

Restoration, Reformation and the Progress of the Kingdom of Christ:
Evangelisation in the Thought and Practice of John Calvin, 1555-1564.

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Theology in the University of Oxford
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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St. John's College, Trinity 1993



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Short Abstract

This thesis attempts to outline Calvin's practice of evangelisation in the period 1555-64 and to identify the theological basis for this activity as it is expressed in his works. It is argued that during the last ten years of his life Calvin was preoccupied with the propagation of the Gospel in France and western Europe and that echoes of this preoccupation may be discerned in his publications dating from this period. There are three parts to the thesis.

Part I is chiefly historical and has two aims. The first is to convey, by a detailed study of the primary sources (including unpublished ecclesiastical correspondence), the full extent of the evangelistic enterprise which arose in Geneva after 1555 and of Calvin's role in it. The second is to show that a series of Lectures on the Old Testament Prophets which Calvin gave in 'the school' at Geneva was addressed to people caught up in this missionary endeavour and is to be read in this light. Part I concludes by identifying two themes which permeate these and other related theological expositions: 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ' and 'the restoration (or reformation) of the Church'.

The missionary content of these themes is established in Parts II and III of the thesis, which are consequently more theological. The sustained parallel between Part II of the thesis (which is devoted to the ecclesiological aspects of these themes) and Part III (which is devoted to their soteriological aspects) bears witness to the close connection between ecclesiology and soteriology which is characteristic of Calvin's thought about evangelisation. The identification and elucidation of this parallel is perhaps the single most important contribution made by this thesis.

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Abstract

This thesis attempts to outline Calvin's practice of evangelisation in the period 1555-64 and to identify the theological basis for this activity as it is expressed in his works. It is argued that during the last ten years of his life Calvin was preoccupied with the propagation of the Gospel in France and western Europe and that echoes of this preoccupation may be discerned in his publications dating from this period. There are three parts to the thesis.

Part I is chiefly historical and has two principal objectives. The aim of the first chapter is to convey, by the detailed study of the primary sources (including many pieces of unpublished ecclesiastical correspondence), the full extent both of the evangelistic enterprise which arose in Geneva from 1555 onwards and of Calvin's role in it. It is suggested that by 1561 the organisation of the reformed Church in France and the propagation of the reformed Gospel were Calvin's over-riding concerns. (Considerable doubt is cast in the course of this study on the validity of the distinction between *églises plantées* and *églises dressées*, which has become conventional in the historiography of French Protestantism.) An explanation is offered here, with reference to the self-understanding of those involved in the movement, of the sense in which it is legitimate to label these concerns 'missionary' and 'evangelistic'.

The aim of the second chapter is to show that the series of Lectures on the Old Testament Prophets which Calvin gave in 'the school' at Geneva was addressed to people caught up in this missionary endeavour and is to be read in this light. The chapter includes a review of the sequence of the

Lectures and of the process by which they were transcribed for publication; but its most important section is an analysis of the audience to whom they were originally addressed. For the period after 1559, when the evangelistic enterprise was at its height, this analysis is facilitated by the records of the newly inaugurated Academy in Geneva. These records indicate that Calvin delivered his Lectures to a mixed audience of students (the majority of whom were missionaries in training), ministers (most of whom were missionaries awaiting re-assignment), and other hearers (among whom were refugees from France, many of whom were responsible for financing the missionary effort, and emissaries from the nascent French reformed churches, who were visiting Geneva to negotiate over the appointment of a minister). An attempt is also made to relate to these Lectures Calvin's two other expositions of the Prophets: the 1557 *Commentary on the Psalms* and the 1559 *Commentaries on Isaiah the Prophet*.

Part I of the thesis concludes with a third chapter, in which the nature of the contemporary allusions which are to be found in these expositions is evaluated. Particular attention is paid to the Lectures, on the grounds that they represent the point at which Calvin's theology of evangelisation meets his practice of it. Nevertheless, considerable use is also made of the related *Commentaries*. It is observed that although Calvin deliberately did not make much explicit reference to current events or particular individuals, he did nevertheless claim to have adapted his comments to suit the circumstances of his hearers and readers. It is suggested, therefore, that it is in the themes which permeate these Lectures and *Commentaries* that the echoes of the missionary movement are to be heard. Two themes which are prominent in these expositions, but almost entirely absent from Calvin's 1559 *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, are then identified and introduced: 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ' and 'the restoration (or reformation) of the Church'. (A terminological study included in this chapter demonstrates conclusively

that -- contrary to the prevailing distinction between Magisterial 'reformers' and radical 'restorers' -- Calvin understood himself to be working towards the 'restoration' rather than the 'reformation' of the Church.)

The missionary content of these themes is established in Parts II and III of the thesis, which are consequently more theological. Both themes, it emerges, are essentially ecclesiological. There are two vital conclusions to be drawn from this. The first is the fact that for Calvin the proper agent for evangelisation is the Church; the second is that the proper context for the theology of evangelisation is ecclesiology. Nevertheless, each theme also has a soteriological correlate. The sustained parallel between Part II of the thesis (which is devoted to the ecclesiological aspects of these themes) and Part III (which is devoted to their soteriological aspects) bears witness to the close connection which exists between ecclesiology and soteriology in all Calvin's thought about evangelisation. The identification and elucidation of this parallel is perhaps the single most important contribution made by this thesis to an understanding of Calvin's theology.

In Part II of the thesis the focus is on the ecclesiological dimension of Calvin's view of evangelisation. Attention turns from a study of 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ and the reformed Church' in chapter four to 'the restoration of the Church' in chapter five. It is argued in chapter four that the distinctive feature of the concept of the Kingdom of Christ as it appears in his exposition of the Prophets is the way that, by virtue of Calvin's eschatology, it serves as a framework for his exposition of salvation history. From the perspective of the sixteenth century he can look back at the beginning of the Kingdom and forward to its consummation, and between these two points, he can chart its inexorable progress. It is demonstrated that Calvin identifies the Kingdom of Christ with the visible Church and, in particular, with the institution of the true Church, which is (in his view) the reformed Church. He therefore takes the progress of Christ's Kingdom to be equivalent to the

progress of the reformed Church, which is propagated by the preaching of the Gospel. Consideration is also given in this chapter to the question of whether Calvin was concerned with the propagation of the Gospel beyond the borders of western Europe.

In chapter five it is argued that there are two strands to the concept of 'the restoration of the Church' as it is articulated by Calvin in his exposition of the Prophets. In one (backward-looking) sense, he understood 'the restoration of the Church' to be exactly equivalent to 'the reformation of the Church'; in another (forward-looking) sense, he took it to be equivalent to the redemption of the world. In the first (but subordinate) sense, the concept, while nonetheless evangelistic, is narrowly ecclesiological; in the second (but leading) sense, it is profoundly eschatological. Moreover, although for the sake of clarity the two strands are separated from one another in this presentation, it is noted that Calvin does not distinguish them. The local periodic restorations of the form of the Church are, in his view, stages in its universal and uninterrupted restoration, which will culminate in the redemption and the restoration of all things.

In Part III of the thesis, the focus is on the soteriological dimension of Calvin's view of evangelisation. Attention turns from a study of 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ and Christian conversion' in chapter six to 'the restoration of humanity in the image of God' in chapter seven. In chapter six it is argued that, again by virtue of his eschatology, the concept of Christ's Kingdom also functions in Calvin's thought as a framework for the exposition of the Christian life: it has an individual as well as an institutional application. It is shown that the reformer understands the start of the Christian life to be 'the beginning of the Kingdom of Christ'. Since he insists that the Kingdom of Christ can only be inaugurated in the believer with a 'sudden conversion', it may be said that, to this extent, Calvin regards conversion as an event, which has implications for ecclesiastical allegiance. However, since he also

contends that, as long as Christians are 'encumbered with the body', they strain forward for the consummation of Christ's reign, it is fair to say that the period between the beginning and the consummation of this reign is, for him, one of regeneration: it is a process characterised by a constant progress of conversion to the Word of God.

In chapter seven, an attempt is made to assess the significance of the language of reformation and restoration for Calvin's soteriology. It is shown, in the first place, that Calvin's discussions of the creation of Adam in the *imago Dei* and of the effect of the Fall on the image are ambiguous. On the whole he gives Adam's creation in the image of God a relational emphasis; but at times he also speaks of the image in terms of certain formal human faculties. On the whole he indicates that the *imago Dei* was obliterated entirely by the Fall; but at times he speaks of a remnant of the image in fallen Adam. It is suggested that a corresponding ambiguity characterises Calvin's use of the language of reformation and restoration in the context of his soteriology. On the one hand, he speaks of the reformation of the image of God in humanity. This is a reformation of the human constitution, of the forms and faculties deformed at the Fall, and of Adam's created integrity. On the other hand, he speaks of the restoration of humanity in the image of God. This is a restoration of humanity's relationship with God, a process which is inaugurated and consummated in Christ. There are obvious parallels here of the two strands, one backward- and the other forward-looking, which are to be discerned in Calvin's concept of the reformation and restoration of the Church.

A series of appendices follow which present information derived from the primary sources (some of which are unpublished) on which several of the arguments in Part I of the thesis are based.

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Preface

There is a view, to which Bishop Stephen Neill subscribed, that the writings of the Reformers afford 'exceedingly little' evidence of any concern for 'the progress of the preaching of the Gospel through the world'.¹ More specifically, there is a view that John Calvin had no theology of the mission of the Church. As Gustav Warneck put it, 'there is [in Calvin's theology] no recognition of the duty of the Church to send out missionaries'.² In the same vein, William Hogg has asserted that 'one searches John Calvin's *Institutes* and commentaries without finding any positive recognition of a theology of missions'.³ The aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that, at least as far as the last ten years of Calvin's life are concerned, such assessments are in error. It will be argued that there is in fact ample evidence of Calvin's concern for the progress of the preaching of the Gospel and that, at least in certain of his works, there is also a missionary cast to his theology.

It will be appropriate at the outset to explain the scope of the thesis, and to justify the terms employed in the title.

It should be noted, in the first place, that this thesis is not simply a study of Calvin's theology of evangelisation, but also of his thought and practice: it is concerned with history and theology. Furthermore, the thesis is not concerned with what Calvin said and did in the 1530s or 1540s, except insofar as it sheds light on his thought and practice in the last decade of his life (1555-64). Both this attempt to marry theology and history, and this concentration on a very specific period of Calvin's life are essential elements in this project.

While this is not the first time that an attempt has been made to show that there is 'a missionary dynamic' to Calvin's theology, the presentation in this thesis is a more comprehensive and coherent account than some of its predecessors. Nor is this the first time that an attempt has been made to

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portray Calvin as 'a director of missions', although, again, the present study is an advance on those which have gone before it. Furthermore, this is the first attempt to relate Calvin's practice and his thought together, during the period in which he was pre-occupied with the mission of the Church.

With regard to Calvin's theology, there is no other work which covers precisely the same ground as this thesis. There is no standard treatment of his doctrine of evangelisation, for example, to put alongside those which set out his doctrines of the knowledge of God, Scripture, the work of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, the Last Things and so on. There are, however, several works devoted to related aspects of Calvin's thought, to which this thesis is indebted, and to which attention should be drawn. First and foremost, there is the stimulating exploration of Calvin's eschatology by T. F. Torrance, in his book *Kingdom and Church*.⁴ The essay communicates to the reader a clear sense of the importance of the note of 'progress' in Calvin's concept of the Kingdom of Christ. It is proper to acknowledge, secondly, an unpublished thesis by T. P. Palmer, entitled *John Calvin's View of the Kingdom of God*.⁵ Palmer's concerns are much wider than those of this thesis, but at several critical points his conclusions prove a useful guide to Calvin's thought about evangelisation. In particular, Palmer's account leads the reader to ponder the parallel between the individual and the institutional aspects of the reign of Christ in Calvin's theology. Further reflection on this connection between soteriology and ecclesiology furnished this thesis with its structure. Mention should be made, finally, of two influential articles: "L'Apostolat chez Calvin", by W. F. Dankbaar;⁶ and "The Missionary Dynamic in the Theology of John Calvin", by C. F. Chaney.⁷

Both Palmer's thesis and Chaney's article, like the present study, call into question the judgments of those who fail to discern a missionary thrust in Calvin's theology. Together with Torrance's book, and (to a lesser extent) Dankbaar's article, however, these works share a significant weakness. In

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their reading of Calvin's theology, they are ahistorical. That is not to say that they do not refer to some historical events. Indeed Palmer and Chaney even refer to Calvin's involvement in missionary activity, albeit without recourse to the primary sources.⁸ The point is rather that all four of these works tend to read Calvin's thought as if in a historical vacuum, and appear to assume that his theology is a simple, undifferentiated monolith. There is little attempt in them to distinguish what Calvin thought in the 1530s from what he thought a decade or two later, or what he wrote in one context from what he said in another, or to relate what he said and wrote to what he was doing. This kind of reading has recently been the subject of severe criticism by H. Höpfl. 'The primary method of validating assertions about Calvin', he suggests,

has been by amassing quotations, proof-texts. Such a procedure is incapable of demonstrating anything... when, as so often, the quotations are contextless and random, taken from works of unequal level and from different periods.... [There is no] reason to treat everything in the *Corpus Reformatorum* as constituting part of a 'Summa Theologica', equal in all its parts as to authoritativeness coherence and weight.

Höpfl goes on to state that in his book he has, by contrast,

conscientiously attempted to determine the weight to be attached to Calvin's assertions, by considering the circumstances in which they were made and the audience to which they were addressed.⁹

A similar effort has been made in this thesis, since its whole argument rests on the assumption that history and theology belong together in this way. In particular, it is maintained that the events of the period 1555-64 illuminate the theology Calvin produced then. To put it another way, this thesis offers a reading of Calvin's thought in the light of his practice, of his theology in the light of the historical circumstances in which it was given expression.

Of course, the statement that Calvin's theology should not be read as a monolith, without reference to its historical context, is not a warning which applies only to the whole thirty-year period between Calvin's first publication and his last. It must also be borne in mind as a possibility that there are

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variations and nuances in his thought even within a more confined period such as the one with which this thesis is concerned. Nevertheless, it will be indicated in chapter one that there are good grounds for treating the decade from 1555 to 1564 as an integral unit, a period with particular significance for Calvin's missionary thought and practice.

With regard to his practice of evangelisation, the growing appreciation of the extent of Calvin's involvement in missionary enterprises is due above all to the meticulous research of R. M. Kingdon into Geneva and the coming of the Wars of Religion in France.¹⁰ That inquiry (whose concern is with the role of Geneva in the establishment of the reformed Church in France, and whose interest in Calvin is incidental to this) together with the exhaustive biography of Calvin by Émile Doumergue (which similarly offers a detailed chronicle of Calvin's participation in the evangelisation of his homeland) are assessed in more detail in chapter one.¹¹ In addition to these two works, and at some remove from them, there is a series of articles of varying depth and thoroughness, whose sole object is to demonstrate Calvin's missionary pedigree. Most add little to Kingdon's work and few show any evidence of an engagement with the primary sources: two notable exceptions are P. E. Hughes' depiction of "John Calvin: Director of Missions"¹² and R. P. Beaver's account of "The Genevan Mission to Brazil".¹³ Some of the articles (the most notorious example of which is the recent paper by Berthoud) rely entirely on the secondary literature.¹⁴ In such cases it is difficult to avoid the impression that the essays function mainly as exercises in apologetics on behalf of the twentieth century Reformed Church.

If, by contrast, the works of Kingdon and Doumergue (and, among the briefer studies, of Hughes and Beaver) are historically sound, it may also be said that, at least from the point of view of this thesis, they suffer a common weakness. This is the fact that both books are exclusively historical. Neither

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work proceeds to relate Calvin's practice of evangelisation to his theological statements.¹⁵ It is this step which is attempted in this thesis.

For two reasons it may be necessary, finally, to give some justification for the use of the word 'evangelisation' in the title of this thesis, and the word 'missionary' in its text. It might be objected in the first place that the words do not correspond to Calvin's own usage. In the Latin texts with which this thesis is chiefly concerned, Calvin speaks of 'the preaching of the Gospel' (*praedicatio evangelii*), and of 'the progress of the Gospel' (*progressus evangelii*); but, perhaps oddly, he seems seldom to have made use of the verb *evangelizo*. Similarly, although he does use the term '*missio*', he does so simply as a synonym for '*legatio*', to mean a 'task' or 'commission'. The objection might also be made, secondly, that almost all the activity in which Calvin was involved, and which is designated 'evangelistic' and 'missionary' in this thesis, took place within Christendom, among those who were already baptised members of the Christian Church.

Neither of these two objections is decisive, however. Felicitous as it is to ensure that the terminology of a thesis like this conforms as far as possible to that of its subject, there is no reason in principle why the discussion of a text or a series of texts should be expressed solely in the vocabulary of the texts themselves. If Calvin did actually engage in evangelisation, the fact that he did not use the word is no barrier to using it of him, any more than (as he himself argued) the absence of the term 'Trinity' from the Scriptures precludes its use in Christian theology.¹⁶

Secondly, it is evident that, from Calvin's point of view, the state of sixteenth century Christendom was so corrupt that only a wholly evangelistic ministry could restore it. It is clear that he and his colleagues regarded their calling as 'evangelistic' and 'missionary' in the same sense that these words might rightly be applied to the preaching of the first apostles to the Jews in Jerusalem.¹⁷ Calvin developed this parallel most fully, as one might expect,

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in his *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*,¹⁸ but the theme is one to which he returned in many of his works, including those which are examined in this thesis.

Calvin perceived the state of sixteenth century Christendom to be akin to ^{the} state of first century Israel, in terms of the deformity of the Church. As he saw it, both the Jews of the first century and 'the Papists' of the sixteenth had substituted superstitious and idolatrous practices for true worship, hypocrisy for true godliness and tyranny for a properly constituted Church order. In the face of what he considered to be an analogous disorder, Calvin looked for an analogous remedy. He was convinced that just as it was the mission of the apostles to call an apostate people of God to repentance and faith by the preaching of the Gospel, so it was the calling of the reformers to evangelise. He understood his vocation to be missionary, in the sense that he was called to summon the baptised to conversion and so to seek the re-christianisation of Christendom.

In this respect, one particular passage of the *Acts Commentary* makes especially interesting reading. Faced with the fact that although the apostles had been commanded to spread the Gospel to the ends of the earth, they remained in Jerusalem after Pentecost, it occurs to Calvin that the reader will require some explanation. He insists, in the first place, that it was certainly not for 'their own ease, or safety, or convenience' that they stayed there, as they were 'continually involved in many different crises, [and were] harassed by the greatest vexations'. On the contrary, he explains,

if anyone objects that they could have divided and apportioned provinces among themselves, so that they would not all be at work in the one place, I reply that Jerusalem alone provided work enough for them all.¹⁹

Since it is not self-evident that the behaviour of the apostles does require the justification Calvin is anxious to provide, one cannot help but wonder if there is a hint of self-justification here. It is as if Calvin found in the fact that the

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apostles tarried in Jerusalem, preaching among the people of God, delaying the moment when they would carry the Gospel to the Gentiles, a vindication of the fact that the mission in which he and his colleagues were engaged was confined, for the most part, within the borders of Christendom.

Perhaps, as their contemporaries charged, the reformers did neglect 'the evangelisation of the heathen', and perhaps a passage like this reflects Calvin's sensitivity to the charge.²⁰ Nevertheless, 'the evangelisation of the Gentiles' is not the only form of the preaching of the Gospel for which the term 'evangelisation' itself is appropriate. The following recent definition of 'missions' allows for both the kind of activity which the contemporary critics of the reformers accused them of neglecting, and the kind of activity in which Calvin and his colleagues believed themselves to be engaged.

By "missions" I mean those specific activities which are undertaken by human decision to bring the gospel to places or situations where it is not heard, to create a Christian presence in a place or a situation where there is no such presence, or no effective presence.²¹

It was Calvin's intention to bring the Gospel to places where, in his view, it was not being heard, and to create a Christian presence where none was effective.

It will be argued that for Calvin and his colleagues this intention led to a two-fold activity. It demanded both the establishment of true churches, so that the Gospel might be preached appropriately; and the actual preaching of the Gospel, in such a way that individuals might respond appropriately to it. In this thesis, therefore, the terms 'evangelisation' and 'mission' are taken to refer to the attempt to propagate both 'the Church' (i. e., geographically, by an increase in the number of 'true churches') and individual churches (by an increase in the number of the faithful).

Notes

- 1 S. C. Neill: *A History of Christian Missions*; Penguin Books, Harmondsworth 1964, p.222.
- 2 G. Warneck: *Outline of A History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time: A Contribution to Modern Church History*; tr. G. Robson, Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, London 1901, pp.167ff; cited in T. P. Palmer: *John Calvin's View of the Kingdom of God*; unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Aberdeen 1988, p.265.
- 3 W. Hogg: "The Rise of Protestant Missionary Concern, 1517-1914", in G. H. Anderson ed.: *The Theology of the Christian Mission*; S. C. M. Press, London 1961, p.98. Cited in Palmer, p.265.
- 4 T. F. Torrance: "The Eschatology of Hope: John Calvin", in his *Kingdom and Church: A Study in the Theology of the Reformers*; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh 1956, pp.90-164.
- 5 See note 2.
- 6 W. F. Dankbaar: "L'Apostolat chez Calvin", *Revue d'Histoire et Philosophie Religieuses* 41 (1961), pp.345-354.
- 7 C. Chaney: "The Missionary Dynamic in the Theology of John Calvin", *Reformed Review* 17.3 (1964), pp.24-38.
- 8 Chaney, p.25; Palmer, p.257.
- 9 H. Höpfl: *The Christian Polity of John Calvin*; Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1982, pp.3-4.
- 10 R. M. Kingdon: *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563*; Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance XXII; Librairie Droz, Geneva 1956.
- 11 É. Doumergue: *Jean Calvin: Les Hommes et les Choses de son Temps*; 7 vols., Lausanne 1917. See below, chapter one, pp.15-16.
- 12 P. E. Hughes: "John Calvin: Director of Missions", *Columbia Theological Seminary Bulletin* 59.4 (1966), pp.17-25.
- 13 R. P. Beaver: "The Genevan Mission to Brazil", in J. H. Bratt, ed.: *The Heritage of John Calvin*; Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI 1973, pp.55-73. cf. W. S. Reid: "Calvin's Geneva: A Missionary Centre", *Reformed Theological Review* 42.3 (1983), pp.65-74; J. De Jong: "John Calvin in Mission Literature", *Pro Rege* (Sept. 1975), pp.6-17.
- 14 J.-M. Berthoud: "John Calvin and the Spread of the Gospel in France", in Papers delivered at the Westminster Conference, London 1992 (forthcoming). cf. D. B. Calhoun: "John Calvin: Missionary Hero or Missionary Failure?", *Covenant Seminary Bulletin* 5.1 (1979), pp.16-33.
- 15 Doumergue's massive work does, of course, include two volumes on Calvin's theology (vols. 4-5). What it does not do is relate Calvin's theology to his involvement in the missionary movement. The obvious place to include it would have been in vol. 5, book 1, on "La Pensée Ecclésiastique".

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- 16 Inst. I.xiii.3 (1536/39), pp.123-124; O. S. III.111.10-112.20. References in the form Inst. I.xiii.3 are to the relevant book, chapter and section of the 1559 edition of the *Institutio Christianae Religionis*. Bracketed dates refer to the edition in which the reference first appeared/and was last revised. English translations, unless otherwise indicated, are based on the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, edited by J. T. McNeill and translated by F. L. Battles (Westminster Press, Philadelphia 1960), to which page numbers also refer. References in the form O. S. III.111.10 are to the relevant volume, page and line of the *Ioannis Calvini Opera Selecta*, edited by P. Barth and W. Niesel (Chr. Kaiser, Munich 1957-62).
- 17 On this point, see further chapter one, pp.32-35. A. Ganoczy has noted that in the first edition of the *Institutes* Calvin makes frequent allusions 'to the mission of the prophets, which seems analogous to the ministry of the reformers', and that 'the parallel between the calling of the prophets and the reformers seems well-marked' (*The Young Calvin*; Westminster Press, Philadelphia 1987, pp.228-229). The parallel Calvin draws between the reformers and the apostles, is, similarly, clear and significant.
- 18 *Commentariorum in Acta Apostolorum* (1552-54), C. O. 48. References in the form 'C. O. 48.173.46' are to the relevant volume, page and line of the *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*; eds. G. Baum, E. Cunitz and E. Reuss, Schwetschke and Sons, Brunswick 1863-1900.
- 19 Comm. Acts 8.1 (1552), C.O. 48.173.46-174.19, C. N. T. C. I.226. References in the form 'C. N. T. C. I.226' are to the relevant volume and page of Calvin's New Testament Commentaries, eds. D. W. and T. F. Torrance (St. Andrew's Press, Edinburgh 1972).
- 20 The point is considered in more detail in chapter four, pp.134-138.
- 21 L. Newbigin: *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*; S. P. C. K., London 1989, p.121.

Part I

**The Kingdom of Christ, Calvin and the Evangelisation of France,
1555-1564**

Introduction to Part I

Part I of this thesis is chiefly historical. Its focus is on Calvin's practice of evangelisation.

In chapter one ('Calvin, Geneva and the Evangelisation of France, 1555-1564') the objective is to convey, by the detailed study of the primary sources (including some unpublished ecclesiastical correspondence), the full extent both of the evangelistic enterprise which arose in Geneva from 1555 onwards and of Calvin's role in it. It will be suggested that by 1561 the organisation of the reformed Church in France and the propagation of the reformed Gospel were Calvin's over-riding concerns. With reference to the self-understanding of those involved in the movement, an explanation will be offered of the sense in which it is legitimate to refer to these concerns as 'missionary' and 'evangelistic'.

In the second chapter ('Calvin's Theological Lectures and the Nature of his Audience, 1555-1564') the objective is to draw attention to the series of Lectures on the Old Testament Prophets which Calvin gave in 'the school' at Geneva, in order to demonstrate that these were addressed to people caught up with him in a missionary enterprise and to suggest that they are therefore to be read in this light. The chapter will include a review of the sequence of these Lectures and of the process by which they were transcribed for publication; but its most important section will be an analysis of the audience to whom the Lectures were originally addressed. For the period after 1559, when the evangelistic enterprise was at its height, this analysis is facilitated by the records of the newly inaugurated Academy in Geneva. On the basis of these records and other relevant sources it will be suggested that Calvin delivered his Lectures to a mixed audience of students (many of whom were training to be missionaries), ministers (the majority of whom were missionaries waiting to be re-assigned to pastorates

in France), and other hearers (among whom were refugees from France, who were largely responsible for financing the missionary endeavour, and emissaries from the nascent reformed churches in France, who visited Geneva to negotiate the appointment of ministers). An attempt is also made to relate to these Lectures Calvin's two other expositions of the Prophets: the 1557 *Commentary on the Psalms* and the 1559 *Commentaries on Isaiah the Prophet*.

The aim of chapter three ('Missionary Themes in Calvin's Exposition of the Prophets: Restoration, Reformation and the Progress of the Kingdom of Christ') is to evaluate the nature of the contemporary allusions which are to be found in these theological expositions. Particular attention is paid to the Lectures, on the grounds that they represent the point at which Calvin's theology of evangelisation meets his practice of it. However, considerable use is also made of the two related *Commentaries*. It will be observed that although Calvin deliberately avoided making much explicit reference to current events or particular individuals, he nevertheless claimed to have adapted his comments to suit the circumstances of his hearers and readers. It will be suggested that, consequently, it is in the themes which permeate these Lectures and *Commentaries* that echoes of the missionary movement are to be heard. Attention will be drawn to two themes which are prominent in these theological expositions, but almost entirely absent from Calvin's 1559 *Institutio Christianae Religionis*: namely, 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ' and 'the restoration (or reformation) of the Church'. Some general remarks, intended as no more than an introduction to these themes, will pave the way for their fuller exposition in Parts II and III of the thesis.

Chapter One

Calvin, Geneva and the Evangelisation of France, 1555-1564

Introduction

In Basel, in 1535, on the threshold of nearly three decades of exile from his native France, Calvin wrote the preface to the first edition of his *Institutio*. In it he explained that he had undertaken the writing of his book 'especially for our Frenchmen, very many of whom I saw to be hungering and thirsting for Christ, and very few of whom had been imbued with even a slight knowledge of him'.¹ For all the energy which, in the following thirty years, Calvin expended over the reformation of the Church in Geneva and Strasbourg, he never lost this sense of concern for the spiritual welfare of his fellow-countrymen.² It surfaces frequently both in his correspondence and in his theological writings. It was, however, to be two full decades before circumstances gave Calvin the opportunity to pursue the evangelisation of France actively.

Before 1555, Calvin's scope for evangelistic activity in France was limited in two ways.

In the first place, Calvin's own position in Geneva was insecure. Throughout the 1540s and into the 1550s, his plans for the regulation of Church and state were resisted by a powerful faction within Genevan government.³ It was, for example, not until the defeat of the Perrinists in 1555 that Calvin was able to establish the authority of the consistory -- an institution which was to prove essential to his missionary campaign. In addition, the influx of religious immigrants from France seeking refuge in Geneva (gaining citizenship, and with it political franchise), increased dramatically in 1555 and continued unabated for three years. This not only furnished Calvin with the support necessary to consolidate his own position; it also supplied him with the human and financial resources to mount an

effective evangelistic programme.⁴ The phenomenon also provided the impetus for the foundation, in 1559, of Geneva's Academy. In the first five years of its life, the Academy was as much a missionary training school as an educational centre of excellence.

Secondly, until 1559, the Kingdom of France was in the secure grip of an anti-reformist monarchy. Although the Protestants were not without influence at the French court, both Francis I (1515-47) and Henry II (1547-59) consistently allied themselves with the Roman Catholic Church, on whose support they depended in their conflict with the German princes. They not only gave their sanction to the repression of the reformation which was undertaken by the deeply conservative theological faculty at the University of Paris, but also acted upon its calls for the persecution of protestant agitators. In 1560, however, the French monarchy fell into a crisis from which it did not emerge until the end of the century. After the death of Henry II in a jousting accident in 1559, and of his teenage successor in the following year, the French crown fell to the ten year-old Charles IX. The accession of a minor precipitated a power struggle between two rival branches of the royal family; one (under the leadership of Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre) was protestant, and the other (led by the Duc de Guise) was Roman Catholic. This unexpected instability undoubtedly acted as a spur to Calvin in his efforts to win France to the evangelical cause.

Between the time that Calvin's opponents were defeated in the Genevan Council elections of 1555 and 1556, and the time that Charles IX ascended the French throne in 1560, therefore, the obstacles which had previously hindered the evangelisation of France disappeared. The purpose of this chapter is to show that as the viability of a missionary campaign increased in the last ten years of his life, so did the amount of attention Calvin devoted to it. From small beginnings, the scale of the campaign grew within a few years to staggering proportions. It is no

exaggeration to say that by 1561 it had become Calvin's over-riding pre-occupation.

'Our resources are completely exhausted':

the Scale of the Missionary Movement

Few studies of Calvin have given his evangelisation of France the prominence it deserves. The subject is, for instance, almost entirely overlooked in the biographies by Wendel, Parker, Bouwsma and Wallace as well as in the more specialised studies of Calvin's ecclesiology by Milner, Ganoczy, McDonnell, and Höpfl.⁵ (It is true that in this respect modern writers have simply been following the example of Calvin's first biographer, Theodore Beza. Unlike his successors, however, Beza was writing at a time when the missionary endeavour was still in progress,⁶ and when he was obliged to be circumspect, out of consideration for the safety of the missionaries.) Moreover, a number of other modern works which do address the subject rely almost entirely on a single historical source - the Registers of the Company of Pastors of Geneva.⁷ As a consequence of their neglect of both the ecclesiastical correspondence of the period, and the records composed by Nicolas Colladon (one of the Secretaries of the Pastors' Company), these works fail to convey the true scale of the campaign, and the extent of Calvin's personal involvement in it.⁸ Two notable exceptions are the studies by É. Doumergue and R. M. Kingdon, in both of which the growth of the missionary movement from a trickle in 1555 to a flood in 1561 is documented with considerable care.⁹ However, although Doumergue was able to indicate the scale of the movement through his copious references to the ecclesiastical correspondence, he had no access to Colladon's records. Kingdon's examination of *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France* is undoubtedly the most thorough discussion of the subject available, and the debt which the present account

owes to it will be obvious. Nevertheless, this chapter differs from Kingdon's book in two important respects. In the first place, as the title of his book suggests, Kingdon was concerned with the implications of the Genevan missionary movement for the outbreak of the Wars of Religion in France. The emphasis of the present chapter, by contrast, is on its implications for Calvin's theology. Secondly, whereas Kingdon's primary concern is with the Company Registers of the Genevan pastors, this chapter attempts to place equal emphasis on the ecclesiastical correspondence and other relevant sources.¹⁰

The assignment of a pastor from Geneva to a reformed community in France is first recorded in the Company Registers in 1555, when M. Jaques Langlois was despatched to Poitiers because 'the brothers' there had asked that a minister should be sent 'to administer the word of God to them'.¹¹ The significance of this is not that it marks the first time that such an assignment took place. It does not. Calvin's correspondence includes a letter of recommendation for the printer Philibert Hamelin, who left Geneva in late 1553 to serve as a minister in the islands west of Bordeaux.¹² However, assignments such as these had previously been sporadic and haphazard; from 1555, they became more frequent and more formal, and the record in the Company Registers reflects this. The 'missionary movement', then, may be said to date from 1555, even though individual missionaries left Geneva before this.

The progress of the movement between 1555 and 1562, at least as far as it is recorded in the Company Registers, has been charted before. Since the publication of Kingdon's book, scholars referring to the movement have, without exception, followed his figures.¹³ There is no doubt that Kingdon provides an adequate overall impression of the scale and character of the missionary movement. However, a close reading of the Registers indicates that, with regard to the precise details of the missionary movement,

a revision of his account is in order. The figures in the following summary represent an advance on the prevailing consensus.

In addition to the assignment of Langlois to Poitiers in 1555, the Registers record that four pastors left Geneva 'to preach the Word' in Piedmont.¹⁴ The following year, two more left to minister to 'the flock' in there, 'which, by the grace of God, [was] growing daily'.¹⁵ Two others set out on the ill-fated voyage to Brazil,¹⁶ and one more was assigned to Bourges in France.¹⁷ In 1557, in addition to the pastor who was sent to Antwerp, and the four more who were despatched to Piedmont, a further eleven ministers were assigned to ten different places in France, including Paris, Poitiers, Lyons and the islands near La Rochelle.¹⁸ The impression given by the Registers is that the missionary movement reached its peak in the next two years. For 1558 the Registers record the departure of twenty-five pastors to eighteen locations in France, including Paris, Dieppe, Rouen, Tours and Bordeaux, 'to preach the Gospel' (one man was also sent to Turin);¹⁹ and for 1559 a total of thirty-three pastors to at least twenty-four locations, including Poitiers, Caen, Bearn, Toulouse, Nantes, Montpellier and Orléans.²⁰ Thereafter, the number of assignments noted in the Registers begins to fall away: thirteen despatches to France are recorded in 1560 (and one, des Gallars, to England), twelve a year in both 1561 and 1562, two in 1563 and none at all in 1564, at least before Calvin's death in May.²¹ For the period 1555-63, therefore, the Company Registers record a total of 126 missions, of which 110 were to locations in France.²² These 110 missions involved eighty-seven pastors,²³ who were sent to a total of sixty-two different places.

Even these revised figures do not tell the whole story, however. Indeed, as an indication of the scale of the missionary movement, they are positively misleading. The ecclesiastical correspondence and the records in the hand of Nicolas Colladon (who was Secretary to the Company of Pastors in 1561), paint a much fuller picture.

One of the responsibilities of the Company Secretary was to handle the correspondence which was arriving in Geneva from reformed communities in France, requesting ministers to preach the Word of God and administer the Holy Supper to them. Several hundred such letters have been preserved, and although some are included in the *Calvini Opera*, and others have been published elsewhere, many remain as yet unprinted.²⁴ The earliest of the letters which have survived probably dates from May 1558;²⁵ but the Company Registers for 1555 and 1556 are careful to note that M. Jaques Langlois was sent to Poitiers, and M. Martin de Argues to Bourges, 'in response to their requests',²⁶ and it is likely that these requests were letters, now lost. Certainly the entry for February 1557 is explicit that 'letters have been received from a certain assembly of the faithful in Blais, requesting that someone be sent to them to administer the Word of God'.²⁷ It is probable that although so few have survived,²⁸ such letters became common between 1558 and 1560, and that the increase in the number of despatches is to some extent a reflection of this. However, the year 1561 constituted what Kingdon has called 'the flood-tide', and Doumergue 'la grande année',²⁹ of the missionary movement. Even allowing for the fact that many of the letters written in the previous years have been lost, it is apparent that in this year letters of request arrived in Geneva in unprecedented numbers. At least 170 of these have survived.³⁰

Until 1561, these letters were arriving in Geneva at a rate of fewer than one a month. Under these circumstances it was not difficult for the Secretary of the Company of Pastors to keep abreast of them. In that year, though, the situation was very different. In the first four months, the letters were written (and were therefore presumably arriving in Geneva) at a rate of about three a fortnight; in May, June and July the number rose to about thirteen a month; and in the last five months of the year the letters were written at a rate in excess of four each week. In an attempt to keep track of

these requests, Colladon began to list them. A series of three related lists in his handwriting has been preserved.³¹ The earliest of the lists is a brief *aide-mémoire* jotted on the back of a letter from the church in Liborne, dated 24 November 1561.³² The text comprises a list of six pastors, together with the churches in France to which they were assigned, followed by a note of six request-letters received from France. Although it is probable that the six assignments on the list took place in 1561,³³ none of them is recorded in the Company Registers. The second list is a 'catalogue' of fifty-nine request letters.³⁴ It has been possible to identify the original copies of about half of these with confidence: those entered at the beginning of the catalogue tend to have been written in the early summer of 1561, and those at the end in the December. Against twenty-one of the catalogue entries there is also a note of the minister who was despatched in response to the request; these twenty-one names include four of those listed in the *aide-mémoire*. Once again it is clear that these assignments took place in 1561, and again none is recorded in the Company Registers. It is, however, the third of these lists which drives home the full scale of the missionary enterprise co-ordinated in Geneva that year. It is an 'inventory' of no fewer than 150 missionary assignments, naming both the pastors and the locations to which they were sent.³⁵ The list includes all twenty-one of the pastors featured in the 'catalogue'. Nine of the pastors are listed more than once, so that a total of 141 individuals were involved.³⁶ Seven of these assignments are exactly duplicated in the Company Registers: five in the records for 1561, and two for early 1562. Taken together, the three lists record 152 assignments involving 143 pastors. Most of the assignments took place in 1561; the remainder can confidently be allocated to the beginning of 1562. No fewer than 145 of these despatches are to be added to the Company Registers total of twenty-four recorded for these two years. Thus, combining the

Company records and Colladon's lists, it emerges that at least 169 assignments took place in 1561-62.

There are no equivalent lists for the period from late 1562 until Calvin's death in May 1564. However, there are further indications that the records of the Company Registers are incomplete. For example, the research undertaken by S. Stelling-Michaud on the first 159 students to enrol at the Academy in Geneva reveals that at least forty-three of them were serving as pastors in churches in France before the end of 1564.³⁷ Twenty-two of these appear on Colladon's Lists of Genevan Envoys,³⁸ and another three are to be found among the assignments recorded in the Registers of the Company of Pastors in Geneva for 1562;³⁹ but the information about the other eighteen pastors is derived independently, either from archives in France, or from assorted pieces of ecclesiastical correspondence. Even then, the picture is evidently fragmentary. Thus, a letter written by Calvin to the church in Blois, dated 31 January 1562, is in recommendation of Jaques du Plessis, who was being assigned to serve them as pastor.⁴⁰ The Company Registers give no hint of this. In addition, in a number of the letters written to the Ministers in Geneva during 1562-63⁴¹ particular men are requested by name. Apart from these letters, several of them are completely unknown.⁴² A few of them were almost certainly despatched from Geneva some time later, either to the churches which requested them or to other locations in France. If this was so, it would confirm that as a record of missionary assignments, the Company Registers are seriously incomplete. It is impossible to assert exactly how many individuals were sent out from Geneva as missionaries during the last ten years of Calvin's life. It has been possible to identify the names of no fewer than 250 individuals,⁴³ but an estimate closer to 300 would probably be nearer the truth.

Of course, it is not to be thought that Geneva bore the burden of the evangelisation of France alone. Other cities also contributed to the

missionary movement. So many pastors had been sent to France from the city of Berne, for instance, that its Council was forced to write to the Syndics of Geneva in May 1562 to explain that in view of 'the great desolation and ruin' of its own churches, it would in future be unable to provide pastors for those in France.⁴⁴ There is also evidence that the ministers' *corps* in Lausanne was significantly depleted by its response to demands for help from France.⁴⁵ Moreover, some of the pastors who feature in the Company Registers and Colladon's lists, and who are therefore reckoned to have been despatched 'from Geneva' (such as Jaques Sorel and Pierre Fournellet),⁴⁶ originally came from Neuchatel. Finally, it is also to be remembered that very few of the ministers who left Geneva for France between 1555 and 1564 were native to the city. Almost all of them were Frenchmen by birth. In the 1550s, most of the envoys were, like Calvin himself, men who had come to Geneva as refugees, and had been living in the city for years. They were often registered as its 'bourgeois', or at least as its 'habitants', and frequently served lengthy ministerial apprenticeships in the parishes around Geneva before they left for France. These men were among the first to study at the new Academy when it opened in 1559.

Moreover, as the demand for 'Genevan' pastors grew, the length of their training and of their stay in Geneva became shorter, and pastoral apprenticeships more exceptional. A new pattern is evident instead. By 1561, the letters requesting pastors increasingly refer to young men being sent to Geneva for the briefest course of ministerial training, with a view to returning as soon as possible to their church of origin.⁴⁷ Indeed, from 1562 onwards even this proved too time-consuming a process for some French churches. In response to the urgent need for ministers, candidates were sent to Geneva simply for accreditation. In these cases there was no formal training. The men were referred to Geneva for examination, and it may be assumed that they returned at once to serve as ministers in the churches

from which they had come.⁴⁸ Increasingly, therefore, the men despatched from Geneva in 1562-63 were 'Genevan' in a rather different sense to those who had left the city two or three years earlier.

In spite of all these qualifications, it is clear that in its attempt to provide reformed congregations in France with pastors, the church of Geneva exhausted its own supply. In the Company Registers for 1561 there appears for the first time a note to the effect that it had been necessary to turn down a request for a pastor. Geneva no longer had pastors to spare. The request was made in July by the French church in Strasbourg, on behalf of 'those in Metz'. The Registers note that every aspect of the matter was considered, but that for various reasons -- above all because so many members of the Company were already absent -- it had proved impossible to meet the request.⁴⁹ In a letter explaining their decision, the Ministers in Geneva wrote to 'the godly in Metz', saying bluntly, 'Our resources were exhausted long ago'.⁵⁰ The same note had also been struck by Calvin, in May, in letters to his friends. To Bullinger he wrote:

From all sides, pastors are requested from us with no less avidity than that with which priests are normally solicited from the papacy... We certainly want to comply with [these] requests, as far as it is possible, but our resources are completely exhausted. Indeed, we have already been obliged to squeeze to the dregs the labourers' workshops, to find those who have even a smattering of learning and godly teaching.⁵¹

And in his letter to Ambrose Blaurer, probably written at the same time, Calvin uses very similar language:

Ministers are requested from us from all sides, and although our resources are completely exhausted, the importunity of those who ask is such that we are employing the dregs.⁵²

This was no exaggeration. In the Registers of both the Pastors' Company and the City Council, the discussion returns repeatedly to the difficulty of finding suitable replacements for city pastors temporarily in France.⁵³

**'Labourers into the harvest-field':
the Objectives of the Missionary Movement**

It is evident that the provision of pastors for the reformed congregations of France was of supreme importance in Geneva during this period. However, it has yet to be shown that this was a genuinely 'missionary' movement; that is, one whose primary objective was the propagation of its own message. What were the pastors from Geneva sent to France to do? What was expected of them by the congregations requesting them, and what did the pastors themselves emphasise, when they reported on their progress in letters to their colleagues in Geneva?

The Infiltration of French Politics

It might be argued, for example, that the principal objective of the movement was political: the replacement of a Roman Catholic king, or at least a Roman Catholic regent, with a Protestant. A Roman Catholic France was a constant threat to the independence of Geneva, and the city-state had everything to gain from the conversion of the French crown to the protestant cause.

Kingdon has amply demonstrated that there was a political dimension to the work of at least the most senior of the Genevan envoys. Given the relationship between religion and politics in sixteenth century France, this could hardly have been otherwise; but far from preferring to avoid becoming embroiled in politics, it would appear that Geneva's leading ministers, perceiving the significance of the crisis which had befallen the French monarchy, set out to maximise their own political influence wherever possible. Envoys were despatched to the courts of those members of the French royal family most sympathetic to the reformation: François le Gay went to Béarn, to cultivate the patronage of the King of Navarre,⁵⁴ and Theodore Beza was also subsequently assigned there;⁵⁵ Jean-Raymond

Merlin went to the court of Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France;⁵⁶ and Morel was sent to the Duchess of Ferrara.⁵⁷ As the dedicatory epistles which accompany his biblical commentaries demonstrate, Calvin always attached great importance to the conversion of rulers, and he corresponded regularly with all three of these French royals, and with the Queen of Navarre, exhorting them to commit themselves to the reformed cause. A succession of ministers was also sent to the church in Paris, where there were obvious opportunities to exert political leverage. The letters sent to Calvin by his lieutenants in France (especially Beza, Merlin and de Morel) were often intended to keep him abreast of political developments in the kingdom.

The political potential of the ecclesiastical organisation which centred on Geneva was evident to friend and foe alike. When, in early 1560, the nobles planning the Conspiracy of Amboise sought, and were granted, hearings with Calvin and his ministerial colleagues, this was not the first time that would-be conspirators had appealed to Geneva for assistance in a plot against the French government.⁵⁸ Calvin was probably justified in his later denial that he had given the plotters any encouragement, but his closest associate, Theodore Beza, was almost certainly implicated. Given the indisputable fact that several of the few noble conspirators to survive the failed *coup* found refuge in Geneva,⁵⁹ it is easy to understand why the Guise regents regarded Geneva and its missionary enterprise with such acute suspicion.

The threat posed to the Catholic Regency by the Genevan pastors had grown to such an extent by the beginning of 1561 that it provoked a response. In a letter written in the name of the young King Charles IX, dated 23 January and addressed to the Senat of Geneva, the regents identified as 'the source and origin' of the dissension currently troubling the Kingdom of France, 'the spite of certain preachers and dogmaticians, most of whom

have been despatched by you or by the leading ministers of your city'. They called upon the Senat 'first of all to recall and summon back' all these men, and secondly to ensure that no more were sent out. The missive amounted to an ultimatum: it warned of the consequences of failing to comply with its instructions, and demanded a reply.⁶⁰ The letter was received by the City Council at an emergency session on January 28. In their reply, which was composed on the same day, the Council denied any complicity in the sending of ministers to France.⁶¹ The letter is not to be taken at face value. Despite the fact that in 1560 two ministers despatched by the Company had taken formal leave of the City Council,⁶² the Council protested that no-one had ever gone out from Geneva to preach with its 'mandate or permission or consent', except for one who had been requested by the city of London. Some connection is conceded between the preachers and the city Company of Pastors. The Syndics reported that when the Company of Pastors had been questioned before the Council, they had admitted that 'some people' intending to go as preachers to France had indeed approached them, and that when the ministers had found that these were individuals of wisdom and grace, they had exhorted them 'to employ themselves, wherever they should go, for the advancement of the Gospel'. This is doubly disingenuous. In the first place it creates the misleading impression that the Company of Pastors was an organisation entirely independent of the City Council. This was not the case, and the fact that the official copy of this letter retained in Geneva is largely in Calvin's hand-writing is evidence of the close co-operation that existed between the two. This was not the only occasion that the Moderator of a supposedly independent Company of Pastors acted as Secretary to the City Council. Secondly, the reply gives the impression that even the Pastors were entirely passive in the affair, in that they had simply given their blessing to men who had approached them. Nothing is said about the initiative of the Company in the finding, training, funding and placing of pastors. The

dissimulation suggests that the City Council was not only less ignorant of the missionary enterprise than it claimed, but also more sensitive to its political consequences.

