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The Prevalence of the Magistrate in the Political Theology of Heinrich Bullinger

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Graduate Program in Theology

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Master of Arts

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THE PREVALENCE OF THE MAGISTRATE IN THE POLITICAL THEOLOGY OF
HEINRICH BULLINGER

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by

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Graduate Program in Theology

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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The University of Western Ontario
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THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

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Abstract

This thesis examines the nature of Heinrich Bullinger's (1504-1575) political theology as it pertained to the office of the Christian magistrate, arguing that the theological interpretation of magistrate was not only the backbone of Bullinger's political system, but was also informed by his unique historical and political placement. Most accounts of Bullinger pay attention only to his historical situation and his theological convictions surrounding the causes of specific historical and theological circumstances in which Bullinger was involved. By considering contemporary studies on Bullinger and derived areas of political theology of the Reformation, Bullinger's political theology emerges as unique with his central emphasis on the magistrate. Bullinger's definition of a magistrate as responsible for ensuring that the state reflected God's love and for maintaining order reflects Bullinger's understanding of the chief duty of the individual Christian and, by extension the state, while also accounting for his particular experience and placement in history as it pertained to Zurich and England under Edward VI.

Keywords: Heinrich Bullinger, magistrate, political theology, Zwingli, *Pactum*, law, English Reformation

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Introduction

This thesis examines the nature, substance, and sources of the Swiss Reformer Heinrich Bullinger's (1504-1575) political theology, in the context of his definition of the office of the magistrate. The goal of the thesis is (1) to examine contemporary research on Bullinger's political theology, (2) to examine Bullinger's own sources to appreciate his individual contributions to political theology apart from his predecessor Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531), and (3) to contextualise his understanding of the office of the magistrate as the backbone and enforcer of his political theology.

Background and Need

In the early 1980s, scholarship in the English language began to consider this largely forgotten European Reformer. The previous absence of Bullinger scholarship was usually attributed to the height of Reformed influence directly preceding and succeeding him. Zwingli dominated Reformed theology in Zurich until 1531, followed by the rise of Calvin's Geneva in the 1540s. This trend of scholarship was exacerbated in the English-speaking world by the rise of Genevan theology in the English realm. Protestant refugees escaped to continental cities like Geneva and Strasbourg where Calvinism was taught. This led to the degradation of Zurich theology in the Elizabethan era, and English historians largely equated Reformed thought with Calvinism in England. In initial studies of Zurich theology, scholars mainly concentrated on Zwingli's theology and political humanism, with only passing reference to Bullinger. Zwingli became the Reformer of Zurich, identifying a construct and model that Bullinger, his successor, sought to

replicate. Bullinger's contributions to the church were viewed as a way to relive the glory of Zwingli in forwarding his goals of the Reformation

Contemporary studies have moved away from that particular vantage point and have considered some independence in Bullinger's thought. In 1980, J. Wayne Baker first began to consider Bullinger's treatment on the *Pactum*. Baker theorized that Bullinger's theological understanding of the *Pactum* lay in the contents of an agreement that God made with Adam that required Adam's moral righteousness.¹ Scholars generally disagreed with Baker's emphasis on the *Pactum*'s centrality in Bullinger's theology and began to instead consider Bullinger's own theological motivations. By the early 2000s, Bullinger scholarship had taken on historical significance. Bruce Gordon authored and edited two substantial works: a systematic approach to Bullinger's theology and a detailed historical account of Switzerland prior to the Reformation.² These works served to identify Bullinger as a product of a Swiss tradition beyond and independent of Zwingli. Moreover they paid particular attention to the crises that Bullinger faced as the *Antistes* (Head Minister) of Zurich – crises that stemmed from the disaster of Zwingli's involvement in the Second Kappel War. Through these studies, Bullinger has been slowly cleaved from relying solely on forwarding Zwingli's agenda. This refutes the early English understanding of Bullinger.

A second wave of scholarship in the English language dealt with Bullinger's theology in the English Court, although these questions looked to establish possible Reformed

¹ J Wayne Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: The Other Reformed Tradition* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1980).

² Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Bruce Gordon and Emidio Campi, eds. *Architect of Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic Press, 2004).

leanings of the English Church during the Protestant Reformation using Bullinger's extensive correspondence with the English illuminati. Bullinger, in this context, is represented as one part of an extensive Zurich glossed Reformed line of thought.

Diarmaid MacCulloch,³ Torrance Kirby,⁴ Carrie Euler,⁵ and Pamela Biel⁶ have all studied the prevalence of Zurich thought in the English Court by studying the key characters in the English court and their stances on sacramental theology, baptism, and theologies on marriage through Bullinger's extensive correspondence. Questions of this nature have dealt principally with the English side of the theological debate whilst giving only passing reference to developing Bullinger's political theology.

Rationale

The contents of this thesis position themselves on the conclusions made by contemporary research in treatments of Bullinger, both as an intellectually independent theologian and as a prevalent influence in the English court. However, there has been minimal work done on understanding Bullinger's political theology. This thesis will examine Bullinger's theology as a diversified product that reflects Bullinger's rich theological knowledge as it pertains to Bullinger's conception of the magistrate. In defining the magistrate as the guiding force behind the execution of Bullinger's political theology, this paper considers Bullinger's magistrate as a mechanism in which he felt that the city is best able to reflect the love of God. In addition, this thesis will attempt to consider the international reception

³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London: The Penguin Press, 1999).

Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer A Life* (London: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁴ W.J. Torrance Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (The Netherlands: Brill Academic Publishers, 2007).

⁵ Carrie Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich, 1531-1558* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zurich, 2006).

⁶ Pamela Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness: Heinrich Bullinger and the Clergy* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1991)

of Bullinger's magistrate as a way in which Bullinger gained international recognition. This question presented is uniquely geared towards the English state as Bullinger saw the possibility that his theories could best be embodied in the English realm.

Purpose

The purpose for considering the nature of Bullinger's political theology in the context of the magistrate is to critically examine Bullinger's political theology as it pertained to both Zurich and abroad, not just Bullinger in either Zurich or England. In considering Bullinger's political theology, this thesis serves to further the research already conducted on Bullinger, to add to the growing field of interest in appreciating Bullinger as a Reformer in his own right, and to propose another perspective toward the controversial topic of Bullinger's theological prevalence in England during the reign of Edward VI. In studying Bullinger's theology of the magistrate, it is clear that Bullinger's international prominence within the Reformed states was influential in further clarifying sources of authority, the execution of the law, and the protection of the preaching of the Gospel. While this was not the purpose of this question, it serves to consider in a future study how other Reformers on the European continent, who were sympathetic to Bullinger's spiritual guidance, conceived of power.

Methods and Outline

To consider the nature of Bullinger's political theology and its manifestation in his understanding of the magistrate, this thesis has relied extensively on the English translations of Bullinger's primary works, with a particular emphasis on his most prominent work the *Decades* and *The Zurich Letters*, both collected and edited by the

Parker Society as both illustrate Bullinger's prominence in Zurich and English theological conversations of the sixteenth century. After evaluating contemporary research on the subject, this thesis critically examines the *Decades* to observe patterns of thought and steady influences within Bullinger's writings. The thesis will then consider these sources independently and look for connections in Bullinger's own political theology in developing the magistrate. After examining the sources of Bullinger's thought, this thesis will look at how these sources have influenced Bullinger's execution of authority with the purpose of defining the chief end of the city. In defining the chief end of the city, the thesis will consider the need for government as a body that promotes godly living using law and order. Bullinger believed this to be necessary because of his belief that human condition is sinful. This relationship is identified in Bullinger's *Pactum*, which highlights the perceived relationship between God and human obligations owed to God because of sin. Bullinger's understanding of the hierarchy of laws and, principally, how the magistrate is responsible for ensuring that the hierarchy of the laws are respected and enforced within the city is critical. By considering the nature of the relationship between the church and the state in Bullinger's political construct, considerations on the views on how powers are divided between the two orders and how Bullinger conceives of a single sphere of authority.

In considering the prominence of Bullinger's political magistrate in England, both primary letters and contemporary sources make clear that Bullinger had a particular voice in the English court. Because the topic of Zurich and English correspondence has been the subject of much Bullinger study, this focus builds upon that research and will consider

several prominent players in the English Reformation, examining possible reasons for adapting Bullinger's idea of the magistrate within the realm.

Finally, a secondary objective to consider in Bullinger's political theology will be how much influence his predecessor, Ulrich Zwingli, had on his political theology and definition of the magistrate. Although Zwingli was an influential source in Bullinger's own thought, Bullinger's construction of a political theology goes well beyond Zwingli's ideas. What this thesis will serve to accomplish is to properly contextualise Zwingli in Bullinger's political theology. Therefore, it is not the objective of this paper to divorce Bullinger from Zwingli's influence, but rather to argue against the idea that Bullinger simply tried to mimic Zwingli's political theology in its entirety. To accomplish this task, this thesis will consider the prominence of other theologians and ideas to which Bullinger was exposed and take seriously the claim that Bullinger's Zurich was very different from the one that Zwingli lived in until his death in 1531.

This thesis is an examination of Bullinger's works that have been translated in English, as well as contemporary sources in the same language. The purpose in doing so is to consider English reception of Bullinger and to begin to consider a study of Bullinger's political theology and his ideas behind the magistrate. Furthermore, in focusing primarily on the magistrate, this thesis will not consider the impact of Bullinger's other theological convictions, such as his theological federalism of the covenant or his commitments to pneumatology and justification. Rather, these ideas will be considered only in the context of further clarifying the chief end of the city and the magistrate's authority within it.

Chapter 1

1 Contemporary Research on Bullinger's Political Theology

1.1 *Status Quaestionis*

To fully understand the impact of Heinrich Bullinger's political theology, one must begin with a survey of contemporary Bullinger scholarship. Most scholarship on Bullinger has tended to consider the nature of his political theology either in the context of its influence within a particular setting of the Protestant Reformation (e.g. Zurich or England) or in the interest of clarifying another aspect of his theology. As such, there is an absence of systematic treatments of Bullinger's political theology. This chapter aims to provide an argument concerning Bullinger's individual contribution to political theology as it includes, but is not limited by, his Zwinglian sympathies. This will be argued in the following two chapters by first identifying and categorising contemporary research, then considering Bullinger's use of sources as a way to understand his political theology and his rationale for the necessity of a strong city magistrate.

1.2 Method of Argumentation

This chapter serves to demonstrate the research conducted on Bullinger, then categorise the contemporary research into subfields of political significance. The particular question of Bullinger's treatment by modern scholarship will be organised in a thematic manner, in the fields of humanism, history and pastoral responsibility. In so approaching contemporary Bullinger studies, this thesis will build a frame of reference for Bullinger's

operation within a political setting as *Antistes*, piecing together the various treatments done on the subject.

1.3 Bullinger as Humanist

Zwingli's Erasmian Roots

Owen Chadwick, in his work on the early Reformation on the Continent, emphasised the primacy of Erasmus' commitment to humanism. In so doing, he identified a link between Zwingli and Erasmus. Chadwick interprets Bullinger as a Zwinglian who mimicked Zwingli's reforms after his death, implying that there was little originality for Bullinger except as an interpreter of Zwingli.⁷ One must be careful with such a definition of Bullinger, as it may imply that Bullinger was merely a parrot of Zwingli. Chadwick's argument does, however, highlight the importance of studying the ramifications of humanism within the Canton of Zurich that are found in Zwingli's thoughts, later to be adopted by Bullinger in his own humanist leanings. In this regard, Chadwick's work is helpful in understanding Zwingli's sympathies towards Erasmus's humanism, particularly in the definitions of morality and human betterment.⁸

Zwingli's belief in these spheres is expressed, as Chadwick points out, in his adherence to proto-republicanism.⁹ Chadwick argues that this proto-republicanism is Erasmian in origin as it places the affairs of the church in the hands of the city officials.¹⁰ Through this

⁷ Owen Chadwick, *The Early Reformation on the Continent* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 2001), 327

⁸ *Ibid.*, 44-57, 92-95.

⁹ Chadwick is quick to establish that Erasmus grew to dislike the radicalism that he perceived in Zwingli and, as a result, Zwingli fell from Erasmus' good graces. Despite this, however, Zwingli did cling to his teachings by Erasmus, which had a profound view on Zwingli's perceptions of the individual and of social reform. *Ibid.*, 93.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

channelling of power, Zwingli was able to build upon the idea that the state should be given control over financial and civic punishment. The church, in Zwingli's conception, was to confine itself to the bettering of humanity through its spiritual care, rather than indulging in the affairs of the state. This is also found in Bullinger.

Zwingli's Political Theology Beyond Erasmus

Robert Walton's book, *Zwingli's Theocracy*, is a study of the historical sources that comprise Zwingli's theology. Walton's work considers how authority and influences are contrived. Its relevance for our purposes is found in an interesting discussion as to the way in which Zwingli's commitment to the tenets of humanism influenced Bullinger's later political developments.

Walton observes that Zwingli's humanism was best expressed in terms of his commitment to republicanism in Zurich.¹¹ Humanism allowed for a redefinition of power and administration in the form of a republic, which sought to limit the powers of the church in matters of state. Walton hypothesises that two distinct political directions have emerged as a result of Zwinglian theology and his humanist roots. The first, a kind of Erastianism, is similar to what was found eventually in the Church of England, which values the supremacy of the state in matters of religion,¹² while the second is a Gelasian model that advocated for the total separation of Church and State. The Gelasian view was later used by Zwingli's radical Anabaptist followers to break away from their civic duties in Zurich.¹³ Zwingli's successors in Zurich, therefore, identify two sources which could

¹¹ Robert C. Walton, *Zwingli's Theocracy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), *xiii*.

¹² Erastianism was based on the writings of Thomas Erastus, who valued the superiority of the state over the church. Bullinger had personal correspondence with Erastus and later espoused his ideas.

¹³ Walton, *Zwingli's Theocracy*, *xiii*.

serve as models for Bullinger in understanding the relationship between the church and the state. Both separated, the church and state give each distinct roles in societal and spiritual care.

It is useful to consider briefly how Zwingli came to these ideas, in the hopes that Bullinger's sources are better understood. As Walton observes, there were modest reforms to medieval Catholicism in Zurich prior to Zwingli's rise to power, but Zwingli went further in his reform by challenging Church doctrine.¹⁴ Zwingli's challenge of Church doctrine stemmed from his political theology, which has a strong grounding in a number of theological sources.¹⁵ Of particular note to Walton are the medieval theologians Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham.

Walton argues that Marsilius was the source of Zwingli's commitment to republicanism. In particular, Marsilius's anti-clerical conciliarism of the thirteenth century sought to take power away from the Papal curia in favour of ecclesiastical councils as a kind of proto-republicanism or decentralisation of power, especially ecclesial power.¹⁶ Zwingli continued Marsilius's program of decentralisation by further removing power from the elite and transferring it into the hands of the people through instituting the Reformation in Zurich through a series of disputations in 1523. Zwingli publically debated Catholic theologian Johann Faber on the merits of the Reformation. In this instance, Zwingli allowed the Reformation in the balance of a vote by the Zurich officials. The council then assessed the merits of the disputation and voted in favour of Zwingli's reform. This action was certainly more radical than other magisterial reform movements, highlighting a clear

¹⁴ Ibid., 5.

¹⁵ Ibid., 18.

¹⁶ Ibid., 20.

desire on the part of Zwingli to break away from the traditional sources of medieval power in matters of governance and religion.

As Zwingli was inspired by Marsilius of Padua to use theology to legitimise a transfer of power to the people, so he, according to Walton, also made use of William of Ockham. Zwingli went even further in inheriting the thoughts of Ockham, however, and there found a definition for balancing the two spheres of power – the church and the state – within a republic. It seems blindingly simple for a contemporary reader, but Zwingli used Ockham's theory to suggest that the church has superiority in its own spiritual realm, while the ruler has authority in the temporal realm.¹⁷ Walton notes that Zwingli was particularly drawn to Ockham's idea that temporal rulers receive their power from God alone and therefore must attend to the spiritual care of its members.¹⁸ This would eventually lead to a break of Zurich's allegiance to Rome, whose spiritual care was found to be corrupt and anti-Gospel. One early example of this was Zwingli's efforts to absolve the state from the spiritual obligation to provide mercenary soldiers for the Pope's foreign wars. However, it must be made clear that Zwingli did not immediately throw his support behind the magistrate, in absence of the Pope. Rather, Zwingli sought to unite both spheres under the common good: the message of the Gospel.¹⁹ Embedded in this idea was a new type of Swiss humanism that sought out the common good in Zurich.

¹⁷ Ibid., 20.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., 18.

Zwingli's Magistrate as a Decentralised Power

Zwingli clearly favoured Erasmus's reforms on the destruction of the church's centralisation of power,²⁰ and therefore argued that the magistrate must also reflect the commitment to decentralisation and spiritual care.²¹ The result of such argumentation was the conclusion that the magistrate was both part of the community (and accountable) and charged to promote the common good alongside the church. In this respect, Zwingli's decentralisation of supporting elected official furthered his commitment to the dispersal of power from the old tiers of medieval hierarchy in which church and state were above the people and inter-connected. The magistrate was now able to act on behalf of the people to preserve and enforce the common good of the city independent of direct church influence. Zwingli wanted to make the magistrate part of the community by giving the magistrate a vested interest in the wellbeing of the state by making the magistrate a part of the state as well.²² Of course, the magistrate must work with the church for moral and spiritual care, but the office is not merely a parrot of the ecclesiastical powers. It is a civil office in its own right. While this may be problematic in regards to its practical and political execution, this political structure is significant for understanding Bullinger as Bullinger places a considerable onus on the office of the magistrate. Where Zwingli argued for decentralisation and two powers, Bullinger went further in arguing for a

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Walton argues that Zurich became engaged in a process of civic reform as early as 1481 by signing the Treaty of Stans. This agreement outlines that the Swiss federation of city-states would commit to a process of decentralisation of central government. This Treaty settled much of the disputes between the rural and urban cantons of Zurich by outlining a Swiss prerogative to engage in *ad hoc* decisions in the federation. Zwingli, in a certain respect, is forwarding this position, but, as Walton observes, he takes this a step further by applying it to matters of Christian doctrine and ecclesiastical reforms. Much of this decentralisation process is witnessed in Zwingli's public disputations against Catholic doctrine in 1524-5. See Walton, *Zwingli's Theocracy*, 1-5.

²² Ibid.

consolidation of power that is guaranteed to a strong Christian magistrate. Bullinger then adopts other ideas to make this case.

1.4 Bullinger as Medievalist

Controversy of the Pactum's Centrality

Modern scholarship today has increasingly found interest in Bullinger's understanding of the *Pactum*. In order to argue anything about Bullinger's individual political theology, it is significant to consider work done on Bullinger's *Pactum*, as it highlights his extensive readings in both the nominalist and scholastic schools of thought, in conjunction with his commitments to humanism. Many scholars who have dealt with Bullinger's *Pactum* theology have been interested in treating this as the focal point of Bullinger's theological worldview. It was J. Wayne Baker's work on this idea that stimulated debate on the centrality of the *Pactum* for Bullinger.²³ In recent years, however, scholars interested in Bullinger have begun to doubt that the *Pactum* was the dominant theological idea that governed Bullinger's theological convictions.²⁴ Despite warranted scepticism of the centrality of Bullinger's *Pactum*, it remains necessary to consider contemporary scholarship on Bullinger's use of sources in the *Pactum* to appreciate the sources of his political theology.

²³ Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant*, 20-23.

²⁴ Daniel Bolliger argues that the *Pactum* serves to witness the Scriptures. In this regard, the *Pactum* is a tool that Bullinger uses to communicate Scripture to his congregation. The *Pactum* bears witness to God's sovereignty and faithfulness, the need for salvation and God's desire that humanity walk in righteousness to prosper. Daniel Bolliger, "Bullinger on Church Authority: The Transformation of the Prophetic Role in Christian Ministry" in *Architect of Reformation: An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger 1504-1575*, eds. Bruce Gordon and Emidio Campi (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic Press, 2004), 165.

Sources of Medieval Ideas

The *Pactum* provides a model for the relationship between God and humanity, specifically the responsibilities of humanity to God. This *Pactum*, however, is a positive historical idea for Bullinger and not merely a theological trope. Bullinger argues that the *Pactum* was made with Adam, the first human in Bullinger's understanding. Bullinger believes that in real history, stipulations given to Adam will direct humanity until the Last Day.²⁵ The *Pactum*, understood in this regard, highlights Bullinger's use of the scholastic method. As Alister McGrath defines it, the scholastic movement is "a highly developed method of presenting material, making fine distinctions, and attempting to achieve a comprehensive view of theology."²⁶ Bullinger was exposed to this school of thought as a young student at the University of Cologne, a level of scholasticism which was, as McGrath notes, sparse within the Swiss states.²⁷ The *Pactum*, in keeping with strict scholastic thought, can be considered entirely systematic and reducible to the belief that God demands of humanity moral righteousness and rewards it accordingly as a divine cause and effect.²⁸ Understood in this particular view, the *Pactum* defined God's actions as an agreement which transcends all of human history, but it also came to reduce God to a function of that agreement in some Catholic theologies rejected by reformers. While these themes are tacitly present in Bullinger's *Pactum*, Bullinger is also seeking to avoid reducing God to the confines of an agreement. To do this, Bullinger turns to his training as a nominalist.

²⁵ Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant*, 6.

²⁶ Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1993), 68.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

²⁸ Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant*, 23.

Nominalism is a philosophical idea, rather than a theological one, that is “a rejection of universals”.²⁹ Bullinger’s sympathies towards nominalism are expressed in his reluctance to turn the action of righteousness into a condition of salvation and define salvation by works as something that is universally true. Bullinger uses this philosophical idea in subscribing to *sola gratia* in his *Pactum*. In this manner, Bullinger seeks to limit the role that humanity plays in salvation by arguing that God’s Grace is an action done by God for humanity.³⁰ This dichotomy highlights the struggle that Bullinger sees between his belief that the *Pactum* is universally significant and therefore universalist in terms of soteriology itself, which he explicitly denies with his *Sola Fide* Reformed theology.³¹ This dichotomy serves to suggest that Bullinger relied on both schools of thought. Therefore, both nominalism and scholasticism are proven to have influenced the development of Bullinger’s theological knowledge, apart from his Zwinglian inheritance.³²

²⁹ McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 73.

