The Institutionalization
of the Reformation at Zurich

by ROBERT C. WALTON

The institutionalization of the Reformation at Zurich saw the com-
pletion of the institutionalization of the city magistracy's authority over
all aspects of the external affairs of the church. In this sense the Refor-
mation marks the end rather than the beginning of the process. In order
to understand the significance of the authority which the success of the
Reformation finally guaranteed to the civil magistracy, it is also necessary
to understand the context within which the magistracy functioned and
which conditioned the form and extent of the city government's claims
to authority but never to sovereignty in the modern sense[1].

Zurich, a former imperial city and thus a fragment of the Holy Roman
Empire, had been a member of the Swiss Confederacy since 1351. She was
the heir to a long tradition of republican freedom which drew its strength
both from the origins of the Confederacy itself in the struggle against the
Habsburgs and a progressive internal broadening of the franchise to the
benefit of the artisan guilds and at the expense of the landed gentry and
merchant classes. On the eve of the Reformation the city's constitution
represented the form of guild-dominated city state which has been

---

[1] Bernd Moeller, Zwinglis Disputationen. Studien zu den Anfängen der Kirchen-
bildung und des Synodalwesens im Protestantismus, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung
für Rechtsgeschichte*, KA, LXXXVII, 1970, 277, 286, 288, 290,299–300,317,319–320.
Cf. René Hauswirth, Zur politischen Ethik der Generation nach Zwingli, *Zwingliana*
XIII, Heft 5, 1971, 305–306.

described most carefully by Eberhard Naujoks and Bernd Moeller. Zurich like most other South German cities thought of itself as a small scale *corpus christianum*, or *res publica christiana*[2].

The city state was a part of the fragmented political and religious world which in fact characterized late Medieval Society north of the Alps as much as it did the world of the Renaissance republics of Italy. As a member of the "agglomeration of particular communities[3]", which made up the Swiss Confederacy, Zurich, whose economic and political fortunes were in decline, sought to defend its traditions of civic freedom. The Zurich reformer, Ulrich Zwingli, never tired of warning the Confederates to guard themselves from "foreign lords" who would bring them to dishonor[4].

In speaking of the church Zwingli employed an Augustinian dualism which made it possible for the "external structure of the church to conform to the fragmented structure of political reality[5]". His answer given in April of 1522 to the Suffragan Bishop of Constance's warning that the Zurich magistrates should not depart from the church outside of which there was no salvation emphasizes this dualism. Zwingli agreed that no one was saved outside the church which was made up of all those who confessed with their hearts and their mouths that Christ was the risen Lord. The members of this church he added might be among the

---

[2] Bernd Moeller, *Reichsstadt und Reformation*, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, Nr. 180 (Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1962), 15. Eberhard Naujoks, *Obrigkeitsgedanke, Zunftverfassung und Reformation*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B, Bd. 3 (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1958), 11.

[3] Cf. W. J. Bouwsma's description of the world in which the Italian republics sought to maintain themselves and the outlook which their struggle produced. W. J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1968) 8, 13. The position of the Italian cities and their ideological response to it should be examined comparatively in the wider perspective of the transalpine city and territorial states of the late Medieval period.

[4] *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, hg. von Emil Egli und Georg Finsler, 14 Bde. (Berlin, C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1905ff.), I, 157, 188_{12-13} (hereafter referred to as Z). Martin Haas, *Huldrych Zwingli* (Zürich, Zwingli Verlag, 1969), 63–67, 72–75.

[5] Bouwsma, 30. The above quote is from Bouwsma who applied it to the "republicans of the Renaissance" in the Italian city states but it has equal application to Zwingli's Zurich. Cf. Perplexae quippe sunt istae duae civitates in hoc saeculo, invicemque permixtae, donec ultimo judicio dirimantur..., *S. Augustini Aurelii, Opera Omnia, Tomus Septimus, De Civitate Dei*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus (Parisiis, Près La Barrière D'Enfer, 1846), vol. XLI, lib. I, cap. XXXV, 46_{16-18} (referred to as *De Civitate Dei*).

Indians or the Scythians[6]. Article eight of the Defense of the Sixty-Seven Articles, published in July of 1523, made the twofold distinction even clearer. Zwingli repeated what he had said earlier about the nature of the universal church whose members included "... aller dero, die in einem glouben uff den Herrn Jhesum Christum erbuwen und ggründt sind ... das ist: die gemeinsame aller usserwelten gleubigen[7]." To this he added a discussion of the second way in which the word church had been used to refer to particular gatherings which he said were called parishes or church congregations. He assured his readers that Paul had often referred to parishes as *"ecclesias"* that is assemblies (or communities). To prove his point he cited 1.Cor. 1:2, translating Paul's greeting to the church at Corinth as "Der Gemeind, die in Corintho ist[8]".

At the opening of the Second Disputation in October 1523 Zwingli again referred to 1.Cor. 1:2 to assert that Paul's letters to the churches at Corinth and Galatia, which he said were addressed to the "gemeinden oder kilchhörinen an dennen orten", provided the precedent for refering to the congregation at Bern or Zurich in the same way. On the basis of this argument he claimed that the responsibility for admonishing and excommunicating impudent sinners lay with the individual church because the universal church could never be gathered together[9]. The aim of this argument was to validate the authority of those assembled for the Disputation to deal with such questions as the Mass and the Images. Zwingli maintained the same basic position in the *Fidei Ratio* of July 1530. The universal church of the elect was known only to God; the visible church was made up of all who confessed Christ, and although it contained many *reprobi*, it was called the church of God by the "judgement of men" on the basis of a mere external standard. Because this church could not be gathered together in one place Zwingli said as he had before that the term church was also applied to particular gatherings of Christians such as the church at Rome or Augsburg or Lyon. The unity of the visible church was the result of sharing the same spirit which led it to a common confession of faith[10].

It is interesting to note in this connection, that Thomas Erastus made use of exactly the same distinctions in the first five articles of his *Expositio*, as did John Calvin when he said "plurimi sunt permixti hypocritae, qui nihil Christi habent praeter titulum et speciem ..." and juxtaposed

---

[6] Z I, 152$_{12-16}$.

[7] Z II, 56$_{18, 30}$.

[8] Z II, 58$_{23}$.

[9] Z II, 682$_{19-28}$. Cf. Moeller, Zwinglis Disputationen, 317–321.