The reply went on to explain that in giving their blessing to the men who had approached them, and exhorting them to work for the advancement of the Gospel, the ministers had 'by no means imagined that they were offending' the king, and that far from having stirred up 'dissensions and seditions', they had done everything in their power to prevent them. In other words, the Syndics claimed that insofar as preachers had been sent out from the city, their purpose was to promote the Gospel, rather than to stir up dissension against the king. Indeed, the promotion of the Gospel was understood to be in the best interests of the king; the fact that it might not be in the best interests of the king's regents was passed over. Since the Company of Pastors in Geneva

maintain and are persuaded that the doctrine which they preach is of God, and leads to him being duly and purely served and honoured, that the grace which [God] has given us through our Lord Jesus Christ should be known as befits it, and that all people should know the right way of salvation in order to attain it, it is impossible that they should not desire this doctrine to be disseminated everywhere.⁶³

The reply closes without any undertaking from the Council that they would prevent the despatch of such missionaries in future.

The secrecy and discretion which characterised Geneva's political manoeuvrings before 1562 were entirely abandoned when the first of France's religious wars broke out in the spring of that year. Thereafter, the highly centralised organisation of the country's reformed churches, with Geneva as its administrative and ideological centre, was placed openly at the disposal of the Bourbon Prince of Condé. It provided a tested communications system and a fund-raising network. Pastors from Geneva assisted in the mobilisation of forces, and even, on some occasions, despite Calvin's unambiguous opposition, took up arms.⁶⁴

However, the nature of the political activities of Geneva's leading ministers is not to be misunderstood. No doubt they were aware of the benefits which would accrue to Geneva itself if the French king could be won over to the reformed cause; but there is little evidence that this was the primary motivation behind their political manoeuvrings. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that most of the missionaries were Frenchmen by birth: it may be assumed that they had the interests of France, rather than Geneva, at heart, and that their desire to bring about the conversion of the French king was motivated primarily by the conviction, not that this would secure Geneva's independence, but that it would expedite the establishment of a truly national reformed Church in France. Moreover, the number of pastors who were involved in political intrigue was relatively small. On the whole, with the notable exception of Calvin himself, these men were themselves members of the nobility: men such as Beza, de Morel, des Gallars, and le Gay. There is no indication in the many letters from the congregations in less significant communities, or from the non-aristocratic pastors, that they were conscious of any political role.

Instead, these letters draw on a narrowly 'religious' vocabulary. In them, two concerns emerge as paramount: the organisation of the reformed Church, and the propagation of the reformed Gospel. These concerns are, of course, closely related. They are distinguished here only for the sake of clarity.

The Organisation of the Reformed Church

Following the Colloquy of Poissy in July 1561, a survey of French reformed churches was compiled by Admiral Coligny on the instructions of the Queen-Regent, Catherine de Médicis. According to the *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, a near-contemporary if partisan chronicle, '2150 signed churches and more were located'.⁶⁵ The survey is startling in two ways. In

the first place, even if the figure it gives is an exaggeration, it is clear that since the year 1555, when there existed only a handful of such congregations, the reformed Church in France had experienced a period of prodigious growth. Secondly, and perhaps more significantly, the fact that it was possible to complete the survey quickly and efficiently, reflects the fact that a growth in the number of reformed congregations had been accompanied by a development in their organisation. What had been a loosely affiliated group of communities in 1555 had become a highly centralised institution by 1562.

The backbone of the French reformed Church as it had evolved by 1562 was its pyramidal and minister-dominated structure of parochial consistories, regional colloquys, and provincial and national synods.

Before 1555, there were communities of 'the [reformed] faithful' in France, but no French reformed churches.⁶⁶ In his *Institutio*, Calvin had asserted as long ago as 1536 that 'wherever we see the Word of God purely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered according to Christ's institution, there, it is not to be doubted, a church of God exists'.⁶⁷ This sentence was retained unaltered in the successive editions of the *Institutio*,⁶⁸ but the difficulties of his early experience in Geneva led Calvin to adopt the view that the pure preaching of the Word of God, and the proper administration of the sacraments were impossible, or at least insufficient, without an effective ecclesiastical discipline.⁶⁹ For this purpose, he introduced the consistory (a council of ministers and lay elders responsible for enforcing church discipline) to Geneva in 1542.⁷⁰ Its authority, together with the understanding that consistories were essential to biblical church government, was ratified by the City Councils on 24 January 1555.⁷¹ From then onwards, the institution became increasingly common in France. The first French consistory was established in Paris in 1555. Poitiers introduced

one in the same year. Orléans adopted consistorial church government in 1557, and La Rochelle in 1558.⁷²

It would appear that, as a general rule, Calvin and his colleagues in Geneva reserved the word 'church' for those communities which had created consistories, complete with ministers, elders and deacons. In the earliest of the despatches recorded in the Company Registers, for instance, the word 'church' is quite conspicuously avoided. Assignments are instead described as 'to the brothers in Poitiers', 'to the faithful of Bourges', 'to an assembly of the faithful in Blais', and so on.⁷³ The earliest reference to a reformed 'church' comes in an entry for 1557. It is to the church of Poitiers, where a consistory had been established in 1555.⁷⁴ The next is to the church of Paris, which had also adopted consistorial government that year.⁷⁵ The only other such reference before 1561 is to 'the church in Tours', in July 1558, in the year that a consistory was established there.⁷⁶ For 1561, a year in which over a thousand consistories were newly established in France, the term occurs in the Registers with sudden frequency.⁷⁷ Calvin's letters follow the same pattern: he writes to 'the faithful' of Poitiers, Loudon and Angers in 1555, for example, but to 'the church' in Paris and in Poitiers in 1558.⁷⁸ When he wrote to 'the faithful in the Isles of France' in 1553, he was careful to advise them not to be in a hurry 'to share the Holy Supper' until they have 'an ecclesiastical body', and 'some order' (which presumably means a consistory) among them. He went on,

Indeed, it would not be lawful for a man to administer the sacraments to you, unless... he found among you the form of a church.⁷⁹

In the same vein he wrote to another, anonymous, congregation in 1554 that in order to have the use of the sacraments, it was necessary for them 'to have an ecclesiastical body'.⁸⁰ Only a consistorial ministry could distinguish a 'church' from a 'gathering of the faithful'.

It is often suggested that the terms *église plantée* and *église dressée* were used among the reformed communities in France to make essentially the same distinction. It is said, for example, by Prestwich, that 'the consistory became the mark of a true church, termed an *église dressée*, in contrast to the amorphous bible gatherings, known as *églises plantées*'.⁸¹ There is little doubt that the phrase *dresser une église*, which occurs repeatedly in the sources, does refer to the step of establishing a consistory. There is a well-known passage in the *Histoire Ecclésiastique* in which the author declares that in France in 1555,

there were as yet no proper *églises dressées* in any of its regions. There existed only [groups of] the faithful, taught by the reading of good books, and insofar as it sometimes pleased God to instruct them through occasional exhortations, but without having the normal ministry of the word, or the sacraments, and without an established consistory.⁸²

Similar passages abound both in the *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, and in the correspondence between reformed communities in France and the ministers of the churches in the Swiss cantons.

What is rather less clear is the notion that before it had a consistory, and became *une église dressée*, a reformed community was designated *une église plantée*. This precise phrase does not occur in either the *Histoire Ecclésiastique* or in the ecclesiastical correspondence;⁸³ and while the expression *planter une église* is used, it is extremely rare. When this form does occur, moreover, it is seldom used in contrast or apposition to *dresser une église*. Indeed, in most cases in which the verb *planter* is used with *une église* as its object, it serves as a synonym for *dresser*. When, for instance, the *Histoire Ecclésiastique* relates that the minister Vignaux finally settled in Toulouse, 'after having planted (*planté*) many churches in Gascony',⁸⁴ the phrase is to be understood as if it read 'after having organised (*dressé*)' the churches. Or again, when, in February 1561, a certain Deprele wrote to Calvin requesting that a pastor be sent to Dijon 'to plant (*planter*) and lay the

foundations of our church',⁸⁵ the request is no different from the one made by the congregation in Grasse, later in the same year, when they asked the Ministers in Geneva to provide a minister 'gifted enough to arrange (*dresser*) and lead the Church of Jesus Christ in this town'.⁸⁶ It is to be underlined that references such as these are in any case few and far between: *dresser une église* occurs perhaps forty times as often as *planter une église* in these sources. Furthermore, none of the letters from France asking for assistance in 'planting' or 'arranging' a church dates from before 1561. For the period 1561-63 they are common.

If the priest constituted the church in the Papacy, the minister did so in the Calvinist Reformation. The urgent appeal contained in many of the letters from France, is expressed as follows: 'We are eager to serve God and to live according to the Gospel. Send us a minister, to teach us the Word of God and administer the sacraments'. The plea represents not simply an appetite for spiritual nourishment, but a strong desire for ecclesiastical organisation, to which the presence of a minister was the key. The flood of requests for a pastor in 1561 was caused by the rising tide of fierce determination among the reformed communities of France, to organise themselves into properly ordered churches. As one of the Genevan pastors wrote to Calvin shortly after his arrival in Chalons-sur-Marne, 'We baptise, we give our dead a Christian burial, and we are considering a celebration of the Holy Supper, to declare that we are a complete church of Christ'.⁸⁷

To some extent, this zeal for organisation at 'grass-roots' was a response to centralising forces orchestrated by Genevan pastors at a national level. Of course, the first 'national synod', which met in Paris in 1559,⁸⁸ was itself the product of parochial and provincial currents; but there is no doubt that the organisation of a reformed Church in France accelerated in the wake of the Synod. There is also no doubt that the driving force behind this and subsequent meetings came from Geneva.

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It is uncertain how many churches were represented at the 1559 Synod. As well as the minister of the church in Paris, and an emissary from Geneva, it is known that delegates from a further ten churches (a fraction of those which existed) were there.⁸⁹ At least eight of these delegates were men who had earlier been despatched to their churches from Geneva. If the delegates at the Synod did not represent all the reformed communities of France, this did not inhibit them from legislating on behalf of them. The Confession of Faith and the Rule of Ecclesiastical Discipline which it drafted, and which further strengthened the influence of Calvin and his colleagues, were readily adopted in a series of provincial synods which met in the following three years. Almost all these (as well as the next two national Synods in Poitiers in 1560 and Orléans in 1562) took place in towns and cities which had received ministers from Geneva: in Clerac, for example, and in Nîmes, Lyons, Montaubon, Ste.-Foy, Saintes and Montélimar.

The shadow cast by Geneva over the organisation of the reformed churches in France was long enough for a critic to complain -- as one of the missionary envoys reported to Calvin in July 1561 -- that 'They want to turn Geneva into a Rome'.⁹⁰

The Propagation of the Reformed Gospel

Not only were the number of reformed churches in France and the extent of their centralisation growing; so was the number of people who belonged to them. It was a major component in the expectations of those communities requesting pastors from Geneva that these men would be instrumental in increasing their membership; and in the reports which the missionaries sent to Geneva concerning their progress, the positive response of their hearers to the preaching of the Gospel is a prominent theme. It is true that these letters are very stylized; but the style itself is

revealing, and leaves no doubt that those involved believed that they were caught up in an evangelistic enterprise which was apostolic in character.

The letters written from the reformed communities in France to the ministers in Geneva draw heavily on the scriptural vocabulary of mission. Two particular turns of phrase derived from biblical passages concerning the missionary activities of the Apostles proved especially influential. The first is the expression which was employed by Christ in an address to his disciples immediately before he sent them out to preach the coming of the kingdom: 'The harvest is plentiful, but the labourers are few'.⁹¹ This saying is picked up again and again in the letters to Calvin and his colleagues, and applied to the urgent need for pastors in France. As early as June 1559, for instance, the Genevan emissary in Paris had written to Calvin, explaining that a minister called 'Arnaud' had been sent to Orléans on the authority of the Parisian church, 'because the harvest is so plentiful that they are not able to gather it without our help'.⁹² Another missionary from Geneva, Seelac, the minister at Ste.-Foy, explained to Colladon that 'as the Lord increases and multiplies his harvest, so we have an increasing need for harvesters'.⁹³ A third, de la Vigne, wrote to Colladon from St.-Lô, promising that 'if a good harvester comes from your end, he will be well-received, and will find a plentiful harvest'.⁹⁴ In the same vein, the reformed community at St.-Marcellin predicted that 'the size of the flock here would increase if the Lord should cause so much as a single worker to be sent to us, into his harvest'.⁹⁵ On another occasion, Jean de Beaulieu, who would himself be despatched to France before long, wrote to Guillaume Farel in Neuchatel, with news from Geneva: 'there are people here from many places', he said, 'from Lyon, Nimes, Gap, Grace, from the district of Orléans, from Poitiers, and from many other places, asking for workers for this new harvest'.⁹⁶

The second such example is the recurring phrase employed in the Acts of the Apostles, which relates that 'the number of the disciples', or 'the

church', 'increased', or 'multiplied', 'day by day'.⁹⁷ Any one of countless examples could be cited, of occasions on which communities requesting pastors, or pastors reporting back to Geneva, incorporated these words into their letters. Writing to Colladon from his assignment in Alais, for instance, on the last day of 1561, pastor Chevalier declared that 'the number of believers is growing and multiplying from day to day'.⁹⁸ Another of the Genevan envoys, La Faverge, wrote to Calvin, and assured him that 'the persecutions of our enemies cannot prevent our number from increasing from day to day'.⁹⁹ A third reported that 'our church grows and multiplies from day to day'.¹⁰⁰ And the church in Nîmes, when it wrote to request a pastor, specifically cited the experience of the Apostles as a parallel: one reason why a minister should be despatched to them without delay was that, 'after the example of the Apostles, the number of believers is growing every day'.¹⁰¹

The fact that, in the majority of such cases, no figures are given strengthens the impression that this language was a stylistic device. This is not to say that the use of the phrase bore no relation to what was in fact taking place, but rather that its presence indicates that the objectives of the pastors were self-consciously missionary. These men modelled their ministry on that of the apostles, and fully expected their experience to conform to the ideal.

When precise figures are given, it is common for a reference to the sermon to follow. The connection between the sermon and the number of the believers was sometimes made because the increasing size of the congregation was attributed to the preaching of the minister. Thus it was reported by the church in Montfrein that in the course of three sermons preached by M. Mutonis, their number had grown to almost 300, and that 'it would have grown and increased each day if he had been able to continue'. But he had been a visiting preacher and had had to move on; now the

church was requesting a minister of its own.¹⁰² Unfortunately, no accounts of these sermons, or the ways in which hearers were invited to respond to them have survived. Nevertheless, the indications are that those who joined the reformed Church usually did so in response to its preachers. On the other hand, the connection between the size of the church and the ministry of the Word was also sometimes made because, to those involved, the most significant statistic was the number of those who met to hear the sermon. The church in Bergerac, for instance, boasted that 'there is, by the grace of God, such a movement in the district that the devil is already, for the most part, driven out, so that we are unable to provide [ministers] for ourselves. And from day to day we are growing, and God has caused his work to bear such fruit that at sermons on Sundays, there are to be found about 4000-5000 people'.¹⁰³ Similarly, the ministers of the church in Montpellier described to Calvin how 'our church, thanks to the Lord, has so grown, and so continues to grow every day... that we are obliged to preach three sermons each on Sundays, to a total of 5000-6000 people'.¹⁰⁴ Not to be outdone, the minister in Toulouse assured Calvin in 1562 that the flock there had grown ('*sans mentir*' -- 'without exaggeration') 'to the astonishing number of about 8000-9000'. This exceptional state of affairs had come about because the Town Council had given him their support, charging him 'to preach the Word of God purely and sincerely', and providing him with an armed escort to enable him to preach outdoors.¹⁰⁵

The Progress of the Kingdom of Christ

It is this two-fold growth, in the number and in the size of reformed churches in France, which is denoted by the frequent use in these letters of the expression 'the progress of the kingdom of Christ/God'. The phrase also occupies an important place in Calvin's theology, which will be explored at some length in due course. At this stage it is important to note the rather

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narrow construction placed on the expression in the letters addressed to Calvin and to his colleagues from France.

In the first place, it was used in connection with the organisation of the reformed Church. This comes across most clearly in a letter from one of the missionaries from Geneva, Pierre Fournet, in a letter he wrote to the ministers of the church in Neuchatel:

We went to the Synod which was held in the capital city on the 16th. of last September. Among the articles which were discussed, were some which dealt with the progress of the Kingdom of Christ, and in this context it was declared that almost 80 requests for pastors had been addressed to the church of the said capital city.¹⁰⁶

To Fournet, the progress of the Kingdom of Christ could be measured by the number of congregations demanding pastors, as each one of these represented a potential step forward in the organisation of the reformed Church. The same association is made by Seelac, another of the envoys, when he remarked to Calvin that if he did not pass on the request from the faithful in Bazas and Puschaux for pastors, 'it would seem to them that we are not doing as much for the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus as we should'.¹⁰⁷ It is also present in the form of the request put to Calvin and his colleagues by the 'brothers of the church in Milhau': 'We ask you in all affection, dear sirs, that, especially since you cherish and desire the glory of God and the advancement of the kingdom of his Son Jesus Christ, it may please you to send us some well-trained man, whom you know to be suited to the ministry'.¹⁰⁸

Secondly, the expression was used in connection with the propagation of the reformed Gospel. In a long and enthusiastic report of the positive response with which the preaching of the Gospel had been received in Normandy, a minister named Goddart concluded his letter with this exclamation:

I cannot keep myself from telling you that I have seen such progress of the Kingdom of God in the district of Caux, that I do not

suppose there is a parallel in all the world. If there were ministers, the antichrist would be overthrown in a month'.¹⁰⁹

The implication here is that, even without ministers, or at least without enough ministers, the Kingdom of God had been advancing. His earlier remarks suggest that to Goddard the gauge of this was the growing size of the congregations he had encountered. The connection is explicit in a letter of one of the Genevan emissaries, Pierre Juglier, *dit* de la Vigne, which refers to the conversion of the Count of Montgomery:

It is wonderful to see how the Kingdom of Christ is growing in this region. Among the other triumphs and victories of Christ which have occurred here, my Lord the Count of Montgomery, who was the first to take up arms against our church... now says that he is on our side, and latterly took part in the Supper in this town in the presence of eight or nine thousand people.¹¹⁰

In the same vein are the assurances given in situations where a church is well-established, that 'the Kingdom of Christ is flourishing here'.¹¹¹ The progress here is not the arrival of a minister, but the growth of the church as a result of his labour.

'Give me the wood and I'll send you the arrows':¹¹²

Calvin's Personal Involvement in the Missionary Movement

In the same way that it is easy to overstate the influence which Geneva exercised over the development of the French reformed Church during these years, it is possible to exaggerate the personal contribution Calvin made to the Geneva-based missionary enterprise. Indeed, this kind of exaggeration circulated at the time. Early in 1562, one of Calvin's critics asserted that :

This is certain: scarcely a single preacher is given an audience in France, who has not been examined by Calvin, and if someone attempts to preach without having been approved by him, he is rejected, or at least tends not to be heard with goodwill. This is what they write to me, and I fear that it is true.¹¹³

In fact, it was not true, or not entirely so. The assertion underestimated the independence of the foremost reformed churches in France. The church in Paris, for example, as it showed by its organisation of the 1559 Synod, was capable of acting without reference to Calvin, and even, on occasions, contrary to his advice. In the same way, some of Calvin's colleagues were not averse to exercising their own initiative, even at the risk of incurring his wrath. In late 1561, for example, Pierre Viret -- one of Calvin's closest friends and associates -- left Geneva for France, ostensibly in search of a climate better suited to his poor health. In fact he embarked upon a vigorous preaching tour of reformed centres in Languedoc, from which he did not return until 1563. The episode provoked Calvin's displeasure, and it has reasonably been suggested that Viret may have feigned his 'sickness', in order to obtain a permission to visit France which would otherwise have been withheld.¹¹⁴ Indirectly, of course, such examples only serve to underline the extent of Calvin's influence: it was sufficient to force his colleagues to resort to subterfuge when they wanted to pursue plans which they anticipated would not have his blessing.

However, it was not only his opponents who believed that Calvin himself was the lynch-pin of the missionary campaign. If the proportion of request letters which were addressed to him in person (even by those with whom he had had no previous contact) are a fair indication, then the reformed communities in France thought he was too. Close to 250 such letters dated 1559-63 have survived.¹¹⁵ Perhaps as many as 120 were written to 'the ministers of the church in Geneva' in general. Of the remainder, at least eighty-three are addressed to Calvin in person, which is as many as are addressed to all other individuals put together. By comparison, only about fifty requests (all dating from 1561) were addressed to Nicolas Colladon, in his official capacity as Secretary of the Company of Pastors. A further six letters were addressed to Viret, eight to Morel (de

Collonges), four to d'Anduse and just two to Theodore Beza, despite the fact that most of these men, unlike Calvin, had been on assignment to France as missionaries, and were known personally to reformed communities there. What is more, if a remark Calvin made to Bullinger is to be believed, it would seem that even when letters were addressed to 'the ministers', it was Calvin's good-will that the bearers sought when they arrived in Geneva. 'Those who come to fetch pastors', he wrote, 'lay siege to my door, as if it was necessary to entreat me in the way that happens at the royal court'.¹¹⁶

The same impression of Calvin's importance to the movement is given by the letters written by the missionaries from their assignments in France. Some wrote asking for Calvin's sermons and other works to be sent out to them. Others, writing to Colladon, enquired anxiously after Calvin's health. Many of them wrote to Calvin himself, for advice, for further ministerial help, or simply with news of their achievements.¹¹⁷ Their sentiments reveal that some of these men owed Calvin a deep personal allegiance. Jehan Macar, for instance, whose assignment to the church in Paris is recorded in the Company Registers for January 1558, wrote to Calvin within a few weeks of his arrival, calling him 'the most faithful and wisest counsellor of all'. He confessed,

I have long been resolved to accommodate all my endeavours to your wishes and your will, and not to undertake or even continue anything, except with your authority to lead me as my guide.¹¹⁸

The more sober, but no less unequivocal, letter written by La Faverge -- whose assignment features on Colladon's Inventory -- from Montaubon in May 1561, is more typical. After relating his safe arrival and warm welcome in Montaubon, and the growth of the number of believers there, he closes his letter to Calvin with the prayer that 'the Lord will prosper your ministry to the glory of his name and the edification of all the churches which depend on you'.¹¹⁹ For all the independence enjoyed by the French churches, and the most senior of Calvin's colleagues, it is nevertheless true to say that the vast

majority of the Genevan envoys were relying on Calvin's constant leadership.

If Calvin was important to the progress of the missionary campaign in France, it is also the case that the progress of the campaign was important to him. There are many indications of this. It is most obvious in the attempts Calvin made to influence the course of events through his correspondence. Despite his protestation that 'it is not my nature, nor my habit, to intrude or interfere',¹²⁰ the fact is that when he wrote to a community in France, he almost invariably had some firm advice to give. It is believed that many of the letters he wrote to French churches between 1555 and 1564, especially the letters of recommendation which were routinely sent to accompany a missionary on his assignment, were destroyed as soon as they had been read, as a precaution against persecution. However, the dozen or so letters which have survived are forthright in their recommendations, especially in the critical period between the death of Henry II in 1559 and the outbreak of the first of the Wars of Religion in France in 1562. 'We hear that you are contemplating preaching in public...', he wrote to one church, 'we urge you strongly to abstain'.¹²¹ To a congregation whose pastor had vandalised the idols in a local Roman Catholic church, he said, 'we insist that you distance yourselves from this act'.¹²² As these examples suggest, the thrust of Calvin's exhortations to the French churches was to urge caution upon them. In the light of this it has been argued that the missionary enterprise orchestrated from Geneva was '*une révolution mal conduite*',¹²³ and that the fortunes of the reformed churches might have been better served by a more daring policy.¹²⁴ Whether or not realistic alternatives were open to Calvin, the debate about the merits of the policy he adopted is itself a testimony to its impact. Relatively speaking, the counsel he offered in his letters to particular individuals in France -- significant figures such as the King and Queen of Navarre, the Admiral de Coligny and the Prince of Condé -- during the same

critical two to three years, was more positive. On the whole, Calvin's emphasis in these letters was that the military and political leaders of the reformed cause should *not* delay.¹²⁵ If this advice was more deferential, it was certainly no less urgent.

Other evidence of the importance of the situation in France to Calvin includes the observations of his contemporaries. Theodore Beza once stated that Calvin always had 'the affairs of that [i. e., the French] Church and even of the State... at his finger-tips, right down to minute details'.¹²⁶ Similarly, one of the Genevan envoys, writing to Calvin, referred to 'the holy desire which you have, to be apprised of the progress of the kingdom of our Lord'. Presumably Calvin had left this minister in no doubt that he wished to be kept fully informed of events as they unfolded in Saintes.¹²⁷ Secondly, there are the letters Calvin wrote to his friends and colleagues. It is not altogether surprising that Calvin's many letters to Beza in 1561 should be dominated by his concern for affairs in France, as they were written while Beza was on assignment there. Yet his correspondence to other colleagues in 1560-63 is no different. Almost without exception, his letters to those in the Swiss cantons, such as Bullinger, Blaurer and Sulzer, or to Peter Martyr and Jehan Sturm in Strasbourg, express either his anxiety or his excitement about the progress of the Gospel in France. Perhaps the most telling indication, however, of the importance Calvin attached to the circumstances of the French reformed Church by 1561 is the Dedicatory Epistle he wrote for his *Lectures in the Book of Daniel*, which were published that year. The contents of the work will be considered at a later point. Here it is simply the dedication which is significant. Calvin chose to dedicate his most significant publication of the year to 'The godly worshippers of France', and in doing so he drew attention to 'the strong proofs' which he believed he had given of 'how seriously and ardently I desire to benefit our people'.¹²⁸

Conclusion

Before 1555, Calvin's scope for evangelistic activity in his native land was limited by the weakness of his own position in Geneva, and the strength of the anti-reformist forces in France. From 1555 onwards, however, the position changed, and a missionary programme was inaugurated which reached its fullest extent in 1561-62.

The true scale of this missionary programme is not conveyed by the much-quoted Registers of the Company of Pastors in Geneva. Other records indicate that Geneva was exhausted by the demands made upon its pastors and its Academy. Nor do the Company Registers indicate in any detail the nature of the work undertaken by the Genevan envoys in France. The ecclesiastical correspondence suggests that the missionaries and the congregations to which they were assigned were united in two concerns: the organisation of the French reformed Church and the propagation of the reformed Gospel. It has been shown that, to this end, they looked to Calvin for inspiration and advice. He, in turn, was deeply concerned about the progress of the Gospel in France. By 1561, it was his over-riding pre-occupation.

This fact begs a question. To what extent does the missionary activity of 1555-64 find echoes in Calvin's theological writings of the same period? Given the attention which Calvin dedicated to assisting the growth of the reformed churches in France, and the work of the Genevan missionary envoys, one would expect to be able to identify in his theology the concepts which formed the basis for his position. It is to the identification and the exposition of these theological concepts that the subsequent chapters of this thesis are devoted.

Notes

- 1 *Ioannis Calvini Opera Selecta*; vol. 1, ed. P. Barth and W. Niesel, Chr. Kaiser, Munich 1926, p.21. Further references to this work are given as 'O. S. I', with page number. The translation is from J. Calvin: *Institutes of the Christian Religion: 1536 edition*, tr. F. L. Battles, Collins, London 1986, p.1. Further references to this work are given as Battles: 1536, with page number.
- 2 '[Calvin] had left France in order to evangelize it from without, to organise his new communities from afar. All his life he had striven to attain this goal glimpsed in his youth'. F. Wendel: *Calvin: The Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*; Collins, London 1963, p.107. It is significant that Calvin referred to his exile in the Dedicatory Epistles he composed to accompany his Lectures on both Daniel and Jeremiah: Ep. 3485, C. O. 18.614-615, C. T. S. I.iv, and Ep. 3986, C. O. 20.72, C. T. S. I.xxiii. (For C.T.S. see note 123 below)
- 3 See E. W. Monter: *Calvin's Geneva*; John Wiley, New York 1967, pp.70-89.
- 4 A. L. Covelle: *Le Livre des Bourgeois de l'ancienne République de Genève*; Genève 1897. E. W. Monter: "Historical Demography and Religious History in Sixteenth Century Geneva", *Journal of Inter-Disciplinary History* 9 (1979), pp.399-427.
- 5 Wendel: *Calvin*. T. H. L. Parker: *John Calvin: A Biography*; Lion Publishing, Berkhamsted 1973. W. J. Bouwsma: *John Calvin: A Sixteenth Century Portrait*; Oxford University Press, Oxford 1988. R. S. Wallace: *Calvin, Geneva, and the Reformation*; Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1988. A. Ganoczy: *Calvin, Théologien de l'Église et du Ministère*; Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1964. K. McDonnell: *John Calvin, the Church and the Eucharist*; Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ 1967. B. C. Milner: *Calvin's Doctrine of the Church*; E. J. Brill, Leiden 1970. Höpfl: *Christian Polity*.
- 6 T. de Bèze: *Vie de Calvin*; 1564 ed., C. O. 21.21-50; T. Beza: *Vita Calvinii*; revd. ed. 1575, C. O. 21.119-172.
- 7 R. M. Kingdon et J.-F. Bergier eds.: *Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève au temps de Calvin; Tome II, 1553-1564*; Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, LV; Librairie Droz, Genève 1962. Cited in these notes as R. C. P. II. Translations from this work are my own.
- 8 E. W. Monter: *Calvin's Geneva*, pp.114-115, 134-135. A. E. McGrath: *A Life of John Calvin: A Study in the Shaping of Western Culture*; Blackwell, Oxford 1990, pp.182-184. Hughes: "John Calvin". W. S. Reid: "Calvin's Geneva".
- 9 For bibliographical details, see p.8, notes 10-11.
- 10 Kingdon does cite (e.g., p.79) both the ecclesiastical correspondence and Colladon's lists. However, some basic errors create doubt about how closely he was able to study these. For instance, the note (no. 6, p.90) to the effect that Ms. Fr. 197 in Geneva, B. P. U. is devoted entirely to ecclesiastical correspondence dating from the year 1561 is inaccurate: of the 51 letters, 7 are of uncertain date, 10 are dated 1561, and 4 may be assigned to the same year; 12 date from 1562; 9 from 1563; 5 from 1564; 1 from 1565, and 3 from 1566. In addition, his Appendices, which furnish a profile of the pastors from Geneva and their assignments in France, are derived exclusively from R. C. P. II.
- 11 R. C. P. II.62.

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- ¹² Ep. 1825, C. O. 14.637. cf. the ministers sent to serve M. de Falais in 1544 and 1547, Ep. 647, C. O. 12.82, and Ep. 908, C. O. 12.522; but M. de Falais was then living in Cologne.
- ¹³ In Appendix VI of his book Kingdon asserts that between 1555 and 1562, the Registers record 105 missions to France, involving 88 men: 1 in 1555; 3 in 1556 (including 2 to Brazil); 11 in 1557; 22 in 1558; 32 in 1559; 12 in 1560; 12 in 1561; 12 in 1562. These figures are adopted uncritically by Hughes, p.20; W. S. Reid, p.69; McGrath, p.184; Palmer, p.257; and M. Prestwich, "Calvinism in France, 1555-1629" (in M. Prestwich ed.: *International Calvinism, 1541-1715*; Clarendon Press, Oxford 1985, pp.71-108), p.84.
- ¹⁴ R. C. P. II.62.
- ¹⁵ R. C. P. II.68.
- ¹⁶ R. C. P. II.68. See Beaver, and below, pp.135-137.
- ¹⁷ R. C. P. II.68-69.
- ¹⁸ R. C. P. II.70-79. To this point Kingdon's figures are entirely accurate.
- ¹⁹ R. C. P. II.80-84. Kingdon's total of 22 excludes the anonymous pastor despatched to Rouen (R. C. P. II.80), the re-assignment of Dolbeau from Tours to Montoire (R. C. P. II.82), and the assignment of Aubé/Hobé to St. Jehan d'Angely (R. C. P. II.83).
- ²⁰ R. C. P. II.84-90. Kingdon has 32, perhaps omitting the assignment of Gilles to Nérac.
- ²¹ 1560: R. C. P. II.90-93; 1561: R. C. P. II.94-95; 1562: R. C. P. II.96-100; 1563: R. C. P. II.100-101. There were however three despatches later in 1564, R. C. P. II.110-111. Kingdon suggests there were 12 assignments in 1560, but omits the re-assignment of La Garde (Moranges) to Euses (R. C. P. II.90); he was previously in Issoudon (R. C. P. II.81).
- ²² Kingdon's figure of 105 missions includes the two men sent to Brazil, but excludes the two assignments which took place in 1563, together with five which took place in 1555-1562: see above, notes 19-21.
- ²³ Kingdon's figure of 88 pastors includes the two men (Richier and Charretier) who were despatched to Brazil, and excludes the anonymous 'maistre [blanc]' who was sent to Rouen in January 1558. cf. R. C. P. II.80.
- ²⁴ Of the 248 request letters in Appendix I, almost all of which are requests for pastors, ninety-nine are printed in C. O. 17-20; another forty-seven are printed elsewhere; and 102 remain as yet unprinted.
- ²⁵ There is some uncertainty about this, as the letter concerned (Ep. 2863, C. O. 17.157, from Bordeaux) is simply dated 6 May. Nevertheless there are good grounds to suppose that the year was 1558. The earliest similar letter whose date is in no doubt was written on 12 April 1559: Ep. 3041, C. O. 17.496.
- ²⁶ R. C. P. II.62, 68.
- ²⁷ R. C. P. II.71.
- ²⁸ In addition to the two letters cited in note 25, dating from [1558] and 1559, five further request letters have survived from 1559: from Toulouse, Eps. 3074, C. O. 17.557 and 3075, C. O. 17.559; from Gien, Ep. 3086, C. O. 17.581; from Valence, Roman p.10; and from Montbrun, Roman p.11. (For the details of the work cited here as 'Roman', see note 30.) From 1560, three such letters survive: from Paris, Ep. 3164, C. O. 18.18; from

St. Jehan d'Angely dated 09.02.60, Ms. Fr. 197a, f.44; and from Chastelerauld, dated 26.03.60, Ms. Fr. 197a, f.47.

- 29 Kingdon, p.79; Doumergue, VII.309.
- 30 See Appendix I. Of my total of 171, only 77 are published in the *Calvini Opera*. A further 22 have been published elsewhere, either in J. Gaberel: "Correspondance des Églises de France", *Histoire de l'Église de Genève*, Vol. I, pt. II; Genève 1858, pp. 148-194; in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* (hereafter cited in the notes as *B. S. H. P. F.*) 46 (1897), pp.456-468; or in J. Roman, "Documents sur la Réforme et les Guerres de Religion en Dauphiné", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Isère*, 3^e Serie, Tome 15; 1890. The originals are collected together in seven large manuscript volumes, in the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire in Geneva: Ms. Fr. 196; Ms. Fr. 197; Ms. Fr. 197a; Ms. Fr. 402; Ms. Fr. 403; Ms. L. 109; Ms. L. 121.
- 31 Folios 100v, 101v-101, 103-106 of Geneva, B. P. U., Ms. Fr. 402. A new edition of these lists, which I have prepared for publication, is due to appear in a forthcoming issue of the *B. S. H. P. F.*. An unannotated version is included in Appendix II.
- 32 Folio 100v, Geneva, B. P. U., Ms. Fr. 402.
- 33 Of the eleven French churches on the list, letters requesting pastors from Geneva have survived from eight. All ten letters from these eight churches date from 1561. The latest of them, on behalf of the Church in Valence, is dated 18 November 1561. This, together with the fact that the list is jotted on the back of a letter dated 24 November 1561 makes it probable, but not certain, that it was composed at the end of that month.
- 34 Folios 101v-101, Geneva, B. P. U., Ms. Fr. 402. This catalogue seems to have been conflated with the *aide-mémoire* by Kingdon in his discussion (p.79).
- 35 Folios 103-106, Geneva, B. P. U., Ms. Fr. 402.
- 36 Not 151 assignments involving 142 men, as asserted by Kingdon (p.79) and repeated by Hughes (p.20), W. S. Reid (p.73), and Palmer (p. 257), all following Kingdon.
- 37 S. Stelling-Michaud ed.: *Le Livre du Recteur de l'Academie de Genève, 1559 à 1878; Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance XXXIII-XXXVIII*; 6 vols, Librairie Droz, Genève 1959-1980.
- 38 i. e., on the lists in Appendix II.
- 39 R. C. P. II.96.
- 40 Ep. 3708, C. O. 19.271.
- 41 Thirty-seven have survived dating from 1562, and twenty-three from 1563. See Appendix I.
- 42 e. g., the reference to M. Jean Ferraud in Ep. 3745, C. O. 19.343.
- 43 The Company Registers supply 86 names, Colladon's lists an additional 134, the Academy Register another 18, and various pieces of ecclesiastical correspondence another 12.
- 44 Ep. 3787, C. O. 19.413.
- 45 Kingdon, p.80.
- 46 Appendix II, C.67, C.100.

- 47 e. g., the letter of Chevalier to the Ministers in Geneva, 14.06.62, Gaberel, p.177.
- 48 e. g., the letter from Gaudineau to the Ministers in Geneva, 07.05.62, Gaberel, p. 175.
- 49 R. C. P. II.95; cf. Ep. 3432, C. O. 18.540.
- 50 Ep. 3433, C. O. 18.542; cf. Ep. 3346, C. O. 18.376.
- 51 Ep. 3397, C. O. 18.467. It is interesting to note that in the letters written by these pastors from the field to Geneva, a number express a sense of their own inadequacy, and lack of education. One of the pastors who features on all three of Colladon's lists, whose name was Plateanus, or Jean de la Place, is registered in the *Livre des Habitants* in Geneva as a labourer (P.-F. Giesendorf: *Le Livre des Habitants de Genève, Tome I, 1555-1572*; Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance XXVI; Librairie Droz, Genève 1957, p.124. This work is cited hereafter as L. H., with volume and page numbers).
- 52 Ep. 3401, C. O. 18.474.
- 53 R. C. P. II.98-99. Kingdon (p.80) notes that the shortage of pastors in Geneva was the subject of discussions in the City Council in October and December 1561. Geneva Archiv., R. C. LVI, fols. 249v., 273. cf. Ep. 3495, C. O. 18.649.
- 54 R. C. P. II.79.
- 55 R. C. P. II.91.
- 56 R. C. P. II.95.
- 57 C. O. 21.753. Kingdon, p.25.
- 58 Kingdon, pp.68ff.
- 59 Kingdon, p.74.
- 60 Ep. 3324, C. O. 18.337.
- 61 Ep. 3329, C. O. 18.343.
- 62 Geneva Archiv., R. C. LVI, fols. 64, 72; cited by Kingdon, p.34.
- 63 Ep. 3329, C. O. 18.344.
- 64 Kingdon, pp.106ff.
- 65 G. Baum and E. Cunitz eds.: *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Églises Réformées au Royaume de France*; 3 vols., Paris 1883-1889, I.669.
- 66 This is at least the judgment of the *Histoire Ecclésiastique* (I.97).
- 67 Inst. II.29, Battles: 1536, p.62; O. S. I.91.
- 68 Inst. IV.i.9 (1536), p.1023; O. S. V.13.24-27.
- 69 Höpfl, pp.115-121.
- 70 Ecclesiastical Ordinances, C. O. 10/1.30.

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- 71 R. C. P. II.59.
- 72 Volume I of the *Histoire Ecclésiastique* (p.97 onwards) is a comprehensive survey of the dates at which consistories were established in France.
- 73 R. C. P. II.62, 69, 71.
- 74 R. C. P. II.73.
- 75 R. C. P. II.78, 80.
- 76 R. C. P. II.82; H. E. I.107.
- 77 R. C. P. II.94-95.
- 78 Ep. 2287, C. O. 15.754; Ep. 2289, C. O. 15.758; Ep. 2288, C. O. 15.756; Ep. 2785, C. O. 17.4; Ep. 2928, C. O. 17.276.
- 79 Ep. 1825, C. O. 14.637.
- 80 Ep. 2005, C. O. 15.222.
- 81 Prestwich, p.84. The distinction is common in the secondary literature. See, e. g., M. Greengrass: *The French Reformation*; Blackwell, Oxford 1987, p.29; J. Garrison: *Les Protestants au XVI^e Siècle*; Fayard, n. p. 1988, pp.172-174; McGrath, p.183; Berthoud, p.16. I have questioned at greater length elsewhere whether this conventional distinction is ever borne out in the primary sources. See my article on "*Églises plantées and églises dressées* in the historiography of early French Protestantism", in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (forthcoming, October 1993).
- 82 H. E. I.97.
- 83 That is to say, I have been unable to locate a single example. Certainly, no reference is given where the phrase is used in the secondary literature.
- 84 H. E. I.156.
- 85 Ep. 3342, C. O. 18.368.
- 86 Gaberel, p.163.
- 87 *B. S. H. P. F.* 14 (1865), p.366.
- 88 It is clear that some kind of Colloquy took place at Poitiers in 1557, which may have been a proto-national Synod. See Kingdon, pp.45f.
- 89 Kingdon, p.46.
- 90 Ep. 3429, C. O. 18.534.
- 91 Matthew 9.37 and Luke 10.2.
- 92 Ep. 3065, C. O. 17.540.
- 93 Ep. 3419, C. O. 18.516. cf. The Church of Troyes to Calvin, Ep. 3656, C. O. 19.183: 'As great as the harvest is, so great is our need of workers for the said harvest. Thanks to God, there is work enough to occupy a dozen labourers or more, if only we could have them'.

- 94 De la Vigne à Colladon de St.-Lô, 01.08.61, Ms. L. 121.16, f.66.
- 95 Les Fidèles de St.-Marcellin à Richon, 15.10.61, Roman, p.48.
- 96 Ep. 3545, C. O. 19.10. cf. Ep. 3418, C. O. 18.515; Ep. 3553, C. O. 19.24; Ep. 3633, C. O. 19.145; Ep. 3654, C. O. 19.180; L'Église de la Vallée de Champsaur aux Ministres de Genève, Roman, p.110. The examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely.
- 97 e. g., Acts 2.47; 5.14; 6.1; 6.7; 9.31; 11.21.
- 98 Ms. Fr. 197, f.22. Cited by Doumergue, p.329.
- 99 Ep. 3399, C. O. 18.471.
- 100 Ep. 3768, C. O. 19.382.
- 101 B. S. H. P. F. 17 (1868), p.485; cf. B. S. H. P. F. 14 (1865), p.363.
- 102 Gaberel, pp.158-159.
- 103 L'Église de Bergerac à Colladon, 29.05.61, Ms. L. 121, f.36.
- 104 Ep. 3463, C. O. 18.585.
- 105 Ep. 3714, C. O. 19.282.
- 106 Ep. 3553, C. O. 19.24.
- 107 Ep. 3470, C. O. 18.597.
- 108 Ep. 3606, C. O. 19.107.
- 109 Ep. 3422, C. O. 18.523.
- 110 Ep. 3790, C. O. 19.416.
- 111 e. g., Ep. 3634, C. O. 19.146; Ep. 3795, C. O. 19.425.
- 112 These words have at least twice been attributed to Calvin, addressing the churches of France. However, no reference is provided, either by Kingdon (Preface), or by J. Cadier: *Calvin: L'Homme qui Dieu a Dompté*; 2nd. ed., Labor et Fides, Genève 1963, p.167.
- 113 Ep. 3710, C. O. 19.276.
- 114 Kingdon, pp.82f.
- 115 Almost all the letters listed in Appendix I are letters requesting pastors. A small number are letters requesting advice over matters of church discipline, or reporting on events in general.
- 116 Ep. 3397, C. O. 18.467.
- 117 Of the ministers named in the Company Registers the following 19 wrote letters to Calvin: Boishnormand, Boissière, Channourry, d'Anduse, de Bèze, de Morel, de St.-Paul, Faget, Folion, Grené, Lacombe, L'Anglois, Macar, Marlorat, Merlin, Morange, Rouvière, Seelac, Tacchard. Of those named in Colladon's lists, the following 20 wrote to him: Archambaud, Costa, Davarenda, de Beaulieu, de Vaux, Faverges, Fournellet, Hardi,

Lacombe, La Place, La Vigne, Molinon, Morange, Popillon, Raillet, Richard, Sachet, Sorel, Suraeus, Tartier.

- ¹¹⁸ Ep. 2841, C. O. 17.114.
- ¹¹⁹ Ep. 3399, C. O. 18.471. cf.: Ep. 3440, C. O. 18.553; Ep. 3655, C. O. 19.183.
- ¹²⁰ Ep. 3314, C. O. 18.312.
- ¹²¹ Ep. 3186, C. O. 18.66.
- ¹²² Ep. 3461, C. O. 18.580.
- ¹²³ É. Trocmé: "Une Révolution mal Conduite", *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 39 (1959), pp.160-168.
- ¹²⁴ McGrath, pp.190-191.
- ¹²⁵ e. g., To the King of Navarre in 1561: 'Rouse yourself!' (Ep. 3393, C. O. 18.458), 'Open your eyes!... If we speak rather sharply sir, believe me, it is now or never' (Ep. 3502, C. O. 18.659, 660).
- ¹²⁶ Quoted in É. Léonard: *A History of Protestantism*; Nelson, London 1967, vol. II, p.101, note 2 (although the English translation there speaks, confusingly, of 'the Republic'). No reference is given.
- ¹²⁷ Ep. 3354, C. O. 18.393.
- ¹²⁸ Ep. 3485, C. O. 18.614-624, 615, C. T. S. I.liv. Where references are to the C.O., translations are my own, but references in the form C. T. S. I.liv (to the somewhat unreliable Calvin Translation Society edition of Old Testament Commentaries) are added where possible for the convenience of those who do not have access to the Latin text.

Chapter Two

Calvin's Theological Lectures and the Nature of his Audience, 1555-1564

Introduction

It has been argued in chapter one that during the last ten years of his life Calvin was increasingly pre-occupied with the evangelisation of France. It has been suggested that especially when, in 1561-62, reformed pastors were leaving Geneva on missionary assignments in such great numbers, Calvin himself presided over the movement. It was to him that the reformed communities of France turned with their requests for pastors, and it was he who, as Moderator of the Venerable Company of Pastors, was responsible for supervising the recruitment, training and placement of the envoys. This begs a question: to what extent does the missionary activity of 1555-64 find echoes in Calvin's theological works during the same period? The objective of the present chapter is to establish the significance for this thesis of one particular category of those works: the expositions which Calvin made of the prophetic books of the Old Testament, especially his theological Lectures.