³⁰ Soteriology remains one of the lesser developed theological concepts of Bullinger. Bullinger found considerable contention with Calvin’s hard double-predestinarian line. In contrast to Calvin, Bullinger intentionally left the subject matter vague, fearing that it was not his place to write on the futuristic conditions of the soul. This approach, it could be argued, is made manifest within Bullinger’s foreign diplomacy. Bullinger refused to allow eschatological history to critique either Lutheran or Calvinistic theology. However the same rule did not apply to the Anabaptists or the Catholics. Both groups, in Bullinger’s estimation, removed themselves from the conditions of the *Pactum*. Bullinger asserted that the Catholics were removed because they had ceased to follow the Scriptures and the Anabaptists were removed for removing themselves from secular society and distorting the Divine civic order. See David A. Weir, *Origins of Federal Theology in Sixteenth Century Reformation Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 80-82.

³¹ Peter Opitz, “Bullinger’s Decades: Instruction in Faith and Conduct” in *Architect of Reformation: An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger*, eds. Bruce Gordon and Emidio Campi (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic Press, 2004), 111.

³² As Baker notes, Bullinger excludes the Mosaic laws as part of the renewal of the *Pactum*. Bullinger’s condemnation as found in the ‘On the One Eternal Covenant’ defines ritual law as a symptom of a lack of faith. This is particularly symptomatic of iconoclasm that Bullinger developed from Zwingli. Bullinger equates ritualism with Catholicism. Bullinger therefore writes very negatively on the role of ritual as a sign of a lack of faith and failure to adhere to the *Pactum*. Bullinger interprets the Mosaic Law as an object of oppression that can be correlated to the sacrament of the Catholic church which Bullinger condemns. Heinrich Bullinger, “A Brief Exposition of the One and Eternal Covenant of God” in *Fountainhead of Federalism*. Trans and Ed. J. Wayne Baker and Charles McCoy, (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1991), 99-138.

Uniqueness in Pactum as a Promise

David Weir states that Bullinger's exegetical history is centered on the promise of Abraham and Christ's fulfillment of that promise.³³ In correlating these ideas, Bullinger has made Christ the promise that God had given to Abraham. The implication identified by Weir in Bullinger's writings is that the agreement was bound in the *Pactum*, not that the *Pactum* was to be a sign of Abraham's faith.³⁴ However, Weir also attempts to propose the idea that Bullinger's disdain for the Mosaic Law was something that prevented the true expression of that promise on account of Creation's weakness. In fairness to Weir, Bullinger's *On the One and Eternal Testament of God* assumes that the Mosaic Law was a weakness in Creation history.³⁵ Bullinger argues that the need for human action in the law restricts salvation to the pomp and ceremony required by a works-based faith.

However, this disdain for works, as Weir notes, becomes problematic when one compares how Bullinger understands the *Pactum's* agreement with Abraham to the instructions to be blameless and to walk upright found in Adam and general humanity. In addressing this issue, Weir identifies three key areas of clarification which impacts how Bullinger understands *Pactum*. First, Weir acknowledges that there is a condition placed upon Abraham to walk and be upright.³⁶ This seems to create a double standard as it mandates a requirement to morality on the part of Creation akin to Adam and therefore runs close to a salvation of works doctrine. Second, Weir suggests that Abraham's promise of lineage

³³ David A. Weir, *The Origins of Federal Theology in Sixteenth Century Reformation Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 11.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Wayne J Baker and Charles McCoy, *Fountainhead of Federalism*, 128.

³⁶ Weir, *The Origins of Federal Theology in Sixteenth Century Reformation Thought*, 10.

allows for Christ to assume the position of Saviour; as Abraham is the ‘father of the nations’ so Christ could later assume that mantle. The paradigm argues for a unified position of the Testaments, a position advocated by Bullinger and seemingly marries the Adamic *Pactum* and Abrahamic covenant with Christian revelation. Abraham, and Christ, are particular cases of a general principal of salvation-history which is impossible to effect due to sin. What is less convincing, however, is Weir’s third point, wherein he defines the Mosaic Law as merely ceremonial, therefore requiring a human action, which falls under the auspices of salvation by right works. Weir appears to be looking at this dichotomy from an individualistic salvation narrative whereas the Abrahamic model is communal, and includes the whole of a people. Bullinger would also see this issue, not merely salvation and covenant as personal but as something by a whole community. If the person, community or state follows an individual righteousness model that is supported by all facets of governance, then the promise is again honoured. This is significant because it means that the state does indeed matter in spiritual care, and perhaps even salvation itself.

Contemporary scholarship on the *Pactum* is significant in illustrating Bullinger’s extensive knowledge of his theological sources and in highlighting the varying levels of commitment to Bullinger’s theological convictions. Moreover, it also argues that Bullinger struggled to create a cohesive understanding of the *Pactum* that served all the schools in which he studied. This has led scholars to tend to focus on the strengths of a particular school within the *Pactum* itself. Scholarship also suggests that Bullinger’s piecemeal work on the *Pactum* was intended to bring forth the strengths of the old methods into the world of the Swiss Reformation. Bullinger, in this regard, has

contributed an innovative theological program in utilising a *Pactum* in the Reformation, although he may not be terribly innovative in developing a theory of *Pactum* that extends beyond Catholic theologies that were already in place.

1.5 Bullinger as Historicist

Scholarship on Bullinger's historical setting has become one of the more prominent avenues in studying Bullinger's political setting. These works are principally concerned with the question of how Bullinger continued in the spirit of Zwingli's reform. In this regard, a historical examination of Bullinger's Zurich allows us to consider the political factors that drew Bullinger to consider advocating for a strong magistrate who is reinforced by the preaching of the Gospel. The result here is, in a way, attributable to the political genius of Bullinger, but it also limits our understanding of Bullinger's theological convictions that governed his political decisions.

His Historical Context

Bruce Gordon's seminal work on the history of the Swiss Reformation³⁷ contextualises Zurich as a city that was on the path towards social and political reorganisation centuries before the Reformers.³⁸ Due largely to the split with the emperor, the Swiss confederacy

³⁷ Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, 53.

³⁸ Although dated, Will Durant hypothesises an intrinsic link between the character of Swiss federalism and the political climate that both Zwingli and Bullinger espouse in their own theology of the *Pactum*. Durant's argument is predicated on the fact that the Zurich reform began with the distrust of foreign ties to the Pope and the corruption that ensued on the home front. From a political perspective, the Zurich Council assumed a policy of self-protection that sought to keep the tithe and mercenary soldiers within the Swiss borders. Furthermore, foreign policy was often done within agreements of the Swiss Confederacy. Henceforth, there were terms and conditions for which each city-state was responsible. Each city-state supplied its own troops, funds, and weapons and if the city-state honoured its requirement, they would receive the cooperation of the other city-states as agreed upon in the treaty. In Durant's estimation, Zwingli and

existed in a mutual pact with other independent Swiss states, wherein each state had their own local autonomy. Conversely, in matters of foreign policy, there was cooperation of varying degrees. In matters of foreign policy, each state had a vote on whether or not a decision was acted upon. Where the motion failed to gain a majority, the motion was abandoned.³⁹ The commitment to the commitment of states in this pact was one that was challenged with the problem of Swiss identity in the mercenary crisis, which further contributed to the growing suspicion of the Empire within the Swiss states.

Swiss Mercenary Crisis

Gordon suggests that Bullinger's strong commitment to morality was enhanced by the perceived ills of the mercenary trade. By the mid-fifteenth century, the Swiss mercenaries had gained an international reputation as the prized soldiers of the Empire.⁴⁰ The rugged mountain men wielding six-foot long pikes were continually recruited by various European powers, including the Pope, for use in foreign wars. In the particular case of the city-state of Zurich, Zurich Council members would be paid by legates of the foreign powers for freedom to enlist Swiss youth for help in foreign conflict. This movement,

Bullinger saw this as necessary to developing their federal theology. Durant alludes to the fact that, in theological terms, God's relationship with humanity becomes the idea described as a confederacy and individually by examining the a person's role in the city-state. The agreement therefore becomes the *Pactum* of faith where the condition is to 'walk-upright and be holy'. Should one do that, their salvation is assured. Durant's hypothesis is particularly interesting in regards to an examination of historical nuances in the development of theological understanding. It is entirely possible that it enhances the practical implications in the *Pactum*; however it fails to fully incorporate both Zwingli and Bullinger's highly biblical understanding of a *Pactum* that extends well beyond the borders of Zurich and the Swiss Confederacy both ideologically and historically. The purpose for considering Durant's hypothesis, however, is to appreciate the nuances of theology as a way in which the Reformers could remain politically astute in their explanations of theological ideas as well as a way to entice the secular leaders into adopting the Reformation as it was seemingly sensitive to political needs.. Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization: Part VI. The Reformation: A History of European Civilization from Wyclif to Calvin 1300-1564* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), 403-414.

³⁹ Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, 42-46.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

however, had disastrous consequences for the Swiss in the Battle of Marignano in 1515 when enlisted Swiss mercenaries fought against each other on the battlefield.⁴¹

The aftermath of the Battle of Marignano resulted in a new outlook on the practice as something corrupt. After Marignano, therefore, social reform quickly became part of a quest for a new identity and religious freedom from the corruption of the rest of the European powers, fuelled by the humiliation of the Swiss mercenaries fighting against each other on the battlefield.⁴² Zwingli and later Bullinger was quick to stir these moments of embarrassment to critique existing religious and political structures that allowed Marignano to occur in favour of religious and moral reformation. This identity would need to be regulated by a strong magistrate and eventually free preaching of the Gospel, in order to prohibit disasters like Marignano from reoccurring. Hence, this historical view serves to identify that Bullinger's reform addressed a real problem in Zurich. In witnessing the embarrassment of monetary gains, which ended in humiliation, Bullinger conceived of the idea that the city needed to reform itself through a commitment to a godly state rather than fiscal and international politics.

Test Case: Anabaptism

Another area that has been the product of a constant, yet not as pronounced, view of Bullinger's theology is his relationship with the Anabaptists. This area has often been avoided, as Bullinger is usually held in disrepute by sympathetic Anabaptist scholars because of Bullinger's hostility towards the movement. Bullinger's dealings with Anabaptism, however, are necessary to consider as they place Bullinger's theological and

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

political ideals against a movement in history to which he was adamantly hostile. From Bullinger's perceived crisis of Anabaptism, we are able to examine the fundamentals of Bullinger's political theology as a historical phenomenon. In his book, *The Theology of History and Apologetic Historiography in Heinrich Bullinger*, Aurelio Archilla considers Bullinger's problem with the Anabaptist Movement to be one that simply challenged Bullinger's desire for an ordered, godly society.⁴³

Archilla's treatment of Bullinger really just reveals Bullinger's fears of general anarchy. Bullinger assumed that, if reforms were to be instituted, the only way in which chaos could be mitigated was through gradual reform through the leadership of a strong, committed magistrate. Archilla's historiography, in this instance, is pertinent for assisting in establishing a framework by which Bullinger sought to institute reforms in the city of Zurich. The work itself also allows some insight into Bullinger's relationship with the state and the church.⁴⁴ What is seen is that Bullinger was not idealistic; rather, he understood that the church (and state) are comprised of both the righteous and the unrighteous and are, therefore, prone to error. Thus, Archilla's presentation of Bullinger is one of a cautious reformer who is seeking the implementation of true worship in a way that is conducive to calculated reforms. While there is certainly a theological undertone in Bullinger's belief in the doctrine of original sin, it can simply be that Bullinger had to make pragmatic decisions to control potential and real chaos. Sometimes, then, Bullinger acts in response to his context, and it takes some mining to discover the theological bedrock as is the case in his relationship with the Anabaptists.

⁴³ Aurelio A. Garcilla Archilla, *The Theology of History and Apologetic Historiography in Heinrich Bullinger* (San Francisco: Mellon University Press, 1992), 213.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 119-213.

Where Archilla also identifies Bullinger's theological understandings in his fears against Anabaptism is Bullinger's equation of himself as new Church Father. This association certainly highlights Bullinger's commitment to providential history as Bullinger saw himself as Athanasius, while the Anabaptists were his Arius in the hopes that his view would, as Athanasius's view had, conquer the challenges from the opposition. In this account, Bullinger considers the Anabaptists chief schismatics to an ordered society.⁴⁵ Archilla notes that Bullinger uses historical precedent to persuade the faithful to stay true to the Reformation and approaches history as a sign of God's faithfulness to the elect. What can be read in Archilla, rather than merely a historical pragmatist, is Bullinger's belief in providence within history that would ultimately (as it had officially in Zurich by 1525) triumph over the Anabaptist problem.⁴⁶ Bullinger uses his knowledge of history to conclude that God's faithfulness would not falter in the midst of doctrinal and political crisis, and he therefore rebukes the movement with assured certainty that he was acting in accordance with God's Will by using the magistrate to punish them. Archilla, while highlighting the merely historical, also tells us that Bullinger was theologically grounded in those pragmatisms, perhaps naively, but nonetheless so. This leads to the next consideration, namely Bullinger as a minister of the Gospel.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 210.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 218.

Works on Bullinger's pastoral theology have emphasised his political theology in regards to his dealings with the other ministers in Zurich. In evaluating the work done in Bullinger's capacity as *Antistes*, we are able to understand Bullinger's conception of the dispersion of power within the context of ecclesiastical synod and his emphasis on the magnitude of the office of the minister. In evaluating these two areas, the link between the strength of the Gospel as the preached Word and the ability to enforce it through the structures of enforcing decrees within the synod serve as a model for how the magistrate operates in promoting and protecting the Gospel.

Pastor's Role in Discipline

Bruce Gordon has been one of the more prominent writers in the English language in considering Bullinger's concept of power through Zurich's synod in the post-Zwinglian era.⁴⁷ However, it can merely be read as a power struggle rather than a theological nuanced agenda in Gordon's work. Gordon's intricate study of the synod's documents provides unique access into the countryside in particular, where the Reformation was not as easily embraced. Through the meetings preserved in these documents, we are able to parse through Bullinger's aggressive political manoeuvring. Gordon argues that, in the conservative countryside, the Reformation needed to be imposed upon the people because access to and reading the Bible held little appeal as illiteracy was common.⁴⁸ Gordon argues that the Bible was seen more as a book of laws that was difficult to comprehend than a tool for enriching their relationship with God. As the population rejected

⁴⁷ See Bruce Gordon, *Clerical Discipline and the Rural Reformation: The Synod in Zurich 1532-1580* (Bern: Peter Lang Inc., 1992), 16-21.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

Bullinger's reforms, it was obvious that the Reformation required strong leadership. Gordon's comparisons between the reform programs in the city of Zurich and in the countryside give rise to the problems of implementation within the region and serve to highlight the faith Bullinger places in a strong magistrate. Gordon seems to intimate that it is this particular history, albeit somewhat pastoral, that drives Bullinger. What emerges, however, is not merely the pastoral need but rather the pastoral means of enforcing ecclesiastical decisions, which underscored Bullinger's theological decisions. To do this, Pamela Biel's work must be added.

The Pastor's Preaching as Godly Education

Pamela Biel, in her study on Bullinger and the Zurich ministers, further clarifies Bullinger's construction of authority as it existed in synod through a treatment of his pneumatology. Biel argues that the Holy Spirit legitimises what she calls the Third Protestant Sacrament: preaching.⁴⁹ The prevalence of the third sacrament is debatable, especially in contrast with Luther's *Sola Scriptura*, but it does seem to be manifest in Bullinger. Preaching, in this manner, does not depreciate the Gospel message for someone like Bullinger; rather it serves to communicate the inherent truths of the Gospel in a way that the parishioners understand. Moreover, teaching from the Bible serves to strengthen the individual and communal response to godly living. In raising this point, Biel correctly identifies that the Zurich Reformation differs from Luther's in the sense that there is no mention of a 'Priesthood of all Believers' doctrine in the purest sense but rather the idea that the minister as preacher is the chief of believers whose role is to

⁴⁹ Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness*, 74

inculcate spirit (and moral life) through godly preaching.⁵⁰ Biel then seeks to define the way in which the Zurich Reformers proceeded to safeguard the office of the preacher. This is necessary to examine as it serves to highlight exactly how politically valuable the office of the preacher was to the city, and how the magistrate works in concord. Moreover, it also highlights how only the preaching of the best could have any political say, as having someone unsuited for the job was dangerous, both politically and religiously.

Biel, like Bruce Gordon, observes that the synod was the most important institution in unifying the clergy and the civic officials as the synod consisted of members of the church and state. This is because it allowed for both parties to exchange ideas. Biel argues that the importance of the synod increased in Bullinger's time as *Antistes*, due to the resentment expressed toward Zwingli's unabated involvement in Zurich politics.⁵¹ Zwingli was viewed, in hindsight, to have had too much direct political involvement, so the synod, in this respect, was a more subtle way to discuss matters of church and state. It served, moreover, to disperse ideas throughout a group of members rather than through a strong, charismatic leader as Zwingli had been. As a further slight, the elected officials that sat in on the meetings also possessed a veto power for any proposition put forward by the synod. Biel explains that the relationship between the city officials and the clergy was often heated due to the lack of defined roles in policy making, both religious and political.⁵² Threats were commonplace against each party, and concessions were regularly made at the expense of bringing each other down as Zwingli's doctrine of the two spheres

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 51.

⁵² Ibid., 59-63.

was problematic in its application due to the struggle for religious and secular power. However, Biel does identify that Bullinger held some optimism for the potential of the meetings to forward a common cause.⁵³ This was found in his idea of the preacher and the preacher's role alongside the magistrate.

Biel observes that the election of a preacher needed to satisfy three requirements. The first was that each parish nominated its own minister. This meant that the preacher, if elected, would fulfill the second requirement by serving, in a limited capacity, to express their parish's concerns in synod.⁵⁴ After the nomination of the pastor, the council would then ratify the minister, completing the third requirement, paying particular attention to the minister's reputation and capacity to preach.⁵⁵ Thus, the preacher was locally nominated, but affirmed and theologically vetted by the central synod which was an amalgam of the church and state. In so doing, Bullinger and members of the synod – both clerical and ministerial – ensured that their Reformation was in safe hands by mitigating the possibility that a seditious preacher assumed the office. Biel is especially helpful in pointing out that Bullinger's training of the ministers is in line with Swiss theology, and its insistence on *Sola Scriptura*.⁵⁶ At first glance, this seems to mitigate this central Protestant claim of the Bible's clarity and supremacy because it seems to argue that it is not unfettered access alone to the Bible as found in the Anabaptists which qualify a minister but rather a strict theological training. Biel draws upon Bullinger's humanistic influences as the reason for this insistence. Bullinger argues that the qualifications of the

⁵³ Ibid., 59.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 76.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 74-76.

pastor require a rudimentary training in language, rhetoric and doctrine.⁵⁷ As Biel correctly observes, in Bullinger's Zurich, a pastor became a trained humanist through this process.⁵⁸ Bullinger sought to justify to synod and to the political leadership of Zurich that proper education allows the Word of God to be communicated more clearly. What is important then is that Bullinger assumes a doctrinal conformity in the relationship between the state and the church, and that this link is found in the person of the minister whose role is to preach the Gospel affirmed by the centralized authorities of both synod and state.

Synodal Discipline as a Model for the Magistrate

Gordon and Biel's work on synodal discipline and proper preaching illustrates Bullinger's belief in a well-ordered society, his belief in a *Pactum* and his theological underscoring of sin, providence, and pneumatology. In the face of opposition, Bullinger conceived that a strong magistrate who promotes proper preaching will minimise the opposition towards reform. Both Gordon and Biel suggest that Bullinger's tenure as a pastor was consolidated through the executive power of the ministers and the magistrate. This serves to further the notion that Bullinger sought to quell the political disasters of Zwingli's decentralised power in order to enforce a strong order that mitigated the potential for chaos.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 86.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

Edward Dowey suggests that Bullinger consolidated his views into three categories: biblical, historical and pneumatological.⁵⁹ The view that Dowey presents is one that is helpful in clarifying the thesis's presentation of Bullinger as a humanist, *Pactum* theologian, historian and pastor. Dowey argues that the three goals seem to govern Bullinger's political methodology, stating that Bullinger attempts to satisfy each commitment with every political action.⁶⁰ These categories serve as Bullinger's worldview, in that each category takes on an almost divine classification, which governs Bullinger's conscience. This perspective better clarifies Bullinger's reliance on the magistrate as a sacred office, as it assists in highlighting Bullinger's philosophical justification for such an office. Dowey's work therefore presents the magistrate as satisfying each of the three tenets of his philosophical categories. To argue this, Dowey draws on readings of Bullinger's lesser-known works, several of which have not been translated out of their original language. Dowey's selection of works stem from Bullinger's middle period of writings, when he was an established minister at the Grossmunster in the 1530's clarifying and articulating his own theological and political commitments as they pertained to his role as *Antistes*.⁶¹

Synonymous with the religious change that surrounded him, Bullinger rooted his theology in the Bible. Like Zwingli, Luther, and Cranmer, Bullinger was driven by a strong commitment to the Bible. Dowey argues that the Bible governed Bullinger's historical

⁵⁹ Edward Dowey, "Bullinger as Theologian: Thematic, Comprehensive and Schematic" in *Architect of Reformation: An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger 1504-1575*, eds. Bruce Gordon and Emidio Campi (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic Press, 2004), 34.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ See Dowey, "Bullinger as Theologian" 44-51.

context.⁶² In this regard, Bullinger interpreted the events of the Bible as historically conditioned but still relevant to his context.

Stemming from that idea is Bullinger's belief in the preservation of orthodoxy.⁶³ As Bullinger constructed his theology, he was committed to the idea that he was realigning his movement back to the age of the Church Fathers. The Catholic Church, for Bullinger, had ceased to maintain its apostolicity. For Bullinger, ingenuity was not a good thing when dealing with matters of doctrine.⁶⁴ This is easily explained by the idea that, as the Protestants tried to incorporate their new ideals; they needed to prove that they were more faithful to the ancient teaching than was Rome. It is necessary, nevertheless, to appreciate the aspirations that the Reformers were trying to promote.

The third idea merges Bullinger's prior beliefs with his belief in the relationship between the Holy Spirit and history as something that is providentially conditioned. Bullinger's treatment on the relationship between the two was expressed, according to Dowey in Bullinger's *History of the Swiss Reformation*.⁶⁵ This work, according to Dowey, identifies Bullinger's belief that God was involved in Swiss history, which validated his own reformation program.⁶⁶ Dowey also highlights Bullinger's early work on the two natures of Christ (1534) where he places his understanding as synonymous with the early councils.⁶⁷ Bullinger was primarily concerned with the development of Latin Christianity, though he does express a budding interest in the East. Bullinger perhaps most prominently argues for the persistence and univocity of the Holy Spirit throughout the

⁶² Ibid., 39.