[10] Z VI/II, 800$_{16-18}$, 801$_{17-19, 21-24, 30}$, 802$_8$.

the church universal based upon God's secret election to the church visible whose members were considered elect by "quoddam charitatis iudicium[11]". Calvin expressed his views very clearly on the need for the "outward discipline and ceremonies" of the church to suit the requirements of the time and place in which it found itself when he said, "... confugere hic oportet ad generales quas dedit regulas, ut ad eas exigantur quaecunque ad ordinem et decorum praecipi necessitas Ecclesiae postulabit[12]". This opinion left him and his followers ample room to adapt to and take advantage of a constantly changing world[13]. Both Calvin and Zwingli like their republican equivalents beyond the Alps believed that:

> ... minime negaverim vel aristocratiam, vel temperatum ex ipsa et politia statum aliis omnibus longe excellere: ... Facit ergo hominum vitium vel defectur, ut tutius sit ac magis tolerabile plures tenere gubernacula, ... ac siquis plus aequo se efferat, plures sint ad cohibendam euis libidinem censores ac magistri. Id cum experimento ipso semper fuit comprobatum, tum sua quoque authoritate Dominus confirmavit quum aristocratiam politiae vicinam apud Israelitas instituit, quum optima conditione eas habere vellet ...[14]

To Zwingli spiritual freedom, which was freedom of conscience brought by Christ via the preaching of the Gospel, was best defended and maintained in a commonwealth which enjoyed temporal freedom, that is freedom from dependence upon a king or prince. It is interesting to note in this respect that Zwingli, following St. Augustine's definition of a true republic found in Bk XIX, Chapter 21 of the City of God, termed those aristocratic or mixed forms of governments which did not accept the preaching of the Gospel oligarchies[15]. Zwingli believed that true citizenship, which to him implied the existence of civic freedom, was inextrica-

---

[11] *Johannis Calvini Opera Selecta*, eds. P. Barth, G. Niesel, 5 vols., editio secunda (Monachii, in Aedibus Chr. Kaiser, MCMLXII); vol. 5 (Institutionis Christianae religionis 1559 librum IV, continens), cap. I, sec. 7_{19-21}; 8_{17} (hereafter referred to as *Institutionis*).

[12] *Institutionis*, lib. IV, cap. X, sec. 30_{32-35}. Kressner completely misunderstands Calvin's flexibility in such matters and claims that Calvin made the *Kirchenverfassung*, an article of faith. He confuses Calvin with Calvinists such as Cartwright who were closer to Beza's views than Calvin's. H. Kressner, *Schweizer Ursprünge des anglikanischen Staatskirchentums*, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, Nr. 170 (Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1953), 74–76. *Institutionis*, lib. IV, cap. I, sec. 9; cap. X, sec. 27–30; cap. XI, sec. 1–5; cap. XII, sec. 1–13.

[13] Bouwsma, 27–29.

[14] *Institutionis*, lib. IV, cap. XX, sec. 8, 478_{23} –479_6. E. Kobelt, *Die Bedeutung der Eidgenossenschaft für Huldrych Zwingli* (Zürich, Buchdruckerei Leemann AG, 1970), 56–57. Z XIV, 11_{11-21}.

[15] Kobelt, 56–57.

bly bound up with proper piety[16]. Paraphrasing part two of Chapter 21, Bk XIX of the City of God, he based the very consensus, on which he believed the harmonious functioning of a mixed constitution was founded, upon such piety as his introduction to Jeremiah reveals.

> Sunt enim urbes nihil aliud quam magnae societates, Aristotele quoque teste. Publicus ergo consensus, qui ad omne corpus est necessarius, quomodo ex tam diversis ingeniis coibit, nisi uno spiritu membra vegetentur, nisi eadem doceantur, . . .

Compare here Augustine speaking of men or an assembly of men who do not serve God: "Non est hic ergo juris ille consensus, qui hominum multitudinem populum facit, cujus res dicitur esse respublica[17]." The stark Augustinianism of Zwingli's argument as well as that of his subsequent discussion of true justice is most striking. For Zwingli this instruction by one spirit was rooted in *ille noster Christianismus*. Through the proper preaching of the Gospel which was the source of true Christianity, Zwingli, like St. Augustine, believed that an awareness of the common good and a civic harmony based upon the right of each man to receive his due could be achieved. Zwingli clarified this point in the introduction to his commentary on Jeremiah when he warned that without divine aid men could obtain neither wisdom nor prudence. Without God all that was possible was what we would call pork barrel agreements and the pursuit of disruptive selfish ends by class or interest groups *(nundinatio et factio)* [18]. The just government which resulted in the preaching of the Gospel provided the context in which the citizen could enjoy civic freedom. This assumption led Zwingli to the conclusion which he stated at the end of his introduction to Jeremiah.

> Sic principes vestri non turgent fastu, sic prophetai commode, fideliter ac erudite docent, sic plebs tranquilla et doctrinam et imperium capit, ut iam dixisse olim non poeniteat Christianum hominem nihil aliud esse quam fidelem ac bonum civem, urbem Christianam nihil quam ecclesiam Christianam esse[19].

---

[16] Kobelt, 62–63.

[17] Z XIV, 419_{35}–420_1. *De Civitate Dei*, lib. 19, cap. XXI, pars 2_{29-31}. Cf. J. D. Adams, *The Populus of Augustine and Jerome, A Study in the Patristic Sense of Community* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1971), 17–21, 130 ff.

[18] Cf. Z I, 308_{38}–309_5. Kobelt, 70. Z XIV, 417_{20-22}.

[19] Z XIV, 424_{17-22}. The identification of the church and the city is reminiscent of Erasmus' identification of the *civitas* with a monastary: "quid aluid est civitas quam magnum monastarium ?" In his letter to Paul Volz Erasmus developed a criticism of monks and monasticism which compared the monks unfavorably with the citizens of a *civitas* and concluded that a comparison of a good monk with a

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 medieval view of the role of laymen, the secular clergy and the religious were swept away so that true citizenship grounded in piety could be enjoyed by all[20].

On the practical level Zwingli's position represented the logical consequences of the absorption of the local church into the body politic of the Zurich commonwealth which had been going on for almost two centuries before the Reformation. Bishop Optatus of Mileve's (4th century) often employed phrase "Res publica non est in ecclesia sed ecclesia est in re publica" was increasingly the case in Zurich[21].

