

GARDNER-WEBB UNIVERSITY

SWISS METHODS OF INTERPRETATION FROM 1500 - 1800

A PAPER SUBMITTED TO

DR. LORIN CRANFORD

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

RELIGION 492

BY

JUSTIN MICHAEL DENTON

BOILING SPRINGS, NORTH CAROLINA

INTRODUCTION¹

At the turn of the sixteenth century Europe was changing. This was a period in time known as the Renaissance and the Reformation. Religious thought was being challenged, and many of the famous names in theology that we study today made their impact during this time. Switzerland, Austria, and Germany were places where a newness of religious thought dwelt. Names like Zwingli, Calvin, Beze, and Bullinger were teaching, preaching, and writing about the Christian faith. One of the basic topics of their writing was that of scripture. Much of the theology of our day and time can be gathered from these men and the ideas to which they devoted their lives.

¹ All Scripture taken from New International Version of the Bible. Some footnotes do not match up with the page that they are found on due to formatting of the Microsoft Word Program. Some editing of the format has been done in order to bring the paper format closer to the Turabian Style Guide. Dr. Cranford

ULRICH ZWINGLI

His Life

Zwingli was born in the year 1484 outside of Zurich, Switzerland.² In his city he would come to be known as the “chief reformer” of this time.³ Zwingli was raised from humble beginnings, but not from a humble mindset. Even though his family were peasants they did not sacrifice the ideals of being devoted to their country and their religion.⁴ An understanding of their dedication to their ideals helps a reader to comprehend how someone, such as Zwingli, emerged from a lowly class rank to become a very significant leader in his time. The learning process started within the family for Zwingli. His uncle, Bartholomew Zwingli, was a very educated man and even served as an administrator at Weesen.⁵ When Zwingli was ten, the favor that people found in his knowledge, sent him to high school, where the learning and scholarship continued.⁶ From high school in Basel, to Berne, and eventually to the University of Vienna, he went through many teachers and many stages of life, exploring what he was to be.⁷ After some more

² G.W. Bromiley, ed., *Library of Christian Classics*. Vol. 24, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953) 13.

³ Gerald Bray, *Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present*. (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1996), 176.

⁴ (Bromiley 1953, 13)

⁵ Ibid. 13.

⁶ Ibid. 13.

⁷ Ibid. 13.

moving and education, Zwingli found himself sitting under the teaching of Thomas Wyttenbach, who taught concerning *the Sentences* of Peter Lombard.⁸ According to Bromiley, this teaching pushed Zwingli to come up with two of his core values of belief: “the supremacy of Holy Scripture and justification by grace and faith.”⁹ This is a small look into the life of Ulrich Zwingli; however, it helps us to set up his use and ideas concerning the word of God.

The Word of God

In a message that Zwingli preached entitled *Power of the Word of God*, he speaks clearly about his interaction with what the word is. Because of the way that he uses scripture, we can see simply that, to Zwingli, scripture was a testimony to the Word of God; he uses it to affirm the power of the Word. This idea puts scripture in an awkward role. He argues for the supremacy and the authority of the Word of God, using scripture. For example, Zwingli takes Colossians 3, concerning stripping the old and wearing the new and the renewing of the knowledge of God, to show that the Word (or knowledge) of God is something that allows us to know the image of our creator more clearly.¹⁰ The Word of God is so much more to him than just what the Bible says, but the Bible epitomizes what the Word of God is.

Perhaps the best way to describe this idea of the Word is to share the idea of Zwingli’s *imago dei*. This was the “essential foundation for his teaching on scripture.”¹¹ This idea is very

⁸ Ibid. 14.

⁹ Ibid. 14.

¹⁰ Library of Christian Classics: Zwingli and Bullinger. Ed. by G.W. Bromiley. Vol. 24, Of the Clarity and Certainty or Power of the Word of God (Philadelphia Westminster Press, 1953), 65.