⁶³ Ibid., 34.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ As of the time of this writing, Bullinger's work has not been translated into English.

⁶⁶ Dowey, "Bullinger as Theologian," 34.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 45.

church's history.⁶⁸ In the history of the church, Bullinger identifies successful political enterprises as being empowered by the Holy Spirit. The link, for Bullinger, is strong moral attention. This requires, according to Dowey, Bullinger's preoccupation with constructing his political theology on the premise of reducing one's capacity to sin.⁶⁹ As Bullinger saw it, the Holy Spirit is active in a state that adheres to true worship, seen as morality. Bullinger based his idea on the viewpoint that the lack of morality within the Catholic Church was preventing the Holy Spirit from freely allowing the Gospel to be preached.⁷⁰ Like many other Reformers, Bullinger desired a cleansing of the Catholic Church's perceived impurities. This task was to be identified by the chief ministers and executed through the office of a strong magistrate.

Dowey's belief in Bullinger's consolidation of thought into the categories of biblical, historical and pneumatological serves to highlight the theological parameters in which Bullinger operates. This is significant to the development of understanding Bullinger's political theology and strong belief in the magistrate as it reinforces Bullinger's belief that his actions had the support of each of the three categories. Moreover, it supports the fact that Bullinger's magistrate was an office rooted in the Bible, reaffirmed through history, and sustained by the Holy Spirit. This led Bullinger to view the success of the magistrate in executing their duties, if done under the spiritual guidance of the Holy Spirit, as assured. For our purposes, it also shows him as a humanist, *Pactum* theologian, historian, and pastor.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 34.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 45.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 44.

In conclusion, modern scholarship has taken a limited interest in the political endeavours of Heinrich Bullinger. Though usually studied within the context of a broader issue, Bullinger's political theology is found in contemporary work. These sources consider Bullinger's handling of political and theological issues in the context of his more pronounced works in theology, history and in pastoral responsibility, which serves to piece together a framework for constructing his political theology. Contemporary research has also assisted in defining Bullinger's merits as a theologian who built upon Zwingli's legacy in Zurich. Bullinger can be seen as one who was sympathetic to Zwingli's reform, but also expanded Zwingli's theological ideas through his own knowledge and exposure to varying sources. This idea is expressed most clearly in Gordon and Dowey's treatment of Bullinger's contributions to the magistrate as an executor of God's punishment and protector of the Gospel. Bullinger takes the office of the magistrate from one that merely enforces the common good to one that also has divine responsibilities. It is in this vein that we can begin to consider Bullinger's own political sources that define his political theology and, in particular, the duties of the magistrate.

Chapter 2

2 Sources of Bullinger's Political Theology

2.1 *Status Quaestionis*

This chapter aims to consider Bullinger's use of prominent theological and political sources to develop his political theology in justifying the strength of the magistrate's office. The chapter builds off the previous chapter by arguing that Bullinger's theological scope was not limited to Zwingli alone. In addition to Zwingli's influences on Bullinger's political theology as a humanist, this chapter will also consider Bullinger's use of historical precedent to set the parameters around his construction of his politics, as well as his views on the contemporary climate of Zurich during his tenure as *Antistes*.

2.2 Method of Argumentation

To prove Bullinger's independence in the construction of his political theology, this chapter will consider, in addition to Zwingli, the impact that the Swiss state, Martin Luther, and the Theodosian Code had on Bullinger's political theology and, in particular, his conception of the magistrate. This chapter will consider the political need for strong leadership in dealing with the Emperor Charles V. Furthermore, the chapter will consider how Luther's theology of justification caused Bullinger to strengthen the magistrate's role in ensuring that the city reflects God's love through true worship. The Theodosian Code will be examined as evidence of Bullinger's ability to use historical precedent to formulate his political theology and as a way to validate strong how a strong magistrate is necessary to enforce worship to God throughout the realm. Finally, this chapter will

consider Zwingli's humanism in defining the state as a holy institution along with the church and how obedience to the magistrate is divinely ordained.

2.3 Bullinger's Contemporary view of Empire

Thomas Brady Jr.'s study of the nature of the Swiss cities in 1450-1550 considers the internal and external struggles faced by the free states.⁷¹ While Brady primarily focuses on the imperial cities of the empire and their attempts at freedom, his treatment of Charles V's reaction to the Swiss is invaluable for gaining a historical appreciation for the political challenges faced by someone in Bullinger's position as a member of a free state faced in opposition to the Holy Roman Empire. Moreover, Brady's study presents an empire-wide view of the strengths of Bullinger's political program. Brady's study is pertinent to understanding the factors that dominated Bullinger's historical context. Brady's study highlights Bullinger's political need to solidify the Reformation in Zurich under a strong magistrate against the Catholic Emperor Charles V who wanted to consolidate his power on the European Continent. Brady argues that Charles' creation of a unified Germany – a process begun by his grandfather Maximilian I – was of paramount importance to Charles.⁷² As a result, Charles considered the Swiss Confederacy to be a significant political problem. Though the Swiss City States may not have been explicitly rebellious, the rampant intellectual ideas that they held were a serious issue in Charles's mind.⁷³

⁷¹ See Thomas A Brady Jr., *Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire 1450-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). 101-158.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 102.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 107-111.

Brady's argument is that the medieval worldview that Charles espoused was strong in its ability to regulate a system of order within the European system. Charles's empire was one that advocated strong obedience and submission to the state. However, as Brady suggests, Charles was not concerned so much with the messages from the pulpit in terms of its ultimate content, but rather that the politicians began to subscribe to this new evangelicalism, which seemed to have its roots in devaluing order.⁷⁴ His opposition as Brady argues was directed at the speed at which these new reforms were implemented and the real history of anarchy that followed in the first blushes of reform.

Charles also had cause for concern based on the 1525 Peasant Wars. As the Reformation seemed to have been grasped by the hoards of commoners, the movement quickly turned into something that was to be feared for its ability to radically unhinge the underpinnings of society. For Brady, this concern had an intrinsic link to the Swiss Reformation as Charles considered the Reformation to be the epitome of the freedom for which the free states advocated.

To appreciate the consequences of Charles's disdain for the Swiss, we need to contemplate the isolation felt by the Swiss. The Swiss were in a precarious position as they had to hold off the Empire, which threatened Swiss sovereignty.⁷⁵ We can therefore place a particular political parameter on Bullinger's political theology. Bullinger's writings must be contextualised within the gloss that the Swiss, and Zurich in particular, had a unique form of governance – something free, republican, and Reformed.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Bernd Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays*. Trans and ed. H.C. Erik Midelfort and Mark Edwards. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), 75.

⁷⁶ See Heinrich Bullinger, "Second Helvetic Confession (1566)," Christian Classics Ethereal Library, <http://www.ccel.org/creeds/helvetic.htm>, 32-64.

Bullinger's politics were particularly sensitive and attuned to the volatile boundaries of their area. This idea can be furthered by the fact that the Swiss, who were able to maintain their freedom, faced an additional problem in establishing a system of government and religion that guaranteed their freedom

In order to protect this freedom and to attempt to appease critics of the Reformation, Bullinger argued that the state and the church must be wed to the same goal: that of preserving the Christian realm. He argued that this was done through the exercise of peace and order as a faithful response to God's holy city. To this end, the pressures from the Empire and its charge of intrinsic anarchy within the theology itself served as justification for Bullinger to define and strengthen the office of the magistrate. Bullinger also realised that the church's ministers play a vital role in forwarding the magistrate's reform. In this sense, Bullinger desired a strong relationship between the church and the state, both of which forward Protestantism as their chief end. In a nutshell, he was careful to not load the opinion further that reform meant dissolution of order and, in doing so, sought to answer Charles and other critics who saw otherwise. Thus, it can be said that he is a product of his time in regard to his political theology.

The task required now is to move deeper than the political structure, into the realms of Bullinger's theological convictions, which serve to paint a more complete picture of Bullinger's political theology. First, we turn to Martin Luther and the ways in which the implications of justification served to stimulate Bullinger's ascent into evangelicalism and politics.

2.4 Luther's Impact on Bullinger's Political Theology

Appeal of Martin Luther

Part of the appeal of Martin Luther lay in his challenge to the late medieval social hegemony and theology. Those who were captivated by Luther's ideas saw in them a fresh start, free from the old view of Catholic Europe. Luther's 'breakthrough' which advocated the freedom of the Gospel, was an alternative that seemed to captivate both the lower and higher orders of society.⁷⁷ Most significant however, was that Luther's ideas presented a place where learned men could study and critique his ideas, using Scripture as a litmus test over the Church's hierarchy. For a young man like Bullinger, destined for the Carthusian Order, Luther's ideas seemed irresistible. As Gordon argues, Bullinger was drawn to Luther particularly as a way to study Patristics.⁷⁸ Bullinger used Luther against his scholastic texts initially to see who was better able to accurately present the teachings of the Patristic Fathers. When Bullinger eventually concluded that Luther's view was more representational, Bullinger became wedded to the Protestant cause. This section considers the impact that Luther's Protestantism had on Bullinger's own thoughts and how it was manifested in his political theology.

Luther's Criticism of Works

Luther's criticism of the Catholic Church focused primarily on the notion held by the nominalist school, which presented the idea that God rewards human merit.⁷⁹ This, for Luther, presented a problem because this idea was predicated on the assumption that

⁷⁷ Alister E. McGrath, *Martin Luther's Theology of the Cross* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1985), 140.

⁷⁸ Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, 185.

⁷⁹ See David C. Steinmetz, *Luther in Context* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1986), 38-40.

human action could eventually equal one's justification. Such a view challenged Luther's understanding of Augustine, who strongly emphasises the utter depravity of humanity and separation from God.⁸⁰ Luther was not opposed to works as an accidental property, but he was sceptical of man's innate goodness as a condition of Grace. This particular idea, as Steinmetz accurately accounts, is that for Luther, and for Bullinger, justification was God's action.⁸¹ This is, in part, a way to distance themselves from the charge of Pelagianism, but also a way to evolve from the Aristotelian gloss of Christianity that had since developed in the high and late medieval periods. Through Augustine, Luther was able to reclassify action as a complete substance rather than a construction of accidental properties. The treatment of accidental properties, in the case of the Catholic Church, permitted an action, such as a good work, to amount to a function greater than its capacity in regards to salvation. In Luther's mind, such an idea interfered with a proper reading of Augustine.

Test Case: Critiquing Aristotle's Theory of Whole against the idea of Total Depravity

Luther began his critique on the late medieval religious commitments to the Aristotelian methodology by seeking to redefine the nature of substance. Luther's objective here was to argue that the nature of the sinner is entirely sinful. This understanding is applied to the topic of works through arguing that the entirety of human nature is sinful and, as a consequence, the actions of humanity are also sinful. Luther argued this position against what he perceived to be an error found in Aristotle and espoused by the Catholic Church. The prevailing view within the Catholic Church rested on Aristotle's understanding of

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

wholeness to be a division of accidents.⁸² For example, Aristotle considers the idea of life as a whole. The wholeness of life is divisible into accidental properties, such as leisure and war, which construct the notion of life as a function.⁸³

This definition of human essence for the Church meant that there could be accidents of the person, such as good works, that did not bear the taint of sin, implying that the Fall did not totally condemn the entirety of the person.⁸⁴ This idea, as Luther perceived, meant that God could deem a human action as good, which amounts to earning their salvation. Luther argued that this notion conflicted with a correct understanding of Augustine's doctrine of the total depravity of humanity. Instead, the consequence of sin was a foundational consequence that affected every facet of the human person. Luther argued that any actions done in the effort to earn salvation are futile, as the person is wholly condemned by sin. In this manner, Luther was able to claim that the person is in need of a form of Grace *ultra persona*. Salvation, therefore, is a form of Grace independent of the person.

This paradigm also allowed Luther to comment on the hiddenness of God. Citing Hebrews, Luther rested his understanding of justification on God's hidden nature as "things that do not appear".⁸⁵ Luther sought to protect his idea of justification as something done in the hidden attributes of God. Works, by comparison for Luther, is something viewed in the visible Church. It is a commandment to be taken seriously and in gratitude for the gift of salvation. This allowed Luther to fixate upon the nature of the

⁸² Aristotle, *Politics* trans. Ernest Barker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 1333^a30.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ See Steinmetz, *Luther in Context*, 38-40.

⁸⁵ Steinmetz, *Luther in Context*, 40.

Cross and how Christ manifested the attributes of a sinner and brought external grace to humanity.⁸⁶

Works Defined

Despite his focus on Grace and rejection of works in salvation, Luther did not entirely disregard the concept of good works; this was important for the humanist-trained Bullinger who valued societal betterment through human action. Alister McGrath alludes to the fact that Luther did not see right action as utterly fruitless; rather it is a sign of one's faith and is seen as good to God. McGrath explains the concept in that God views the action as good, even though the action itself is trivial in its significance⁸⁷ Luther, in his *Dictata*, posits an understanding of Grace that transcends any sort of emotional response.⁸⁸

Through the rejection of works as an agent in salvation, Luther argues that salvation must occur externally through what is called alien Grace. For Luther, a disposition towards Grace retains the sentiment behind Bielism, which according to Luther, espouses the Aristotelian gloss which he sought to disprove. Luther in this position, as McGrath argues, makes his argument by positioning God as the first mover in the process of justification. This makes works trivial as it allows the action of salvation to be solely in the hands of God. God's action is the only mover within the paradigm; thus, to have the gift of faith is to act upon something that has been done on behalf of the sinner. The justified, in Luther's paradigm, are to reflect this. As Luther writes in his political tract,

⁸⁶ Martin Luther, "Babylonian Captivity of the Church" in *Three Treatises*, From the American Edition of Luther's Works, 2nd ed. Trans. Charles M Jacobs et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), 156.

⁸⁷ McGrath, *Martin Luther's Theology of the Cross*, 127.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, the summative action of the believer is to love God and their neighbour.⁸⁹ In essence, a disposition towards Grace is expressed solely in the work of God on their behalf. As Luther comments in the *Dictata* on Matthew 7:7, “Knock and the door shall be opened for you”.⁹⁰ This for Luther is a promise of the law as righteousness. God has set the construct in motion, and it is therefore an invitation to glorify the work that has been done on their behalf.⁹¹ The concept of alien justification for Bullinger is significant, as it showed him that works are not of consequence to salvation. This particular idea forwarded Bullinger’s beliefs in the sovereignty of God and in works as an action done in gratitude for the gift of faith.

Promise Contained in Pactum

Luther’s treatment of the *Pactum* provides clarity in the position argued by Bullinger in the response of the faithful in his own *Pactum*.⁹² Luther’s view of *Pactum* was not synonymous with Bullinger’s in regards to its function or origin, but Luther’s ideas seem to have permeated into Bullinger’s views of justification. This can be recognised in Luther’s treatment of Abraham’s faith. The strength of Abraham’s faith lay not in his works, such as the willingness to sacrifice his son Isaac, but instead in the promise of God that he would have a son and that his descendents would be as numerous as the stars in the sky.⁹³ Luther suggests that the action done by Abraham was in response to a promise. Without this promise from God, Abraham’s actions would have been murderous and evil.

⁸⁹ Martin Luther, “To the German Nobility” in *Three Treatises*, From the American Edition of Luther’s Works, 2nd ed. Trans. Charles M Jacobs et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), 12-15.

⁹⁰ Matt: 7:7-9.

⁹¹ Peter Martyr Vermigli and Heinrich Bullinger, *A Treatise of Cohabitation of the Faithful and the Unfaithful*, Project Gutenberg Edition .

⁹² See Steinmetz, *Luther in Context*, 38-39.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 38; Gen. 22:3-7.

Therefore, Luther deduces that Abraham was acting in response to the promise and that his actions bore the gratitude of faith that God had given to him.

For Bullinger, this seems to suggest a position in agreement with Luther's early treatment on the *Pactum*. Its implications are that God gives the gift of faith to the Christian and that the elect responds in gratitude to the gift through charitable and good action.

Therefore, Bullinger relies on Luther's treatment of Abraham and the concept of alien grace to highlight Bullinger's idea of justification and responsible citizenship – which Bullinger considers in his treatment of the purpose of a godly city.

Incorporation of Pactum

When considering Bullinger, Luther's theology of justification has had the most profound impact on Bullinger's political theology. In regards to the ramifications of his political theology, it is apparent that Bullinger was approaching the issue of justification as a response to something that has already occurred.⁹⁴ This means that Bullinger's central premise on constructing a social apparatus was to make the state a reflection of the work of salvation that God had done on the elects' behalf. Bullinger's political adaptation of *Pactum* requires the state to act proactively, particularly to encourage its citizens to reflect what God has done.⁹⁵ Bullinger viewed that Christian Europeans, much like the Ancient Israelites, are prone to sin and will neglect to act upon the promise given to them by God.⁹⁶ Therefore, Bullinger argued that these lapses into sin need to be mitigated.

⁹⁴ See Bullinger, "Second Helvetic Confession" 43-64.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Heinrich Bullinger, "A Brief Exposition of the One and Eternal Testament of God," in Charles McCoy and J. Wayne Baker, *Fountainhead of Federalism* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1991), 105.

Bullinger did not doubt justification because God cannot break his own promises. Instead, Bullinger was concerned that his people would stray from their obligations to love and worship God. To counteract his fears, Bullinger argued in favour of clerical and secular discipline to maintain a well ordered society. In doing so, Bullinger believed that this would allow for the greatest chance to reflect their gift from God.⁹⁷ This, therefore, is the crux of the impact of Martin Luther's theology on Bullinger. What Luther does not provide for Bullinger are the mechanisms by which a Christian society maintains this godly state. Bullinger's political experience and situations differs from that of Luther's, making it appear that the association is more in the realm of theology than practice.

Authority Defined

A final area that Bullinger drew from Luther concerns the division of the spheres of authority. Luther's contribution on defining spheres of authority helped to further define how much power the magistrate has in ecclesiastical matters. Before discussing the implications of the spheres, however, it is necessary to describe how Luther defined a sphere of society. Luther's theology is undoubtedly Augustinian when understanding the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms (spheres): Temporal and Eternal.⁹⁸ Bullinger followed Luther's footsteps insofar as the state protects the minister's right to freely preach the Bible, but Bullinger also feared that the state could (and would) corrupt the Bible's message. Bullinger sought to combat this fear through the minister's education and therefore placed theological training as a corrective to state influence, and even paradoxically as part of the mandate of the state in selection of ministers. The ministers

⁹⁷ Vermigli and Bullinger, *A Treatise of the Cohabitation of the Faithful and the Unfaithful*.

⁹⁸ Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness*, 13-15.

would undergo a Humanist training program that would teach them how to effectively communicate the Bible. In this way, Bullinger was able to safeguard the pulpit through the proper instruction and selection of Zurich's ministers.⁹⁹

Doctrine of the Two Spheres

The difference between idea and reality, in regards to Bullinger's development of one sphere of a Godly state, is one that Bullinger addressed in order to make the model work. By merely acknowledging a single sphere such as state or church above and independent, Bullinger would have stopped well short of developing a workable model for his godly city. Bullinger began this task by arguing that the spheres needed to protect the sovereignty of the Bible and the magistrate. If Bullinger had failed to do so, he would have run the risk of having the church deal with matters of state, as in the Papal structure of the High Middle Ages. He was too good a student of Ockham, Marsilius, Zwingli, and Luther to repeat this. Whether or not Bullinger was entirely successful in successfully merging the two spheres into one while acknowledging difference is debatable; however, in order to understand what he sought to do, the idea needs to be deconstructed.

To concede that Bullinger followed Luther's doctrine of two kingdoms would be unsatisfactory in appreciating Bullinger's political theology. While Bullinger no doubt used Luther's model, it fails to encompass the goals which Bullinger set out to establish in creating a godly city. Pamela Biel suggested that Bullinger adapts Luther's theology to create the 'Doctrine of the One Sphere'.¹⁰⁰ To define Bullinger's adaptation, we are first drawn toward the question of citizenship. Bullinger's theory of citizenship is directly

⁹⁹ Ibid., 23.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 28-29.

correlated to his conception of church membership.¹⁰¹ As Biel argues, a member of the church is a person who has been baptised and is now part of the *Pactum*.¹⁰² The *Pactum*, in Bullinger's estimation, does not distinguish its members from the ecclesiastical or civic orders in terms of their status under the *Pactum*'s stipulations. Therefore, by uniting all congregants under this model, Bullinger was able to reduce Luther's Two Spheres model into one, according to Biel. However, the question then is how did Bullinger avoid this conflation in which it is church before state so that state is nothing more than an extension of church? The answer, in part, is his use of the Theodosian Code.

2.5 Theodosian Code as Godly Political Blueprint

Historical Precedence Identified

For a more pragmatic approach to Bullinger's theology, we turn next to Bullinger's use of the Theodosian Code, better known for our purposes as his ideal blueprint for Christian society under a Christian ruler. Bullinger's use of the Theodosian Code is a particular expression of his commitment to and admiration of historical precedents. As is the case for the Reformers in virtually all aspects of their exegesis, there is a propensity towards the reconstruction of historical events in their own era.¹⁰³ While one must be careful in how far they extend the idea, so that they are not merely falling back upon mimicry, Bullinger used historical precedents as a source of verification for the ambitions that he pursued. If the endeavour was successful as it was determined by the strength of the faith of the kingdom, it was deemed as divinely inspired, as was the desire to reciprocate that

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 16.

¹⁰² Ibid., 15.

¹⁰³ G.R. Elton, *Reformation Europe 1517-1559* (London: Fontana Press, 1963), 33.

action in society. In Bullinger's case, one may argue that this was all the more heightened as he was an avid historian, which held useful for the construction of his political agenda. Bullinger's *First Decade* fixates upon the Theodosian Code as a set of legal documents that garnered considerable success in their execution.¹⁰⁴

Code Defined

The Theodosian Code was first set forward by decree in 429 CE and had undergone its first edition by 437 CE.¹⁰⁵ Contained within the first edition were 2,500 different decrees that covered all facets of life, including matters of society, cultural expression and religious observance.¹⁰⁶ The Code was first decreed in the Eastern portion of the Roman Empire in Constantinople, as Constantine had since moved the capital there. As Hunt correctly notes, the Empire by this time was technically unified but resembled more of an Eastern construct – the Code itself was easily passed by the Senate in Rome without qualification.¹⁰⁷ The construction of the Code was based principally on the laws created in the preceding reigns, including Diocletian laws. The Code was meant as a source of stability and continuity, using primary documents found in the Roman Empire.¹⁰⁸ Of consequence, however, is the *magisterium vitae*. This particular document granted the emperor the powers which greatly enhanced their civil and religious power. This meant that the emperor's pronouncements were similar to God's temporal providence in that

¹⁰⁴ Heinrich Bullinger, *Bullinger's Decades: The First and Second Decades* trans. H.I, ed. Thomas Harding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1848), *sermon i*, 20.