The extent to which the church and civic commonwealth were identified in this period is revealed by fact that by the beginning of the 16th century it was extremely difficult to separate a *Pfarrgemeinde* from a *Dorfgemeinde* in the countryside and that the very definition of the term *Kirchgemeinde* had begun to change. Increasingly the term came to refer to a biannual assembly of all those living in a community or region who gathered to deal with ecclesiastical and political matters[22]. Additional proof

---

good layman would be decided in favor of the layman. "Sin bonos cum bonis, minimum est discrimen, si tamen est ullum, nisi quod religiosiores videntur, qui minus coacti praestant religionem." *Opus Epistularum des Erasmi Roterdamni*, 12 vols., ed. P.S. and H.M. Allen (Oxonii, In Typographeo Clarendoniano, MCMXIII) III 858, 11, 560. The parallel between Erasmus' conclusion and that of Lorenzo Valla's *De professione religiosorum* is worthy of note. Charles Trinkaus, Humanist Treatises on the Status of the Religious: Petrarch, Salutati, Valla, *Studies in the Renaissance*, vol. XI, 36–38. Zwingli's optimism about the influence which the preaching of the Gospel would have upon the life of Zurich's citizens was in part formed by the influence of Erasmus. It represents the transalpine equivalent of what Bouwsma describes as the pragmatic dogmatically indifferent "Pauline-Augustinian spirituality" which he terms "later medieval evangelism". Bouwsma 29, 40–41. Cf. also Haas, *Huldrych Zwingli*, 87–90. However, it is questionable whether a Pauline-Augustinian spirituality could be dogmatically indifferent.

[20] Cf. Bouwsma, 6ff.

[21] Hans Morf, Obrigkeit und Kirche in Zürich bis zu Beginn der Reformation, *Zwingliana* XIII, Heft 3, 1970, 164–205. The quote as cited in O. Brunner, Souveränitätsproblem und Sozialstruktur in den deutschen Reichsstädten der frühen Neuzeit, *Neue Wege der Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), 307. Cf. also M. Heckel, *Staat und Kirche nach den Lehren der evangelischen Juristen Deutschlands in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 6 of *Jus Ecclesiasticum* (München, Claudius Verlag, 1968), 115ff.

[22] *Schweizerisches Idiotikon*, 13 Bde., eds. F.Staub, L.Tobler, R.Schoch (Frauenfeld, Verlag J.Huber, 1885ff.), II, 1577–1578. Carl S.Bader, *Studien zur Rechts-*

is given in Zwingli's use and identification of such terms as *gemeind* and *volck* to refer to the church, for these terms were identical with those used to refer to the civic community. Their recognized Latin equivalents were *civitas* or *res publica* for *gemeind* and *populus* for *volck*. *Populus* could refer either to the governed or the governed together with magistracy and Zwingli used *populus* interchangeably with *civitas* and *res publica*. All three terms assumed that the magistrates as well as the governed lived together under the same law[23].

It should come as no surprise that when Thomas Erastus spoke of the twofold nature of church he spoke of the church in the world as "externa seu visibilis, ac politica[24]". The significance of such an identification of the ecclesiastical and civic community is probably best revealed in Zwingli's letter to Ambrosius Blarer in which he defended a city Council's right to supervise religious affairs in so far as it was Christian and consulted the various district assemblies of the city, the *curiata comitia* which he said were called the guilds in order to obtain the consensus of the church[25]. Zwingli completely identified the visible church with the guild constitution of the Zurich city state. The identification further limits and clarifies his use of the term *populus;* the citizens, the *populus*, were the members of the guilds who were the politically competent element in the city state. In fact the great Council (200), whose members were referred to as the citizens *"die Bürger"* and in which the guilds predominated was a body whose members served for life and were coopted[26]. This identifi-

---

geschichte des Mittelalterlichen Dorfes, Dorfgenossenschaft und Dorfgemeinde (Weimar, Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1962), Teil 2, 194–195, 212–213.

[23] Kobelt, 24–26. Z II, 55–58. Cf. Leo Jud's use of the term "Gemeinde" for *res publica christiana* and "Bürger" for *cives* in his translation of Erasmus' *Education of a Christian Prince*. Otto Herding, Die deutsche Gestalt der Institutio Principis Christiani des Erasmus, *Adel und Kirche: Gerd Tellenbach zum 65.Geburtstag*, hg. von Josef Fleckenstein und Karl Schmid (Freiburg/Basel/Wien, Herder Verlag, 1968), 545–546, 546–548.

[24] "Est autem duplex fidelium societas, interne scilicet ac spiritualis, et externa seu visibilis, ac politica", T.Erastus, *Explicatio Gravissimae Quaestionis utrum Excommunicatio* (Pesclavii, Apud Boacium Sultaceterum, CIƆIƆLXXXIX), 1.

[25] Z IX, 456$_{27}$–458$_{6, 13-15}$. Fritz Blanke, Zwingli mit Ambrosius Blarer im Gespräch, *Ambrosius Blarer*, hg. von B.Moeller (Constanz/Stuttgart, Jan Thorbecke, 1964), 85. It should be added that the *Volksanfrage* provided the same sense of consensus for the country districts. The extent to which *consensus* played a role in both the city and the countryside is sometimes overlooked.

[26] Martin Haas, *Zwingli und der Erste Kappelerkrieg* (Zürich, Verlag Berichthaus, 1965), 8. Hans Morf, Zunftverfassung und Obrigkeit in Zürich von Waldmann bis Zwingli, *Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, Bd.45, Heft 1 (Zürich, Leemann AG, 1969), 43. Bouwsma notes the same use of the term *populus* in "Re-

cation is what set Zurich's ecclesiastical polity apart from Geneva's. Neither Zwingli nor Bullinger accepted Calvin's belief that: "Quemadmodum enim nulla urbs nullusve pagus sine magistratu et politia stare potest: sic Ecclesia Dei ... sua quadam spirituali politia indiget: quae tamen a civili prorsus distincta est, ...[27]" Calvin and Beza's call for the "truly godly magistrate" to join in the "common subjection of God's children to prevent the corruption of a whole society" and Beza's remark when commenting on Matth. 18:17, "He that contemneth the judgement of the church, contemneth God" were viewed by Bullinger as the demand for a new form of papal tyranny which was to be enforced by excommunication, i.e. barring from the communion[28]. Writing a few years before his death, Bullinger asserted that Zurich had never had a Presbytery and neither he nor anyone else in the city wanted a discipline beyond that which was acceptable to the law of the Christian magistrate and could be administered by him.