¹¹ (Bromiley 1953, 51)

abstract and is geared more toward the inner person, than the physical. Through Christ we are able to understand Scripture.¹² *Imago dei* is fleshed out in the Christian's mind by the understanding that every believer has a desire within to truly know who God is.¹³ Continuing with this idea of *imago dei*, Zwingli shows that sin interferes with it, but through the Holy Spirit it is fulfilled.¹⁴ Zwingli writes that once a person has discovered this idea of the Word of God, then there is nothing better to the spirit of the person than to have that intimate fellowship through this Word.¹⁵ We can see the vital impact that scripture had on the theology of Zwingli through simple analysis. Because the core of a Christian being is that of the *imago dei* and the *imago dei* is at the core of knowing God, then we can assume that since scripture is understood through Christ then scripture is very significant in the Christian life.

After making efforts at understanding the idea of the theory of the Word of God, it is important to understand what Zwingli actually thought that scripture was, or some of the characteristics of it. For Zwingli the Holy Spirit plays a vital role in the understanding of scripture.¹⁶ In fact, his idea is that the Holy Spirit's guiding concerning scripture is much more important than how much a person knows about scripture.¹⁷ He thought that anyone could understand scripture, from the priest to the common man.¹⁸ This idea plays a huge role in the idea of the Reformation.

¹² Ibid. 52.

¹³ Ibid. 53.

¹⁴ Ibid. 52.

¹⁵ (Zwingli 1953, 67)

¹⁶ (Bromiley 1953, 55)

¹⁷ Ibid. 55.

¹⁸ Ibid. 55.

The Catholic Church was looked at as the authority on the scriptures, and the priests were the ones that taught the Bible. Much of this was due to the fact that the Bible was not in the vernacular. This idea of the interpretation of scripture for the common man was a constant vein of the Reformation from Luther to Zwingli.¹⁹ In his writing, “Archeteles,” Zwingli notes, “the Bible is the sole source of faith.”²⁰ This is the idea that is mentioned above, which shows a cycle of the *imago dei* from God to His Word through the Scriptures. With this idea stated, it is important to take these as a whole and not separate them from each other. If this separation does happen, then Zwingli is misrepresented.

The Conflicts

Without noting the conflict that arose out of the work of the Reformers, I feel that justice would not be done to the title of Reformer. Much of his life Zwingli found himself deep in the structure system of the Catholic Church.²¹ He found favor with people who were high up in the ranks, and this allowed him to become a well-known part of the Church.²² Once he became known across Switzerland, the deck of cards began to fall. Because Zwingli was himself, not an angel, he was not quick to criticize the Church structure, but eventually he would be compelled to.

The first case of a pulling out from the Catholic Church was in Zurich around 1520 that due to the lack of morality and harsh motives of war, Zwingli, along with the council, openly

¹⁹ Brian, 3/1/2004, Lecture Notes.

²⁰ Catholic Encyclopedia, Online Ed., “Ulrich Zwingli.”

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

said that the papacy was in the wrong.²³ He stopped his employment from the Catholic Church and came front and center to the political spotlight.²⁴ After this conflict Zwingli took off with political and religious reform.

The next dispute that he was involved in was based on the “practical institution of a state church, the veneration of the saints, the removal of images, good works, and the sacraments.”²⁵ Because of his theology, Zwingli could not and would not support these ideas any longer. Another topic that Zwingli argued was that of the marriage of priests.²⁶ He felt that it was wrong to deny these people, including himself, marriage to another person. Again, these ideas spring forth from a reexamining of what scripture says, and in it, produces a reforming of popular church. Zwingli himself ultimately gets married in Zurich and has a child.²⁷ He does not simply say that things should change; he actually changes, along with the rest of Zurich and the surrounding areas. In short, what becomes of Zwingli is that he becomes the major rule of all Zurich concerning ideas of the Church.²⁸ War comes against him, and finally the Catholic Church takes victory, and in the war Zwingli is killed.²⁹ Even though his life was taken, his spirit still remains alive today. The road that he paved for the reformers that would come after him is invaluable.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

JOHN CALVIN

His Life

There is no biblical scholar in church history, post-apostles, that intrigues me more than John Calvin. There is so much debate and misdirection concerning the theology that he proclaimed. In almost all of my undergraduate classes there are discussions about Calvinism, at the lunch table between bites you can hear debates about predestination and election, and inevitably the name Calvin is mentioned. These ideas are what lead me to him as a topic of study, but what I discovered is these common discussions merely scratch the surface of what this man did for the Church. Calvin was born in 1509 in Picardy, France, into a middle class family in which his Father was a lawyer.³⁰ Calvin was a humanist and never officially became part of the Catholic Church's clergy.³¹ His personality definitely would not be referred to in today's time as pastoral. He was more the type of person that spoke very scholarly, instead of meeting people where they had need.³² It was no doubt that Calvin was a thinker who taught from well thought out ideas and plans.

