

*Biblical and Theological Themes in
Heinrich Bullinger's »De Testamento«
(1534)*

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Bullinger's treatise on the covenant, *De testamento* (1534)¹, is surprisingly rich in biblical and theological themes. Most studies on the theology of Heinrich Bullinger have focussed, naturally enough, on the *Decades* and *The Second Helvetic Confession*.² Many of Bullinger's works are either historical or biblical theological in their emphasis. Moser has identified that Bullinger's historical works can be classified as salvation history and history of the covenant.³ Moreover, Walser affirms that Bullinger was primarily a biblical theologian and that, therefore, his theology reflects the non-systematic character of the Bible itself.⁴ In this connection, *De testamento* has primarily been viewed as Bullinger's

¹ Heinrich Bullinger, *De testamento seu foedere Dei unico et aeterno*, Zurich: Christoph Froschauer the Elder, 1534 (Manfred Vischer, *Bibliographie der Zürcher Druckschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Baden-Baden 1991 [BZD], no C 226).

² See, for example, Peter Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe: Eine Studie zu den »Dekaden«*, Zurich 2004, for a comprehensive examination of Bullinger's theology in the *Decades* and Edward A. Dowey, *Heinrich Bullinger as Theologian: Thematic, Comprehensive, and Systematic*, in: *Architect of Reformation*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Emidio Campi, Grand Rapids, MI 2004, 39, for an argument that »The Second Helvetic Confession is his crowning theological masterpiece.«

³ Christian Moser, *Die Dignität des Ereignisses: Studien zu Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichtsschreibung*, Leiden 2012 (*Studies in the History of Christian Traditions* 163), 20–25.

⁴ Peter Walser, *Die Prädestination bei Heinrich Bullinger*, Zurich 1957, 244.

extended exposition of Genesis 17 and the outlining of the nature of the covenant, the parties of the covenant, the conditions of the covenant, that the covenant is the subject of all Scripture as well as his understanding of the sacrament of the covenant.⁵ This article seeks to demonstrate that close investigation of *De testamento* reveals a raft of biblical and theological themes in addition to that of the covenant. The fact that, from 1537 onwards, *De testamento* was appended to *In omnes apostolicas epistolas* (1537)⁶ together with *Utriusque in Christo naturae divinae quam humanae* (1534)⁷ indicates Bullinger's desire for his readers to see the intimate link between the incarnation and the plan of salvation that was expressed in the Scriptures through the theme of the covenant.

For too long Bullinger has been considered a theological lightweight in comparison with other reformers. However, with careful study of Bullinger's meticulous use of terminology and the high number of quotations and allusions to the Scriptures, this article shows that *De testamento* was not just a work hastily put together to address the ongoing challenges of Anabaptism or the charge that the reformed faith was heretical as it was adjudged to have deviated from the true faith. *De testamento* expresses Bullinger's understanding of the message of the canon which Bullinger began to work on and develop during his productive period at Kappel am Albis. Hence there is a plethora of biblical and theological themes in a work written in the shadow of the defeat at the *Zweiter Kappelerkrieg* and Bullinger's own stirring *Karlstag* sermon of 1532.⁸ Bullinger's *De testamento* deserves a more prominent place in the Reformation corpus.

⁵ A summary of this may be found in Antonius J. van 't Hooft, *De Theologie van Heinrich Bullinger in betrekking tot de Nederlandsche Reformatie*, Amsterdam 1888, 44–51 and Willem van 't Spijker, *Bullinger als Bundestheologe*, in: *Heinrich Bullinger: Life – Thought – Influence*, ed. Emido Campi and Peter Opitz, Zurich 2007 (*Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte* 24), 579–581.

⁶ Heinrich *Bullinger*, *In omnes apostolicas epistolas commentarii*, Zurich: Christoph Froschauer the Elder, 1537 (BZD C 261).

⁷ Heinrich *Bullinger*, *Utriusque in Christo naturae tam divinae quam humanae assertio*, Zurich: Christoph Froschauer the Elder, 1534 (BZD C 229).

⁸ Heinrich *Bullinger*, *De prophetae officio et quomodo digne administrari possit oratio*, Zurich: Christoph Froschauer the Elder, 1532 (BZD C 209).

1. The title page

As was his usual practice, on the title page of *De testamento* Bullinger cited Matthew 17:5 in the following manner:

IESUS
HIC est filius dilectus in quo
placata est anima mea, ipsum audite.
Matthaei 17.

The particular significance of Matthew 17:5 for *De testamento*, in particular, indicates that Bullinger believed Jesus to be the goal or focus of the covenant and, thereby, the goal of the whole canon. Hence his name is printed in upper case. Opitz also sees in this passage a reference to both the priestly and rabbinic role of Christ who, as Redeemer, fulfills the covenant.⁹

The transfiguration of Christ together with Moses and Elijah reaffirmed for Bullinger that the Law and the Prophets find their climax in and were fulfilled in Christ. To hear Christ only was equivalent to hearing only what Scripture says. Bullinger had in the back of his mind the prophet to come referred to in Deuteronomy 18:15. Certainly Bullinger emphasized the significance of Acts 3:22 in *De testamento*.¹⁰ Moreover, it is apparent that Bullinger is indicating that Christ came to bring the new Torah (His Word which would be written on the hearts of men and women in fulfillment of Jeremiah 31) which would replace the Torah of the Old Testament. In *De testamento* Bullinger emphasizes that the Torah had already been inscribed on the hearts of the patriarchs before it was inscripturated at the time of Moses and that it was written more fully by the Spirit with the coming of Christ and the new covenant. In an earlier work, *Antwort an Burchard*,¹¹ Bullinger was insistent that one should listen to Christ alone, which means to obey only him.¹² In his commentary on Matthew (1542) Bullinger directly

⁹ Opitz, Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe, 333.

¹⁰ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 3r. Deuteronomy 18:15 is cited by Peter at Acts 3:22.

¹¹ Heinrich Bullinger: Theologische Schriften, vol. 2, Zurich 1991 [HBTS 2], 134–172. Cf. Heinrich Bullinger, In d. Petri apostoli epistolam utranque commentarius, Zurich: Christoph Froschauer the Elder, 1534 (BZD C 227), 94r–v.

¹² Cf. Joseph Ratzinger, *Many Religions – One Covenant*, San Francisco 1999, 70: »The Torah of the Messiah is the Messiah, Jesus himself. It is to him that the command, ›Listen to him,‹ refers.«

referred to Deuteronomy 18 and Peter's sermon of Acts 3 as well as Stephen's sermon of Acts 7.¹³

2. Justification by faith

The fact that Bullinger prefers *placata* to *placita* on the title page of his books underscores the fact that the central theme in Bullinger is that of reconciliation with God through justification by faith, despite Baker's insistence that the covenant is the centre of Bullinger's thought.¹⁴ The covenant is indeed central to Bullinger without being the actual centre of his works. Significantly, one of the main themes of *The Old Faith* (1537) is that the patriarchs of the Old Testament were justified by faith in Christ in the same way as saints in the new covenant. Justification by faith alone in Christ alone is clearly expressed in *De testamento* as is evident from the following quote:

»Abraham was assuredly justified by faith alone, prior to circumcision and prior to the law, without the ceremonies, without the law. He also saw the day of the Lord Jesus and he rejoiced.«¹⁵

Each of these phrases was carefully chosen, *viz.* »by faith alone«, »without ceremonies«, »prior to the circumcision«, »prior to the law« and »without the law«. Indeed, these phrases need to be borne in mind when reading *De testamento*, especially whenever Bullinger refers to the »conditions« of the covenant. The direct citation of John 8:56 was Bullinger's tacit manner of stating that Abraham was justified by faith alone in Christ alone. The fact that

¹³ Heinrich Bullinger, In sacrosanctum Iesu Christi domini nostri Evangelium secundum Matthaicum commentariorum libri XII, Zurich: Christoph Froschauer the Elder, 1542 (BZD C 304), 166r.

¹⁴ J. Wayne Baker, Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: The Other Reformed Tradition, Athens, OH 1980; J. Wayne Baker, Heinrich Bullinger, the Covenant, and the Reformed Tradition in Retrospect, in: *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29/2 (1998), 359–376.

¹⁵ »Abraham certe ante circuncisionem et legem, sine ceremoniis, fide duntaxat, iustificatus est, idem vidit diem domini Iesu et gavisus est.« Bullinger, *De testamento*, 25r. Unless otherwise indicated, the English translations of *De testamento* are taken from Charles S. McCoy and J. Wayne Baker, *Fountainhead of Federalism: Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant Tradition*, Louisville, KY 1991, 101–138.

Abraham was justified before he was circumcised was repeated by Bullinger in the Epilogue.¹⁶ In clearly alluding to the catch-cry of the Reformation of *sola fide*, Bullinger was underscoring the fact that the faith taught and practised by the reformers was indeed faithful to a true understanding of Scripture. This is further unpacked by Bullinger in the Epilogue of *De testamento* where he writes: »... in order that I might indicate in passing the clarity, simplicity, and antiquity of Scripture and of our religion, which today is ill-spoken of by many people, as if it were heretical.«¹⁷

Because of the extended discussion in *De testamento* of the »conditions« of the covenant many have incorrectly deduced that Bullinger was synergic in his understanding of justification because his emphasis on the covenant was adduced to be »bilateral«. In point of fact, Bullinger viewed the covenant in a monopoleuric manner for his discussion of the covenant must be seen in the context of God's accommodation to the customs of mankind.¹⁸ There is no doubt that, for Bullinger, salvation is all of God's grace. Thus Bullinger points out that: »This certainly is the origin of our religion and it is its principal point: we are saved only through the goodness and mercy of God.«¹⁹

3. God's accommodation to mankind

One unmistakable and overarching theme in *De testamento* is the accommodation of God. As is widely known, this also is emphasized in Calvin's works. Garcia Archilla notes that Bullinger underscores the covenant as the accommodation of God: »Bullinger has established, on a Biblical basis, his understanding of the covenant. He is most conscious that this is not a deal between equal partners, but once more underlines that it is an accommodation by God to our imbecillitas, our incapacity to stand at the same level

¹⁶ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 47v.