---

naissance discourse" to refer to the "politically competent group in a state" and Brunner confirms its application in the North German cities during the early modern period. Bouwsma, 15. Brunner, Souveränitätsproblem und Sozialstruktur, 302. Zwingli's reassuring letter to Beatus Rhenanus, written in March of 1519, which informed Rhenanus that his audience was drawn from the best (optima) should also be read in this context. Similar terms such as *meliores* were used to refer to the more influential citizens in Nuremberg and elsewhere. Z VII, 171_{20}. Gerald Strauss, *Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century* (Bloomington, University of Indiana, 1962), 78. Moeller, *Reichsstadt und Reformation*, 11. It is also interesting to note that in Geneva until 1560 only those members of the Council of 200 who were "citoyens et bourgeois", i.e. those who had been born in the city, could be elected to the Consistory. The term bourgeois referred to those who had either purchased or been granted citizenship when they came to Geneva. "Citoyens et bourgeois" meant native born Genevans. I wish to thank Professor Robert Kingdon for making me aware of this distinction. W. Baum, Edward Cunitz, Edward Reuss, eds., *Joannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia* (Brunsvigae, Apud C. A. Schwetschke et Filium, 1879), vol. XXI, 727–728. In any discussion of urban constitutions Brunner's basic definition of the *Bürgergemeinde* should be kept in mind. "Konstitutiv aber war der Bürgereid, denn auf ihm beruht die Möglichkeit eigener Rechtssetzung durch eidliche Verpflichtung, durch sogenannte 'Wilkür' ['Köre'], und auf ihm beruht das Verhältnis von Treue und Gehorsam gegenüber dem Rat als Obrigkeit, ein Verhältnis, das nur im Rahmen des geltenden Rechts wirksam war." Brunner, Souveränitätsproblem und Sozialstruktur, 302.

[27] *Institutionis*, lib. IV, cap. XI, sec. 1_{6-10}.

[28] *Institutionis*, lib. IV, cap. XI, sec. 1–4. Cf. Calvin's remark: "... quia nec quicquam sibi sumit Ecclesia quod sit proprium magistratus, neque hoc efficere potest magistratus quod ab Ecclesia peragitur." *Institutionis*, lib. IV, cap. XI, sec. 3, 9–12. *The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ, translated out of Greek by Theodore Beza, Whereunto are Adjoyned Large Expositions of Phrases and Hard Places by the Author and Others*, Englished by L. Tomson (London, Deputies of Christopher

For the sake of maintaining the unity of the community, he, like Erastus, opposed barring anyone from the Lord's Supper and viewed excommunication as a temporal punishment which fell naturally into the realm of competence of the Christian magistrate. As it had in his polemic against the Anabaptists, Augustine's Third Book Against the Letter of Parmenian played a central part in Bullinger's argument[29].

Calvin's Consistory at Geneva was the result of a compromise with a city government whose real independance was of recent origins and represents a thwarted attempt to establish a separate government for the church, while such organs as the Zurich *Ehegericht* (1525) or the Synod of 1528 represent institutions founded by the authority of a long established Christian magistracy for the proper government of a *res publica christiana*. Köhler's attempt to relate the Zurich *Ehegericht* to the Consistory and his description of both as typically "Reformed" because they represent a unique mixture of lay and clerical elements misses the point that the two institutions are the product of two different theories concerning the relationship between the spiritual and secular realms in the *civitas terrena;* the Genevan Consistory was not the final product of a series of attempts first begun with the founding of the Zurich *Ehegericht*

Barker Printer to the Queen's most excellent Maiestie, 1596), 22a. Theodore Beza, *Tractatus Pius et Moderatus de Vera Excommunicatione & Christiano Presbyterio* (Geneva, Apud Joannem le Preux, MDXC), the Preface. Cf. Bullinger's letter to P. Dathenus, June 1, 1570. "Neque habuimus unquam presbyterium, vel talem senatum ecclesiasticum, qui examinaverit communicaturos, ad communionem admiserit, aut ab ea excluserit peccatores . . . Erastus' *Explicato*, 355 ff. Cf. also the letter to Bishop Sandys, written March 10, 1574: " . . . Propositionem primam, civilem magistratum nullum habere jus in res ecclesiasticas; item secundam, ecclesiam nullam admittere gubernationem quam presbyterorum vel presbyterii; duas, inquam, has communes habent cum papistis, qui et ipsi magistratum a gubernatione ecclesiae deturbant, et se ipsos solos substituunt." *Zurich Letters*, sec. Series, ed. H. Robinson (Cambridge, University Press, MDCCCXLV), from the Latin Letters, *Epistulae Tigurinae*, appended at the end of the English text, p. 148. Cf. also Kressner, *Schweizer Ursprünge des anglikanischen Staatskirchentums*, 95–98. Kressner's use of the term "Puritan" is ambigious for Sandys himself was a Puritan, if the term is used to designate those who wished for a further reform of the church from within. Cf. Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1967), 61–65.

[29] Bullinger to Erastus, October 17, 1568, *Expositio*, 350–351: " . . . quibus nunquam concedere voluimus, ut disciplinam, et coenam commiscerent. Coenam esse publicam et laetam gratiarum actionem et non poenam. Disciplinam vero comprehendere monitionem, correptionem, adeoque poenam. Coherceri debere scelera et sceleratos per magistratum Christianum . . ." Bullinger to Erastus, October 29, 1568, *Expositio*, 352. Bullinger to Peter Dathenus, June 1, 1570, *Expositio*, 356, 358–359.

in 1525 to link the magistracy and the church together in an institution which was neither purely ecclesiastical nor purely governmental[30]. Calvin's Consistory was the first step towards *jure divino* presbyterianism, in Bullinger's eyes a true *via oligarchiae;* Zwingli's Ehegericht was the final step in the absorption of the institutions of the local church into the civic commonwealth. The first secretary of the court, Heinrich Utinger, had been the Bishop's resident commissioner for dealing with marriage questions in the city since 1502, when the Council had compelled the Bishop of Constance to dismiss Peter Nümagen and appoint Utinger[31].