In the last ten years of his life Calvin's literary output was prolific. Much of what he wrote was subsequently published, although not all of it during his lifetime. These works fall into the following six categories. Firstly, he undertook a major revision of the *Institutio*, which was published in its final Latin form in 1559; a French edition followed in 1560. Secondly, Calvin produced expositions of all the prophetic books of the Old Testament, chiefly by delivering a series of lectures on them which was interrupted only by his death.¹ Thirdly, he wrote letters: some 'personal', to friends and colleagues, some 'official', to heads of state and significant figures in the reformation movement; almost without exception, these include passages of theological interest. Fourthly, he composed numerous controversial treatises, most of

which were directed either against the German Lutherans (over the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist), or against the Italian and Polish anti-Trinitarians (over the nature of Christ's mediation). Fifthly, he preached an extraordinary number of sermons, which were originally recorded in manuscript form. In the last ten years of his life, Calvin preached extended expositions from both the Old Testament (on Deuteronomy, 1555-56; Isaiah, 1556-59; Genesis, 1559-61; Judges, 1561; 1 and 2 Samuel, 1561-63; 1 and 2 Kings, 1563-64; and on several Psalms, at various dates), and the New (on 1 and 2 Timothy, 1555-56; and Titus, 1556; 1 and 2 Corinthians, 1556-57; Galatians, 1557-58; Ephesians, 1558; the Harmony of the Gospels, 1559-64). Some of these series were published during his lifetime, and some have been printed more recently; but in several cases the manuscripts have been lost.² Finally, he completed the last of his Commentaries on the books of the New Testament, and his first on the books of the Old.³

Echoes of Calvin's missionary activity may doubtless be discerned in all of these works. However, in this thesis particular attention is paid only to the first three of these categories. With regard to his correspondence, the explanation is that many of his correspondents were either active with him in the evangelisation of France (or of western Europe generally), or they were perceived by Calvin as having the capacity to assist or hinder his work. As far as the expositions of the Prophets are concerned, attention is paid to them for two reasons. In the first place, this chapter will argue, the Lectures which Calvin gave on the Prophets represent the point at which his theology of mission touches his practice of it, since many of his hearers were directly involved with him in the evangelisation of France. The fact that Calvin was addressing those who shared his preoccupation with 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ', and that these Lectures were intended by him to equip them for their missionary task, makes them the most obvious place to look for his reflections upon the theological basis for mission. Secondly, quite apart

from the nature of Calvin's audience and the specific, vocational design of the Lectures, the subject matter of the prophetic books demanded that Calvin address himself to missionary themes, such as the calling of the Gentiles, and the purpose of preaching and of the coming of Christ. For this reason attention is also paid to the related *Commentaries on the Psalms* and *on Isaiah*. Detailed consideration is also given to the *Institutio*, especially the definitive versions of 1559-60. This is not because its author was 'a man of one book'.⁴ On the contrary, it can be shown that Calvin considered his biblical commentaries to be an indispensable complement to his *magnum opus*,⁵ and those aspects of his theology with which this thesis is concerned offer a perfect illustration of the way in which the *Institutio* sometimes fails to convey the full scope of his thought.⁶ Nor is it because the final revision of the *Institutio*, as well as its original composition, was carried out with the situation in France at the forefront of Calvin's mind, although this was inevitably the case. (In 1559 the Prefatory Address to the French monarch was certainly no less relevant than it had been when it was originally composed, notwithstanding the death of Francis I.) Instead, close attention is paid to the *Institutio* because, whatever its shortcomings, it represents the sole *systematic* expression of Calvin's thought.⁷ As such, it is indispensable to the study of any aspect of his theology, and it is essential that insights which are derived primarily from other parts of his theological *corpus* are related to it.

Less attention has been given to the controversial treatises, the few expositions which are 'commentaries' in the strict sense of the word, and the sermons. In the case of the treatises, this hardly requires justification. Even if they were written as much in order to edify Calvin's colleagues as to confound his opponents, the controversies which provoked them did not require Calvin to vindicate his missionary activity, or offer him an opportunity to reflect on its theological basis. Something similar can be said of Calvin's

Commentaries on the Last Four Books of Moses, on *Joshua*, and on the *Gospel Harmony*, and of his many sermons: unlike the Lectures, they were not composed primarily for audiences of potential missionaries, and, on the whole, the subject matter of the biblical texts Calvin was expounding in them did not confront him with the need to address missionary concerns. In the case of the *Commentary on the Gospel Harmony* and the sermons on Isaiah, where the theme of the biblical text did do so, Calvin's expositions contain little which cannot be adequately conveyed with reference to the Lectures, the *Commentary on the Psalms* and the *Commentaries on Isaiah*.⁸

The remainder of this chapter begins with a chronological outline of the Lectures Calvin gave on the Prophetic books of the Old Testament. It concludes with an account of the way in which these Lectures, which were delivered between 1548 and 1564, came to be published. The heart of the chapter, however, is a discussion of the nature of the audience at these Lectures. Conveniently, the interval between 1559 and 1564 is not only the period when the missionary movement was at its height; it is also the period, immediately after the opening of the Academy, for which the evidence about Calvin's lecture audience is at its fullest.

The Sequence of Calvin's Lectures⁹

When Calvin was detained in Geneva by Farel in 1536, his first official appointment was to be 'Lecturer in Holy Scripture'.¹⁰ It is, however, difficult to shed much light on the nature of his Lectures during the next twenty years. Where did Calvin lecture, on what, and to whom? After 1556 the picture becomes somewhat clearer, and after the founding of the Academy in 1559, the information available is almost comprehensive. The fullest source for the study of Calvin's Lectures is the *Vie de Calvin* which was published as a preface to the second edition of Calvin's *Commentary on Joshua* in 1565. The work is attributed there to de Bèze; but in fact it was written by Nicolas

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Colladon, to whose lists of missionaries reference has been made in chapter one.¹¹ However, not even Colladon has much to say about these Lectures in the early years. His information has to be supplemented from elsewhere.

1536-1538

An incidental remark, in a letter from a printer in Basle, relates that in 1537 Calvin was lecturing on the Epistles of St. Paul ('with great distinction and to great profit').¹² The practice of converting lectures into publications is not new, and since Calvin's first Commentary, published in 1540, was on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, it is reasonable to infer that this was also the subject of his first Lectures. A contemporary review of the education system in Geneva indicates that the Lectures were 'a public course in the interpretation of Holy Scripture'. It states that they were delivered daily, at two o'clock in the afternoon, in the Church of Saint-Pierre, and it creates the clear impression that Calvin was perceived as a junior partner to Guillaume Farel, who gave lectures in Old Testament Hebrew each morning.¹³

1538-1541

It is possible to build up only the most fragmentary picture of Calvin's lecturing during his sojourn in Strasbourg. In January 1539, Calvin himself wrote to Farel with the news that, at the instigation of Wolfgang Capito, he had been invited to lecture publicly, and was therefore either preaching or lecturing every day of the week.¹⁴ Since, according to a correspondent of Bullinger's, Calvin was preaching four times each week,¹⁵ it is probable that he gave Lectures on three days. From the beginning of May 1539, Calvin received a small stipend for this lecturing,¹⁶ and it appears that, from May 12, his subject was the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians.¹⁷ There is also some evidence to suggest that, until then, Calvin had lectured on the Gospel of St. John.¹⁸

1541-1559

In 1541, Calvin returned to Geneva. Almost at once he submitted his *Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances* to the City Council. These gave a prominent place to 'doctors', who formed 'the order of the schools'. Although the *Draft Ordinances* were never fully implemented, and were eventually superseded by the *Ordinances* of 1561, they do provide a definite indication of Calvin's expectations at that time. They envisaged the appointment of two lecturers in Theology: 'it will be good to have one in Old Testament and one in New Testament'.¹⁹ However, there is no evidence that any formal appointments were made. Calvin resumed his Lectures immediately; but it is not clear that his brief was restricted to Old or New Testament, or that he was expected to share the lecturing with a colleague.

Details about Calvin's Lectures in the 1540s are once again elusive. Colladon makes the general assertion that, among his other commitments at this stage, Calvin usually preached on every day of alternate weeks, and 'lectured in Theology three times each week',²⁰ but he adds nothing specific. Given the sequence in which Calvin's New Testament Commentaries were published, 'it is a fair assumption', as Parker suggests, that when Calvin first returned to Geneva, he pursued his lectures on the books of the New Testament, and that 'he finished lecturing on the epistles, before he turned to the Old Testament'.²¹ However, it is only with the first of Calvin's Old Testament Lectures that Colladon begins to supply details of the history. In his annals for 1549, he wrote:

In the Theological Lectures [Calvin] explained to the scholars, the ministers and the other auditors, the Prophet Isaiah, which he had begun to do some considerable time previously.²²

These Lectures probably began in 1548;²³ they were certainly completed in the course of 1550, when Calvin began his exposition of Genesis.²⁴

The Lectures on Genesis were concluded during 1552. Calvin then embarked upon a single unbroken series of Lectures on the Prophetic books

of the Old Testament, with which he was engaged until his death in 1564. He began with the Psalms, which he considered to be a 'prophetic' work,²⁵ and continued with Hosea and the other Minor Prophets. He finished these, lecturing in his bedroom during an attack of quartan fever, in autumn 1558.²⁶ Some, if not most, of these Lectures were delivered in 'the *Auditoire*' -- a former chapel adjacent to the Cathedral. Colladon records that when his sickness left him in the early part of 1559, this is where Calvin resumed his lecturing,²⁷ and in the preface to the published edition of the *Lectures on the Minor Prophets*, Calvin himself discloses that these were delivered there too. In protesting that he never intended the Lectures to be published, he asks,

How shall I escape the accusation of pride if I thrust onto the whole wide world the reading of thoughts which I poured out so freely in the *Auditoire*, for immediate use?²⁸

It was during the Lectures on the Minor Prophets that plans for the building of the Academy, first mooted in 1541, finally advanced. In early January 1558, the City Council had commissioned an official inspection of 'the site which appears to be the best on which to build a college'.²⁹ Before Calvin fell ill in the late summer, a commission reported to the Council the plans which it had drawn up for the college buildings,³⁰ and by the time Calvin recovered his health in June 1559, these plans had progressed sufficiently for the Academy to be opened.

1559-1564

By virtue of the thoroughness of Colladon's account, and the detailed character of the *Leges Academiae Genevensis*³¹ the pattern of his Lectures in the last five years of Calvin's life can be reconstructed with remarkable precision. It is possible to establish not only the periods at which Calvin was lecturing on particular subjects, but also the days and hours at which his Lectures were usually delivered. The only doubt concerns their venue once the Academy was established. Borgeaud suggests that they took place in

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the college buildings, in the room set aside for the most junior class, 'which was naturally little used during those early years'; but he also notes that as late as 1562 the members of the City Council had to forbid the continuation of Lectures which were 'inappropriately' taking place in the *Auditoire*, instead of in the College.³² Significantly, Calvin himself said of his *Lectures on Jeremiah* (which date from 1560-62), that they were delivered from 'the pulpit'³³ (i. e., in the former chapel known as the *Auditoire*). It was certainly Calvin's established custom by 1559 to lecture in the *Auditoire*, and it is likely that he persisted with the practice until prevented from doing so three years later. Other details are less obscure. The Academy Laws indicate, for example, that Calvin lectured three times a week, in alternate weeks, on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, from two until three o'clock in the afternoon.³⁴

From the date of the Academy's inauguration (5 June 1559) onwards, Colladon's record of Calvin's progress is meticulous in detail. Exactly one week after the inauguration, on Monday June 12, Calvin began his *Lectures on Daniel*.³⁵ He completed these in 1560, 'in the month of April; and on the fifteenth, he began Jeremiah'.³⁶ Apparently conscious of his failing health, Calvin expressed the view in his introduction to these Lectures that although he hoped to live long enough to finish them, he expected the exposition of Ezekiel to be undertaken by 'a more competent commentator'.³⁷ In the event the *Lectures on Jeremiah* only gave way to those on Lamentations over two years later, in September 1562. Calvin delivered the last of the *Lectures on Jeremiah* on Wednesday 9, and after the customary week of preaching, he embarked on the interpretation of Lamentations on Monday 21.³⁸ This was concluded in early 1563. The following day, January 20, he began to lecture on the Prophet Ezekiel.³⁹ This series was interrupted by his final illness, at the beginning of February, 1564, when he had reached the end of Chapter Twenty. 'On Wednesday, the second of the said month, at two o'clock in the

afternoon, he gave his last lecture in the school, that is to say, on Ezekiel.⁴⁰ Calvin died on 27 May.

The Audience at Calvin's Lectures, 1555-64

What, then, was the aim of Calvin's Lectures? To whom were they delivered? A helpful answer is Colladon's remark that 'in the Theological Lectures [in 1549, Calvin] expounded the Prophet Isaiah to the scholars, the ministers and the other auditors'.⁴¹ It will be argued that this description of Calvin's hearers applied not only to that year, but throughout the time that he was lecturing in Geneva. Indeed, for the period between 1555 and 1564, and especially for the period after the inauguration of the Academy, it is possible to throw further light on each of these three groups.

This is true of 'the scholars' in particular. Attention has already been drawn to the terms of the *Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances*, which Calvin submitted to the City Council upon his return to Geneva in 1541, according to which two lecturers were to be appointed 'in Theology'. The *Ordinances* do not specify where, or whom, these lecturers were to teach, but they do recommend that,

because it is only possible to profit from such lectures if first one is instructed in the languages and humanities... a college should be instituted for the instruction of children, to prepare them for the ministry, as well as for civil government.⁴²

A place 'for the instruction of children' was duly established at the *Collège de Rive*.⁴³ (Its new master was Sebastian Castellio, who later resigned from his post after a quarrel with Calvin, and was banished from Geneva.⁴⁴) This school was not the place where the Lectures were given, however. It is important to note that the regulations distinguish between a college for the preparatory education of children, and a more advanced institution, in which theology lectures were to be given. This distinction was a common feature among educational institutions in Renaissance Europe, and it was always

maintained in the Geneva of Calvin's day. Thus when, in his chronicle for 1550, Colladon relates that '[Calvin] explained the Book of Genesis in the school', it should not be thought that the reference is to the *Collège de Rive*. Colladon uses similar phrases on other occasions,⁴⁵ but Parker is mistaken to conclude on this basis that 'the chief audience, that is, those for whom [Calvin's] lectures were primarily designed, were Genevan schoolboys... [of] between twelve or thirteen, and sixteen'.⁴⁶

It is most unlikely that Calvin prepared his Lectures primarily with 'schoolboys' in mind. In two contemporary institutions whose founders were Calvin's close colleagues, the study of theology was certainly reserved for those who had completed their preparatory education. In Strasbourg, the transition from propaedeutic to advanced studies took place at sixteen; in Nîmes, at the University founded by Claude Baduel (whom Calvin knew from his time in Strasbourg, and who later became Professor of Arts in Geneva), at fifteen.⁴⁷ It is much more likely that Calvin taught either in the Church of Saint-Pierre (where Lectures were unquestionably held formerly), or in the adjacent *Auditoire* (where, as it has been shown, it is sure they took place from some time before 1557 until at least 1559) than in the *Collège de Rive*. When Colladon refers to 'the school', therefore, he is referring primarily to the context rather than to the location of the Lectures. He means that the Lectures were a formal part of the advanced education for the training of civil and ecclesiastical officers, envisaged in the *Draft Ordinances*.

Furthermore, the two other groups specified by Colladon should not be overlooked: Calvin's Lectures were also attended by his fellow ministers (such as Nicolas des Gallars, François Bourgoing and Jean Cousin), and some 'other auditors'. At least for the period of which Colladon is speaking, Parker may be right to observe that these 'others' who are mentioned were 'restricted to those who had sufficient command of Latin, and enough free time'.⁴⁸ It should, however, be kept in mind that after 1554 a great increase

took place in the number of religious refugees arriving in Geneva from France. Only fifty-six refugees were registered in the *Livre des Habitants de Genève* in 1552. In 1553 there were seventy-eight. In each of the next three years there were upwards of three hundred. In 1557, 1558, and 1559, the numbers were 886, 632, and 1726 respectively.⁴⁹ It was undoubtedly the reformed Church which attracted most of these immigrants to Geneva. It is therefore highly probable that, although regular attendance at Lectures was not compulsory (in the way that attendance at sermons was), large numbers of those who arrived in Geneva from France after 1555 would have availed themselves occasionally, if not on a regular basis, of the opportunity to hear Calvin teach. Indeed, on a few occasions, these new *habitants* were specifically registered as *escholliers*.⁵⁰

If it is difficult to expand further on Colladon's description of Calvin's hearers before the opening of the Academy, the case is different afterwards. For the period when Calvin was lecturing on Daniel, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the information is full and illuminating. It is possible to identify the character of Calvin's audience very precisely, and to show that all three groups to which Colladon refers (scholars, ministers and 'other auditors') were closely associated with the efforts being made to advance the cause of the Gospel in France.

With regard to the 'scholars', the important distinction between the instruction for schoolboys and the lectures for advanced students, which is present even in the 1541 Ordinances, was fundamental to the structure of the Academy. It is clearly set out in the *Leges Academiae Genevensis*. The College was to consist of two parts: a *schola privata* (the preparatory school attended by small boys), and the *schola publica* (the training college for ecclesiastical and civil government, which was attended by young men).⁵¹ The *schola privata* consisted of seven classes, in which the 'pupils' were to be taught to read and write in French and Latin, to comment on classical

texts by Greek and Latin authors such as Homer and Demosthenes, Cicero and Virgil. The boys were expected to master the principles of dialectic and rhetoric.⁵² The *schola publica*, on the other hand, 'was characterised by the absence of classes'.⁵³ This school was 'public' in the sense that its students were not segregated from one another: they all attended a single course. It was also 'public' in the sense that its lectures (in the Arts, Greek, Hebrew and Theology) were open to members of the general public, who were not officially enrolled as students of the Academy. It was here, not in the *schola privata*, that Calvin lectured.

Students who did officially enrol in the *schola publica* were required to subscribe to the Laws of the Academy and to the Genevan Confession of Faith, by signing a register.⁵⁴ By the end of 1561, 159 students had done so. It was presumably these scholars who formed the core of Calvin's audience during his *Lectures on Daniel and Jeremiah*. In the original manuscript, only the students' names and birthplaces are included; but even these are highly informative. It emerges, for example, that no fewer than 125 (or over 75%) of them were born in France.⁵⁵ By contrast, only three were born in Geneva. Moreover, as a result of the research undertaken by Stelling-Michaud, it is now possible, in some cases, to determine the ages and later occupations of the students.⁵⁶

In twenty-five cases, Stelling-Michaud has established birth-dates for them. Three students were very young when they enrolled in the Academy: Jean des Gallars was about twelve;⁵⁷ Jean-Antoine and Théophile Sarrasin were twelve and ten respectively.⁵⁸ Such cases were definitely exceptional, however; it may be significant that all three boys came from noble families. Fifteen of these twenty-five students registered at the age of between sixteen and twenty: they include Claude Textor, born in 1538; Odet de Nort, born in 1540; and Robert Bimard, born in 1543.⁵⁹ The remaining seven were still older: Jean-François Salvard, for example, later a prominent pastor in the

French reformed Church, was about thirty-one;⁶⁰ Antoine Chauve, a future Rector of the Academy, was at least fifty.⁶¹ There is every reason to suppose that this sample conveys an accurate impression of the student body as a whole. The view that the majority of these first 159 students were not young schoolboys is confirmed by the fact that at least forty-three of them left the Academy to serve as pastors in churches in France before the end of 1564⁶² - among them several (such as Lancelot Dolbeau, Nicolaus Le More, Michel Le Lièvre and Pierre Martel⁶³) whose assignments are recorded either in the Registers of the Venerable Company of Pastors,⁶⁴ or in the lists compiled by Nicolas Colladon.⁶⁵ Indeed, the true figure may well be much higher, since the subsequent movements of these students have in many cases proved impossible to trace. Given that many of the envoys despatched from Geneva to France during this period adopted *nommes de guerre*,⁶⁶ it is likely that others also carried out assignments in France in 1561-62, but under names which have obscured their identities. Granted that these envoys may, in the extreme urgency of the period, have undertaken responsibilities for which, in another era, they might have been considered too young, it is nevertheless improbable that any were younger than eighteen. All the available evidence suggests that they were older. (It is worth noting, in addition, that three of the five Professors at the Academy also left to serve in France during this time, whether permanently or temporarily: Bérauld and Ribittus to teach at the new College in Orléans, and de Bèze to represent the reformed cause at the Colloquy of Poissy.⁶⁷) An analysis of the further 109 students to enrol before Colladon became rector in April 1564 (i. e., just after Calvin had stopped teaching) confirms that the *Lectures on Lamentations* and *on Ezekiel* were addressed to a very similar group as that to which the *Lectures on Daniel* and *Jeremiah* were delivered. With respect to officially matriculated students of the Academy, therefore, the majority of Calvin's hearers were not children.

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Most were young Frenchmen, training to be leaders of the reformed Church in France.⁶⁸

The Academy of 1559-64 was, in purpose if not in structure, a very different institution from the one envisaged in the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* of 1541. The Ordinances conceive of the institution of a College 'to prepare [our] children for the ministry as well as for civil government'.⁶⁹ In reality, the Academy which developed catered more for the future leaders of the Church than for those of the State, and more for the Church in France, than for that in Geneva. The overwhelming majority of the first 250 students came to the Academy to be taught by Calvin with the intention of returning to France to put what they had learned at the service of the reformed Church there. In the words of Émile Doumergue, 'les progrès de l'Académie et les progrès de l'évangélisation allaient de pair'.⁷⁰

A concern for the evangelisation of France was characteristic not only of the 'scholars' to whom Colladon refers, but also of the 'ministers and other auditors'. It is well established that the Company of Pastors in Geneva was dominated by Frenchmen throughout Calvin's time in the City; this was the case above all during the period between 1555 and 1564. The increasingly rapid rate at which ministers in Geneva took on new responsibilities during these years (itself the result of the changing situation in France) makes it difficult to arrive at a comprehensive picture. Nevertheless it is perfectly clear that almost all the men who ministered in the three churches in Geneva either came from France (as des Gallars did), or served on assignment in France (as Viret did). In many cases, indeed, the men did both (Marlorat, Macar, and Merlin are examples). Moreover, there is ample evidence that 'the other auditors' to whom Colladon refers were part of the same circle. Attention has already been drawn to the many religious refugees in Geneva (including individuals like Jean Budé and Charles Jonvillier) who are known to have attended Calvin's Lectures. A further important piece of evidence is

contained in a letter written by Jean de Beaulieu, one of the envoys who was despatched from Geneva in late 1561. Shortly before departing on his own assignment, he wrote to Guillaume Farel in Neuchatel, with news of events in France. His letter begins with a report that there were currently people in Geneva 'from a great many places in France, recruiting labourers for the harvest there'. He goes on to draw particular attention to the spectacular growth of the church in Troyes, and concludes with news of the movements of specific envoys from Geneva, such as Farel's close friend, Pierre Viret. Mid-way through his letter, which is plainly focussed from beginning to end upon the evangelisation of France, he remarks, without any break in his train of thought:

It is wonderful to see so many auditors at M. Calvin's Lectures. I estimate that there are more than a thousand every day.⁷¹

The significance of the comment is twofold. First of all, even allowing for a degree of exaggeration, it strongly suggests that 'the other auditors' of whom Colladon speaks were a large group, far out-numbering both the formally enrolled students at the Academy, and the members of the Company of Pastors. Secondly, it indicates that many of these other auditors were also directly involved in the evangelistic enterprise: they had come to Geneva from all over France 'recruiting labourers' (that is, in search of pastors), and were taking the opportunity to hear Calvin lecture during the time that it took them to accomplish their business. The same people, presumably, who, in a letter to Bullinger, Calvin described as 'laying seige' to his house,⁷² also laid seige to his Lectures.

Not all of those who attended Calvin's Lectures were missionaries in training, nor were they even all French: his hearers included people from Italy, Germany, England, Scotland, and elsewhere. The majority, however, were caught up with Calvin in the evangelisation of his homeland, and it was primarily for them that his Lectures were intended.

The Publication of Calvin's Lectures

Between 1557 and 1565, then, expositions by Calvin were published on all of the prophetic books of the Old Testament: on Hosea and the Psalms in 1557; on Isaiah and the Twelve Minor Prophets in 1559; on Daniel in 1561; on Jeremiah and Lamentations in 1563; and on Ezekiel 1-20 in 1565. It is chiefly these seven publications which are the subject of investigation in the remainder of this thesis. With two exceptions (the *Commentaries on the Psalms* and *on Isaiah*) the justification for this is straightforward. If it can be shown that the five works which were published as *Praelectiones* faithfully represent the Lectures Calvin gave in the school in 1555-64, then, given what has been said about the nature of Calvin's audience, it follows that they constitute a prime source for his theology of evangelisation. In fact, this can be demonstrated conclusively, as T. H. L. Parker has established. The debt which the present account owes to his exploration of *Calvin's Old Testament Commentaries*⁷³ will become obvious in the paragraphs which follow. In the case of the two *Commentaries* some additional explanation is necessary to justify their inclusion here, since the relationship between the Lectures which gave rise to them, and the actual publications of 1557 and 1559, is more complicated.

The Transcription of Calvin's Lectures from 1556

Calvin's 'commentaries' on Hosea and the other Minor Prophets, on Daniel, on Jeremiah and Lamentations, and on Ezekiel, claim to be verbatim records of the Lectures Calvin gave in 1556-64.

The evolution of a system for the transcription of these Lectures took place during Calvin's exposition of the Psalms, in 1552-56. An account of the process was given by Jean Budé, one of the participants, in a preface to the *Hosea Lectures*.

When, some years ago, Jean Calvin undertook to expound the Psalms of David, some of us who were hearers took some notes for our own private study. At length, however..., we began to consider what a great loss it would be... if the benefit of such Lectures should be confined to so few hearers. It seemed possible [to rectify this] if instead of our usual practice, we tried to take down the Lectures word for word... It came about, through God's kindness, that our labours were not entirely unsuccessful. For when the work of each one of us was compared, and the Lectures were written out, we found that so little had escaped us that the gaps could easily be filled.⁷⁴

It is not known what became of the notes which were made of the Lectures on the Psalms, or to what extent, if at all, they were incorporated into the *Commentary* of 1557. It is, however, evident that Budé was satisfied with this first attempt. On the other hand, he also considered the recording of the *Hosea Lectures* to be an improvement.

[That few things escaped us even] in the work which was simply a first trial of our abilities, Calvin himself will bear witness. That this has been far more fully the case with respect to the Lectures on Hosea (as by long use and exercise we became more skilful), even all the hearers will readily acknowledge.⁷⁵

In another two years, if not before, the system had developed some sophistication. In an additional preface to the omnibus edition of *Lectures on the Twelve Minor Prophets*, Jean Crispin, the printer, declared himself confident that

astonishing -- indeed, incredible -- as it might seem to some, these Lectures were compiled with such fidelity and diligence that M. Jean Calvin did not utter a single word in delivering them which was not immediately written down.⁷⁶

Crispin's preface seems intended chiefly to convince potential sceptics of the accuracy which the recorders achieved, and he includes a detailed description of the 'plan' which they followed.

Each had his own paper prepared in the most convenient fashion, and each independently took notes with the greatest speed. If a word escaped one (which did sometimes happen, particularly on controversial matters and in passages which were delivered with some feeling), it was caught by another. When this happened, the Author easily replaced it. Immediately after the end of the Lecture, Jonvillier took the papers of the other two, placed them before him,

consulted his own, and collated them with one another, dictating to someone else a copy of what they had written down in haste. Finally, he read it all over for himself, in order to recite it the following day to M. Calvin, at home. Occasionally, when any little word was lacking, it was added in its place; or if anything seemed to have been explained insufficiently, it was easily clarified.⁷⁷

Incidentally, this preface also indicates that while the principal responsibility for the project rested with Budé and Jonvillier, they were assisted by two colleagues. Crispin relates that the work was undertaken by 'Jean Budé and Charles Jonvillier with two other brethren'.⁷⁸ This need not be thought to contradict Budé's own description of himself as 'the third to two diligent brethren in this enterprise'.⁷⁹ Even in Crispin's account it is clear that only three of the men (Budé, Jonvillier and one other, who is nameless) recorded the Lecture, and it is presumably this aspect of the work to which Budé was referring. Crispin adds the information, which Budé apparently passes over, that a fourth, anonymous, person assisted Jonvillier with the preparation of the collated notes.

These descriptions refer only to the *Lectures on Hosea* and *on the Minor Prophets*. However, the system obviously remained in place for the rest of Calvin's life. The title-pages of the first editions of the *Lectures on Daniel* (1561), *Jeremiah and Lamentations* (1563), and *Ezekiel* (1565) all bear the inscription '*Ioannis Budaei & Caroli Ionvilaeo labore & industria excerptae*'⁸⁰ -- 'compiled [rather than "selected"] by the diligence and hard work of Jean Budé and Charles Jonvillier'. More specifically, in a preface he composed in 1563 for the *Lectures on Jeremiah*, the printer Crispin confirms the importance of the role played by Jonvillier and Budé: he refers to their 'care, fidelity and dilligence'.⁸¹ Moreover, Jonvillier himself contributed a preface to the last of the publications in this series, the unfinished *Lectures on Ezekiel*, which were printed the year after Calvin's death. In it, he writes, in similar terms, that 'in editing these last Lectures, [my beloved brother Jean

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Budé and myself] have used the same industry, diligence and fidelity which we exercised in those which have already been published'.⁸²

There is a consistent emphasis in all these accounts upon the care which was taken to achieve a reliable transcript of the Lectures. And at least with regard to the *Lectures on Hosea*, Calvin himself endorsed the view that the product of these endeavours was a verbatim record:

I would not have believed, unless I had seen it with my own eyes, how, when they read it all back to me on the following day, their transcripts did not differ in any respect from my spoken words.⁸³

It is true that Calvin had reservations about the project. He went as far as to say that 'these Annotations would never have been disseminated at my initiative'.⁸⁴ However, it is important to note that, as T. H. L. Parker has put it, '[Calvin's] misgivings did not arise from doubts about the accuracy of the transcripts, but only from a mistrust of his own extemporary lecturing'.⁸⁵ To Calvin, the material seemed 'tolerable as lectures' but insufficiently polished to be published. 'It might perhaps have been better', he conjectured,

if they had taken greater liberty to delete redundant expressions and to arrange other parts into a better order, and to make still other places clearer or more stylish. However, that is only my opinion. I simply want to testify with my own signature that they have recorded so faithfully what they heard me say, that I can perceive no change.⁸⁶

His embarrassment stems precisely from the fact that his words have been so faithfully recorded.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that these five 'commentaries' are a faithful record of the Lectures Calvin delivered from 1556 onwards to an audience which was characterised by its involvement in the evangelisation of France.⁸⁷

The 1557 *Commentary on the Psalms*

Unlike these five later publications, however, the *Psalms Commentary* was not a simple transcript of Calvin's Lectures. Thus, it might be regarded as one stage removed from the missionary *milieu* in which the Lectures were given, and consequently as a less significant source for Calvin's theology of mission. For three reasons the contrary view has been taken here. The first is simply the fact that the text of the Psalms themselves constrained Calvin to address missionary themes.

The second reason is that although the *Commentary* is not a simple transcript of the Lectures there is some real continuity between the two. By the time Calvin had finished his Lectures on the Psalms, there was more than one full transcript of them in circulation. In addition to the copy for which Budé was responsible,⁸⁸ there was one taken down by des Gallars.⁸⁹ Calvin professed that it was the fear that these transcripts might find their way into print without his consent which finally drove him, against his better judgment, to write the *Commentary*.⁹⁰ His remarks about the *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*⁹¹ suggest that in that instance, it was the style rather than the substance of the Lectures which led him to resist their publication. Assuming Calvin's reluctance to publish the Lectures on the Psalms was of the same order, it should not be inferred that the *Commentary* which superseded them introduced any significant theological differences. Indeed, it is possible that Calvin had one copy of the transcript open before him while he was writing the *Commentary*, for when des Gallars discovered, in June 1555, that Calvin had begun writing the *Commentary*, he sent him the notes he had already taken down from the Lectures, so that Calvin could consult them.⁹²

The third reason to suppose that, although they are not a simple transcription of the Lectures Calvin gave in 1552-56, the *Commentary* was nevertheless composed with the evangelistic situation in France at the front

of Calvin's mind, is a remark which he made in the autobiographical preface of 1557. Calvin discloses there that, when, while his Lectures on the Psalms were still in progress, he resisted pressure to allow them to be published, he did promise 'to write something in French, that my own countrymen might have the chance of being enabled to understand such a useful book'.⁹³ The fact that he finally composed the *Commentary* in Latin does not detract from the extent to which he thought the Psalms themselves, and his interpretation of them, relevant to his 'countrymen'. Perhaps it is not entirely coincidental, therefore, that Calvin began work on the *Commentary* at precisely the time that the first envoys began to leave Geneva on missionary assignments to France.⁹⁴ These circumstances warrant the examination of Calvin's *Psalms Commentary* together with his later Lectures, as a potential vehicle for his theology of mission.

The 1559 *Commentaries on Isaiah the Prophet*

The 1559 *Commentaries on Isaiah* may be singled out from these other six commentaries in that whereas all the others were derived from the single unbroken lecture series which Calvin began in the mid-1550s, and were published for the first time during this period, the *Isaiah Commentaries* were a revision of an original version, printed in 1551, which was based on Lectures Calvin had given in the late 1540s, and sermons he had preached still earlier. It is an open question therefore, how far the work may be taken to reflect Calvin's views during the period which is of particular concern in this thesis.

Although the system for the *verbatim* transcription of Calvin's Lectures did not evolve until the mid-1550s, the attempt to capture their main points had begun in the late 1540s, during the Lectures on Isaiah (at about the time that Raguenier was first employed by *La Compagnie des Étrangers* to record the sermons).⁹⁵ Colladon names three men in particular who were involved

in the project: Nicolas des Gallars, François Bourgoing and Jean Cousin. Although Colladon expressly concedes that they did not record the Lectures 'word for word',⁹⁶ des Gallars was nevertheless able to prepare 'Calvin's' *Commentaries* for publication soon after the Lectures were completed.

Des Gallars echoes Colladon's concession that his compilation did not amount to a transcript of Calvin's Lectures. He believed them to convey only 'the substance of both the Sermons and the Lectures'.⁹⁷ It was certainly his objective to reproduce Calvin's exposition, however, and he had several advantages in making the attempt. First (as he explained in a preface to the 1551 edition), he had a familiar, daily contact with Calvin, which enabled him to question 'the Author' (des Gallars' word) in order to disentangle the difficulties he encountered with the more obscure passages in the book, and also to submit what he had written to Calvin himself for his comments, and for any additions or deletions which might be necessary.⁹⁸ This process is confirmed by Calvin, who explained in a letter to Dryander, which dates from the time between the completion of the *Commentaries* and their publication, that

they were written by des Gallars, because I have little time for writing. He takes down what I dictate to him and later arranges it at home. Then I read it over again, and if at any point he has not followed my meaning, I restore the sense.⁹⁹

Secondly, as a result of his regular attendance at Calvin's Lectures and sermons, des Gallars 'already had a sound grasp of [Calvin's] views, and was used to this style and method of interpretation' even before he began to compose the *Commentaries*.¹⁰⁰ In particular, he had a set of notes, taken from a series of sermons Calvin had preached on Isaiah, which, he said was 'very useful when it came to compiling these Commentaries'.¹⁰¹ Although it is not acknowledged, it is presumably also possible that des Gallars received assistance from Cousin and Bourgoing. There is thus little room to doubt, as des Gallars asserts and Calvin confirms, that the *Commentaries*

are a faithful representation of the way in which Calvin was expounding Isaiah in the late 1540s.

However, it is equally evident that they do not fully preserve Calvin's language. On the contrary, des Gallars later admitted openly that in writing the *Commentaries* he employed his 'own judgment and style'.¹⁰² Indeed, it might be that the degree to which des Gallars left his own mark on the work made Calvin uneasy. In his Dedicatory Epistle he issued what amounts to an apology to Edward VI of England, for dedicating to him a work which was so much the product of someone else's labour.

Although I acknowledge that this Commentary has been faithfully and skilfully compiled from my Lectures, yet, as it was written up by another person, I was at first afraid, most illustrious King, that if it should be published with your name on the Dedication, I might be thought to have acted improperly towards your Majesty.¹⁰³

Although his unease was not enough to make Calvin resist the publication of the *Commentaries on Isaiah* at the time, it was sufficient to prompt him to revise them later. Two factors seem to have prompted the revision. The first was the fact that (in a departure from his usual practice) Calvin devoted a second series of sermons to the interpretation of Isaiah, between 1556 and 1559.¹⁰⁴ It was as he reached the conclusion of this fresh exposition in 1558, that he turned his attention to a revision of the *Commentaries*. It may be that the experience of returning to the interpretation of Isaiah brought home to him the extent to which the 1551 *Commentaries* were not couched in exactly his own terms. Secondly, as it has been shown, the system for the literal transcription of Calvin's Lectures evolved during the eight years between the publication of the 1551 *Commentaries* and their revision. It is conceivable that the publication of the first of these transcriptions further increased the dissatisfaction Calvin felt with the first edition, and prompted him to attempt to increase the extent to which the *Commentaries* bore his own stamp.

The terms in which Calvin introduced the Dedication to Elizabeth I of England in the revised edition, suggest that he himself was satisfied that he had achieved this goal. 'In making improvements to this Commentary, most noble Queen', he wrote, 'I have bestowed so much diligence and effort that it ought rightly to be reckoned a new work'.¹⁰⁵ In fact this claim is optimistic: there is irrefutable evidence that the revision was uneven and theologically insubstantial.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, significant use of the 1559 *Commentaries* has been made in this thesis, for four reasons. In the first place, as with the *Psalms Commentary*, the biblical text which Calvin was seeking to expound obliged him to address missionary themes. Secondly, Isaiah was the first of the Prophets Calvin set himself to expound. There is substantial evidence in the Lectures that, once Calvin had accomplished what he considered to be a comprehensive treatment of a particular subject he would subsequently only offer brief summaries of his views.¹⁰⁷ The Lectures are therefore littered with cross-references to the book of Isaiah and may be said to presuppose the *Commentaries* on it.¹⁰⁸ Thirdly, in spite of the superficial *effect* of the changes made in 1559, something approaching one-third of the material in the later version of the *Commentaries* was either quite new, or had been rigourously revised, and therefore properly belongs to the period which is of interest to this thesis. Finally, due weight should also be given to the fact that Calvin wished the revision to be *perceived* as 'a new work'. The sermon series which Calvin undertook at this time presented him with an extended opportunity to develop a more radical re-interpretation of Isaiah, if he had found it necessary. Since he did not do so, his emphatic recommendation of the revised *Commentaries* must imply that he regarded even the material which he either retained unaltered from 1551, or only slightly revised, as directly relevant to the circumstances of the late 1550s. It is against that background that the *Isaiah Commentaries* are read in this thesis.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to show that Calvin's Lectures and *Commentaries* on the prophetic books of the Old Testament constitute a category of his publications which are associated especially closely with his missionary activity.

It has been shown that during the last decade of his life, when envoys were being despatched from Geneva to France on missionary assignments, Calvin was lecturing continuously on these books, to audiences who were involved with him in the evangelistic enterprise. It has also been shown that in the case of Calvin's interpretation of the Minor Prophets, Daniel, Jeremiah and Lamentations, and Ezekiel, the expositions published between 1557 and 1565 may reliably be read as transcripts of his Lectures. It has also been argued that although the 1557 *Commentary on the Psalms* and the 1559 *Commentaries on Isaiah* are not simply Lecture transcripts, they too may be read in the light of Calvin's missionary programme.

It is principally with the theological themes developed by Calvin in these seven expositions that the rest of this thesis is concerned. Every effort will also be made in the chapters which follow to refer to the *Institutio* and Calvin's correspondence and to relate what is to be found in the expository works to what Calvin says there. Indeed, on a few occasions, when it would be perverse to limit discussion to these texts and to ignore other relevant material, reference is even made to works (such as his 1554 *Commentary on Genesis*)¹⁰⁹ which were composed before 1555. For the most part, however, for the reasons which have been set out, it is the Lectures Calvin delivered in the period 1555-64, and the *Commentaries* related to them, which have determined the shape of the discussion that follows.

Notes

- ¹ The text of the Lectures Calvin gave between 1557 and 1564 comprises vols. 37-44 of the *Calvini Opera*. However, the nature of these texts as Lectures is rather obscured there. This is partly because the expositions have been published according to the sequence of the Prophets Calvin was expounding, rather than in chronological order, so that the *Lectures on Jeremiah* (delivered in 1560-62) appear in vols. 37-39, whereas those on Malachi (delivered in 1558) appear in vol. 44. It is also because, with the peculiarly inconsistent exception of the first fourteen Lectures on Jeremiah (C. O. 37.469-580), the prayers with which Calvin concluded each of his Lectures were omitted by its Editors from the *Calvini Opera*. These ought surely to have been included, not only for their own theological interest, but also in order to assist the reader to follow the transition from one Lecture to the next. As it is, successive Lectures are not clearly distinguished in the C. O.. See Appendix III for the dates of these Lectures and of their subsequent publication.
- ² See T. H. L. Parker: *Calvin's Preaching*; T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh 1992, pp. 151-152, for a chronological chart of Calvin's sermons during this period.
- ³ The New Testament: with the exception of the Book of Revelation and the second and third Epistles of St. John, Calvin wrote commentaries on all the books of the New Testament. The 1555 *Harmonia ex tribus evangelistis composita* was the last of these to be published.
The Old Testament: only three of Calvin's published Old Testament expositions were 'commentaries' in the usual sense of the word: the 1557 *Commentarius in librum Psalmorum*; the 1563 *Mosis libri quinque cum commentariis*; and the 1564 *Commentaires sur le livre de Josué*. All the others were either sermons (e. g., on Job, Deuteronomy), or lectures (e. g., on Daniel, Ezekiel), or compilations which others prepared for publication from his public discourses (e. g., the 'Commentaries' on Genesis and on Isaiah). See T. H. L. Parker: *Calvin's Old Testament Commentaries*; T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh 1986, pp.9-34, and below, pp.65-73, for details. The *Psalms* and *Isaiah Commentaries* are included in this thesis in the first of the categories under consideration, as part of Calvin's exposition of the Old Testament Prophets.
- ⁴ '*Homo unius libri*', a phrase cited and rejected by Doumergue, IV.1.
- ⁵ J.-D. Benoit, ed.: *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne*; Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, Paris 1957-63, I.xx.
- ⁶ This view is at odds with the opinion of P. Imbart de la Tour, that 'the whole of Calvinism is in the *Institutes*' (*Les Origines de la Réforme: Tome IV, Calvin et l'Institution Chrétienne*; Paris 1935, p.55), and that of F. Wendel, that '[the *Institutes*] present a synthesis of Calvinist thought [which] is sufficient in itself' (*Calvin*, p.111). Cited by T. H. L. Parker: *Calvin's New Testament Commentaries*; S. C. M. Press, London 1971, p.1. cf. the view of McGrath, p.147.
- ⁷ 'Calvin himself identified the *Institutes* as the sole authoritative expression of his religious ideas', McGrath, pp.145-146.
- ⁸ I wish to thank Prof. Francis Higman, of the *Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation* in Geneva, for allowing me to examine, before it went to press, a new edition of Calvin's *Sermons on Isaiah 30-41*, which is to form volume III of the *Supplementa Calviniana* (Kreis Moers, Neukirchen, forthcoming).
- ⁹ Some of the material in this section is to be found in Parker: *Old Testament*, pp.13-29.

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- ¹⁰ This, at least, was the designation given to Calvin by the Berne City Council in a letter of August, 1537: Ep. 73, C. O. 10/II.118. cf. C. O. 21.30.
- ¹¹ On the question of the authorship of the *Vie de Calvin*, see the *Notice Littéraire*, C. O. 21.9-12.
- ¹² Ep. 54, C. O. 10/II.91.
- ¹³ Text cited in C. Borgeaud: *Histoire de l'Université de Genève: L'Académie de Calvin, 1559-1798*; Georg and Co., Genève 1900, p.17.
- ¹⁴ Ep. 158, C. O. 10/II.316.
- ¹⁵ Ep. 151, C. O. 10/II.288.
- ¹⁶ C. O. 21.246.
- ¹⁷ C. O. 21.248.
- ¹⁸ Doumergue, II.434, cites Johannes Sturm, *Quarti Antipappi*, p.20. It has, however, proved impossible to locate this reference.
- ¹⁹ C. O. 10/I.21; J. K. S. Reid: *Calvin: Theological Treatises*; Westminster Press, Philadelphia 1954, p.63.
- ²⁰ C. O. 21.66.
- ²¹ Parker: *Old Testament*, p.14.
- ²² C. O. 21.71.
- ²³ C. O. 21.70.
- ²⁴ C. O. 21.72.
- ²⁵ C. O. 21.75. The *Commentary* (C. O. 31-32) leaves no doubt that Calvin regarded the Psalms as among the prophetic books of the Old Testament. He refers to the Psalmist as 'the Prophet', throughout.
- ²⁶ C. O. 21.88.
- ²⁷ C. O. 21.89.
- ²⁸ C. O. 42.183-184, C. T. S. I.xxii.
- ²⁹ *Registres du Conseil*; cited by Borgeaud, p.34.
- ³⁰ C. O. 21.687.
- ³¹ The French and Latin versions of the 1559 'Laws of the Academy in Geneva' are published in parallel in C. O. 10/I.65-90.
- ³² Borgeaud, p.54.
- ³³ Dedic. Ep. 3986, C. O. 20.72, C. T. S. I.xxii.
- ³⁴ C. O. 10/I.87-88.

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- 35 C. O. 21.89.
- 36 C. O. 21.90.
- 37 Lect. Jer. Pref., C. O. 37 .69.7-8, C. T. S. I.27.
- 38 Colladon (C. O. 21.93) says the series on Lamentations began on September 20; but -- as Parker notes (*Old Testament*, p.18) -- that date was a Sunday in 1562 (C. O. 21.789).
- 39 C. O. 21.95. This date is confirmed by Jonvillier, in a preface to the *Lectures on Ezekiel* C. O. 40.7-8, C. T. S. I.xxiv.
- 40 C. O. 21.96.
- 41 C. O. 21.71.
- 42 C. O. 10/I.21; J. K. S. Reid, p.63.
- 43 The degree of continuity between this institution and its predecessor should not be overlooked. Borgeaud (p.16) notes that not only the school building, but also its name, pre-date the *Draft Ordinances*.
- 44 C. O. 11.674.
- 45 e.g., C. O. 21.75.
- 46 Parker: *Old Testament*, pp.15-16. Parker's otherwise excellent introduction is somewhat marred by his failure to refer to the *Laws of the Genevan Academy*, or to Borgeaud's fine study.
- 47 Borgeaud, pp.26-28. Baduel had written to Calvin from Nîmes in 1550, expressing his sympathy at the 'extreme irritation' Calvin was then experiencing over the reluctance of the Genevan Magistrates to establish a college; Ep. 1378, C. O. 13.589.
- 48 Parker: *Old Testament*, p.16.
- 49 L. H. I.54-218. See McGrath, Figure 6.1, p.122, for a graph illustrating a corresponding growth in the numbers of those admitted to the *bourgeoisie* in Geneva during the same period.
- 50 See for example: Jehan Gerard (1555), L. H. I.59; Odet de Nort (1557), L. H. I.110; Jehan Paul Bovon (1558), L. H. I.139.
- 51 C. O. 10/I.72, 90.
- 52 C. O. 10/I.72-77; see Borgeaud, pp.43-44.
- 53 Borgeaud, p.44.
- 54 It was referred to at the time as the 'Academy Book' (*'Libellus Academiae'* -- Ep. 3659, C. O. 19.188, 22 Dec. 1561), but it has since been published as *Le Livre du Recteur* (ed. S. Stelling-Michaud). The manuscript is reproduced in Borgeaud (pp.56, 58-63).
- 55 L. A. Matthey: "Ecoliers Français inscrits à l'Academie de Genève (1559-1700)", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 11 (1949), pp.86-98, 224-241. See pp.86-90 for the years 1559-61.
- 56 Stelling-Michaud, I.81-84. Three of the first 162 entries are duplicated (59/60; 30/108; 33/131), making 159 students in all.

