.I.660.664.642. StAZ. E.II.Ia.691/2.

Sources: ZPB.p.530, StAZ. E.II.375,673, 1562 (correspondence). StAZ. E.II.108, 90,163v.

References: 262.

Name: Simler, Peter

b.1486 **d.**1557

Parishes: Originally a prior in the monastery at Kappel, worked at Kappel in the school and in 1532 became a dean.

Synod: Oct., 1533.

Case: The Synod found that Simler was not very diligent in carrying out visitations in the parish. His reply was that he was so busy with affairs in the monastery in Kappel he did not have time. He requested that he might be relieved of his parochial duties. The Synod told him that he ought not to allow himself to be burdened down with other matters when he should be looking after his parish. It did recommend that an assistant be appointed to help with the visiting. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1988, p.875.

Sources: ZPB. p.533, *HBLs*, p.372, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1414,1714, 1757, 1988, 1998. *HBBW*.I, 11, 24, 48, 53, 54, 79f, 92, 126, 132, 182, 204, 215, 259; II, 234, 240f; III, 100f, 104; IV, 272, 461f. H.Stucki, *Bürgermeister Lavater*, p.148.

References: 225,240.

Name: Span, Bilgeri (Peregrin)

b.? **d.**1572

Parishes: He was examined in 1554 and ordained in 1555, he worked first in Schaffhausen, then from 1558 in Berg and later in Niederhasli. He had been nominated by the Synod in 1558 for the parish of Fällanden, but was not chosen by the Council.

Synod: Oct., 1562

Case: The Synod reported in 1562 that Bilgeri had a terrible drinking problem and that he was arriving at the church drunk. He had resisted all warnings from his fellow ministers and was drinking both in the city and at home. The Synod recommended that he be locked up in Wellenberg and that the Council should deal with him. StAZ. E.II.I.512/3.

Sources: ZPB. p.535. StAZ. E.II.108.15v,32v,34,35. StAZ. E.I.30.82 11 (1562), A report from the parish of Niederhasli complaining about Spans's ministry. The report gives Span's defence of himself against the charges of abuse.

Name: Stäheli, Georg (Chalybaeus)

b.? **d.**1573

Parishes: Chaplain in Altendorf in 1518, helper in Baden, 1520 moved to Basel, where he served in the church of St. Leonard, 1522 returned to Zürich, 1522 minister in Freinbach, 1523 minister in Weiningen, 1531 in Zofingen, 1542 Leutpriester in Grossmünster, 1545 minister in Rüti, 1559 in Turbenthal, resigned 1570.

Synod: Oct., 1549, May and Oct., 1552, May, 1553, Oct., 1555, May, 1560.

Case: Stäheli reported to the Synod in 1549 on the problems surrounding the care of poor people in his parish, and also that the Untervogt and other parish officials were violating the Council's mandates on the distribution of poor relief. Stäheli appeared before the Synod in 1552 to answer to questions that he had committed adultery with a poor woman in his parish. Stäheli denied the charges, though the examination revealed other serious problems such as that his daughter was a

Catholic and that Stäheli had ordained a man as minister without the consent or knowledge of either the Synod or the Council. Stäheli claimed to have properly examined the man and he believed that he had neither done anything wrong nor harmed the church in any way. In 1555 Stäheli was again reported as carrying on with a whore. StAZ. E.II.1.357.385.391-3.405/6.436/7.484.

Sources: ZPB. p.540, HBLs VI, p.493, Zwingliana III, p.277ff. 296ff. StAZ. E.II.108, 118v. Bächtold, Bullinger, p.239.

Name: Staeheli, Israel

b.? **d.1596**

Parishes: 1551 minister in Niederurnen, Glarus, Ord. in Zürich 1555. In 1558 he was nominated for parish of Weiningen and for the position of assistant in Stammheim but was not chosen, he became assistant in Bülach 1563.

Synod: Oct., 1566, Oct., 1568, May and Oct. 1578, May, 1580.