The Zurich Councils were indeed, as Zwingli remarked in a letter to Ambrosius Blarer dated October 9, 1523, "the highest authority among us[32]". But the position of the Councils and the fact, for instance that the Council of 200 controlled the appointments to all the prebends in the city and had forced the Council of 50 to share its rights to the appointments of the city's three ecclesiastical foundations, the Abbey, the Priory and St. Peters at Embrach, before the Reformation began do not tell the whole story[33]. The surprisingly smooth transition from the allegiance to the old church to ecclesiastical independence was due to the stability of Zurich's governing establishment and to Zwingli's close alliance with key families within the ruling class. The introduction of the Reformation was accompanied by a minimum of friction because it did not mask or serve to aid in the rise of a group of *novi homines*. The balance of power in the city had shifted to the guilds by 1498 and by the time Zwingli appeared on the scene the leading families among the Zurich guildmasters were closely allied by marriage, interest and style of life with the aristocratic Constaffel. What did happen during the first decade of the Reformation

---

[30] Walther Köhler, *Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium*, Bd. II, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte, X (Leipzig, M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1932), 653–654, 662–663. The case of Bremen offers an interesting parallel to that of Zurich. Though Christoph Pezel viewed the "discipline" as one of the "signs" of the church, the *jurisdictio ecclesiastica* which he championed was not maintained there. Jürgen Moltmann, *Christoph Pezel (1539–1604) und der Calvinismus in Bremen*, vol. 2 of the Hospitium Ecclesiae, Forschungen zur bremischen Kirchengeschichte (Bremen, Verlag Einkehr, 1958). III, 155–158, 159–163, 165.

[31] Hans Morf, Obrigkeit und Kirche in Zürich bis zu Beginn der Reformation, *Zwingliana* XIII, Heft 3, 1970, 177–178.

[32] Z VIII, 124$_{4-9}$. Cf. Haas, *Zwingli und der Erste Kappelerkrieg*, 7–11. Cf. Brunner's definition: "Die Stadt, die Civitas, die Bürgergemeinde, die Universitas ist Inhaber der 'Rechte und Freiheiten', der 'Jura et libertates'. Es fehlt der moderne Begriff der Staatsgewalt . . . 'Bürgermeister, Rat und Gemeinde' bilden zusammen die Gesamtheit." Brunner, Souveränitätsproblem und Sozialstruktur, 303.

[33] Morf, *Zunftverfassung und Obrigkeit in Zürich von Waldmann bis Zwingli*, 43–44.

was the logical consequence of the social amalgamation which had already taken place. It should also be added that the general decline of Zurich's prosperity caused a leveling of a wealth which probably made the amalgamation easier[34].

The obvious domination of the affairs of the city by the Constaffel and the Guild of the Dyers *(Zunft zur Saffran)* and the Innkeepers *(Zunft zur Meisen)*, whose members more frequently had the money to take the time for civic affairs, was somewhat modified in favor of increasing participation by a wider circle of already prominent and wealthy members of the remaining guilds. That is political participation was more evenly shared within the establishment itself. This change can be traced through an examination of the membership of the special commissions *(Ratsverordneten)* appointed by the Mayor and the three Chiefguildmasters to suggest solutions to the administrative, financial, diplomatic and religious problems which faced the Zurich Council before and during the Reformation period[35].

What needs to be examined further and can not be considered in this paper is the role of the *Freundschaft*, which can be translated into Latin

---

[34] Haas, *Huldrych Zwingli*, 72–75.

[35] Morf's recent thesis along with Walter Jacob's *Politische Führungsschicht und Reformation; Untersuchungen zur Reformation in Zürich 1519–1528*, vol. 1 of the *Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Zürich, Zwingli Verlag, 1970), have completely set aside the interpretation which assumed the emergence of a new ruling class offered by Birnbaum in his The Zwinglian Reformation in Zurich, *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, vol. IV, 15–30. For instance the balance of power had already begun to shift against the pro French mercenary party and even against mercenary service as a whole by 1515/16. Morf, *Zunftverfassung und Obrigkeit in Zürich von Waldmann bis Zwingli*, 72–76, 10–11. Jacob, 44–45, 59, 63, 67, 69. Jacob notes that the *Rentner* class which was heavily represented in the Constaffel and tended to be loyal to the old faith did lose their political influence but they were only a small element within the establishment which had already taken form before the Reformation began. Ninety percent of those who aided in guiding the Reformation to a successful conclusion in Zurich were from the group which normally dominated the civic affairs of the commonwealth. Only nine men rose more rapidly because of their allegiance to the Reformation and only three new men appear solely on the grounds of their adherence to the Reformation. Jacob, 68–69, 82–83, 100. The key to the shift in participation in favor of a broader spectrum of the *Zunftoberschicht* was the influence exercised by the *Bürgermeister* and the 4 *Obristmeister* who were among Zwingli's more ardent supporters in choosing the members *(Verordneten)* of the commissions. Jacob, 82–83. Naujoks describes a similar development in Ulm during the latter half of the 15th century. The average guildmember could not afford to hold office. Continuity and stability in the affairs of the government were provided by a *Zunftaristokratie*. Naujoks, *Obrigkeitsgedanke, Zunftverfassung und Reformation*, 19 ff.

as *sodalitas,* in the Zurich Reformation. Martin Haas has recently emphasized its importance both for an understanding of the government of the country districts during the Reformation and the response of the Zurich Council to the threat of the *Täufer.* The commitment of a leading family, i.e. one of the *potentiores* to the cause of the Reformation usually meant the commitment of the whole *Freundschaft,* the *amici.* The *Freundschaft* was an association providing social and legal protection which began with the extended family and went far beyond it to cut across society vertically. It would not take the commitment of too many leading families to oblige a large segment of the non-voting population both in the city and its environs to support the Reformation[36].