- 57 Stelling-Michaud, III.92.
- 58 Stelling-Michaud, V.468.
- 59 Stelling Michaud, VI.17; V.33; and II.211.
- 60 Stelling-Michaud, V.451.
- 61 Stelling-Michaud, II.482.
- 62 It would be a mistake to conclude on the basis of this figure that only about 25% of the students were involved in the evangelisation of France. It is true that Stelling-Michaud has been able to establish, on a handful of occasions, that a particular student went on to become a doctor or a lawyer. But an overwhelming majority of those about whom it has been possible to discover anything at all (65 of 80; in 75 cases nothing is known of the student's later movements; and in 4 cases next to nothing) went on to become pastors, mostly in France. The 43 referred to here represent all but four of those about whom it has been possible to discover anything before 1564. My best estimate is that close to 100 of these students were despatched as pastors to France by the end of that year.
- 63 Stelling-Michaud, III.124; IV.314; IV.311; and IV.443.
- 64 See chapter one, pp.16-17.
- 65 See chapter one, pp.18-20.
- 66 Calvin's correspondence shows that he himself was known as 'Charles D'Espeville'. Of students at the Academy whose pseudonyms are known, two examples are Nicolaus Le More (Stelling-Michaud IV.314) *dit* des Brandes; and Jean Cormère (Stelling-Michaud II.563) *dit* Barrelles.
- 67 These assignments are all listed in R. C. P. II.95-96.
- 68 Stelling-Michaud, I.85-87.
- 69 C. O. 10/I.21; J. K. S. Reid, p.63.
- 70 Doumergue, VII.321.
- 71 Ep. 3545, C. O. 19.10. In October 1561, Calvin was something over halfway through his *Lectures on Jeremiah*, which he himself described, with obvious resignation, as having been 'designed [originally] for a small audience', Dedic. Ep. 3986, C. O. 20.72, C. T. S. I.xxii.
- 72 Ep. 3397, C. O. 18.467.
- 73 For bibliographical details, see note 3.
- 74 Praelect. Min. Proph. Prologomena, C. O. 42.183.30-40, C. T. S. I.xxiv.
- 75 Praelect. Min. Proph. Prologomena, C. O. 42.183.40-185.1, C. T. S. I.xxiv.
- 76 Praelect. Min. Proph. Prologomena, C. O. 42.189.3-5, C. T. S. I.xxx.
- 77 Praelect. Min. Proph. Prologomena, C. O. 42.189.16-23, C. T. S. I.xxx-xxxi.
- 78 Praelect. Min. Proph. Prologomena, C. O. 42.189.12, C. T. S. I.xxx.

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- 79 Praelect. Min. Proph. Prologomena, C. O. 42.183.37, C. T. S. I.xxiv.
- 80 *Ioannis Calvini Praelectiones in librum prophetiarum Danielis, Genevae. M.D.LXI; Ioannis Calvini Praelectiones: in librum Prophetiarum Ieremiae et Lamentationes, Genevae apud Io. Crispinum. M.D.LXIII; Ioannis Calvini in viginti prima Ezechielis Prophetiae capita Praelectiones, Genevae, ex officina Francisci Perrini. M.D.LXV.*
- 81 Praelect. Jer. Prologomena, C. O. 37.13-14.17, C. T. S. I.xxv. cf. the printer's preface to the *Lectures on Daniel*, in which he confirms that Budé and Jonvillier 'followed exactly the same method as they had previously'; Praelect. Dan. Prologomena, C. O. 40.23-24.3-4, C. T. S. I.lxii.
- 82 Praelect. Ezek. Prologomena, C. O. 40.7.38-40, C. T. S. I.xlviii.
- 83 Praelect. Min. Proph. Prologomena, C. O. 42.183.21-23, C. T. S. I.xxiii.
- 84 Praelect. Min. Proph. Prologomena, C. O. 42.183.4, C. T. S. I.xxii.
- 85 Parker: *Old Testament*, p.28.
- 86 Praelect. Min. Proph. Prologomena, C. O. 42.183.23-26, C. T. S. I.xxiii. Calvin expressed similar reservations about the publication of his *Lectures on Jeremiah*, Dedic. Ep. 3986, C. O. 20.72, C. T. S. I.xxii.
- 87 In order to emphasise this point, references to these works in this thesis are not given in the conventional form (i. e., 'Comm. Hos. 1.1', as if to a 'commentary' on Hosea), but in the form (e. g.) Lect. 1, Hos. 1.1 (i. e., to Calvin's first lecture on Hosea). The form 'Comm.' will be reserved for the *Commentaries on the Psalms* and *on Isaiah*.
- 88 See pp.65-66.
- 89 C. O. 15.657. It is of course possible that these two copies were produced cooperatively and that des Gallars was the anonymous third copyist to whom Crispin and Budé refer (p.68).
- 90 C. O. 31.15-16, C. T. S. I.xxxvi.
- 91 See p.68.
- 92 C. O. 15.657.
- 93 C. O. 31.13-14, C. T. S. I.xxxvi.
- 94 Colladon's record suggests that the Psalms became the subject of the ministerial *Congrégation* on Fridays, in spring 1555, C. O. 21.79. These discussions regularly paved the way for Calvin's Commentaries.
- 95 C. O. 21.70.
- 96 C. O. 21.70.
- 97 Comm. Is. Prologomena, C. O. 36.15.15, C. T. S. II.xii.
- 98 Comm. Is. Prologomena, C. O. 36.11.17-23, C. T. S. II.xii.
- 99 Ep. 1351, C. O. 13.536. Translation from Parker: *Old Testament*, p.25.
- 100 Comm. Is. Prologomena, C. O. 36.13.8-9, C. T. S. II.ix. Translation from Parker: *Old Testament*, p.24.

- 101 Comm. Is. Prologomena, C. O. 36.13.6, C. T. S. II.ix.
- 102 Comm. Is. Prologomena, C. O. 36.17.14, C. T. S. II.xv. The admission (or boast?) comes in an additional preface, composed in 1570 to accompany the third edition of the work.
- 103 Ep. 1422, C.O. 13.669.22-25, C. T. S. I.xix.
- 104 The dates are given by Raguenier, in his catalogue of Calvin's sermons. See Parker: *Calvin's Preaching*, pp.153-156, for a translation. Colladon relates that Calvin was also preaching on Isaiah in 1546; C. O. 21.68.
- 105 Ep. 3000, C. O. 17.414.3, C. T. S. I.xvi.
- 106 The editors of the nineteenth century *Calvini Opera* so subscribed to Calvin's own view of the thoroughness of the revision, that they disregarded the first edition altogether, and included only its successor in their collection. They found 'the difference between the two recensions to be so great' that it seemed pointless to them to identify the later additions and variant readings. 'To be sure', they conceded, 'in many -- but by no means most -- passages, Galasius' style is simply preserved, perhaps recalling for Calvin his own authentic exposition; but more often we detect an enrichment not only in clarity and in the length of the exposition, but even in the syntax itself' (Comm. Is. Prolog., C. O. 36.7.14-17). No indication is given of how the editors arrived at this impression. On the evidence to be presented here, any comparison which they made of the two editions must have been superficial.

The method which was adopted in this study to assess the extent of the revision was to compare Calvin's comments on the first and last verses of each chapter in the original version, with the corresponding passages in the later edition. This involved the detailed analysis of 2609 sentences in the 1551 edition, and of 2958 sentences in the revised version. The results of this comparison may be summarised in the following tables.

Table 1:

1551 References	1551 Totals	A. Delet	B. Reten	C. Minor	D. Major	E. Addit	1559 Totals
Chs. 1-66	2609	193	1530	476	410	542	2958
Chs. 1-11	472	62	216	86	108	125	535
Chs. 1-22	838	83	423	171	161	194	949
Chs. 23-44	960	77	532	200	151	225	1108
Chs. 45-66	811	33	575	105	98	123	901

Table 2:

1551 References	1551 Totals	A. Delet	B. Reten	C. Minor	D. Major	E. Addit	1559 Totals
Chs. 1-66	2609	7%	52%	16%	14%	18%	2958
Chs. 1-11	472	13%	40%	16%	20%	23%	535
Chs. 1-22	838	10%	45%	18%	17%	20%	949
Chs. 23-44	960	8%	48%	18%	14%	20%	1108
Chs. 45-66	811	4%	64%	12%	11%	13%	901

Table 1 shows the number of whole sentences from the 1551 edition which were deleted from the 1559 version (column A), and of those which were retained intact (column B). It also indicates how many whole sentences were revised, whether slightly

(i. e., by the alteration of three words or fewer; column C), or substantially (i. e., by the alteration of four words or more; column D). Lastly, it shows the number of whole sentences in the later edition which constituted entirely new additions (column E).

Table 2 gives the same information as approximate percentages. It is to be kept in mind that deletions represent percentages of the 1551 total, whereas the other figures are percentages of the 1559 total.

In the first instance, it is the top row of each of the two tables which is of interest. If the sample is representative of the entire work, it follows that a little over half of the material in the revised *Commentaries* (1530, or 52%, of 2958 whole sentences) was incorporated without alteration from the first edition. Almost a further one third of the material has been revised either slightly (476 whole sentences, 16% of the total) or substantially (410 whole sentences, 14% of the total). All of these sentences can be traced back to the earlier edition without difficulty. Less than one fifth of the material in the later edition (542 whole sentences, 18% of the total) is entirely new. Correspondingly, less than one tenth of the material (193, or 7%, of 2609 whole sentences) in the earlier work has been deleted completely from the revised version.

This is only half the story, however. The remaining rows in the two tables demonstrate that the revision was not uniform. It was most thorough in his comments on Isaiah 1-11. It is only in this first part of the work that Calvin's comments to Elizabeth I of England can be justified. This part of the revision has been effected with some diligence and effort. A considerable proportion of whole sentences are entirely new or substantially revised. But in the rest of the work, the revisions become progressively less radical. With striking consistency the relative number of excisions, revisions and additions in each successive third of the 1559 *Commentaries* diminishes. Conversely, the proportion of material which has been incorporated from the earlier version without alteration, increases. In the last third of the work over three-quarters of the material is either retained from the first edition without any alteration whatsoever, or is only slightly revised; and only one tenth of the material is entirely new. These figures hardly bear out Calvin's claim that the 1559 version ought to be considered 'a new work'. His appetite for the revision unquestionably diminished as he went along.

cf. my summary in J. F. Gilmont: *Bibliotheca Calviniana II, 1559-1565* (forthcoming, Librairie Droz, Geneva 1993), under the entry for the 1559 *Commentarii in Isaiam Prophetam*.

¹⁰⁷ A significant, but not an atypical, example is the passage from Lect. 116 on Jer. 30.21 (C. O. 38.636.30-41, C. T. S. IV.44), cited on p.148 below.

¹⁰⁸ An example, chosen almost at random: Lect. 59, Ezek. 19.13, C. O. 40.469.8, C. T. S. II.279. On occasions Calvin singles out Isaiah in a way that suggests he accorded him a special place within the company of the Prophets. He will speak, for example, of 'the Prophets, especially Isaiah': Lect. 130, Hag. 2.1-5, C. O. 44.99.6, C. T. S. IV.348; Lect. 38, Dan. 7.27, C. O. 41.84.22-23, C. T. S. II.75.

¹⁰⁹ *Commentarius Iohannis Calvini in Genesin*, C. O. 23. See chapter seven, pp.214-216.

Chapter Three

Missionary Themes in Calvin's Expositions of the Prophets: Restoration, Reformation and the Progress of the Kingdom of Christ

Introduction

It has been argued in chapter one that during the last ten years of his life Calvin was increasingly preoccupied with the evangelisation of France, and that by 1561 it was his over-riding concern. It was suggested that these facts beg questions about the extent to which the missionary activity of 1555-64 finds echoes in the theological works Calvin produced during this period. Is it possible to identify the theological basis of his interest in the missionary movement? Was Calvin's concern for the evangelisation of France fuelled by any particular theological concepts and, if so, did he articulate them in his works? In chapter two the point was made that in this respect, by virtue of the circumstances in which they were produced, Calvin's expositions of the Old Testament Prophets are likely to prove a particularly rich source for his theology of mission. This is so partly because the texts he was expounding forced Calvin to address what might broadly be called 'missionary themes' (such as the calling of the Gentiles), and partly because the context in which he composed these expositions forced him to address the immediate needs and concerns of missionaries in training.

The objective of the present chapter is four-fold. First, an attempt will be made to evaluate the character of the contemporary allusions which are to be found in these expositions. It will be established that although it is true that Calvin deliberately avoided making explicit reference to current events and particular people, he nevertheless intended to adapt his comments to suit the circumstances of his first hearers and readers. In other words, it is in the themes which permeate Calvin's exposition, rather than in his detailed or

specific comments, that echoes of the missionary movement are to be heard. In the second part of the chapter, two themes in particular will be introduced, which, it is argued, are developed more fully in these expositions than in the *Institutio*: 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ', and 'the restoration of the Church'. It transpires that both these themes are essentially ecclesiological. Nevertheless, because each theme also has its soteriological dimension, an explanation is then offered, thirdly, of the progression made in Parts II and III of this thesis, from ecclesiology to soteriology. At the end of the chapter, some remarks are made, in the light of the differences between them, about the relationship between these Old Testament expositions and the *Institutio*.

'I mention no-one by name': the Nature of the Contemporary Allusions in Calvin's Expositions of the Prophets

Specific references to both current affairs and contemporary figures in Calvin's expositions of the Prophets are conspicuous by their absence.

For example, the reader will search the texts of Calvin's Lectures in vain for explicit allusions to even the most pivotal events of the period. There is no reference to any of the critical events which led to the outbreak of the Wars of Religion in France, such as the Conspiracy of Amboise in 1560, for example, or the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561. Nor are there references to matters of domestic political significance in Geneva, such as the lengthy negotiations over the renewal of Geneva's treaty with Berne from 1555 onwards, or the upheavals precipitated by the elections to the City Council in that year. Furthermore, a comment in the Dedicatory Epistle to Calvin's *Lectures on Daniel* suggests that this silence was no accident, but reflected a deliberate policy. Describing, in general terms, the conflicts then troubling the Kingdom of France, Calvin refers to those, 'whom the devil has enslaved to himself'. 'I mention no-one by name', he writes, 'it is sufficient to indicate with a finger those who are too well known to you'.¹ It is true that Calvin was

obliged to be especially circumspect in this letter, since he was writing to a community already facing severe persecution, whose situation could easily have been exacerbated if careless polemic had fallen into the wrong hands. Nevertheless, it appears to have been his habitual practice, in the text of the Lectures as well as in the Dedicatory Epistles, to allude only cryptically to current events or important people.² Occasionally Calvin does refer to those of his contemporaries with whom he wishes to engage in his exposition of a text, either to reject a piece of interpretation or to express his approval. He refers to the views of opponents such as Servetus, Blandrata and Castellio, as well as of fellow reformers like Luther, Oecampadius and Melancthon.³ While there are frequent references to 'the Papacy' and to 'the Pope',⁴ there are no references to any particular Pope in person. Calvin does sometimes refer by name to his colleagues in the Academy,⁵ but not to leading players on Geneva's political stage. What allusions he does make to particular contemporary events are invariably incidental, and throw more light on the style of Calvin's Lectures than on their theological content. He does refer on occasions to the state of his health,⁶ for instance, or to events in the calendar of the Academy.⁷ On two occasions, Calvin announces the cancellation of a lecture because of an extraordinary meeting of the consistory;⁸ and three times he cut short his lecture, explaining to his hearers that it was necessary for him to attend to some other pressing business.⁹

One of these latter, apparently trivial, incidents illustrates neatly one of the greatest difficulties involved in attempting to discern allusions to current affairs in the text of the Lectures. Unlike Calvin's sermons, his Lectures are not dated.¹⁰ Thus, whereas it is usually possible to establish with some certainty the year and quarter and perhaps even month, at which a given lecture was delivered, it is seldom possible to identify the exact day. In one case, for instance, the incident occurred at the conclusion of Calvin's fourth

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Lecture on Jeremiah. Breaking off perhaps ten minutes before his allotted hour had passed, Calvin remarked

I would prefer to continue; but some business awaits me, to which I was called even before the Lecture.¹¹

Since the first Lecture in this series was delivered on Wednesday 15 April 1560,¹² there is little doubt that the fourth Lecture was delivered towards the end of the same month.¹³ There is an intriguing possibility that this urgent business to which Calvin was called at the end of April 1560 concerned the imminent Conspiracy of Amboise; but this is sheer speculation. Any one of innumerable more trivial matters might equally well be the explanation. Both the vagueness of the expression and the uncertainty concerning the exact date of the Lecture, preclude any greater certainty.

On the other hand, despite the lack of precise historical references, it was evidently a matter of some importance to Calvin that his Lectures were carefully adapted to suit the circumstances of his first hearers and readers. The dearth of explicit allusions to contemporary events is not to be taken as a mark of Calvin's disinterest in them. There are two points to be made here. In the first place, the choice made by Calvin to lecture on the Prophets is not to be taken for granted. It is perhaps predictable and self-explanatory that he should have begun his Lectures in biblical exposition with texts from the New Testament, and should only then have turned to the Old. Furthermore, given his high view of prophecy, perhaps it is also possible to understand his progression from the exposition of the Prophet Isaiah in the late 1540s, through Genesis, to the Psalms and the other Prophets in the 1550s-60s. Perhaps, in other words, the decision to lecture on these texts in this order reflects Calvin's fixed theological priorities, and was not influenced in any way by the changing political and religious circumstances in Europe. On the other hand, it should at least be observed that there is a certain propriety about the fact that, at the time when he was concerned with the regulation of

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morals in Geneva,¹⁴ Calvin was expounding the New Testament Epistles,¹⁵ and that, by the time he was able to turn to the evangelisation of France, he had begun to lecture on the Old Testament Prophets.¹⁶ Calvin himself was alert to this propriety. Writing to 'godly worshippers' in France in 1561, with reference to the prophecies of Daniel, he remarked that 'the similarity of the times [between the prophet's era and our own] accommodates these oracles to ourselves, and makes them suitable for our use'.¹⁷

Secondly, in the Dedicatory Epistle he composed for the *Lectures on Jeremiah*, Calvin went further, describing his own comments, rather than the prophetic oracles *per se*, as 'usefully adapted to present circumstances'.¹⁸

It is also clear from the text of the Lectures themselves that Calvin was aware of his audience. This awareness is evident in small details, such as the fact that he shows that he was familiar with the progress of the students' education beyond his own Lectures. In his comments on Jeremiah 1.16, for instance, he tells his hearers that he intends to pass 'lightly' over the nature of Israelite idolatry, because they are already 'acquainted with this general teaching'.¹⁹ With regard to Daniel 1.6-7, similarly, he explained to them that he had only touched briefly on certain points, because 'all these things have already been explained to you more clearly'.²⁰

However, when the nature of Calvin's audience is borne in mind, his awareness of it becomes evident in more significant ways. An appreciation of the nature of his audience illuminates, for example, the degree of attention Calvin gives to the question of what makes a good pastor or teacher. Time and again he returns to this theme, and often on occasions when there is no obvious basis for it in the text. In a Lecture on Malachi 3.16, for example, he remarks that 'the conversion of the heart is the peculiar gift of the Holy Spirit'. This prompts him to add that

There is therefore no reason for godly teachers to be discouraged when they do not see their teaching received everywhere, by everyone, or if they only see a few make progress in it.²¹

It seems probable that in passages such as this Calvin is responding to the needs of his audience. Aware that most of his hearers aspired to serve as ministers in the reformed Church, and that many would shortly be doing so in France, in potentially hostile circumstances, Calvin allows their situation to shape his exposition.²² In the same way, this highly particular context also illuminates Calvin's comments about the need to endure persecution and to regularise ordination.²³

What has been said here about the Lectures applies even more to the *Commentaries on the Psalms* and *on Isaiah*. Contemporary illusions in the two *Commentaries* are inevitably still less specific than those in the Lectures. They are also fewer and further between.²⁴ However, Calvin was always a most purposeful writer, and there can be no doubt that he considered both the biblical texts and his expositions of them to be of direct relevance to the situation he was addressing.²⁵

This brings us to the heart of this chapter, and indeed of this thesis. In these expositions of the Prophets, Calvin developed two themes which are absent from the *Institutio*, and which are related directly to the evangelisation of France: the notion of 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ'; and that of 'the restoration of the Church'. These themes are introduced in the following pages, and will be expounded in detail in the remaining chapters of the thesis. Here it is sufficient to register not simply that in these expositions Calvin gave expression to strands of his thought which are absent from the *Institutio* (although this is interesting in itself), but also that he developed these particular strands of his thought at this particular time, and (especially where the Lectures are concerned) for the benefit of these particular readers and hearers.

Missionary Themes in these Expositions: 'the Progress of Christ's Kingdom' and 'the Restoration of the Church'

The argument being advanced in this thesis is that, by virtue of these themes, which bear directly on the enterprise being mounted from Geneva at this time to propagate the reformed Church in France, it is in his exposition of the Prophets that Calvin's theology is at its most missionary. The exploration and elaboration of these themes is the subject of the remaining chapters of this thesis. At this point, however, it will prove useful to make some general observations that apply equally to both themes, and then to attempt a brief introduction to each of the two themes separately.

Four General Introductory Observations

The first point to establish is that these two themes are closely related to each other. Indeed, Calvin declares that 'the restoration of the Church is founded on the Kingdom of Christ'.²⁶ As a result of this, there are numerous points of contact between the two themes, which will emerge in the ensuing chapters. Nevertheless, it is also true that each concept has a distinctive shape, and operates within its own distinctive matrix in his thought, so that each warrants a separate treatment.

The second observation to make is that, of the many points of contact between them, the most obvious is the fact that both themes are principally ecclesiological. This is a point of some significance. It demonstrates that, for Calvin, evangelisation is properly an ecclesiological activity. That is to say, it is an activity undertaken by the Church and consists chiefly in the expansion of the Church. The evidence for this hypothesis is presented in chapters four and five. It is in order to emphasise this point that these chapters have been separated from those which follow, so that Part II of the thesis is devoted entirely to Calvin's missionary ecclesiology.

Thirdly, 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ' and 'the restoration of the Church' are twin pillars of Calvin's theological exposition of the Prophets and it would be difficult to exaggerate their significance for those works. In acute contrast, they are almost entirely absent from the *Institutio*.²⁷ It would certainly be impossible to substantiate an account of Calvin's theology such as the one which is offered in chapters four and five solely, or even chiefly, with reference to the *Institutio*. Instead, references to the *Institutio* and other parts of Calvin's *corpus* are included in these two chapters more to illustrate the parallels and emphasise the contrasts between these works and his expositions of the Prophets. In Part II of the thesis, it is the Lectures and the two *Commentaries* which have determined the shape of the discussion. A certain priority has been given to the Lectures, wherever possible, because of the immediacy of their connection with Calvin's practice of evangelisation. However, if it is true to say that the Lectures have provided the skeleton of chapters four and five, it is also true that the *Commentaries on the Psalms* and *on Isaiah* have frequently furnished the flesh.

The fourth and final general introductory observation to be made is that, although both these themes are primarily ecclesiological, each has a soteriological dimension. The evidence for this is presented in Part III of the thesis, in chapters six and seven. In two major respects the material under discussion in Part III differs from that in Part II. In the first place, it must be reiterated that the soteriological aspects of these themes are of secondary significance in Calvin's exposition of the Prophets. Secondly, it should be said that in the *Institutio* on the other hand, they are actually more prominent than their ecclesiological correlates. Thus, whereas chapters four and five of this thesis could not have been written solely with reference to the *Institutio*, the substance of chapters six and seven may be found there. It may be that, faced with the opportunity to embark on a programme of evangelisation, and prompted by his continuing exposition of the Prophets, Calvin took up and

applied in new ways categories in which he already framed his soteriology. Yet it has also to be said that, while secondary, the soteriological aspects of the two themes still occupy an important position in Calvin's interpretation of the Prophets. The missionary context in which they are to be found there should certainly be allowed to inform the interpretation of them. In addition, it will be argued below that the soteriological and the ecclesiological aspects of these two themes are not linked accidentally in Calvin's thought, but reflect his considered view of the body of Christ. The account offered of his missionary soteriology in Part III of this thesis is a proper and necessary complement to the statement of his missionary ecclesiology made in Part II.

Introduction to 'the Progress of the Kingdom of Christ'

In the later chapters of this thesis, an account is offered of the concept of 'the progress of Christ's Kingdom', as it appears in Calvin's exposition of the Prophets. As its title suggests, the accent in chapter four ('The progress of the Kingdom of Christ and the reformed Church') is laid primarily on the ecclesiological character of the concept; in chapter six ('The progress of the Kingdom of Christ and Christian Conversion'), it is on its soteriological correlate. Without entering here into the controversies debated there, it may nevertheless be helpful to give a brief indication at this point of what the term 'the Kingdom of Christ' meant to Calvin, and of how his presentation of the concept in the *Institutio* differs from his presentation of it in his exposition of the Prophets.

Calvin's theology is often expressed in royal and imperial categories. It is impossible to progress far in reading his writings without discovering the vocabulary of sovereignty which pervades them. References abound to the authority and the power of God, to his throne and his sceptre, and to the necessity for humanity to yield and submit to him. It is true that the biblical writings themselves draw heavily on such categories, which also occupied

an established place in the theological tradition by the mid-sixteenth century. Thus, Calvin's use of them may perhaps betray no more than his deliberate conformity to Scripture, and his familiarity with the tradition. On the other hand, the particular importance that the reformer himself attached to such categories has rightly prompted some commentators to enquire whether his training as a lawyer and his abiding respect for Roman law and the Roman *imperium* have not left their mark on his thought at this point.²⁸

Within this complex of regal terminology (which includes the related phrases 'the Kingdom of God', 'the Heavenly Kingdom' and 'the Kingdom of Heaven'),²⁹ it is the term 'the Kingdom of Christ' which is of principal interest here. The term has a precise signification for Calvin. This has been usefully expressed by T. F. Torrance, as follows:

It is generally characteristic of Calvin that when he thinks of the Kingdom in terms of God's eternal majesty and reign he speaks of it as the *Regnum Dei*, but when he thinks of it in terms of the Incarnation and the death and resurrection of Christ, and of His reigning over the world until the manifestation of the new heaven and the new earth, he speaks of it as the *Regnum Christi*.³⁰

In other words, for Calvin, the Kingdom of Christ is the manifestation of the Kingdom of God within history. It is the visible form of God's rule. An attempt will be made in chapter four of this thesis to demonstrate the importance to Calvin of the visibility and historicity of Christ's Kingdom. As he understands it, the Kingdom of Christ is located within time and space. It has its order and administration, and can be identified with the Church without qualification.³¹ The concept of the Kingdom of Christ is primarily ecclesiological for Calvin. However, there is also a soteriological aspect to Christ's Kingdom which is not to be overlooked. Calvin is concerned with the fact that this Kingdom is 'spiritual and inward' and 'is neither bounded by any location in space nor circumscribed by any limits'.³² This dimension of the concept is taken up in chapter six.

As these references illustrate, Calvin discusses the Kingdom of Christ in the *Institutio*. Indeed, both its ecclesiological and its soteriological aspects are present, though hardly prominent, in the first edition.³³ Yet, despite the fact that the successive editions of the *Institutio* bear witness to a material development in Calvin's view of Christ's Kingdom,³⁴ it is also true to say that not even the 1559 edition conveys the full scope of his thought at this point. By comparison with the way in which Calvin develops it in his expositions of the Prophets, the concept of 'the Kingdom of Christ' in the *Institutio* is not prominent. In addition, even in the latest editions of the *Institutio*, the notion of the 'progress' of the Kingdom is entirely absent. Relative to the Lectures and *Commentaries*, the concept of Christ's Kingdom in the *Institutio* is static: it may be 'raised up' and 'established', 'invaded', 'laid waste', 'scattered' and 'besieged';³⁵ but the emphasis is on how it may be 'kept' in good repair.³⁶ There is no sense of the 'propagation' or the 'promotion' of the Kingdom, or of its 'course' from beginning to end.³⁷ It will be demonstrated in chapter four that, by contrast, these topics occupy a central position in the reformer's exposition of the Prophets.

This thesis will endeavour to establish that the theme of 'the *progress* of Christ's Kingdom' was only fully articulated by Calvin in his expositions of the Prophets, and that it is to be understood against the background of the propagation of the reformed Church in France. This has consequences for any attempt to assess the imperial rhetoric in Calvin's theology, since the context in which this particular theme developed such prominence must be taken into account. For example, it might be thought that Calvin's tendency to construe theology in terms of rule and hierarchy was a device calculated to shore up his own position and that of his colleagues in the ecclesiastical ministry and the civil magistracy against opponents in Geneva. Indeed, this might still be the case for any categories forged in the furnace of Calvin's struggles in 1538, and 1553-55. In addition, however, this thesis raises the

possibility that on certain occasions Calvin's theology bears the marks of his struggle, not to establish his own position in Geneva, but to establish a reformed Church in France. In that context, Calvin was the leader of a persecuted and frequently powerless minority, rather than of an oppressive and powerful elite. It is to be borne in mind, in other words, that the rhetoric of power is not in itself an oppressive device wielded by those in authority. In certain circumstances it may be a subversive tool in the hands of a refugee.³⁸ There is evidence enough in the writings of the Biblical Apostles and Prophets that it is not only the powerful who develop a rhetoric of power. The powerless may do so too. Through an appeal to divine sovereignty, it is possible to call into question prevailing structures and authorities, which are simultaneously perceived to be oppressive, and despised as godless. The eschatological emphasis on the progress of Christ's Kingdom in Calvin's *Lectures and Commentaries* on the Prophets is directed less against his opponents in Geneva, than against those in France. It is intended to give encouragement to 'the godly' (that is, to the members of nascent reformed churches) who are already in France, as well as to those who are leaving Geneva to serve them as pastors. The context in which it was developed, in other words, should be allowed to inform the interpretation of the concept.

Introduction to 'the Restoration of the Church'

The second major theme to be developed by Calvin in his expositions of the Prophets to an extent unprecedented in the *Institutio* is that of 'the restoration of the Church'. A full account of this concept as it appears in the *Lectures and Commentaries* is undertaken in chapter five. The discussion there is self-evidently ecclesiological. This is a reflection of the fact that it is chiefly with reference to the Church that Calvin employs the language of restoration, reformation and renovation. However, Calvin does also use these terms in the context of his soteriology. This aspect of his thought is the

subject of the final chapter of the thesis, on 'The restoration of humanity in the image of God according to Calvin'. Without anticipating the debates set out in these subsequent chapters, it will nevertheless be helpful to outline at this point the ways in which Calvin employs the terminology of restoration in these expositions, and to indicate the extent to which they differ from the ways in which he applies the same terminology in the *Institutio*.

Calvin was not alone, of course, in referring to concepts such as 'the reformation' and 'the restoration' of the Church. This kind of language was almost universally current among Christian and humanist writers of the mid-sixteenth century. These terms are so significant, in fact, that it has become common in recent reformation historiography to make a distinction between the reformers on the basis of their use of them.

In his assessment of *The Anabaptist View of the Church*, for instance, Franklin Littell suggests that

in distinguishing the church types of state-church Protestantism and the sixteenth century "free-churches" we may properly speak of "the Church of the Reformers" on the one hand and "the Church of the Restitution" on the other.³⁹

According to Littell, it is possible to contrast those whose key concept was *restitutio* with those whose key concept was *reformatio*. Whereas the former 'were determined to erase what they considered the shame of centuries and recapitulate the purified church life of the golden age of faith', the latter 'were not willing to make so radical a break from the past'. This distinction is endorsed by G. H. Williams, in the Introduction to his survey of *The Radical Reformation*. Williams makes the observation there that whereas

the reformers among the Old Believers and the Magisterial Reformers alike worked with the idea of *reformatio*; the Anabaptists, the Spiritualists and the Rationalists laboured under the more radical slogan of *restitutio*.⁴⁰

Williams is certainly more cautious than Littell, in that he acknowledges that 'the Protestants in their *reformatio* differed widely in the extent of their break from the medieval church'.⁴¹ Nevertheless, he agrees that these Protestants

may be distinguished from 'the proponents of the Radical Reformation', who (although they too disagreed among themselves) were 'espousing the faithful restoration of the apostolic church as it existed in the age of the martyrs'.⁴² Again, in a more recent study of one of the most prominent of the 'radical reformers', J. Friedman offers the following definition of *Restitution*:

As opposed to reformation, the notion that true religion demanded not reform of present institutions and ideas, but a total alteration of the present and a return to primitive apostolic Christianity.⁴³

Several different assertions and assumptions can be identified in these statements, not all of which are equally valid. It is asserted in the first place that the radical reformers looked for 'the restoration of the Church'. This is uncontroversial. To be convinced of the truth of it one has only to consider the number of their publications which include the word *restitutio* in the title.⁴⁴ Secondly, it is asserted that by the term 'the restoration of the Church', the radicals were harking back to the apostolic age. This is justifiable. Thirdly, it is assumed in these statements that the radicals set the term *restitutio* over against the term *reformatio*, claiming the former for themselves and associating the latter with their lukewarm opponents. This is more tendentious. It may in fact be the case; but there is no evidence for it in the passages cited either by Littell (from the writings of the Anabaptists) or by Williams (from those of the radicals more generally).⁴⁵ It is assumed in these statements, fourthly, that the concept of the restoration of the Church was essentially an Anabaptist or radical concern, while the Magisterial Reformers were concerned with the 'reformation' of the Church, and were opposed to calls for its 'restoration'.⁴⁶ The evidence presented in this thesis indicates that this is quite erroneous, at least with regard to Calvin.

Mistaken though these assertions may be, they do nevertheless help to sharpen the questions with which this thesis is concerned. If, as chapter five argues, the concept of 'the restoration of the Church' was important to

Calvin, what did it mean to him? Did he distinguish in any way between the 'reformation' and the 'restoration' of the Church, and if so, how?

Some related questions were addressed in a seminar on the subject of 'The Concept of Restoration/Restitution in Calvin', which was led by B. G. Armstrong at the 1986 International Congress on Calvin Research.⁴⁷ At the seminar, four related words and their cognates were isolated for discussion. These were: *reformatio*, *restitutio*, *instauratio*, and *renovatio*.⁴⁸ These four terms constitute what might be called Calvin's missiological vocabulary. That is to say, these are terms he repeatedly employs in order to express his understanding of his own mission within the Church, and of the mission of the Church in the world. However, although the four words are employed in close association with one another in Calvin's work, it should not be thought that they functioned as exact synonyms. The goal of Armstrong's seminar was to establish, in a preliminary way, some patterns in Calvin's use of them. His conclusions are worth recording, before some further refinements are suggested.

Two computer-aided searches undertaken for that seminar yielded interesting results. A search for these four words was made, first, of Calvin's 'Latin Bible', and secondly, of the 1559 *Institutio*. It was found that whereas the term *reformatio* occurs not once in the 'Latin Bible', *restitutio* occurs forty-two times, *renovatio* ten times, and *instauratio* eight times.⁴⁹ Then, for the *Institutio*, Armstrong arrived at the following totals: fifteen references to the term *reformatio*; forty-seven *restitutio*; fifty-five to *renovatio*; and twenty-six to *instauratio*.⁵⁰ Even on the basis of these figures alone, it was obvious to Armstrong that Calvin expressed himself 'primarily in terms of *restitutio*, not *reformatio*'.⁵¹

Armstrong himself acknowledged that the scope of his seminar was limited in two ways, however. In the first place, it concentrated on Calvin's use of the concept of restoration in his soteriology, to the neglect of his use

of it in his ecclesiology.⁵² This reflects the dependence of the seminar upon the *Institutio*, where the language of restoration, reformation and renovation has (on the whole) humanity, rather than the Church or any other institution, as its object. This state of affairs is illustrated in the following table, in which Group A comprises those references which have humanity as their object;⁵³ Group B those which have some human faculty as their object;⁵⁴ Group C, those which have an institution as their object;⁵⁵ Group D, those which have some institutional accessory as their object;⁵⁶ and Group E those which have the world, or all things as their object.⁵⁷

Table 1: References to *restitutio*, *reformatio*, *instauratio* and *renovatio* in the 1559 *Institutio*

Term	Group A Humanity	Group B Faculty	Group C Institution	Group D Accessory	Group E All Things	Totals
<i>restitutio</i>	20	12	2	12	1	47
<i>reformatio</i>	10	7	0	0	1	18
<i>instauratio</i>	11	7	6	1	2	27
<i>renovatio</i>	39	5	7	2	2	55
Totals:	80	31	15	15	6	---

This table conveys clearly that in the *Institutio* Calvin applies the language of restoration, reformation and renovation much more often to humanity, than to the Church; and Armstrong's seminar reflects this. In other works, however, (above all in his expositions of the Prophets, to which Armstrong's seminar does not refer), Calvin's emphasis is reversed: there he refers more often to the restoration of the Church than to the restoration of humanity.⁵⁸

Secondly, even with respect to the use of these terms in the context of Calvin's soteriology, the seminar failed (for lack of evidence, according to Armstrong) to offer any definition of what Calvin understands by the term restoration.⁵⁹ The aim of chapters five and seven is to offer a response to

the questions left unanswered by Armstrong's seminar, and to demonstrate in the process the immediate relevance of these terms, as they occur in Calvin's Lectures and *Commentaries*, to the evangelisation in which his readers and hearers were engaged.

It is important to note, therefore, the contrast in emphasis between the *Institutio* and Calvin's expositions of the Prophets, in the way in which these terms are employed. The extent to which this is so is immediately obvious from the following table:

Table 2: References to *restitutio*, *reformatio*, *instauratio* and *renovatio* in Calvin's Expositions of the Prophetic Books of the Old Testament⁶⁰

Term	Group A Humanity	Group B Faculty	Group C Institution	Group D Accessory	Group E All Things	Totals
<i>restitutio</i>	94	47	500	56	38	735
<i>reformatio</i>	28	16	17	0	1	62
<i>instauratio</i>	11	5	173	4	22	215
<i>renovatio</i>	67	41	40	29	41	218
Totals:	200	109	730	89	102	-----

It is worth noting that in his expositions of the Prophets, as in the *Institutio*, Calvin employs the terms *restitutio* and *instauratio* far more frequently than the term *reformatio*. Indeed, this preference is still more pronounced here. However, at one important point this table makes a striking contrast with the one which furnishes parallel figures for the *Institutio*. In the *Institutio* Calvin employs the language of reformation, restoration and renovation chiefly with reference to the redemption of individual human beings. In his Lectures and *Commentaries* the position is different. These indicate a perceptible shift of emphasis in Calvin's use of all four terms, away from the individual, towards institutions and 'all things'. This change is most marked as far as the terms *restitutio* and *instauratio* are concerned: in his exposition of the Prophets, Calvin focuses his attention on the restoration of institutions and 'all things',

and has little to say about the restoration of individual human beings. In the case of the term *renovatio*, the distribution is more even. Relative to the *Institutio*, Calvin has more to say about the renovation of institutions and 'all things'; but he still often refers to the renovation of humanity, and of human faculties. The term *reformatio* is perhaps the most interesting. On the one hand, in his interpretation of the Prophets, unlike the *Institutio*, Calvin does occasionally refer to the reformation of institutions. On the other hand, of the four terms under discussion here, it is only the word *reformatio* which Calvin employs more often with reference to humanity and human faculties in the Lectures and *Commentaries*, than with reference to institutions, institutional accessories and 'all things'. This distribution of terms suggests that it may be doubly misleading to characterise Calvin's concern for the Church as a concern for its reformation. It would appear that when he is referring to the Church, Calvin uses the terms *restitutio* and *instauratio* many times more frequently than *reformatio*; and that when he does use the term *reformatio*, he is usually referring, not to the Church, but to humanity. On this preliminary evidence, it would appear that in his exposition of the Prophets, Calvin's concern for the Church is a concern for its restoration.

Finally, the force of the prefix to all four terms is not to be overlooked. The obvious possibility presents itself that Calvin's use of it is theologically significant. In the context of his ecclesiology, it may reflect the continuity he discerned between the reformed Church and the one, catholic and apostolic Church. In the same way, in the context of his soteriology, it may betray the continuity he maintained between his doctrine of creation and his doctrine of redemption. These possibilities are explored further in later chapters.

The Progression from the Ecclesiological to the Soteriological Dimension of these Themes

The observation has already been made that, although 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ' and 'the restoration of the Church' are both themes which are primarily ecclesiological, each also has its soteriological correlate. However, the progression which is made in this thesis from ecclesiology in Part II, to soteriology in Part III, is not intended simply to make this point, nor simply to reflect the priority of the former over the latter. It is also intended to convey that the connection between ecclesiology and soteriology in Calvin's theology is intrinsic. The movement in this thesis reflects the fact that, where 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ' and 'the restoration of the Church' are concerned, there is a studied progression in Calvin's thought from the corporate, or institutional, to the individual.

This progression arises from the interpretation Calvin places on the body of Christ. In an influential article, S. H. Russell has explored the vital role exercised by the 'solidarity' Calvin discerns between Christ and his body in his 'messianic interpretation of the Psalms'.⁶¹ For Calvin, what is true of Christ is true of his body. With regard to his exegesis of the Psalms, this means that, for Calvin, by virtue of the 'intimate connection' which exists between the Head and its members,⁶² what is predicted of Christ may be interpreted of his body. However, moving beyond the exegesis of the Psalms alone, and beyond the analysis offered by Russell, it is important to note that, as Calvin understands it, the solidarity between Christ (the Head) and his body is two-fold. What is true of Christ is true first of the whole Church; but it is also true secondly of an individual Christian.⁶³ In other words, the solidarity between Christ and his body is such that the experience of Christ is the experience both of the institution of the Church, and of each individual member of the Church.⁶⁴

Occasionally, Calvin makes this progression explicit. For example, in a Lecture on Daniel, he remarks that 'the perpetuity of the Kingdom of Christ is twofold'. He identifies, first, a perpetuity which belongs to 'the whole body of believers' (by which he means that the perpetuity of the Church -- possibly even of the institution of the Church -- is itself guaranteed by Christ). Then he identifies, secondly, a perpetuity which belongs to 'every believer' (by which he means that the salvation of every individual member of Christ's body is guaranteed for ever by Christ himself).⁶⁵

One further point remains to be made: namely, that the relationship between Christ (the Head) and his body is not a simple relationship, but an 'eschatological' one. The implications of this will be made clear in chapters four and six below,⁶⁶ but it is worth registering here that when Calvin asserts that what is predicated of Christ may also be predicated of the Church, he is not suggesting that the Church already enters fully into the experience of its Lord. Calvin in fact attributes this position to the Anabaptists, and mocks it.⁶⁷ His own position is rather that the Church on earth only enters partially into the experience of Christ, but that the bond between the Head and its body is such that the future consummation of this relationship is assured. The bond which already exists, therefore, guarantees that the Church will enter fully into the experience of Christ on the last day.

The Relationship of Calvin's Expositions of the Prophets to the *Institutio Christianae Religionis*

Enough has already been said about 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ' and 'the restoration of the Church' to show that where these themes are concerned, important differences exist between Calvin's *Institutio* on the one hand, and his exposition of the Prophets, on the other. Notwithstanding the assertions which have sometimes been made to the contrary,⁶⁸ it seems that even the 1559 edition of the *Institutio* should not be thought to convey

the full scope of Calvin's thought. Before attention turns to the elucidation of the themes which permeate these expositions, it will be appropriate to reflect briefly on the nature of this discrepancy.

There are two points to be made in this connection. First of all, it has long been understood that Calvin never intended the *Institutio* to be read as an isolated expression of his theology. On the contrary, he conceived of the *Institutio* as a preliminary work, designed to introduce his expositions of the Bible.⁶⁹ He stated expressly in a 'Letter to the Reader' composed in 1539, that the *Institutio* 'paved the way' for any commentaries on Scripture that he might subsequently produce.⁷⁰ In this respect it might almost be said that the *Institutio* is merely the prolegomenon to Calvin's principal theological endeavour, his works of biblical interpretation. He advised readers to come to his *Commentaries* armed with a knowledge of the *Institutio*, as a tool.⁷¹ He reasoned that the composition of the *Institutio* effectively relieved him of the necessity to include 'long dogmatic discussions' and digressions 'into commonplaces' in the *Commentaries*,⁷² and that these could consequently be kept 'brief' and 'condensed'.⁷³ In the writing of the *Commentaries*, Calvin kept this objective in mind, regularly referring his readers to the *Institutio* for fuller discussions of vexed points of doctrine.⁷⁴

However, although the *Institutio* was not meant to be read in isolation, there is at least one sense in which it was intended to be comprehensive. As Calvin understood it, the *Institutio* could only serve as a companion to the *Commentaries* in this way because it was so thorough. He claimed that in it he had embraced 'the sum of religion in all its parts',⁷⁵ and 'treated at length almost all the articles pertaining to Christianity'.⁷⁶ Calvin regarded his great work as exhaustive in breadth, if not in depth. These claims accentuate the problem to which this chapter has drawn attention: that there are strands of thought in the *Lectures* and the *Commentaries on the Psalms* and *on Isaiah*,

for which there is no parallel in the *Institutio*. There is a real discrepancy here between what Calvin intended in the *Institutio* and what he achieved.

There is, on the other hand, a second point to be set against this: that is, that Calvin counted himself among 'the number of those who write as they learn and learn as they write'.⁷⁷ It is to be borne in mind, in other words, that the *Institutio* is a work which went through several revisions, changing and developing theologically in the process, and that the last major revision took place in 1559, before the missionary movement attained its height. There is every reason to suppose that Calvin's theology continued to develop, in line with his changing circumstances, during the final five years of his life, and that these developments might have found their way into the *Institutio* if he had lived long enough to undertake a further revision.

The point may be illustrated with reference to the major revision of the work which was made in 1543. This was the second time Calvin overhauled the *Institutio*: the 1539 edition already constituted a considerable expansion of the original. In 1539, Calvin had not yet published any commentaries or biblical expositions, however, so that the 1543 edition is the first in which the fruits of Calvin's exegetical work may be traced with confidence. Moreover, it is reasonable to suppose that his experiences between 1539 and 1543, as a pastor in Strasbourg and a colleague of Bucer, were formative. This can in fact be shown to be the case. The most obvious developments in the 1543 *Institutio* are in its ecclesiology.⁷⁸ Provoked by the circumstances of his ejection from Geneva in 1538, and encouraged by established practice in Strasbourg, Calvin radically amplified his teaching about church polity, and above all about ecclesiastical discipline. There is little reason to doubt that the introduction of the four-fold order of ministry is, additionally, the result of Calvin's reflections on the exegesis of Romans 12.⁷⁹ The indications are that, constrained both by his situation and by his exegetical labour between

1539 and 1543, Calvin's thought developed along new lines, and that these developments were then incorporated into the *Institutio*.

It is probable that Calvin's thoughts were developing under a similar combination of constraints in 1555-64, and especially during the second half of the period. He was faced on the one hand, with an opportunity to embark on the evangelisation of France, and on the other, with a responsibility to pursue his exposition of the Prophets. Much of the work on the final revision of the *Institutio* was carried out (like the revision of the *Isaiah Commentaries*) during Calvin's illness in the autumn of 1558 and the spring of the following year. By this time the double constraint was already in place. By mid-1559, Calvin had already published his expositions of the Psalms (1557), Hosea (1557), Isaiah (revised, January 1559) and the Minor Prophets (also January 1559). The missionary movement, while still two years short of its peak, was well under way. As one would expect, these constraints have left a mark on passages of the *Institutio*. For example, among interpolations which date from 1559, several reflect on the nature of Kingdom of Christ as foretold by the Prophet Isaiah;⁸⁰ and references to 'the restoration of the Church' were similarly introduced for the first time in this revision.⁸¹

These marks are few and their significance for the overall shape and thrust of the work is negligible.⁸² It should not, however, be forgotten that the *Institutio* was never revised again after the Academy in Geneva was opened. The flood-tide of the missionary movement, and Calvin's *Lectures on Daniel, Jeremiah and Ezekiel*, to an audience of missionaries, aspiring missionaries and other interested parties, all took place after the final edition had been published. Since it was particularly in the last five years of his life that the evangelisation of France became such an over-riding pre-occupation with Calvin, there are grounds to suppose that a revision of the *Institutio* made in 1564 might have incorporated more fully the theological developments to which these constraints gave rise.

Conclusion

This chapter began with an assessment of the contemporary allusions which are to be detected in Calvin's theological Lectures and the two related *Commentaries*. It was suggested that although explicit references to the events and personalities of the mid-sixteenth century in these expositions are few and far between, it was nevertheless Calvin's aim to adapt his comments to suit his readers and hearers.

It was indicated, secondly, that two particular themes, which permeate these works, bear witness to this. Some general observations were offered, relating to both 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ', and 'the restoration of the Church'. It was noted that the two themes are closely linked, that both are primarily ecclesiological, but have soteriological dimensions. An attempt was made, in the course of a brief introduction to each of the two themes in turn, to enlarge somewhat on this point.

Next, a justification was given of the progression from Part II to Part III of this thesis, from the ecclesiological to the soteriological dimension of the two themes. It was argued that this progression reflects the consistent and deliberate transition which Calvin himself makes from the corporate to the individual aspects of the Church, which is derived from his view of the body of Christ, and the relation of its Head to its members.