The places that Calvin went in his lifetime and the order in which he traveled are of importance to this study. We will start with Geneva and follow the journey that Bray outlines for us where Calvin moved out of France to Geneva, then to Strasbourg, and finally back to Geneva, which proved to be the last place he would ever live.³³ Each of these places allows for growth in Calvin and helps him to spread his views on theology and what scripture has to say. Calvin

³⁰ Catholic Encyclopedia, Online Ed., "John Calvin."

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Bray, 178.

wrote extensive commentaries, on nearly the whole New Testament and part of the Old Testament. Looking at the dates on these commentaries one can see that through the places he went he continued to produce commentary after commentary.

By the time that Calvin had left France and fled to Switzerland, he had already written the highly talked about *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (this will be discussed in a later section). Calvin found himself in Geneva where the Reformation was already in full swing, and people had the mindset of the Reformation.³⁴ Calvin had plans to leave the city soon after he arrived, but the people of the city had other plans for him.³⁵ There was a need for Calvin to teach people who did not know about the faith as he did, with this reformed way of thinking.³⁶ Calvin did stay, and he became very involved in the Reformation movement in Geneva. He sat under Farel, a well known reform minded leader in Geneva at the time.³⁷ This was not a flashy time for Calvin; he humbly taught the scriptures and translated his work, *the Institutes*, not being the central figure in the city, yet.³⁸ The first real debate that Calvin was involved in was in Lausanne where he accompanied Farel from Geneva.³⁹ At this debate their two sides are obvious, the old tradition verses the new.⁴⁰ Calvin showed much wisdom at this debate, even in his youth. He

³⁴ Emaneul Stickelberger. *Calvin: A Life*. Translated by David Georg Gelzer (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1954) 44.

³⁵ Ibid, 47.

³⁶ Ibid, 47.

³⁷ Ibid. 45.

³⁸ Ibid, 50.

³⁹ Ibid, 50.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 51.

kept quiet until he knew that he had something to say; when he did stand and speak he spoke with the knowledge and eloquence of someone much older than he was.⁴¹ Out of this experience Calvin moved into an official office as a pastor working for Farel.⁴² With this office and his new found notoriety, came a hard time for Calvin. There was much opposition to what he was doing and teaching. He finally had to get out of Geneva.

After leaving Geneva, Calvin found rest in Strasbourg. This was a place where he flourished as a person, pastor, and theologian. In the pastoral role, he was able to do things that he never had the opportunity to be involved in before. Calvin was able to help build a French community of believers, with its tenants of church discipline.⁴³ His preaching and teaching was done nearly everyday of the week, and the demand for his knowledge to be shared extended further than the limits of the city.⁴⁴ The idea or the reality of debate never left Calvin. Anabaptists and others would come to prove him wrong, but many would simply be overtaken by the sheer knowledge of Calvin and surrender to the Reformed ideal.⁴⁵

As a theologian in Strasbourg, Calvin was able to take what he saw needed to be done and run with his ideas. There were many disputes during this time concerning the Lord's Supper. Calvin responded with enlightenment, "One must lift his heart on high, to heaven. One cannot bring the Lord Jesus down so that He becomes confined in transitory elements."⁴⁶ This was

⁴¹ Ibid, 52.

⁴² Ibid, 54.