The socio-political position of the Council in the Zurich Commonwealth had practical results. The nature of the proposals suggested by Zwingli and Bullinger for the appointment of the clergy within the Canton provides an excellent example of what these results were. The suggestions represented part of a larger set of proposals for the establishment of a Cantonal synod which were first advanced by Zwingli in 1528 and given final form in the plan presented by Bullinger and accepted by the Council on October 22, 1532. Zwingli's proposal made provision for the establishment of a Committee of Examiners or Triers *(Examinatoren-Konvent)* which included members of the Council of 50, who were to examine the candidates for appointment to vacant parishes. Basic to the Committee's willingness to consider a candidate was whether or not the candidate was willing not only to swear obedience to the authority of Scripture and the doctrines of the Reformation, but also to the magistracy[37]. When the Council, aided by Bullinger, revised and elaborated the structure of the Synod, the new synodical Charter was issued "uss ordentlicher oberkeits macht bekräftigt", i.e. on the strength of the government's general authority to encourage "a godly Christian life" ("ouch zuo üfnung und pflanzung eines göttlichen, christenlichen lebens[38]").

The new ordinance strictly limited the Synod's competence to matters of doctrine and to questions arising from the behaviour of the clergy. All other "external" matters were to be referred to the Council by the eight

---

[36] Lorenz Diefenbach, *Glossarium Latino-Germanicum Mediae et Infimae Aetates* (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968; reprint of 1857 edition). Martin Haas, Täufertum und Revolution, *Festgabe Leonhard von Muralt* (Zürich, Verlag Berichthaus, 1970), 293–295; Otto Brunner, *Land und Herrschaft* (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970), 22, 17–24.

[37] Z VI/I, 527, 530.

[38] Emil Egli, *Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519–1532* (Zürich, Druck von J. Schabelitz, 1879), 1899, 826.

representatives of the Small Council who were required to be present at the biannual meetings of the Synod. The method of appointment outlined in the ordinance is of particular interest. This section began by stating that appointments to vacant parishes lay in the hands either of the local feudatory (lehenherrn), or "our noble lords" (unseren gnädigen herren). Candidates were to present their credentials to the Committee of Triers which was to consist of two pastors, two members of the Council and two of the Biblical lectures (lectores), who were usually employed at the Carolinum, i. e. the school which had been formed from the income and buildings formerly belonging to the Canons of the Grossmünster. The Examiners were to pass their report on to the Council which were to consider it and then call the new appointee before them for a closer look. The appointment in fact followed from the swearing of the oath of loyalty to the Council and was to occur in the following way. Escorted either by a member of the Council, or the local *Vogt* (provost), the candidate was to be brought to his new parish where he would be met by the Deacon (Dean) of the chapter and the pastor from the nearest neighboring parish. (The ordinance divided the parishes of the Canton into eight chapters subsequently nine, each of which was headed by a Deacon.) After the people had been assembled, and it is interesting to note that here there is no reference to a church congregation but merely to *"das volk versammlet"*, the representative of the magistracy was to declare the parish open and to ask if anyone objected to the candidate. After a sermon by the deacon on the duties of the pastor, the candidate was to be formally presented to the church *(kilch)*, a prayer for grace to be said and then the Vogt, or the representative of the Council, was to recommend the candidate to the congregation *(gemeind)* in the name of the *christlichen oberkeit* and to enjoin them to aid him in the exercise of his office. Objections to the pastor's conduct were to be reported to the government who were to be responsible for disciplining the pastor. If the candidate had not already sworn his oath of doctrinal obedience before the Synod, he was to do so at the next meeting[39].

When the English Bishops appealed to Bullinger for help against Thomas Cartwright, Bullinger, who was old and unwell, shifted some of the burden of the response to Rudolph Gualther, who was to be his successor as the Zurich *Antistes*. Gualther himself was a typical profilic proponent of the Zurich urban theology who believed in the need for the Christian magistrate and denied that the *res publica* could be governed without the proper practice of religion and knowledge of the divine will.

---

[39] Egli, 1899, Articles 8 and 9, p. 828–829.

To him those who denied that the care of the church and religion was the concern of the magistrate were "publicos humani generis hostes[40]". Gualther wrote a long letter to Cox, the Bishop of Ely, on August 26, 1573, which dealt in detail with the demands of the Presbyterians. His reply to their insistance that the pastor be chosen by the congregation reveals how completely the Zurich divines thought in terms of the civic constitution of their own city. While admitting that there were Biblical and patristic precedents for such a mode of selection, Gualther added that he was sure that only the more influential element of the congregation *(potiores partes)* had actually voted. He defined the *potiores partes* as those "qui vel apostoli nominis dignitate vel officii ratione et honorum praerogativa alliis praestabant". Without them and some kind of hierarchical order among the clergy, he asserted the decent and orderly selection of pastors enjoined by St. Paul would not have been possible[41].

Then he directed his attention to the present situation. The *universus ecclesiae ordo* had been subverted by papal tyranny and confirmed by the "regum et principum superstitio" with the result that tithes and other parish revenues as well as the right of election, the *patronatus,* had devolved upon "ad collegiorum praefectos, episcopos et abbates, denique ad mulieres quoque abbatissas", not to mention others. In the case of Zurich many such rights along with the incomes of the prebends which Gualther said included "reditus maximos" in the Canton were vested in the Bishop of Constance and "abbates papisticos". It was he claimed too dangerous to deprive them of these rights and so they were allowed to enjoy them as long as they promised "amplissimo senatu nostro" not to appoint anyone who was not of "nostra ecclesia" and who had not been properly examined[42]. Gualther noted further that the St. Peter's Church, where he had been chosen and ordained, was the only church in the entire Canton which still had the right elect its own minister and said that he saw no reason to look down on the rest of the clergy, because they had not been chosen in this way. His argument was simply that one had to accept the situation as it was, especially since it could not be altered "... non absque tumultu et publico periculo. Ferenda potius esse putamus, quae pie et absque salutis aeternae jactura ferri possunt, mutari autem absque turba et periculo non possunt[43]". It was his opinion that the

[40] Rudolph Gualther, *In Acta Apostolorum per Divum Lucem descripta, Homiliae CLXXV* (Tiguri, In Officina Froschoviana, Anno MDLXXXVI), 2–3.

[41] *Zurich Letters*, sec. Series, 229; *Epistolae Tigurinae*, 140.

[42] *Zurich Letters*, sec. Series, 230–231; *Epistolae Tigurinae*, 141.