Case: In 1566 the Synod heard that Staeheli was drinking before the services and arriving drunk. On one occasion he was without his book in the pulpit (probably the Bible) and he claimed to have lost it. The parishioners reported that he was a terrible drinker of wine and that he did not look after his own household. The Synod found that Staeheli could not answer to these accusations and that he ought to be put in Wellenberg. The Council originally intended to remove Stäheli in 1566, however it was decided that there was still some good in him and he was allowed to remain. Finally in 1568 the Synod dismissed Staeheli on account of his wretched preaching, bad household and other offences. The Synod stated that he had been warned and beseeched numerous times and that he was unwilling to change himself. In 1580 Staeheli was requested by the Synod to stay away from its meetings as he was not thought to have improved himself. The Synod did pass his case on to the Council. StAZ. E.II.1.567.595. StAZ. E.II.1a.683/4718.

Sources: ZPB. p.540. StAZ. E.II.108, 37v,60v,84,89.

Name: Steffen, Johannes

b.1540 **d.1603**

Parishes: Ord. 1565, in the same year was minister of Weiach, Albisrieden and Basserdorf, in 1583 moved to Uster.

Synod: May, 1568

Case: In 1568 the Synod was told that Steffen had too many places to look after as a minister and it should recommend to the Council that he be provided with some relief.

Sources: ZPB. p.543.

Name: Steiner, Niklaus

b.around 1475 **d. around 1536**

Parishes: 1504 priest in Kilchberg, 1512 in Buch, chaplain to Zürich troops in Papal war of 1521, 1525 minister in Mönthal, 1527 in Wetzikon, 1532 in Schwamendingen. In 1535 he became minister in Rüti, and he died in 1536.

Synod: May and Oct., 1533, May, 1534, Oct., 1534

Case: The Synod warned Steiner in 1533 about his unruly behaviour and particularly his tendency to speak ill of the people in his parish. Steiner claimed that he had suffered for the sake of truth and was therefore deserving of greater concern. In the October Synod he was said to have spoken against various church and civil officials at his dinner table. The Synod warned him to refrain from speaking on matters which did not relate to him and to stay out of other people's business. The Council dismissed Steiner in 1533 for exchanging his parish with Konrad Muppein. In October of 1534 the Synod acknowledged his supplication and told him that he was to be peaceful (ruwig and blutsam) and not to come

before the Synod again. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1941, p.853, 1988, p.875. StAZ. E.II.I.145. 184. StAZ. E.II.I.153-55 (letter of Steiner to the Synod).
Sources: ZPB. p.546, HBLs.VI., p.534, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 156, 158, 1391, 1714, 1757, 1941, 1961, 1988. StAZ. E.II.I. 340.74, 1536 (Correspondence) 378.1934, 1532/4. HBBW IV, 156,357,359-65,366,396,452. *Freiburger Matrikel*, I, p.121. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.147.
References: 247,248.

Name: Stockli, Jakob

b.? **d.**1557

Parishes: Since 1536 minister in Trüllikon, 1541 in Rickenbach.

Synod: May, 1542, May, 1543.

Case: In 1542 Stockli was told that he ought not appear before the Synod again to answer to those things with which he is charged. He was said to be bad towards his parishioners and his family, was quick to lie and full of hypocrisy. He was not to insult his neighbours in Thurgau and was to conduct his life properly. In 1543 the manner in which he was pre-empting supplies of corn and wine was described as being suspicious. He was not very honest in his dealings. In addition his wife was still being treated badly. The Synod asked for a report from the Vogt of Kyburg. StAZ. E.II.I.280.292.

Sources: ZPB. p.548. HBBW III, 118; IV, 396. StAZ. E.II.108, 27.

Name: Stoll, Balthasar

b. ? **d. ?**

Parishes:

Synod: May, 1534

Case: Stoll was a schoolmaster who came to the attention of the Synod after he had raised objections against the articles of faith. The Synod stated that it expected Stoll to give an honest and full account of himself. StAZ. E.II.I.151

Sources:

Name: Strasser, Niklaus

b.? **d.**around 1600

Parishes: Since 1559 was minister in Berlingen, 1562 in Güttingen, 1564 in Lipperswil, Thurgau. Ord. in Zürich 1568 and was minister in Witikon, 1571 in Ställikon.

Synod: May, 1572, Oct., 1579, Oct.,1580.

Case: In May 1572 the Synod heard how Strasser wanted to prepare the catechising of the children in his parish of Stallikon. However, the elders in the community were resistant to his work. The Synod called upon the Vogt in the parish to ensure that the people adhered to the Council's laws concerning the instruction of children. Strasser was considered again in the Synod of 1579 where he was described as a difficult man who had been involved in numerous cases in which there were disputes. The Synod also noted that he was not able to get on with his fellow ministers in the chapter. In 1580 his contentious spirit resulted in the Synod recommending that he spend some time in Wellenberg. StAZ. E.II.I.636. StAZ. E.II.Ia.706.719/20.