⁴³ Ibid. 65.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 65.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 65.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 67.

his way of pushing people to unity and community under one God. Calvin also finished a revision to his classic work, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*.⁴⁷ This book continued to be instrumental in the reform movement, especially in the areas where Calvin was accepted. Calvin and Luther never met, but quite possibly one of the greatest compliments for a theologian is that Luther found “pleasure” in Calvin’s *Institutes*.⁴⁸

Calvin’s personal life was a struggle at Strasbourg. It was here where he fell in love and was married. In 1540 he married Idelette de Buren, whom he converted to the reform movement.⁴⁹ This was a significant mark in the life of Calvin; especially that he could find comfort in this relationship. Sadly his wife died nine years after they were wed.⁵⁰ Another personal struggle that Calvin had to deal with was a calling from his past. In Geneva there was a power struggle between the Reformers and the Papal Authority, to the point that Calvin and Farel were exiled.⁵¹ This was brought about not simply by the impression that Calvin left from his time there before. Calvin had correspondence with the anti-Reformers in Geneva, where he “had spoken the last word” in the debate.⁵² The people cried out for someone to come and help them. Many of them called for Calvin to come back to Geneva and restore the order of the Reformation. Cal-

⁴⁷ Ibid. 68.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 68.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 71.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 71.

⁵¹ Ibid. 77.

⁵² Ibid. 77.

vin had in the back of his mind the horrific experiences from his past that happened at Geneva.⁵³ The pain was simply too much for him to go back to the place, in view of the call of the people. However, the call of God, Calvin could not ignore. He states concerning his decision to return to Geneva, “If I had a free choice, I would prefer to do everything else than to do your will.”⁵⁴ This was a response to a letter that was sent by his long time friend, Farel.⁵⁵ Regardless of what Calvin wanted, he was beckoned by God to return to the place that burned him, and return he did!

The people of Geneva were very excited about his return, and perhaps they expected something very different than they received. When Calvin came to preach his first sermon since his return, he simply picked back up where he had left off years before.⁵⁶ Even though this was not what the people had hoped for in the glorious returning of their great leader, they still welcomed him warmly.⁵⁷ Like every other time and place that Calvin went there was opposition. For the sake of brevity, we will not look into these conflicts as we have above, however, we will mention some of the changes that Calvin instituted as a pastor.

Calvin had the job of writing the church ordinances, which had to be approved by the council.⁵⁸ Calvin worked well with the councils. Of course there was debate and compromise and changes in the wording of certain ideas, but through it all they adopted this constitution.⁵⁹

⁵³ Ibid. 78.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 80.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 80.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 83.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 82.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 89.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 89 -90.

Another aspect that Calvin contributed to within the body of the church was that of the unity of the Church as a whole and the mission that this would affect. He says, “The goal of our new life is that in the life of believers there exists an accord, a harmony between the righteousness of God and our obedience, whereby we seal our calling as children of God.”⁶⁰ Through this image of the body being united with the Spirit and with one another, there would be an outpouring of people spreading the news of Christ. The final aspect of his pastoral ministry in Geneva is best described as his teaching ministry. Calvin had such fervor for the Word of God (Scripture) to be taught with accuracy and truth. We can see this by how much time he spent actually teaching the doctrines of the faith to everyone. He taught nearly everyday to the week in some capacity, whether teaching to a few or speaking on a Sunday morning.⁶¹ Of all of the sermons that we still have commentaries that were left behind, it is no mystery that Calvin was a man of Scripture, a man who would not budge from the truths that were expressed in it. He died in 1564 in the city that he spent the last twenty three years of his life.

Scripture and the *Institutes*

From such a long summary of his life it is imperative that we see how much scripture pushed Calvin to do what he did. Without the glorious Word of God there would be no Calvin and no Reformation.⁶² We will dive into what Calvin has to say about the word of God from his

⁶⁰ Ibid. 90.

⁶¹ Ibid. 95.

⁶² For this section of the paper, “Word of God” refers to the Holy Scriptures of the present day Protestant faith.

Institutes of the Christian Religion, the granddaddy of all Reform theology literature. From his word we will see how he saw scripture, what gave it authority, and why it is so trustworthy.