¹⁷ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 47r.

¹⁸ Aurelio Garcia Archilla, Bullinger's *De testamento*: The Amply Biblical Basis of Reformed Origins, in: Heinrich Bullinger: Life – Thought – Influence, ed. Emido Campi and Peter Opitz, Zurich 2007 (*Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte* 24), 674 f.

¹⁹ »Haec nimirum religionis nostrae origo et illud caput primum est, sola Dei bonitate et misericordiae nos salvari.« Bullinger, *De testamento*, 6v.

with God on account of our creatureness.«²⁰ Bullinger explains that God was pleased to use a human expression (*humana appellatione*) and follow human custom (*humanum morem*) on account of the weakness (*imbecillitatem*) of human nature when he initiated the covenant.²¹ Indeed, Bullinger makes a point to state that »God has acted according to human custom at every point.«²² Bullinger understands God's accommodation to mankind through the covenant as a condescension to the finiteness and frailty of humanity. He expresses this in terms of »... sets forth the divine nature, *as much as he wishes to show himself to us.*«²³

There is no doubt whatsoever that Bullinger upheld the Reformation formula of *sola gratia*.²⁴ Because of his repeated emphasis on faithful obedience to the covenant and because he was cited by the Remonstrants at the Council of Dordt, Bullinger came to be suspected of being semi-Pelagian. However, careful study of *De testamento* reveals this not to be the case at all. Bullinger always upheld justification by faith alone. Several times in *De testamento* Bullinger emphasizes that it is God who initiated the covenant. It was »not in any way because of the merits of humans but rather out of ... the sheer goodness and mercy of God.«²⁵ Then in a reference to the Anabaptists, who over focused on the »conditions« of the covenant taken out of their biblical context, Bullinger argues that »those people who consider only the conditions of the covenant and in fact disregard the grace and promise of God exclude infants from the covenant.«²⁶

A correct understanding of God's accommodation means that *El Shaddai* employed human customs and human language to express and explain his gracious relationship with mankind. Following scholars such as Mendenhall and others, it might appear natural to refer to Hittite suzerain treaties to explain the Biblical covenant with their measure of mutuality between the two parties. However, a more accurate parallel, albeit limited, is that of the covenant of

²⁰ *García Archilla*, Bullinger's *De testamento*, 674.

²¹ *Bullinger*, *De testamento*, 4v.

²² »Deum omni modo morem retulisse humanum«, *Bullinger*, *De testamento*, 5v.

²³ *Bullinger*, *De testamento*, 11v. Italics added.

²⁴ *García Archilla*, Bullinger's *De testamento*, 674–676.

²⁵ *Bullinger*, *De testamento*, 6v.

²⁶ *Bullinger*, *De testamento*, 7v–8r.

royal grant.²⁷ The manner that Bullinger unpacks the biblical witness of the covenant is closest to the covenant of royal grant. This can be illustrated by the fact that Bullinger cites Micah 6:8 in *De testamento* which he employs to explain what it means to respond to God in faith for »It is our duty to adhere firmly by faith to the one God, inasmuch as he is the one and only author of all good things, and to walk in innocence of life for his pleasure.«²⁸

One related aspect of Bullinger's understanding of God's accommodation is his fondness for explaining that God gives *himself* and that God *pours himself* into the believer. In doing so, Bullinger is re-echoing the testimony of Scripture that the covenant is not so much the means of giving blessings to the covenant people but the very giving of *El Shaddai* himself for the good of his elect. Thus Bullinger explains that »The God of heaven, that highest and eternal power and majesty ... offers himself for their benefit.«²⁹ He further adds that God »poured out his entire self for us.«³⁰ Bullinger's emphasis on God giving himself through the covenant and of pouring himself into the believer (hence union with the believer) is further developed by him in the *Decades*.³¹ Bullinger thus acknowledges God's accommodation to mankind is expressed in the Scriptures through anthropomorphic language. Although Bullinger may refer to »binding« and »conditions« and the like in terms of God's covenant relationship with mankind these terms must not be viewed through the lens of mutual, human pacts. There is no doubt whatsoever that Bullinger believed unreservedly in *sola gratia* as is illustrated by his comment that »circumcision was given to those to whom the grace and the covenant of God was first offered, through the assistance and the institution of God who did not scorn being the God of little children and who also first offered

²⁷ Moshe Weinfield, The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East, in: Journal of the American Oriental Society 90 (1970), 184–203; Moshe Weinfield, Covenant Terminology in the Ancient East and its Influence on the West, in: Journal of the American Oriental Society 93 (1973), 190–199. Especially characteristic of the covenant of grant are the following: »he kept my charge,« »walked before me in truth,« »his heart was whole to his master,« »walked in perfection.«

²⁸ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 16r.

²⁹ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 14r.

³⁰ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 22r.

³¹ Sermon III.6, cf. John V. Fesko, Heinrich Bullinger on Union with Christ and Justification, in: The Confessional Presbyterian 6 (2010), 3–10.

himself to us out of sheer grace (*mera gratia*) and said, ›I will be your God.«³²

Furthermore, akin to the Apostle Paul's doxology at the end of Romans 11, Bullinger is aware that, because of the finiteness of mankind, it is beyond human ability to fully understand the significance of God's accommodation through the covenant. Hence, he observes: ›I do not know whether humans are capable either of conceiving this mystery fully or conveying how praiseworthy it is.«³³

4. The covenant is the subject of all Scripture

Bullinger contends that the covenant is ›the subject of all Scripture«. He refers to the covenant as a ›target at which all Scripture aims«. ³⁴ The following lengthy quote demonstrates how Bullinger understands the covenant to be central to the message of the canon:

›For whatever things have been said in the Holy Scripture about the unity, power, majesty, goodness and glory of God are included in this one expression of the covenant: ›I am the all-sufficient Lord«. Whatever promises have been written about bodily blessings, glory, the kingdom, victories, labors, and the basic needs of life, are included in this one expression of the covenant: ›I will give to you and to your descendants the land of Canaan; I will be their God«. In the same way, those things which have been handed down afterwards at various times about Christ the Lord, both in figure and in truth, whatever has been said about his justice, about the sanctification and redemption of the faithful, about the sacrifice, the priesthood, and the satisfaction of Christ, about the kingdom and eternal life, and, further, about the calling of all peoples, about spiritual blessings, about the abrogation of the law, about the glory of the church gathered from the Gentiles and Jews, are foretold in this single promise: ›And all the nations will be blessed in you and you will be the father of many peoples.«³⁵

³² Bullinger, *De testamento*, 44r.

³³ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 6r.

³⁴ The marginal comment on folio 16r reads: ›Omnis Scriptura ad foedus ceu scopum refertur«.

³⁵ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 16v–17r.

Key theological themes are referred to by Bullinger in this extended quote which are directly related to the overarching theme of covenant in Scripture. In particular, the theme of the covenant is linked with the theme of the kingdom in the context of promise and fulfillment. Indeed, the King, Christ, is Kyrios in whom is fulfilled the priesthood and sacrificial system of the Old Testament, whose fully satisfactory sacrifice demonstrates the justice of God for the redemption and sanctification of mankind (both Jew and Gentile) who are gathered as members of His church. It is thus abundantly evident that, for Bullinger, the covenant is the backbone and basis to all biblical themes.

In his study of the *Decades*, Opitz correctly concludes that, for Bullinger, the message of the whole canon is first and foremost theological and then christological. This is evident from the chapter headings in his book.³⁶ Bullinger views the main message of the Bible as reconciliation with God through being justified by faith in Christ alone. The covenant, for Bullinger, is the way that God unfolds his plan for the salvation of the elect. His emphasis on God as *cornucopia* or »the all-sufficient Lord« points to the theological focus of Scripture. On the other hand, his frequent reference, in his writings, to Christ as the seed of the second Eve who fulfils the *protoevangelium* of Genesis 3:15 points to the Christological focus of Scripture. A consideration of all the works of Bullinger may lead to the conclusion that he views Genesis 1,2 and Revelation 21,22 as an *inclusio* to the whole canon which is, therefore, theological in focus while Genesis 3 to Revelation 20 constitutes the »theology of history«³⁷ which is clearly christological in focus with the covenant as its *scopus*. Like Irenaeus, Bullinger regards that one of the main purposes of Scripture was to prepare the people of God in each generation for the *parousia*.

³⁶ »Gemeinschaft mit Gott im Hören auf Gottes Wort«; »Gemeinschaft mit dem dreieinigen Gott«; »Gemeinschaft mit Gott als pneumatische Christusgemeinschaft«; »Gemeinschaft als Leben im Bund«; »Gemeinschaft mit Gott als Leben mit dem Gesetz« and »Gemeinschaft mit Gott als Gemeinschaft der Heiligen«.

³⁷ To use the title of *Garcia Archilla's* book: *The Theology of History and Apologetic Historiography in Heinrich Bullinger*, San Francisco 1992.