[43] *Zurich Letters*, sec. Series, 231; *Epistolae Tigurinae*, 141. The solution of the

English should do the same. If nothing else, Gualther's advice reveals the limits within which the Reformation was carried out at Zurich and the absolutely central position of the "senate" in making the religious reform possible. Gualther's remarks also reflect the spirit of the *Erfüllungspolitik* which Zurich persued after the disaster of the second Kappel war[44].

What is remarkable is that despite Zurich's eventual accomodation to Calvinist theology, the structure of the Zurich church was never changed; the "somnia" of those whom Gualther had feared might want to "novam nobis Ecclesiae formam obtrudunt" were not realized. This is revealed in the inscription on the silver cups presented to *Antistes* Johann Jacob Breitinger on the 21 May, 1619, upon his return from the Synod of Dort. At Dort he had played an important part in framing the statement of the doctrine of double predestination as *de fide* Calvinist doctrine and had defended the memory of Henry Bullinger against charges of "Arminianism". The inscription read: "Duplex robur inest cathedrae, cui curia nexa est, curiae inest duplex, proxima cui cathedra est[45]". The permanence of the ecclesiastical settlement is even more strikingly revealed in Breitinger's attempt to mediate between the Scots and Charles I in the Bishop's War by an appeal to Archbishop Laud for the sake of "the Reformed churches truly orthodox and Catholic[46]". The attempt had the support of the leading clergy in Bern, Basel and Schaffhausen, as well as that of the Zurich Council, whose secretary wrote the official letters to England, but it failed because Breitinger and his friends were caught between their doctrine of obedience to the Christian magistrate and their adherence to an ever more rigidly defined orthodox doctrine. The civic tradition from which Breitinger spoke really had no satisfactory answer to the problem of divergence

---

Bremen City Council to the even more complicated question of the introduction of the "zweite Reformation" particularly as it applied to the Cathedral might provide an interesting point of comparison.

[44] Cf. René Hauswirth, Zur politischen Ethik der Generation nach Zwingli, *Zwingliana* XIII, Heft 5, 1971, 307, 310, 314.

[45] " . . . similque intelligent, quam viam ipsi quoque in reformandis et conservandis ecclesiis tenere debeant, nec ullis persecutionum et adversae fortunae casibus offendentur, nec illorum somnia admittent, qui novam nobis Ecclesiae formam obtrudunt, dum veteribus multa defuisse dicuunt, quae, postea demum a sanctis patribus constituta, et publica conciliorum authoritate recepta atque stabilita sint." Rudolpho Gualtero, In Acta Apostolorum per Divum Lucem descripta, Homiliae CLXXV, 2–3. Hans Rudolf von Grebel, *Antistes Johann Jakob Breitinger*, Neujahrsblatt zum Besten des Waisenhauses Zürich für 1964, Nr. 127 (Zürich, Kommissionsverlag Beer & Co., 1964) 36, 38.

[46] Breitinger to Laud, March 21, 1639, Staatsarchiv Zürich, E II, 369, 219, 220.

between the commands of the Christian magistrate and loyalty to Divine Truth. It assumed convergence not divergence[47].

However this was not to be an issue for a long time to come. Writing in the sixth decade of the 18th century Johann Jacob Simler discussed the constitution of the Zurich Church and praised it as "die auf der einen Seiten von der Hierarchie der Römischen Kirche weit entfernet, auf der anderen aber dem erweckten Geist der Republicanischen und Christlichen Freyheit am gemässesten[48]...". Although he noted some administrative improvements including a greater emphasis upon the doctrine and conduct of the clergy, which was introduced in Breitinger's day, Simler was proud to say that the structure established in 1532 had remained virtually unchanged for the past two centuries[49].

Writing two years before the collapse of the old Confederacy in 1798 Bürgermeister David Wyss published a revised edition of the *Politisches Handbuch für die erwachsene Jugend der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich*[50]. He explained that he was moved to write because of

... der nachtheilige Einfluss jener ungezähmten Dreistigkeit, womit so viele hirnlose, oder was noch schlimmer ist, halb aufgeklärte Leute, ihre Zunge und Feder mit den Gebrechen aller europäischen Staaten, mit leichtsinnigen Tadel ihrer Regierungs-Massregeln, oder wohl gar mit zerstörenden Verbesserungs-Plänen, unaufhörlich beschäftigen.

---

[47] Staatsarchiv Zürich, E II, 369, 214–229; 239 ff. Zürich Sept. 6, 1640, Breitinger to Archbishop Laud: "Ad te, Reverrendissime Praesul, redimus significaturi ecquodnam Tuae habuerint apud nos pondus. Petijt Paternitas Tua a nobis, quemadmodum literas pacificatorias miserimus ad vos, ita mitteremus alias etiam ad Scotos, quae suadeant Regi suo obedientiam, confirmentque Regum christianorum in causis ecclesiasticis potestatem esse eandem, quam exercuerint olim Reges Judaicae gentis optimi. Damnemus quoque armatam sub praetextu Religionis Resistentiam illam temporibus primitivae ecclesiae inauditam. Literas igitur quantoeyus dedimus ad ecclesiarum Scotiarum Ministros, quibus ipsos de mente et Tua, et nostra fraternè candidè, gravitérque monuimus . . ." Later in the letter this statement was carefully modified to include the assumption that the ruler would maintain a "pure" form of worship. "Veruntamen et hoc quoque observatione non indignam censemus, pios illos Judaeorum Reges videlicet, uti nec Legis, ita nec Legalium rituum ceremoniarumque inventores fuisse, sed exequutores duntaxat divini et expressi praecepti . . ." Staatsarchiv Zürich, E II 369, 288.

[48] Joh. Jakob Simler, *Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden zur Beleuchtung der Kirchengeschichte vornehmlich des Schweizerlandes* (Zürich, bey Orell, Gessner und Comp., 1767), 1010.

[49] Simler, 1016.

[50] D. Wyss, *Handbuch für die erwachsene Jugend der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich* (Zürich, bey Orell, Gessner, Füssli und Comp., 1796).

Wyss added that soon every school child would be convinced that he knew best how to improve his country's constitution[51].

> Dieses Übel ist wirklich von so ansteckender Natur, dass bald jeder Schulknabe bestimmt zu wissen wähnt, wie die Verfassung seines Vaterlandes besser einzurichten, und ganze Nationen zu beglücken wären . . .[52]

His intention was to defend the Swiss Constitution as it was as the source of Swiss prosperity and to warn against those who wished to rob them of their heritage.