An effort was made, finally, to assess the fact that these themes are absent from the 1559 *Institutio*. The point was made that the *Institutio* was a work which was subject to regular revision. The possibility was raised that, given the importance which these themes attained in the expositions of the Prophets which date from the last five years of Calvin's life, they might have featured more prominently in a later edition of the *Institutio*, had he lived long enough to revise it once more.

Notes

- 1 Ep. 3485, C. O. 18.620, C. T. S. I.lxix.
- 2 In the introduction to *Calvin's Sermons on Isaiah 30-41* (*Supplementa Calviniana III*, Librairie Droz, Genève forthcoming), T. H. L. Parker suggests that a similar degree of circumspection about contemporary events characterises Calvin's sermons too.
- 3 Servetus: Lect. 31, Hos. 12.3-5, C. O. 42.455.46-56, C. T. S. I.421; Lect. 64, Dan. 12.1, C. O. 41.286.43, C. T. S. II.368; Lect. 5, Ezek. 1.25-26, C. O. 40.54.9, C. T. S. I.97. Blandrata: Lect. 5, Ezek. 1.25-26, C. O. 40.55.56, C. T. S. I.100. Castellio: Lect. 17, Dan. 4.1-3, C. O. 40.649.51, C. T. S. I.246; Lect. 48, Dan. 9.20-21, C. O. 41.163.36, C. T. S. II.190. Luther: Lect. 42, Dan. 8.20-25, C. O. 41.114.46, C. T. S. II.119. Oecampadius and Melanchthon: Lect. 50, Dan. 9.24-25, C. O. 41.176.6-21, C. T. S. II.208-209.
- 4 The Papacy: Lect. 57, Amos 5.4-6, C. O. 43.73.25, 39, 43, C. T. S. II.255, and *passim*. The Pope: e.g., Lect. 64, Amos 7.10-13, C. O. 43.133.43, C. T. S. II.348; Lect. 2, Jer. 1.9-10, C. O. 37.481.4, C. T. S. I.45.
- 5 *D. Antonius*, and 'our brother Dominus Antonius', i. e., '*Dominus*' Antoine Chevallier, Lect. 4, Dan. 2.1, C. O. 40.557.34-35, C. T. S. I.116; Lect. 11, Dan. 2.44-45, C. O. 40.604.12-13, C. T. S. I.183. Beza: Lect. 120, Jer. 31.18, C. O. 38.671.3, C. T. S. IV.98.
- 6 Lect. 54, Amos 3.13-14, C. O. 43.50.43-44, C. T. S. II.221; Lect. 48, Ezek. 16.55, C. O. 40.389.3, C. T. S. II.167.
- 7 Lect. 88, Jer. 23.19, C. O. 38.428.21-22, C. T. S. III.172.
- 8 Lect. 32, Jer. 8.9, C. O. 38.11.44, C. T. S. I.434; Lect. 113, Jer. 30.7, C. O. 38.616.29, C. T. S. IV.11.
- 9 Lect. 114, Hab. 3.1, C. O. 43.565.40, C. T. S. IV.135; Lect. 4, Jer. 2.4-5, C. O. 37.499.49-50, C. T. S. I.75; Lect. 25, Jer. 6.22-23, C. O. 37.665.30-31, C. T. S. I.352.
- 10 Since Calvin normally lectured only on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, and since, in the text of the Lectures, he often refers to what he said 'yesterday', and what he must leave until 'tomorrow', it is often possible, as T. H. L. Parker has shown (*Old Testament*, pp.17-20), to establish the day of the week on which a particular Lecture was delivered. In addition, of course, some kind of correlation could be made of Calvin's approximate progress through a particular Lecture series, with, for example, the *Annales* of C. O. 21. The exercise might make an interesting research project.
- 11 Lect. 4, Jer. 2.4-5, C. O. 37.499.49-50, C. T. S. I.75.
- 12 C. O. 21.90.
- 13 Probably on Wednesday 29, after Calvin's customary week of preaching. But it is impossible to be certain about this, as Calvin's pattern of work was often disrupted by illness, and occasionally also by his travels.
- 14 See, for example, R. M. Kingdon: "The Control of Morals in Calvin's Geneva", in L. P. Buck and J. W. Zophy, eds.: *The Social History of the Reformation*; Ohio State University Press, Columbus, OH 1972, pp.3-16.

- 15 In the 1540s, when Calvin published commentaries on almost all the Pauline Epistles, he probably also lectured on many of them, as well as on other New Testament Epistles. On the Lectures, see chapter two, pp.54-58.
- 16 I owe the observation of this propriety to Dr. H. Jansma.
- 17 Ep. 3485, C. O. 18.623, C. T. S. I.lxxi. Budé wrote of the *Lectures on Hosea* that Calvin 'so adapts the teaching of the Prophets to our own times that it seems to suit their age no better than ours'; *Ioannes Budaeus Christianis Lectoribus*, C. O. 42.187-188.25-26, C. T. S. I.xxviii. cf. Lect. 66, Dan. 12.5-13, C. O. 41.298.48-51, C. T. S. II.385-386.
- 18 Ep. 3986, C. O. 20.72, C. T. S. I.xxiii.
- 19 Lect. 3, Jer. 1.16, C. O. 37.490.45-46, C. T. S. I.60.
- 20 Lect. 2, Dan. 1.6-7, C. O. 40.542.8-29, C. T. S. I.96; cited by Parker: *Old Testament*, p.23.
- 21 Lect. 180, Mal. 3.16, C. O. 44.481.19-23, C. T. S. V.602.
- 22 cf. Lect. 40, Joel 1.13-15, C. O. 42.526.45, 53, C. T. S. II.33. In Lect. 86, Mic. 3.8 (C. O. 43.328.33-37, C. T. S. III.232), Calvin observes that 'many simple men, who have never received a proper education, have still been so endued with the heavenly Spirit that, when it has come to the struggle, they have closed the mouths of great doctors'. The passage is reminiscent of Calvin's reports to Bullinger and Blaurer that even 'the dregs' were being employed in the evangelisation of France (see p.22).
- 23 On the need for pastors to endure persecution see, e. g., Lect. 49, Dan. 9.20-21, C. O. 41.164.40-42, C. T. S. II.192. On the need to regularise ordination see, e. g., Lect. 113, Jer. 29.30-32, C. O. 39.611.7-19, C. T. S. III.459.
- 24 The exception, of course, is the autobiographical Preface to the *Psalms Commentary*.
- 25 This point has already been made with reference to these works, in chapter two, on pp.69-73.
- 26 Comm. Is. 4.2, C. O. 36.96.31-32, C. T. S. I.153. In Lect. 10 on Ezek. 3.18 Calvin refers to 'prophecies concerning the Kingdom of Christ and the restoration of the Church'. The phrase reflects the close connection which existed in his mind between the two. C. O. 40.94.12-14, C. T. S. I.155.
- 27 The extent to which this is so will be demonstrated in the following pages.
- 28 See Bouwsma, ch. 10; Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, pp.188-189.
- 29 Palmer, ch. 2: "Terminology for the Kingdom of God".
- 30 Torrance: *Kingdom and Church*, p.95.
- 31 Inst. II.xv.5 (1539), p.501; O. S. III.479.9. Inst. IV.v.8 (1543), p.1092; O. S. V.82.9. Inst. IV.ii.4 (1536), p.1046; O. S. V.36.2.
- 32 Inst. IV.xx.2 (1536), p.1487; O. S. V.473.8. Inst. IV.xvii.18 (1536), p.1381; O. S. V.364.32.
- 33 See, for example: ecclesiological - Inst. IV.49, Battles: 1536, p.118; O.S. I.156.40. Soteriological: Inst. VI.36, Battles: 1536, p.208; O. S. I.259.30-31. Of the 67 references to the *regnum [Christi]* in the 1559 *Institutio*, 14 date from 1536.

- 34 The relationship between the Kingdom of Christ and the Church is, as one would expect, developed considerably in the 1543 *Institutio* (e. g., Inst. IV.iii.4, p.1056; O. S. V.46.4), and the role of the Prophets in foretelling Christ's Kingdom was underlined by various interpolations in 1559 (e. g., Inst. I.ix.1, p.93; O. S. III.82.18). See below, p.104.
- 35 Inst. I.xiv.18 (1543), p.177; O. S. III.168.33. Inst. IV.vii.19 (1543), pp.1138-1139; O. S. V.123.12. Inst. IV.x.1 (1536), p.1180; O. S. V.164.28. Inst. IV.xviii.18 (1536), p.1445; O. S. V.433.6.
- 36 Inst. Pref. Add. (1536), p.12; O. S. III.12.17.
- 37 The one possible exception is the passage in Inst. II.xvi.14 (1539), pp.522-523, O. S. III.501.21-502.18, in which Calvin explains that the 'inauguration' of Christ's Kingdom took place at his ascension, and was 'advanced' at Pentecost by the outpouring of the Spirit. There is even a reference to the end of the age, but the association between the last day and the consummation of the Kingdom of Christ is at most implied, whereas in the Lectures and the two *Commentaries* it is explicit, and repeatedly so.
- 38 I am grateful to Prof. D. Ford, of Cambridge University, for suggesting this line of thought to me. The forthcoming biography of Calvin by H. A. Oberman is purported to stress the significance for Calvin's theology of his experience as an exile. Compare his essay on the *Initia Calvini: The Matrix of Calvin's Reformation*; Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Noord-Hollandsche, Amsterdam 1991, especially the final sentence.
- 39 F. H. Littell: *The Anabaptist View of the Church: An Introduction to Sectarian Protestantism. Studies in Church History, Vol. VIII*; American Society of Church History, n. pl. 1952, p.74.
- 40 G. H. Williams: *The Radical Reformation*; Westminster Press, Philadelphia 1962, p.xxvi.
- 41 Williams, p.xxvii.
- 42 Williams, p.xxviii.
- 43 J. Friedman: *Michael Servetus: A Case Study in Total Heresy*; Librairie Droz, Geneva 1978, p.145. This definition is cited in an excellent preliminary investigation of 'restoration' in Calvin's thought: B. G. Armstrong: "The Concept of Restoration/Restitution in Calvin", in W. H. Neuser, ed.: *Calvinus Servus Christi: Die Referate des Internationalen Kongresses für Calvinforschung vom 25. bis 28. August 1986 in Debrecen*; Presseabteilung des Ráday-Kollegiums, Budapest 1988, p.145.
- 44 Note, for instance, the six works cited by Williams, p.375.
- 45 Indeed, if Littell's translations reflect the terminology of the originals, then the term *reformatio* and its cognates occurs more frequently than *restitutio* in the quotations he offers. Moreover, as far as I can see, Littell's phrase 'The Church of the Restitution' is not used by the sixteenth century Anabaptists themselves.
- 46 In fact Williams seems to be aware that Calvin, at least, was capable of using the language of restoration (p.375), but he is not moved to qualify his remarks in the light of this. See, for instance, the polarisation on p.857.
- 47 See note 43. The debt this section owes to that seminar will be obvious. I am also indebted to Prof. R. Wevers, of Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan, USA, for undertaking for me a number of searches of his computerised concordances to Calvin's Latin Bible and the 1559 *Institutio*.
- 48 From this point on a phrase such as 'the term [e.g.] *reformatio*' should be understood to mean 'the term [e.g.] *reformatio* and its cognates'. A word of explanation is in order

about the inclusion of the terms *instauratio* and *renovatio* in Armstrong's researches and in mine. It will become evident that Calvin's terminology is extremely fluid at this point, and that although there are distinct patterns to be observed in the way in which he employs the various terms, all four words *reformatio*, *restitutio*, *renovatio* and *instauratio* are so closely related that it would be absurd to limit analysis to the first two alone. It may also be worth recording that the equivalent words in the French *Institution* of 1560 confirm the essential fluidity of Calvin's terminology. Some thought was given to the possibility of including a fifth term, *reparatio*, in this analysis, since it is also used by Calvin in the same contexts as the other four. In the end it was not included because a line has to be drawn somewhere. Its inclusion did not seem sufficiently important to warrant departing from the precedent established by Armstrong.

- 49 Armstrong notes that, of the forty-two occurrences of the term *restitutio* in Calvin's Latin Bible, only fourteen follow the Vulgate (p.145). As this might suggest that Calvin uses the term more often than the Vulgate, it ought also to be noted that on twenty-nine occasions on which the Vulgate uses the term *restitutio*, Calvin employs a different word. In all, therefore, there are forty-three occurrences of the term *restitutio* in the Vulgate, and forty-two in Calvin's Latin Bible. (Moreover, it is worth noting that Calvin's Latin Bible is not a complete text of the Scriptures. It is simply a compilation of the parts of the biblical text which Calvin expounded in his Lectures, Commentaries and so on. See R. F. Wevers: *A Concordance to the Latin Bible of John Calvin along with the Biblical Text Itself, Reconstructed from the Text of his Commentaries*; Meeter Center for Calvin Studies, Grand Rapids, MI 1985.)
- 50 Armstrong, pp.148-149. My own searches have established slightly different totals: I have found eighteen instances of the term *reformatio*, and twenty-seven of the term *instauratio*. For the terms *restitutio* and *renovatio*, I agree with the totals given by Armstrong.
- 51 Armstrong, p.147. (Even the word *Institutio* has added significance in the light of this priority, of course.) On the basis of the figures from the *Institutio*, it might, admittedly, be argued that Calvin thought primarily in terms neither of *restitutio*, nor of *reformatio*, but of *renovatio*. It should be noted, therefore, that Calvin often uses *renovatio* in a neutral sense (e. g., to refer to the renewal of a treaty, of a quarrel, of effort, or of a memory). *Restitutio* and *reformatio*, by contrast, are almost always used by Calvin with a specialised theological significance.
- 52 The focus of the seminar is on 'the application of the idea to redemption or salvation'. Armstrong, p.143.
- 53 e.g., 'The end of regeneration is that Christ should reform (*reformat*) us to God's image'. Inst. I.xv.4 (1559), p.189; O. S. III.179.18-19.
- 54 e.g., 'Now the soul is not reborn if merely a part of it is corrected, but only when it is wholly renewed (*renovatur*)'. Inst. II.iii.1 (1539), p.289; O. S. III.272.8-9.
- 55 e.g., 'The Redeemer... not only led the people back from the Babylonian exile, but fully restored (*restitueret*) the Church to all its numbers'. Inst. I.xiii.24 (1559), p.152; O. S. III.144.5-7.
- 56 e.g., 'Also, I would not argue over the order of the diaconate, if that ministry which existed under the apostles and in the purer Church were restored (*restitueretur*) to its integrity'. Inst. IV.xix.32 (1543), p.1479; O. S. V.465.28-466.1.
- 57 e.g., 'When the fulness of time came, which was appointed for the restoration of all things (*plenitudine temporis instaurandis omnibus destinata*), he was revealed as the reconciler of God and men'. Inst. II.xi.11 (1539), p.461; O. S. III.433.33-35.
- 58 See Table 2, below, p.99.

- 59 Armstrong, pp.146-147.
- 60 These figures, which refer to Calvin's *Lectures on Hosea and the Minor Prophets, on Daniel, Jeremiah and Ezekiel*, and to the *Commentaries on the Psalms and on Isaiah*, are based on a single manual search of the Latin text. Although they cannot be reckoned exact, therefore, they are accurate enough to serve as a reliable confirmation of the patterns in Calvin's thought which are elaborated in the remaining chapters of this thesis. Separate tables for each of the six publications are included in Appendix IV. It is evident from the Appendix that the terms do not occur in each of these works with consistency. It should therefore be emphasised that the paragraphs which follow are intended as no more than an introduction to the concepts with which later chapters are concerned. No suggestion is being made that any thesis may be proved on the basis of these figures alone.
- 61 S. H. Russell: "Calvin and the Messianic Interpretation of the Psalms", *Scottish Journal of Theology* 21 (1968), pp.37-47. 'Solidarity' is Russell's word (p.42).
- 62 Comm. Ps. 68.19, C. O. 31.628.52-53, C. T. S. III.27. cf. Lect. 16, Hos. 6.2, C. O. 42.321.48-50, C. T. S. I.219; Lect. 43, Dan. 8.26, C. O. 40.122.16-21, C. T. S. II.130.
- 63 The word 'Christian' (*Christianus*), which has been adopted in the title of Part III of this thesis is one Calvin uses. See for example Lect. 75, Jon. 1.16, C. O. 43.232.33, C. T. S. III.68.
- 64 Lect. 70, Ob. 7-8, C. O. 43.186.34-35, C. T. S. II.434; Lect. 15, Dan. 3.24-25, C. O. 40.638.54-56, C. T. S. I.231.
- 65 Lect. 11, Dan. 2.44, C. O. 40.608.3, C. T. S. I.188. cf. the very similar statement which was incorporated into the 1559 edition of the *Institutio*, II.xv.3, p.497; O. S. III.474.25-27. The same progression is present in another context in Lect. 15, Dan. 3.24-25, C. O. 40.638.54-55, C. T. S. I.231.
- 66 See especially pp.124-126, and pp.184-187.
- 67 e. g., Inst. III.iii.14 (1539), pp.606-607; O. S. IV.69.19-71.2.
- 68 See the references cited on p.75, note 6.
- 69 There is a helpful discussion in Parker: *New Testament*, pp.1-5, 53-54.
- 70 Inst. *Epistola ad Lectorem* (1539), pp.4-5; O. S. III.6.26.
- 71 Inst. *Epistola ad Lectorem* (1539), p.5; O. S. III.6.30-31; but following the sense adopted by Parker: *New Testament*, p.53.
- 72 Inst. *Epistola ad Lectorem* (1539), p.5; O. S. III.6.27-28.
- 73 Inst. *Argument du present livre* (1560), p.9; O. S. III.8.10. Inst. *Epistola ad Lectorem* (1539), pp.4-5; O. S. III.6.26.
- 74 In the New Testament Commentaries, references to the *Institutio* are common. See for example: Comm. Rom. 3.21, C. O. 49.59.53, C. N. T. C. p.73; Comm. Acts 6.3, C. O. 48.120.47, C. N. T. C. p.161. Significantly, in his expositions of the Old Testament, such references are to be found only in the Commentaries proper: Comm. Gen. 3.1, C. O. 23.56.5, C. T. S. I.145; Comm. Ps. Arg., C. O. 31.31.23.22, C. T. S. I.xlii; Comm. Is. 58.4, C. O. 37.327.37, C. T. S. IV.230; Comm. Harm. Pent., C. O. 23.728.32, C. T. S. III.201. Significantly, there are no references to the *Institutio* in the Lectures.
- 75 Inst. *Epistola ad Lectorem* (1539), p.4; O. S. III.6.21-22.

- 76 Inst. *Argument du present livre* (1560), p.7; O. S. III.8.11-12.
- 77 Inst. *Epistola ad Lectorem* (1543), p.5; O. S. III.7.8-9.
- 78 See the excellent examination in Höpfl, ch. 5.
- 79 E. A. McKee: *Elders and the Plural Ministry: The Role of Exegetical History in Illuminating John Calvin's Theology*; Librairie Droz, Geneva 1987, pp.41-43, 52-53.
- 80 e. g., Inst. I.ix.1 (1559), p.93; O. S. III.82.12-19; Inst. IV.i.5 (1559), p.1017; O. S. V.8.11-15.
- 81 Inst. I.xiii.24 (1559), p.152; O.S. III.144.6.
- 82 It is, however, possible that even the structure of the 1559 *Institutio*, which moves from 'the knowledge of God the Creator' to 'the knowledge of God the Redeemer' (and thus implies continuity between the Old Covenant and the New) owes something to Calvin's experience of expounding the Old Testament Prophets (and to the view he repeatedly expressed in these expositions, that Christ is the substance of both Covenants).

Part II

The Progress of the Kingdom of Christ and the Restoration of the Church

Introduction to Part II

In Part II of the thesis, there is a further shift in emphasis from history to theology. The accent is on evangelisation in Calvin's thought. The aim of Part II is to establish the essentially ecclesiological character of the themes which permeate his expositions of the Prophets.

It will be maintained in chapter four ('The Progress of the Kingdom of Christ and the Reformed Church') that the distinctive feature of the concept of the Kingdom of Christ as it appears in these Lectures and *Commentaries* is the way that, by virtue of his eschatology, it functions as a framework for his exposition of salvation history. From the perspective of the sixteenth century, Calvin can look back at the inauguration of Christ's Kingdom and forward to its consummation, and between these two points, he can chart its inexorable progress. It will be shown that Calvin identifies the Kingdom of Christ with the visible Church, and in particular, with the institution of the true Church, which is (in his view) the reformed Church. He therefore takes the progress of the Kingdom of Christ to be equivalent to the progress of the reformed Church, which is propagated by the preaching of the Gospel. Consideration will also be given in this chapter to the question of whether Calvin was concerned with the propagation of the Gospel beyond the borders of western Europe.

In chapter five ('The Restoration of the Church according to Calvin') it will be argued that there are two strands to the concept of 'the restoration of the Church' as it is articulated by Calvin in these works. On the one hand, in a backward-looking sense, he regarded 'the restoration of the Church' as exactly equivalent to 'the reformation of the Church'. On the other hand, in a forward-looking sense, he took it to be equivalent to the redemption of the world. In one sense, the concept is narrowly ecclesiological; in another, it is profoundly eschatological. Moreover, although for the sake of clarity the two

strands will be separated from one another in this presentation, it will be noted that Calvin does not distinguish them. In his view, the local, periodic restorations of the form of the Church are stages in a universal and continual process of the restoration of the Church itself, which will culminate in the redemption and the restoration of all things.

Chapter Four

The Progress of the Kingdom of Christ and the Reformed Church

Introduction

It has been argued in chapter one that in the last ten years of his life Calvin's chief pre-occupation was with the evangelisation of France. It has been shown in chapter two that during this same period he was engaged in the exposition of the Prophetic books of the Old Testament. In chapter three, the suggestion has been made that, although the *Institutio* provides little indication of the theological basis for his evangelistic activity, at this point Calvin's *magnum opus* fails to convey the full scope of his thought; and that this theological basis is to be found, by contrast, in his expositions of the Old Testament Prophets, published between 1557 and 1565. In these works, Calvin propounded a doctrine of the Kingdom of Christ, and in particular of the progress of Christ's Kingdom, which was vigorous, coherent and replete with missionary imperatives. This doctrine was given a prominence and a breadth of treatment in these Lectures and *Commentaries* which it did not receive in the *Institutio*. The aim of the present chapter is to give an account of the doctrine as it appears in these expositions, and to show how it relates to the evangelistic activity in which Calvin himself was engaged at the time when he produced them.

The Kingdom of Christ and Calvin's Old Testament Exegesis

Initially, however, some preliminary remarks are in order, to explain the prominent position Calvin gave to the theme of the Kingdom of Christ in his exposition of the Prophets. Far from being accidental, this prominence arose directly from a theological premise adopted by Calvin, relating to the possibility of the knowledge of God.¹

Calvin's exegetical method and the principles which governed his interpretation of the Old Testament have been the subject of intense interest in recent years.² Attention has focussed upon his rejection of allegory, in favour of typology, 'kerygmatic analogy', and 'the hermeneutic of promise and fulfilment'. For the most part, scholarly consideration has been confined to the attempt to define the various ways in which Calvin finds Christ pre-figured in the people, ceremonies, and events of Old Testament history, and to indicate the limitations and inconsistencies of his approach. Rather less attention has been paid to the question of how this exegesis relates to his theological method. These connections are important and straightforward, however.

According to Calvin, the initiative for the knowledge of God rests entirely with God himself; and God has taken this initiative exclusively in his Word. The significance of this premise for the shape of Calvin's theology cannot be over-emphasized. Moreover, Calvin's view that the Word of God is God's one chosen medium of self-revelation is not simply an assertion of the primacy of Scripture as a source for the knowledge of God, since the primary reference in his use of the term 'the Word of God' is not to Scripture *per se*, but to the second person of the Trinity: to Christ, the Eternal and Essential Word of the Father.³ For Calvin, the one Mediator of all knowledge of God is Christ.

The premise that the knowledge of God is possible only by the grace of God, in Christ the Word of God, has shaped Calvin's interpretation of the Prophets in two ways.

Firstly, it has drawn him to the conclusion that the Patriarchs and the Prophets, as well as the Apostles, knew God in Christ.⁴ This premise about the priority of grace, in other words, underlies the continuity Calvin perceived between the Old Covenant and the New. He believed that the Old Covenant as well as the New was mediated by Christ and had him as its substance.⁵

Consequently, Calvin identified the 'ancient' people of God as 'the Church', and construed the history of God's dealings with them, and of their response to his grace, as a history of the Kingdom of Christ, under types and figures, shadows and anagoges. (This aspect of Calvin's interpretation is especially significant in the *Commentary on the Psalms*, in which he was required to comment upon the personalities, institutions and events of pre-exilic Israel; but it is important in his other expositions of the Prophets too.) Kings such as David, Hezekiah and Zerubbabel and their Kingdoms, are regarded as types or figures of Christ and his Kingdom.⁶ The wealth and invincibility of the kingdom of Israel typify the riches and invincibility of the Kingdom of Christ,⁷ and so on. Whatever the precise lines along which Calvin developed this construal of the two Covenants, and whatever its inadequacies, it is sufficient for the purposes of the present study to note that this tendency to find types and figures of the Kingdom of Christ scattered through the prophetic writings reflects the continuity Calvin perceived between the Old Testament and the New, and stemmed from his premise that the knowledge of God is possible only by the grace of God.

This premise also underlies, secondly, Calvin's view of the unity of the Scriptures. For him all Scripture is mediated by Christ, and has Christ as its scope.⁸ The responsibility of the exegete, therefore, was, in his view, to seek Christ in all of Scripture, Old Testament as well as New.⁹ Although Calvin maintained that, in a primary sense, Christ's Kingdom was not inaugurated until 'the coming of Christ', his perception of the fundamental coherence of Scripture sometimes led him to speak of it as a present reality even during the post-exilic period of the Old Testament. Calvin regarded the Prophets as harbingers of the 'Kingdom' of Christ not only insofar as they prophesied his incarnation, but also insofar as they foretold more imminent events, such as the return from exile, in which he himself discerned the presence of Christ's Kingdom, as it were proleptically.

It is under the constraint of a premise concerning the priority of grace for the knowledge of God, therefore, that Calvin interprets so much of the material in the prophetic books of the Old Testament in terms of the Kingdom of Christ. However, what is distinctive about his concept of the Kingdom in his expositions of the Prophets is not simply its prominence, but the way that it functions for him as a framework for the rehearsal of salvation history.

The Progress of the Kingdom of Christ and Salvation History¹⁰

The characteristic mark of Calvin's exposition of the Prophets is his view that their prophecies have a triple reference. He consistently maintains that they refer firstly to an imminent historical event (such as the return of the people from exile) or to a contemporary person (such as David), secondly to 'Christ' (by which Calvin sometimes means 'the Incarnation', sometimes 'the ascension', and sometimes 'the apostolic era and the preaching of the Gospel'), and thirdly to the whole course of history up until the Last Day (on which grounds he interprets them with reference to the sixteenth century Church).¹¹ Perhaps the most distinctive aspect, therefore, of the doctrine of the Kingdom of Christ as Calvin formulates it is the fact that it functions as a framework for his exposition of salvation history. He construes the history of the people of God, at least from the time of the return of the people of Israel from exile, as the history of the Kingdom of Christ.

In a lecture Calvin gave on Ezekiel 17.22, early in 1564, he made a comment typical of the interpretative scheme which he consistently brought to bear on the prophetic books. His proposal is that

When the Kingdom of Christ is under discussion, we must take its beginning to be the building of the temple when the people returned to their homeland after seventy years. Then, we must take its consummation to be, not at the ascension of Christ, nor even in the first or second centuries, but in the whole progress of his Kingdom until he appears at the Last Day.¹²

The comment illustrates the degree to which Calvin is able to locate Christ's Kingdom in history. From the perspective of the sixteenth century he can look back at its beginnings, and forward to its consummation; and between these two points, he can chart what is, for him, its inexorable progress. The beginning, the progress and the consummation of Christ's Kingdom together constitute what he repeatedly refers to as the *totum Christi regnum*, or the *totum cursum Christi regni*.¹³ Calvin frequently suggests that a particular prophecy relates 'to the whole course of the Kingdom of Christ, from its beginnings right up to its end'. Such phrases are repeated so often in these expositions of the Prophets that they acquire the character of a refrain.¹⁴

The Beginnings of the Kingdom of Christ

Calvin acknowledged, of course, that there were differences between the Old Testament and the New.¹⁵ Nevertheless, it should be noted that his perception of Christ as the substance of the Covenants and the scope of the Scriptures led him to emphasise not only the theological continuity between the Old Testament and the New, but their historical continuity too. There is no neat break at the crucifixion, for Calvin, between the Old Covenant and the New. Instead, he viewed the exilic and post-exilic periods of the Old Testament as an interval in the life of God's people which belonged at once to the Old Covenant and to the New, and yet fully to neither.

The significance of this is liable to be overstated; but the conclusion is warranted by the fact, firstly, that Calvin considered the exile to represent an 'interruption' of the covenant: it marked the end of what had been for the people of God, of the Davidic kingship and of Temple worship.¹⁶ Secondly, and correspondingly, he considered the return from exile to represent a new beginning.¹⁷ Calvin refers to the return of the people of Israel from Babylon as 'the second birth of the Church'.¹⁸ More particularly, he regarded the deliverance effected by God for Israel at the end of the exile as an 'anagoge'

of the deliverance which Christ came to accomplish.¹⁹ He argues on these grounds that 'it is no wonder that the Prophets interweave that inauguration of grace with Christ's Kingdom'.²⁰ Since a course of redemption began at that point which continued right down to the end of the Kingdom of Christ,²¹ the beginning of that Kingdom may be considered to date from the end of the exile.

Yet, on the other hand, Calvin commonly distinguishes between the end of the exile, which was an immediate (but also an inadequate) fulfilment of the Prophets' oracles, and the Kingdom of Christ (which was their ultimate referent).²² The end of the exile was only the beginning of the Kingdom of Christ, in the sense of being a prelude to what was to follow.²³ The 'proper' inauguration of the Kingdom of Christ only took place at the coming of Christ. Calvin does not mean that the Kingdom of Christ began at his nativity (this he dismisses as a 'senseless' idea).²⁴ Instead, he means that the Kingdom of Christ began when Christ ascended into heaven.²⁵ Even this is not to be thought of as a momentary event, however, since the means by which the ascended Christ established his reign was the promulgation of the Gospel. For this reason Calvin also identifies the beginning of the Kingdom of Christ with the apostolic era, 'the preaching of the Gospel which was begun under Caligula, Claudius, Nero and their successors' [i. e., the period of the Acts of the Apostles, 37-68 A. D.].²⁶

The Consummation of the Kingdom of Christ

On occasions, however, Calvin also speaks as if the apostolic era was the period in which the Kingdom of Christ attained its consummation. This is the case especially when he expounds those texts in the Prophets which refer to the rule of God over 'the nations', and the extension of worship 'to the ends of the earth'. He interprets these as prophecies of the Kingdom of Christ, which were fulfilled during the lifetimes of the Apostles.

For example, the text of Jeremiah 49.6 ('I will restore the children of the captivity of Ammon'), prompts Calvin to consider the connection between the Kingdom of Christ and the calling of the Gentiles. Characteristically, he suggests that

The prophet had respect to the Kingdom of Christ here. There is no doubt that the promise extended right up to his coming, for he is speaking about the calling of the Gentiles, which God deferred until he manifested his Son to the world.²⁷

For Calvin, the calling of the Gentiles was the means by which the Kingdom of Christ was extended to the ends of the earth,²⁸ and a process which took place within a short period, at the time of Christ's coming. It was, for instance 'by [Christ's] coming', that 'true religion, which had previously been shut up within the narrow limits of Judea, was spread throughout the whole world'.²⁹ However, Calvin explains in the *Institutio* that the calling of the Gentiles did not take place during the time of Christ's 'humiliation' (that is, during his earthly ministry), but only after his ascension, when the proclamation of the Gospel began.³⁰ Calvin conceived of the apostolic era as a 'Golden Age', in which

the propagation of the Gospel within a short period of time was incredible, and the progress which accompanied it was equally extraordinary.³¹

It was a period, in which

God suddenly became known everywhere, through the Gospel... For we know that Christ penetrated at great speed, from east to west, like a flash of lightning, in order to bring Gentiles into the Church from all sides.³²

In contexts such as these, the phrase 'through the Gospel' is significant. It is a shorthand expression, which means 'through the preaching of the Gospel in the apostolic era'. Thus, Calvin observes that a particular prophecy

should be extended up to the preaching of the Gospel. For although Christ was born about one generation before that time, he only shone out to the world when he became known through the Gospel.³³

The consistent thrust of such statements is that by their preaching of the Gospel, the Apostles established the Kingdom of Christ throughout the entire world, in fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy and the commandment of Christ. This point, although without reference to Old Testament prophecy, is made explicit in the *Institutio* (as well as in Calvin's interpretation of certain critical passages in the New Testament).³⁴

Apostles were sent... to establish his Kingdom everywhere by the preaching of the Gospel.³⁵

Calvin did not consider apostleship to be an aspect of the ordinary ministry of the Church. They were the 'first builders of the Church', raised up 'at the beginning of [Christ's] Kingdom'.³⁶

In a much-heralded article, it has been suggested by Dankbaar that there is 'an echo' here of the legend which was 'current in the Middle Ages' and 'influential during the Reformation as well', of the *divisio apostolorum*. 'According to this legend, the Apostles had preached the Gospel, as they were commanded to do, each in a particular part of the world'. Given that the Apostles took the Gospel to the ends of the earth, the implication runs, there was no need for the sixteenth century church to do so. Dankbaar insists that only Luther among the reformers challenged the legend.³⁷

The suggestion may not be entirely unfounded. However, two things should be said in mitigation of it. Firstly, Calvin states quite specifically in the *Institutio* (and also in his Commentary on 1 Corinthians) that 'no set limits are assigned to [apostles]'.³⁸ Admittedly, his principal objective is to contrast Apostles (to whom no set limits are assigned) with pastors (who are bound strictly to one local church). However, the possibility ought also to be raised that there is 'an echo' here, of Calvin's rejection of the legend.

Secondly, and more importantly, it is evident that it was not, in itself, respect for the legend which drove Calvin to depict the apostolic ministry in these terms. Calvin was probably moved by two considerations. Firstly, it is

clear (from Calvin's explanation of 'the Great Commission' in Matthew 28)³⁹ that, in restricting apostleship in this way, his intention was to counter the prevailing Roman Catholic emphasis on apostolic succession. The second point is that when Calvin states that the Kingdom of Christ 'has been spread through the whole earth by the preaching of the Gospel',⁴⁰ he is attempting to do justice to the decisive significance for salvation history of the coming of Christ. This is his customary practice. He regards the effect of the Gospel as 'extraordinary', 'amazing', 'incredible', 'sudden' and 'total'. He can say that in it, Old Testament prophecy 'has been fulfilled',⁴¹ and can maintain that, during the apostolic era, the Kingdom of Christ

increased wonderfully and beyond expectation until it reached an immense size and filled the whole earth.⁴²

It is in his attempt to convey the ultimate significance of Christ's coming, that Calvin can sometimes create the impression that his Kingdom is already complete.

On the other hand, Calvin also affirms that 'the Kingdom of Christ has not yet been completed',⁴³ and that its consummation will occur only at the Last Day.

When Christ ascends his judgment seat to judge the world, then that which began to take place at the inauguration of the Gospel... shall be fully accomplished.⁴⁴

For Calvin there is a sense in which, if the beginning of the Kingdom lies within this world order, then (because the essential character of Christ's Kingdom is 'spiritual' and 'heavenly') its consummation lies outside it. It is this notion which fuels his constant ridicule of Jewish commentators, who 'dream only of an earthly Kingdom of Christ'.⁴⁵ He himself argues that 'in this world we taste only the beginnings of Christ's Kingdom'.⁴⁶ By 'the Kingdom of Christ', in fact, he means 'not only that which is begun here, but that which shall be completed on the Last Day'.⁴⁷

The Progress of the Kingdom of Christ

For Calvin, the character of the present moment, and indeed of the whole of salvation history, is determined by the fact that it falls between the beginning of the Kingdom of Christ, and its consummation. It is this which gives Calvin's theology its eschatological cast and orientation to the future. According to Calvin, there is an uninterrupted 'course' from the beginning of the Kingdom of Christ until its consummation (*ab initio regni Christi usque ad finem*) such that the period between these two moments is essentially one of progress.

In a profound exploration of Calvin's eschatology, T. F. Torrance has drawn attention to part of the Dedicatory Epistle which Calvin addressed to Duke Nicholas Radzivil in 1560, to accompany the publication of his revised *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. 'When we speak of the Kingdom of Christ', he wrote, 'we must respect two things: the doctrine of the Gospel... and the society of the godly'.⁴⁸ Torrance rightly observes that

this means that in so far as we think of the *Regnum Christi* in terms of Christ Himself and His Gospel, the Kingdom is already complete, and in that sense Calvin can well say that all things have already been accomplished and we await only the final revelation of Christ in glory.⁴⁹

However, in so far as we think of it in terms of the society of the godly, we are confronted with an incomplete edifice. With respect to the doctrine of the Gospel, the Kingdom of Christ is complete; for the doctrine of the Gospel embraces the second Coming of Christ, as well as the first. With respect to the society of the godly, the consummation of the Kingdom of Christ lies in the future. Nevertheless, Torrance is also right to say that

Calvin sees [the reign of Christ between His two advents] in the historical perspective of the two ages, the old world and the new world to come, but like the New Testament he thinks of them as overlapping.⁵⁰

Since these two aspects of the Kingdom, like the two advents of Christ, are inseparable, the progress of the Kingdom is ineluctable. The inauguration of the Kingdom presupposes and effectively guarantees its consummation.⁵¹

There is a danger that Calvin will be misunderstood here. He might be taken to mean that, after the astonishing growth of the Kingdom of Christ during the apostolic era, and given that the consummation of the Kingdom lies outside this world order, there is nothing for the Church to do but await the revelation of the Kingdom on the Last Day. Indeed, Calvin invites this misunderstanding particularly when he declares that 'the Kingdom of Christ is neither promoted nor upheld by human effort'.⁵² Yet this would indeed be a misunderstanding, for although Calvin locates the consummation of the Kingdom at the Last Day and attributes the realisation of it to God alone, he also stresses that the period between the first coming of Christ and the last is characterised, for the Church, not by a passive waiting, but by an active participation in this inexorable progress. It is the responsibility of individual Christians, and especially of rulers, to promote the Kingdom of Christ.⁵³

Moreover, to say that the progress of the Kingdom is inexorable and ineluctable is not to say that the progress of the Kingdom is straightforward or unimpeded. On the contrary, it is inevitable that the Kingdom of Christ will be 'assailed by innumerable enemies from time to time until the end of the world'.⁵⁴ The Kingdom of Christ is ranged against the Kingdom of Satan,⁵⁵ and those who intend to affirm Christ's Kingdom as they should, 'must wage irreconcilable war with him who is plotting its ruin'.⁵⁶ This conflict is not inevitable because the Kingdom of Christ is essentially militant, however.

Of itself, the Kingdom of Christ would be peaceful... but because of human malice and wickedness, it is never erected without tumults being provoked.⁵⁷

This double stress on the inevitable yet accidental nature of the conflicts which accompany the progress of Christ's Kingdom, serves Calvin well in relation to the struggles of the reformed Church in the sixteenth century. It

allows him, on the one hand, to assure reformed protestants (especially in France) that the persecutions and martyrdoms they face are to be expected. On the other hand, it allows him to assure Roman Catholic princes (again, in France in particular) that the disturbances associated with the reformation are not calculated or treacherous.⁵⁸ Needless to say, even if, urged on by Satan, the whole world conspires 'to prevent the progress of the Kingdom of Christ', its efforts will be in vain.⁵⁹

The Progress of the Kingdom of Christ, the Church and the Word of God

Calvin identifies the Kingdom of Christ with the Church. Repeatedly and without qualification, he asserts that 'the Church is Christ's Kingdom'.⁶⁰ Furthermore, contrary to the view held by Bohatec,⁶¹ this identification is not of the Kingdom of Christ with 'the elect' (that is, the invisible Church), but of the Kingdom of Christ with the institutional (that is, the visible) Church. This is, in fact, no more than one would expect, given the degree to which Calvin is concerned with the progress of the Kingdom within history. It may be that, as a general rule, 'the visible Church [in Calvin's theology] does not exist in isolation from the invisible, nor is the invisible church separate from the visible'.⁶² However, when Calvin refers specifically to the Church as the Kingdom of Christ, he is unequivocal: he means that Christ's Kingdom is the 'outward appearance', or the 'actual building' of the Church.⁶³

It is the very finality of the equivalence he posits between the visible Church and the Kingdom of Christ which makes the question of where this Church is to be found so acute for Calvin. Which visible Church is Christ's Kingdom? In his attempt to establish the legitimacy of the sixteenth century reformed Church over against the Papacy, Calvin (together, of course, with other reformers) distinguished between the true Church and the false.⁶⁴ It is only the true Church which is the Kingdom of Christ. In his exposition of the

Prophets, Calvin found grounds for the assertion that the mere title, 'Church' was not enough. The very ministry of the Prophets demonstrates that there have always been those who have laid claim to the name of the Church, but have not possessed its reality. For the institution of the Church, although it is the Kingdom of Christ, is not essential.

Since the Church is Christ's Kingdom, and he reigns by his Word alone, will it not be clear to anyone that those are lying words, by which the Kingdom of Christ is imagined to exist apart from his sceptre (that is, his most holy Word).⁶⁵

The true Church is contingent. Founded on the Word of God,⁶⁶ it depends upon it, moment by moment, and has no independent existence.

The Form of the Church

Calvin means, in the first place, that the Church derives its form from the Word of God. Brought into being by God's Word, the Church is sustained only by the continual hearing of it. Derivative by nature, it can exist only in obedient response to the Word.

When he refers to 'the form of the Church', especially in the *Institutio*, it is usually the case that Calvin is speaking about institutional structures, or 'polity'. It need hardly be said that Calvin understood the dependence of the Church upon the Word of God to imply the conformity of its structures to the Scriptures.⁶⁷ It was on this basis that he denounced the Papacy for retaining an ecclesiastical polity which had no scriptural foundation, and stressed the biblical basis of the four-fold ministry of the reformed Church.

However, it would be a mistake to treat 'the form of the Church' only in terms of church polity, as if the relationship between the Word of God and the Church were static for Calvin. Indeed, the significance of the fact that Calvin kept 'the marks' which distinguish the true Church from the false to a bare minimum, is precisely that he did not conceive of its 'form' entirely in this way.

Wherever we see the Word of God purely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered according to Christ's institution, there, it is not to be doubted, a church of God exists.⁶⁸

In all respects, except for these two, Calvin is prepared to allow for diversity in church order. He acknowledges that, since church structures 'ought to be accommodated to the customs of each nation and age, it will be appropriate to change and abrogate traditional practices and to establish new ones'.⁶⁹ Forms which are deemed requisite in Geneva and France (consistories, for example), are not to be imposed on England; what is considered fitting in England (such as an episcopate), may be undesirable elsewhere. It is not merely for ecumenical considerations, that Calvin adopts such a minimalist definition of the marks of the true Church. He is also motivated by a concern to emphasise that the Church, in every generation and every new situation is to hear the Word of God afresh. The form of the Church is not fixed, because the need for obedience to the Word is continual.

This minimalist approach leaves Calvin with a particular difficulty, with regard to the Church of Rome. On the one hand, it is transparent to Calvin that the Papacy does not retain either the Word or the Sacraments in their original purity, so that he can say 'that every one of their congregations and their whole body lack the lawful form of the Church'.⁷⁰ On the other hand, the fact that 'the Lord preserves in them a remnant of his people' presses Calvin to concede that there remains in its structures (particularly in baptism, because of which God's covenant 'retains its force despite human impiety'⁷¹) some 'appearance' or 'trace' of the Church; some 'vestiges' or 'marks' of it may still be discerned.⁷²

However, Calvin does not define the form of the Church exclusively in these static terms. For him, the conformity to the Word of God upon which the existence of the Church depends is an active, and continually renewed obedience. *Ecclesia reformata semper reformanda*. In his expositions of the

Prophets, this is the more familiar thrust of Calvin's condemnation of the Papacy: it has ceased to heed the voice of Christ.

It is evident how foolish the Papists are, to boast that the Church belongs to them, when they order Christ himself to be silent, and cannot endure the sound of his voice, but proclaim aloud with puffed up cheeks their own edicts, laws, decrees and tyrannical regulations.⁷³

If Calvin's repudiation of 'the Papists' claim to the title of the Church is more whole-hearted in his Lectures than it is in the *Institutio*,⁷⁴ it is because his expositions dwell on the constant need of the Church to depend on the Word of God. Since the Papacy no longer cherishes the docility which is the basis of its existence, his argument runs, it is no longer a Church.

In terms of the form of the Church, then, the progress of the Kingdom of Christ amounts to the growth of the Church in its conformity to the Word of God. Thus Calvin states that insofar as it 'has the ministry of the Word and honours it, [and] the administration of the sacraments',⁷⁵ the Church is holy. Yet this holiness does not preclude progress. For

the Lord is daily at work in smoothing out wrinkles and cleansing spots. From this it follows that the holiness of the Church is not yet complete. The Church is holy then in the sense that it is daily advancing and is not yet perfect. It makes progress from day to day, but has not yet reached its goal of holiness.⁷⁶

Where the true Church already exists, the progress of the Kingdom of Christ consists of the growth of the Church in holiness.

The Function of the Church

According to Calvin, the Church is not only to be a hearing community but a speaking one too. It is not only to obey the Word of God; it is also to proclaim it.

In his study of *John Calvin's View of the Kingdom of God*, Palmer has observed that the word *regnum* in Calvin's Latin carries an ambiguity which is lost in the English word 'Kingdom'. *Regnum* conveys 'both the idea of the

kingdom or the realm of a king and also the concept of kingship or royal authority'.⁷⁷ At the risk of making too facile a distinction, it may be said that when Calvin speaks of the Church as the Kingdom of Christ, he means that it is not only the realm over which Christ reigns (which exists by its hearing of the Word), but the agency through which he exercises his reign (which exists to proclaim the Word). The function of the Church corresponds to its form.

Christ's sceptre, then, is not simply held *over* the Church, to exact its obedience; it is also held *by* the Church. Or rather, this sceptre is entrusted to the Church, in the form of the Gospel, but continues to be held by Christ.

Christ has entrusted to his ministers his Gospel, which is the sceptre of his Kingdom, and has committed it, as it were, to their keeping.

Furthermore,

Christ, by his ministers, has subdued to his dominion the whole world, and has erected as many principalities under his authority as there have been churches gathered to him in various nations by their preaching.⁷⁸

The significance of this latter quotation is two-fold. First of all, it confirms that according to Calvin, Christ has extended his Kingdom through the ordinary ministry of the Church: the preaching of the Gospel was not entrusted to the Apostles alone. Secondly, it suggests that he equated the extension of the Kingdom with the establishment of churches. Where false churches prevail, therefore, the progress of the Kingdom of Christ consists in the foundation of true churches. Calvin's exposition of the Lord's Prayer in the final edition of the *Institutio* is illuminating in this context. Much of Calvin's explanation of the second petition is simply a reproduction of the 1536 text. The following clause, however, was added in 1559, and may presumably be held to reflect Calvin's immediate concerns. He suggests that when we pray 'thy Kingdom come',

We must daily desire that God gather churches unto himself from all parts of the earth [and] that he spread and increase them in number.⁷⁹

It remains to be shown that Calvin considered the pastors despatched from Geneva to France (as well as ministers and magistrates committed to the reformed cause elsewhere) to be engaged in the establishment of 'true' churches, by the preaching of the Gospel, and thus to be contributing to the propagation of the Kingdom of Christ.