Sources: ZPB. p.550, HBLs, VI, p.571.

Name: Studer, Gebhard

b.? **d.**1585

Parishes: He was a preacher in Thurgau, 1550 assistant in Uster, 1556-68 in Volketswil.

Synod: May, 1554, May, 1558, May, 1559, May, 1565, May, 1568, May and Oct., 1571, May, 1576, May, 1579.

Case: Studer's behaviour brought him before the Synod on several occasions. In 1571 the Synod examined his case at length; it found that his drinking had led to such incidents as his having forgotten to hold a funeral and of having struck a Vogt in a quarrel. In both cases he was said to be drunk. He also went to other communities and frequented their taverns. When drunk he often fell into abusive language, especially towards civil officials. The Synod considered its previous warnings to Studer and the fact that he had been sent to spend some days in Wellenberg in 1565, 67, and 68. His denials of the accusations had proven as false as his promises to improve himself. The Synod recommended that he be removed from his parish. This dismissal came from the Council on 8 May, 1569, though he was received back to the Synod on the 23rd of October, 1569. Studer was once more removed from the parish in 1570, and in October of 1571 he wrote to the Synod seeking reconciliation, but was rejected on the grounds that there was little hope for improvement. In 1576 the Synod heard that Studer was back to his old ways. And, finally, in 1579 Studer was found by the examiners to be beating his wife. When the Synod learned of the extent of his abuse of her, it commented: *Gott helffe uns allen*. StAZ.E.II.I.414.466.478/9.593/4.61-2/13.625.661. StAZ. E.II.Ia.702/3.

Sources: ZPB. p.552. StAZ. E.II.355.276, 1573 (correspondence). StAZ. E.II.108,107,128,132v,172.

References: 245,246.

Name: Süler, Jakob

b.1538 **d.**1589

Parishes: Ord. 1565, in the same year was minister in Stadel, looked after Weiach after 1567.

Synod: May, 1568

Case: It was reported in the Synod of 1568 that he was looking after both the parishes of Stadel and Weiach, and that this was no longer possible. The Synod decided to petition the Council that some arrangement be made for the parish of Weiach. On 5 May, 1568, the Council appointed Rudolf Dutwyler to help look after the parish. StAZ. E.II.I.594.

Sources: ZPB. p.556. StAZ. E.II.108, 102.

Name: Sulzer, Marx (Markus)

b.? **d.**after 1578

Parishes: He was examined and ordained in 1560. After being unsuccessfully nominated for the parishes of Trüllikon in 1561 and Kappel in 1562, he became an assistant in Wald in 1562. In 1567 he moved to become the minister in Hinwil, 1574 in Lipperswil, Thurgau.

Synod: Oct., 1563, May, 1571, Oct., 1573

Case: Sulzer was known as an unruly person who preferred to be in the company of the local people in the tavern to the meetings of ministers which he avoided. His preaching was said to be poor and he was often away from the the parish on trips to Rapperswil. He was warned by the Synod to remain in the parish and carry out his duties. On the 4th 1571 of November he was removed from the parish of Hinwil by the Zürich Council. In October 1573 Sulzer and Wilhelm Weber both petitioned the Synod to return to the Synod. They swore that they had improved their lives. StAZ. E.II.I.526.614/15.646.

Sources: ZPB. p.560. StAZ. E.II.108, 45v,49v,50,53v,93,129v,138v.

Marburg Matrikel 1559 p.37 (*Marcus Solzerus*).

References: 244.

Name: Suter, Konrad

b.1521 **d.**1587

Parishes: He was ordained in 1542, minister in Weiach, 1543 in Töb, 1548 in Dietikon, 1551 in Regensberg, in 1563 made a dean.

Synod: Oct., 1544, Oct., 1551, Oct., 1555, May, 1566, Oct., 1568, Oct., 1569, Oct., 1580.