¹⁰⁵ John F Matthews, *Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2000), 10.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰⁷ David Hunt "Christianizing the Roman Empire" in *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity* 2nd edition. Eds. Jill Harries and Ian Wood (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2010), 147.

¹⁰⁸ Matthews, *Laying Down the Law*, 12.

particular region.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, it gave to the magistrate the power to demand religious adherence to Christianity.¹¹⁰ For this, a deeper examination into the nature of the Code to understand its implications will clarify Bullinger's rationale for a strong magistrate.

Centrality of the Emperor in the Model

Of particular importance is the Code's treatment of the powers and responsibilities of the emperor. While the term emperor was not used by Bullinger, it appears that Bullinger's contemporary analysis on the term was to merely substitute the word 'magistrate' in its place. Moreover, Bullinger was not naïve to the Roman context for which it was designed, but in the *Second Decade*, Bullinger seems to suggest that the strengths of the Theodosian Code, and later the Justinian, proved to be beneficial in sixteenth century Zurich as it highlights Bullinger's commitment to his faithfulness to his understanding of providential history.¹¹¹ A plausible suggestion for Bullinger's affinity for the Code was that he, like those who composed it, believed that they lived in a Christian territory where the state had a proactive role in enforcing religious conformity. Bullinger resonated with this idea as he felt that their challenges of governance were identifiably similar. Of chief importance for Bullinger was how a Christian territory could protect and promote true expressions of faith amongst the people. Thus, for Bullinger's political aspirations, this Code provided a historical proscription on how such a goal could be achieved. To do this, we need to develop a perspective on why and how it was created, as it will assist in appreciating Bullinger's use of it some twelve hundred years later.

¹⁰⁹ Hunt, "Christianizing the Roman Empire," 147.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 148.

¹¹¹ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon ii*, 209.

Christian Baptising of the Code

In reading the Code from Bullinger's perspective, we must sacrifice some of the legal and political nuances of the document in support of the religious connotations that those in the sixteenth century placed on it. This approach has fallen under well-deserved criticism as faith commitments impede the legal structure of the document; however, it is necessary from this perspective to appreciate the weight which Bullinger chooses to place behind it.¹¹² This is unquestionably a Christian gloss by readers such as Bullinger, but it also suggests that this viewpoint promotes divine truths within the Code itself. By paying particular attention to the Code as a primarily religiously charged document by a religious magistrate, Bullinger signifies that its contents are valuable to the Christian faith. One particular perspective is to look at the Code as a codification of beliefs. As Hunt suggests, this is indicative of the institutionalisation of a credal faith from Nicea.¹¹³ Hunt predicates this idea on edict 380: "They shall be smitten first by a divine avengement".¹¹⁴ This seems to suggest the mentality of a credal confession: that it is very rigorously defined to a certain form of religious expression. It furthers that sects are to be punished by the magistrate, tying the magistrate to religion by enforcing doctrine throughout the territory.

Division of Power in the Church and State

The key to enforcing the Code was to be found in the office of the magistrate. Of particular note, the Code was innovative in its insistence that the law of the emperor was the true religion. This is significant for Bullinger in the sixteenth century as it allows the

¹¹² Hunt makes a convincing argument on the Christian reception of the text. Hunt argues that Christians interpreted the Code with a religious gloss which abandoned its legal context and ingenuity. Hunt, "Christianizing the Roman Empire," 147.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

magistrate to enforce religion within the realm. This does not subjugate the church or its clergy, as the laws deal primarily with religion as it is exercised publically within the state. As the laws are focused on practice, a mechanism is provided whereby power, as it is exercised by the magistrate, promotes the freedom of true religion to flourish in the state. Bullinger, in this instance, adapted a policy to differentiate between the imprint of the Church and the Gospel on society. At the expense of the spiritual authority that the Catholic Church possessed, Bullinger attested that it is the Gospel that holds the highest spiritual authority and the magistrate is bound to it, rather the Church's teachings.¹¹⁵ For Bullinger, this paradigm allows the symbiotic relationship between the church and the state to unite them under one office to promulgate and protect the gospel in a Christian society.

What can be said answering Pamela Biel's argument that Bullinger collapses Luther's Two Spheres into one is that Bullinger operates with a theological understanding of the state. His use of the Theodosian Code presumes a kind of providence in selection of the state leadership, conformity of belief and more importantly a belief in the power of the Gospel to call God's elect. There are indeed two spheres here, but the separation is lucid, but both answer to God, and work in concord to prevent schism, promote morality and provide a seedbed for the Gospel under the direction of the magistrate.

¹¹⁵ Bullinger, *Second Decade II: sermon viii*, 332.

Prominence of Zwingli's Legacy

Unequivocally, the legacy of Ulrich Zwingli had the most impact on Heinrich Bullinger's life, thought, and legacy. As Bullinger's predecessor, Zwingli was the principle mover behind the Reformation in Zurich and a significant player in the other Swiss cities turning towards a Protestant agenda. As his successor, Bullinger was greatly indebted to the Zwinglian political legacy. As Bruce Gordon suggests, however, this legacy was at times as much a hindrance as it was a blessing.¹¹⁶ The problem with the Zwinglian legacy has already been discussed in some detail (see chapter one), but Zwingli remained influential in Bullinger's political theology. Moreover, Bullinger remained an ardent supporter of the legacy and development of Zwingli. Despite Zwingli's monumental influence, Zwingli has been left to the end of the discussion as it is important to articulate that Bullinger's political theology explored a rich theological background, as well as an intellectual conversion to Protestantism, before Zwingli. This framework serves to forward the idea that Bullinger, despite his historical circumstances and associations, was well read enough in his own right to create a political theology that included, but was certainly not limited to, Zwingli's thoughts.

Bruce Gordon's work on the Swiss Reformation has introduced a new perspective in understanding the Swiss context in the post-Zwingli era. Zwingli died in 1531 in battle, during the disastrous Second Kappel War. As Gordon accurately identifies, the post-Kappel climate spelt disaster for the security of the Protestant cause and was, in its

¹¹⁶ Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, 32.

essence, a zone where Zwingli's occasional affinity for war was not a climate that would have easily held the popular opinion in Zurich.¹¹⁷ Bullinger, dealing with such instances, was forced to define Protestantism in Zurich in a way that required an analysis of events of which Zwingli had no knowledge such as the disastrous implications from Zwingli's involvement in the Second Kappel War. Despite Zwingli's controversial legacy, Bullinger relied heavily on Zwingli's humanism and, in particular, his view on the Bible as a key to the moral betterment of the city to define his political theology.

Humanism

In this regard, we need to turn our attention back to Zwingli's affinity towards Erasmus. As a humanist, Zwingli shared in the vision that society needed to be reformed.¹¹⁸ The social conditions of the medieval era were viewed with considerable ill repute by the humanists. Part of their political genius was the articulation of a paradigm that viewed the proper re-education of society as its chief end. For the Humanists, a stringent view on the exercise of morals through proper education and a political system that enforced such a viewpoint would serve to correct the ills of the medieval world.

Absent within this view is a desire to break free from the Catholic Church. The belief in this instance seems to suggest that, through this re-education, the Catholic Church would follow suit. This does not suggest that the Church was free from criticism – as certainly Erasmus's more satirical writings would indicate.¹¹⁹ Rather, it appears that there was a belief that this would correct the corruption within the Catholic Church as well.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 136.

¹¹⁸ Ulrich Gabler, *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work* Trans. Ruth C.L. Gritsch (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 6-7.

¹¹⁹ See Desiderious Erasmus, "In Praise of Folly" in *The Praise of Folly and Other Writings* Trans. Robert M Adams (London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1989), 3-87.

Humanists like Erasmus attempted to make the Bible and other profitable texts more accessible.¹²⁰ They were viewed as authoritative and a symbol of correct learning as well as a proper prescription to social and political life. The Bible, while certainly significant, was viewed within the context of other writings and seemed to represent a moralistic perspective.

This is significant as the humanists wanted rid of the philosophical speculation of the Middle Ages. Religious speculation was associated with a baser learning, as it did not position people to become better citizens. However, as the reforms became more rigorous, it is unsurprising that some of the more rigorous humanists would begin to question theological assumptions of the medieval world along these bases. This represents Zwingli's vision in Zurich until approximately 1522.¹²¹ Bullinger, in this regard, shares with Zwingli that particular evolution from humanism to a Protestant view that was conditioned by the humanistic efforts. Therefore, we can begin to consider how these policies acted in a Protestant worldview that still clutched the ideals of humanism.

Magistrate as Humanist

Zwingli's definition of the Christian magistrate built upon his idea that the magistrate is responsible for enforcing the moral betterment of the city. To this end, Zwingli instils the need for the magistrate to enforce morality as a sign of faithfulness to God by the city.

Zwingli commented on this position in his *A Short and Clear Exposition of the Christian Faith* in 1531.¹²² In the seventh chapter of his treatise, Zwingli argued in favour of Plato's

¹²⁰ Gabler, *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work*, 7.

¹²¹ G.R. Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 62.

¹²² Ulrich Zwingli, *On Providence and Other Essays* (reprint) eds. Samuel Macauley Jackson and William John Hinke (Durham, North Carolina: Labyrinth Press, 1983), 262.

degeneration of governments as he criticised the abuse of power in a tyrannical state, an aristocracy, and a democracy.¹²³ Zwingli argued that these three systems all fail in executing the task of human betterment through faith in their systems if left to their own devices. Zwingli believed that the ordering of government was divinely charged and a failure to execute this proper order, through their own errors, will result in God's wrath.¹²⁴ Zwingli believed that God is active in forcibly removing those who fail in their duties of power.¹²⁵

Zwingli, at this juncture, distanced himself from Plato's degenerate forms of government, arguing that it is not the type of government that is necessarily important but rather how the government exercises their power.¹²⁶ In defining the monarch, for example, Zwingli argued that the monarch must be faithful to God. The state's 'Caesar' is to walk in faith and demand that his citizens obey him and be faithful.¹²⁷ Zwingli believed that each system had the responsibility to promote Christian teachings and moral betterment. Zwingli concluded his section on government by arguing that civil government is as necessary to God's kingdom as is preaching.¹²⁸ Zwingli then argued that the church cannot exist without the existence of the state,¹²⁹ claiming that the Christian state is comprised of these two equal parts with the Church caring for the soul and the state

¹²³ Zwingli argues that the tyrannical state scorns piety and justice; furthermore, laws are subjected to the wishes of the tyrant. In an aristocracy, Zwingli argues that the power of the best and the few best ascertains the attributes of law and justice, but this system often leads to the abandonment and isolation of the subjects. Finally, Zwingli argues that democracy is a system where every citizen plays a part in the community. For Zwingli, his argument has some merit, however, Zwingli is concerned with citizens becoming lost in the process and failing in their civic duties as their responsibility wanes. Zwingli, *On Providence and Other Essays*, 261-262.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 263.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

caring for matters of managing and enforcing the state's laws.¹³⁰ In both regards, each citizen is dually charged with honouring the magistrate in his concluding thought:

Jeremiah and Paul, bid us pray to the Lord for our rulers that they may permit us to lead a life worthy of God, how much more ought all in whatever kingdom or people to bear and to do all things to guard the Christian peace! Hence we teach that tribute, taxes, dues, tithes, debts, loans, and all promises to pay of every king should be paid and the laws of the state in general be obeyed in these things.¹³¹

Zwingli's argument, henceforth, serves as a source in Bullinger's concept of the Christian magistrate. Through Zwingli, Bullinger conceived of the magistrate's duties to enforce the city's morality and exercise power as a function of divine importance whereby obedience to their laws is a Christian duty as it will be determined when dealing with Bullinger's hierarchy of law.

2.7

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the myriad of sources that Bullinger used in defining his political theology, arguing that Bullinger's sources went well beyond Zwingli in conceiving his own political theology. This chapter argued that Bullinger drew his sources from four significant areas: the Swiss state in relation to the Empire, Martin Luther, the Theodosian Code, and Zwingli's commitment to the tenets of humanism. Charles V's pursuit for unity within the continent identified that the Swiss needed a strong magistrate to preserve and maintain the freedom of the Reformation. Luther's theology of justification identified the concept of alien grace and that salvation was a gift

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

from God, not of human merit. This impacted Bullinger's concept of *Pactum* to present itself as a structure that demonstrates God's justification rather than a condition of salvation. This suggests a cause for giving to the magistrate a religious charge to enforce gratitude through proper worship. The Theodosian Code presented the historical rationale for a strong magistrate who worked with the church to forward proper worship to God and reveals some of Bullinger's as yet hidden theological understandings on the role of the Gospel and providential hand of God. Finally, in Zwingli's humanism, Bullinger understands that the state and the church are indivisible in their efforts to communicate the Gospel. Furthermore, Zwingli also provided the basis for attributing divine implications to civil obedience. In conclusion, therefore, Bullinger's theological sources for his political theology defined the context in which we can now begin to understand his own construct of a political, godly society that is enforced by the office of the magistrate.

Chapter 3

3 Bullinger's Political Theology

3.1 *Status Quaestionis*

This chapter considers the nature of Bullinger's political theology as it pertains to the city. This chapter builds upon the previous chapter by considering Bullinger's theological sources in order to define Bullinger's own theological and political agenda. Bullinger's political theology must be considered to be in dialogue with his sources, as they are invaluable to his own assertions. This chapter seeks to argue that the state's principal objective is to reflect the love of God that was given to the state. To achieve this goal, it will be argued that Bullinger's political construct is contingent upon the faith of the magistrate and the magistrate's ability to enforce proper worship.

To define the nature of Bullinger's theology, Bullinger sees the state as operating in the way that God had intended in the *Pactum* through the magistrate's enforcement of proper worship. Defining proper worship will consider Bullinger's definition of sin and how the state is to be formed to mitigate the recurrence of sin. This position will be argued highlighting Bullinger's rejection of good works that merit salvation. The thesis will then seek to define the basis of Bullinger's political theology as a state based upon reflecting God's love. To prove this idea, Bullinger's categorisation of the three levels of law – God's Law, Natural Law, and finally the laws of man – are explored. Bullinger's godly city contains the right ordering of these laws to properly worship God. Bullinger's experiences in Zurich in the public institution of the *Prophezei* will serve to demonstrate this point. To define the right ordering of these laws, Bullinger uses *Pactum* to highlight

the right ordering of worship through its central theme of moral righteousness. The chapter then defines the role of the city's minister and his relationship with the magistrate within the state. Bullinger's definition of the city is one that is godly and requires the spheres of church and state to unite under a godly state governed by the magistrate. Therefore, this chapter considers the magistrate's prominence in Bullinger's political theology as critical to its execution. This case is so because the magistrate acts as God's civil representative on Earth and as a lawmaker who works in tandem with the city's prophet to construct Bullinger's idea of a holy city.

3.2 Sin as a Human Condition

To understand the state, it is important to first identify Bullinger's views on human nature as sinful as the state is an aggregate of individuals. Sin is significant because it highlights the difference between God and humanity, and it serves as the natural mode of being that Bullinger seeks to avoid. As sin distances the person from God, Bullinger's political motivations are to structure a godly community that minimises the possibilities for sin to thrive. In Bullinger's perspective and from a political standpoint, the avoidance of sin is tied to the moral success of the city. Bullinger essentially argues that morality then is acting in true Christian community which is also the manifestation of being bound to the *Pactum*.¹³² His political goal, therefore, is to consider how morality is both divine commandment and is necessary for a prosperous state. Morality, however, is a term that Bullinger seeks to redefine or reposition in the wake of late medieval theology, as he seeks to avoid the connection between works and salvation.

¹³² Bullinger, "Second Helvetic Confession" 24-27.

Sin and Sanctity of Works in Augustinian Perspective

Bullinger, like nearly every early Reformer, is the product of an Augustinian understanding of sin.¹³³ Bullinger understands the Augustinian definition of sin as an increased awareness of the utter depravity of humanity because of their sin.¹³⁴ Humanity had first sinned in Adam federally and therefore needed God's intervention through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ to achieve salvation. This particular viewpoint is in contrast to the late medieval semi-Pelagianism of theologians such as Gabriel Biel. As Heiko Oberman has observed, Biel's theological juxtaposition is centered on the theological principle of *facere in quod se est*.¹³⁵ Biel's theology posits that if someone did what was within them to do, those actions could be met by God and deemed good.¹³⁶ Works were then considered important in understanding salvation in late medieval doctrine, as salvation became something humans could achieve. Bullinger's chief opposition to Biel's argument was that Bullinger views salvation as possibly independent of human action. Bullinger's (and each other reformer) task then was to define the role that good works played in the city, without tying them to matters of salvation. To argue this dichotomy, Bullinger appeals to understanding of God's love.

¹³³ Mark Taplin, "Bullinger on the Trinity: Religionis Nostrae Caput et Fundamentum," in *Architect of Reformation: An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger 1504-1575* Eds. Bruce Gordon and Emidio Campi (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic Press, 2004), 69.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Heiko Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963), 43.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

3.3 Love as the Chief End of the City

Bullinger argues in the *Cohabitation of the Faithful and the Unfaithful* that humanity is entirely sinful if left to its own devices.¹³⁷ This is completely Augustinian. However, he also notes that the incorporation of laws in the state based upon Christ's perfection would cure human propensity towards sin.¹³⁸ Once more, his studies on the Patristic writers and commitment to history as providential are noted.¹³⁹ What is novel is Bullinger's understanding that love dominates human deficiency by God first loving the world, which is the history of salvation. Nevertheless, it is also real history and human destiny. Its origin is clearly the *Pactum*. This is best exemplified in Bullinger's *First Decade*: "Everyone that loveth him, is all that which is born of him."¹⁴⁰ This allows Bullinger to consider love as the action of humanity and the substance of the laws which govern Creation. This provides a political action grounded in Christ's love for humanity which, as Bullinger argues, favours political order. In short, the law is based upon love and, because of that fact, it follows the sanctity of the law is to love God. This provides the basis for Bullinger's political acumen and is the central pillar by which we can understand Bullinger's use of the magistrate as the enforcer of God's love. As Bullinger writes, Christ is the initiator of law, which guides humanity to God's truth.¹⁴¹ Love henceforth

¹³⁷ Vermigli and Bullinger, *A Treatise of the Cohabitation of the Faithful and the Unfaithful*.

¹³⁸ See Bullinger, *First Decade: sermon x 180*.

¹³⁹ Bullinger sources Origen and Ambrose's positivism of liberal arts to forward the idea that communicating the gospel in a way that is relevant and understandable to the parishioners was a profitable endeavour. Moreover, Bullinger also views liberal arts as a way to trace the evolution of laws within society. Bullinger views this as significant in light of his understanding of Alexander the Great's generals' failure to maintain the empire due to the absence of laws. Peter Martyr Vermigli and Heinrich Bullinger, *A Treatise of the Cohabitation of the Faithful and the Unfaithful*.

¹⁴⁰ Peter Martyr Vermigli and Heinrich Bullinger, *A Treatise of Cohabitation of the Faithful and the Unfaithful*.

¹⁴¹ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon i, 193*.

forms the basis of laws in society and outlines a way to love God properly. The question then is how this love is expressed in *homo peccator*.

Love Expressed in the Imago Dei

Bullinger locates God's love and human response in his understanding of the *Imago Dei*. Bullinger appeals to a theology of the *Imago Dei* that activates an awareness of God's election.¹⁴² This awareness of God in the minds of the elect is stirred by a memory of God and, as God wills, finds fulfillment of that memory through Christ. Bullinger believes that the desire for reunion with Christ is a perpetual desire (and proper end of humanity) and that the proper reading of Scripture is the way in which this restoration is properly understood. Thus, Bullinger lays this responsibility in the hands of the preachers to stir their parishioners towards Christ.¹⁴³ In doing so, Bullinger hopes that the stirring of the individual will expand into the community as a whole. This is indicative of Bullinger's Aristotelian understanding of wholeness, which assumes the composition of the whole is constructed upon its accidental properties. Every human, and human society as a collective, is haunted by its image of God towards the love of God, and the order of God's love in directing human, and salvation history.¹⁴⁴ Bullinger understands this desire to be both theological and political, found in sacred ordering of laws where obedience to God exemplifies a spiritual and civic peace. Bullinger furthers that this peace is best achieved when the state recognises its faith through a strong magistrate in dutiful obedience to God. Laws, eternal, natural, and especially civic, should then be manifestations of God's love and propaedeutic for the image of God. What underscores

¹⁴² Bruce Gordon, *Clerical Discipline and the Rural Reformation: The Zurich Synod 1532-1580* (Bern: Peter Lang Inc., 1992), 49.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

this is his belief that the Law is really God's action of love. All of creation then is ordered by an inherent lawfulness, despite human sin and chaos. For Bullinger, the source of law is God's love. To be lawful is to be in a right relationship of love.

3.4 Identification and Hierarchy of Laws: God's Law

Bullinger defines law in three ways: God's Law, Natural Law and finally the laws of man.¹⁴⁵ As God is ordered, so is Creation, as he argues that God first loved Creation into existence. In loving Creation, God creates humanity with the capacity to learn to reciprocate that love back to God, as well as places within Creation devices so to engage that capacity. This is God's law – the simple truth that humanity is ordered to love God, and to love ordered life. Of course, Bullinger's view on the Fall is significant as the human capacity to know God was not severed completely from God, but only corrupted.¹⁴⁶ Whether this is within the Augustinian position is open to debate, but it certainly is a more generous reading as it intimates a renovation rather than recreation. It is important to note that contained in this corrupted state, due to the *Imago Dei*, is a means to learn to restore a portion of God's Law. Bullinger argues that humanity finds God's law in their ability to reason. To avoid Catholic theology, however, Bullinger defines reason as also seeking God's Will as it was found in the Bible, illuminated in the elect by the Spirit. Through the reading of Scripture, prayer, and godly living, one is able to use proper reason to define God's Will.¹⁴⁷ Nonetheless, Bullinger's treatment of God's

¹⁴⁵ See Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon i*. 192-198.

¹⁴⁶ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon i*, 195.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Law suggests that God has inclined Creation to have the capacity to seek God.¹⁴⁸ What is unclear is the extent the non-elect can also identify, observe, and fulfil God's Law. What is clear, for our purposes, is that they are responsible, despite being incapable of fulfilling it in terms of salvation, and, in their reprobate state, require godly magistrates to enforce order and godly preachers to stimulate lawmakers, convert sinners, and manifest the elect. The primary means of this creation of a habit of reason is the *Prophezei*.