4.1 De testamento and the covenant with Adam

Although Bullinger refers to Adam several times in *De testamento*³⁸ it is not well known that he did, in fact, refer to the *protoevangelium* of Genesis 3:15 in *De testamento* in one of its textual versions. There appear to be two major textual versions of *De testamento*, viz. the text of 1534³⁹ and the text appended to *In omnes apostolicas epistolas* (1537).⁴⁰ As might be expected, there are several minor orthographical differences between the two texts. The major differences concern a revision of dates cited by Bullinger and the insertion of some extra words.⁴¹ The most significant change, however, is the insertion of three sentences that make a specific reference to the covenant with Adam. Inserted between the sentence on folio 29v which reads, »Semen mulieris calcabit caput serpentis ...« and the sentence which reads »Ergo inquis legem citra consilium rationemque ...« the 1537 text has the following additional sentences:

»Non enim hoc primum omnium foedus est quod pepigit cum Abraham, sed illud primum est quod pepigit cum Adam. Unde disertis verbis in consequentibus pactionibus dicitur, Erigam vel confirmabo vel statuam pactum meum tecum, id est foedus semel initum firmiter servabo. Saepe enim renovatum est, idque certas ob causas, ut cum Noe post diluvium nunc cum Abraham, postea cum Mose. Unum tamen atque idem foedus est quod confirmatur et stratuitur cum illis omnibus.«⁴²

³⁸ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 7r, 48r, 50r.

³⁹ This is the text used for the translation by McCoy and Baker and that of Detlef Roth in Heinrich Bullinger Schriften, ed. Emidio Campi et al., vol. 1, Zurich 2004, 47–101.

⁴⁰ See Joe Mock, Bullinger and the Covenant with Adam, in: *Reformed Theological Review* 70/3 (2011), 185–205 where some of the following discussion has been published.

⁴¹ »6733« is replaced by »5508« and the following words inserted after »5199«: »quibus si addas 1534 habebis ab initio mundi 6733 sed nos sequi maluimus sacra Biblia quam Graecorum Commentaria« (Bullinger, *De testamento*, 50r).

⁴² Bullinger, *In omnes apostolicas epistolas*, 162. The text of the 1537 version is used for the translation of Peter A. Lillback, *The Binding of God: Calvin's Role in the Development of Covenant Theology*, Dissertation Westminster Theological Seminary, 1985.

This may be translated as follows:

Indeed, the covenant which he made with Abraham is not the first of all the covenants. Rather, the first covenant is the one which he made with Adam. From which covenant with explicit words in the covenants that followed he may say, »I will erect« or »I will confirm« or »I will establish my covenant with you«, that is »I will keep firmly the covenant made at the beginning«. In fact, the covenant was often renewed. This was because of certain causes, as with Noah after the flood, then with Abraham, and afterwards with Moses. Nevertheless, it is the one and the same covenant which is confirmed and established with all of these.

Although Bullinger does refer to »covenants« in the plural, he clearly considers them the one and the same covenant that God made with Adam. Thus, Bullinger emphasized that Christ came to renew and fulfill the covenant both as the son of Adam and as the seed of Eve. As with Zwingli in his *In catabaptisarum strophas elenchus*,⁴³ Bullinger interprets the *protoevangelium* of Genesis 3:15 as referring to a covenant with Adam and his seed, which would subsequently be renewed through the covenant with Abraham and his seed.⁴⁴

Bullinger first referred to the covenant with Adam in *Vom dem Touff*⁴⁵ and *Antwort an Burchard*.⁴⁶ The clearest expression of Bullinger's understanding of the theological significance of Genesis 3:15, however, is found in *The Old Faith* (1537)⁴⁷. It may be reasonably assumed, therefore, that since *The Old Faith* makes such a significant and pointed reference to a covenant with Adam that Bullinger decided to revise *De testamento* in 1537 with the insertion of the three sentences referred to above. Subsequent writings of Bullinger certainly referred to the covenant with Adam.⁴⁸ A stu-

⁴³ Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke [Z], vol. 6/1, Zurich 1961 (Corpus Reformatorum 93/1), 157.

⁴⁴ *Opitz*, Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe, 80f.

⁴⁵ HBTS 2, 66–85.

⁴⁶ HBTS 2, 134–172.

⁴⁷ Heinrich Bullinger, Das der Christen gloub von anfang der wält gewäret habe der recht und ungezwiflet glauben sye, Basel: Wolfgang Fries, 1537 (Heinrich Bullinger Bibliographie, vol. 1, ed. Joachim Staedtke, Zurich 1972 [HBBib], no 99).

⁴⁸ Apart from key sections in the *Decades*, Bullinger referred to the covenant with Adam in the following works: *The Evangelical Churches are neither Heretical nor Schismatic* (1552); *Von dem heiligen Nachtmal unsers Herrenn Jesu Christi* (1553); *Von dem Heil der Gloebigen* (1555), *Summa christenlicher Religion* (1556), *Sermons for the*

dy of all the letters that Bullinger wrote in the period 1534–1537, however, reveals no reference to any change in *De testamento*.

Zwingli had referred to a covenant with Adam in *In catabaptisaram strophas elenchus* (1527). Although there is ongoing debate about the dating of *Vom dem Touff* and *Antwort an Burchard* a case can be made for Bullinger's reference to the covenant with Adam prior to that of Zwingli.⁴⁹ It is clear, nonetheless, that for both Zwingli and Bullinger the covenant with Adam was an infralapsarian covenant of grace. The fact that some have misread Bullinger's understanding of the covenant with Adam is illustrated by Dowey who pointed out that no less than a scholar such as Koch⁵⁰ has misunderstood Bullinger in reaching his conclusion that Bullinger spoke of an »Adamic« covenant which laid the groundwork for a »supralapsarian covenant of creation.«⁵¹

What is significant is that Bullinger refers to Adam twice in the Epilogue of *De testamento*. On the first occasion it is in the context of noting that the patriarchs before Abraham pleased God through faith without circumcision.⁵² While on the other occasion Bullinger asserts: »We have proven that the faith of Abraham, Adam, and Christ was the same.«⁵³

4.2 The unity of the Old and New Testaments

In explaining the meaning of the title *De testamento*, Bullinger underlines the fact that the testament or covenant is both one and everlasting. Bullinger argues that God established one single covenant and that both old and new covenants had the same essence and the same basic requirements of faith and obedience leading to love of God and neighbour. The people of the new covenant are

Feast Days of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ (1558), the 1569 version of *Compendium Christianae Religionis*; Bullinger's commentary on Daniel (1565), *Epitome temporum et rerum ab orbe condito ad primum usque annum Iothan Regis Iudae* (1565), and *Von der schweren langwirigen vervolung der Heiligen Christlichen Kirchen* (1573).

⁴⁹ Cf. Mock, *Covenant with Adam*.

⁵⁰ Ernst Koch, *Die Theologie der Confessio Helvetica Posterior*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968, 397.

⁵¹ Dowey, *Bullinger as Theologian*, 39.

⁵² Bullinger, *De testamento*, 47v–48r.

⁵³ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 50r.

co-continuous with the people of the old covenant. Bullinger's point is that the patriarchs had the same *religio vera* as that of the new covenant because the *substantia* was the same.⁵⁴ In almost a parallel to John 14:6 Bullinger further declares: »There is therefore one covenant and one church of all the saints before and after Christ, one way to heaven, and one unchanging religion of all the saints.«⁵⁵ In citing 1 Corinthians 10:1–4 Bullinger points out that the saints of both the old and new testaments had the same spiritual food and drink. He further cites Augustine extensively from his *Commentary on the Gospel of John* to justify his assertion that both the old covenant patriarchs and the new covenant church believe in Christ having the same faith: »The times are different, but not the faith. Although the times did indeed differ, we see that those of both times entered through the one doorway of faith, that is, through Christ.«⁵⁶ Moreover, Bullinger put in upper case the declaration that *there is one faith*.⁵⁷ Bullinger also cites Augustine from his *De Baptismo contra Donatistas* to further substantiate his point.⁵⁸ Hence, Bullinger sums up as follows: »From all of this I think it is truly evident that there is only one church and one covenant, the same for the patriarchs and for us.«⁵⁹

Bullinger does acknowledge that Scripture refers to the terms »old« and »new« covenants as he cites Jeremiah 31:31–34,⁶⁰ Eze-

⁵⁴ »Praeterea multis hactenus approbavimus nihil apud posteros de religione vera, quantum scilicet substantiam attinet, dictum fuisse, quod non audierint priores.« *Bullinger*, De testamento, 25r.

⁵⁵ »Unicum ergo testamentum est et una omnium ante et post Christum sanctorum ecclesia, unica ad coelos via, unica item constansque omnium sanctorum religio.« *Bullinger*, De testamento, 25r.

⁵⁶ »Tempora variata sunt non fides. Diversis quidem temporibus, sed utrosque per unum fidei ostium, hoc est per Christum videmus ingressos.« *Bullinger*, De testamento, 27r.

⁵⁷ »Apostolos dicit: Et nos credimus propter quod et loquimur. Ut scias autem quod una sit fides, audi dicentem. Habentes eundem spiritum fidei et nos credimus.« *Bullinger*, De testamento, 27v.

⁵⁸ *Bullinger*, De testamento, 27v.

⁵⁹ »Ex his vero omnibus liquere puto unam esse duntaxat ecclesiam, Testamentum unum veterum et nostrum.« *Bullinger*, De testamento, 28r.