Case: In 1544 Suter was reported to the Synod by numerous ministers because he had a *carmen zu Basel*. He was sent to Wellenberg. The Synod warned the ministers that drinking was not allowed amongst the clergy. Also, there was a warning against the introduction of new dogma, which was contrary to the ministers' oath of office. In 1551 Suter's parishioners made a request to the Synod that services be held at more convenient time for those going out to work on the mountains. The Synod replied that Suter had to be more diligent in the holding of services for all members of the community. In 1566, Suter was again at the centre of a debate over the establishing of the laws in the community. This time he received instruction from the Synod on the duties of the minister in informing the Ehegaumer on all marital matters so the the civil official might carry out his duties. As dean Suter made a report to the Synod in 1568 concerning the occasions of excessive marriage festivities in his chapter. In 1580 he was himself in trouble with the Synod as he was reported by his fellow ministers for spending too much time in taverns, of fighting with his wife and of not following the Council's mandates on clothing. StAZ. E.II.I.307/8.380.438.566.594.596. StAZ. E.II.Ia.722/3.

Sources: ZPB. p.562, *Basler Matrikel*, II, p.23, 1539/40. *Tübinger Matrikel*, P.308, 1541. StAZ. E.II. 340.98. 1540, 340, 1541, 335.2088, 1547

(Correspondence). Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.89,94,202,251.

References: 186,187.

Name: Thöny, Dietrich

b.? **d.**after 1562

Parishes: Was first a priest in Wald, and then in 1533 became an assistant there.

Synod: Oct. 1538, Oct., 1561, May, 1562.

Case: In 1538 Thöny's quarrels with the minister in his parish of Wald, Martin Manhart, came to the Synod's attention and both were admonished to settle their differences. The Synod regarded Thöny with some suspicion concerning his relations with the Catholics. In 1561 it was reported how his daughter was married in a Catholic church in Rapperswil. The Synod reported that the examiners had not found Thöny's explanations very satisfactory and that the case ought to be further investigated. In 1562 he was released from his parish on account of his Catholic sympathies. StAZ. E.II.I.231/2.497/8.505.

Sources: ZPB. p.565.

Name: Thumysen, Johann Rudolf

b.? **d.** 1552

Parishes: From 1517 he was chaplain in Kilchberg. in 1523 he became the minister in Regensdorf, and then in 1526 the assistant in the Fraumünster.

Synod: May, 1535.

Case: Thumysen was warned by the Synod that he was not to stop for an evening drink (*Schlafftrunk*) in the tavern on his way home. StAZ. E.II.I.193.

Sources: ZPB. p.566, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1414, 1714,1830. *HBBW* I, 226, 227; III, 119, 203; IV 140, 229, 420-431.

Name: Tischmacher, Hans

b.? **d.**after 1533

Parishes: Since 1517 priest in Bonstetten, went to Zürich in 1524, later in the year he returned to Marthalen.

Synod: Oct., 1533

Case: Tischmacher complained to the Synod that his wife was carrying on an adulterous relationship with the abbot of Rheinau. The Synod reported that its examiners were not able to prove anything conclusively, but that Tischmacher was not willing to drop the case until he had received his due from the law. In 1534 the Synod was told that Tischmacher studied very little and that he misunderstood the Gospels. The Synod also heard that he was a terrible drunkard, and that though he had promised to improve himself there was little evidence of this. Tischmacher was also reported as having performed baptisms from a bucket. He was told by the Synod that he was to stay away from drink and perform the sacraments properly. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1988, p.876. StAZ E.II.I.147/8.
Sources: ZPB. p.567, Egli, 1714, 1988.

Name: Tobler, Marx

b.? **d.**1578

Parishes: From 1521 he was the assistant in Uster, and from 1531 until 1556 he served as minister in Volketswil.

Synod: May and Oct., 1555

Case: Tobler was reported as being absent from his church and of keeping the company of a whore. He was warned in May of 1555 that he ought to improve his ministry. StAZ. E.II.I.424.436.

Sources: Egli, *Actensammlung*, 682,1414,1693,. StAZ. E.II.108, 94v,96,100,106,107,190.

Name: Tubbruner, Ulrich

b.1525 **d.**1604

Parishes: He was ordained in 1550, and was in 1552 minister in Weningen. In 1553 he was nominated for the parish of Niederhaslen, but was not chosen. In 1556 in Wangen, and 1559 in Birmensdorf. Retired in 1600.

Synod: May, 1552, May, 1554, Oct., 1558.