Test Case: The Prophezei

Evidence for Bullinger's use of God's Law within human reason is found in the *Prophezei*. Zwingli created the *Prophezei* in 1525 as a forum in which the learned studied and shared their research on the Hebrew Bible.¹⁴⁹ The goal of the *Prophezei* was to study the Prophets in their original language to understand God's original charge to the Prophets.¹⁵⁰ The expectation of the *Prophezei* was that its members could better understand the expectations that God placed on his Prophets, as identified in the Hebrew Bible, and to make those requirements possible in Zurich. Despite its propensity towards advocating principles of humanism,¹⁵¹ the *Prophezei* also functioned as a forum to debate Biblical interpretation. In essence, Zwingli and Bullinger argue that, through study, dialogue, and prayer, the community could determine the Will of God and a sense of God's ordered society. In this sense, the definition of reason was primarily a communal enterprise, as members of the Councils also attended the *Prophezei*. What is important to

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, 232.

¹⁵⁰ Gordon identifies that Conrad Pelikan and Theodore Bibliander were instrumental in this process as both possessed a high degree of learning in Biblical Hebrew. Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, 232.

¹⁵¹ The *lingua franca* of the *Prophezei* was in Latin. After the session had ended, Leo Jud was commissioned to translate the minutes into Swiss-German so that members of the community could understand their findings. Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, 232.

note is that while there may be the understanding that all in attendance were elect, it may be the case that many were not. The expectation was that the policy makers in the city would incorporate the convictions of the Reformers and make appropriate laws to reflect God's Will. The *Prophezei* represents an attempt to collectively pursue reason through their humanistic program. The enterprise acts on the assumption that humanity, not just the elect inspired by the Spirit *per se*, has the potential to learn to reconstruct its corrupted reason to best understand God's Will in terms of ordered lawful life.

Natural Law

After discussing God's Law as a function of God's love, Bullinger considers how specific manifestations occur within the laws of Nature. God's Law is a general principle of Creation, and the laws of Nature or Natural Law are specific manifestations of it adduced by all humanity. This law, in Bullinger's opinion, should be placed below God's Law as the law of nature reflects God's love but is not the same. The *Imago Dei* is an orientation towards God in humanity which links humanity to God, and does so in particular because of the incarnation, whereas Natural Law is the specific cases from which conscience adduces something of God concretely. Bullinger argues that law of nature is encompassed in these two functions: to acknowledge God and to preserve natural order.¹⁵² Bullinger states, "The law of nature is an instruction of the conscience, and, as it were, a certain direction placed by God himself in the minds and hearts of men".¹⁵³ Bullinger further clarifies, "Moreover, that which we call nature is the proper disposition or inclination of

¹⁵² Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon i*, 194.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

every thing.”¹⁵⁴ In relation to God’s Law, the Natural Law is the proper acknowledgement of God’s Law. This means that Natural Law reflects God’s love that is manifested in God’s Law. In Bullinger’s understanding, God is the author of the Natural Law, but humanity’s ability to conceive of it is corrupted.¹⁵⁵ This means that for Bullinger, the clarity of Natural Law is damaged by the Fall. In Bullinger’s estimation, the Pre-Fall relationship between God’s Law and the Natural Law were harmonious; however, because of sin, Bullinger argues that the Natural Law needs to be enforced through enacting the laws of man. Bullinger’s belief, as was demonstrated in the example of the *Prophezei*, was that the relationship lost in the Fall could be better understood through Spirit-led education. Bullinger parallels this understanding with the biblical account of the Exodus.¹⁵⁶ He is drawn to how law and order function in the absence of a written law as the Israelites experienced before the Commandments. Bullinger concludes that, “They, when they have no law, are to themselves a law”.¹⁵⁷ This seems to suggest Bullinger’s belief in election and the natural state that humanity espouses, however Bullinger’s treatment of Moses as the Israelites’ magistrate in forming proper laws which recognised God should not be avoided and is most illustrative. Moses as prophet is also a magistrate – namely, he leads the elect in understanding God and works to curb natural inclination towards disunity and sinfulness within the non-elect.

Bullinger states the two concrete functions of the Natural Law, expressed through the acknowledgement of God and through brotherly love, are the roles of both prophet and

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 195.

¹⁵⁶ Exodus 19: 1–25.

¹⁵⁷ Bullinger, *Second Decade: Sermon i*, 195.

magistrate.¹⁵⁸ Both serve to give evidence of God's love for humanity but also to distinguish the elect and also ensure that order, particularly moral order, is preserved for sinful humans. The elect, under the Spirit, can indeed acknowledge God and live empowered towards brotherly love whereas the non-elect are forced by the magistrate to also live in a society that acknowledges God and to foster brotherly love. Natural Law, then, is not an addition to the Gospel; but, rather, an integral part of it, informing elect and non-elect alike. As Gordon argues, like most second generation Reformers, this response satisfies their concentration on determining the attributes of the faithful in the context of predestination and also ensuring an ordered Gospel shaped society.¹⁵⁹

In defining the Natural Law to the elect, Bullinger addresses the discrepancy between the sovereignty of the Gospels with Natural Law in the context of a corrupt human will. Bullinger seeks to remedy this dichotomy by arguing that the Gospels serve to correct the Natural Law to those who do not know God. As Bullinger states, "They may glorify and worship him as God and be thankful for such a benefactor. When therefore they do not this, they are inexcusable and perish deservedly for their unbelief and unthankfulness sake." In this context, Bullinger does not doubt that Natural Law has the possibility to instruct those who have not been instructed in the Christian faith towards morality. We can deduce from Bullinger's quotation that he understands that the Natural Law is expressed most clearly in the context of Christian salvation. This means that the Natural Law is evident when it is witness to the Gospel's message. In this instance, the Natural Law pronounces God's Law as God had intended. Where Bullinger is not entirely clear is its function apart from a Christian setting.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, 229.

However, Bullinger knows that the Natural Law is not universal in terms of its ability to pronounce God's love and salvation outside a Christian setting.¹⁶⁰ The Natural Law is not sufficient to save; moreover, to those outside Bullinger's definition of Christian, their corrupted natural law rebels against the law of God. Bullinger argues that it is only through election that the two become ratified. In his *Second Decade*, Bullinger devotes much effort to examining the Natural Law outside the Christian tradition, in antiquity in particular. Bullinger demonstrates that the Natural Law has the ability to correct behaviour but argues that the right order is found in election. Through God's Law, the Natural Law is able to function as God intended. Therefore, one's conscience is free to act in reverence to God.¹⁶¹ Bullinger understands that many exist outside this ordered law. To solve this dilemma, Bullinger then turns to the laws of man to create a tranquil and ordered society that reflects the love of God. Regardless of the clarity of his vision on Natural Law and Gospel, it is clear that Bullinger understands the magistrate as an expression of natural lawfulness, particularly when the magistrate is informed by the Gospel.

Laws of Man

The final series of laws in Bullinger's treatment are the laws of man. Bullinger categorises these laws into three main spheres: ecclesiastical, civil and familial.¹⁶² However, Bullinger again implies that these laws are subject to the exercise of tranquility and order which the other laws seek to portray.¹⁶³ Thus, laws have two functions in tranquility: to be akin to a Created natural order that furthers peace (and therefore

¹⁶⁰ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon i*, 196.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon ii*, 206.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

derivative of God's Love as Law) and to inspire humanity to faith and to do good works. In parsing the idea of ecclesiastical law, such as Church attendance and even which kind of Church is acceptable in regards to the Anabaptists, Bullinger insists that these civic laws are informed by ecclesiastical concern and should exist for the betterment of humanity despite being really 'unique' for the elect. The line between church and state is clearly blurred as laws originating in the specific practice of church tradition are also civically enforced. In doing this, Bullinger raises the possibility that these laws of state in particular are not limited to Christendom and instead argues that these laws of state are innately good for humanity on the whole.¹⁶⁴ In maintaining his hierarchy of laws, Bullinger insists that these laws of man cannot supersede the God's law and Natural Law, as they would intrinsically distort that hierarchy.¹⁶⁵ Rather, these laws must adhere to and support the tenets of God's Law and Natural Law in seeking to create an ordered and just state. This is because Bullinger's principle objective is to create a city that acknowledges God in true worship.

3.5 The Magistrate and Divine Ordering of Society

Bullinger, as mentioned, ties his objectives of the laws – to worship God and to promote the Gospel – in the office of the magistrate. In Bullinger's political theology, the magistrate is the one entrusted with ensuring that the state reflects its love for God despite the magistrate's seemingly secular position. To achieve those ends, Bullinger believes that the responsibilities of the magistrate are two-fold. The first, Bullinger argues, is that

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 210.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

the magistrate is empowered to maintain the “true religion”.¹⁶⁶ This, for example, then means that the ecclesiastical laws are properly the concern of the magistrate, despite theologically being only necessary for the stimulation of the elect towards godliness. The second attribute is a necessary by-product of that first obligation, to maintain order and to preserve peace as the entire order of creation works in concentric circles back to the Gospel as its centre. Bullinger denotes the success of the magistrate in his ability to maintain and enforce godly laws, as well as to promote the Gospel. Proper laws, as Bullinger describes, assist the magistrate in achieving those goals by reducing one’s capacity to sin.¹⁶⁷ In Bullinger’s conception of a city, reducing the capacity to sin is as much a theological problem of chaos as it is political rationale for order. To prove that idea, the next section considers Bullinger’s consequences of chaos.

Magistrate’s Control of Chaos Through Pactum

Bullinger, much like Luther, defines chaos as something real and active against God’s desire for order.¹⁶⁸ Bullinger sees chaos as a rejection of God in favour of the self.¹⁶⁹ To

¹⁶⁶ Bullinger, when referring to the term *true*, means the Protestant faith. Such a statement is garnered from his exclusion of Anabaptists and Roman Catholics within the definition of the true church. It is unclear how far this label can be extended to Lutheran Germany. As Gordon notes, Bullinger had tremendous disdain for the outcome of Marburg as well as Luther’s constant stereotype of the Swiss as *schwärmer* – a term held in common accord with the radical Anabaptist movement. In summary, while this was a source of tremendous political turmoil and an ecumenical disaster, Bullinger separates the actions of Luther from the entirety of the German Reformation. See Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, 147-149.

¹⁶⁷ Heinrich Bullinger, *Bullinger’s Decades: The Fifth Decade*, trans. H.I. ed. Thomas Harding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1852) *sermon x*, 479.

¹⁶⁸ Bullinger, “Second Helvetic Confession”, 37, and Baker and McCoy, 65.

¹⁶⁹ As Heiko Oberman argues, the early modern Reformers had a very active theology of evil. Oberman argues that this theory is exemplified best in Luther’s rejection of Karlstad’s reforms in Wittenberg. Luther abhorred the radical leaders as they sought a disorganised and rapid overhaul of society. This, for Luther, apart from the myriad of other social and religious ills, demarcated a chaotic mess that saw tremendous bloodshed and theological error. In essence, Luther looks upon this as evil because it disrupted the natural order of society for Saxony. Luther’s observations therefore forced him to make the conclusion that this was the Devil’s work. There are inherent objections to extrapolating the medieval city of Wittenberg to that of Zurich, which is a Republic. Political structures aside, Bullinger’s humanism would dictate that the potential for good is obstructed by giving way to selfishness and trivial mindedness. There is a shade of

clarify his position, Bullinger relies extensively on his reading of Israel's abandonment from their covenant with God on Mount Sinai and the chaotic destruction that ensued. Bullinger argues that the laws of Moses were written by God to achieve peace and prosperity for Israel, provided they follow the stipulations in the pact. Bullinger raises this point in his *Preface to the Third Decade to Edward VI of England*, suggesting that Edward should model himself after the Boy-King Josiah.¹⁷⁰ Josiah, at the age of eight, according to the Biblical account, restored faithful worship to God and the Kingdom of Judah prospered as a result.¹⁷¹

To further the notion, Bullinger appeals to his understanding of the *Pactum*, arguing that God's mastery over the mechanics of the Cosmos permits his authorship of a pact with humanity. This pact outlines God's desires for true worship that allows the society to best show their gratitude for God's love.¹⁷² As God's Will is absolute in Bullinger's understanding, this is the only way in which harmony between Creation and the creator can be achieved.¹⁷³ At this junction, it is critical to understand how Bullinger uses the *Pactum* politically to legitimise the magistrate's pursuit of peace. In doing so, it will identify the magistrate as not only integral to the state in pursuing order, but also as a chief agent in the Christian religion.

Platonic dualism in both circumstances as there seems to be an affinity for the spiritual, and the responsive over that of the revolutionary. Thus the right ordering of society comes through strong faith and adherence to socially desirable norms over that of something revolutionary. For Bullinger then, the magistrate's connection to order through religion is a task pursued in much the same way. Heiko Oberman, *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil* Trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart (London: Image Books, 1989), 68-69.

¹⁷⁰ Heinrich Bullinger, *Bullinger's Decades: The Third Decade*, trans. H.I, ed. Thomas Harding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1850), *Preface to Edward VI*, 10.

¹⁷¹ 2 Kings 23 cf.. Bullinger, *Third Decade: Preface to Edward VI*, 10.

¹⁷² Heinrich Bullinger, *Bullinger's Decades: The Fourth Decade*, trans. H.I., ed. Thomas Harding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1851), *sermon v*, 227.

¹⁷³ Bullinger, *Fourth Decade: sermon iv*, 183-5.

Pactum as a System of Holy Living

J. Wayne Baker argues that Bullinger's understanding of the *Pactum* is grounded in Bullinger's preoccupation with God's providence and immutable nature throughout history.¹⁷⁴ This means for Bullinger that the promises in the *Pactum* began with Adam rather than Abraham.¹⁷⁵ Bullinger argues that history may appear to give different conditions through God's reaffirmation of the terms, but the nature and conditions upon the *Pactum* remain unchanged.¹⁷⁶ As Baker observes, Bullinger extends this idea into the New Testament by considering it a commentary on the Hebrew Bible.¹⁷⁷ This is not to suggest that Bullinger negates the significance of Christ, but it serves to highlight Bullinger's emphatic belief in the univocity of the *Pactum*.

It is, examined in this light, a useful enterprise in determining a theological equation in how Creation is to respond to God. Bullinger seems to espouse two different viewpoints between his belief in the secret nature of election and the certainty of the *Pactum*. To solve the dichotomy between the secret nature of election and the certainty of the *Pactum*, Bullinger argues in favour of a bilateral nature of the *Pactum*. As Baker argues, this bilateral nature seems to allow human action a place in the action of the *Pactum*.¹⁷⁸ Bullinger draws on Eusebius's treatment of Adam.¹⁷⁹ Eusebius argues that Adam was

¹⁷⁴ Baker also argues that Bullinger's commitment to the unity of the *Pactum* was through Zwingli's writings against the Anabaptist Balthasar Hubmaier and Hubmaier's treatment on the supercessional nature of *Pactum* between the Christian Old and New Testaments. Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant*, 2.

¹⁷⁵ Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant*, 2.

¹⁷⁶ As Edward Dowey argues, this contributes to the idea that Bullinger understood the *Pactum* as a document that categorises natural order. A treatment of the *Pactum* therefore needs to be contextualised as a function of God's faithfulness as it pertains to Bullinger's understanding of God's history of salvation. See Edward Dowey, "Bullinger as a Theologian: Thematic, Comprehensive and Schematic," 34-43.

¹⁷⁷ Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant*, 4.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

saved through faith alone.¹⁸⁰ The ritual acts of circumcision, for example, were added later and, according to Bullinger, contributed to the proper worship of God rather than the person's salvation. This suggests for Bullinger's strong univocity of the *Pactum* that free will is a given, but its actions are not tied to salvation; rather, they contribute to the proper ordering and worship of God. This action is significant because it allows Bullinger to promote *Sola Fide*, but also to stress that human action is important in the proper worship of God.

Bullinger relies principally on God's promise to Abraham as evidence for human activity within the *Pactum*. Having understood that humanity does not choose their salvation, Bullinger argues that human action is required, based upon God's desire for humanity to "Keep my covenant and walk before me."¹⁸¹ This idea seems to suggest a method to glorify God and live within community.¹⁸² In Bullinger's understanding, this attitude breeds sincere faith as it is expressed through one's duty, bound in the *Pactum*. It requires the adherent to be faithful to God as it mandates God's desires for humanity.¹⁸³ It seems more plausible that Bullinger understands *Pactum* as a blessing or a promise of spiritual prosperity within the community. In arguing in this manner, the conditions within the *Pactum* charge the magistrate to promote godly living and to ensure that the state acts in accordance with the *Pactum*. Having interpreted Bullinger's hierarchy of laws in conjunction with the responsibility of the *Pactum*, the chapter considers how the magistrate executes this divine ordering with the guidance of the ministers.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Gen. 17:1.

¹⁸² Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant*, 109-110.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

3.6 Minister and Magistrate: Spheres of Authority Defined

Bullinger argues that the offices of the minister and the magistrate are under the common goal to encourage a godly city. Bullinger does not, however, say that the duties of the magistrate are synonymous with those of the minister. There are in his understanding two parts of the single sphere of Bullinger's holy city, both of which work in tandem to promote the Gospel, restrain sin and quicken the elect. Bullinger locates the principal division of duty quite pragmatically between (1) preaching of the Bible and (2) punishment and finance with the city. This can be understood metaphorically through considering Bullinger's state as a coin: like a coin, the state has two different faces, the church and the state, but they are still part of the same structure that makes up the entirety of the coin. The minister is charged to preach to promote, restrain and quicken and the magistrate is to ensure that it happens and punish those who would deny that objective and to finance the efforts of the church.¹⁸⁴ The importance of preaching is measured by Bullinger's belief that the Word of God preached is indeed the Word of God and this completely fulfils all aspects of Law and love. The minister, with the aid of the Spirit, can speak as to the Will of God.¹⁸⁵ There may be an ultimate theological justification for this equation, but it is, for our purposes, completely pragmatic. The reason for this is that Bullinger is primarily concerned with overlapping the duties of governance and preaching as he wants to protect the purity of the Word of God. This means that, in Bullinger's city, the ministers are relegated to the task of preaching; in so doing, they are removed from the affairs of civil punishment and the lure of financial gain.

¹⁸⁴ Bruce Gordon, "Heinrich Bullinger" in *The Reformation Theologians*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 173.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

Bullinger believes that the role of punishment must exist separate from the clerical order, as it requires a degree of independence.¹⁸⁶ Stepping into the realm of Bullinger's worldview, his desire to have a degree of separation is not difficult to understand. As evidenced by Bullinger's English correspondence during the reign of Mary, Bullinger witnessed the burning of evangelicals by ecclesiastics.¹⁸⁷ In this, Bullinger believes that the church's actions took the focus away from its traditional shepherding role in favour of a punitive one.¹⁸⁸ Bullinger observes that for the church to remain within that sphere of spiritual care, it needed to be removed from the direct temptations of punishment.¹⁸⁹ Bullinger argues that the function of the minister is to use the Word of God to enforce conformity while the state uses force. In this sense, Bullinger relegates the minister to matters of spiritual care while leaving governance to the magistrate. Therefore keeping of the peace was given to the magistrates who could remove themselves from theological disputes and instead use punitive measures to keep the peace that were based on the correct ordering of society rather than doctrine.¹⁹⁰ Of course, this is highly problematic as it assumes a normative doctrinal posturing for the Gospel which is sympathetic to Bullinger's belief that God's sovereignty affirms his reforms.

¹⁸⁶ Peter Martyr Vermigli and Heinrich Bullinger, *Cohabitation of the Faithful and the Unfaithful*.

¹⁸⁷ (Letter from Hooper to Bullinger Sept. 1553) Hastings Robinson, ed. *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI and Queen Mary 1537-1558*, for the Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1849), 100.

¹⁸⁸ Bullinger, *Fifth Decade*: sermon *ii*, 75.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ An objection to this claim is Bullinger's involvement in the trial of Michael Servetus. However, such an objection is unfounded as Servetus's actions extended beyond the realm of doctrine alone – although doctrine was a central factor of Servetus's condemnations by the Reformed Church. He was banished first, but again tried to incite a form of disturbance to the civic order.

Shared Responsibilities by Minister and the Magistrate

Before moving on to the next section of Bullinger's political sources, it is prudent to comment on how Bullinger explains that the two sides coexist. While Bullinger establishes, in principle, the boundaries to be respected by the church and state, he does not successfully explain how this relationship is ordered. Bullinger's best attempt to do so is demonstrated in his treatment of the role of the prophet. It is clear that Bullinger is sourcing the relationship between the prophet and king as described in the Hebrew Bible. Bullinger hypothesises that the magistrate operates on the *advice* of the prophet, creating a dichotomy between God's Will and contemporary practice. In this model then, the magistrate is entrusted with making relevant the civic obligations that the prophet identifies and punishing those who break from the laws that the magistrate creates that are, as Bullinger believes, divine in origin from the prophet. Thus, while the prophet is excused from direct political action, the prophet nonetheless is also indirectly responsible for informing the magistrate in order to restrain sin and promote godliness whilst inculcating spirituality in the elect.

Role of Prophetic Voice in the City

Despite Bullinger's rather idealised view on the relationship between the prophets and Israelite Kings in the Hebrew Bible, he can be accused of trying to incorporate himself back into the political process where Zwingli had been. As *Antistes* in Zurich, the role of prophet, if indeed the role was singular, the role of the prophet would almost certainly be given to him. Bullinger would have had the support of the ministers who followed his theological and pastoral lead which would have catapulted him to a role of highest

standing and influence.¹⁹¹ More so, Bullinger had already stipulated that communication of Divine Revelation required a rigorous Humanistic-like training as well as the ratification of fellow ministers.¹⁹²

Therefore, this limits the prospects for who could assume the role of the prophet to an ordained minister. The ordained minister, if it was not Bullinger himself, would have certainly been sympathetic to Bullinger's own theological and political agenda. The role of the prophet is certainly one that requires much more attention to detail than the scope of this project can provide. It is important to highlight, nonetheless, the prophet was to be one who could hold the single sphere of citizenship together by communicating God's Will to the state. It should be noted that Bullinger's theories may in fact be slightly self-serving as he was the chief minister in Zurich who would possess the power to communicate those ideas. Regardless of that fact, however, Bullinger promotes a unified sphere of citizenship that is united under the common goal of creating a holy city.