Zurich provided him with the perfect example of the role of religion in society which he dealt with in detail in part six. Wyss's account reveals the drift towards the development of a territorial state in the modern sense but it confirms Otto Brunner's claim that the old conceptions of society and government survived in many of the city states up to and even beyond the period of the French Revolution[53]. Wyss began by stressing the great advantages the Zurichers enjoyed as a result of the Zwinglian Reformation and spoke with pride of the government super-vision of public worship which included the assignment of worshippers to church congregations and setting the time at which the services were to be held. An additional advantage was that no other form of public worship was tolerated in the Canton which he did admit was due "mehr aus politischen als moralischen Gründen[54]".

A discussion of the support and appointment of the clergy, whom he said were essential for the well-being of society, followed and reveals that the same procedures which had been established in 1532 were still in use in 1796 under the supervision of the Small Council. It also shows that the incomes and right of appointment *(Kirchen-Patronat)* to many prebends still remained in the hands of "fremde Fürsten oder Gotteshäuser" as they had in Gualther's day . Wyss placed considerable emphasis upon the clergy's oath of loyalty to the magistracy which he noted was the pre-requisite for appointment to a living and then went on to consider the oath which the magistrates took to defend the church whith their for-tune and life. From this discussion he led the reader on into a general review of the nature citizenship. Those who abandoned their faith, or married a Catholic who did not convert to Protestantism lost their citizenship and "were viewed in every way as foreigners". These "for-

---

[51] Wyss, 3–4.
[52] Wyss, 12–13.
[53] Brunner, Souveränitätsproblem und Sozialstruktur, 294–295, 319–320.
[54] Wyss, 379–380.

eigners" could once again rejoin the community and become citizens with
civil rights if they renounced their apostacy or, in the case of those who
had married Catholics, their spouse joined the church. Wyss added that
the clergy should encourage the people to show love to "outsiders" who
were not Protestant and warned that such people were protected from
molestation by law. However his discussion made it clear that citizenship
and churchmembership were inextricably bound together[55].

On the eve of the collapse of the old confederacy the Christian faith
was still basic to the enjoyment of liberty and to participation in the
political life of the Zurich *res publica christiana* governed by a Christian
magistracy. The institutionalization of the Christian Magistracy within
the context of Zurich's Constitution, which was a basic tenet of the urban
theology developed by Zwingli and his successors, had survived the
strains and stresses of over two hundred and fifty years.

---

[55] Wyss, 388–391, 383–384.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Einführung der Reformation in Zürich ist das Endergebnis einer langjährigen
Ausbreitung der Machtbefugnisse der weltlichen Obrigkeit über die Kirche. In dieser
Hinsicht hat die Einsetzung der Reformation vielmehr das Ende als den Anfang
einer Entwicklung gekennzeichnet. Um die eigentliche Wichtigkeit der Amtsge-
walt des Rates zu bewerten, muß man erst den Zusammenhang, in dem der Rat
seine Gewalt, nicht aber seine Souveränität im modernen Sinne ausgeübt hat, ver-
stehen.

An der Schwelle der Reformation ist die Verfassung der Stadt Zürich vielen süd-
deutschen Reichsstädten, in denen die Zünfte die Oberhand erlangt hatten, ähn-
lich. Dank der genossenschaftlichen Staatsauffassung hat sich das zürcherische Ge-
meinwesen als *Corpus christianum* im kleineren Raum oder als *res publica christiana*
betrachtet. Die Art des genossenschaftlichen Selbstbewußtseins des Gemeinwesens
gab dem Zürcher Reformator, Ulrich Zwingli, den Ausgangspunkt für seine Iden-
tifizierung der sichtbaren Kirche mit dem Gemeinwesen. Die universale Kirche, die
«die gemeinsame aller usserwelten gleubigen» umfaßte, kannte keine Grenzen, aber
Gemeinden, wie zum Beispiel die zürcherische, die im augustinischen Sinne *corpora
permixta* waren, waren an einen bestimmten Ort gebunden. Nach der Auffassung
Zwinglis konnte ein echtes Gemeinwesen mit einem wahren *populus* (volck), welches
aus freien Bürgern bestand, nur existieren, wenn das Evangelium gepredigt wurde.
Diese Auffassung ist sehr von Augustin beeinflusst worden und ist auch später bei
Erast wieder aufgetaucht.

Calvins Behauptung über die Notwendigkeit einer *spiritualis politiae* der Kirche,
«quae tamen a civili prorsus distincta est", hat den wesentlichen Unterschied
zwischen seiner Auffassung der Kirche und derjenigen Zwinglis gekennzeichnet.
Das Zürcher Ehegericht war das Endstadium jener Entwicklung, welche die Auf-
saugung der Kirche in das zürcherische Gemeinwesen beinhaltete. Das Konsistorium

514

Calvins in Genf ist dagegen der erste Schritt zum Presbyterianismus *jure divino,* welchen Bullinger als eine wahre *viam oligarchiae* betrachtet hat.

Die Bedeutung der zwei Räte bei der Einführung der Reformation in Zürich ist auch soziologisch zu erklären. Schon vor der Reformation hat sich eine neue Schicht, bestehend aus Ratsherren der Constaffel, Familien und den wohlhabendsten Zunftherren, besonders diejenigen der Zunft zur Saffran und der Zunft zur Meisen, entwickelt, die die Stabilität der Stadt auch während der Reformation gewährleistet hat. Zwingli hat seinen großen Erfolg vor allem durch seine Beziehungen zu gewissen Herren dieser Schicht zu verdanken. Im großen und ganzen hat die Reformation aber keiner Klasse *hominum novorum* zur Macht verholfen.

Der Rat hat eine Synode für die reformierte Kirche des Kantons, «aus ordentlicher oberkeits macht bekräftigt», begründet und hat sich selber das Recht, die Pfarrer in ihre Ämter einzusetzen, vorbehalten. Bis zum Zusammenbruch der älteren Eidgenossenschaft hat der Rat seine Machtstelle erfolgreich behauptet, und der Begriff «Bürger» hat zugleich bedeutet, daß der Bürger ein reformierter Christ ist.
Robert C. Walton

Robert C. Walton, Associate Professor, College of Liberal Arts, Department of History, Wayne State University, Detroit / Michigan 48202