Case: Tubbruner was told by the Synod in 1552 that he ought to study more diligently and take more care in his preaching. In 1554 another quite different case arose when the Synod was informed that Tubbruner's wife was entertaining a monk in the parish house. The Synod found this unacceptable as they were playing cards and engaging in other entertainments unsuitable for a minister's house. Tubbruner was told to forbid these meetings and not have a Catholic monk in his house. In 1558 the Synod was told that Tubbruner was a terrible preacher who read too quickly and whom the people could not understand. The examination revealed that his preaching was terrible and that he hated the farmers. He was warned that his preaching must improve and that he was not to be so impudent. StAZ. E.II.I.385.414/415.474.

Sources: ZPB. p.574. StAZ. E.II.108, 6v,22,40v,48v,49.

Name: Usteri, Heinrich

b.? **d.**1565

Parishes: He was examined and ordained in 1563. He first became minister in Wangen, and then moved in 1564 to Thalwil.

Synod: May, 1565

Case: Usteri's appointment to Thalwil had caused some controversy as he was appointed by the abbot of Wettingen before the examiners could make a recommendation. The Council perceived this action (known as *Pfrundlaufen*) as a challenge to its authority. Usteri's appointment was allowed to stand. In the 1565 Synod his behaviour was reported as being unacceptable and it was said that he was not preaching as he ought. StAZ. E.II.I.549/50.

Sources: ZPB. p.582. StAZ. E.II.108, 57,57v,76. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.54/55.

Name: Vottel, Gebhard

b.? **d.** after 1554

Parishes: 1530 in Albisrieden, 1536 in Affoltern a. A..

Synod: May, 1541, May, 1552, May, 1554, May, 1555.

Case: In 1541 the Synod heard that Vottel drank a great deal. He was told to stay away from taverns, to study more, and improve his household (*hüßlicher*). He was also warned against drinking before meetings of the Synod. Vottel was warned by the Synod in 1552 that if he did not reform himself and improve his behaviour he would be removed from his parish. On 31 May, 1554, Vottel was dismissed from the parish of Affoltern a. A.. A request to the Synod by Vottel to be reinstated was rejected, though he did receive permission to attend the sessions of the Synod but without any voting rights. StAZ. E.II.I.

265/6.388.412.427.432/3.

Sources: ZPB.p.590., Egli, *Actensammlung*, 2003, Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.71,78. StAZ. E.II. 108, 14. StAZ. B.II.88, 4.

References: 240.

Name: Wanner, Dietrich

b.? **d.**1549

Parishes: From 1524 minister in Witikon, 1525 in Horgen.

Synod: Oct., 1549

Case: Wanner and Oswald Sagisser were described as good ministers, but both were unable to continue tending to their parishes. The Synod was told that Wanner was confined to his bed. It decided that the dean, Rudolf Gwalther, should make a request to the Council for a replacement in Horgen. StAZ.

E.II.I.356

Sources: ZPB. p.596, *HBL*S,VIII, p.416, *Zwingliana*, IV, p.154. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.156,177,297.

Name: Weber, Johannes

b.? **d.**1553

Parishes: From 1503 priest in Fällanden, retired 1552.

Synod: May, 1533, Oct, 1550, May, 1551, May, 1552.

Case: In the May Synod of 1533 Weber was reported to have lied from the pulpit, though concerning what is not stated. In both the Synods of 1550 and 1551 the Synod was told that Weber was not able to look after the parish, though nothing seems to have been done about it. In 1552 the report to the Synod stated that the people of Fällanden wanted Hans Buman, who had been assisting in the parish, to take over from Weber, who was too old to look after the parish. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1941, p.856, StAZ. E.II.I.384. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.177.

Sources: ZPB. p.603., Egli, 1378, 1391.

Name: Weber, Wilhelm

b.1538 **d.**1594

Parishes: Ord.1565, 1566 assistant in Pfäffikon, 1575 in Volketswil, 1581 in Witikon.

Synod: Oct., 1573, Oct., 1576.

Case: In 1572 Weber was dismissed from the parish of Pfäffikon, and in the Synod of October 1573 it was noted that he and Markus Sulzer were petitioning to be returned. Weber was admonished in 1576 for not holding weekday services in the church. It was noted that during the week the people were not

coming from work to the church. Weber was told that he must not neglect these services. StAZ E.II.I.646.663.