The Progress of the Kingdom of Christ and the Reformation

As it appears in his expositions of the Prophets, then, the notion of the progress of the Kingdom of Christ functions for Calvin as a framework for the exposition of salvation history. Caught in the interval between the two advents of Christ, the Church participates in the inexorable progress of the Kingdom of Christ. Since Calvin considered this progress to have begun at the preaching of the Apostles, and to be consummated only at the Last Day, it is no surprise to discover that he makes explicit in the *Lectures and Commentaries* what these views imply: that the progress of Christ's Kingdom may be discerned in the events of the mid-sixteenth century.

Whenever the prophets speak of perfection under the Kingdom of Christ, we should not restrict what they say to one day, or a short time. Instead, we ought to include its whole course from beginning to end... [For] the Lord will carry through to the end what is now making constant progress, until it is fulfilled.⁸⁰

Or again

The Kingdom of Christ began in the world when God commanded the Gospel to be proclaimed everywhere, and even today its course has not yet reached completion.⁸¹

It is particularly at this point that it is illuminating to bear in mind the nature of the audience at Calvin's Lectures. It has been argued at length in chapter two that even if not all of those who attended the Lectures were missionaries in training, the majority of them were certainly caught up with Calvin in the evangelisation of their homeland. These were vocational Lectures, intended to equip for their task a group of people who were engaged in a missionary enterprise.

If explicit references to this enterprise are rare in the Lectures, they are common in Calvin's correspondence. His letters leave the reader in no doubt that Calvin understood his own ministry, and that of his colleagues in the reformed Church, to be a contribution to the progress of the Kingdom of Christ.

When, for example, Calvin surveyed the present, it was clear to him that 'God intends to exalt his name at present and advance the kingdom of Jesus Christ'.⁸² When he reflected on his own past, he felt able to boast that 'Wherever I have been, I have faithfully endeavoured to serve God and his Church, and to further the kingdom of Jesus Christ'.⁸³ With regard to political upheavals in France (which were associated with the reformed Gospel, and particularly with Calvin's own name) he felt able to disclaim, 'It is no fault of mine if the Kingdom of Christ does not progress quietly'.⁸⁴

As far as Calvin was concerned, the progress of the Kingdom of Christ in the mid-sixteenth century was equivalent to the progress of the reformed Church (or, as he himself put it, to 'the increase of the [reformed] Church'.⁸⁵) This is evident from the two ways in which he habitually gauged its progress. In the first place, Calvin considered the progress of Christ's Kingdom to consist in the establishment of reformed (or 'true') churches, where none existed. It is at this point that Calvin attached such importance to the role of the magistrate. Whether in the Dedicatory Epistles which Calvin composed to accompany his publications, or in his private correspondence, he is often to be found commending kings and princes for their 'zeal' for the progress of the Kingdom of Christ, or reminding them of their responsibility for it.⁸⁶ This theme also dominates the Prefatory Address to the King of France, which was written in 1536, and was included in all the later editions of the *Institutio*. The question Calvin addresses there is 'how Christ's Kingdom may be kept in good repair among us'.⁸⁷ The answer he offers amounts to an apology for the reformed cause, and an appeal to the King to promote it. In 1560 Calvin

wrote in much the same terms, if with rather more confidence, to Nicolas Radzivil of Poland;⁸⁸ and the following year he assured James Stuart of Scotland that

Although I have not met you face to face, the zeal and constancy which you have shown to promote the Kingdom of Christ is well-known to me.⁸⁹

Secondly, as he informed the King of Navarre, Calvin considered Christ's Kingdom to involve 'the salvation of [individual believers] and of the whole world'.⁹⁰ In his view, an increase in the number of believers represented the progress of the Kingdom. It is no marvel to Calvin that when Satan sees 'the Kingdom of God's Son advancing and the number of the faithful increasing', he should redouble his efforts to subvert the reformed cause in France.⁹¹

In both these respects (that is, with regard to the establishment of true churches, and with regard to the task of increasing the number of the faithful) Calvin attached first importance to ministers, and above all to preachers.⁹² This comes across most clearly in the letters Calvin wrote between 1555 and 1564, concerning individual envoys who were being despatched to France from Geneva. For example, in recommending a new pastor to the Church in Dieppe in 1558, Calvin refers to 'the zeal he has to advance the Kingdom of Jesus Christ'.⁹³ The labours of Beza, Fornelet and de Passy in France, and of des Gallars, Lismann and à Lasko elsewhere, are all contributions to the advancement of Christ's Kingdom.⁹⁴ On the other hand, 'nothing hinders the progress of the Kingdom of Christ so much as the paucity of ministers'.⁹⁵

What Calvin has in mind in remarks such as these is the ordinary ministry of the Church. Just as it was by the preaching of the Gospel that the Kingdom of Christ was inaugurated by the Apostles, so it is by the preaching of the Gospel that the Kingdom of Christ makes progress until it attains its consummation. At this level Calvin certainly believed the Church of his own day to be participating in an experience typical of the Church at all times and in all places, between the two advents of Christ. There was also, however, a

sense in which Calvin considered his own age to stand in particularly direct relationship to that of the Prophets and Apostles. He believed the Kingdom of Christ in the sixteenth century to have degenerated to such an extent that it could only be restored by a fully apostolic ministry. For although the offices of Apostles, Prophets and Evangelists

were not established in the Church as permanent ones, but only for the time during which churches were to be erected where none existed before... the Lord has nevertheless sometimes at a later period raised up apostles, or at least evangelists in their place, as has happened in our own day. For there was a need for such persons to lead the Church back from the rebellion of Antichrist.⁹⁶

Under these circumstances, as Dankbaar has put it, 'reformation too was an apostolic work... For Calvin, reformation was mission'.⁹⁷

The Progress of the Kingdom of Christ and Christendom

From the earliest days, the reformers have been criticised for a failure to engage in the propagation of Christ's Kingdom beyond the boundaries of Christendom. In a remark directed particularly against Lutherans, but which he would certainly have thought equally applicable to Calvinists, Cardinal Robert Bellarmine declared that

Heretics are never said to have converted either pagans or Jews to the faith, but only to have perverted Christians. But in this one century, Catholics have converted many thousands of pagans in the New World. Lutherans compare themselves to the apostles and the evangelists. But although they have a very large number of Jews living among them, and in Poland and Hungary have the Turks as their near neighbours, they have hardly converted even so much as a handful.⁹⁸

It is true that Calvin professed the desire 'to see Christ's Kingdom flourish everywhere';⁹⁹ yet is it impossible to escape the fact that Calvin's efforts to propagate the Kingdom of Christ were, in practice, devoted exclusively to Europe.

In this respect, it is difficult to avoid contrasting Calvin with the Jesuit Francis Xavier, who devoted the last decade of his life to the evangelisation

of India, the Pacific Islands, and Japan. Xavier lived and studied in Paris between 1525 and 1536, and for much of the time would have had Calvin for a contemporary. The evidence is that both were witnesses to the escalating conflict between Wittenburg and the Sorbonne in the 1520s, and to Cop's controversial Inaugural Address as Rector of the University in 1533.¹⁰⁰ Yet, though the education they received in Paris exercised a formative influence on them both, their subsequent careers illustrate a fundamental divergence not only in ecclesiastical allegiance, but also in their respective spheres of work. Calvin's evangelistic endeavours were confined almost exclusively to the Swiss cantons, the principalities and city-states of Germany and northern Italy, and the Kingdoms of France, Poland, England, Scotland and Sweden.

Calvin and the Missionary Expedition to Brazil

The single piece of evidence that Calvin's concern for the progress of the Kingdom of Christ in the sixteenth century extended beyond the borders of Europe is the much-vaunted 'Calvinist' expedition to Brazil, in 1556-58.¹⁰¹

In 1555, a French colony and Protestant refuge was established in some islands off Brazil, under the jurisdiction of a maverick Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon. Some of the earliest settlers (who included a group of deportees from France) proved unruly, and in early 1556, with the support of Admiral Coligny, Villegagnon wrote to the Church in Geneva asking them to provide 'at once, ministers of the Word of God, and with them numerous other persons "well instructed in the Christian religion" in order to reform him and his people more effectively, and "to bring the savages to the knowledge of their salvation"'. After 'first giving thanks to God for this extension of the Kingdom of Christ in such a faraway land',¹⁰² the Church in Geneva responded swiftly. The Registers of its Pastors' Company record that

Pierre Richer and Guillaume Charretier were elected to minister to the new islands which the French have conquered. They were commended to the care of the Lord and sent off with a letter from this Church.¹⁰³

Together with a dozen laymen from the city (including de Léry, a student of theology¹⁰⁴), the pastors left Geneva in September 1556, sailed from France in November, and arrived in Brazil in March 1557.¹⁰⁵ Initially, Villegagnon received the missionaries warmly, and a series of letters written to Calvin by the colonists in April gives the impression of a difficult missionary task being undertaken with considerable dedication. Richier wrote to Geneva, probably to Calvin, explaining the early frustrations which he and his colleagues were facing. Nevertheless, he concludes,

Since the Most High has given us this duty, we expect this Edom to be a future possession of Christ.¹⁰⁶

His hopes were not realised. Under pressure from both Roman Catholics among the colonists and the Cardinal de Lorraine in France, Villegagnon first withdrew his support from the Genevans (at Pentecost 1557), and then actively opposed them.¹⁰⁷ Most were able to negotiate an arduous voyage back to France, having left Brazil in January 1558; but three were killed by Villegagnon for their confession of faith.¹⁰⁸

It is important not to exaggerate the extent of Calvin's involvement and interest in this episode. Dankbaar speaks of his 'intense participation in this missionary enterprise', and suggests that when 'a door was opened by de Villegagnon's expedition, the reformer immediately sought to gain access by it'.¹⁰⁹ This overstates the case. The proposal that the Church in Geneva should send pastors to the colony was initially made not by Calvin, but by Coligny and Villegagnon. On the other hand, contrary to Beaver's assertion that he had gone to Frankfort at this time,¹¹⁰ Calvin was in Geneva when the letters from Villegagnon and Coligny requesting assistance arrived in the city. He left for Frankfort the day after Richier and Charretier were elected as ministers by the Company of Pastors, and it was only their departure which

was reported to Calvin by des Gallars as a *fait accompli*.¹¹¹ Thus, although it is a mistake to suggest (as Dankbaar does) that, when he heard about the forthcoming expedition, Calvin seized the initiative, it can fairly be said that, when 'confronted with a challenge to undertake mission, the Church in Geneva responded immediately', and also that 'the circumstantial evidence points to Calvin's approbation'.¹¹²

Calvin and the Turks

It remains open to question whether Calvin himself, impelled by his notion of the progress of the Kingdom of Christ, was always alert for such opportunities to extend its borders 'to the ends of the earth'. His attitude to the Turks suggests that he was not.

Calvin was acutely aware of the danger posed to the stability of Christian Europe in the mid-sixteenth century by the powerful Ottoman Empire to its east. The siege of Vienna in particular (1529) made a lasting impression on his mind. References to the Turks are scattered through his writings, but occur especially often in his expositions of the Prophets, in a context which is revealing. In these expositions, Calvin only ever perceives the Turks as a threat. He interprets their military victories, for example, as evidence of God's judgment on the Church,¹¹³ and he equates the relation of the Turks to Christian Europe with the relation of, for example, the Egyptians of Isaiah's day to the people of Israel. They threaten the dependence of God's people on divine protection, by offering an alternative source of power.¹¹⁴ The recent Franco-Turkish treaties will end in disaster.¹¹⁵ Moreover, it is in relation to the Turks that Calvin is at his most nationalistic, and he construes contact between the French and 'the heathen' entirely in negative terms: the Turks corrupt the French.¹¹⁶ Calvin's stance is scarcely more positive in the 1559 *Institutio*. If he accepts the possibility that a Turk might be baptised, it is with reluctance.¹¹⁷ To Calvin's

mind, the Turks (with the Papists and the Jews), were members of an unholy trinity. He never raised the possibility that contact between Christians and Turks might be of benefit to the Turks within the providence of God, and it certainly seems never to have occurred to him to see the proximity of the Turks as an evangelistic opportunity.

Conclusion

This chapter has suggested that the distinctive feature of the concept of the Kingdom of Christ as it appears in Calvin's expositions of the Prophets is the way that it provides a framework for the exposition of salvation history. From the perspective of the sixteenth century, Calvin can look back at the inauguration of the Kingdom, and forward to its consummation; and between these two points, he can chart its inexorable progress.

It has been shown that Calvin identifies the Kingdom of Christ with the visible Church, and in particular, with the institution of the true Church, which is the reformed Church. The true Church is at once a hearing Church, which derives its form from the Word of God, and a speaking Church which derives its function from the Word. Calvin takes the progress of Christ's Kingdom to be equivalent to the progress of the reformed Church. It is propagated by the preaching of the Gospel.

It is to be borne in mind that the Lectures were delivered to students at the Academy, many of whom were despatched to serve as pastors of the nascent reformed Church in France by the preaching of the Gospel. Calvin's correspondence with some of these pastors, as well as with leading lay people, and others outside France, reveals that he considered them to be engaged in the propagation of the Kingdom of Christ.

It may be true that, at a strictly theoretical level, the progress of Christ's Kingdom in Calvin's understanding of it was destined to extend, quite literally, to the ends of the earth. In spite of its failure, and in spite of the

limited nature of his own involvement, the expedition to Brazil illustrates that Calvin's theology was able to ~~support~~ missionary enterprises beyond the borders of Europe. In practice, however, the progress of the Kingdom of Christ was equivalent for Calvin himself to the progress of the reformation in Europe. His interest was in the afflictions of the Church *in Europe*.¹¹⁸ Oberman has written, '*Europa afflicta* designates the perimeters of his geographical concerns'.¹¹⁹ Calvin himself was sufficiently aware of this to argue that the term 'the earth' did not always mean literally 'the whole world', even for the Prophets. For them it sometimes meant 'the known world',

just as today, when we speak of what happens in the world, we hardly ever venture beyond Europe... [which] may be said to be our world.¹²⁰

Notes

- 1 The themes addressed in this section are the subject of an important article by T. F. Torrance: "Knowledge of God and Speech about him according to John Calvin", in his *Theology in Reconstruction*; S. C. M. Press, London 1965, ch. 5. Palmer has a chapter (4) entitled "Old Testament Exegesis and the Kingdom of Christ", but he makes no attempt to relate Calvin's exegetical principles to his theological method more generally.
- 2 See, e. g., in addition to the works by Palmer, Parker (*Old Testament*, pp.69-82) and Russell (cited previously): R. S. Wallace: *Calvin's Doctrine of Word and Sacrament*; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh 1953, chs. 1-6. H. J. Forstmann: *Word and Spirit: Calvin's Doctrine of Biblical Authority*; Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA 1962, ch. VII. H.-J. Kraus: "Calvin's Exegetical Principles", *Interpretation* 31 (1977), pp.6-18. A. G. Baxter: *Calvin's Use and Hermeneutics of the Old Testament*, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Sheffield, 1987. Muller R. A.: "The Hermeneutic of Promise and Fulfillment in Calvin's Exegesis of the Old Testament Prophecies of the Kingdom", in D. C. Steinmetz, ed.: *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century: Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 11; Duke University Press, Durham, NC 1990, pp.68-82, 214-221; M. D. Van Hamersveld: *The Concept of "Suspensio" in Calvin's Interpretation of the Gospel*, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1991.
- 3 Inst. I.xiii.7 (1559), p.129; O. S. III.116-118.
- 4 Inst. I.vi.1 (1559), p.70; O. S. III.61.7-14.
- 5 This is, in effect, the subject of the whole of *Institutio* Book II; but see especially chapters 6-11, O. S. III.320-436; and II.x.2 (1539), p.429; O. S. III.404.
- 6 David: e. g., Comm. Ps. 18.44, C. O. 31.190.5, C. T. S. I.299; Lect. 21, Hos. 8.4, C. O. 42.365.49-54, C. T. S. I.285.
Hezekiah: e. g., Comm. Is. 33.17, C. O. 36.572.13, C. T. S. III.32.
Zerubbabel: e. g., Lect. 145, Zech. 6.9-11, C. O. 44.212.27-28, C. T. S. V.156.
- 7 e. g., Comm. Ps. 45 Arg., C. O. 31.448.52, C. T. S. II.173; Comm. Ps. 18.38-40, C. O. 31.188.10, C. T. S. I.295.
- 8 Inst. I.xiii.7 (1539), p.130; O. S. III.116-118. For Christ as the 'scope' of Scripture, see Comm. 2 Cor. 3.16, C. O. 50.45.41 (1551), C. N. T. C. p.48.
- 9 Comm. John 5.39, C. O. 47.125.20-22 (1553), C. N. T. C. p.139.
- 10 The ground covered in this section is also examined, if chaotically, by Palmer (chs. 4, 6 and 8).
- 11 This is, of course, simply a variation of the 'three-fold reference in Calvin's exegesis of the royal elements in the Psalms' which has been identified by Russell: to David, to Christ and to the Church (p.41). cf. Wallace, pp.45-46.
- 12 Lect. 52, Ezek. 17.22, C. O. 40.417.31-37, C. T. S. II.207-8. cf. Lect. 46, Joel 3.1-3, C. O. 42.581.19-31, C. T. S. II.113-114.
- 13 *totum Christi regnum*: e. g., Comm. Is. 12.3, C. O. 36.253.21, C. T. S. I.401.
totum cursum Christi regni: e. g., Lect. 45, Joel 2.30-31, C. O. 42.573.56, C. T. S. II.103.
- 14 Lect. 168, Zech. 14.21, C. O. 44.390.45, C. T. S. V.454: 'In the usual prophetic manner, the Kingdom of Christ from beginning to end is depicted here'; cf. Comm. Is. 26.19, C. O. 36.442.2, C. T. S. II.236; Lect. 45, Joel 2.30-31, C. O. 42.573.50, C. T. S. II.102;

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- Lect. 85, Jer. 23.5-6, C. O. 38.411.45, C. T. S. III.144.
- 15 Inst. II.xi, pp.449-464; O. S. III.423-436.
- 16 Lect. 29, Ezek. 11.17, C. O. 40.241.21, C. T. S. I.369; Lect. 139, Zech. 2.12, C. O. 44.165.4-5, C. T. S. V.77.
- 17 Lect. 38, Dan. 8.1, C. O. 41.87.31, C. T. S. II.80.
- 18 Comm. Is. 43.19, C. O. 37.94.51-95.7, C. T. S. III.341-342; Lect. 38, Dan. 8.1, C. O. 41.87.35, C. T. S. II.80.
- 19 Comm. Is. 61.3, C. O. 37.374.37, C. T. S. IV.308; Comm. Is. 65.10, C. O. 37.424.14, C. T. S. IV.390; Lect. 131, Hag. 2.7-10, C. O. 44.107.56, C. T. S. IV.363.
- 20 Comm. Is. 42.1, C. O. 37.58.16, C. T. S. III.284.
- 21 Comm. Is. 60.15, C. O. 37.365.18, C. T. S. IV.293.
- 22 Comm. Is. 9.5, C. O. 36.194.20, C. T. S. I.306; Comm. Is. 11.11, C. O. 36.246.10, C. T. S. I.390; Lect. 53, Ezek. 17.23, C. O. 40.418.53, C. T. S. II.210.
- 23 Lect. 13, Jer. 3.17-18, C. O. 37.566.24, C. T. S. I.186.
- 24 Lect. 11, Dan. 2.44, C. O. 40.606.18, C. T. S. I.186.
- 25 Inst. II. xvi.14 (1539), p.522; O. S. III.501.25. Calvin also makes this point in his comments on Daniel 7 (Lect. 33, Dan. 7.8, C. O. 41.50.12-35, C. T. S. II.26-27; Lect. 35, Dan. 7.13, C. O. 41.60.41, C. T. S. II.42). These passages are significant in that they constitute the only occasions (so far as I am aware) on which Calvin reverses his usual dictum about prophetic utterances, by declaring that, on this occasion, the prophet did *not* have the whole course of Christ's Kingdom in view. There is an obvious explanation, in the polemical context, for this departure from his usual practice.
- 26 Lect. 33, Dan. 7.8, C. O. 41.50.45, C. T. S. II.27; Lect. 35, Dan. 7.14, C. O. 41.63.12, C. T. S. II.45; Lect. 88, Mic. 4.3, C. O. 43.348.3, C. T. S. III.265.
- 27 Lect. 173, Jer. 49.6, C. O. 39.352.29-33, C. T. S. V.63. cf. Comm. Ps. 18.49, C. O. 31.193.23-33, C. T. S. I.306.
- 28 Comm. Ps. 47.10, C. O. 31.471.5-9, C. T. S. II.214.
- 29 Comm. Ps. 87 Arg., C. O. 31.799.40-42, C. T. S. III.395.
- 30 Inst. II.xi.12 (1539), p.461; O. S. III.434-435.
- 31 Comm. Ps. 87 Arg., C. O. 31.799.53-57, C. T. S. III.395. For 'the Golden Age' of the apostolic era, see C. O. 31.800.4, C. T. S. III.395.
- 32 Comm. Ps. 22.28, C. O. 31.235.29-35, C. T. S. I.386. cf. Comm. Ps. 110.3, C. O. 32.163.21-25, C. T. S. IV.303: 'It was [*erat*] incredible that such a great multitude could be gathered [*posse colligi*] under the dominion of Christ in such a short time, and that by the voice of the gospel alone, when the whole world opposed [*repugnaret*] it furiously'. By casting this sentence into the present tense, the Calvin Translation Society edition typically creates the misleading impression that Calvin was referring to a contemporary situation. It is unfortunate that others (e. g. Palmer, p.237) have followed C. T. S. here.
- 33 Lect. 64, Dan. 11.45, C. O. 41.285.42-43, C. T. S. II.367.

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- 34 See, e. g., Comm. Mt. 28.19, C. O. 45.821.39-42, C. N. T. C. III.250; Comm. 1 Cor. 12.28, C. O. 49.506.19-28, C. N. T. C. p.270.
 - 35 Inst. IV.iii.4 (1543), p.1057; O. S. V.46.9-12.
 - 36 Inst. IV.iii.4 (1543), p.1057, 1056; O. S. V.46.12, 45.35.
 - 37 Dankbaar, p.347.
 - 38 Inst. IV.iii.4 (1536/43), p.1056; O. S. V.46.2; Comm. 1 Cor. 12.28, C. O. 49.506.25-32, C. N. T. C. p.270.
 - 39 Comm. Mt. 28.19, C. O. 45.821.47-54, C. N. T. C. III.250.
 - 40 Comm. Is. 26.15, C. O. 36.442.2, C. T. S. II.232.
 - 41 Lect. 87, Mic. 4.1-2, C. O. 43.339.52, C. T. S. III.250; Lect. 133, Jer. 33.9, C. O. 39.57.44, C. T. S. IV.239.
 - 42 Lect. 12, Dan. 2.40-43, C. O. 40.602.46-50, C. T. S. I.180. cf. Comm. Ps. 2.8, C. O. 31.47.45-49, C. T. S. I.19; Comm. Ps. 86.9, C. O. 31.794.27-31, C. T. S. III.386.
 - 43 Comm. Is. 60.18, C. O. 37.368.27, C. T. S. III.296.
 - 44 Comm. Is. 45.23, C. O. 37.150.12-15, C. T. S. III.428.
 - 45 Comm. Is. 11.14, C. O. 36.248.23, C. T. S. I.394.
 - 46 Comm. Is. 11.13, C. O. 36.247.40, C. T. S. I.392.
 - 47 Comm. Is. 35.1, C. O. 36.590.51, C. T. S. III.62. cf. Lect. 127, Zeph. 3.16-17, C. O. 44.73.31-37.
 - 48 Ep. 3232, C. O. 18.157, Comm. Acts. Dedic., C. N. T. C. I.3. These words were incorporated without alteration from the dedication Calvin had composed for the first edition of the *Commentary* in 1552.
 - 49 Torrance: *Kingdom and Church*, p.115.
 - 50 Torrance: *Kingdom and Church*, p.119.
 - 51 Lect. 65, Dan. 12.3, C. O. 41.290.12-50, C. T. S. IV.396.
 - 52 Comm. Ps. 118.25, C. O. 32.213.24, C. T. S. IV.396.
 - 53 Comm. Is. 36.10, C. O. 36.604.50, C. T. S. III.85; Comm. Is. 49.23, C. O. 37.211.12, C. T. S. IV.40.
 - 54 Comm. Ps. 110.1, C. O. 32.161.45, C. T. S. IV.299.
 - 55 The phrases *regnum diaboli/Satanae*, and *regnum Antichristi*, though rare in the Lectures and *Commentaries*, occur 16 times in the *Institutio*.
 - 56 Inst. I.xiv.15 (1543), p.174, O. S. III.165.33.
 - 57 Comm. Ps. 2.1-2, C. O. 31.43.41-3, C. T. S. I.299.

- 58 Ep. 3485, C. O. 18.617, Lect. Dan. Dedic., C. T. S. I.lxviii; Lect. 11, Dan. 2.32-35: 'earthly empires are repressed and broken up by Christ accidentally, as they say. For if kings exercise their office properly, it is clear that Christ's Kingdom is not inimical to their rule'. C. O. 40.592.37-40, C. T. S. I.166. Calvin develops this point elsewhere in the lecture.
- 59 Lect. 142, Zech. 4.7, C. O. 44.187.9, C. T. S. V.114.
- 60 Inst. IV.ii.4 (1536), p.1046; O. S. V.36.2. cf. Comm. Is. 45.18, C. O. 37.143.38, C. T. S. III.418; Comm. Is. 65.20, C. O. 37.430.51, C. T. S. IV.401; Comm. Ps. 18.43, C. O. 31.190.20, C. T. S. I.299; Lect. 69, Amos 9.13, C. O. 43.172.53-55, C. T. S. II.410.
- 61 J. Bohatec: *Calvin's Lehre von Staat und Kirche*; 2nd. ed., Scientia, Aalen 1968, p.272, cited by Palmer, pp. 276-278. As Palmer rightly observes, Bohatec gives too much weight to the first edition of the *Institutio*, and insufficient attention to later developments in Calvin's thought.
- 62 Palmer, p.284.
- 63 Comm. Is. 54.2, C. O. 37.270.41-45, C. T. S. IV.136. In the light of the evidence he himself adduces from the *Institutio*, Palmer's conclusion (p.285) that the Kingdom of Christ 'refers at least in part to the visible dimension of the church' is unnecessarily tentative. Calvin states explicitly that the visible church is the principal subject of *Institutio* (1559) Book IV (IV.i.2, p.1013, O. S. V.2.6. IV.i.4, p.1016; O. S. V.7.5).
- 64 Inst. IV.ii, chapter heading (1559), p.1041; O. S. V.30.27.
- 65 Inst. IV.ii.4 (1536), p.1046; O. S. V.36.2-6.
- 66 Lect. 88, Mic. 4.3, C. O. 43.344.39-40, C. T. S. III.260.
- 67 Inst. IV.iv.4 (1543), p.1072; O. S. V.61.12-15. Inst. IV.x.30 (1543), p.1207; O. S. V.192.14-16.
- 68 Inst. IV. i. 9 (1536), p.1023; O. S. V.13.24-27. Milner is surely right in his remark that for Calvin, 'preaching and the sacraments are not simply evidences of a reality existing independently of them: they are, from the human point of view, constitutive of that reality'. B. C. Milner: *Calvin's Doctrine of the Church*; E. J. Brill, Leiden 1970, p.133.
- 69 Inst. IV.x.30 (1543), p.1208; O. S. V.192.36-193.1.
- 70 Inst. IV.ii.12 (1539/43), p.1053; O. S. V.42.16-17.
- 71 Inst. IV.ii.11 (1539), p.1052; O. S. V.41, 13-16. cf. Lect. 11, Hos. 4.12, C. O. 42.282.29-35, C. T. S. I.161-162.
- 72 'marks': *symbola*, Inst. IV.ii.12 (1539), p.1053; O. S. V.42.12.
 'vestiges': *vestigia*, Inst. IV.ii.11 (1539), p.1051; O. S. V.41.1.
 'trace': *trace*, A Confession of Faith of the French Churches (1559), Art. XXVIII.
 (P. Schaff: *The Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches, and Translations*; Hodder and Stoughton, London 1877, p.376).
 'appearance': *species*, Lect. 44, Ezek. 16.21, C. O. 40.354.36, C. T. S. II.121.
- 73 Comm. Is. 11.4, C. O. 36.240.43-47, C. T. S. I.382. cf. Comm. Is. 33.6, C. O. 36.563.23, C. T. S. III.17.
- 74 e. g., Lect. 3, Hos. 1.10, C. O. 42.216.7-24, C. T. S. I.63.

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- 75 Inst. IV.i.9 (1539), p.1023; O. S. V.14.16-17.
- 76 Inst. IV.i.17 (1539), p.1031; O. S. V.21.12-16.
- 77 Palmer, p.62. Similarly, in sixteenth century French, Palmer suggests, both *règne* and *royaume* meant 'reign' and 'realm'.
- 78 Comm. Ps. 45.16, C. O. 31.453.29-34, C. T. S. II.193; cf. Comm. Is. 45.14, C. O. 37.141.4-6, C. T. S. III.414; Comm. Is. 11.4, C. O. 37.240.11-33, C. T. S. I.380. Such quotations seriously qualify the sense in which, as Dankbaar states (p.351), 'Calvin professes that the propagation of the Kingdom of Christ is the work of God alone'.
- 79 Inst. III.xx.42 (1536/59), p.905; O.S. IV.353.8-10.
- 80 Lect. 142, Zech. 4.10, C. O. 44.190.41-44, C. T. S. V.119; Comm. Is. 45.23, C. O. 37.150.12-15, C. T. S. III.428.
- 81 Lect. 168, Zech. 14.21, C. O. 44.390.51-391.3, C. T. S. V.454-455. cf. Lect. 88, Mic. 4.3, C. O. 43.348.3-6, C. T. S. III.265; Comm. Is. 45.23, C. O. 37.150.12-15, C. T. S. III.428.
- 82 Ep. 3081, C. O. 17.573 (1559), *The Letters of John Calvin*; 4 vols., comp. and ed. by J. Bonnet, tr. D. Constable, B. Franklin, New York 1973, IV.49. (Where the letter has been included in this edition, a reference to it is given in the form, e. g., Bonnet IV.49).
- 83 Ep. 2173, C. O. 15.537 (1555), Bonnet III.148.
- 84 Ep. 3485, C. O. 18.620 (1561), Lect. Dan. Dedic., C. T. S. Dan. I.lxx.
- 85 Comm. Ps. 102.21, C. O. 32.71.33-36, C. T. S. IV.118; Comm. Is. 26.15, C. O. 31.439.18-20, C. T. S. II.232.
- 86 e. g., Ep. 3317, C. O. 18.317 (1561), Bonnet IV.165; Ep. 3314, C. O. 18.312 (1561), Bonnet IV.162.
- 87 Inst. Pref. Add. (1536), p.11; O. S. III.11.27.
- 88 Ep. 3232, C. O. 18.158 (1560), C. N. T. C. Acts I.1-8.
- 89 Ep. 3435, C. O. 18.544 (1561), Bonnet IV.200.
- 90 Ep. 3664, C. O. 19.201 (1561), Bonnet IV.247.
- 91 Ep. 2316, C. O. 15.810 (1555), Bonnet III.233; Ep. 2782, C. O. 16.748 (not in Bonnet). This is by no means the only phrase which these two letters have in common. While the latter is not simply a Latin translation of the former, the similarities between the two are extensive, and appear to have been overlooked by the editors of the C. O..
- 92 Ep. 2118, C. O. 15.435 (1555), Bonnet III.148.
- 93 Ep. 2787, C. O. 17.9 (1558), Bonnet III.395.
- 94 Beza: Ep. 3663, C. O. 19.197 (1561), Bonnet IV.245; Fornelet: Ep. 3381, C. O. 18.439 (1561), Bonnet IV.174; de Passy: Ep. 3702, C. O. 19.263 (1562), Bonnet IV.255; des Gallars: Ep. 3199, C. O. 18.88 (1560), Bonnet IV.101; Lismann: Ep. 2110, C. O. 15.424 (1555), Bonnet III.132; à Lasko: Ep. 2744, C. O. 16.673 [1557] (not in Bonnet).
- 95 Ep. 3737, C. O. 19.328 (1562), Bonnet IV.263.

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- 96 Inst. IV.iii.4 (1543), p.1057; O. S. V.46.23-28.
- 97 Dankbaar, p.349.
- 98 *Controversiae*, Book IV, C12 (C. Mirbt: *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums*; 4th. edition, J. C. Mohr, Tübingen 1924, p.362). Cited by Neill, p.221.
- 99 Ep. 2118, C. O. 15.428 (1555), Bonnet III.134.
- 100 G. Schurhammer: *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times, Vol. I*; tr. M. Joseph Costelloe, The Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome 1973, Book II.
- 101 The fullest accounts of the episode remain the articles by Beaver, and G. Baez-Camargo: "The Earliest Protestant Missionary Venture in Latin America", in *Church History* 21 (1952), pp.135-145. A contemporary record of the mission is the 1557 *Journal de Bord de Jean de Léry en la terre de Bresil*. References to this work are to the edition edited by M.-R. Mayeux (Editions de Paris, Paris 1957; cited in these notes as de Léry, with page number).
- 102 The letter from Villegagnon has not survived. This summary of its contents, together with the record of the reaction of the Genevan Church, comes from de Léry, p.52.
- 103 R. C. P. II.68.
- 104 Mayeux (de Léry, p.7) gives no reference for this information.
- 105 de Léry, pp.53, 57, 103.
- 106 Ep. 2609, C. O. 16.434.42-44.
- 107 de Léry, pp.123, 130.
- 108 de Léry, pp.166, 200.
- 109 Dankbaar, p.353.
- 110 Beaver, p.62.
- 111 For Calvin's departure on August 26, see *Annales*, C. O. 21.647. For the election of Richier and Charretier, see R. C. P. II.68. For the letter from des Gallars to Calvin in Frankfort, see Ep. 2530, C. O. 16.279.
- 112 Beaver, p.72.
- 113 Comm. Is. 36.20, C. O. 36.613.24-30, C. T. S. III.99.
- 114 Comm. Is. 30.1, C. O. 36.508.35-44, C. T. S. II.349.
- 115 Lect. 53, Jer. 13.21, C. O. 38.170.1-10, C. T. S. II.188.
- 116 'Filth and corruption. This is what we Frenchmen derive from contact with other nations'. Comm. Is. 30.1, C. O. 36.506.23-25, C. T. S. II.345. cf. Lect. 120, Zeph. 1.7-9, C. O. 44.17.42-44, C. T. S. IV.209.
- 117 Inst. IV.xvi.24 (1539), p.1347; O. S. V.329.24. Interestingly, a conciliatory note contained in the 1536 *Institutio* (II.29, Battles: 1536, p.62; O. S. I.91.9) -- reminiscent of the traditional Good Friday collect, which Calvin would surely have known -- was deleted from subsequent editions.

118 *Afflicta est Europa*, Comm. Is. 9.10, C. O. 36.202.18, C. T. S. I.319.

119 H. A. Oberman: "*Europa afflicta*: The Reformation of the Refugees", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992), p.102.

120 Comm. Is. 24.1, C. O. 36.399.22-27, C. T. S. II.166.

Chapter Five

The Restoration of the Church according to Calvin

Introduction

In the previous chapter, an account has been given of the principal doctrine under which Calvin unfolds the theological basis of his evangelistic activity: namely, the progress of the Kingdom of Christ. This is, however, not the only such doctrine in his expository writings. Closely related to it there is a second recurring concept: 'the restoration of the Church'. Indeed, given that, for Calvin, 'the Church is the Kingdom of Christ',¹ it is evident that there are points at which the 'restoration' of the Church is simply another way of describing the 'progress' of the Kingdom of Christ, and one which further underlines the ecclesiological character of Calvin's evangelistic programme. It has already been suggested that the similarities between the two concepts are considerable. There are also significant differences of nuance between the two themes, however. In addition, the fact that (even when the concepts are at their most similar) Calvin employs a particular vocabulary to express what he understands by 'the restoration of the Church' suggests that the theme warrants a separate treatment. The objective of the present chapter is to provide an account of the concept of 'the restoration of the Church' as it appears in his expositions of the Prophets. In the course of the discussion, attention will be paid to the way in which this concept relates to the theme of 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ', and to the bearing it has on the missionary activity in which he was engaged at the time when the Lectures were delivered, and the *Commentaries* prepared for publication.

In the first instance, a word of explanation may be in order about the predominance of references to the *Commentaries on Isaiah* in this chapter. Calvin's concept of the restoration of the Church is nowhere set out more fully than in his exposition of Isaiah. Two factors may underlie this. It may

simply be, in the first place, that Calvin considered the prophecies of Isaiah to extend the hope of the restoration of the Church more fully than any of the other Prophets. It should borne in mind, secondly, that Isaiah was the first of the Prophets Calvin set out to expound. There is evidence to suggest that once he had provided a full explanation of the restoration of the Church in his interpretation of Isaiah, Calvin felt able to treat the subject more cursorily elsewhere. Thus, in his *Lectures on Jeremiah*, having given only the briefest justification of his conviction that 'whenever God speaks of the restoration of the Church... we ought always to look to Christ', Calvin proceeds to excuse himself as follows:

As this truth occurs frequently in the Prophets, it is enough to touch upon it incidentally here, as I have treated it more fully elsewhere.²

The allusion is to his discussion of Isaiah 7.14.³ In fact the concept of 'the restoration of the Church' is present throughout the entire series of Calvin's expositions of the Prophets, and full use has been made of all them in the ensuing discussion. The preponderance of references to the *Commentaries on Isaiah* simply reflects the fact that Calvin articulated the concept most comprehensively there.

'The Restoration of the Church' in Calvin's Expositions of the Prophets

What does Calvin mean by the phrase 'the restoration of the Church'? There are two principal problems here. The first is the fluidity of Calvin's vocabulary. It has been suggested in chapter three that in association with this concept, Calvin draws upon a distinctive terminology, consisting of four associated words (*restitutio*, *reformatio*, *instauratio* and *renovatio*) and their cognates. Since these terms have overlapping meanings in Calvin's usage, however, it is often hard to distinguish between them. It can be difficult to determine if the words *restitutio* and *reformatio*, or *restitutio* and *instauratio*,

are being used as synonyms, for instance, or if they are being employed in slightly divergent ways.

The second problem is that two related but distinct concepts of 'the restoration of the Church' exist side by side in these expositions. In some passages it is difficult to know which of the two concepts is in use. Matters are complicated further by the fact that Calvin was apparently unaware of combining these two different concepts in the same phrase. He certainly never acknowledges them explicitly. In spite of these difficulties, however, it is possible to give some definition to his use of the phrase 'the restoration of the Church', and to isolate two strands in his understanding of it.

If Littell, Williams and Friedman are correct,⁴ then 'the restoration of the Church' for which the radical reformers were striving was essentially backward-looking: they were calling for a return to 'the purified church life of the golden age of faith',⁵ 'espousing the faithful restoration of the apostolic church as it existed in the age of the martyrs',⁶ and demanding 'a return to primitive apostolic Christianity'.⁷ This view of 'restoration' is also shared by Calvin. In the expositions of the Prophets, the restoration of the Church is often its restoration to an 'original condition', or to an 'integrity',⁸ which has been lost. 'Restoration' in this first sense is closely associated in Calvin's thought with the 'godly' kings of the pre-exilic Old Testament history, such as Hezekiah and Josiah. However, there is a second concept (or a second strand to the one concept) of restoration, which is ultimately more significant for Calvin. In the expositions of the Prophets, this second strand of thought is closely related to exilic and post-exilic figures such as Cyrus, Zerubbabel, Ezra and Nehemiah. When Calvin refers to the restoration of the Church in this second sense, he is evidently speaking of the inexorable progress of the Kingdom of Christ towards its consummation. 'Restoration' in this second sense, is a fundamentally eschatological, and therefore, forward-looking,

concept: Calvin looks to the day when the Church and all things will be 'fully' and 'perfectly'⁹ restored.

Although there is no neat polarisation of terms in the two strands of his thought, it is fair to say that the first, backward-looking, strand in Calvin's notion of the 'restoration of the Church' is more often a *restitutio ecclesiae*, than an *instauratio ecclesiae*. He speaks, for example, of a *restitutio*, but not of an *instauratio*, to an original condition and to integrity. Furthermore, it will become clear that the phrase 'the reformation of the Church' is synonymous with 'the restoration of the Church' in only this first sense. Conversely, the second, forward-looking, strand of Calvin's concept is strictly speaking an *instauratio ecclesiae* rather than a *restitutio ecclesiae*. Here, however, the correlation of terms is by no means absolute; indeed, Calvin uses *restitutio* in this second sense almost as often as he employs *instauratio*.

Strand 1: The Restoration of the Church as Reformation: the Return to Original Integrity

For Calvin, Church history is -- at one level -- a series of long periods of collapse punctuated by brief seasons of restoration. The Church, like humanity, was founded in integrity, purity and freedom. There was originally a dignity and a splendour about its outward appearance. However, from the beginning the Church has been subject to corruption from within. As a result the outward appearance of the Church is frequently 'corrupted', 'defiled' and 'reduced to a wretched deformity' by the malice and ingratitude of the ungodly, with the result that it stands in need of restoration. The restoration in question is a restoration of the legitimate form, or order, of the Church: it is a reformation.

Chapter three has indicated how seldom Calvin employs the term *reformatio* with the Church as its object. There are only seventeen instances in all the expositions of the prophets put together, in which he speaks of 'the

reformation of the Church' or refers to the Church being 'reformed'. (There are over 200 references, by contrast, to the restoration -- *restitutio* -- of the Church.) In most of these cases, as one would expect, the context shows that Calvin's concern was with the 'outward appearance', or the 'form' of the Church. In almost every case, these reformations are associated with Kings Hezekiah (particularly in the exposition of Isaiah but also in the *Lectures on Jeremiah*) and Josiah (chiefly in the *Lectures on Jeremiah*).¹⁰ Significantly, Calvin also employs the term *restoration* in association with the same two kings, and in connection with the same work. Indeed, it was the particular nature of the restorations undertaken by Hezekiah and Josiah which led Calvin to describe them as 'reformations'. His use of this language reflects the fact that Calvin understood these restorations to be restorations of the proper form of the Church.

A good example is Calvin's comments on Isaiah 28-32, which refer to the restoration of the Church undertaken by Hezekiah. According to Calvin, Isaiah was prophesying at a time when 'the dispersion of the Church was such that few of the faithful dared hope for its condition to be improved'. 'The prophet', however, 'teaches that the means by which the Church may be reformed afresh is ready at God's hand'. The situation facing Isaiah was that some 'who wished to be considered pillars of the Church' were in fact 'trying, as far as they were able, to raze it to its foundation'. At this point in his commentary, Calvin discerns a parallel with the circumstances of his own day:

Although, as a result of a near extinction of the light of faith, and a horrendous corruption of the worship of God, the people were deformed, they nevertheless boasted of their royal priesthood -- just as we see the Papists shamelessly bragging in a similar way today, although a deadly confusion cries out that the entire form of the Church has perished among them. For this reason the prophet defines what the reformation of the Church will involve.¹¹

In this sorry situation, Isaiah foretells the imminent restoration of the Church, proclaiming that

God will still be gracious to his Church so as to restore her to integrity. And the best method of restoring her is when proper government is instituted, and when everything is administered with propriety, and in good order. This prediction undoubtedly relates to Hezekiah and his reign, under which the Church was restored and reformed to its former splendour.¹²

This passage is a comprehensive expression of the first ^rstand in Calvin's understanding of the restoration of the Church. Here, the verbs *reformato* and *restituo* are used as synonyms; the Church is said to be restored to a former splendour and an original integrity, and the method of restoration is said to consist in the proper government and administration of the Church. Later, when Calvin explains the manner in which these prophecies were fulfilled, he says that Hezekiah removed superstitions and cleansed the Temple and so restored 'the true worship of God', and 'the purity of religion'.¹³ The emphasis is on Church order throughout.¹⁴

The same emphasis is present in Calvin's comments on Jeremiah 3, which refer to the restoration undertaken by King Josiah. Calvin states there that when 'that godly king attempted to restore the true worship of God, and to remove all the filth and defilement with which the temple and the whole of religion had been corrupted', 'reformation was on everybody's lips'.¹⁵ Here too reformation is a restoration of the form of the Church.

Restorations such as these are not accomplished once and for all, however. They must be undertaken again and again, 'whenever the Church is in a state of collapse'.¹⁶ Thus, Hezekiah is depicted as an example for all ages,¹⁷ and not least, in Calvin's estimation, for the Church of his own day. Indeed, the same is true of all God's past benefits. Calvin's view is that they should always inspire us to entertain high hopes for the future, and should encourage us to believe that God

will equally assist us at the present day, that he may restore the Church to her ancient glory. What he did once and again, he is able to do a third time and a fourth and many times.¹⁸

Of course, Calvin believed that the restoration of the Church in the sixteenth century was not only possible, but necessary.¹⁹ This is evident in two ways. It is clear, firstly, from the fact that Calvin constantly draws parallels in these expositions (as he does even in the quotations cited already) between the situation which faced the Prophets, and that which confronted himself and his colleagues. When, for example, he explains the nature of the opposition which Hezekiah provoked by 'the restoration of true worship', Calvin shows that he considers his own experience to be analogous. Just as Rabshekah charged Hezekiah with having overturned the worship of God, when what Hezekiah had in fact done was put an end to 'superstitious worship', so Calvin says that he himself has had to contend with the complaints of 'the Papists'. Again, just as Hezekiah undertook nothing except by the word of God, so Calvin claims that he himself has simply set aside a great heap of ceremonies, and retained only what God has enjoined.²⁰ Calvin's sense of the need for the restoration of the Church in his own lifetime is apparent, secondly, from the way in which he takes up the language of reformation and restoration in his correspondence. Here he insists that 'the restoration of the ruined Church is to be considered of the utmost importance',²¹ and instructs the King of Poland that it is appropriate for a Christian King 'to devote all his energy... towards the restoration of God's temple, lest the worship of God should always lie obsolete, among deformed ruins'.²²

Whether in the sixteenth century A. D., or the eighth century B. C., the restoration of the Church in this sense is a reformation according to the Word of God. Calvin has no sympathy for those who 'shake off the yoke of Christ and can bear no submission to discipline', and yet who 'boldly claim to be the advocates of reformation'. It was with people such as these that the prophet Jeremiah had to do, and also with these that 'the Lord tries his own people today'.²³ The problem with the Papacy, as with the people of Israel in the time of the prophet Hosea, is that they 'mix their own inventions with

the doctrine of the law, and thus vitiate the pure and perfect worship of God'. There can be no reformation of the Church until it is trained to obedience.²⁴

In a similar vein, Calvin dismisses roundly those reformations which he regards as feigned or half-hearted. He remarks, for example, that it had been God's purpose, in raising up Jehu to destroy the house of Ahab, 'that Jehu should restore pure worship'. However, 'although he was intended to be a defender of godliness', Calvin asks, 'what did he do?'. Having seized the Kingdom for himself, Jehu 'compounded idolatry and every existing form of abomination', and 'embraced all the superstitions which then prevailed in Israel'. In short, Calvin declares, 'the reformation under Jehu was just like that under Henry, King of England', who

when he saw that he could not throw off the yoke of the Roman Antichrist except through some dissimulation, feigned zeal for a time. Afterwards he raged furiously against all the godly... He was a wild beast of a man, and so was Jehu.²⁵

As Calvin perceived it, the sacred name of reformation was profaned in the sixteenth century, by the fact that there was 'so much chaff mixed with the wheat'.²⁶ He berated those of his contemporaries who would be happy 'to see the Church half-purified'. In Calvin's view, 'the world is full of people who accept that the Church is defiled with many pollutions, but who desire only a small measure of reformation'.²⁷

On the whole, when the accent is on the form of the Church in this way, Calvin's calls for its restoration in the sixteenth century appear to be directed -- as in all these examples -- at 'the Papists'.²⁸ However, in at least one passage Calvin seems to have 'the radicals' in mind.

Those who in the present day have no form of the Church, no use of sacraments, and no administration of the Word, ought to look upon themselves as being in some measure cast out from the presence of God, and should learn to desire, and continually to request by earnest prayer, the restoration of the Church.²⁹

This passage reinforces the point that, in this sense, the restoration of the Church in the sixteenth century, as in the time of the Prophets, meant the restoration of the proper form of the Church.