⁶⁰ See Joshua Moon, *Restitutio ad Integrum: An »Augustinian« Reading of Jeremiah 31:31–34* in *Dialogue with the Christian Tradition*, Dissertation St. Andrews University, 2007, 86–93 for a helpful discussion of Bullinger's understanding of the old and new covenant vis-à-vis Jeremiah 31:31–34.

kiel 36:26, and Galatians 4:24 which says: »These are two covenants (*testamenta*).« Significantly, Bullinger uses *testamentum* twice in his citation of the Jeremiah 31 passage whereas the Vulgate has *foedus* and *pactum*. Bullinger's argument is that the terms »old« and »new« did not arise from the essence (*substantia*) of the covenant but because of »certain foreign and unessential things« (*accidentibus*) which were not »perpetual and particularly necessary things for salvation«. ⁶¹ Bullinger thus uses the Aristotelian concepts of »substance« and »accidents« to explain the continuity and discontinuity between the old covenant and the new covenant. ⁶² The »accidents« are clearly explained by Bullinger to be the Aaronic priesthood, the sacrificial system of the old covenant, the rites of purification, food and dietary laws, instructions for the construction of the tabernacle and the like. ⁶³

Bullinger points out that the most important aspect of what transpired through the Mosaic covenant was that the main points of the covenant were reinstated but »unfolded more fully.« Subsequently, the ceremonies (which the patriarchs did not have) were added to restrain Israel from idolatry as well as to serve as types of Christ who was to come as promised. Thus, apart from the ceremonies, Bullinger declares: »Now, therefore, in respect to the Decalogue and civil laws, no difference at all has arisen regarding the covenant and the people of God. For everywhere the love of God and the neighbor, faith, and love maintain the mastery.« ⁶⁴

Bullinger further asserts that under the old covenant there was indeed forgiveness of sins (through Christ) and that there was an emphasis on faith and love. Because of this, the new covenant cannot be called »new« entirely on account of these facts, »since it teaches nothing new.« ⁶⁵ The new covenant is called »new« because all the ceremonies were fulfilled in Christ. Thus the »ancient religion« was »renewed (*innovata*) and restored more fully (*plenius*)

⁶¹ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 28v.

⁶² Cf. David Steinmetz, *Reformers in the Wings*, Oxford 2001, 138: »the distinction between the Old and New Testaments does not touch the substance of the covenant, but only its accidents.« Cf. Calvin's use of *substantia* and *administratio* in the Institutes II.10.2.

⁶³ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 28v–29r.

⁶⁴ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 31r.

⁶⁵ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 31v.

and more clearly (*dilucidius*) by Christ and made perfect (*absolutaque*) with a new people, namely the Gentiles.«⁶⁶ In addition, Bullinger refers to the »enduring, spiritual terms of the covenant or the promise of God.«⁶⁷ To further underscore the continuity between the Testaments Bullinger declares that, »Even the Spirit is the same in both Testaments.«⁶⁸ He illustrates this through citing Stephen's sermon in Acts 7 that Stephen »proved with almost countless examples from the ancients that faith in God *before the law, under the law, and after the law* was pleasing to God, not ceremonies.«⁶⁹

While Bullinger clearly emphasizes the unity of the Old and New Testaments, he acknowledges, at the same time, that there is both *continuity* and *discontinuity* between the Testaments. For example, Bullinger refers in a marginal comment to the reality that »we surpass the ancients.«⁷⁰ On the one hand, Bullinger cites the close connection we have with the patriarchs whose religion »rested upon faith and innocence without ceremonies, that is, *on the basic terms of the covenant* ...«⁷¹ Furthermore, Bullinger alludes to the fact that »the typological foreshadowings have been fulfilled.«⁷² But, on the other hand, Bullinger also points out that with the coming of Christ, as promised, »God has made our church superior to the church of our dead fathers ... He has given his Spirit most abundantly.«⁷³

Bullinger anticipates objections to his view by considering, in turn, Matthew 5, 2 Corinthians 3 and Deuteronomy 5. With respect to Matthew 5, Bullinger argues that, »Christ attacked the Pharisees, not the spirit of the law itself or of the prophets.«⁷⁴ Similarly, Bullinger concludes of 2 Corinthians that, »Indeed, in that passage he does not speak of the entire law but only that part

⁶⁶ Bullinger, De testamento, 31v.

⁶⁷ Bullinger, De testamento, 32r: »solidis et spiritualibus testamenti seu promissioni Dei.«

⁶⁸ Bullinger, De testamento, 34v: »Spiritus quoque idem est utrisque.«

⁶⁹ Bullinger, De testamento, 34r. Italics added.

⁷⁰ Bullinger, De testamento, 34v: »Quibus rebus praeclamamus veteres.«

⁷¹ Bullinger, De testamento, 35r. Italics added.

⁷² Bullinger, De testamento, 35r.

⁷³ Bullinger, De testamento, 35r.

⁷⁴ Bullinger, De testamento, 36r.

of the law which is abolished.«⁷⁵ In referring to Deuteronomy 5 Bullinger cites both Augustine and Oecolampadius.⁷⁶

A consideration of Bullinger's references to the unity of the Old and New Testaments in *De testamento* thus amplifies the significance of the »one« in the title of the treatise: *The One and Eternal Testament or Covenant of God*.

4.3 The seed of Abraham

Since Bullinger based his treatise on the covenant as an exposition of Genesis 17 there is constant reference in *De testamento* to the theme of the seed of Abraham. Folio 6r commences a paragraph with the marginal heading »Deus iniiit foedus cum semine Abraham«. The immediate following paragraph has the marginal heading »Qui sint semen Abrahae«.⁷⁷ Bullinger underscores that Christ is the seed of Adam through his incarnation, that he is the seed of Eve⁷⁸ and the true seed of Abraham (*de vero semine Abrahae*).⁷⁹ Bullinger further points out that the seed of Abraham who inherit the covenant promises given to him and his seed are the spiritual seed of Abraham who, in turn, have received true circumcision as referred to by Jeremiah in chapter 4 and Paul in Romans 2.⁸⁰ In citing Galatians 3:29 Bullinger affirms that »Those who are Christ's are the seed of Abraham.«⁸¹ Bullinger's explanation of the true seed of Abraham must be seen in the context of the unity of the Old and New Testaments. Hence Bullinger affirms that: »Abraham was clearly justified by faith alone, without ceremonies, prior to circumcision and the law (Romans 4:1–13). He saw the day of the Lord Jesus and rejoiced (John 8:56).«⁸²

⁷⁵ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 36v–37r.

⁷⁶ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 38r–v. Bullinger, however, deletes several lines from Oecolampadius to suit his purposes.

⁷⁷ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 7v.

⁷⁸ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 29v.

⁷⁹ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 9v.

⁸⁰ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 9r.

⁸¹ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 10r.

⁸² Bullinger, *De testamento*, 25r.

Since *De testamento* was written by Bullinger⁸³ *inter alia* to grapple with issues raised by the Anabaptists, Bullinger emphasizes that the children of believers are the seed of Abraham and, therefore, should receive baptism, the sign of the new covenant.⁸⁴ Furthermore, since texts of *De testamento* which were appended to *In omnes apostolicas epistolas* clearly referred to the *protoevangelium* of Genesis 3:15, Bullinger also emphasized that Christ was the seed of Eve. As the seed of Eve, Christ came as the blessed Seed of God. Indeed the linking of Genesis 3:15, Genesis 17:7 and Galatians 3:16 is a constant theme in *The Old Faith* as can be attested by the number of times »seed«, »blessed Seed« and »promised Seed« are referred to.⁸⁵

4.4 The covenant and right living

The well-known opening thematic statement of Calvin's *Institutes* appears to reflect what is clearly in Bullinger's mind when he explains in *De testamento* concerning the covenant: »The entire sum of piety consists in these very brief main points of the covenant. Indeed, it is evident that nothing else was handed down to the saints of all ages, throughout the entire Scripture, other than what is included in these main points of the covenant, although each point is set forth more profusely and more clearly in the succession of times.«⁸⁶ Just as *religio* in Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis* referred primarily to Christian »living« rather than »doctrine« so Bullinger's *De testamento* focusses on right living in a right relationship with *El Shaddai*. This fact must surely be underscored by the only Swiss German sentence in the whole treatise: »Schickt dich wohl und rächt zewandeln und zelâbenn« – prepare yourself to walk and live uprightly.⁸⁷

⁸³ J. Wayne Baker, *Church, State, and Dissent: The Crisis of the Swiss Reformation*, 1531–1536, in: *Church History* 57 (1988), 135–152.

⁸⁴ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 9v–10r.

⁸⁵ »seed« is referred to 67 times in Miles Coverdale's translation of *The Old Faith* (1547, HBBibL no 105).

⁸⁶ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 16r–v.

⁸⁷ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 15r. Bullinger used a fuller version in the German version of *De testamento* (Heinrich Bullinger, *Von dem einigen unnd ewigen Testament oder Pundt Gottes kurtzer bericht*, [Zurich]: [Christoph Froschauer the Elder], [1534]

There is no doubt that Bullinger was concerned not only for the right interpretation of Scripture but also for right living. Indeed, most of his works are highly pastoral in emphasis. As Garcia Archilla rightly observes: »*De testamento* does not constitute a systematic and exhaustive treatment of all theological loci ... The function of *De testamento* is not to provide a full systematic doctrine, but to show the consistency, coherence and integrity of the Biblical testimony about God's plan of salvation by means of the promise/foedus/testament cluster of concepts.«⁸⁸ *De testamento* concludes with a word of encouragement citing Psalm 25:10 that reflects Bullinger's pastoral heart: »All the paths of the Lord are grace and faith to those who keep his testament and covenant.«⁸⁹

4.5 The Holy Spirit and the covenant

Garcia Archilla has argued that there is insufficient reference to the role of the Holy Spirit in *De testamento*.⁹⁰ However, in point of fact, there is a catena of references to the Spirit in *De testamento*. The very first sentence of *De testamento* is an affirmation of the fact that the Scriptures were inspired by the Spirit and that with the assistance of that same Spirit Bullinger is seeking to give an exposition of the testament or covenant of God.⁹¹ He further points out that it is the same Spirit who continues to speak through of the Old Testament and the New Testament.⁹² On several occasions Bullinger refers to spiritual Israel vis-à-vis Israel that is only concerned for the ceremonies for it is the spirit that counts and not the flesh.⁹³ While acknowledging the role of the Holy Spirit in the old covenant, Bullinger does assert that God »has given his Spirit most abundantly« (i.e. to the church post-Christ).⁹⁴

[HBBibl no 60], B3r): »Schick dich vor mir zewandlen. Das ist also vil geredt: flyß dich wohl und recht vor mir zeläben.«

⁸⁸ Garcia Archilla, Bullinger's *De testamento*, 691.