Sources: ZPB.p.605. StAZ. E.II.479, 14, 1559. *Basler Matrikel*, II, 129, 1560/1. *Heidelberger Matrikel*, II, 28, 1562.

Name: Wecker, Albrecht

b.? d.1569

Parishes: Ord.1532, was first a minister in Weinfeld, 1532 minister in Dietikon, 1534 in Schwamendingen, 1536 in Aardorf, 1547 in Kilchberg, 1553 in Stäfa, retired 1566.

Synod: May, 1553, May, 1566.

Case: Wecker was said in 1553 to have a disruptive and unruly wife whom he ought to discipline. The Council moved Wecker in the same year to the parish of Stäfa. In 1566 the Synod spoke of his long and honourable service to the ministry, but noted that he was too old to continue in parochial service. StAZ E.II.I.404.563.

Sources: ZPB p.605, StAZ. E.II.108, 8,81v.

Name: Werndli, Hans Jakob

b.1534 **d.**1616

Parishes: Ord.1559, minister in Altstätten, St. Gall, 1562 in Lindau, 1564 in Affoltern a.A..

Synod: May, 1579

Case: Werndli was known to have a bad household and to lead a life in which he was frequently in the taverns. His financial affairs were not kept in order, and he was warned by Synod to improve his home, to stay away from taverns and to pay his debts. StAZ. E.II.Ia.701.

Sources: ZPB. p.612. Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen*, p.89. *Marburger Matrikel*, IV, 1, 1557. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.76/77.

References: 253,254.

Name: Wick, Heinrich

b.? d.1581

Parishes: Ord.1568, in the same year minister in Albisrieden^e, died of the plague.

Synod: Oct., 1578.

Case: Wick was warned by the Synod to be more mindful of the Council's mandates and take better care of his living. StAZ. E.II.Ia.691.

Sources: ZPB. p.613.

Name: Widmer, Abraham

b.? d.1589

Parishes: Ord.1559, assistant in Stein am Rhein, 1566 minister in Benken, 1577 assistant in Stammheim.

Synod: Oct., 1565, May, 1566.

Case: Widmer's preaching in Stein was said to be so wretched that the Synod sent some examiners to hear him and decide whether he ought to be replaced. A year later his preaching was still said to be so terrible that few people were coming to the church. StAZ. E.II.I.559.564.

Sources: ZPB. p.614.

Name: Winterli, Adam

b.? d.1582

Parishes: He was examined in 1559 and ordained in 1560. He became the minister in Eschenz, Thurgau, in the same year he moved to Kyburg. In 1564 he was minister in Affoltern a. A..

Synod: May, 1564.

Case: Winterli was described as being unruly and his ministry was said to have born few fruits. He was said to be full of anger and his behaviour caused much disruption in the community. The Synod passed his case on to the Council to be treated. Winterli had asked the Council permission to exchange his parish with another one. The Council was not very willing to grant this request and chose Felix Bluntschli to take over his parish. StAZ. E.II.1.531.

Sources: ZPB. p.618. StAZ. E.II.108, 41v,65v.

Name: Winzürn, Johannes

b. ? d. after 1576

Parishes: From 1535 he was minister in Hirzel, and then in 1530 he moved to Tegerfelden (Thurgau). In 1532 he was examined in Zürich, he became minister in Niederweningen in 1533 and moved to Neunkirch (Schaffhausen) in 1540.

Synod: May, 1533, April, 1535, April, 1537, May, 1540.

Case: In 1533 Winzürn was said to have misbehaved with some local farmers. Their behaviour was described as being contrary to the mandates of the Council. Again in 1535 Winzürn was said to have *prattiert* with some farmers. He was examined, though nothing much seems to have come of it. His lack of study and his carelessness with words brought him before the Synod again in 1537. He had little to say in his defence, though he admitted to his faults, and was warned by the Synod that he was required to remain at home and study. In 1540 the Synod told Winzürn that he ought to be a preacher and not a fool (Vogler). He was again warned to stay at home and not to wander about. StAZ.

E.III.144.194.222.244.

Sources: ZPB. p.619, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1823,1956. HBBW. III, 109f, 135, 136, 161; IV, 76. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.49.

Name: Wirth, Adrian

b.1503 d.1563

Parishes: First looked after the parish of Stammheim, was later assistant there, 1528 minister in Fehraltorf. He was then a dean.

Synod: May, 1561.