Calvin saw God as the supreme, creator, and provider. Nature played a big part in his theology on God. He felt that it was possible for people to recognize God in nature.⁶³ The sheer hugeness of the creation of the Lord is enough to make anyone question what made it all. However, this was not enough by the standards of Calvin. He makes the analogy that without scripture we are like an old person who does not have his glasses for reading.⁶⁴ Without corrective lenses a person can make out generally what something looks like, but it is impossible to see the features. He notes that scripture “shows us the true God.”⁶⁵ Calvin sums up this argument with this quote: “His word is a more direct and more certain mark whereby he is to be recognized.”⁶⁶

There are some ideas that Calvin says that we draw out of scripture. First there is the idea of two types of knowledge. The first type of knowledge is the kind that the patriarchs had initially; it is that God is the creator of the entire universe.⁶⁷ This is somewhat described above in the idea of nature, but added to the concept of nature is that God revealed himself to his people. The second type of knowledge is best demonstrated in the Psalms or in the Gospels. This is a knowledge that sees God as a “mediator and redeemer.”⁶⁸ Another idea that we as believers

⁶³ John Calvin. *Library of Christian Classics*. Ed. by John T. McNeill. Vol. 20, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Philadelphia Westminster Press, 1960) 69.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 70.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 70.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 70.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 70.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 71.

must draw out of scripture is that God is different from all other Gods.⁶⁹ This simple concept is an important part of the theology of the word. Calvin backs this idea up with the fact that if we do not see this in scripture, then we are searching scripture for something that is not there: “God is made manifest to us in scripture.”⁷⁰

Calvin moves on to the idea that apart from scripture we are taken by what is false. This “heavenly doctrine” God molded into something that supercedes the teachings of the universe.⁷¹ This is the idea that everything written in scripture is what we need for life’s situations. This running away from error is essential for our understanding of the truth. We must stay on the “straight path” in order to have “pure contemplation of God.”⁷² If we do not live by the scripture that we read, then how does it change or teach us. It would be like us learning how to do a math problem and then working it wrong. There is no value in that. Calvin was a strict thinker when it came to living by the scriptures. Because God is described in scripture by his works, to veer from the Word with our actions is to not reach the goal.⁷³ Calvin speaks about the “splendor of the divine countenance.”⁷⁴ This idea Calvin draws from First Timothy 6:16, in that God is “unapproachable.”⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ The only way that we can even come close to being near God is through scrip-

⁶⁹ Ibid. 71.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 71.

⁷¹ Ibid. 72.

⁷² Ibid. 73.

⁷³ Ibid. 73.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 73.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 73.

ture. It acts as our guide through the impossible maze that is God.⁷⁷ To finalize this section of this theology Calvin makes notes, “Error can never be uprooted from human hearts until true knowledge is planted in them.”⁷⁸

The next step that Calvin takes in his theology of scripture is that of its authority. Calvin is certain when he speaks about the idea of where scripture gets its authority from. He says that the authority of Scripture cannot come from man, woman, or the church.⁷⁹ His reasoning for this rests in the concept of a perfect God and sinful man. He notes that we cannot put “eternal judgments” in the hands of men, just as the authority of the Word does not rest on man.⁸⁰

Another point as to why the church does not have to give scripture its authority is because it was formed on the basis of scripture. Calvin brings out three points as to why this concept is true:⁸¹

1. Ephesians 2:20 “built on the foundations of the prophets and the apostles.”
2. The teaching of the scriptures must have had authority before the forming of the church.
3. This acceptance of the word had to precede the church.

Calvin understood that he would have critics; we see that in the story of his life. He poses the question in advance: “how do we know that it comes from God?”⁸² He also provides an answer: “scripture exhibits fully as clear evidence of its own truth.”⁸³

⁷⁶ “who alone is immortal and who lives in unapproachable light.”

⁷⁷ (Calvin 1960, 73)

⁷⁸ Ibid. 74.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 74.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 75.

⁸¹ Ibid. 76.

There are some other ways that Calvin offers proof as to why scripture is trustworthy. The fact that God himself speaks in Scripture is a huge factor for Calvin as to why it is good.⁸⁴ I think that there is general concern, due to the fact that there are many books of faith where “god” speaks to a people. To alleviate some of the struggle here Calvin says that through debate and argument people will see God truly in scripture.⁸⁵ The spirit is found at the core of the authority of the scriptures. There are people even today that say they do not and cannot see God in the Bible. They either do not agree with concepts or, for some reason, struggle with believing in it. Calvin said that if someone truly searches scripture then he will find God, and if not, then the spirit has hardened him to it.⁸⁶ He uses Matthew 13:11 to back this idea up in that only those allowed by God will understand the mysteries.^{87 88} Through all of these ideas concerning scripture, we can see that he had his heart focused on that of God. Simply reading his thoughts shows one that his theology is very theocentric. He gives no credit to man or man’s reason, only the power of God.