⁸⁹ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 52r.

⁹⁰ Garcia Archilla, Bullinger's *De testamento*, 690.

⁹¹ Bullinger, *De testamento* 2r.

⁹² Bullinger, *De testamento*, 9v, cf. 34v: »Spiritus quoque idem est utrisque.«

⁹³ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 32r–v, cf. 33r: »Spiritus ergo non carnem vel in Israëlitis probavit and populum ex Israëlitis spiritualem habuit.«

⁹⁴ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 35r.

Bullinger thus views the Spirit as the author of Scripture as well as the Enabler amongst the elect (whom he terms »spiritual Israel« in the Old Testament era) so that they might live *integer* before *El Shaddai*. It is through the Spirit that the covenant is inscribed on the hearts of the Patriarchs before its inscripturation at the time of Moses. It is through the Spirit that the Torah of Christ is inscribed on the heart of believers in the new covenant.

5. The Law and the covenant

The Law summarizes for Bullinger the »conditions« of the covenant for »the Law truly teaches, with the Lord himself as witness, partly the love of God and partly the love of neighbour.«⁹⁵ Bullinger understands Torah as »instruction« rather than in a forensic sense. Bullinger thus declares: »the Decalogue itself seems to be almost a paraphrase of the conditions of the covenant.«⁹⁶ Since the Decalogue was inscribed on tablets of stone by the very finger of God when given to the Israelites at the time of Moses,⁹⁷ Bullinger seeks to declare that God is not only the giver of the Law but He is also the witness (*testis*) so that the Law achieves its purpose of instructing the seed of Abraham.

Bullinger is thus insistent that nothing »new« was introduced at the time of Moses with the inscripturation of the Law. His point is that the Law was already written on the heart.⁹⁸ For, as a written record of the covenant, the Law set forth how to love God and to love one's neighbour and, at the same time, looked forward to Christ who is the goal of the covenant. Indeed, Bullinger points out that Christ himself also »taught partly faith in God and partly love of the neighbour. The former explains the first aim of the covenant, the latter the second.«⁹⁹ In the context of salvation history

⁹⁵ Bullinger, De testamento, 17v: »Nam lex (ut de hac primum dicamus) etiam ipso domino teste partim amorem Dei, partim amorem proximi tradit.«

⁹⁶ Bullinger, De testamento, 17v.

⁹⁷ Bullinger, De testamento, 30r.

⁹⁸ Bullinger, De testamento, 45r: »Quanquam vero Dominus priscis illis patribus nullas conscribi curarit tabulas. Nam illi foedus digito dei cordibus inscriptum gerebant.«

⁹⁹ Bullinger, De testamento, 23v.

(prior to Sinai, post Sinai and post Christ) Bullinger states that the Decalogue and the civil laws continue to apply to the seed of Abraham in the new covenant for »everywhere the love of God and the neighbour, faith, and love maintain the mastery.«¹⁰⁰ Bullinger's basis for this is his assertion that, prior to Sinai, Abraham was already keeping the civil laws.¹⁰¹ It is clear that Bullinger does not intend that the *minutiae* of the civil or judicial laws of the Old Testament still apply to Christians. What is apparent is that Bullinger's exposition of the covenant provides a basis for the role of the Magistrate in Zurich alongside that of the ministers whose ministry parallels that of the Old Testament prophets. The Magistrate is directly referred to on folio 19v.

Bullinger makes a point, through a mini excursus, to examine some key Scriptures to deal with possible objections to his understanding of Law in the context of covenant. It is precisely in this context that Bullinger cites Romans 10:4 to the effect that Christ »is the fulfillment of the law for the justification for all who believe.« What has been abolished are the ceremonial aspects of the law. He specifically cites Deuteronomy 5 to make the point that the »circumstantial legalities« or the Torah in its details were given because of the threat of idolatry and apostasy but that they, nonetheless, »return to those ten words of the tablet of the covenant.«¹⁰² Bullinger also addresses the charge that he is guilty of espousing a view of the Law similar to the Ebionites, i.e. that *sola fide* was insufficient and that, therefore, the Law must be kept. He thus underlines his doctrine »of the single and eternal covenant of God, and of the abrogation of legalities (*abrogatione legalium*).«¹⁰³ Bullinger chooses his terminology carefully. What has been abrogated is not the Law but the »legalities«.¹⁰⁴

In the final section of *De testamento*, immediately prior to the Epilogue, Bullinger has a section on »The documents of the covenant« (*Tabulae testamenti conscribuntur*) in which Bullinger reiterates that the whole canon is the record of the covenant. In par-

¹⁰⁰ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 31r.

¹⁰¹ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 18v–19r.

¹⁰² Bullinger, *De testamento*, 38v.

¹⁰³ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 37v.

¹⁰⁴ »Gesetzesvorschriften«, Heinrich Bullinger Schriften, vol. 1, 88.

ticular, he draws the reader's attention to Psalm 19 and 2 Timothy 3.¹⁰⁵ Significantly, the second part of Psalm 19 is a focus on Torah in the context of God's revelation while 2 Timothy 3 emphasizes Scripture in the context of instruction and right living.

5.1 The conditions of the covenant

Most scholars, in our opinion, wrongly interpret Bullinger's reference to the »conditions« of the covenant. This is because they regard the covenant in Bullinger as a mutual pact where the two parties, the omnipotent God and horn of plenty on the one hand and mankind on the other, have conditions to fulfill for the covenant to be operating.¹⁰⁶ Others regard the fulfilling of the conditions as necessary for receiving the blessings of the covenant. For example, Lee contends that: »In short, testaments or covenants are legal documents that set forth a series of conditions and promised blessings. These conditions and blessings are the content of both testaments, the *substantia*, which remains unchanged despite the fact that the covenantal records, and the manner in which the substance is communicated, changes.«¹⁰⁷ However, as Bullinger makes it abundantly clear in *De testamento*, the covenant purely arises from God's initiative and is based purely on grace.

The »condition« of God is merely the affirmation of who God is: »I am the abundantly all-sufficient God, the horn of plenty«¹⁰⁸ which is encapsulated in His name, *El Shaddai*, revealed to Abraham. Although the term »condition« is used, the marginal comment clearly refers to God's promise of giving Himself.¹⁰⁹ The »conditions« of mankind are delineated in the section which has

¹⁰⁵ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 46v.

¹⁰⁶ For example, Scott A. Gillies, *Origin of the Reformed Covenant 1524–7*, in: *Scottish Journal of Theology* 54 (2001), 29f.: »As Baker has demonstrated, covenant thought, as it developed in Zurich, was in fact a bilateral conditional covenant stressing both God's and man's obligations towards one another in a pact.«

¹⁰⁷ Brian J. Lee, *Johannes Cocceius and the Exegetical Roots of Federal Theology: Reformation Developments in the Interpretation of Hebrews 7–10*, Göttingen 2009 (*Reformed Historical Theology* 7), 83.

¹⁰⁸ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 11v–12r: »Ego sum Deus omnisufficientia plenitudo et copiae cornu.«

¹⁰⁹ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 11v: »Promissionem Dei, et qualem se nobis hoc foedere offerat.«

the marginal heading »The offices of man and what is fitting for him.«¹¹⁰ It is to be noted that in this context that Bullinger cites Deuteronomy 10:12 and Micah 6:8. In doing so, it is evident that Bullinger understands that what is required of men and women in covenant relationship with God is that they arrange their lives in every aspect according to his will. Significantly, both these passages cited by Bullinger focus on the importance of love as an act of the will as Israel's response or »condition« of the covenant. The Deuteronomy passage calls on Israel, who were about to enter the Promised Land, to love the God of the covenant while the Micah passage reminds Israel in the period of the monarchy that God desires love (*hesed*) from them. Bullinger goes on to state in a later section of the treatise that »love is the fountainhead of innocence and uprightness of life.«¹¹¹

Furthermore, what is paramount for Israel in covenant relationship with *El Shaddai* is the heart. They are to rely utterly on God. This follows from Bullinger's understanding of *El Shaddai*. The reference to Deuteronomy 13:4 in folio 15v confirms the conclusion that Deuteronomy 18:15 underlies the inscription on title page of *De testamento*. Deuteronomy 18 commences with warnings of a »false« prophet. The coming of the true prophet referred to in Deuteronomy 18:15 was fulfilled with the coming of Christ. Since the apostles testify to this prophet, he thus continues to speak to men and women through the Scriptures. Hence men and women are called to »hear Him!« In a later section, Bullinger points out that »in the life of Christ, which the Gospels have described rather diligently as in a mirror so to speak, we see what we ought to follow or avoid, what pleases or displeases God.«¹¹² The message of Christ which descendants of Abraham through the ages must pay particular attention to is to live in a way to please God. As a man, Christ gave the example of how to live in a way pleasing to God, trusting in the provision of *El Shaddai*. This underlies Bullin-

¹¹⁰ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 14v: »Officia hominis et quae ipsum deceant.«

¹¹¹ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 23v–24r. Cf. Oecolampadius who espoused the view that the eternal covenant with God with man was the law of love in his commentary of Isaiah. Diane M. Poytbress, Johannes Oecolampadius' Exposition of Isaiah Chapters 36–37, Dissertation Westminster Theological Seminary, 1992, 546.