Case: Wirt was told by the Synod to cease from his use of 'forbidden arts'. He was warned that he would be dismissed if he continued for these practices led to the growth of superstition in the community. StAZ. E.III.491.

Sources: ZPB. p.619, HBLs, VII, p.565., Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1050, 1410, 1714.

Name: Wirth, Christoph (Wirt)

b.1520 d.1592

Parishes: Ord.1542, 1545 minister in Basserdorf, 1553 in Neflenbach, 1559 made a dean.

Synod: May, 1559, May, 1560, May, 1562, Oct., 1568.

Case: As dean of Winterthur, Wirth gave reports in the Synod meetings of 1560, 62 and 68 on the presence of Anabaptists in his chapter. In 1560 he reported that some were saying that as Christ had recognized no political authority neither should Christians. The Synod referred the matter to the Council asking it to decide whether these people ought to be reported to the officials in Steinmur or Kyburg. The civil officials in Winterthur were also to be informed. StAZ.

E.II.1.478.485.595i/5ii.

Sources: ZPB. p.620., HBLs, VII. p.565, Bullinger, *Diarium*, p.106. StAZ. E.II.108, 6,6v. HBBW.IV, 224. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.65,202,251/2.

Name: Wirth, Johannes Heinrich

b.1543 **d.**1581

Parishes: Ord.1566, in the same year became minister in Tegerfeld, in 1571 Ellikon, 1577 in Kloten.

Synod: May, 1577

Case: Wirth was involved in some sort of financial dealings with the abbot of Wettingen. he seems to have misused parish money and received loans from the abbot which he used to pay other men. The Synod requested that the Council look into the case. StAZ. E.II.Ia. 677/8.

Sources: ZPB. p.620.

Name: Wyss, Urbanus

b.? **d.** after 1554

Parishes: He was originally a Leutpriester in Baden, in the 1520s he was a helper to the Leutpriester in Oberwinterthur, 1537 minister in Eglisau, 1545-54 in Rafz.

Synod: May and Oct., 1535, May, 1551, May, 1554.

Case: Wyss was removed from his parish before 1535 on account of some particularly bad behaviour -the nature of which is not known. He came to the Synod in 1535 seeking to be reconciled with the ministers. This indeed happened though the Synod stated that he ought to be examined. In 1551 the Synod heard that Wyss was neglecting his parish and was not holding his sermons nor the Lord's Supper properly. By 1554 reports were coming to the Synod that Wyss was too old to look after his parish of Rafz and he was removed by the Council on 31 May, 1554. He was replaced on 6 June by Rudolf Hüslī. StAZ.

E.II.I.195.198/9.369/70.415.

Sources: ZPB. p.645, HBLs.VII, p.610., Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte*, I, (1903), p.80, 99. Egli, *Actensammlung*, 404. Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p.177,194,297.

Name: Wysshaupt, Anton (Wyßhow)

b.? **d.**1567

Parishes: He was a chaplain in Bülach, 1528 minister in Stadel, 1540-2 also looked after the parish of Weiach.

Synod: Oct., 1558, May, 1564

Case: In 1558 the Synod noted that in Wyßhaupt's parish of Stadel the Anabaptists were particularly active. This information was passed on to the Council. The Synod commented in 1564 that Wyßhaupt had served the church long and well. It recommended that he be relieved of his parish. He was retired from the parish of Stadel in 1564 by the Council which appointed on the *Expectanten* to the position. A new parish house was built and the income improved. Wyßhaupt then moved to Bülach where he served as a chaplain. StAZ. E.II.I.475.532.

Sources: ZPB. p.646, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1414, 1714, 1757, 1988., StAZ. E.I.2.1a. (Synodalia). StAZ. E.II.108, 93v. W. Hilderbrandt, *Bülach Geschichte einer kleinen Stadt*, p.64-67.

Name: Zangger, Ulrich

b.1497 **d.**1567

Parishes: Since 1530 he was an assistant in Küsnacht-Erlenbach, 1535 minister in Richterswil, 1536 in Hinwil, resigned in 1567.

Synod: May, 1542, May and Oct., 1546, Oct., 1548, May, 1567.

Case: Zangger's drinking brought him to the attention of the Synod on various occasions. He was warned to stop frequenting taverns and bringing the church into disrepute. He remained in the parish of Hinwil until the Synod in 1567 recommended to the Council that Zangger be retired on account of his age and health. Zangger was released from his position by the Council on 8 May, 1567, on account of his illness. StAZ. E.II.I.279.328.346.577.