It is clear therefore that for Calvin (contrary to the implication of Littell's association of the term 'reformation' with the Magisterial Reformers, and the term 'restoration' with the radicals) 'reformation' was by no means a less radical alternative to 'restoration'. For him it was rather a particular kind of restoration; and, as such, the reformation of the Church was unmitigated. The definition offered by Célier, moreover, in his article *L'idée de réforme à la cour pontificale du Concile de Bâle au Concile de Constance* suggests that Calvin's view was not idiosyncratic:

To reform in the Middle Ages is to form once again something already in existence but deformed. It is to bring an institution weakened by time, undermined and corrupted by abuse, back to its original form which, it is implied, was excellent and vigorous.³⁰

This statement is such an accurate summary of the way in which Calvin uses the verb, that it could have been written with him particularly in mind. In fact, on the evidence of these expositions and Calvin's correspondence, it serves equally as a definition of the verb 'to restore', in this first sense in which he uses it .

There is some connection, even in this first sense of the phrase, between 'the restoration of the Church' and the progress of the Kingdom of Christ: to reform the Church is to promote Christ's Kingdom. This connection is implicit whenever Calvin asserts that true restoration is a reformation according to the Word of God. For, as he never tires of repeating, the Word is the sceptre by which Christ rules his Kingdom.³¹ On a few occasions this connection is made explicit. In Calvin's comments on the opposition faced by Hezekiah, for instance, he notes that those who labour to restore the Church should not be surprised if they attract opposition. Indeed, 'however faithfully we may strive to promote Christ's Kingdom, we must not expect to

be exempt from all harassment'.³² A second example is Calvin's description of what it means to be a 'nursing-father' of the Church. Nothing is implied in that title, he explains, about amassing riches, but about

abolishing superstitions and putting an end to all ungodly and abominable worship, about promoting the Kingdom of Christ and maintaining the purity of doctrine, about doing away with scandals and purging away the filth that corrupts piety and obscures the majesty of God.³³

'Promoting the Kingdom of Christ' is not something that a nursing-father of the Church undertakes in addition to 'maintaining the purity of doctrine', but something he effects through it. Thus, having outlined the nature of a king's vocation in this way, Calvin concludes by urging his readers

to hope for a restoration of the Church, and such a conversion of kings that they shall prove themselves to be 'nursing-fathers' and protectors of believers, and shall bravely defend the doctrine of the Word.³⁴

It can also be shown that the connection is explicit as far as the restoration of the sixteenth century Church is concerned. Calvin asserts that the greatest indictment of those who see that 'blessings which had been taken away for a long period are now restored to us', is their ingratitude in not 'extending [Christ's] Kingdom and promoting his worship'.³⁵

The first strand in Calvin's view of the restoration of the Church, then, may be summarised as follows: it is a restoration of the original form of the Church in the light of the Word of God. It is equivalent to the reformation of the Church, which is a promotion of the Kingdom of Christ. Calvin develops this concept most fully in his account of the restoration of the Church which took place in Judah before the Babylonian exile under kings such as Josiah and Hezekiah, in whose reigns he discerns parallels to the sixteenth century reformation.

In this first sense, the restoration of the Church is backward-looking. When Calvin alludes to the restoration of the original purity, or the integrity of the Church, he would appear to have some particular 'golden age' in mind.

This is something about which he is remarkably reticent, however. He does not spell out with any precision the period at which he considers the Church to have existed in its original purity, or exactly when it lost its integrity. It is true that on at least one occasion he does apply the epithet 'the golden age' to the apostolic era.³⁶ However, this one reference is not only isolated and vague; it is also of limited interest, as, although it sheds some light on the period to which Calvin looked back from the sixteenth century, it does not explain what 'golden age' he had in mind when referring to the restorations which were undertaken by Hezekiah and Josiah. If, as seems likely, Calvin understood these kings to be restoring the state of affairs which prevailed during the reigns of David and Solomon, when the ark of the covenant was established in Jerusalem and the Temple was constructed and dedicated, then this is left for the reader to surmise. Furthermore, when Calvin speaks of a restoration of the Church under David,³⁷ it is not at all clear what earlier period of integrity he had in mind. This reluctance in Calvin to define the 'golden age' more precisely may be significant. Such reticence was typical of French Humanists generally. Rabelais, Budé and their colleagues were equally vague about precisely what 'golden age' of learning they sought to restore.³⁸ There is some possibility that in Calvin's language of restoration, as with the language of French Humanists generally, there was an element of deliberate abstraction. Although he never asserted as much, his obscurity on this point leaves open the possibility that Calvin believed the Church to have existed in its integrity only in Eden, in the purposes of God in creation.

Strand 2: The Restoration of the Church as Redemption: the Progress to Ultimate Consummation

In his expositions of the Prophets, a second strand in Calvin's notion of the restoration of the Church is developed chiefly in connection with the return of the people of God from exile. It has been suggested in the previous

section that -- at one level -- Calvin interprets the history of the Church as a series of long periods of collapse punctuated by brief seasons of restoration. Notwithstanding the truth of this, it must also be said that -- at another level -- he understands all Church history after the Babylonian exile to be a single continuous act of redemption. In this sense, the restoration of the Church which was begun under the auspices of Cyrus, has continued uninterrupted ever since, and will continue inexorably until the last day, 'the day of restoration'. This restoration corresponds to the progress of the Kingdom of Christ towards its consummation.

Calvin takes the prophetic era, even before the exile, to be dominated by the prospect of the imminent captivity of the people of God, and maintains that their prophecies were intended primarily to console the Jews by looking beyond it to the restoration of the Church. One of the phrases which recurs throughout all these expositions is the explanation Calvin offers that 'the prophet is speaking about the restoration of the Church'.³⁹

Calvin's exposition is primarily concerned with the time at which this restoration of the Church took place. As in the context of his treatment of the Kingdom of Christ, in which he asks where its beginning is to be located,⁴⁰ Calvin's position is ambiguous. On the one hand, he acknowledges that, as the prophecies of the Old Testament were prompted either by the imminent prospect of the Babylonian captivity, or by its present reality, there is an obvious sense in which the restoration of the Church took place when that captivity came to an end, and the people of God returned from exile: 'the restoration of the Church began when the people returned from Babylon'.⁴¹ He affirms that the return from exile was a genuine fulfilment of prophecies concerning the restoration of the Church.⁴² At the same time, Calvin is sensitive to those elements for which he could see no fulfilment in the ministry of Zerubbabel, Ezra and Nehemiah, such as the calling of the Gentiles. At the return from exile, 'a restoration of the kind which had been

promised was not evident'.⁴³ In addition, Calvin considers the message of the Prophets to be couched consistently in language which ultimately transcends the limits of a merely mundane restoration.⁴⁴ There is some restraint, therefore, about the extent to which Calvin identifies the end of the captivity as the restoration of the Church, and he employs a number of alternative expressions instead. On one occasion, for instance (with obvious circumspection) he alleges that 'the Lord began some kind of restoration (*aliquam instaurationem*) when he brought his people out of Babylon'.⁴⁵ He refers to it as 'the restoration effected by Cyrus';⁴⁶ and repeatedly describes it as 'the restoration of the people',⁴⁷ and even, in at least one passage, as 'the *temporal* restoration of the people'.⁴⁸ His accent is that this restoration was incomplete,⁴⁹ and a long way from 'the splendour of the restoration of the Church which had been predicted'.⁵⁰

It is not, therefore, that Calvin was reluctant to portray the end of the captivity as a restoration. Indeed, there are points at which 'the restoration effected by Cyrus' is reminiscent of the restorations undertaken by Hezekiah and Josiah. In 'the restoration of the people' there is, for example, an emphasis on the recovery of their 'original' vigour or liberty,⁵¹ and a familiar stress on the restoration of true worship and pure doctrine.⁵² At times, then, Calvin portrays the 'restoration of the people' as just another in the series of restorations of the form of the Church.

However, when Calvin uses the phrase 'the restoration of the Church' in this second sense, it is clear that he has in mind something that goes beyond 'the restoration of the people'. Occasionally, indeed, he makes an explicit distinction between 'the restoration of the people' on the one hand, and 'the restoration of the Church', on the other,⁵³ and he consistently treats the restoration of the people as a merely partial fulfilment of the Prophets' oracles.⁵⁴ In several places he alludes to a restoration of the Church which took place several centuries after the end of the Babylonian exile,⁵⁵ to which

the restoration of the people was just 'the prelude' (*praeludium*). Even as far as the returning exiles were concerned, the Prophets were speaking of a future restoration of the Church.⁵⁶

For Calvin the restoration of the Church ultimately depends upon the Promise of God,⁵⁷ and therefore finds its final fulfilment only in Christ.⁵⁸ In a significant portion of the *Isaiah Commentaries*, he explains his interpretation as follows:

If we wish to ascertain the genuine meaning of this passage, we must again consider, as it has already been stated elsewhere, that the Prophet, when he speaks of bringing back the people from Babylon, does not have a single age in view, but includes all the rest, right up until Christ came and brought the most complete liberty to his people. The deliverance from Babylon was like a prelude to the restoration of the Church, and was intended to last, not just for a few years, but until the Messiah should come: and he would bring true salvation, not only to their bodies but also to their souls. When we have made a little progress in reading Isaiah, we will discover that this was his usual practice.⁵⁹

Whatever Isaiah's usual practice may have been, it was -- as is evident from his treatment of the progress of Christ's Kingdom⁶⁰ -- certainly Calvin's usual practice to interpret Isaiah in this way. Calvin perceives in 'the restoration of the people', 'a kind of adumbration of the deliverance which they obtained through Christ'.⁶¹

Thus, it appears at first sight that when Calvin uses the phrase in this second sense, there are two stages to the restoration of the Church: first, the return from exile, when the restoration began; and then, the coming of Christ, when it was fulfilled.

For the first renovation [of the Church] took place when liberty was restored to the people... and the second occurred at the coming of Christ.⁶²

The restoration of the Church promised by the Prophets 'was postponed', he suggests, 'until the preaching of the Gospel'.⁶³ This is not the whole picture; but it is worth noting that Calvin does refer to the restoration of the Church in the past tense,⁶⁴ as something which had already been fully effected by

Christ.⁶⁵ In a rare appeal to this concept in the *Institutio*, Calvin avers that the Redeemer 'not only led the people back from the Babylonian exile, but also fully restored the Church'.⁶⁶ Elsewhere he says that 'those things which Isaiah said would be effected by Christ have indeed been accomplished'.⁶⁷

However, it is more common for Calvin to speak of the restoration of the Church as something which, like the progress of the Kingdom of Christ, is still in the process of fulfilment. For, as with Calvin's exposition of the progress of Christ's Kingdom, it transpires that there are not two, but three decisive moments in the restoration of the Church. Prophecies concerning its future restoration refer first, to the return of the Jews from exile, secondly to the coming of Christ, and thirdly to the consummation of the Kingdom of Christ. Regarding the future glory of the Church, for instance, Calvin advises that

It is right for us always to remember, as I have so often said, that the Prophet is not speaking of a few years or a short period, but embraces the whole course of redemption, from the end of the captivity to the proclamation of the Gospel, and, finally, right up to the end of the reign of Christ.⁶⁸

Or again, about the predicted restoration of Zion, he comments,

When [the Lord] restored the Jews to liberty, and employed the ministry of Zerubbabel, Ezra and Nehemiah, these things were fulfilled. Yet at the same time they extend right up to the coming of Christ, by which the Church was gathered from all the ends of the earth. But they also go on right up to Christ's last coming, by which all things shall be perfectly restored.⁶⁹

This triple reference which Calvin discerns in the oracles of the Prophets is the key to the second strand in his concept of the restoration of the Church, just as it is to his notion of the progress of Christ's Kingdom.

Calvin justifies this interpretation of the Prophets on the basis that the return of the Jews from exile amounted to the birth of the Church, and that all subsequent events in Church history are events in the single lifetime -- the 'biography' -- of this same Church. The apostolic era, when the Gospel was first preached, was the youth of the Church, and its adulthood continues

'right up to Christ's last coming, when everything will ultimately be fulfilled'.⁷⁰ Elsewhere, employing the same analogy a little differently, he suggests that the redemption from Egypt may be regarded as the first birth of the Church (on the grounds that it was at this point that the people were first gathered into a body) and that the end of the captivity (when the people were again gathered together) was like a second birth.⁷¹ In this context he goes on to suggest that just as the earlier redemption had not been so much an event (the Crossing of the Red Sea), as a period (from the time when the people left Egypt, to the time when they took the promised land), so the deliverance from Babylon (the 'new birth' of the Church) should be viewed in the same way. It extends from the departure from Babylon 'to Christ'.⁷² The whole of Church history after the end of the exile in Babylon thus constitutes a single, continuous act of divine redemption.⁷³ Calvin's contention is that the oracles of the Prophets relate to the whole of this period. When he refers to the 'full', 'lasting' or 'perfect' restoration of the Church in particular,⁷⁴ it is this whole period which he has in mind.

There is the closest possible connection here between the restoration of the Church and the progress of the Kingdom of Christ. Indeed, Calvin can assert that 'the restoration of the Church is founded on Christ's Kingdom'.⁷⁵ The implications of this are clear. The period between the first coming of Christ and the last is not only a period in which the Kingdom of Christ is spreading, but also one in which the restoration of the Church is taking place. Living in this period, members of the Church are inevitably caught up in this process.

The restoration of the Church in this second sense is therefore both an eschatological and an evangelistic concept. It is eschatological, in that, although it will not be complete until the last day, its progress towards that completion is inexorable.

The prophet is speaking about the restoration of the Church after the return from Babylon. This is certainly true: but that restoration is imperfect, if it is not extended right up to Christ; and even now we are in the progress and course of it -- and these things will not be fulfilled until the last resurrection.⁷⁶

This note of inexorable movement is one of the features which unites the restoration of the Church with the progress of the Kingdom of Christ, and which distinguishes this second strand of restoration in Calvin's thought from the first. Whereas, in the first sense of the phrase, 'the restoration of the Church' is something which God accomplishes again and again at intervals throughout history, in this second sense it is something which is effected by God once and for all. This is not to say that the restoration of the Church is completed 'at once'.⁷⁷ On the contrary, 'the progress of this restoration has many long stages and can seem slow'.⁷⁸ It is, however, one uninterrupted process. As with the progress of Christ's Kingdom, the restoration of the Church is not to be judged by outward appearances, but by the Promise of God, 'which assures us of its uninterrupted continuation and its constant growth'.⁷⁹ This 'restoration of the Church' will last for ever, and will issue in a permanent condition.⁸⁰

In his *Commentary on Isaiah*, Calvin -- alluding, presumably, to Acts 3.21 -- designates the Second Coming of Christ as 'the day of restoration', 'because everything which now appears to be disordered will be restored to integrity and will assume a new form'.⁸¹ Although phrases such as *restitutio mundi*,⁸² *renovatio orbis*,⁸³ or *omnium instauratio*,⁸⁴ and allusions to Christ as the one who restores the world,⁸⁵ or to the time when all things will be restored,⁸⁶ are rare in the *Institutio*, they are common in Calvin's expositions of the Prophets. The obvious explanation for this is that the restoration of 'the world' and of 'all things' is linked to the restoration of the Church in Calvin's mind. This proves to be the case. For Calvin, the restoration of the world is the ultimate object of God's redeeming act, which is at present evident only in the continuing restoration of the Church. The restoration of

the Church is both the sign and the firstfruits of the restoration of all things; indeed, 'the restoration of the Church may be regarded as the renovation of the whole world'.⁸⁷ It is interesting to note that at this point the language of reformation and renovation has returned. The restoration of the Church is both the *locus* of God's re-creation, and the means by which all things are reformed (which is to say, the means by which they are restored to their original integrity).

The restoration of the Church is also evangelistic. In other words, the 'restoration' of the Church consists in a numerical increase of those who belong to it.⁸⁸ Calvin is keenly aware of the part which his own generation has to play in this restoration process. The point is not simply that Calvin repeatedly reiterates that the restoration of the Church is in progress in his own day, although it is important to note the frequency and urgency with which he does so. (Calvin confessed to his fellow-countrymen that 'God has carried forward the restoration of the Church further than I had dared hope for'.⁸⁹) It is rather that he believes that he and his contemporaries have a real contribution to make to this process.

In Calvin's view, of course, the restoration of the Church is the work of God (the *proprium opus Dei* ⁹⁰): 'It is only possible for the Church to be restored by the hand of God'.⁹¹ Like the promotion of the Kingdom of Christ, 'the restoration of the Church proceeds solely from the grace of God'.⁹² This process certainly cannot be hindered by human intervention.⁹³ On the other hand, human agents do have a positive contribution to make, and Calvin is equally insistent in his view that God has chosen to effect the restoration of the Church through human instruments. About 'the true method of restoring the Church', Calvin explains that, 'whereas God could rebuild the Church by himself and without the help of human beings, he nevertheless deigns to employ their hands'.⁹⁴ The balance Calvin maintains is that it is God alone who promotes the restoration of the Church, but that he does so by the

agency of faithful pastors.⁹⁵ Calvin goes as far as to claim that there are good grounds for saying that 'godly teachers renovate the world':⁹⁶ for by their teaching God restores the Church; and the restoration of the Church is the renovation of the world.

The role of human agents in the restoration of the Church is, as Calvin understands it, to propagate the Gospel. The progression of his argument here is that the Church is restored as increasing numbers of individuals are reconciled to God and restored to his image, and that this takes place in response to the preaching of the Gospel, which is the responsibility of human agents. It was noted in an earlier section that Calvin also stresses the part to be played by human agents in the *reformation* of the Church, and attention was drawn to the exhortation he addresses to his contemporaries, to restore the Church. There Calvin's emphasis is on the need for leaders of Church and State to purify ecclesiastical institutions. Here, on the other hand, the accent is on the need for pastors and teachers to preach the Gospel.

An illuminating sentence occurs in the course of Calvin's comments on Isaiah 44.4. He asserts there that 'the cardinal element in the restoration of the Church is the reformation by which the Lord restores his image in the elect'.⁹⁷ This establishes the principle that the restoration of the Church consists in the restoration of individual human beings. At this point, of course, Calvin is using the term *reformatio* to denote the conversion by which a human being is re-created in the image of God. It was established in chapter three that this is the way in which Calvin prefers to use the word. He identifies this *reformatio* as a *restitutio*: it is equivalent to the restoration of the image of God in the elect. More detailed attention will be paid in a later chapter to what Calvin understands by the reformation of the image of God and the restoration of the person.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, since Calvin reckons the restoration of human beings to be 'the cardinal element in the restoration of

the Church', some discussion of the subject is appropriate here; in particular, the question of how this restoration comes about.

Once again the reader of Calvin's expositions of the Prophets is confronted by his assertion of the divine initiative. Human beings, no less than the Church, depend upon God for their restoration. Only those who 'fly to God' may be restored.⁹⁹ It is by Christ alone 'that we are rescued from the bondage of the devil and are restored to liberty'.¹⁰⁰ For Calvin however, this latter statement is virtually synonymous with the observation that the 'goal of the Gospel is that we may be rescued from all evils', and that we may be 'restored to our original integrity'.¹⁰¹ It is, then, 'by the doctrine of the Gospel alone that we can be fully restored'.¹⁰² To this extent, the restoration of human beings depends upon the agency of godly teachers, who are called to preach the doctrine of the Gospel.¹⁰³

It remains to be shown that this is not a merely theoretical possibility for Calvin. This is most clear in his exposition of the metaphor of a mother, which Isaiah introduces in chapter 66. Calvin explains that the metaphor

means that the Church will be restored in such a manner that she will acquire a large and numerous offspring, although she may appear for a time to be childless and barren.¹⁰⁴

Initially, Calvin applies this prophecy in his usual manner. He begins with a qualified affirmation that these things were fulfilled when the people returned from Babylon. He then goes on to suggest, predictably enough, that a 'more splendid demonstration' of this prophecy took place when, 'at the preaching of the Gospel' (that is, in the time of the Apostles), 'a diverse and numerous offspring' was generated for the Church. At this point Calvin departs from his normal pattern of interpretation, however. Instead of alluding, as one might have expected, to the last day, he adds

Have we not in fact seen the fulfilment of this prophecy in our own times? To how many offspring has the Church given birth during the last thirty years, in which the Gospel has been preached?¹⁰⁵

The positive response of those of his own generation to the preaching of the Gospel is taken by Calvin to be a mark of the continuing restoration of the Church. This implies that Calvin's concern for the restoration of the Church acted as an incentive for him in the preaching of the Gospel. His conviction was that the restoration of the Church consisted in the restoration of humanity, and that the restoration of humanity demanded the preaching of the Gospel by the ministers of the Church. It is in this sense that his concept of the restoration of the Church may be said to be 'evangelistic'.

The second strand in Calvin's understanding of the restoration of the Church may therefore be summarised as follows: it is the one uninterrupted act of redemption, which began when the captivity of the people of God in Babylon was brought to an end, which was effected when Christ redeemed his people from captivity to the devil, and which is destined to culminate in the restoration of all things. It is a process of restoration which corresponds to progress of Christ's Kingdom towards its consummation, and which thus carries both evangelistic and eschatological overtones.

Conclusion

The concept of the restoration of the Church, therefore, is prominent in the Lectures which Calvin gave to the ministers, scholars and others hearers in Geneva, and in the other expositions of Old Testament prophecy which were produced in the last ten years of his life. A meticulous study of these expositions indicates that there were two strands to Calvin's thought at this point. In one (backward-looking and subordinate) sense, he understood the restoration of the Church to be equivalent to its reformation; in another (forward-looking and definitive) sense, he considered it to be equivalent to the redemption of the world. In the first sense, the doctrine is narrowly ecclesiological; in the second it is profoundly eschatological. Nevertheless, although for the sake of clarity it is helpful to distinguish the two strands from

one another, it is important to bear in mind that Calvin does not do so. For him, the local, periodic restorations of the form of the Church, which are effected by God through magistrate and pastor together, are stages in the universal and uninterrupted restoration of the Church, which is effected by God through the ecclesiastical ministry alone, and which will culminate in the redemption and the restoration of all things.

Three points in particular must be emphasised. First, it is to be noted (with regard to the restoration of the Church in the first sense), that Calvin's predilection for the language of restoration and reformation illustrates how important it was to him to maintain the essential continuity of the reformed Church with the Catholic Church. In Calvin's eyes, the reformation of the Church in the sixteenth century was in no sense an innovation. Secondly (and with regard to the restoration of the Church in the second sense), it is important to register the intimacy of the connection between this concept and the progress of the Kingdom of Christ. The connection underlines that, for Calvin, the proper agent of evangelistic activity is the Church, and the proper context for the theology of evangelisation is ecclesiology. Finally, it is plain from this study of his exposition of the Prophets that Calvin's preference for the term '*restitutio ecclesiae*' over the alternative form '*reformatio ecclesiae*' remained with him (one might even say, went on growing in importance for him) to the end of his life. The material in this chapter effectively rules out any suggestion that Calvin forsook the language of restoration for that of reformation as a result of his controversies with the Anabaptists.¹⁰⁶ If anything, the evidence is rather that Calvin wished to re-appropriate the language of restoration by developing a profound connection between this and other concepts in his thought.

Notes

- 1 Inst. IV.ii.4 (1536), p.1046; O. S. V.36.2. For other references see p.143, note 60
- 2 Lect. 116, Jer. 30.21, C. O. 38.636.30-41, C. T. S. IV.44.
- 3 Comm. Is. 7.14, C. O. 36.154.38-158.2, C. T. S. I.244-249.
- 4 See pp.94-95.
- 5 Littell, p.74.
- 6 Williams, p.xxviii.
- 7 Friedman, p.145.
- 8 *in pristinum statum* [or, *in pristinum locum/dignitatem/libertatem/nitorem/gloriam /ordinem*] *restituo*: e.g., Comm. Is. 14.29, C. O. 36.291.40-41, C. T. S. I.464; Lect. 119, Jer. 31.13, C. O. 38.663.23, C. T. S. IV.86.
in integrum restituo: e.g., Comm. Is. 14.7-8, C. O. 36.276.26, C. T. S. I.439; Lect. 16, Hos. 6.3, C. O. 42.323.52, C. T. S. I.222.
- 9 *plene/plenissime*: Comm. Is. 52.8, C. O. 37.248.47, C. T. S. IV.101; Lect. 118, Jer. 31.6, C. O. 38.647.53, C. T. S. IV.62; Lect. 150, Zech. 8.14-15, C. O. 44.249.53, C. T. S. V.217.
perfecte/perfectissime: Comm. Is. 26.19, C. O. 36.442.35, C. T. S. II.237. cf. Lect. 131, Hag. 2.2-6, C. O. 44.103.16, C. T. S. IV.355.
- 10 Hezekiah: Comm. Is. 32.1, C. O. 36.542.29, C. T. S. II.404; Comm. Is. 32.5, C. O. 36.545.19, C. T. S. II.409; Comm. Is. 32.8, C. O. 36.547.31, C. T. S. II.413; Comm. Is. 28.17, C. O. 36.475.51, C. T. S. II.292; Comm. Is. 28.17, C. O. 36.476.8, C. T. S. II.293. cf. Lect. 59, Jer. 15.4, C. O. 38.211.55, C. T. S. II.258.
Josiah: Lect. 11, Jer. 3.6-8, C. O. 37.552.34, C. T. S. I.164; Lect. 11, Jer. 3.10, C. O. 37.556.20, C. T. S. I.170.
- 11 Comm. Is. 28.17, C. O. 36.475.48-51, 36.475.54-476.8, C. T. S. II.292-293.
- 12 Comm. Is. 32.1, C. O. 36.542.22-29, C. T. S. II.404.
- 13 Comm. Is. 36.1, C. O. 36.600.33, 36.601.3, C. T. S. III.77; Comm. Is. 36.10, C. O. 36.605.7-8, C. T. S. III.85.
- 14 cf. the reference to 'our assemblies', Comm. Is. 33.20, C. O. 36.574.54-56, C. T. S. III.36.
- 15 Lect. 11, Jer. 3.6-8, C. O. 37.552.20-34, C. T. S. I.163-164.
- 16 Comm. Ps. 51.20, C. O. 31.523.19, C. T. S. II.307.
- 17 Comm. Is. 36.10, C. O. 36.605.6, C. T. S. III.85.
- 18 Comm. Is. 11.11, C. O. 36.246.20-23, C. T. S. I.390. cf. Comm. Is. 14.29, C. O. 36.291.38-41, C. T. S. I.464; Comm. Is. 40.4, C. O. 37.8.29-31, C. T. S. III.205; Comm. Is. 62.1, C. O. 37.382.55-383.2, C. T. S. IV.321.
- 19 Comm. Is. 11.12, C. O. 36.247.2-4, C. T. S. I.391.

- 20 Comm. Is. 36.10, C. O. 36.605.49-606.36, C. T. S. III.86-88.
- 21 Ep. 2266, C. O. 15.722 (1555), Bonnet III.218.
- 22 Ep. 2362, C. O. 15.892 (1555), Bonnet III.246.
- 23 Lect. 11, Jer. 3.6-8, C. O. 37.552.37-39, C. T. S. I.164.
- 24 Lect. 6, Hos. 2.17, C. O. 42.246.30, C. T. S. I.108.
- 25 Lect. 2, Hos. 1.3-4, C. O. 42.207.49-208.26, C. T. S. I.50-51. Is it possible that such references to King Henry and to Queen Mary ('that Proserpina', Lect. 64, Amos 7.10-13, C. O. 43.134.27-44, C. T. S. II.349) in the *Lectures on the Minor Propets* (1556-1558) reflect Calvin's conversations with Protestant exiles from England, who included the young Thomas Bodley?
- 26 Lect. 118, Zeph. 1.2-3, C. O. 44.4.46, C. T. S. IV.187.
- 27 Lect. 140, Zech. 3.5, C. O. 44.172.31, C. T. S. V.90. cf. Lect. 163, Zech. 13.5, C. O. 44.351.17-23, C. T. S. V.389.
- 28 Calvin refers to 'the reformation against the Papists', in a letter to the Senate of Berne, Ep. 2199, C. O. 15.602 (1555), Bonnet III.177.
- 29 Comm. Is. 48.19, C. O. 37.187.12-17, C. T. S. III.489.
- 30 L. Célier: "L'Idée de réforme à la cour pontificale du Concile de Bâle au Concile de Constance", *Revue des Questions Historiques* 86 (1909/II), pp.418-435, p.419; cited, in a slightly different translation, in Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, p.373.
- 31 See, e. g., Comm. Is. 11.4, C. O. 36.240.32-47, C. T. S. I.381-382; see also chapter four, pp.127-131.
- 32 Comm. Is. 36.10, C. O. 36.604.50-52, C. T. S. III.85.
- 33 Comm. Is. 49.23, C. O. 37.211.10-15, C. T. S. IV.40. This passage is one of those from the *Isaiah Commentaries* to which there is frequent cross-reference in the Lectures: e.g., Lect. 64, Amos 7.10-13, C. O. 43.135.4-5, C. T. S. II.350.
- 34 Comm. Is. 49.23, C. O. 37.211.42-45, C. T. S. IV.41.
- 35 Comm. Is. 32.4, C. O. 36.544.55-56, C. T. S. II.406.
- 36 Comm. Ps. 87 Arg., C. O. 31.800.4, C. T. S. III.395.
- 37 Comm. Ps. 60.6, C. O. 31.576.24, C. T. S. II.401.
- 38 I owe this observation to Professor Michael Screech.
- 39 e.g., Comm. Is. 41.15, C. O. 37.44.36-37, C. T. S. III.262; Comm. Ps. 149.1, C. O. 32.437.36, C. T. S. V.312; Lect. 130, Jer. 32.38, C. O. 39.37.28, C. T. S. IV.208; Lect. 71, Ob. 19-20, C. O. 43.198.5, C. T. S. II.452.
- 40 See pp.119-120.
- 41 Comm. Is. 61.5, C. O. 37.376.33-34, C. T. S. IV.311. cf. Lect. 13, Jer. 3.17-18, C. O. 37.566.28, C. T. S. I.186: 'God then began to restore his Church'. This appears to be synonymous with the statement that 'the return from the Babylonian captivity was the

beginning of the renovation of the Church', Comm. Is. 9.6, C. O. 36.194.37-38, C. T. S. I.306.

- 42 Comm. Is. 52.8, C. O. 37.248.41-43, C. T. S. IV.101.
- 43 Lect. 136, Zech. 1.13, C. O. 44.142.24, C. T. S. V.41.
- 44 Lect. 38, Dan. 7.27, C. O. 41.86.14, C. T. S. II.78.
- 45 Comm. Is. 35.1, C. O. 36.590.38-40, C. T. S. III.61.
- 46 Comm. Is. 41.27, C. O. 37.55.3-4, C. T. S. III.279; Lect. 86, Jer. 23.7-8, C. O. 38.415.3, C. T. S. III.149.
- 47 Comm. Is. 40.12, C. O. 37.15.49, C. T. S. III.217; Lect. 92, Jer. 24.7, C. O. 38.462.28, C. T. S. III.228; Lect. 9, Hos. 4.1, C. O. 42.266.5, C. T. S. I.137.
- 48 Lect. 167, Jer. 46.27, C. O. 39.305.23, C. T. S. IV.604.
- 49 Comm. Ps. 126.5, C. O. 32.319.53, C. T. S. V.154.
- 50 Lect. 137, Zech. 2.1-4, C. O. 44.153.45, C. T. S. V.59.
- 51 Lect. 58, Jer. 19.11, C. O. 38.330.30-36, C. T. S. II.448; Comm. Is. 41.14, C. O. 37.44.1-2, C. T. S. III.261.
- 52 Comm. Ps. 87 Arg., C. O. 31.799.12, C. T. S. III.394; Comm. Is. 44.28, C. O. 37.126.26, C. T. S. III.91.
- 53 'It is evident from this that the prophet is not speaking about the restoration of the people which would take place a few years afterwards, but of the restoration of the whole Church', Comm. Is. 52.10, C. O. 37.249.51-53, C. T. S. IV.103.
- 54 Comm. Is. 60.17, C. O. 37.366.33-37, C. T. S. IV.295; Comm. Is. 60.21, C. O. 37.368.51-53, C. T. S. IV.299.
- 55 Comm. Is. 58.12, C. O. 37.333.17-19, C. T. S. IV.239.
- 56 Comm. Ps. 149.1, C. O. 32.437.36, C. T. S. V.312; Lect. 38, Dan. 7.27, C. O. 41.86.14, C. T. S. II.78.
- 57 Calvin's Christological exposition of such passages as Is. 7.14 and of Is. 9.6 is intended to establish this point: C. O. 36.154.38-158.2, C. T. S. I.244-249; C. O. 36.194.21-198.42, C. T. S. I.306-313. cf. Lect. 116, Jer. 30.21, C. O. 38.636.30, C. T. S. IV.44.
- 58 Comm. Is. 24.23, C. O. 36.412.1-3, C. T. S. II.187; Comm. Ps. 72.1, C. O. 31.665.15, C. T. S. III.103. cf. Lect. 87, Mic. 4.1-2, C. O. 43.340.18, C. T. S. III.251.
- 59 Comm. Is. 9.2, C. O. 36.190.1-14, C. T. S. I.299. For *praeludium*, cf. Lect. 13, Jer. 3.17-18, C. O. 37.566.23, C. T. S. I.186; Lect. 52, Ezek. 17.23, C. O. 40.418.43, C. T. S. II.209.
- 60 See pp.124-126.
- 61 Comm. Is. 27.13, C. O. 36.460.17-19, C. T. S. II.266.
- 62 Lect. 43, Dan. 8.24, C. O. 41.121.27, C. T. S. II.129.
- 63 Lect. 45, Joel 2.28, C. O. 42.567.24, C. T. S. II.93.

- 64 Lect. 91, Mic. 5.1-2, C. O. 43.369.8, C. T. S. III.300; Comm. Is. 9.6, C. O. 36.194.30-31, C. T. S. I.306.
- 65 Comm. Is. 49.19, C. O. 37.207.47, C. T. S. IV.35; Comm. Ps. 47.4, C. O. 31.468.7, C. T. S. II.208.
- 66 Inst. I.xiii.24 (1559), p.152; O. S. III.144.6. It is worth noting that this sentence was only added to the text in its final revision.
- 67 Comm. Is. 61.1, C. O. 37.371.33-35, C. T. S. IV.303.
- 68 Comm. Is. 60.15, C. O. 37.365.13-18, C. T. S. IV.292-293.
- 69 Comm. Is. 52.8, C. O. 37.248.41-47, C. T. S. IV.101. cf. Comm. Is. 61.7, C. O. 37.377.27-32, C. T. S. IV.312; Comm. Is. 66.10, C. O. 37.445.41-43, C. T. S. IV.424-425.
- 70 Comm. Is. 54.2, C. O. 37.270.6-18, C. T. S. IV.136.
- 71 Comm. Is. 43.19, C. O. 37.94.51-95.7, C. T. S. III.341-342. cf. Lect. 38, Dan. 8.1, C. O. 41.87.33, C. T. S. II.80; Lect. 4, Hos. 2.3, C. O. 42.227.4-10, C. T. S. I.79.
- 72 Comm. Is. 43.19, C. O. 37.94.51-95.7, C. T. S. III.341-342.
- 73 Lect. 112, Hab. 2.14, C. O. 43.550.44-46, C. T. S. IV.109. cf. Comm. Is. 45.14, C. O. 37.140.50, C. T. S. III.413; Comm. Is. 43.8, C. O. 37.86.5-6, C. T. S. III.327.
- 74 Lect. 118, Jer. 31.6, C. O. 38.647.53, C. T. S. IV.62; Comm. Is. 42.1, C. O. 37.58.13-14, C. T. S. III.284; Comm. Is. 45.6, C. O. 37.133.31-32, C. T. S. III.402; Lect. 166, Zech. 14.8, C. O. 44.371.30, C. T. S. V.423.
- 75 Comm. Is. 4.2, C. O. 36.96.31-32, C. T. S. I.153.
- 76 Comm. Is. 65.17, C. O. 37.428.53-429.3, C. T. S. IV.398.
- 77 Lect. 43, Dan. 8.26, C. O. 41.123.46-47, C. T. S. II.132; Lect. 90, Mic. 4.11-13, C. O. 43.362.7, C. T. S. III.288.
- 78 Comm. Is. 66.8, C. O. 37.444.21-24, C. T. S. IV.422.
- 79 Comm. Is. 9.7, C. O. 36.199.5-20, C. T. S. I.313-314.
- 80 Lect. 137, Zech. 2.8, C. O. 44.159.53, C. T. S. V.69; Comm. Is. 66.22, C. O. 37.453.8-11, C. T. S. IV.437.
- 81 Comm. Is. 25.8, C. O. 36.419.29-33, C. T. S. II.199. cf. *dies restitutionis*, Comm. Is. 26.19, C. O. 36.442.34, C. T. S. II.237; *dies instaurationis et restitutionis*, Comm. Is. 35.1, C. O. 36.590.50, C. T. S. III.62; *dies renovationis et instaurationis*, Comm. Is. 65.17, C. O. 37.429.33, C. T. S. IV.399.
- 82 e.g., Comm. Is. 51.16, C. O. 37.237.49, C. T. S. IV.83. cf. *mundi renovatio*, Lect. 8, Dan. 2.31, C. O. 40.585.40, C. T. S. I.156; *mundi instaurationis*, Comm. Ps. 96.11, C. O. 32.42.25, C. T. S. IV.58.
- 83 e.g., Lect. 87, Mic. 4.1-2, C. O. 43.340.3, C. T. S. III.251.
- 84 e.g., Comm. Is. 2.2, C. O. 36.60.9-10, C. T. S. I.91.

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- 85 e.g., Comm. Is. 11.6,7, C. O. 36.242.3-6, C. T. S. I.384; Lect. 145, Zech. 6.12-13, C. O. 44.214.15, C. T. S. V.159.
- 86 e.g., Comm. Is. 49.8, C. O. 37.200.32-33, C. T. S. IV.24.
- 87 Comm. Is. 55.12, C. O. 37.292.42-43, C. T. S. IV.173. cf. Lect. 36, Dan. 7.17-18, C. O. 41.68.39, C. T. S. II.53, 'God will completely restore his Church when the time comes for the renovation of the world'; Lect. 165, Zech. 14.8, C. O. 44.371.30, C. T. S. V.423.
- 88 Lect. 137, Zech. 2.6, C. O. 44.155.56-156.1, C. T. S. V.62-63; Comm. Is. 27.6, C. O. 36.453.8-12, C. T. S. II.255.
- 89 Ep. 3485, C. O. 18.620 (1561), Lect. Dan. Dedic., C. T. S. I.lxx.
- 90 Comm. Ps. 147.2, C. O. 32.426.46, C. T. S. V.293.
- 91 Comm. Is. 29.23, C. O. 36.503.4-5, C. T. S. II.339.
- 92 Comm. Is. 32.15, C. O. 36.551.53-54, C. T. S. II.420. cf. Comm. Is. 44.3, C. O. 37.106.51-52, C. T. S. III.360; Comm. Is. 1.25, C.O. 36.53.21-23, C. T. S. I.80.
- 93 Lect. 133, Hag. 2.21-24, C. O. 44.122.1-24, C. T. S. IV.386; Lect. 127, Zeph. 3.19, C. O. 44.76.16, C. T. S. IV.310.
- 94 Comm. Is. 49.17, C. O. 37.206.6-8, C. T. S. IV.32.
- 95 Comm. Is. 62.7, C. O. 37.387.30-39, C. T. S. IV.328-329.
- 96 Comm. Is. 51.16, C. O. 37.237.34-38, C. T. S. IV.83.
- 97 Comm. Is. 44.4, C.O. 37.107.15-18, C. T. S. III.361.
- 98 See chapter seven, pp.221-231.
- 99 Comm. Is. 40.8, C. O. 37.12.40-41, C. T. S. III.212.
- 100 Comm. Is. 43.8, C. O. 37.85.53-54, C. T. S. III.327.
- 101 Comm. Is. 61.2, C. O. 37.373.44-46, C. T. S. IV.306.
- 102 Comm. Is. 25.7, C. O. 36.418.50-51, C. T. S. II.198.
- 103 Comm. Is. 11.4, C. O. 36.240.38-42, C. T. S. I.381-382.
- 104 Comm. Is. 66.7, C. O. 37.443.48-51, C. T. S. IV.422. In Lect. 156, Zech. 10.10, C. O. 44.297.49-51, C. T. S. V.299, Calvin cites Isaiah's prophecy that 'the Church would be filled with such a multitude of people, that they will press upon one another', and then observes that 'here Zechariah says that the number of people will be so great that the space will hardly be great enough to hold such a multitude'. This passage is typical of the way in which the Lectures pre-suppose the *Commentaries on Isaiah*.
- 105 Comm. Is. 66.8, C. O. 37.444.35-38, C. T. S. IV.423.
- 106 This suggestion has apparently been advanced by Dr. M. Howard Rienstra in an unpublished paper, which was not available to me. For details see Bouwsma, p.241, note 45.

Part III

The Progress of the Kingdom of Christ and the Restoration of the Christian

Introduction to Part III

As with Part II, Part III of the thesis is concerned more with theology than history. That is to say, the emphasis falls once again on evangelisation in Calvin's thought rather than in his practice. The purpose of this part of the thesis is to give some definition to the soteriological correlates which belong to each of the two essentially ecclesiological themes expounded in Part II.

In chapter six ('The Progress of the Kingdom of Christ and Christian Conversion') it will be argued that, again by virtue of Calvin's eschatology, the concept of Christ's Kingdom also functions in his thought as a framework for the exposition of the Christian life. In other words, it has an individual as well as an institutional application. It will be shown that Calvin understands the start of the Christian life to be 'the beginning of the Kingdom of Christ'. Since he insists that the Kingdom of Christ can only be inaugurated in the believer with a 'sudden conversion', it will be suggested that, to this extent, Calvin regards conversion as an event, with implications for ecclesiastical allegiance. However, since he also contends that as long as Christians are 'encumbered with the body', they strain forward for the consummation of Christ's reign, it will also be suggested that, for him, the period between the beginning and the consummation of this reign is one of regeneration. It is a process characterised by a constant progress of conversion to the Word of God.

In chapter seven ('The Restoration of Humanity in the Image of God according to Calvin'), an attempt will be made to assess the significance of the language of reformation and restoration for Calvin's soteriology. It will be shown, in the first place, that Calvin's discussions of the creation of Adam in the *imago Dei*, and of the effect of the Fall on the image are ambiguous. On the whole he gives Adam's creation in the image of God a relational emphasis; but at times he also speaks of the image in terms of certain formal

human faculties. On the whole he states that the *imago Dei* was obliterated entirely by the Fall; but at times he speaks of a remnant of the image in fallen Adam. It will be proposed that a corresponding ambiguity characterises Calvin's use of the language of reformation and restoration in the context of his soteriology. On the one hand, he speaks of the reformation of the image of God in humanity. This is a reformation of the human constitution, of the forms and faculties deformed at the Fall, and of Adam's created integrity. On the other hand, he speaks of the restoration of humanity in the image of God. This is a restoration of humanity's relationship with God, a process which is inaugurated and consummated in Christ. There are obvious parallels here to the two strands, one backward-, and the other forward-looking, which are to be discerned in Calvin's concept of the reformation and restoration of the Church.

Chapter Six

The Progress of the Kingdom of Christ and Christian Conversion

Introduction

Chapter four offered an exploration of 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ', as it appears in Calvin's expositions of the Old Testament Prophets. It is evident from that study that Calvin construes this progress chiefly in institutional terms. He equates the progress of Christ's Kingdom with the progress of the reformed Church. Nothing in the discussion which follows in the present chapter is to be considered as a qualification of this. However, a further aspect of his thought must be taken into account, if Calvin's view of the Kingdom of Christ is to be fully understood. It is a secondary theme, but a complementary one, which deserves careful consideration.

Alongside Calvin's equation of Christ's Kingdom with the structures of the true Church must be set his identification of it with the experience of a true Christian. For Calvin understands the Kingdom of Christ in individual as well as institutional terms. Insofar as it conforms to the Word of God, Calvin can describe the life of an individual believer, as well as the polity of the reformed Church, as a manifestation of the Kingdom of Christ. Indeed, he considers it necessary to take this further step. Although he identifies the visible Church with Christ's Kingdom without qualification, Calvin considers it certain that not all those who profess to be members of the Church are in fact 'true' members of Christ. On the contrary, even in the true Church there are 'many hypocrites' to be found, 'who have nothing of Christ but the name and the outward appearance'.¹ It is important to note that Calvin here makes use at an individual level of the same distinction between 'the true' and that which 'has only the name and outward appearance', which he often applies to the Church, elsewhere. However, it is equally important to note that this recognition of the fact that there are hypocrites even in the reformed Church

does not lead Calvin to qualify the extent to which it may be equated with the Kingdom of Christ. There are two reasons for this. The first is his view that the institution warrants this identification in itself, since its structures conform to the Word of God. The second is a consequence of his conviction that it is beyond the power of any human judge to distinguish those who are true members of Christ from those who are hypocrites. The true Church is to be identified with the Kingdom of Christ by the same 'charitable judgment' as that by which all who 'profess the same God and Christ with us' are to be recognized as members of the true Church.² Yet Christ's Kingdom properly exists only where the Gospel of Christ truly holds sway. For Calvin, in other words, the Kingdom is truly established only where individual human beings respond appropriately to the preaching of God's Word. It is to this aspect of Calvin's thought that the present chapter is devoted.

The Spiritual Nature of the Kingdom of Christ

An attempt was made in chapter four to convey the extent to which Calvin locates Christ's Kingdom within time and space. The identification he makes between the Kingdom and the visible Church is so complete that it is possible for him to say that where the true Church is, Christ reigns. The true Church is the institutional form of Christ's Kingdom. Nevertheless, Calvin is clear that the Kingdom of Christ has this form accidentally, not essentially. That is to say, although the true Church is the form taken by the Kingdom of Christ within time and space, the Kingdom itself is properly neither temporal nor spatial. In essence, the Kingdom of Christ is 'eternal' (or 'perpetual'), and 'spiritual' (or 'heavenly').³

Whether in the (1559) *Institutio* or in his expositions of the Prophets, Calvin returns again and again to the assertion that 'the Kingdom of Christ is spiritual'.⁴ Indeed, he argues that it is pointless to speak about this Kingdom unless this fundamental point is kept in mind.⁵ The Kingdom of Christ is

spiritual', he says, 'and so is everything connected with it'.⁶ T. F. Torrance suggests that Calvin's use of this language is 'regularly' to draw a distinction between the present condition of the Church and its future glory.⁷ However, this is only part of the reformer's purpose. Calvin is certainly sensitive to the fact that the appearance of the Kingdom of Christ, whether in the age of the Prophets, the apostolic era, or the period of the reformers, is 'contemptible'; and that its true glory will only be manifest in future.⁸ He does underline the contrast between the way the Kingdom of Christ appears at its beginnings and at present, and the way in which it will be manifest at its consummation at the last day. Yet beyond this there is for the reformer a more fundamental contrast, between the essential character of the Kingdom of Christ, and its present, accidental, form. Calvin's point is not that this Kingdom will one day have a worldly splendour which it lacks at present, but that its splendour is by nature spiritual, and that its future glory will be a manifestation of this. In this connection, Calvin quotes the Pauline saying that 'the Kingdom of God does not consist in food and drink, but in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit'.⁹ Torrance rightly stresses the eschatological tension which is characteristic of all Calvin's statements about the nature of the Kingdom of Christ. This tension is reflected, for example, in the reformer's insistence that the Kingdom of Christ 'is not to be judged according to carnal reason'.¹⁰ However, the accent on the future in Torrance's interpretation of the reformer is at times in danger of obscuring the fact that when Calvin states that 'the Kingdom of Christ is spiritual', he only means that it is 'by nature spiritual',¹¹ and that it 'abounds in spiritual blessings'.¹² The splendour of the Kingdom of Christ lies in the gift of the Holy Spirit to individual believers.¹³

We must observe the analogy between the Kingdom of Christ and its qualities; for being spiritual, it is established by the power of the Holy Spirit. In a word, [the qualities of Christ's Kingdom] must be viewed as referring to the inner person, that is, when we are regenerated by God to true righteousness.¹⁴

Or again,

It is necessary for us to bear in mind the character of the Kingdom of Christ. It is, we know, spiritual, but it is set forth under the image or form of an earthly and civil government... As, then, it is spiritual, the justice and judgment of which the Prophet is speaking do not belong only to civil and external order, but rather to that rectitude by which it comes that people are reformed according to God's image, which is in righteousness and truth. Christ is said to reign over us in justice and judgment, then..., because he rules us by his Spirit.¹⁵

It is worth noting that in these two quotations, in order to explain what he means by the 'spiritual' reign of Christ, Calvin contrasts external order with 'the inner person'. This is a point to which he often returns. He will state that 'the Kingdom of Christ is not external, but relates to the inner person',¹⁶ and that 'the Kingdom of Christ is within us'.¹⁷ It also emerges that the reign of Christ is exercised by the Spirit, who rules over 'the regenerate', who 'are reformed according to the image of God'. The adjective 'spiritual' is clearly intended to convey Calvin's conviction that the Kingdom of Christ effects the regeneration of individual human beings, by the agency of the Holy Spirit. In the Spirit, Christ exercises his reign over the regenerate in particular.¹⁸ The significance of the eschatological tension in all Calvin's statements about Christ's Kingdom can only be fully appreciated once this preliminary point has been established.