Limits of the Ministerial Order

Bullinger first appeals to the state by citing an account of the Prophet Isaiah, who states that the minister is susceptible to error.¹⁹³ The practical implication for Bullinger's city is that every proclamation made by the minister may not be something from the Divine.¹⁹⁴ In doing so, Bullinger immediately disassociates himself from radical claims of infallibility, which leads to corruption. Bullinger sets out next to develop a kind of

¹⁹¹ Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness*, 23.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 29; Isaiah 3: 3-7.

¹⁹⁴ Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness*, 29.

meritocracy within the clerical orders.¹⁹⁵ In this, Bullinger is rebelling against the idea that a minister is above reproach and it prevents the minister, and even the prophet from wielding too much power in matters of state. A minister could therefore be removed from office if he failed his duties. This highlights Bullinger's disdain for Catholic priests in the diocese of Konstanz who were regularly absent from their priestly duties. This gave Bullinger and his synod (which included members of state) tremendous power over the duties and responsibilities of the minister. In essence, he treads between two considerations: the unfettered ability of a true minister of the Gospel to accurately mediate the Word of God compared with the recognition that many such ministers may in fact not be true ministers of the Gospel, as in his criticism of Catholicism.

Test Case: Ecclesiastical Benefice

The following case serves to highlight the historical rationale for Bullinger's separation of the execution of governance and of preaching. The example identifies Bullinger's concern with the Catholic Church's handling of finance prior to the Reformation, which highlights Bullinger's advocacy for the separation of duties. Furthermore, the example of ecclesiastical benefice and the stipends that came with that office illuminates Bullinger's historical consciousness to suggest his insistence in rigidly defining the roles of the minister and magistrate.

In his *Second Decade*, Bullinger identifies the issue of benefices, which became a problem in the late Middle Ages.¹⁹⁶ Bullinger drew this criticism from his own bishopric of Konstanz. In the early sixteenth century, Konstanz was renowned for clerics abstaining

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 23.

¹⁹⁶ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon viii*, 332.

from their priestly duties.¹⁹⁷ It was not uncommon for a priest to hold several benefices, nor was it uncommon that he lived outside of the region.¹⁹⁸ Bullinger perceived that this was in part due to the guarantees that the benefice held of financial security and land ownership. Moreover, Bullinger felt these obligations served as a distraction to the priest from his priestly duties. In this regard, Bullinger was concerned that the Word of God was impeded by such distractions and that preaching suffered as a result.

To solve this problem, Bullinger relies on an idea put forward by John Chrysostom that stipend should be determined by merit.¹⁹⁹ Bullinger's meritocracy rests on the minister's commitment to the parish and the faithful execution of duty.²⁰⁰ Bullinger argues that the success and payment of the minister was to be assessed by both the church and the state. Bullinger's justification is that the strength of the message was to be determined by a governing body to which all ministers were accountable.²⁰¹ Furthermore, the money that the minister received would be issued not by the church, but by the state. In doing so, this binds the minister to obedience to the state and instils an interest in citizenship.²⁰² From

¹⁹⁷ Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, 55.

¹⁹⁸ Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (London: Yale University Press, 1980), 196.

¹⁹⁹ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon x*, 395.

²⁰⁰ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon vii*, 332.

²⁰¹ Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform*, 321.

²⁰² The Indulgence controversy was also an indictment that Bullinger held in the issue of the Catholic Church's handling of money. Bullinger charges that the Catholic Church trivialised the Word of God for temporal gain. A particular example was the papal legate Bernhard Sanson who was sent by the Vatican to issue Indulgences for a fee from the Swiss. The story is similar in what Martin Luther experienced in Wittenberg under Johann Tetzel, but with a different conclusion. Zwingli had garnered enough support in the city council to demand that Sanson be recalled back to Rome. The remarkable twist to this story was that Sanson was recalled with little objection. This is because the Vatican was fearful of angering the Swiss in case it limited the supply of mercenary soldiers that the Swiss provided for the Pope's foreign wars. While a favourable conclusion was reached, Bullinger argues that the whole matter was misguided and could have been avoided if the state managed the funds of the church.

A second point on Indulgences serves to buttress the issue of the church handing money in examining the evolution of the Indulgence itself. It is necessary to place parameters on the definition of indulgences as the doctrine itself underwent a series of changes in meaning. A Papal indulgence began in the twelfth century as a way in which action could be taken that God would see as desirable – the works of

such an example, it is reasonable to argue that Bullinger sought to limit the amount of financial resources within Zurich to which the church had access.²⁰³ Regardless of the circularity in his argument on the self-evident merit of the true minister, we observe pragmatism and theological convictions jarring against each other. Bullinger clearly thinks it possible to have a minister whose role is truly prophetic, as well as one who is not; and it falls to the state, in part, to legitimize that minister at least in terms of finances. The magistrate then has not enough power, as does the church.

3.7 Magistrate Defined: the Living Law

Bullinger ultimately rests the execution of his political order in the office of the magistrate. The magistrate serves to see that the hierarchy of laws are enforced within the state. With this sentiment in mind, Bullinger calls the magistrate the “Living Law”.²⁰⁴ The expression of the Living Law suggests that Bullinger sees the magistrate as the enforcer of his hierarchy of laws. This assumption has a pneumatological function much to the same degree that Bullinger views the minister’s ability to preach. This assertion is ratified by Bullinger’s chief operation of the law, which is to reflect God’s love. As Bullinger

a devout Christian (*Facere in quod se est*). Christian *caritas* denoted that the sign external would represent something internal. This is a prominent theme developed by Thomistic theology that placed a strong basis on the Aristotelian definition of accident and substance. One can also see this expressed in the Mass by allowing Christ to alter the substance – much like what is done with an action by a Christian. However, by the thirteenth century, an indulgence took on a more immediate causation, A good work, like building a cathedral, as decreed by Urban II could take on plenary significance. Thus, by giving money (or, in the case of the Crusades, taking up arms) to the Catholic Church, they would lessen their penitential obligation. By the Middle Ages, the definition had again been altered that the action could be done, not for one’s self, but also for another on their behalf. This changed the meaning of its original intent entirely and served to further Bullinger’s criticism of the Catholic Church’s ability to properly handle funds. See Ozment, *The Age of Reform*, 192-204.

²⁰³ Ozment, *The Age of Reform*, 321.

²⁰⁴ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon viii*, 339.

writes, “The laws themselves are dumb Magistrates”.²⁰⁵ This idea highlights that the hierarchy of laws serve to identify God’s divine orders of Creation, but also that the magistrate is needed to make the laws relevant in the state, due to humanity’s sinful disposition.²⁰⁶ By enforcing the law, the magistrate also contributes to the wellbeing of the city’s religious program by enforcing proper worship to God through the hierarchy of laws.²⁰⁷

There is need for Bullinger’s city to address the function of justice and punishment that the magistrate enforces. Having established the necessary headship in Bullinger’s political theology, it is important to consider now the powers invested within it. While it is not the case that Bullinger disregards the institutions of civil society as inherently strong, the strength and the weaknesses of the states seem to be measured by the faithfulness of the magistrate to ensure peace and true faith.²⁰⁸ Because the magistrate has the duty to be seen as the law, it makes sense to conclude that the magistrate must assume a punitive and corrective office.²⁰⁹ Thus, our understanding must first contemplate the role of the sword. Before taking Bullinger’s endorsement of using the sword for granted, it is necessary to appreciate the historical controversy that surrounded the issue.²¹⁰

²⁰⁵ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon vii*, 339.

²⁰⁶ Vermigli and Bullinger, *Cohabitation of the Faithful and the Unfaithful*.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon vii*, 366-7.

²⁰⁹ Heinrich Bullinger. “A Brief Exposition of the One and Eternal Covenant of God” in *Fountainhead of Federalism*, trans and ed. J. Wayne Baker and Charles McCoy (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1991), 121-4.

²¹⁰ Before Zwingli’s death at Kappel in 1531, Zurich’s Anabaptist movement had gained considerable ground as an egalitarian sect on the back of Zurich’s Republican structure. For the purposes of this investigation, one of the political pillars of the early movement was the steadfast condemnation of the use of violence. Because of this, political office was denied from both an internal, doctrinal position but also from the magistrate. The theological basis for the renunciation of violence is predicated on the belief that a community of Christians could be successfully governed by the moral codes found in Scripture. Certainly, the Schleithem Confession (1527) affirms this sentiment but the degree to which the Anabaptists adhered to this method outside of their community was anything but solid. There seems to be within Swiss/

Therefore, in order for this humanist society to operate, the magistrate became God's anointed in protecting and forwarding the Reformation and city.

Test Cases: Kappel War and the Rise of Anabaptism

Bullinger's historical experience also serves to explain the emphasis that Bullinger places on a strong magistrate. Bullinger's life highlights both the strengths and the weaknesses of the free city. In considering this problem, we are able to observe how Bullinger views the magistrate as the protector of the state. Bullinger experienced firsthand that the potential for war was an ever-present reality. In the aftermath of the Second Kappel War, Bullinger fled to Zurich after his hometown of Bremgarten was taken over by Catholic forces. Bullinger saw his reformation program crumble almost instantaneously as Catholic forces advanced into Protestant territories and outlawing Protestantism. Devastation for Swiss Protestantism, such as the Second Kappel War, demonstrated a need to engrain the ideals of reform into the social fabric of the city in a centralised body like the magistrate. Moreover, it also proved that the Reformation needed to extend beyond the directions of a charismatic leader, such as Zwingli, to an institution.

A second threat that Bullinger experienced was an internal one, the Anabaptist controversy. Though the fervour of the initial movements had subsided before he began

Moravian Anabaptist movements a divide between radical sectarianism and limited engagement. Thus, for sectarians, like Michael Sattler, the main driver behind the Schleitheim Confession is a strict segregation principle that did not permit the use of violence in any circumstance. Conversely, there is a second grouping, which knows not a confessional name, like Balthasar Hubmaier, who seems to in limited circumstances permit the magistrates to use the sword as a means to protect those who were being oppressed. It becomes a matter of opinion in studying Hubmaier in particular, as to whether the sword can be used as punitive. However, the decisive difference in Hubmaier is that there seems to be, in certain Anabaptist circles, a variance on how the sword can be used by the civic officials in matters pertaining to the faithful execution of their office. See John A Yoder, *The Schleitheim Confession* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1977) and John A Yoder, *The Legacy of Michael Sattler* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1973).

his tenure as *Antistes*, Bullinger still faced the threat of a growing sectarian tendency in Zurich that would threaten his reformation. The Swiss Anabaptists in Zurich remained a constant anxiety to civil conformity. This is largely due to their rejection of violence in all forms. The Anabaptists removed themselves from the community by refusing to pay tax or serve in government positions, in favour of a Christian utopian community.²¹¹

Bullinger's contention was exacerbated by their theological differences, in ecclesiology in particular. The Anabaptists in Zurich argued that a re-baptism entered the believer into a new Christian community, thus removing their obligations to the church and to the state. Bullinger was fearful, as he argues that the Swiss Anabaptist ideology descended from the German Radical, Thomas Muntzer.²¹² Bullinger feared that Muntzer's reform would bring about a peasants' revolt as it did in the German states. Furthermore, a rebellion like Muntzer's challenges the divine nature that Bullinger places on sacred order and civic structure. Bullinger believed that the magistrate required the power to punish radicals like the Anabaptists. In this context, they had abandoned the Reformed Church in Zurich to create their own. Bullinger argued in this case that the Anabaptists had "hard hearts"²¹³ and were not listening to the Word of God. Because they rebelled, Bullinger then relied on the magistrate to faithfully execute the laws in his power to use punish the dissidents into right order. To conclude these examples, we are able to observe that Bullinger's historical legacy suggests that there is a need for the magistrate's strength. Where there is

²¹¹ Ozment, *The Age of Reform*, 343.

²¹² Thomas Muntzer was a member of the Zwickau Prophets. Muntzer was preoccupied with bringing the kingdom of God to the world through the use of the sword. Muntzer was a leader in the Peasants Revolt which sought to overthrow the existing social structures in Luther's Germany in favour of a radical Christian commune. Muntzer led an armed revolt against the princes of Saxony which led to the slaughtering of thousands. Muntzer was captured and later executed in 1525 for his involvement. Reformers like Bullinger feared this radical behaviour and any inclinations towards a challenge to the existing structures were often put on the same level as Muntzer's revolts. Archilla, *The Theology of History and Apologetic Historiography in Heinrich Bullinger*, 213.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

dissent, Bullinger requires that the goal of a godly city be entrenched in both the offices of the minister and the magistrate to fulfil their offices to ensure that the well-being of the city.

The Magistrate's Theological and Biblical Authority

Based upon Bullinger's historical context, it seems plausible that, in Bullinger's mind, Gospel reformation is what the magistrate is entrusted to protect. For Bullinger, protection was constructed through law and the threat of the sword. Bullinger's demeanour was not violent, and as a humanist he deplored violence. Rather, Bullinger argues that the use of the sword was an inevitable consequence of human nature. Bullinger conceives of punishing those in err under the direction of the church in common with his readings of the Hebrew Bible. The precedent that Bullinger follows is that the Will of God is revealed to the prophet and the prophet instructs the magistrate to act in accordance with those instructions. Bullinger considers a senior minister in the state (a position which he held as *Antistes*) as the prophet because of their ability to understand the Word of God as that minister is sympathetic to its message. In this relationship, Bullinger argues that the magistrate carries out the enforcement of the prophet's decrees.²¹⁴ The magistrate, as Bullinger understands it, acts as God's hand in punishing those who fall away. This is explained in his *Second Decade* as Bullinger seeks to remove the element of humanity from the use of discipline and rather considers the magistrate as a divine instrument which God uses to punish the wicked on Earth.²¹⁵

²¹⁴ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon viii*, 352.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Punishment and Theology

Bullinger's definition of punishment is understood in his conception of ecclesiology. As the Anabaptists in the preceding section advocated for the assembly of a pure church, Bullinger argues that the church on Earth, or church militant, is a body that contains both the elect and the damned.²¹⁶ Bullinger does not rid the notion of a pure church, but he instead interprets that as the church eternal. The church eternal is hidden and known only to God and in it are only the elect whom God has chosen.²¹⁷ Due to the hiddenness of the church eternal, Bullinger's efforts lay in defining the church militant, of which the magistrate is part. Bullinger argues that the church militant is prone to error and requires the magistrate's use of the sword to correct abuses within the church.²¹⁸ Bullinger believes that the sword has the potential to act as a deterrent to those who are inclined to fall away.

Therefore, the sword becomes a threatening entity for those who would consider defying God's holy city. This stipulation seeks a twofold structure that ensures God's faithfulness to the city as long as they follow the laws. For Bullinger, the city must adhere to a degree of order and cohesion. He argues that these are the facets by which the community has the greatest end to limit their propensity to sin. Therefore, the onus placed upon the magistrate is one which is bound by divine justice, further legitimising their right to direct political and spiritual policy.

²¹⁶ Bullinger, *Fifth Decade: sermon ii*, 85-89.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

Protection of the Magistrate's Ordained Power

To further legitimise the magistrate as an office ordained by God, Bullinger treats the magistrate as God's civic agent. Bullinger extends this argument as far as to claim that offences committed within the city are offences done to God.²¹⁹ Due to the magnitude of the office, Bullinger relies solely on his interpretation of justice as the absolute reflection of God's providence within the city. While Bullinger does not assume that the magistrate is infallible, there are certain traits that he deems as good and that the magistrate should possess. These traits bear the gloss of his humanist sympathies and commitment to morality. Of chief importance to Bullinger was that the magistrate not be cruel. This idea extends into Bullinger's stress that the use of the sword not be seen as cruel.²²⁰ As a humanist, Bullinger equates this sort of work with excess. Bullinger advocates for moderation in government but severity in its pursuit to root out evil from God's holy city.²²¹ Bullinger argues that it is to be preferred that citizens should come to civil and religious obedience on their own terms through their reading of the Gospel.²²² Thus, the laws of the magistrate should act as a deterrence to sin and educate them on proper citizenship. Likewise, Scripture would also be administered and preached in the same way to educate and preserve order.

As previously mentioned, Bullinger was not naïve to the possibility that some citizens would not conform through the proper legal channels. It is in this instance that Bullinger, with reluctance, permits the use of force.²²³ Force, as Bullinger conceives of it, was a

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon v*, 295.

²²¹ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon i*, 210-211.

²²² Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon viii*, 354-5.

²²³ Bullinger, *Second Decade: sermon vi*, 308.

synonym for coercion. Using coercive force was not antithetical with humanism.

Bullinger relies on the use of punitive force to make a citizen realise behaviours that needed correction, as well as to serve as a deterrent for others. Thus, physical punishment must serve as a way to bring about a change of the mental state.²²⁴ Evidence of Bullinger's full use of the law is seen in his treatment of the Anabaptists. Bullinger utilises the courts to bring about recantation and, when they were not given, he supported their drowning in the River Limmat.²²⁵

To conclude this section, the magistrate is the backbone of Bullinger's political *theology*. The magistrate acts as God's civil representative on Earth who institutes the hierarchy of laws within the state to love God. The magistrate adheres to the convictions of the prophets and dutifully executes their decrees. Bullinger's magistrate protects the preaching of the Word of God and works with the ministers, to which the prophet is a member, to ensure that there are legal mechanisms within the state that encourage its citizens to refrain from sinful behaviour. Because Bullinger sees the church militant as fallible and prone to sin, the magistrate is charged with using the sword to bring about restoration to the city. In using the sword, the magistrate is to use reluctance, with the intention that, when the sword is used, it is to preserve order above all else. That is the magistrate's sacred duty.

Limits on the Magistrate's Power

While curtailing the possibility for excess and abuse in the clerical order, Bullinger also develops policies that limit the magistrate's right to infringe upon the city's ministers.

²²⁴ Ibid., 309.

²²⁵ See Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, 214-216.

Bullinger argues that preaching was not a universal right. Not every person could exposit and preach from the Bible. This meant that only those trained and ratified by the synod could preach with any authority.²²⁶ This prevented those in the council from preaching a message that was self-serving and also protected the Bible from the radical claims of the Anabaptists who held no regard for synodal discipline. Bullinger then clarifies his understanding of the authority of the minister, chiefly, how they ought to have a say in the direction of the state. Bullinger argues that the magistrate must respect the minister as God's proxy.²²⁷ This means that the message that the minister delivers has the possibility to carry Divine judgement and political relevance. In essence, the minister in this manner assumes a title as a prophet. However that title requires some further clarification which I will explore shortly. Bullinger was trying to protect the freedom of the minister to communicate Divine ideas. Bullinger was particularly hostile to the magistrate unilaterally removing a minister for personal or political gain.²²⁸ Bullinger, therefore, is trying to protect the Gospel message from both the clergy and the state, while relying on their respected places within his understanding of a holy city.

3.8

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has considered the idea that Bullinger's political theology is predicated on his belief that the essence of politics is to love God in true worship.

Bullinger argues that because of the presence of sin in the human condition, humanity's perception is corrupted towards sin. As it was argued, salvation could not be achieved by

²²⁶ See Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness*, 23-29.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

works as salvation was God's choice. Therefore, because salvation was not something that could be earned, Bullinger focuses his argument on seeking to minimise the human propensity towards sin for the spiritual prosperity of the state. To do this, Bullinger emphasises his hierarchy of laws as a way to reflect true worship to faithfully respond to God's action of salvation on their behalf. Bullinger's laws of God, nature, and man serve to identify how Bullinger conceives of order and how the right ordering of these laws would promote the true worship of God. It was argued that Bullinger's theology of the *Pactum* served to solidify the need to maintain these laws. Finally, it was argued that the magistrate was the backbone of Bullinger's state. The magistrate, while not functioning in the same capacity as the minister, serves to enforce the hierarchy of law and the Word of God as determined by the ministers. The office of the magistrate alone has the right to act as God's judgement on Earth in serving to preserve peace and to allow the free preaching of the Word of God. What is unclear is whether Bullinger is able to navigate this area successfully, and indeed most of the argument he makes is assumptive on the idea that the magistrate, ideally, is a person of evangelical conviction and election. This is very important when he comes, as in the next chapter, to England and his especial understanding of the boy-king Edward who he believes is doubly elected as king and Christian to guide that nation towards Gospel life.

Chapter 4

4 Bullinger and the Court of Edward VI

4.1 *Status Quaestionis*

This chapter considers the prevalence of Bullinger's political theology as exercised in the theology of the magistrate in England. England is being considered because Bullinger believed that the pre-existing political structure of the monarchy under the boy-king, Edward VI, was most conducive to the central tenets of his political theology. This raises the possibility that Bullinger's centrality of the magistrate, as witnessed by the convictions of English politicians and religious leaders alike, reinforced his political and theological aspirations of his magistrate coming to fruition.

The nature of the question raised is controversial in contemporary scholarship.

Scholarship seems to be divided principally on three factors: first, the varying degrees of Reformed sympathy during Edward's reign and, second, how much of a grasp Edward had on his own religious policies, as he was a boy king who died at the age of fifteen.

The third division considers how prominent a voice Bullinger actually had in English political and theological deliberation. To minimise the impact of the aforementioned problems, the chapter breaks the nature of the question into three separate areas: first, to argue that Bullinger's ideas were relevant to the Edwardian context; second, to examine Edward's religious sympathies and those of his tutors and council towards Bullinger's magistrate; and third, to then evaluate Edward as Bullinger's prime candidate for seeing his hopes for the magistrate realised.

An examination of the exchange of letters between Bullinger and his English correspondents raises the possibility that there was a sympathetic view of Bullinger's theology of the magistrate in England. In conducting my research in this manner, I am building upon the groundwork done by contemporary scholars on the case for the existence of a strong relationship between England and Zurich. Through Bullinger's correspondence and impact in the political and theological convictions of the Duke of Northumberland, Edward's second Protector; Thomas Cranmer and John Hooper, we can observe the highest aspirations of Bullinger's political theology in the magistrate. Cranmer and Hooper, especially, provide a unique relationship as these two Reformers' respective ideologies concerning English religion often differed, yet as this thesis argues, both appreciate the view of Bullinger's magistrate. In establishing that basis, Bullinger's hope for the embodiment of his magistrate in Edward can be considered. This question is argued in three ways: the first, to consider his divine appointment; the second, to evaluate his ability to secure the cause of the Reformation; and finally, to punish those who would challenge the Reformation and the magistrate's ability to construct civil laws that mitigate sin and promote a Gospel society.