¹¹² Bullinger, *De testamento*, 23r.

ger's use of *placatus* rather than *placitus* on the title page, for the goal of the covenant is restored relationship between *El Shaddai* and His people which was achieved through Christ. In the context of this restored relationship the people of God are called to live to please him. Hence, in the Epilogue, Bullinger cites Noah, Enoch, Seth, Abel and Adam who (without Law) »pleased God through faith without circumcision.«¹¹³

The clearest reference to the Anabaptists in *De testamento* occurs when Bullinger points out: »For those people who consider only the conditions of the covenant and in fact disregard the grace and promise of God exclude infants from the covenant.«¹¹⁴ In juxtaposing the »conditions« of the covenant with the grace and promise of God, it is evident that for Bullinger the *conditiones* of the *testamentum* and *foedus* with God cannot be equated with the conditions of human pacts, covenants, alliances, treaties or agreements. Indeed, Bullinger points out that the people of God in all ages are called »to walk in innocence of life for his pleasure.«¹¹⁵ Bullinger also asserts that the »conditions« of the covenant were inscribed on the hearts of the patriarchs: »The Lord did not bother to have any records written for the ancient patriarchs, for they bore the covenant in their hearts, inscribed by the finger of God.«¹¹⁶

5.2 The ceremonies and the covenant

In contrast to the other reformers, what appears to be expressed only by Bullinger is to view a sort of hiatus between the patriarchal period and that ushered in by the coming of Christ with respect to the Law. For Bullinger, it appears not to be a case of progressive revelation *simpliciter* but, rather, »back to the future.« That is to say, the Law (understanding Torah as »instruction« rather than in a forensic sense) was already given in the time of Adam when it was written on the heart. But at the time of Moses the Law was

¹¹³ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 48r: »qui sine circumcissione per fidem Deo placuerunt.«

¹¹⁴ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 7v–8r: »Qui enim conditiones duntaxat foederis expendant, gratiam vero et promissionem Dei negligunt, infantes foedere excludunt.«

¹¹⁵ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 16r. Italics added.

¹¹⁶ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 45r.

inscripturated (on tablets of stone) and given together with the ceremonies. With the coming of Christ the Law was once again written on the heart through the Holy Spirit. This time more clearly and the ceremonies were abolished. The Law that is written on the heart with the coming of Christ is the Torah of Christ and underlies *ipsum audite*.

What is abundantly clear is that Bullinger concludes that the »holy patriarchs« (Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph) were pleasing to God without the »ceremonies«. ¹¹⁷ In citing Galatians 3:16–17 he affirms, »Hence the patriarchs were saved by the blessing of the covenant, not of the law or of the ceremonies.« ¹¹⁸ Significantly, Bullinger emphasizes at this point that the law which »originated 430 years later does not make void this covenant *established earlier by God in Christ*.« ¹¹⁹ In this sentence Bullinger is affirming the role of Christ in the covenant in the Old Testament era prior to his incarnation. Just as, for Bullinger, the New Testament can be viewed as case of 'back to the future' so the covenant in Old Testament times is rightly termed a »testament« because of its future fulfillment in the death, resurrection and ascension of Christ.

At the bottom of folio 28v Bullinger commences an explanation for the giving of the »ceremonies« (the Aaronic priesthood, laws for sacrifices and purification, food laws, instructions for the tabernacle etc). Precisely on folio 29v immediately after the insertion of the extra three sentences (*vide supra*) that refer to the covenant with Adam, Bullinger has an extended section on the institution of the Law ¹²⁰ and the »ceremonies«. Bullinger's point is that because the Israelites had become corrupted by their time in Egypt with the result that they forgot the covenant with God and were falling more and more into idolatry that God came to »the aid of the collapsing covenant with certain supports.« The first »support« was the inscripturating of the original covenant by having its main points inscribed on tablets of stone by his own finger. The second »support« was the ceremonies which included *inter alia* guidelines

¹¹⁷ Bullinger, De testamento, 29r.

¹¹⁸ Bullinger, De testamento, 29r.

¹¹⁹ Bullinger, De testamento, 29r. Italics added.

¹²⁰ The marginal comment is »Lex instituta«.

for worshipping God. Bullinger emphasizes that the patriarchs did not have these ceremonies. The ceremonies were added to the inscription of the covenant to counteract the incipient danger of idolatry when Israel »continued to be unfaithful and wicked.«¹²¹ Bullinger continues to explain that the giving of the Law and the ceremonies confirmed the covenant and, at the same time, God »enveloped the mystery of Christ in these ceremonies as types.«¹²² The point being made by Bullinger is that when the »anti-type« has come to fulfill the types then the types are dispensed with. Thus Bullinger explains: »... all the ceremonies were fulfilled by Christ, whom alone it (i.e. the new covenant) proclaims. Since they were types and shadows of eternal things, they became obsolete.«¹²³ Bullinger further points out concerning the ceremonies that, in the sovereignty of God, they functioned as types and shadows of eternal things and they were »spiritual« in their own right. This is highlighted by Bullinger on folio 32r. Bullinger's point is that there were spiritual men and women in the Old Testament for whom the ceremonies had a spiritual significance. The carnal person, on the other hand, was the person »who depends on legalities without knowledge and without the spirit and who firmly believes that he can be saved through these legalities.«¹²⁴

In perhaps one of the most enigmatic sentences of the treatise, Bullinger makes this following observation on the instructions for worship given together with the ceremonies: »Therefore, God instituted his own worship, and he declared that it was pleasing to him (Psalm 50), which he actually despised, so that, with this plan, he confirmed the covenant, and in addition to that he enveloped the mystery of Christ in these ceremonies as types.«¹²⁵ The point being made by Bullinger is that, to counteract the danger of falling into idolatry, God gave to Israel, through Moses, instructions for worship. The patriarchs had worshipped God without such instructions. Although this was not the worship God truly desired

¹²¹ Bullinger, De testamento, 30r: »Verum dum isti infidels et perfidi esse pergerent.«

¹²² Bullinger, De testamento, 30r.

¹²³ Bullinger, De testamento, 31v.

¹²⁴ Bullinger, De testamento, 32r.

¹²⁵ Bullinger, De testamento, 30r: »propria ergo instituit, eaque sibi placere pronun-
ciavit, quae revera negligebat, ut vel ista ratione testamentum confirmaret, praeterea et
Christi mysterium hisce velut typis involuret.«

from His people, nonetheless, he was able to use it to confirm the covenant and, at the same time, employ them as types to be fulfilled and abolished in Christ.

One concrete example that illustrates Bullinger's understanding of Law and the ceremonies for the Christian is his understanding of the Sabbath. On the one hand, he affirms that the Decalogue still applies to believers in the new covenant as it was already written on the heart of the saints well before they were given to Moses. But on the other hand, in comparing believers in the new covenant with the Old Testament patriarchs he points out that »corporal circumcision did not exist with them, nor did the observance of the Sabbath (just as we do not observe it).«¹²⁶ Clearly Bullinger is referring to spiritual circumcision as opposed to physical circumcision and a spiritual observance of the Sabbath as opposed to a ceremonial observance of the Sabbath.

6. The sacrament of the covenant

In yet another example of God's accommodation to mankind in the covenant, Bullinger commences a section concerning circumcision as the sacrament of the covenant by stating »Deus sanguine foedus hoc dedicat«. Bullinger regards the blood shed through circumcision as finding its fulfillment in the death of Christ, the true seed of Abraham. Thus the blood that is shed in circumcision that sealed the old covenant, for Bullinger, foreshadows the blood of the cross. Bullinger states that, in giving circumcision as a proleptic sign of Christ, God »willed that the seed of Abraham itself be circumcised, signifying that the true seed of Abraham itself be circumcised, signifying that the true seed of Abraham, Christ the Lord, would confirm that covenant (*testamentum*) by his death and blood.«¹²⁷

Bullinger cites the words of Jesus from Matthew 26:28 »Hic est sanguis meus, qui est novi testamenti« and, in doing so, states that »those signs which prefigured the future death of Christ had to be

¹²⁶ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 50v.

¹²⁷ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 43r.

changed and, in their place, signs substituted that, with their meaning, signify the completion of the most perfect justification.¹²⁸ He further explains that Baptism and the Eucharist replaced circumcision and the Passover as sacraments of the new covenant.¹²⁹ Circumcision, therefore, was not only a sign of the covenant and a sign of God's grace for it also signified the binding of the faithful to God. It is because of this understanding that Bullinger is able to state: »... the entire covenant was contained in the sacrament of the covenant; in the same manner, the entire essence of the renewed covenant is contained in our sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist.«¹³⁰

On the basis of Jeremiah 4 and Romans 2 Bullinger points out that, from the beginning, with reference to »the true circumcision« there was reference to the spiritual seed of Abraham as opposed to the carnal seed who trusted »in their birth and circumcision, or, if you prefer, trusting in the flesh and in the ceremony of initiation and taking pride in external things.«¹³¹ Bullinger, therefore, sees a »spiritual Israel« in Old Testament times who have been circumcised spiritually as opposed to »carnal Israel« whose circumcision was merely external. Although true spiritual circumcision was to be fulfilled in the age of the new covenant, Bullinger, nonetheless, viewed spiritual circumcision proleptically operating on the hearts of »spiritual Israel« in Old Testament times. He further outlines the folly of the carnal Jew as neglecting the basic conditions of the covenant while, at the same time glorifying in their election as the people of God because they are the physical descendants of Abraham.¹³²

Significantly, Bullinger did not link circumcision with the Law. Circumcision was first and foremost a sign and seal of the covenant. In the old covenant God »offers himself« to Israel »out of sheer grace« and through circumcision binds the faithful to himself. Bullinger views that the whole extent of the old covenant was

¹²⁸ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 43v. We note here the link between circumcision and justification, clearly in the context of God's grace.

¹²⁹ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 43v.

¹³⁰ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 44r.

¹³¹ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 9v.