Sources: ZPB. p.646, Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1714. StAZ. E.II.108, 93v.

Name: Zart, Hans (Sardenus)

b.? d.1567

Parishes: 1545 monastic preacher in Strasbourg, 1546 Provisor in Thun, and then in Interlaken, 1547 minister in Röthenbach, 1548 in Lenk, 1553 minister in Winterthur, 1561 in Wülfigen.

Synod: Oct., 1553, Oct., 1555.

Case: In 1553, when Zart became minister in Winterthur, there were five complaints against him heard in the Synod for which he had to answer. They were: that he did not study; he drank too much; his preaching was poor (he given 150 sermons on Genesis and was only on the fifth chapter, and had preached for a whole year on the second chapter of Ephesians); he was not in his church when he ought to have been and was quarrelling with members of the parish; and finally, he did not keep a very good household as he did not rise until late in the day. In 1555 Zart's preaching was again discussed, and the point was raised once more that he was spending inordinate amounts of time on small parts of the Bible. StAZ. E.II.I.407.435.

Sources: ZPB. p.646.

Name: Zayg, Ruland

b.? d.1562

Parishes: Ord.1540, in the same year was minister in Niederweningen.

Synod: May, 1556.

Case: Zayg reported the case of Hans Heinrich Müller and Johannes Meyer quarrelling in public in Catholic Baden. Müller threatened to bring legal action against Meyer, and Zayg had dispensed advice to Müller concerning his rights. The Synod told Zayg that he was not to discuss matters pertaining to its jurisdiction. Ministers should not be advising one another in matters of discipline. Otherwise, the Synod was told that Zayg was a good man. The other two ministers were threatened with dismissal. StAZ. E.II.I.442.

Sources: ZPB. p.646.

Name: Zingg, Johannes

b.1520 d.1580

Parishes: From 1543 minister in Weiach, Ord.1546, in the same year in Turbenthal, 1568 Alumnat inspector in Zürich, 1579 minister in Horgen.

Synod: Oct. 1556.

Case: Firstly Zingg had made a trip to Baden during which there had been much misbehaviour. Then Zingg and his wife were warned by fellow ministers for dancing. The two were admonished by Conrad Suter (dean) and Caspar Mesinken(?). Zingg admitted in the Synod to have engaged in dancing and promised not to do it again. Also several other members of the community were named and admonished for their behaviour. StAZ. E.II.I.450

Sources: ZPB.p.656.

Name: Zinninger, Michael

b. ? d. 1547

Parishes: From 1530 Zinninger was chaplain in Neftenbach and then minister in Hettlingen.

Synod: Oct. 1545.

Case: When Zinninger was appointed by the Council to replace Heinrich Buchter in the parish of Meilen, He expressed his opposition to being transferred. The Council was angered by Zinninger's resistance and he was warned in the Synod that if he did not comply he would be removed. StAZ. E.II.I.319/20.

Sources: ZPB. p.657 Egli, *Actensammlung*, 1391.

References: 188

Name: Zorn, Jakob

b.? d. after 1549

Parishes: Ord.1538, 1540-8 minister in Regensdorf, .

Synod: May and Oct. 1546, May, 1548, May, 1549.

Case: Zorn was said to have kept a bad household with no control over his children. The Synod was told that all sorts of unacceptable activities including games and dancing were going on in the parish house. Zorn himself was said to participate in the dancing after weddings which the Council and Synod discouraged. In his examination the Synod found Zorn's account of his behaviour unacceptable. He was warned not to appear again. He did come before the Synod again in 1548 and 1549 which recommended first that he be put in Wellenberg for his negligence and disruptive activities and, later, that he be dismissed from his parish. StAZ. E.II.I.324.332.

Sources: ZPB. p.658.

Name: Zurlinden, Hans Jakob.

b. 1536 d. 1592

Parishes: In 1558 he became the assistant in Kilchberg, and then in 1563 the minister in Rüti.

Synod: Oct., 1564.

Case: One year after his arrival in Rüti, Zurlinden was warned that he ought not to be performing the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist in a shameful manner. StAZ. E.II.I. 544.

Sources: ZPB. p.659. *Marburger Matrikel*. III, p.28 (1556).

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