4.2 Development of Reformed Theology in England

Based upon the networks of correspondence found in the Zurich Letters, the conclusion that Bullinger meant to expand Reformed theology throughout the continent and the British Isles is uncontested. The Edwardian reign was one of turmoil as power was exercised differently due to the king's minority. According to Henry VIII, a governing council was to be set in place until Edward reached the age of majority. This council was

also the seat of controversy as modern study on the council's execution power varies from the power of junta to something much more passive. To add further complication, religious voices were widespread throughout the kingdom. While Catholicism was outlawed, Lutheran, Calvinist and Zurich-based theologies were held in high regard in various regions throughout the kingdom. In addition there remained a strong, yet subtle, Catholic voice within Edward's England which further diversified the religious arena. To say that Bullinger was the only theological voice in the Edwardian arena would certainly be naïve; but the period immediately following Henry's death is a period in which Bullinger saw conditions to move forward his Zurich theology past the Lutheran and other Protestant voices from Geneva.

Early Correspondence

The first strand of Zurich thought was brought over by the printer George Joye and by Thomas Cromwell's chief printer William Marshall.²²⁹ Both men had visited Zurich in the 1520s and therefore had contact with Zwinglian ideas. As Euler argues, by 1531, the year in which Zwingli was killed at Kappel, Joye had translated Zwingli's tract *On the Sacraments*. The work itself had, by this point, come to the attention of Henry VIII, who rejected the work, as did Bishop Edmund Bonner, the Bishop of London.²³⁰ Henry would continually reject Zwinglianism on the view of its sacramental position, which countered his Catholic sacramental theology.²³¹ While Henry rejected Zwinglianism, and by implication, Bullinger, there were others that were attracted to the particular political theology found within both men and Bullinger in particular, most notably John Hooper.

²²⁹ Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, 159-160.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 162.

²³¹ MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 254.

4.3 Rationale for Bullinger's Interest in the English Magistrate

Bullinger's political theology provided the kingdom of England with a redefinition of the construction of power. In the absence of the Catholic Church's claims of validation of the monarch, Bullinger's theory presented a biblical paradigm whereby the magistrate was reconfigured. In this paradigm, the monarch could act in the realms of both state and church. Under Bullinger's system, the magistrate was able to assume a role in which he would become the most significant religious voice in terms of policy direction and religious law within the realm. Bullinger's theories also served to satisfy the sympathies toward Erastianism that was prevalent within England. If religious allegiances were in question, as modern research has demonstrated, the English state needed a theological and political system that was able to quell the religious ambivalence and place an extraordinary amount of faith in the King. Bullinger's commitment to *adiaphora*, or matters of indifference, is the link which henceforth served to quell the hostilities between English nationalism and religious fervour. Therefore, one can begin to understand the vast importance of Bullinger's theology in England as it most importantly shaped a new, uniquely Protestant English form of governance.

Evidence of Bullinger's Influence Test Case: Vestiarian Controversy

Evidence of Bullinger's attraction in English affairs was first seen in the Vestiarian Controversy, under Edward VI. The controversy itself bears witness to Bullinger's belief in the magistrate to dictate the course of religion.²³² The Controversy involved John Hooper, the Bishop of Gloucester, and the radical arm of the English Reformation, who

²³² Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology*, 28.

seemingly drew their inspiration from a sympathetic Zurich model, against the official religious dress of the Church of England. The conflict arose principally around Hooper's insistence that a simple clerical dress be worn during the sermons, as opposed to the ornate regalia that had been ordered. The controversy dates back to the period of the Henrican exiles, where Hooper fled to Zurich where he became an ardent supporter of the Zurich model of ecclesiastical dress, among other ideas. Bullinger's ecclesiastical regalia was a simple design that had done away with any ritual or ceremony from the old religion in their garments. Upon Hooper's return from the continent in 1549, he strongly disagreed with Edward and his council in maintaining the ornate dress of the English clergy.²³³ Citing it as a shackle of the old faith, Hooper engaged in a controversy with Nicholas Ridley in particular, who argued that the continuation of the older clerical dress was a political and theological compromise between the Catholic and Protestant adherents to help preserve the peace. Bullinger, amongst others, was asked to comment on the dispute and, while he agreed with Hooper, he disagreed that clerical dress should be a cause for disunity. Bullinger cited the principle of *adiaphora*. Hooper reluctantly heeded Bullinger's advice that the magistrate's demands, unless it directly contradicted evangelical principle, should take precedent on matters pertaining to order. The controversy as *adiaphoric* meant that it fell to the magistrate rather than the church to decide. Therefore, this example shows that Bullinger's commitments forward the notion that Bullinger was sympathetic to the wishes of the magistrate (Edward) in conducting the course of the Reformation in England. This was a matter of *adiaphora*, which illustrates Bullinger's belief in the magistrate's divine responsibility to enact reform in the way best suited to his kingdom.

²³³ Ibid.

Problems in Identifying Edward's Ability to Direct the State's Religion

The issue of the strength of Edward's ability to exercise his faith convictions is surrounded by academic disagreement amongst theologians and historians alike. Depending on one's convictions, as Diarmaid MacCulloch has accurately deduced, Edward's religious convictions are often mirrored by those asking the questions.²³⁴ Moreover, Edward's religious convictions have borne the brunt of being subject to a young boy wading through the theological turmoil inherited from his father. To further complicate the issue, which Protestant leaning that Edward had during his reign is also hotly disputed.

The extent of the political authority of the young boy-King is certainly controversial. Historians and theologians alike are faced with the question of to what degree Edward was actually a player in his own policy initiatives, including religion. W.K. Jordan advocates for a lesser view of Edward's involvement in matters of religion. Evidence for this comes from Jordan's study of Edward's *Diary*, which records such instances like the death of his uncle, the Duke of Somerset with nothing more than a passing line, "The Duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill between eight and nine o'clock in the morning."²³⁵ Moreover, many scholars are suspicious that a fourteen-year-old boy on the throne had any interest in the religious policy of the nation apart from what he was told to do.²³⁶ When faced with the evidence suggesting Edward's astute interest, it can be dismissed as pandering to the image of their young boyish king to the European

²³⁴ MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 20.

²³⁵ Edward's *Chronicle* entry dated January 1552 in *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, ed. W.K. Jordan, (Ithaca, New York: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1966), 107.

²³⁶ W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King: The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1971), 130.

dignitaries in an effort to save face in on the international stage. However, despite the issue of pandering to an idea, there are significant events within Edward's own sphere of influence from the convictions of his educators suggests a favourable forum for advocating Bullinger's political theology. To these influences, the thesis will now consider.

4.4 English Correspondence

Correspondence with Edward's Tutors and Council

A natural objection to this idea concerns the capacity to which Edward was able to construe such an idea or to which he were able to comprehend the ramifications of a Zurich alliance. To overcome such an objection, one can examine Edward's educators who were, at the very least, sympathetic to the Zurich ideals. Their instructions for the king reinforced their desires to educate the young king within that particular realm of consciousness. Contained within the *Zurich Letters*²³⁷ are several letters addressed to Bullinger by Edward's tutor Richard Cox (later Bishop of Ely).²³⁸ Cox, in a 1549 letter, refers to Bullinger as a central "pillar of the Church," as well as a "most godly and learned teacher".²³⁹ Cox writes with reverence towards Bullinger, as well as responding rather fondly to the literature that Bullinger sent, most notably a tract given to the Dowager Queen, Catherine Parr, which, according to Cox, was well received by the

²³⁷ The Parker Society has carefully collected Swiss correspondence in the eighteenth century entitled the *Zurich Letters*. These letters are extensive and are contained in two volumes covering the years from the late Henrican reign well into Elizabeth's reign until Bullinger's death in 1575. While Bullinger is not the sole correspondent, many of the letters are either written by him or are addressed to him.

²³⁸ (Richard Cox to Bullinger Nov. 1550) Robinson, *Original Letters*, 120.

²³⁹ (Richard Cox to Bullinger, Oct. 1549) Robinson, *Original Letters*, 119-120.

court.²⁴⁰ Aside from his devoted writings toward Bullinger, Cox also makes mention of Bullinger in a 1552 letter praising the *Consensus Tiguranus*.²⁴¹ This seems, for the English court, a favourable treatise that encapsulated a strong political ideology that validated the magistrate's pursuit of reform that was needed within the English Church. In addition, it eased the tension between Bullinger's sympathisers and the Calvinists in England in a fashion that, for the time being, quelled the puritanical fervour in the kingdom. This was not to last, however, as the reception of the Genevan Bible was favoured by the population over the more monarchist Zurich Bible.²⁴² Such debates would only become more problematic after Bullinger's death and, as a result, query into such development would be considered anachronistic for the purposes of this investigation.

Developing Bullinger's Magistrate in Thomas Cranmer

The person of Thomas Cranmer has been a bit of an enigmatic figure in terms of his theological allegiances. Cranmer had a wide variety of theological convictions, a unique trait that had a profound impact on the richness of his theology. Moreover, the matter is further complicated as it is difficult to determine his theological allegiances under

²⁴⁰ (Richard Cox to Bullinger, Oct. 1549) Robinson, *Original Letters*, 120.

²⁴¹ (Richard Cox to Bullinger, Oct. 1552) in Robinson, *Original Letters*, 123.

²⁴² It was at this time that Bullinger's *Decades* went through numerous editions and was supposedly found all over Europe and the New World. It has been well documented that during the reign of Elizabeth, Bullinger's theology proved to be an alternative against the rising trend of Genevan theology. The issue primarily surrounded the issue of the marginal notes. Within the Zurich Bible, the marginal notes tended to be more sympathetic to a strong monarchy whereas the Genevan Bible used language that was more hostile to the monarch's power. Thus, there was a divide in preference of translations. The ruling class and nobility tended to prefer the Zurich translation whereas the common people tended to favour the Genevan. The Genevan Bible's reception in England contributed to the growing sympathy towards Puritanism in Elizabeth's reign. Despite Elizabeth's sympathies, England was quickly becoming engrained in Geneva's popularity, and displaced Zurich from the prominence that it once held. Elizabeth, however, made a compromise where the Genevan Bible became the official translation of England with moderated marginal notes that were less hostile to the monarch. See Alister E McGrath, *In the Beginning: The Story of the King James Bible and How it Changed a Nation, a Language, and a Culture* (New York: DoubleDay Publishing, 2001), 129.

Edward. What is known for certain is that Cranmer was a Cambridge Don in theology. Cranmer was sympathetic to Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon, but Cambridge was also a place where the Reformation was tacitly given an audience. Cranmer was also in Henry's service as an ambassador to the German states. It is there that he first came into contact with Lutheran scholars and seemed genuinely taken by their theological positions. While in Germany, he married the daughter of the German Lutheran Andreas Osiander and had very close contact with Philip Melancthon. This contact would extend well into the reign of Edward VI. By the late years of Henry's reign, Cranmer seemed to have subscribed to another set of religious convictions – this time, towards a Reformed sentiment. The proof, as it seems to be suggested, lay in his contact with Bucer and Vermigli – both professors at Oxford and Cambridge from the continent.²⁴³ Both Bucer and Vermigli had extensive correspondence with Bullinger. From the letters that survive, it appears that the relationship between Bullinger and Cranmer was rather cold. As there are only two that exist from Cranmer's hand, it appears that the most of Cranmer's exposure to Bullinger was indirect.

This leads one to conclude that their relationship seems to have been through the Reformed influences in England themselves. Cranmer seemed to be genuinely persuaded by the Reformed views of the sacraments in particular. Though Cranmer still held to the particular external practices of the Catholic Church (at least until Henry's death in 1547), he was swayed by the ideas of justification by faith and some criticisms of the doctrine of Transubstantiation.²⁴⁴ Diarmaid MacCulloch's influential work on Thomas Cranmer remains one of the most authoritative biographic studies on the life and work of Thomas

²⁴³ MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 180.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 481.

Cranmer. MacCulloch's work examines the impact of Reformed thought in England during the reigns of Edward and his sister Elizabeth. MacCulloch looks to break the controversy surrounding Cranmer's theological conviction and suggests that Cranmer's first allegiance was to the King, a view that is in line with Zurich political theology.²⁴⁵

Difficulty in Determining Cranmer's Relationship with Bullinger

As MacCulloch explains, Cranmer often delayed in responding to Bullinger for reasons that are ultimately lost to history, yet a plausible explanation may be twofold, surrounding the Eucharist.²⁴⁶ While this is not directly a factor in political theology, it serves a purpose briefly in this discussion as the differences over the Eucharist by the mid-1530-40s, in Henry's late reign, were the cause of tension between England and Zurich. Henry, as it has been well documented, remained Catholic in his understanding of transubstantiation – a crucial failure in Lutheranism's expansion into prominent mainstay in England.²⁴⁷ The Swiss doctrine was seen with further suspicion as there was no real presence of Christ in the bread at the Eucharist. The Swiss argued that Christ's body was in Heaven and will remain there until the Second Coming. To Henry, this was even more blasphemous than Luther's theology of consubstantiation.

To further complicate the relationship between Cranmer and Bullinger, the issue of the Eucharist was the central issue surrounding the failure of Marburg as Luther and Zwingli (and Bullinger by extension) failed to agree on the accidental changes, if any, that occurred to bread and wine. As Pamela Biel suggests, Cranmer viewed the Swiss with

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 56.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 252.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

suspicion as he sincerely believed that they were the cause of the conference's failure.²⁴⁸

Thus, the Swiss were *Schwärmer*,²⁴⁹ and they were not to be trusted. They were criticised in regards to their rigidity as well as their intolerance towards the other players.

Regardless of the truth of Cranmer's accusations, according to Biel, this falls well short of citing a lost cause for Bullinger's involvement in English affairs. This idea is significant because it identifies the problem that Bullinger faced when dealing with many Protestant Divines outside of the Reformed tradition. Bullinger had to distance himself from Zwingli's exploits at Marburg and commit himself to appreciating the variance of political expression outside of his own. Apart from doctrine, Bullinger assumes the position of *adiaphora* on matters outside of crucial doctrine that would assist in allowing the magistrate's power to be exercised regionally. In England therefore, Bullinger's political theology and its separation of *adiaphora* as something belonging to the magistrate's jurisdiction seems to allow Edward and his council, including Cranmer, to dictate the course of the Reformation in a way that allows for regional and systematic variance.

Bullinger's efforts in promoting the magistrate became internationally recognised for his tireless efforts as a diplomat. For instance, most letters translated in English by the Parker Society are often filled with courtly gossip and reports of personal details of religious efforts abroad concerning the state of the magistrate and other matters pertinent to the Reformation. However, what Bullinger was recognised for within these records was a very strong belief in the power of a state that does not resist God's authority. It is this

²⁴⁸ See Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, 55-66.

²⁴⁹ *Schwärmer* is a slang term for a religious radical. This was most often used in defining those associated with the Radical Reformation. Luther however applied this terminology to the entire Zwinglian Reformation. Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, 180.

viewpoint to which Cranmer no doubt was drawn. This is significant as this Erastian viewpoint, one which I will return to shortly, is able to transcend the issues of doctrine in favour of shared belief in the authority of temporal power.

It should be noted, however, that it is very doubtful that Cranmer wanted to create a ‘second Zurich’, though there were many in the realm, most notably John Hooper, who wanted nothing short of that. This drew bitter conflicts between Hooper and Cranmer and perhaps added to the further ambiguity of Cranmer’s external relationship with the Swiss and Bullinger in particular. There is much contained within the Zurich model that Cranmer knew would never flourish in a politically volatile place such as England. Moreover, Cranmer anticipated that radical change would incite rebellion in the Catholic North and therefore he opted instead to draw a fine line between sympathy and criticism towards the Swiss movements.²⁵⁰ This is not to say, however, that he did not find some ideas appealing. It is these to which we now turn.

Forum for Cranmer’s Sympathetic View of the Magistrate

Cranmer was first and foremost an Englishman, and his service to the king as a religious advisor was paramount in his mind and in his theology. By conducting himself in this manner, Cranmer could cautiously institute reform within England. Cranmer’s political circumstance differed greatly from those in Switzerland. Cranmer could not debate with his council members as equal citizens; rather, his efforts lay in dealing with the King’s wishes as the head of the Church. This precarious position was further heightened by his relationship with Henry, as Henry’s religious and psychological disposition became

²⁵⁰ MacCulloch highlights the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536) in particular. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 162-5.

increasingly more erratic with age.²⁵¹ Cranmer's endorsement and implementation of theological changes, therefore, would be subliminal but forceful.²⁵² However, during Edward's reign, Cranmer was granted more freedom in pursuing the goals of the Reformation. What remained constant, however, was Cranmer's need for a strong magistrate to secure the English Reformation.

Bridging the Divide: Evaluating a Need for Bullinger's Magistrate

Cranmer's desire for a strong magistrate was also expressed in his desire to unify the Protestant faith. This is evident as he was writing fervently to Melanchthon and various other continental theologians, in which Bullinger was later included, to have a second Protestant conference based in "England or on the Continent"²⁵³ to shore up an official position of faith for Protestantism on the whole.²⁵⁴ Much akin to Bullinger, this particular conference would set the basic parameters around a Protestant Confession and allow for individual expression on a purely regional basis. In this regard, Cranmer saw the strength of the Reformed axis on the continent that existed in the reign of Edward, and he saw the benefits in having a unified front. Cranmer, as Bullinger had previously referred to, thought that these new ideas would have to rely on the powers of the state, as it needed a body that would preserve its central tenants and also ward off ideological invasion from Catholic ideas through hostile or passive means.²⁵⁵ In this sense, perhaps the greatest understanding is derived from Bullinger's influence on Cranmer as a political theocrat in

²⁵¹ MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 358.

²⁵² This is perhaps best expressed on Henry's deathbed. MacCulloch states that no Last Rites were administered, only a simple 'evangelical' liturgy. MacCulloch heralds this as the great victory for evangelicalism. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 358.

²⁵³ (Cranmer to Phillip Melanchthon 1549) Robinson, *Original Letters*, 21.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ (Cranmer to Bullinger 1551) Robinson, *Original Letters*, 22.

safe housing Protestantism in England. These dreams, however, never came to fruition. As Edward lay dying, so too were Cranmer's dreams of having such a conference. Before turning away from Cranmer, however, it is important to consider further Cranmer's belief in the strength of the magistrate – a similar ploy used by Bullinger to strengthen the bonds between Church and State.

Cranmer's Desire for a Strong Magistrate

Charles Smyth's work on Cranmer and the Edwardian Reformation has been predominantly viewed as a source against any Swiss involvement within the English context.²⁵⁶ Smyth seems to caricature the Swiss into a band of egotistical proto-Puritans against whom Cranmer seemed to position himself. This was done, according to Smyth, to favour a more nuanced approach to Lutheranism.²⁵⁷ Citing the early shift towards Lutheran and evangelical sympathies by the higher echelons of society such as Anne Boleyn, Catherine Parr, and Nicholas Ridley, Smyth sees this particular expression as the religious prerogative of Cranmer to set himself against the Reform minded camp like Hooper, Dudley, and Somerset. Smyth cites their downfalls as evidence of their affinity toward a lost cause. However, what Smyth possibly overlooked is Cranmer's sympathy towards Erastianism, which aligns with Bullinger's strength in the office of the magistrate.

One of Smyth's more convincing arguments is a political qualification that he places on Cranmer as an attempt to account for Cranmer's seemingly ambiguous stance on matters

²⁵⁶ C.H. Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation Under Edward VI* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1970), 79-109.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 35-36.

of doctrine.²⁵⁸ Smyth states that Cranmer, above all else, is an Erastian, a loyal subject, and a proud Englishman. Cranmer's ambiguity in this vein seems to account for his own complicated legacy. As an Erastian, Cranmer knew that the success of the English Reformation hung in the balance of the convictions of the monarch.²⁵⁹ It is true that the English parliament was required to pass religious policy; however, the allegiance of the monarch seemed to be the sole directive in regards to how far Protestantism or Catholicism was to be extended within the English Kingdom. Much like Bullinger, Cranmer knew that the strength of the state needed religious peace first to be able to support such an effort. Therefore, Cranmer wanted, as Bullinger did, a strong commonwealth that would be able to withstand the errors of one particular monarch. This view was heightened by Cranmer's grave fears of Mary's succession upon Edward's untimely demise, so he needed Edward to make the necessary laws to strengthen the Protestant religion.²⁶⁰ This would account for Cranmer's increased efforts to hold a conference as Edward's fate seemed all the more certain. The commonwealth, a very prominent theme in nearly all of Bullinger's writings, highlights the strength of a godly magistrate. This strong relationship gives rise to the idea that Cranmer was, at the very least, sympathetic to Bullinger's belief in a strong, godly magistrate if not his theology in general.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 29.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 30.

²⁶⁰ (Letter from Cranmer to Bullinger 1552) Robinson, *Original Letters*, 22.

Test Case: Magistrate in the Consensus Tiguranus

By 1549, Cranmer responded positively towards the *Consensus Tiguranus* – a theological compromise between Bullinger and Calvin for the Zurich and Geneva Churches.²⁶¹

Contained in the consensus was a compromise on matters of doctrine, both ecclesiological and sacramental. This conciliatory sentiment certainly pleased Cranmer as it brought forward a workable model for a theological conference that could secure Protestantism within England and the continent. Of particular benefit to Cranmer was the ability to make the monarch into a godly office. This is significant because it enables the monarch to truly assume a divine office. This is not simply a forwarding of medieval political practice in the development of the Divine Right of Kings (though later dealings with this idea would have disastrous effects in England less than a century later). Rather, this effectively curtails the higher orders of the church into a submissive role. This did not necessarily benefit Cranmer as Archbishop, but to Cranmer the political advisor who could develop Bullinger's idea on the relationship between the prophet and the magistrate, this formulation could position him as one whom the magistrate consults. This relationship would certainly expand his base of power in forwarding the English Reformation. Such security would allow for the state to enforce true religious expression and to pass into legislation procurements for proper worship and construct consequences for those who do not. This is the climate that Bullinger wanted to establish within Europe on the whole. This model, in regards to its political construction based upon Bullinger's ideals, was one that seemed possible in Bullinger's understanding of the English context.

²⁶¹ MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 170-1.

Evidence of Bullinger's Magistrate in Bishop John Hooper

Upon Bullinger's succession of Zwingli in Zurich, Bullinger had witnessed a vast change in the dynamics of Protestantism in Zurich. As the Protestant League had fallen, Bullinger knew that his support would have to come through concessions of his own. This viewpoint does not assume that Bullinger is apathetic, but he understood that there were some issues that bore little to no relevance within realms outside of Zurich.²⁶² As Euler argues, Bullinger's usage of *adiaphora* for things he viewed as not necessary to salvation for the sake of order gave him a foothold into the theological conversation in England.²⁶³ Bullinger's correspondence was also significant in his endeavours as he fostered the relationships of evangelical clerics within England and other Reformed states. Much scholarship has already been conducted on the issue of the exiled refugees, however, and for that I will only touch briefly on its historical prevalence.²⁶⁴ One figure of note was John Hooper, the Bishop of Gloucester, who was one of Bullinger's most vocal supporters in England.