SUCCESSORS OF THE REFORMERS

⁸² Ibid. 76.

⁸³ Ibid. 76.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 78.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 79.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 81.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 81.

⁸⁸ “The knowledge of the kingdom of heaven had been given to you, but not to them.”

Johann Heinrich Bullinger was a successor of Zwingli. He spent time in Zurich with him and after the death of Zwingli he took over the cause that Zwingli had.⁸⁹ Bullinger was a humanist who became very close to Zwingli, through the process of debate.⁹⁰ He was with Zwingli at the debates at Berne.⁹¹ From this relationship he took over as a pastor there until his death in 1575.⁹² Two ideas worthy of note concerning Bullinger: first he came to agree with Luther concerning the idea of the Lord's Supper, and then progressed in his theology to agree with Calvin in the idea of predestination.⁹³ ⁹⁴ This action shows that he was not a puppet of anyone but was seeking the truth alongside those who called themselves Reformers.

As far as successors go, there are many from the past and present day. Names such as John Knox and John Piper come to mind. I think for this study, however, Theodore de Beze is the best person to interact with. He, like Bullinger, followed his mentor; Beze took over in Geneva.⁹⁵ One of the lasting effects of his work is that of the "systematic Calvinism" that we have today.⁹⁶ The concept of T.U.L.I.P is generally associated with today's idea of Calvinism.⁹⁷ Aside from this idea Beze was also a well known translator and biblical scholar.⁹⁸

⁸⁹ (Bray 1996, 177)

⁹⁰ ("Zwingli" Catholic Encyclopedia, Online Ed.)

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ (Bray 1996, 177)

⁹⁵ Ibid. 185.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 185.

⁹⁷ Total Depravity; Unconditional Election; Limited Atonement; Irresistible grace Perseverance of the Saints.

⁹⁸ (Bray 1996, 185)

CONCLUSION

The goal of the Reformation was change. This change was not for the sake of change, or for simple political reasons, but for the truth. The leaders of this movement had within them a desire for the truth of the Word of God. Zwingli and Calvin will forever be looked at as part of the beginnings of the movement of Protestantism. I think that if we would look to their actual writings more so than just the commentary on their beliefs, then we would come to the point where we actually would understand what they have to say. So many churches are quick to not listen to the ideas of Calvin, just because they are so set in their ways. The reason that they even have “ways” is because these men had a pursuit for the truth of the Gospel. We must have hearts and minds for truth as these men had, if we want to solve the problems that are in the Baptist circles of today. Close-mindedness was the cause of the Reformation, but a new way of thinking was the result.

WORKS CITED

- Barry, William. Catholic Encyclopedia Online. Found at newadvent.org. "John Calvin." Vol. 3, 2003.
- Bray, Gerald. *Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present*. Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1996.
- Brian, Douglas. Lecture Notes. Gardner-Webb University, Boiling Springs, NC. March 1, 2004
- Bromiley, G.W., ed. *Library of Christian Classics*. Vol. 24, *Zwingli and Bullinger*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953.
- Calvin, John. *Library of Christian Classics*. Ed. by John T. McNeill. Vol. 20, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Philadelphia Westminster Press, 1960.
- Meyer, Wilhelm Jos. Catholic Encyclopedia Online. Found at newadvent.org "Ulrich Zwingli." Vol. 15, 2003.
- Stickelberger, Emanuel. *Calvin: A Life*. Translated by David Georg Gelzer. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1954.
- Zwingli, Ulrich. *Library of Christian Classics: Zwingli and Bullinger*. Ed. by G.W. Bromiley. Vol. 24, *Of the Clarity and Certainty or Power of the Word of God*. Philadelphia Westminster Press, 1953.