¹³² Bullinger, *De testamento*, 9r.

encapsulated in the sacrament of circumcision and that »entire essence of the renewed covenant« in contained in Baptism and the Eucharist.¹³³

7. Bullinger's covenant terminology in »De testamento«

Because of the continued use of the Latin Bible in the early part of the 16th century Bullinger was careful with respect to his use of the terms for »covenant«. The terms *foedus*, *testamentum* and *pactum* were used interchangeably by Bullinger in *De testamento* though, at times, particular nuances may be intended.¹³⁴ Only a couple of years prior to *De testamento*, at a critical point of his ministry, Bullinger linked the terms *testamentum*, *pactum* and *foedus* in his *Karlstag* sermon (1532).¹³⁵ Moreover, in his commentary on Hebrews (1532) he writes: »Testamentum hoc, foedus et illud dei pactum est.«¹³⁶ It is not surprising, therefore, that on several occasions in *De testamento* Bullinger juxtaposes these Latin terms.¹³⁷

An analysis of the use of the words that Bullinger used for »covenant« in *De testamento* and the *Decades* yielded the following results:

	<i>De testamento</i>	<i>Decades</i>
<i>foedus</i>	109	85
<i>testamentum</i>	59	57

¹³³ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 44r: »Ex quibus patet etiam sacramento foederis totum contineri foedus: quemadmodum et sacramentis nostris baptismo et eucharistia continentur innovati foederis ratio.«

¹³⁴ Spijker, Bullinger als Bundestheologe, 576; Joe Mock, The One and Eternal Covenant of God, in: John A. Davies / Allan M. Harman (eds.), *An Everlasting Covenant: Biblical and Theological Essays in Honour of William J. Dumbrell*, Doncaster 2010, 201–233.

¹³⁵ Bullinger, *De prophetarum officio*, ivv–vr: »Testamenti enim voce pactum intelligimus foedus et conventionem, eam videlicet, qua Deus convenit cum universo mortalium genere.«

¹³⁶ Heinrich Bullinger, *In piam et eruditam Pauli ad Hebraeos epistolam commentarius*, Zurich: Christoph Froschauer the Elder, 1532 (BZD C 211), 82.

¹³⁷ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 4v: »in feriendo foedere vel testamenti institutione«; 24v: »testamentum sive foedus«; 37v: »foedus ... pactum«; 45r: »foederis sive testamenti, de testamento seu foedere, foedus vel testamentum, foederis tabulas et testamentum«; 46v: »de testamento sive foedere«.

<i>pactum</i>	19	12
<i>pactio</i>	1	3
<i>contractum</i>	–	2
<i>confoederatio</i>	1	1
<i>confoederatum</i>	–	1
<i>amicitia</i>	1	1
<i>compactio</i>	–	1
<i>pollicitatio</i>	1	–
<i>coniunctio</i>	1	–

The weak disjunctive *seu* in *De testamento seu foedere Dei* indicates that Bullinger intended these terms to be interchangeable.¹³⁸ *De testamento* commences with Bullinger's understanding of the philological derivation and meaning of the terms *testamentum* and *foedus* in that order. Significantly, Bullinger has no discussion on *pactum*. Cocceius, on the other hand, clearly differentiated between *foedus* and *testamentum* as is evident from his *Summa doctrinae de foedere et testamento Dei* (Leiden, 1648).

An examination of Bullinger's use of *pactum* in *De testamento* reveals that Bullinger did use *pactum* on occasions to refer to the covenant between God and mankind.¹³⁹ However, in the majority of the cases when *pactum* was used in *De testamento*, Bullinger was quoting from the Latin Bible. On folio 38r Bullinger does have a sentence which reads: »Verbis pactus est cum Abraham dominus.«¹⁴⁰ But this is the perfect participle active of *paciscor* and is a (modified) quote from Oecolampadius' commentary on Jeremiah. In Bullinger's own translations of Scripture he often replaced *pactum* in the Vulgate with *foedus*.¹⁴¹ Hence Strehle's comment that »the word *pactum* pervades both Bullinger's and the Franciscan's (i.e. Bonaventura) treatment of the covenant«¹⁴² is manifestly off

¹³⁸ Furthermore, *testamentum* occurs before *foedus* in the title of the treatise.

¹³⁹ Bullinger, *De testamento*, 7v: »pacto«; 20r: »pactis«; 21v: »pactum«.

¹⁴⁰ Which McCoy and Baker, *Fountainhead*, 128 translate as: »The Lord made a pact with Abraham with words.« Roth's translation (Heinrich Bullinger Schriften, vol. 1, 88) has: »Mit Worten hat der Herr mit Abraham einen Bund geschlossen.«

¹⁴¹ This can be illustrated from his translations of Isaiah 33:8; 55:3; Jeremiah 31:32; 31:33; 32:40; 33:20 (twice); 33:21; 33:25; 34:10 and 34:15.

¹⁴² Stephen Strehle, *Calvinism, Federalism, and Scholasticism: A Study of the Reformed Doctrine of Covenant*, Bern et al. 1988, 147.

the mark. Bullinger chose to use *pactum* sparingly to minimize any reading of nominalist *pactum* theology into his works.

These references cited indicate the careful and deliberate way Bullinger used *testamentum*. Sometimes it was the word of choice for Bullinger while at other times it was interchangeable with *foedus*. Contrary to Lee, Bullinger was consistent in the use of the terms for covenant.¹⁴³ What is apparently striking in the use of the terms for »covenant« from the above word analysis of *De testamento* is Bullinger's preference for the term *foedus*, his relative frequent use of *testamentum* and the deliberately sparing use of *pactum*. This is clearly reflected in the title of the treatise – *De testamento seu foedere dei* – where the order is *testamentum* before *foedus*. Furthermore, a similar use of the terms for covenant by Bullinger is evident in the *Decades*. Indeed, Bullinger is consistent with his use of these terms in the *Studiorum ratio* (1527).¹⁴⁴

A study of Bullinger's Swiss German version of *De testamento – Von dem einigen unnd ewigen testament oder pundt gottes* (1537) – reveals that Bullinger used *pundt* 158 times,¹⁴⁵ *testament* 73 times and *pact* one time. Significantly each time *pactum* is used in *De testamento* it is replaced by *pundt* in this work aimed at the wider audience rather than the academy. Another striking feature is that fact that Bullinger juxtaposed *pundt* with *testament* as many as 21 times.

Bullinger's use of the terms is somewhat distinct from that of Calvin's whose special focus on the covenant in the *Institutes* can be found in Book II, sections 10 and 11. A study of these sections reveals that Calvin used *foedus* 21 times,¹⁴⁶ *testamentum* 8 times¹⁴⁷ and *pactum* 3 times.¹⁴⁸ Despite Lillback's assertion that, for Cal-

¹⁴³ Lee, Johannes Cocceius, 31–37.

¹⁴⁴ Heinrich Bullinger *Studiorum Ratio – Studienanleitung*, ed. Peter Stotz, Zurich 1987, §20: »Deus caeli, Deus ille omnipotens pepigit cum humano genere testamentum, pactum seu foedus sempiternum.«

¹⁴⁵ This count includes *pundt* in compound nouns.

¹⁴⁶ The participle *foederatos* was used once at II.10.1.

¹⁴⁷ Not counting the occasions when the reference was directly to either the Old Testament or the New Testament. In Calvin's French edition of the *Institutes* (Geneva: Philbert Hamelin, 1554) *l'alliance* was used to translate both *foedus* and *testamentum* in II.10 and II.11.

¹⁴⁸ These three times occur in Calvin's citation of Jer 31:31–34 in the Vulgate. Bullinger, on the other hand, replaced *pactum* with *foedus* in his translation of Jer 31:31–34.

vin, *testamentum* is a true synonym for *foedus* and *pactum*, there appears to be no evidence for this in the *Institutes* II.10,11.¹⁴⁹

The conclusions reached here, therefore, are at variance with those proposed by Hagen who sought to examine the use of *testamentum* by the early Luther.¹⁵⁰ Hagen's thesis is that there was a development from testament to covenant theology in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.¹⁵¹ Some have suggested that Bullinger was influenced by Luther's use of the terms for »covenant« in his *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium* (1520).¹⁵² Although Luther did juxtapose the terms *pactum*, *foedus* and *testamentum* on one occasion in this work,¹⁵³ it is apparent that, in the section that deals with »testament« or »covenant«, *foedus* is used only very sparingly.¹⁵⁴ Clearly, Luther did not view the terms *foedus* and *testamentum* as interchangeable. Bullinger's use of *testamentum*, however, reflects the usage by both Irenaeus¹⁵⁵ and Augustine¹⁵⁶ linked to his conviction that the saints in the old covenant had faith in Christ, in particular, proleptically in his death and resurrection.

8. Bullinger and Zwingli on the covenant

The vast majority of scholarly opinion is clearly of the view that Zwingli wrote about the covenant *before* Bullinger who subsequently followed Zwingli's lead and further developed the theme

¹⁴⁹ Lillback, *The Binding of God*, has been influenced by Battles' footnote (n. 6) at II.11.4: »In this section and elsewhere Calvin uses the words *testamentum* and *foedus* interchangeably, as they are used in the Vulgate.« *Institutes of the Christian religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, transl. and indexed by Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols, London/Philadelphia, PA 1960 (Library of Christian Classics 20–21).

¹⁵⁰ Kenneth Hagen, *A Theology of Testament in the Young Luther: The Lectures on Hebrews*, Leiden 1974 (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 12).

¹⁵¹ Kenneth Hagen, *From Testament to Covenant in the Early Sixteenth Century*, in: *Sixteenth Century Journal* 3/1 (1972), 1–24.

¹⁵² Garcia Archilla, *The Theology of History*, 11 f.