Hooper fled Henry's persecutions and had spent some time in Zurich studying under Bullinger and Theodore Bibliander. Hooper also took a wife from Zurich and remained in close correspondence with Bullinger until his death in 1558, under the burnings of Mary Tudor. Hooper, however, personified the persona of a zealot and came into a dispute with Cranmer and later Bullinger as well.²⁶⁵ Hooper's views on the strength of a Zurich model serves to highlight a differing view in England on how far the relationship should extend. As was mentioned earlier, Hooper wanted to replicate the Zurich model of

²⁶² (Henry Bullinger to Hooper, 1551) Robinson, *Original Letters*, 91-95.

²⁶³ Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, 268.

²⁶⁴ See Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel* and Pamela Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness*.

²⁶⁵ Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology*, 34.

clerical dress and set about pursuing that avenue, even to the point that he was jailed for the uproar that he caused. Despite these ideas, Hooper remained one of the most vocal advocates of Bullinger's political theology. Hooper was influential at court as he served as Edward Seymour's personal chaplain. Hooper utilised his role as chaplain to preach on topics that resonated with his Zurich sympathies. Some of Hooper's stronger claims were in the defence of the magistrate's office as being divinely commissioned and the subsequent fealty that is owed to the faithful magistrate.²⁶⁶ Hooper forwards Bullinger's general arguments in regards to the magistrate's Divine responsibilities in arguing, "For even as kings and magistrates be appointed and ordained by God, even so they also be defended by him."²⁶⁷ He further argues that the magistrate may be evil, but the office appointed to the magistrate is divine and obedience to the office of the magistrate is of chief importance to the Christian subject.²⁶⁸ To a certain extent, his message was received. The problem, however, was that Seymour's tenure as the Lord Protectorate was short-lived, and Hooper needed to distance himself from association with him in order to retain his bishopric.

Evidence of Bullinger's Magistrate in the Duke of Northumberland

Beyond the sphere of religion, it is necessary to expand the acceptance of the magistrate in terms of its reception in the political arena as well. If Cranmer was lukewarm towards the Zwinglians, of which Bullinger was certainly the chief of their members, there were certainly others who were more explicitly favourable towards Bullinger's political

²⁶⁶ In his 'Annotations' Hooper draws on Bullinger's concept of the magisterial office as a divine responsibility charged to the state. John Hooper, *Later Writings of Bishop Hooper: Together With His Letters and Other Pieces* trans. Rev. Charles Nevison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1852), 100-105.

²⁶⁷ Hooper, *Later Writings of Bishop Hooper*, 104-5.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

agenda. To find these supporters, we need only look to the second Protectorate, the Duke of Northumberland.²⁶⁹ Something must be said in regards to Northumberland's recantation from seemingly strong Reformed convictions. The purpose of this examination of Bullinger's influence has less to do with Northumberland's actual theological commitments than it does with the impact of theological commitments upon the realm, especially those made during Northumberland's tenure in power.²⁷⁰ However, to consider the political implications at the onset is to first look at the increased power that Bullinger's theology was prepared to hand to the state.²⁷¹ Of particular importance for the English was Bullinger's belief that church land should be given over to the state for their pleasure.²⁷² The church was, in Bullinger's estimation, in the same realm as the state.²⁷³ Bullinger argues that the church and the state operate under the same heading of a Christian society, but the state should control temporal matters, in theory leaving the church free to care for the spiritual matters of its members. Therefore, in Bullinger's paradigm, both are united in their function as part of a godly society, leaving the issue of land ownership to the state and allowing the church to focus on its true intent. For a politician like Northumberland, Bullinger's magistrate would be viewed as a favourable treatment on authority that would ultimately give the magistrate, to whom he played a significant role as Protector, the power to increase their temporal power in revenue from

²⁶⁹ Because Edward ascended the throne as a minor, there was, upon Henry's wishes, a council that acted and advised on the King's behalf in matters of state. This council was to remain in office until the King reached the age of majority. However, during the tenure of the council political insurrection was high and the council had to be reformed. Included in the changes was the King's uncle, the Duke of Somerset an avid Calvinist, who had led the council as the Lord Protector for the better part of two years. His reign was riddled with scandal which ultimately led to his execution in 1552. Upon his removal from office, Robert Dudley, the Earl of Warwick then Duke of Northumberland succeeded him.

²⁷⁰ Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation Under Edward VI*, 291.

²⁷¹ Vermigli and Bullinger, *A Treatise of the Cohabitation of the Faithful and the Unfaithful*.

²⁷² This had actually occurred under the reign of Henry VIII. What Bullinger's theory suggests is a stronger theological rationale for the magistrate to act in such a manner. Bullinger, "A Brief Exposition of the One and Eternal Covenant of God," 113.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 107.

church lands, as well as directing the Reformation in a way that best suited the English realm.

4.5 Edward as Bullinger's Ideal Magistrate

Introducing Bullinger's *Third Decade* is a preface dedicated to the young king of England in 1550.²⁷⁴ It was composed at the insistence of John Hooper who felt that Bullinger's reputation within England would be well received in the English Court. Moreover, Hooper insisted that such an address would serve as a sign of Bullinger's good will towards English religious and political fortune.²⁷⁵ Bullinger's principal thesis in this short letter is to emphasise the duties of a godly king and to provide an avenue for doing so.²⁷⁶ Bullinger identifies that Edward must always rely upon wisdom and remain of one mind and obedient to the teachings of the Scriptures. To solidify this perspective, Bullinger displays a particular historical and biblical genius by tracing the success and failure of biblical kings by their individual devotion to the commandments of God.²⁷⁷ For Bullinger, this signifies the chief end of a magistrate's felicity and duty – that is to say, the faithful prosperity of the nation.²⁷⁸ This, however, is contingent upon Bullinger's strong commitment to the power of Christ's work and Spirit in the world. This, for Bullinger, is to act as a servant of Christ, as a model for the nation to follow.²⁷⁹ Bullinger stresses the correlation between the faith of the magistrate and the prosperity of a nation, as it is the

²⁷⁴ Bullinger, *Third Decade: preface*, 1.

²⁷⁵ (John Hooper to Bullinger, August 1551) Robinson, *Original Letters*, 92-3.

²⁷⁶ Bullinger, *Third Decade: preface*, 4.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 4-15.

²⁷⁸ Vermigli and Bullinger, *A Treatise of the Cohabitation of the Faithful and the Unfaithful*.

²⁷⁹ Bullinger, *Third Decade: preface*, 5.

magistrate's chief duty to permit the teaching of the Gospel. To do this, Bullinger relies heavily on the Deuteronomical precedent.²⁸⁰

Source of Edward's Authority

To appreciate this theologically, Bullinger clarifies his position with a brief pneumatological consideration. The Spirit, in Bullinger's estimation, is the first cause for Edward's faith and in so doing, empowered him to continue the Reformed religious agenda.²⁸¹ Moreover, the Spirit allowed Edward to decipher the Will of God for the nation through the message of the Scripture.²⁸² The Spirit in this instance illumines for Edward the contents of the Bible so that they are easy to understand. This idea is unique to a new expression of Evangelical Reformed adherence, identifying a subtle yet incredibly profound change in the nature of the Spirit and clearly demarcating the use of the Spirit outside of the church in the spiritual direction in matters of state. In Bullinger's estimation, the magistrate is not a member of the clergy.²⁸³ For Bullinger, this readily allows for the freedom of the Spirit to become associated with the Scriptures that was available to those that were predestined. Therefore, Bullinger is able to grant spiritual authority to the magistrate which further legitimises the Reformed efforts within the English territory. This provides for us one of the most pivotal theological ideas that Bullinger highlights in his written correspondence with Edward VI.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 4-16.

²⁸¹ Bullinger also says that the Spirit was also responsible for Henry's turn towards a moderate evangelical sympathy. Bullinger believes that Edward will build upon Henry's reformation. Ibid., 14.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Vermigli and Bullinger, *A Treatise of the Cohabitation of the Faithful and the Unfaithful*.

Edward as Young Josiah

Upon concluding his historical examination of the Israelite kings, Bullinger seeks to solidify his message that the King of England was the chief of all the faithful in the realm. Bullinger offers an examination of 1 Kings, which stipulates that the king is to remain the faithful servant of God. In doing so, Bullinger believes that God will reward the King.²⁸⁴ This seeks to develop Bullinger's point that God is the wisest of counsel for the King and that Edward must adhere to God's Will. This does not negate the necessity of committed ministers and strong generals, but these, for Bullinger, are secondary to the King's fealty to God.

Bullinger's Belief in the Supremacy of the State to Enforce Punishment

The second reason for English political affinity towards Bullinger's political model was Zurich's conglomeration of power within the hands of the political leaders. This relegated the clergy to dealing with their own flocks (though it should be noted that, in Zurich, much of the clergy were members of Zurich's Council). The freedom the political leaders had to govern without the church interfering in matters of state within Bullinger's city would certainly draw the affirmation of England's ruling class. This operates under the premise of creating a Godly society in England where the clergy are relegated to exercising their care in matters of spirituality, leaving the policy direction in the hands of the magistrate.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ 2 Kings 22 in Bullinger, *Third Decade: preface*, 10.

²⁸⁵ Bullinger, *Third Decade: sermon i*, 14-17.

Test Case: Official Correspondence from Edward's Court to Zurich

An example of this budding relationship is in the official correspondence between Edward and the city-state of Zurich.²⁸⁶ It is important to note that this particular document was written a year before the dedication of the Third Decade to Edward by Bullinger.²⁸⁷ Edward begins this 1549 address by addressing the formidable relationship that he feels is both ancient and necessary for the city-state of Zurich.²⁸⁸ It also gives some evidence as to the esteem which was felt for Bullinger in his pastoral and theological endeavours. Such praise included his commitment to the devotion to seeing a godly magistrate come to fruition. While it does contain a superficial gloss prominently found within the spheres of international diplomacy, the crux of the letter is found in the statement: "In addition to which, there is also a mutual agreement between us concerning the Christian religion and true godliness, which ought to render this friendship of ours, by God's blessing, yet more intimate".²⁸⁹ Following this passage is a promise to remain cordial, as well as to sanction Christopher Mont to act as the legate from England.²⁹⁰ This appears, from Edward's perspective, to facilitate the desire to build upon existing structures. Absent in this letter is his desire for Bullinger to interact with either his bishops or any remaining conservatism within England. Rather, Edward predicates the relationship upon himself as a divinely appointed magistrate from which the precedent was established by his Father, Henry

²⁸⁶ (Edward VI to Senate of Zurich, 1549) Robinson, *Original Letters*, 1.

²⁸⁷ The dating of Preface is 1550. Bullinger, *Third Decade: Preface*, 1.

²⁸⁸ Bullinger, *Third Decade: Preface*, 1.

²⁸⁹ (Edward VI to Senate of Zurich, 1549) Robinson, *Original Letters*, 1.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

VIII.²⁹¹ Edward seems to be suggesting that this is the natural course that his father had set out to do and he will assume that title as head of the church fully committed to a Reformed flavour of Christianity.

4.6

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the tenets of Bullinger's political theology in the office of the magistrate as it pertained to the English context. This chapter has presented the argument that Bullinger's strength of the magistrate to enforce religious reform was favourable to the English political system and advocated by John Hooper. In establishing a forum which seems, at the very least, amicable to the suggestion of Bullinger's magistrate, Edward VI and his council represented a scenario in which Bullinger could see the strength of the magistrate enacted. The monarchical structure in England provided a scenario where the magistrate could implement religious policy and make great inroads to the Reformed faith. Recent controversy aside, Bullinger held Edward in high regard as a sympathetic voice in the English community. Bullinger's political theology and his magistrate were ideas that were popular to the English Protestant Divines as well as they seemed to present a way that would safe guard their Reformation. Bullinger's reputation as an international dignitary solidified Cranmer's belief in the necessity of a Protestant conference, as well as a belief in the strength of the magistrate and his role as the religious advisor.

Moreover, Bullinger's ideas were held in high regard by the civic authorities, as they favoured the emphasis placed upon the magistrate to direct religious policy in a Godly

²⁹¹ Ibid.

state, and further legitimising Henry VIII's decision to distribute Church lands to the state. In doing so, this maximised the state's profit from utilising the church's lands. Unfortunately, the undercurrents that brewed in the Edwardian court were short-lived. By 1553, Edward was dead, leaving the Reformation in jeopardy. Those ideas put in place by Edward were swept away by Mary's ascension and England's subsequent return to Catholicism. However, within Edward's short reign, Bullinger saw the promise of a young king who had a formidable chance to best embody Bullinger's idea of a magistrate. Whether or not Edward was successful, it identifies the centrality of the magistrate to continue, promote and protect of the central tenets of his Reformation, thus proving the possibility that the idea of Bullinger's magistrate was a welcomed theological and political construction that would assist in securing the Reformation in England.

What is not always clear in the English situation are the theological concerns apart from the broad strokes identified in Bullinger's Zurich conception. In both, he assumes the inevitability of history, the indefatigability of the Gospel in election, and the presence of the Spirit in believers independent of clergy. The magistrate is a provision against religious and social chaos, and in the best case, a member of the elect given the especial duty to restrain sin whilst working with the prophet to promote the Gospel. As the Reformation became much more politically complicated and fractured theologically, his belief that England's monarch could be a prime example of a godly magistrate meshed nicely with the political and theological needs of the English illuminati. Theology and context merge nicely, but it is not always clear which outstrips the other.

Chapter 5

5 Conclusion and Further Study

5.1 Conclusion

This thesis has considered Heinrich Bullinger's political theology and, in particular, how the magistrate was central to its operation. This thesis has argued that the nature of Bullinger's political theology was a topic that has only been minimally considered, as most scholarship instead has opted to deal with Bullinger's political theology in the wake of other areas, such as his theological understanding of *Pactum* or the context of Reformed sympathies in the English Reformation.

To construct an argument, the thesis evaluated contemporary scholarship on Bullinger. In this evaluation, it was concluded that scholarship on Bullinger's political theology focuses primarily on its place within the context of larger theological issues or on Bullinger's involvement in the English Reformation (in order to establish a connection in the extent of Reformed sympathy in the England). Earlier scholarship has tended to view Bullinger as Zwingli's successor, one committed to following Zwingli's idea for Reform. In this regard, earlier scholarship viewed him as one who attempted to become the second Zwingli. The recourse of such scholarly focus was a depreciation of the interregnum of Reformed thought between Zwingli in the 1520's and John Calvin in the 1540s. Thus, Bullinger's legacy tended to assume the prerogative of making Zwingli's dreams come alive.

Current scholarship on the magistrate has been a topic viewed primarily through the lens of Zwingli's humanism. In defining Bullinger's magistrate, scholarship has been sensitive to Bullinger's conception of the magistrate in the context of his commitment to

humanism. Bullinger's humanism was Zwinglian, but their definition of magistrate's duties differed. The principal difference in the magistrate's duties was in Zwingli's case, the magistrate was responsible for enforcing the common good while Bullinger's magistrate was charged with promoting the Gospel and promoting sound laws in the state. This thesis took the position that Zwingli's magistrate, based on his commitment to Erasmus, and was modeled more closely to the tenets of humanism, wherein the city existed to serve to the betterment of morality. The Gospel, for Zwingli, was the tool which would see these moral changes come into being. Zwingli argued that the magistrate resembled a proto-republican format that put the magistrate's interests in check with the common good. What this meant for Zwingli was that the magistrate was a part of the political system which meant that the magistrate had a personal vestige in the process – it was in the best interest of the magistrate to promote and enforce good laws, as they would also serve his or her own interests.

For Zwingli, the seemingly secular pursuit of the common good was something inherently religious, as pursuing a common good would allow the magistrate to cleave from the Roman Catholic Church. Conversely, Bullinger's magistrate, while holding a certain degree of Zwingli's humanism, was not concerned so much about the common good as it was promoting the Gospel. The principal difference in the structure between the two men was that Bullinger's magistrate was not necessarily opposed to a centralised structure, as it could be used in solidifying the Reformation. As the thesis argued, this is indicative of Bullinger's historical worldview which saw, after the Second Kappel War, a disastrous blow to the Protestant gains in the Swiss Cantons around Zurich.

To establish Bullinger's context that served to establish and clarify his magistrate, the thesis classified Bullinger's influences in constructing his political theology in terms of the struggle for power between Charles V and the free Swiss states, his preservation of perceived historical precedent in the Theodosian Code, the ramification of Martin Luther's doctrine of justification, and finally Zwingli's humanism. In identifying the international pressures from Charles V and his Catholic Empire, Bullinger was faced with the reality that Charles's goal was a unified Continent. The thesis argued that Charles was sceptical of the speed with which the Reformation was occurring. The Reformation would radically alter political balance in the Empire. Charles coupled this view with the 1525 Peasant Wars in Germany as evidence of the consequences of the Reformation. This section highlighted the considerable external threats Bullinger faced from the Empire. Having witnessed the horrors of the Second Kappel War, Bullinger relied on the strength of a strong magistracy, which could protect the Reformation from external threat and punish those who would seek to deviate from it.

The thesis then evaluated Bullinger's concept of political theology and how the magistrate was essential to ensuring its survival. The thesis determined that the objective of Bullinger's political theology was for humanity to reflect God's love, first given by God to humans, through proper worship. The purpose for a formation of government was to combat humanity's sinful condition by training its citizens to worship properly.

Bullinger's understanding of sin was that the human capacity had been corrupted – not severed completely – during the Fall. Thus, Bullinger set out on a course to understand God's natural hierarchy of laws and argue that the magistrate was to ensure that the city followed that order. To satisfy this argument, this thesis argued that Bullinger defined

proper worship as a proper ordering of the hierarchy of laws: God's law, Natural Law and the laws of man. In satisfying that order, Bullinger argues that the soul of the elect stirs a memory of that right order and finds fulfillment in it. It was concluded, therefore, that the magistrate, through laws, enforced this hierarchy. This would ultimately lead to the satisfaction of the population because their pursuit for God's approval was ensured. Where such was not the case, Bullinger argued that the magistrate should still maintain the laws as it would lead to a peaceful kingdom. Punishment, therefore, was used as a corrective way to insure that the proper order was followed.

The principal duty of the magistrate was to ensure that this divine hierarchy was met and to punish those who sought to disrupt this order. It was argued that protecting the free preaching of the Gospel was also the magistrate's task, though the magistrate was not a member of the clergy. Rather, this thesis argued that Bullinger's magistrate heeded the words of the minister, who acted as prophet, and put into practice what the prophet declared. This gave rise to the idea that the magistrate had a responsibility to make God's demands relevant to the community. The minister, moreover, acts as an aide in defining God's will for the city. As it was argued, the two factions of clergy and magistrate were united under a single sphere of creating a godly city that required the division of the two, but also the strength of the magistrate to bind the relationship together.

This thesis argues that England, under Edward VI, had a sympathetic view to Bullinger's idea of the magistrate. Bullinger's magistrate, as the central force behind the enforcement of his political theology, fit the English niche of their monarchical kingdom. As the thesis argued, English reformers saw in Edward a sympathetic and impressionable monarch who could solidify Protestantism in England. Bullinger argued that Edward was the best

chance to see his political theology of the magistrate developed because Edward had the political authority to ensure the success of the Reformation in England. Moreover, Bullinger saw Edward as the biblical boy-king Josiah, who would ensure that the Reformation remained successful.

The evidence from Bullinger's involvement in England suggests that Bullinger was approved in England because of the emphasis placed on the magistrate to dictate the course of the Reformation under the spiritual advice from the prophet. In doing this, Bullinger's political theology adapted to a form of Erastianism that was conducive to the English context. What this function determined was that Bullinger's program was one that identified his commitment to historical precedent within a definable theological program of Reformation. While theologians like Martin Luther and John Calvin offered a more consistent theological program, Bullinger offers a sound account of God's presence within history, Natural Law, and the laws of man.

Considering Bullinger's political theology has given a new understanding to how Bullinger conceived of state. Bullinger safeguarded his political aspirations in the strength of historical precedents which seems to encapsulate his commitments to humanism and learning. What the thesis presented was that Bullinger offered a different expression to the Reformation than did Luther, Calvin and even Zwingli in regards to defining the state. In this regard, Bullinger seeks to present that state as a composition of the church and state that works in tandem to create a holy state. The thesis presented the inherent problem with Bullinger to successfully create the idea, but was sensitive to Bullinger's attempts to use his context and his Protestant conviction (though the balance often weighed heavily on Bullinger's commitment to context) to construct authority in the

formation of an early modern state. Because of the volatile context that Bullinger was situated, Bullinger sought to unite his desire for Gospel preaching, and an ordered society in a *Christian* magistrate.

In conclusion, this thesis argued that Bullinger's magistrate was the principal actor in executing his political theology. Bullinger rested in the strength of the magistrate's duties as something divinely given. This view safeguards Bullinger's belief in the Reformation as something divinely given in a way that protects the Reformation from external threat, as the state endorses the faith and internally by actively listening to the Bible, creating laws and punishing those who challenge their policies. From a historical perspective, a strong magistrate had the best chance to protect Bullinger's external fears of another Kappel War and a takeover by Catholic forces. Furthermore, it protected the state internally by allowing the magistrate to create laws to deter rebellion and sin and to punish those who break the law, as Bullinger witnessed prior to his succession of Zwingli in the Anabaptist crisis of the 1520s.

5.2

Future Study

This study positioned itself upon contemporary Bullinger research by paying particular attention to the nature of the studies conducted, and by extracting relevant data to build the case that was presented in this thesis. This thesis is one particular view of the magistrate as central to Bullinger's political system. While a case has been made that this is so, there is certainly room for different approaches to the question of the magistrate's strength in Bullinger's political theology. Moreover, there is a pressing need to define the magistrate in the context of Bullinger's Zurich and how he viewed the relationship between himself, as the presumed prophet, and the magistrate. The response in that regard

may prove less favourable for Bullinger's idea of a strong magistrate. The second aspect that this thesis provides is another avenue in which to view Bullinger's prominence in England. This question has dominated much English Reformation scholarship. This thesis cannot hope to definitively prove Reformed sympathies of Cranmer and the English ruling class, but it does add another avenue in which this controversial topic may be approached.

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