¹⁵³ D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe [WA], vol. 6, Weimar 1888, 514.

¹⁵⁴ *Testamentum* 23 times; *foedus* 3 times (WA 6, 513–518).

¹⁵⁵ Garcia Archilla, *De testamento*, 69 f., n. 53, cf. Joe Mock, *Bullinger and the Covenant: New Insights*, Dissertation Australian College of Theology, 2012, 167–179.

¹⁵⁶ Lillback, *The Binding of God*, 38.

of the covenant.¹⁵⁷ The main hinge of this view is the contention of Cottrell that Bullinger himself in *Von warer und falscher leer* (1527) stated that, as a Josiah figure, Zwingli rediscovered the covenant.¹⁵⁸ However, in light of Bullinger's *Diarium* entry of 12 September 1524, it is abundantly clear that Bullinger was willing to be deliberately self-effacing in order to accentuate the positive contributions of Zwingli while seeking to downplay Zwingli's negative contributions. Indeed, it is apparent that Bullinger did not just follow Zwingli's lead and then develop the ideas that are presented in *De testamento*. As several scholars have noted, Bullinger did not refer to election in connection with the covenant as Zwingli had clearly done in his *In catabaptistarum strophas elenchus*.¹⁵⁹ Election appears to be only hinted at in *De testamento* through Bullinger's several references to »spiritual« Israel as the true seed of Abraham vis-à-vis »carnal« Israel. Lillback¹⁶⁰ has also contended that in *De testamento* Bullinger amplified Zwingli's outline based on Genesis 17 which is found in his *Antwort über Balthasar Hubmaiers Taufbüchlein*.¹⁶¹ However, the outline that Lillback has constructed from Zwingli is so general that any comparison would be of limited value. As indicated above, Bullinger made a point of emphasizing the covenant with Adam in the 1537 version of *De testamento*. Examination of the covenant with Adam in both Zwingli and Bullinger suggests that Bullinger was prior to Zwingli with respect to the covenant and influenced Zwingli rather than *vice versa*.¹⁶²

With respect to the terms for »covenant«, Zwingli states in an earlier work, *Auslegen und Gründe der Schlußreden* (1523), that

¹⁵⁷ *Garcia Archilla*, *De testamento*, 676; *Opitz*, *Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe*, 317, 320f.; *Gottlob Schrenk*, *Gottesreich und Bund in älteren Protestantismus vornehmlich bei Johannes Coccejus*, Gütersloh 1923, 40.

¹⁵⁸ Jack Warren *Cottrell*, Is Bullinger the source for Zwingli's doctrine of the covenant? in: *Heinrich Bullinger 1504–1575: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 400. Todestag*, eds. Ulrich Gäbler and Erland Herkenrath, Zurich 1975, 75–83, 338f.

¹⁵⁹ *Z 6/1*, 172–184.

¹⁶⁰ *Lillback*, *The Binding of God*, 113; Peter A. *Lillback*, *The Early Reformed Covenant Paradigm*, in: *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations: Semper Reformanda*, ed. Frank A. James III, Leiden 2004 (*Studies in the History of Christian Traditions* 115), 72f.

¹⁶¹ *Z 4*, 638.

¹⁶² *Mock*, *Covenant with Adam*, 185–205.

»*Testamentum*, *pactum* and *foedus* are often used interchangeably in scripture. But *testamentum* is used most often. We therefore refer to it here. It means ›legacy‹, but it is also used to mean ›agreement‹ or ›covenant‹ ...«¹⁶³ A few lines later on Zwingli juxtaposed several German terms for »covenant«. ¹⁶⁴ Locher assumed that Zwingli was influenced by Budaeus for his developing an understanding of the covenant.¹⁶⁵ Nonetheless, although Zwingli may have been influenced by Budaeus philologically with respect to the use of the Latin words for »covenant« as the use of these terms were in a state of flux at the beginning of the 16th century, it is proposed here that Zwingli was influenced by Bullinger for the theological understanding of both Latin and German terms for »covenant«.

An examination of Zwingli's works reveals that in *Von der Taufe* (May 1525) he juxtaposes *pact* and *pflicht*.¹⁶⁶ In *subsidium sive coronis de eucharistia* (August 1525) *pactum* and *foedus* are juxtaposed,¹⁶⁷ *foedus* and *testamentum* are juxtaposed (four times)¹⁶⁸ while *testamentum*, *foedus* and *pactum* occur together on one occasion.¹⁶⁹ In *Antwort über Balthasar Hubmaiers Taufbüchlein* (November 1525) *pundt* and *testament* are juxtaposed (four times)¹⁷⁰ while *pundt* and *pflicht* are juxtaposed (two times).¹⁷¹ In *De peccato originali declaratio ad Urbanum Rhesium* (August 1526) *foedus* and *testamentum* are interchangeable.¹⁷² In *Amica*

¹⁶³ Huldrych Zwingli Writings Volume One: In Search of True Religion. Reformation, Pastoral and Eucharistic Writings, eds. Edward J. Furcha and H. Wayne Pipkin, Allison Park, PA 1984, 107. This is part of a commentary on the eighteenth article. The text reads (Z 2, 131): »Testamentum, pactum und foedus wirdt in der geschriff oft für einandren gebrucht, doch würt testamentum aller meist gebruchet, der maß es uns hie dienet, und heißt ein erbgmächt; wirt aber ouch gebrucht für ein pundt oder verstand, so man pfliht mit einandren ze machen umb frydens willen.«

¹⁶⁴ »Pundt«, »testament« and »verpüntnus«.

¹⁶⁵ Gottfried. W. Locher, *Zwingli's Thought: New Perspectives*, Leiden 1981 (Studies in the History of Christian Thought 25), 219.

¹⁶⁶ Z 4, 227.

¹⁶⁷ Z 4, 499.

¹⁶⁸ Z 4, 500f.

¹⁶⁹ Z 4, 501: »Hoc autem testamentum, foedus aut pactum morte ac sanguine Christi partum esse.«

¹⁷⁰ Z 4, 604, 621, 637.

¹⁷¹ Z 4, 630, 631.

¹⁷² Z 5, 386.

Exegesis, id est: expositio eucharistiae negotii ad Martinum Lutherum (February 1527) Zwingli juxtaposes *testamentum* and *foedus*¹⁷³ as well as *testamentum* and *pactum*.¹⁷⁴ *Testamentum* is by far the term of choice for Zwingli in this work.¹⁷⁵ In the Third Part of *In catabaptistarum strophas elenchus* (July 1527) which focuses on the covenant and election, Zwingli uses *foedus* 36 times, *testamentum* 36 times while *pactum* does not even occur once. Furthermore, *foedus* and *testamentum* are juxtaposed five times.¹⁷⁶ What is somewhat intriguing is that in the first part of this section¹⁷⁷ *foedus* is predominantly used while *testamentum* occurs more often in the second section.¹⁷⁸ In both the *Fidei ratio* (July 1530)¹⁷⁹ and *De convitiis Eckii* (August 1530)¹⁸⁰ *foedus* was the word of choice for Zwingli.

These data reveal some subtle differences between Zwingli and Bullinger. Firstly, through his continued use of *pflicht*, Zwingli emphasizes the response of the believer to the covenant. This goes in tandem with his understanding of *sacramentum*. Secondly, notwithstanding his declaration in the *Auslegen* with respect to the terms for »covenant«, Zwingli does not really use the terms *foedus* and *testamentum* as interchangeable in his works, although he does juxtapose them on occasions. Bullinger, on the other hand, places more emphasis on the sacraments as signs and seals of God's grace and his initiative. Indeed, he points out that circumcision points to God binding the elect to himself. Furthermore, throughout his works from the *Studiorum ratio* (1527) onwards, Bullinger was consistent with the use of *foedus* and *testamentum* which he viewed as interchangeable.

¹⁷³ Z 5, 746.

¹⁷⁴ Z 5, 746.

¹⁷⁵ In Z 5, 745 f. *Testamentum* is used 26 times, *foedus* two times and *pactum* one time.

¹⁷⁶ Z 6/1, 155, 161, 164 f.

¹⁷⁷ Z 6/1, 155–163.

¹⁷⁸ Z 6/1, 164–172.

¹⁷⁹ Z 6/2, 803.

¹⁸⁰ Z 6/3, 254.

9. Conclusion

De testamento is a biblical theological and a biblical historical treatise in which Bullinger cites many biblical and theological themes. Far from being a work that only focuses on the covenant, on the contrary, *De testamento* reveals Bullinger as a biblical theologian who is committed to challenge the elect to live *integer* before the sovereign *El Shaddai*. Bullinger is consistent in his use for the terms for »covenant« which differentiates him from Zwingli. This indicates a measure of independence from Zwingli in his understanding of the covenant.

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Abstract: *De testamento* is a both theological and a historically biblical treatise in which Bullinger discusses themes such as, for example, justification by faith, God's accommodation to mankind, the covenant as the subject or focus of all Scripture, the covenant with Adam, the unity of the Old and New Testaments, the seed of Abraham, the covenant and right living, the Holy Spirit and covenant, the Law and covenant, the conditions of covenant, the ceremonies of covenant and the sacrament of the covenant. Far from being a work that only focuses on the covenant *De testamento* reveals Bullinger as a biblical theologian who is committed to challenge the elect to live *integer* before the sovereign El Shaddai. An examination of the Latin terms for »covenant« (*foedus, testamentum* and *pactum*) reveals that, for Bullinger, the terms are interchangeable. However, he avoids using *pactum* lest pactum theology be read into his work. His use of the terms are more consistent than that of Zwingli which indicates a measure of independence from Zwingli in his understanding of the covenant.

Keywords: Heinrich Bullinger, Covenant, Biblical Theology, Salvation History