The Kingdom of Christ and Regeneration¹⁹

In order to understand the relationship between the Kingdom of Christ and regeneration in Calvin's thought, it is helpful to consider his customary summary of the Gospel. The summary provides the basis for the structure of *Institutio* Book III, *De modo percipiendae Christi gratiae*, or, 'On the way in which we receive the grace of Christ'.²⁰ Perhaps the clearest explanation of the Gospel in the entire work is to be found in a passage in III.xi.1 (originally composed for the 1539 edition), where Calvin refers to 'the double grace' of Christ.²¹

By partaking of [Christ], we principally receive a double grace: namely, that being *reconciled* to God through Christ's blamelessness, we may have a gracious Father in heaven, instead of a Judge; and secondly, that *sanctified* by Christ's Spirit, we may cultivate blamelessness and purity of life.²²

In the following lines, Calvin goes on to refer to 'the second of these gifts' (sanctification) as 'regeneration', and -- at least by implication -- to the first (reconciliation) as 'justification'. This 'double grace', then, provides Calvin with the basis for the structure of *Institutio* Book III. After an introduction to 'faith', Calvin devotes the remainder of the Book to an explanation first of sanctification (chapters iii-x) and then of justification (chapters xi-xix), before he turns to the related questions of prayer, election and final resurrection. This two-fold grace of Christ is a consistent feature of Calvin's soteriology, present in his expositions of the Prophets as well as in the *Institutio*. Even in the *Institutio*, however, he makes use of a wide variety of terms to distinguish between its two parts. In *Institutio* III.iii.1, for example, having stated in his usual way that 'the sum of the Gospel is said to consist in repentance and the forgiveness of sins', he goes on to explain these concepts with reference to 'newness of life and free reconciliation'.²³ There are, then, several pairs of words which Calvin employs to describe this two-fold grace: 'justification and sanctification', 'reconciliation and regeneration', and 'forgiveness of sins and repentance' are synonymous pairs for Calvin. Each pair comprehends the grace of Christ and summarises the message of the Gospel.

Calvin warns that these two aspects of Christ's grace ought not to be separated from one another: 'as Christ cannot be torn into pieces, so these two things are inseparable'.²⁴ On the other hand, he insists that for the purposes of exposition, the two 'must be distinguished', precisely 'so that they are neither separated nor confused'.²⁵ It is particularly with regard to sanctification, regeneration and repentance that Calvin refers to the reign of Christ, and to the work of the Spirit in 'governing' and 'directing' the believer. There is an obvious reason for this correlation. It reflects the association in

Calvin's mind between Christ's *duplex gratia* and his *munus duplex*. As Palmer has put it, 'Christ's work as priest is the cause of our justification; his work as King is responsible for our sanctification'.²⁶ It is worth noting that the theme of the reign of Christ over individual believers through the Spirit is present especially in the prayers with which it was Calvin's practice to end his Lectures.²⁷ Although these prayers were faithfully recorded with the text of the Lectures by Budé and Joinvillier,²⁸ and were later published in the first printed editions of Calvin's works, they were inexplicably excluded from the *Calvini Opera* by its editors.²⁹ This may partly explain why the subject has not received the attention which it deserves. The present discussion, therefore, is concerned more with sanctification, regeneration and repentance than with justification, reconciliation and the forgiveness of sins. However, the intrinsic inseparability of these two aspects of the grace of Christ in Calvin's theology means that the exploration of one inevitably spills over into the other. Thus, while attention in the following pages is directed primarily to sanctification, regeneration and repentance, observations about justification are included where this seems appropriate.

The primary association which exists for Calvin between regeneration (or sanctification) and repentance is apparent even from the title of *Institutio* III.iii, in which Calvin introduces his discussion of the subject. The chapter is headed *Fide nos regenerari; ubi de poenitentia* -- 'Our regeneration by faith; a discourse on repentance'.³⁰ It is explicit in the explanation he offers of his general approach, in the phrase 'I interpret repentance as regeneration'.³¹ Furthermore, when Calvin proceeds to define repentance in *Institutio* III.iii.5, it emerges that one further term, 'conversion', is related to these others.

The meaning of repentance was a matter of the utmost importance to Calvin. Like all the reformers of the mid-sixteenth century, he arrived at his definition of the concept chiefly in reaction to the prevailing Roman Catholic practice of penance. In an annotated edition of the Greek New Testament

published in 1516, Erasmus had questioned the translation of Matthew 4.17 which had been adopted in the Vulgate. Where the Vulgate rendered the Greek text 'Do penance (*poenitentiam agite*) for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand', Erasmus translated it 'repent (*resipiscite*)'.³² The issue was still a vexed one forty years later, and Calvin's treatment of repentance in the context of sanctification reflects this controversy. Thus *Institutio* III.iv-v, for instance, is explicitly directed against 'what the Scholastic sophists have taught concerning repentance'.³³ In the previous chapter (III.iii), he outlines his own understanding of the biblical concept. Noting that 'the Hebrew word for "repentance" is derived from "conversion", or "return"' and 'the Greek word from change of mind or of intention', Calvin is led to the conclusion that

repentance can best be defined as follows: it is the true conversion of our life to God, a conversion that arises from a pure and earnest fear of him, and which consists in the mortification of our flesh and of the old man, and in the vivification of the Spirit.³⁴

Calvin subsequently elaborates on this definition of repentance, by clarifying its three parts: first, conversion requires a transformation, or a renewal of the soul; secondly, it arises from the fear of God; and lastly, it issues in the mortification of the flesh and the vivification of the Spirit.

This final association (of repentance with conversion) is as significant for Calvin's theology as those which have been identified already. It is in the light of the passage from *Institutio* III.iii.5 that Ganoczy observes

All that Luther drew from Scripture, especially from the prophets and Acts, is condensed as accurately as possible in Calvin's text. We find a direct connection between, indeed, an identification of ἐπιστρέφειν (*convertere*) and μετανοεῖν (*resipiscere*).³⁵

In the *Institutio*, the concept of conversion stands alongside the themes of repentance, sanctification and regeneration.³⁶

What is true of the *Institutio* is true also of Calvin's *Commentaries* and *Lectures on the Prophets*, except that in these it is more usual to find him introducing the theme of repentance, regeneration and sanctification, having taken 'conversion' as his starting point.³⁷ That is to say, it is more common

in his expositions of the Prophets to find Calvin defining conversion in terms of repentance and regeneration than the other way around.³⁸ In passages in which Calvin feels that conversion is not to be understood in this way, he is at pains to point it out.³⁹ When he does equate conversion with 'the inner change, when God regenerates us by his Spirit',⁴⁰ Calvin is alert to the polemical significance of the step. It is worth noting, he says, that conversion refers to the renovation of the mind and heart, 'because when repentance is under discussion, most people have their eyes fixed on the outward fruits of penitence alone'.⁴¹

Regeneration, Repentance and Conversion as Process

With rigorous consistency, Calvin treats conversion and repentance, as well as regeneration and sanctification, as a process. When, for example, in the quotation cited previously, Calvin declares, 'I interpret repentance as regeneration', he goes on to define 'the sole end' of regeneration as being 'to reform in us the image of God, which was sullied and almost obliterated through the transgression of Adam'. 'Indeed', he adds,

this restoration does not take place in one moment or one day or one year; but through continual and sometimes even slow advances God wipes out in his elect the corruptions of the flesh, cleanses them of guilt, consecrates them to himself as temples, renewing their minds to true purity that they might practise repentance throughout their lives and know that this warfare will end only at death.⁴²

According to Calvin, the regeneration of a human being does not take place in an instant. On the contrary, regeneration is a process which furnishes the faithful with an opportunity to make progress.

People never repent in such a way that they do not constantly need God's help. For we have to be renewed every day, and by degrees renounce the lusts of our flesh; nor do we put off the old humanity in a single day... We are converted to God little by little, and in various stages; for repentance has its progress.⁴³

Or again,

No-one is so converted to God that... he is renewed in the image of God in a single day. This kind of conversion is never to be found in a human being.⁴⁴

Whereas, if we were fully under the authority of Christ, we would be happy in every respect, in fact, because we are so far from yielding that obedience, we experience the blessings of the Kingdom of Christ only as far as we have made progress in newness of life.⁴⁵ Christians 'are still a long way from the consummation of [Christ's] reign', and the complete fulfilment of prophecies about the Kingdom of Christ in individual experience 'is not to be expected on earth'. Instead, Christians 'should always think of making progress'.⁴⁶

In the secondary literature, a great deal has been made of this feature of Calvin's theology, especially where he refers explicitly to repentance or conversion. In part no doubt this reflects the attempt which has been made by specialists in reformation history to counter the tendency they observe in some schools of modern Protestantism, to regard conversion as a sudden and isolated crisis. According to Lane, there is an important contrast to be made between the 'instantaneous conversion' characteristic of modern 'evangelicals generally' and 'Calvin's concept of conversion as a process'.⁴⁷ Alluding to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Steinmetz suggests that to Calvin and his fellow reformers (if not to 'the American evangelical experience of the last two centuries'), conversion 'is not the little wicket gate through which John Bunyan's pilgrim passes... as he abandons the City of Destruction; it is the entire pilgrimage to the Celestial City'.⁴⁸ In part, on the other hand, this feature of the reformer's theology receives such attention in the secondary literature simply because it is prominent in his writings. However, although the feature is noted often enough, few attempts have been made to explain it. Yet, as Niesel and Torrance have shown, an explanation is not hard to find.⁴⁹

From the context of the discussion in the *Institutio*, it is clear that this emphasis on the life-long necessity for progress is intended to counter what

Calvin considers the 'mad excess', which 'certain Anabaptists' substitute for spiritual regeneration.⁵⁰ Whereas, at least in Calvin's estimation of them, the Anabaptists claimed that moral perfection was to be experienced here and now, he himself believed the consummation of salvation to lie in the future.

We are purged by the Spirit's sanctification in such a way that we are besieged by many vices and much weakness so long as we are encumbered with our body. Far removed from perfection, we must advance steadily forward.⁵¹

On the other hand, Calvin was also aware that an emphasis on the doctrine of justification by grace through faith left Luther, in particular, vulnerable to the charge that he made sanctification a matter of little consequence for the Christian life. Calvin's soteriology is plainly intended to leave no doubt that actual righteousness is (albeit gradually) granted to, and expected of, those who are justified by the grace of God. This polemical context reinforces the eschatological tension so characteristic of Calvin's thought.

In the course of the discussion in chapter four it was suggested that, at an institutional level, Calvin takes the view that the Kingdom of Christ is only established gradually and in stages, although its progress towards its final consummation is inexorable. Precisely the same pattern may be discerned in his treatment of Christ's Kingdom in connection with the regeneration of individuals. For according to Calvin, each individual, like the whole Church, is caught in the tension between the inauguration of Christ's Kingdom and its completion. Calvin views the Christian life of repentance and renewed forgiveness in the light of the tension between the present age and the next. Insofar as the Christian is a new creature, he or she experiences the fulness of salvation. Insofar as they are still subject to sin, Christians live in constant need of repentance and faith. Insofar as the Christian is 'in Christ', his or her salvation is complete. Insofar as Christians remain in the world, there is a constant progress of regeneration towards its final consummation.

Calvin's controversy with Osiander prompted him to introduce into the final edition of the *Institutio* a distinction in this respect between justification and regeneration. Apparently motivated by pastoral concern, he argues that 'justification must be very different from reformation to newness of life'. For whereas God only 'begins this second point in the elect, and progresses in it gradually', 'he does not justify in part but liberally'.⁵² Yet, contrary to the impression sometimes created in commentaries on his soteriology, there remains an emphasis on progress even in Calvin's treatment of justification. Milner rightly observes that Calvin considers justification to be 'a continual -- indeed, daily -- requirement' of the Christian life.⁵³ Calvin himself speaks of 'the beginning of justification and its continual progress', and maintains that 'we must have this blessing [of justification] not just once, but must hold to it throughout life'.⁵⁴ The contrast which Calvin himself makes, then, between justification and sanctification is not total.⁵⁵

The parallel which exists here between the experience of the Church on the one hand (which is on pilgrimage between the *initium* of the Kingdom of Christ and its *complementum*), and the individual believer on the other, is essential for Calvin, because of the intrinsic relation between the body of Christ and its members. It is, in other words, directly related to the three-fold pattern of interpretation which he brings to bear on the prophetic oracles of the Old Testament (to which attention has been given in chapter four). In Calvin's eyes, the solidarity⁵⁶ between Christ and the members of his body is such that the experience of the whole Church is, broadly speaking, the experience of each individual Christian. With regard to Christ's Kingdom, the same inexorable progress is to be discerned in both.

Regeneration, Repentance and Conversion as Event

Nevertheless, just as at an institutional level Calvin can identify an *initium* of the Kingdom of Christ, so, when he is referring to the reign of Christ over individual human beings, he identifies its beginning, and can speak of regeneration, repentance and conversion as an event through which one is initiated into the Christian life. Just as Calvin's comments at times give the impression that at an institutional level the Kingdom of Christ is set up in an instant, he can also say, as if it were an event accomplished once and for all in a moment, that '[the Kingdom of Christ] is established by the power of the Holy Spirit... when we are regenerated by God'.⁵⁷ Moreover, in chapter four it was suggested that it is a concern to do justice to the decisive significance for salvation history of the coming of Christ which leads Calvin to describe the Kingdom as something which is already complete. In the same way, it is a concern to do justice to the significance of regeneration for a person's identity which leads Calvin to place the emphasis he does on the beginning of the Kingdom of Christ in individual experience, and which occasionally prompts him to speak of regeneration as an event rather than a process. Christians are not only described as those who 'are being born again', but as those who 'are born again'.⁵⁸ They are not only those who 'are being converted', they are also those who are already 'converted to Christ'.⁵⁹

It is not universally agreed that Calvin did view conversion as an event in this way. According to Bouwsma, for example,

Calvin attached little or no significance to 'conversion' as a precise event in his many discussions of the Christian life and the way of salvation... [He] always emphasized the gradualness rather than the suddenness of conversion and the difficulty of making progress in the Christian life.⁶⁰

Lane makes a very similar point: 'Calvin has little to say about a conversion experience'; while he 'could speak of his own "sudden conversion" to the Protestant cause... he does not seem to have regarded it as the norm'.⁶¹

In fact, however, there are grounds to suppose that Calvin did regard a dramatic, sudden 'conversion experience' as the norm. It is true that the evidence for this is not incontrovertible. Calvin never explicitly distinguishes an initiatory 'conversion experience' from conversion experiences generally, for example. But there is an accent in his writings on the need for an initial 'taming', or 'subjection' to take place, at the beginning of the Christian life. 'Even the best of us', he says, 'would never offer himself to God without first being subdued... by God's powerful correction'. 'This', he explains, 'is the beginning of the Kingdom of Christ'.⁶²

Here too Calvin's theology is shaped by polemical considerations. In the tradition, the relationship between the will of God and the human will in conversion was a matter of controversy. As Calvin saw it, the establishment of Christ's reign over an individual human being was no less God's proper prerogative (*proprium opus Dei*) than was the establishment of the Kingdom of Christ by the restoration of the Church.⁶³ He could see no room at all for a human contribution to conversion: 'people never turn to God voluntarily'.⁶⁴ 'People cannot convert to God by their own free-will, unless he first changes their stony hearts into hearts of flesh. Indeed, this renovation... is a work surpassing that of creation itself'.⁶⁵ Human beings can no more convert themselves than create themselves. Regeneration, no less than creation, is God's own work. From Calvin's point of view, this is true at every stage of the Christian life. The conversion and repentance required of the believer are always the work of God, and God alone. However, Calvin considers this point to be especially critical where the repentance of the ungodly is concerned. In that context, the question is specifically whether it lies within the power of the unregenerate will to turn to God. Since Calvin is convinced that even the regenerate will only has this power by the continually mediated grace of God, his answer to this prior question is a resounding 'No'. He maintains that the unregenerate will must be forcibly subdued by God.

Calvin's position is defined over against scholastic theories of 'the preparation for grace'. Much of *Institutio* II.i-v is concerned with this debate. He rejects utterly the notion that the unconverted can prepare in some way for their own conversion. 'Away with all that preparation that many babble about'.⁶⁶ The only 'preparation for repentance' or 'conversion' which Calvin recognises, occurs not when a sinner acts in a particular way, but when the sinner is acted upon by God. 'This is the true preparation for conversion, when the sinner is slain'.⁶⁷ In Calvin's opinion, if people are to be prepared for receiving doctrine and rendering true obedience, their 'fierceness' must be subdued.⁶⁸ For 'before the Lord converts them', people 'are cruel and untamed beasts'; they 'only begin to abstain from doing injury when the Lord subdues their wicked inclination'.⁶⁹

Contrary to Bouwsma's assertion, then, Calvin did not always stress 'the gradualness of conversion'. He made frequent reference in his writings to 'sudden conversion'. Most notoriously, he did so in the autobiographical passage of the Preface to his *Psalms Commentary*. Significantly, the idea of a sudden conversion is combined there (as it is often elsewhere) with the metaphor of a wild beast being tamed. Describing the process by which he became a minister of the Gospel, Calvin writes that when, in obedience to his father's wishes, he 'was set to learning law, God turned [his] course in another direction by the secret rein of his providence'. He goes on:

At first, in fact, as I was so stubbornly devoted to the superstitions of the Papacy that I could not be extracted from such a deep mire, [God] tamed to teachableness a mind too stubborn for its years, by a sudden conversion. This mere taste of true godliness which I received, set me on fire with... a desire to progress.⁷⁰

This passage has been the subject of intense scholarly interest.⁷¹ It was suggested by Parker (who is followed in this respect by Bouwsma⁷²) that the *subita conversio* to which Calvin refers is not so much a 'sudden' as an 'unexpected' conversion. However, Höpfl is surely right in his judgment that 'this is subtle'. In fact there is no reason to suppose that 'Calvin should here

have been using the term in its unusual rather than its usual meaning'.⁷³ This is not to say, with regard to Calvin's own experience, that he did in fact undergo a 'sudden conversion'. It has become common-place for scholars to note that Calvin wrote this passage perhaps twenty-five years after the events he is describing, and that his description appears calculated to make his own experience conform to a model exemplified by Paul, Augustine and Luther. It may well be true that, as Ganoczy has expressed it, 'the adjective *subita* was not introduced by a chronicler's concern for precision, but by a theologian's desire to emphasise the divine origin of the event'.⁷⁴ Yet the fact that Calvin felt constrained to depict his own experience in these terms in the late 1550s, when the evangelisation of France was under way, is itself remarkable. It indicates that, at least by 1557, Calvin had come to see a 'sudden conversion', which subdues the rebellion of the unregenerate will and tames its ferocity, as an ordinary element in Christian initiation. It was, for him, a general rule that those who are converted to Christ are 'suddenly' converted from wolves into lambs.⁷⁵

This emphasis on 'sudden conversion' and the forcible subjection of the will is not apparent in the first edition of the *Institutio*. It would appear that there occurred some development in Calvin's concept of conversion in the course of the 1550s. Ganoczy has argued that in addition to the concept of 'conversion as repentance' which is to be found in Calvin's writings from the first edition of the *Institutio* onwards, a somewhat different concept emerges in his later works. This second concept, which Ganoczy calls 'conversion as miracle', is first apparent in Calvin's exposition of St. Paul's conversion in his *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*.⁷⁶ His examination of the relevant passages of the *Acts Commentary* leads Ganoczy to conclude that several different elements are combined in this later concept.

First there is the dialectical opposition between the human will which is rebellious but powerless and the divine will which is sovereign and compelling. Next there is the sudden nature of

God's triumphant and transforming intervention. Then there is the affirmation that the convert begins an entirely new existence, which is marked by docility to teachableness. Finally conversion develops into a pastoral calling.⁷⁷

Other scholars, notably Sprenger and Neuser, have drawn attention to the extensive terminological and theological parallels which exist between the expositions Calvin gives of the conversions of St. Paul and of other figures in the New Testament, and his description of his own conversion experience in the 'Psalms Preface'.⁷⁸ Ganoczy notes that in the *Acts Commentary* Calvin states expressly that St. Paul's conversion is to be understood as a type of Christian conversion in general.⁷⁹ It is likely, then, that this development in Calvin's thought was triggered primarily by the exegetical work he undertook on the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles between 1552 and 1555. Nevertheless, the possibility ought to be considered that he was also led to reflect on the relationship between conversion and Christian initiation by the emergence from 1555 onwards of unprecedented evangelistic opportunities in France.

Although, as Ganoczy states, 'the reformer never refers to a sudden or miraculous element in spiritual transformation' in the remainder of the text of the *Psalms Commentary* itself, it is also true that 'several important elements in the idea of "conversion as miracle"... are integrated harmoniously into the reformer's later thoughts on repentance'.⁸⁰ Indeed, the notion of 'a sudden and unexpected conversion' is incorporated into the 1559 *Institutio*,⁸¹ as well as into the *Lectures on the Minor Prophets*.⁸²

Regeneration, Repentance and Conversion as Event and Process

However, scholars have not always been sufficiently careful to set this 'sudden' event within the context of Calvin's overall concept of conversion. At the end of his attempt to unravel *Das Rätsel um die Bekehrung Calvins*,

for example, Sprenger has arrived at a more precise, and rather misleading, conclusion about the nature of Calvin's *subita conversio*.⁸³

The objective of Sprenger's study is to shed light on the passage in the Preface to the *Psalms Commentary* cited above, through an analysis of its key terms. Having isolated the words *superstitio*, *conversio*, *docilitas* and *pietas*, and having examined their meaning as these terms occur in the 1559 *Institutio* and the *Commentaries on the Acts of the Apostles* and *the Gospel of John*, Sprenger contends that 'there can be no doubt that in the Psalms passage, the phrase *subita conversio ad docilitatem* signifies only the very first beginning of Calvin's new direction in life'. In speaking of 'the very first beginning', Sprenger means something more than just 'the beginning'. He argues that, by virtue of the association of *conversio* with *docilitas*, 'it is impossible to understand Calvin's words in such a way that by "conversion" they mean the ultimate outcome of a long struggle with the inner life'.⁸⁴ He interprets 'Calvin's conversion to docility' as his readiness to embrace the Gospel.

Sprenger's conclusions have been endorsed and further amplified by W. H. Neuser. In an essay which attempts to clarify the character of 'Calvin's conversion to teachableness', Neuser explores fourteen 'conversion stories' taken from the reformer's New Testament commentaries (such as the Gospel accounts of the calling of the disciples, and the encounter recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, between Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch). Noting the recurrence in these stories of the same language as Calvin employs in the 'Psalms Preface', Neuser declares that 'Sprenger's discovery is confirmed'. Where Sprenger was able to establish that *docilitas* 'did not refer to belief itself, but to an initial stage on the road to belief',⁸⁵ Neuser confirms that in Calvin's view, teachableness 'is an introductory, positive attitude to Christian teaching. It signifies a weak and insufficient preliminary stage to faith... [It] is a preliminary step to faith'.⁸⁶

These two studies have genuine strengths. The parallels which exist between Calvin's account of his own conversion and his treatment of New Testament 'conversion stories' are real and important. By drawing attention to them, Sprenger and Neuser have placed other scholars in their debt. It must be said, however, that both authors have been more successful in the identification of these parallels than in the interpretation of them.

There are several reasons for this. In the first place, both Sprenger and Neuser attribute greater historical significance to the Preface to Calvin's *Psalms Commentary* than the evidence allows. Both attempt to relate the results of their terminological analyses to events in Calvin's life in the 1530s. This is a mistake. Their researches actually offer insight not into Calvin's own conversion, but into what the concept of conversion meant to him in the 1550s. Sprenger appears to recognise that there is a difficulty here;⁸⁷ but he does not modify his conclusions in the light of it. Neuser seems altogether oblivious to the problem.⁸⁸ Secondly, both Neuser and Sprenger sever the vital and consistent connection which Calvin maintains between conversion (even 'conversion to docility') and regeneration. While they are right to note the particular connotations of a *conversio ad docilitatem* within the context of Christian initiation, they are wrong to interpret it as an event which *precedes* regeneration.⁸⁹ 'The conversion to teachableness' is the work of the Spirit, and as such is to be understood as the first part of the regeneration event itself.⁹⁰ Thirdly, and most seriously, in the manner in which they frame their conclusion that Calvin considered 'docility' to be only 'a preliminary step to faith',⁹¹ Neuser (in particular) and Sprenger are in real danger of suggesting that it is something for which those who have come to faith have no further use. It need hardly be said that Calvin took the opposite view. According to the reformer, docility is as permanent a prerequisite of the Christian life as conversion and repentance.⁹² Indeed, progress in repentance is possible only where there is a spirit of docility. Sprenger is right that docility is the

attitude of 'a student or hearer who has more to learn'.⁹³ However, this is not to be regarded as the attitude only of one on the way to faith. Calvin is in fact careful to stress that the one who enrolls in the school of Christ always has more to learn. Even those who are teachers 'ought to continue at the same time to be learners'.⁹⁴ The disposition of the true Christian disciple is always one of docility.

By severing the connection between conversion and regeneration which Calvin consistently maintains, both Neuser and Sprenger effectively reduce the 'conversion to docility' to an event, and rob it of its connotations of progress. For by failing to relate his 'conversion to docility' to the context of Calvin's soteriology in general, these works also fail to take account of the eschatological tension which is so characteristic of the reformer's thought. For Calvin, the nature of the Kingdom of Christ is such that its blessings may presently be enjoyed in part but not in full. In the experience of an individual Christian, the inauguration of Christ's Kingdom must lie in the past, and its consummation in the future. The tension which exists between the two as a result is such that 'conversion' will invariably be experienced as both event and process.

The Kingdom of Christ, Conversion and Ecclesiastical Allegiance

The accent in Calvin's concept of repentance falls on inward change. True conversion does not affect merely 'the hands and feet and tongue'. On the contrary, 'it starts in the mind and then in the heart, and only then passes on to outward works'.⁹⁵ In themselves, external penitential acts can deceive; true repentance must therefore be sincere and whole-hearted.⁹⁶ However, according to Calvin, a sincere inward change must bear fruit in outward acts. 'In the same way that inward conversion comes first in order, ...so the fruit or proof of repentance ought to follow'.⁹⁷ Pure hands must bear witness to a

pure heart,⁹⁸ because 'works are the only true proof of repentance'.⁹⁹ The question arises, therefore, what these outward works might be.

In this connection, Calvin was constrained by the texts which he was expounding to comment primarily on ritual acts of penance. He accepts that there is a place for these, but is quick to widen the discussion beyond them, to include other marks of 'mortification and vivification'.

Although we are not commanded to wear sackcloth or pull out our hair, we must earnestly and whole-heartedly lay hold of the substance of these signs: a dissatisfaction with, and confession of, our guilt, a heartfelt sorrow and the amendment of our life.¹⁰⁰

This sentence is typical of Calvin's reflections on the subject. He conceives of conversion in both positive and negative terms.¹⁰¹ The converted sinner is expected to testify with outward signs to both mortification and vivification. Positively, conversion is a turning towards God and his service; negatively, it is a turning away from a former pattern of life, from sin and wickedness.¹⁰² It is also a turning away from false religion towards true piety.

Since statues and images are the apparatus of idolatry and superstition, those who are truly converted to God loathe and detest them, and desecrate them as far as they can, as we read that Jehu did... His and other similar examples should be followed by godly princes and magistrates, if they wish to give a genuine proof of their repentance. It is true that the seat of repentance is in the heart... but it is demonstrated by its fruits.¹⁰³

'If you are truly converted', Calvin paraphrases, 'demonstrate it practically, by throwing away idols and saying farewell to superstitions; for this is the true fruit of conversion'.¹⁰⁴

This emphasis in turn raises the question whether, in Calvin's view, conversion necessarily entailed a break with the Church of Rome. Ganoczy has insisted that it did not. In his view,

Many historians have incorrectly emphasized the negative aspect of Calvin's conversion, seeing it as a break with the 'superstitions of the papacy' and the 'Roman Church', rather than as a response to a call to reform the Church.¹⁰⁵

According to Ganoczy, 'Calvin's notion of repentance has nothing to do with confessional change'.¹⁰⁶ It may possibly be true, as far as the writings of 'the young Calvin' are concerned, that 'conversion' does not carry the sense of a change in ecclesiastical allegiance. There is, however, little room for doubt that, by the mid-1550s, it had come to mean exactly this for Calvin. Furthermore, the Preface to the *Psalms Commentary* shows that this was, if retrospectively, how Calvin came to regard his own experience.

At the end of his survey of some of Calvin's works (including the 1563 *Lectures on Jeremiah*) Ganoczy maintains that he has not found

one reference that clearly shows that conversion, this experience of repentance, ever necessitates a break of an ecclesiastical or "confessional" nature.¹⁰⁷

This suggests either that Ganoczy's search was not as thorough as it might have been, or that his conclusion has been determined by, to use his own words, 'preoccupations which are more apologetic than strictly historical'.¹⁰⁸ In fact such references abound in the Lectures. In a Lecture on Amos 5, for example, in a passage worth quoting in full, Calvin asserts that

It is indeed a proof of true conversion, when a sinner is dissatisfied with himself over his sins, and hates the things which pleased him before, and with a changed mind dedicates himself to God... It is as though the Prophet said, 'If you intend to return to God, cast away all your superstitions. For these two things, true religion and idolatry, cannot be joined together. As long as you remain stuck in that false form of worship to which you have grown accustomed, you will continue to be alienated from God. This reconciliation demands, therefore, that you bid farewell to your corruptions.'¹⁰⁹

At the time that Calvin delivered these words, in 1557 or 1558, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of refugees from France were swarming into Geneva, precisely in order to escape what they regarded as the 'false worship' of the Church of Rome, to enjoy the 'true religion' of the reformation in the safety of a new home. The point was made in chapter two that many of these were among Calvin's hearers.¹¹⁰ It is almost certain that some were attending the lecture as part of their training for the reformed ministry. Furthermore, it was

usual for some of Calvin's hearers to find themselves preaching to reformed communities in France within months of attending his expositions. In the light of this it is hard to see how this passage can be taken to mean anything other than that Calvin did understand conversion to necessitate a change of ecclesiastical allegiance. The pastors trained in Geneva to serve in France were taught to summon their hearers to abandon the Papacy and throw in their lot with the reformed Church, the guardian of the 'true religion'.¹¹¹

The point is put beyond dispute later in the same lecture, when Calvin maintains that it was the Prophet's intention to show that the conversion of the people would be a pretence unless they turned away from all 'their superstitions and corrupt forms of worship'. He then goes on to argue that

The same thing may be said today to those who wish to mix the dregs of the Papacy with the pure and holy worship of God. For there are many waverers (*mediatores*) today, who... wish to reconcile Popery with the doctrine of the Gospel. But the Prophet shows that such a mixture cannot be endured by God... because light cannot be reconciled with darkness.¹¹²

Calvin would of course have agreed with Ganoczy that although the convert breaks 'with sin in general and "papal superstitions" in particular... he does not break with the Church'.¹¹³ However, for Ganoczy 'the Church' *means* 'the Church of Rome', whereas for Calvin 'the Church' is *contrasted* with 'the Church of Rome'. Ganoczy alleges that if Calvin had understood conversion to mean a break with the Church of Rome, 'he would have had to accept the idea of schism'. But this misses Calvin's point. He did not regard a break with the Papacy as a schismatic act, because he did not regard it as the true Church.¹¹⁴

The Kingdom of Christ, Conversion and the Word of God

There is a vital connection in Calvin's mind between the Kingdom of Christ, conversion and the Word of God. It is important not to lose sight of this, despite the emphasis in the present chapter on the spiritual nature of

the reign of Christ, on conversion as the work of the Spirit, and on the Spirit as the agent of Christ's Kingdom. Given the fundamental inseparability and complementarity of the Word and the Spirit in Calvin's theology,¹¹⁵ it is no surprise to discover him also insisting that Christ reigns through his Word, that conversion is a response to the preaching of the Word, and that the Christian life consists of a constant, and continually renewed dependence on the Word.

Calvin states expressly that the Kingdom of Christ is effected by Word and Spirit together. He does, it is true, acknowledge a sphere of God's rule which is not exercised by Word and Spirit: namely, his rule over the wicked. As far as the Kingdom of Christ is concerned, however (that is, as far as the Kingdom which God exercises in Christ over the Church in particular is concerned), Calvin is in no doubt.

Scripture speaks of the Kingdom of God in two respects. It is true that God governs the Devil and all the wicked. But he does so not by his Word, nor by the sanctifying power of his Spirit: it is done in such a way that they obey God, not voluntarily, but against their will. The peculiar government of God is that of his Church alone, where, by his Word and Spirit, he bends people's hearts to obedience, so that they follow him voluntarily and willingly, being taught inwardly and outwardly: inwardly by the influence of the Spirit, outwardly by the preaching of the Word.¹¹⁶

In the Church, then, the Kingdom of Christ is effected by the outward agency of the Word, which corresponds to the inward agency of the Spirit.

In the first place, therefore, it is to be observed that Calvin attributes conversion to the Word of God. Individuals are 'converted to God by the preaching of the Gospel', whether it is the preaching of Prophets such as Jonah, of Apostles such as Peter, or of the ministers of the reformed Church among Calvin's contemporaries.¹¹⁷ Conversion is the only fitting response of the hearer to the preaching of the Word; indeed, it is the whole object of heavenly doctrine.¹¹⁸ *Docilitas*, in other words, is the appropriate human response to the divine *doctrina*. Conversion is also the response which the preacher is to expect. It is not that the Word of God -- still less the minister of

the Word -- has this power intrinsically. Calvin is as sensitive to the dangers of reducing the Kingdom of Christ to outward forms where an individual believer is concerned as he is with regard to the institution of the Church. There is no conversion without the activity of the Spirit. However, the Spirit works through the Word of God. The conversion of the Ninevite King, for instance

must be ascribed to the hidden power of God, which he puts forth through his Word whenever he pleases. God does not in fact work in a uniform way by the preaching of his Word... But when he pleases he touches people's hearts so efficaciously that the success of his Word exceeds all expectations... Even today, Christ proclaims the voice of his Gospel... by his ministers.¹¹⁹

Ministers may therefore expect their preaching to issue in the conversion of their hearers. Calvin concedes that 'often, when we call the wandering back to the way, it is like telling a story to the deaf.' 'Yet', he maintains, 'our efforts are not always wasted, because the Lord blesses his Word'.¹²⁰ Thus, the example of the Prophets leads him to comment that

an appetite for godliness and a concern for God's glory ought to constrain [those who are raised up by the Lord] so that, as far as they can, they make all people partakers of the same grace.¹²¹

Calvin anticipates that true conversion will invariably lead one believer to become solicitous for others, 'so that everyone will strive to increase the Kingdom of God and to gather the straying that the Church may be filled'.¹²² When Calvin notes that the Psalmist 'expects his labour to bear fruit',¹²³ the implication is plainly that those who are themselves converted should expect their conversions to lead in turn to the conversion of others.¹²⁴

However, conversion is not simply an event effected by the Word of God. It is also a process directed to the Word of God. Through the Gospel, which is his sceptre, Christ both 'subdues people' and subsequently 'rules them'.¹²⁵ Conversion is a continually renewed dependence on the Word of God: those who are initiated into the Kingdom are initiated into a continual dependence on the Word, which is animated by the Holy Spirit, and through

which the reign of Christ is mediated.¹²⁶ It is to this dependence that Calvin is referring when he says that 'the Kingdom of Christ is characterised by the prompt and ready obedience of his subjects'.¹²⁷ For him, the Christian life consists in a continuous and ever-renewed hearing of God's Word. Once again the interpreter of Calvin's thought is confronted here with the parallel between the institutional Church and the individual believer. As with the Church, openness to the Word of God is not something which the Christian achieves once and for all, but something which is to be cultivated constantly. As with the Church, the individual believer has no independent status, any more than Christ's Kingdom can exist apart from his Word.

Conclusion

As much as Calvin emphasises the historical and empirical character of the Kingdom of Christ, he also insists that it is spiritual in nature. The latter assertion complements the former. However, it is important to be clear about the effect of the complementary point. Calvin refuses to qualify the extent to which the Church may be identified as the Kingdom of Christ, where its structures conform to the Word of God. Yet, this chapter has demonstrated that he understood the reign of Christ to be exercised essentially not over an institution, but over individual human beings. The institution of the Church is the Kingdom of Christ, therefore, not simply because its polity is God-given, but because it is the community of the faithful.¹²⁸

This chapter has suggested that the Kingdom of Christ functions in Calvin's thought as a framework for the exposition of the Christian life. The reformer understands the start of the Christian life to be the beginning of the Kingdom of Christ. It is with a 'sudden conversion' that Christ's Kingdom is inaugurated in the believer. To this extent, conversion for Calvin is an event which carries with it implications for ecclesiastical allegiance. However, as long as Christians are 'encumbered with the body', they strain forward for

the consummation of Christ's reign. In Calvin's view, the period between these two points is one of regeneration, a process characterised by constant progress of conversion to the Word of God.

At *Institutio* III.xiv, Calvin allocates to the new chapter a title which betrays the tension which he consistently discerns between the inauguration of Christ's work and its consummation: 'The Beginning of Justification and its Continual Progress'.¹²⁹ The argument of the preceeding pages is that what Calvin makes explicit with regard to Christ's work as Priest is implicit in his treatment of Christ's Kingship. In other words, in view of the contents of his following ten chapters, it would have been entirely appropriate for Calvin to have given his account of repentance and conversion in *Institutio* III.iii the title 'The Beginning of Regeneration and its Continual Progress', or even, 'the Beginning and the Continual Progress of the Kingdom of Christ'.

Notes

- 1 Inst. IV.i.7 (1543), p.1021; O. S. V.12.19-21. cf. Lect. 65, Dan. 12.1, C. O. 41.289.13-19, C. T. S. II.372; Comm. Is. 2.4, C. O. 36.66.36, C. T. S. I.102.
- 2 Inst. IV.i.8 (1536), pp.1022-23; O. S. V.13.16-20.
- 3 The eternal Kingdom of Christ: Comm. Ps. 45.7, C. O. 31.454.20, C. T. S. II.183; Lect. 10, Dan. 2.31, C. O. 40.596.2, C. T. S. I.171.
The perpetual Kingdom of Christ: Comm. Ps. 21.4, C. O. 31.214.21, C. T. S. I.346; Lect. 11, Dan. 2.44, C. O. 40.603.17, C. T. S. I.181.
The spiritual Kingdom of Christ: Comm. Ps. 8.7, C. O. 31.94.9, C. T. S. I.106; Lect. 97, Mic. 7.11, C. O. 43.419.4, C. T. S. III.384; Lect. 38, Dan. 7.27, C. O. 41.83.40, C. T. S. II.74.
The heavenly Kingdom of Christ: Comm. Is. 6.7, C. O. 36.133.36, C. T. S. I.211; Lect. Dan. Pref., C. O. 40.533.17, C. T. S. I.82; Lect. 119, Jer. 31.12, C. O. 38.660.21, C. T. S. IV.85.
- 4 Inst. II.xv (1559), passim; O. S. III.474-479. cf. Comm. Ps. 2.4, C. O. 31.45.45, C. T. S. I.16; Lect. 69, Amos 9.15, C. O. 43.175.11, C. T. S. II.413; Lect. 125, Jer. 31.38-40, C. O. 38.704.29, C. T. S. IV.152.
- 5 Inst. II.xv.3 (1559), p.496; O. S. III.474.19.
- 6 Lect. 85, Jer. 23.5-6, C. O. 38.411.14, C. T. S. III.143.
- 7 Torrance: *Kingdom and Church*, p.122.
- 8 Comm. Ps. 78.70, C. O. 31.745.54, C. T. S. III.280.
- 9 Lect. 52, Amos 2.9-12, C. O. 43.32.6, C. T. S. II.193; Comm. Is. 1.1, C. O. 36.38.49, C. T. S. I.56; Inst. II.xv.4 (1559), p.499, O. S. III.476.19. cf. Rom. 14.17.
- 10 Torrance: *Kingdom and Church*, p.123. cf. Lect. 38, Dan. 7.27: 'The Kingdom of Christ and his dignity cannot be perceived with carnal eyes, nor be comprehended by the human intellect'. C. O. 41.82.26, C. T. S. II.73.
- 11 Comm. Ps. 72.17, C. O. 31.671.47, C. T. S. III.118.
- 12 Lect. 69, Amos 9.15, C. O. 43.175.11, C. T. S. II.413.
- 13 Comm. Is. 11.2, C. O. 36.235.42, C. T. S. I.374; cf. Inst. III.i.2 (1559), p.538; O. S. IV.2.15.
- 14 Comm. Is. 9.7, C. O. 36.200.24-28, C. T. S. I.315.
- 15 Lect. 134, Jer. 33.15, C. O. 39.67.16-27, C. T. S. IV.253.
- 16 Comm. Is. 42.1, C. O. 37.60.6, C. T. S. III.287.
- 17 Lect. 119, Jer. 31.12, C. O. 38.662.20, 38, C. T. S. IV.85.
- 18 Comm. Is. 32.8, C. O. 36.547.32, C. T. S. II.413.
- 19 For some of the material in this section I am indebted to a helpful discussion of "The Kingdom of God and Sanctification" in Palmer, chapter 7.

- 20 Inst. Book III, Title (1559), p.537; O. S. IV.1.
- 21 On the *duplex gratia* in Calvin, see W. Niesel: *Die Theologie Calvins*; 2nd. ed., Chr. Kaiser Verlag, Munich 1957, pp.127-138 (ET: *The Theology of Calvin*; tr. H. Knight, Lutterworth Press, London 1956, pp.126-139). W. Krusche: *Das Wirken des Heiligen Geistes nach Calvin*; Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen 1957, pp.275-281. R. S. Wallace: *Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life*; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh 1959, pp.23-27.
- 22 Inst. III.xi.1 (1539), p.725; O. S. IV.182.4-8. My emphasis.
- 23 Inst. III.iii.1 (1559), p.592; O. S. IV.55.5-10.
- 24 Inst. III.xi.6 (1559), p.732; O. S. IV.187.20-23.
- 25 Comm. Is. 59.20, C. O. 37.351.7-13, C. T. S. IV.269.
- 26 Palmer (p.213), following Krusche (p.278). On the relationship between the *munus duplex* and the *munus triplex* in Calvin's thought, and the relationship between Christ's offices as priest and king on the one hand, and his office as prophet on the other, see H. P. Jansma: *The Prophetic Office of Christ in John Calvin's Theology*; unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Durham, 1991.
- 27 See, e. g., Lect. 30, Ezek. 11.21, *Ioannis Calvini in viginti prima Ezechielis Prophetarum capita Praelectiones*; Genevae, ex officina Francisci Perrini, M.D.LXV, f.192, C. T. S. I.383.
- 28 In his *Letter to Christian Readers*, with which he prefaced the first edition of the *Lectures on Hosea*, Budé explained that 'we have taken care at the end of every lecture to add [the short prayers], which were compiled by us with the same diligence with the same diligence and fidelity as the Lectures themselves', C. O. 42.187-188.32-33, C. T. S. I.xxviii.
- 29 See p.75, note 1. It is greatly to be hoped that these prayers will be included in the *Calvini Opera Editio Recognita*, a new critical edition of Calvin's works which is currently in progress (Librairie Droz, Geneva 1992-).
- 30 Inst. III.iii, chapter heading (1559), p.592; O. S. IV.55.1.
- 31 Inst. III.iii.9 (1539), p.601; O. S. IV.63.11-12.
- 32 On *poenitentiam agite* at Mt. 3.1, Erasmus comments, 'In my judgment, it could be translated "repent" or "come back to your senses"'. On Mk. 1.14, he writes, "'Do penance", or, as I prefer, "repent"'. *Novum Instrumentum omne ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum*, Basileam MDXVI, pp. 241, 296.
- 33 Inst. III.iv.1 (1536), p.622; O. S. IV.84.37-38.
- 34 Inst. III.iii.5 (1536/1539), p.597; O. S. IV.59.28-30, 60.1-5.
- 35 Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, pp.245-246. In fact Ganoczy was commenting on the 1536 *Institutio*; but the passage in question was retained in the 1559 edition.
- 36 Inst. III.iii.21 (1559), p.615; O. S. 78.30-79.6. The equivalence of these terms is noted by Niesel, p.128 (ET: p.127).
- 37 e. g., Lect. 56, Ezek. 18.24, C. O. 40.446.15-20, C. T. S. II.248.

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- 38 Lect. 12, Dan. 2.47, C. O. 40.613.13, C. T. S. I.195; Lect. 19, Ezek. 7.13, C. O. 40.163.14, C. T. S. I.256; Lect. 56, Ezek. 18.23, C. O. 40.446.15, C. T. S. II.248. But cf. Lect. 20, Dan. 4.27, C. O. 40.673.48, C. T. S. I.279; Lect. 5, Hos. 2.7, C. O. 42.233.56, C. T. S. I.89.
 - 39 e. g., Comm. Ps. 7.13, C. O. 31.86.1, C. T. S. I.88; Lect. 181, Mal. 3.18, C. O. 44.486.42, C. T. S. V.612.
 - 40 Lect. 18, Lam. 5.21, C. O. 39.644.49, C. T. S. V.515.
 - 41 Lect. 57, Ezek. 18.30, C. O. 40.454.24, C. T. S. II.259.
 - 42 Inst. III.iii.9 (1559), p.601; O. S. IV.63.25-65.2.
 - 43 Lect. 121, Jer. 31.18, C. O. 38.671.25, C. T. S. IV.99.
 - 44 Lect. 92, Jer. 24.7, C. O. 38.465.34, C. T. S. III.232.
 - 45 Comm. Is. 30.25, C. O. 36.525.29-32, C. T. S. II.376.
 - 46 Comm. Is. 2.4, C. O. 36.66.33, C. T. S. I.102.
 - 47 A. N. S. Lane: "Conversion: A Comparison of Calvin and Spener", *Themelios* 18 (Oct./Nov. 1987, pp.19-21), p.20.
 - 48 D. C. Steinmetz: "Reformation and Conversion", *Theology Today* 35 (1978-79, pp.25-32), p.30.
 - 49 The feature is noted, but not explained, by Wallace: *Christian Life*, pp.24-25; Wendel, p.243; Milner, pp.166-167, and in W. Kolffhaus: *Vom Christlichen Leben nach Johannes Calvin*, Kreis Moers, Neukirchen 1949, pp.170-173, among others. The all-important connection between the process of regeneration and Calvin's eschatology is made by Niesel, p.129 (ET: p.128) and Torrance: *Kingdom and Church*, pp.148-149, as well as in K. Barth: *Church Dogmatics IV/2*; tr. G. Bromiley, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh 1958, pp.503-507.
 - 50 Inst. III.iii.14 (1539), p.606; O. S. IV.69.19-21. cf. Comm. Ps. 143.2, C. O. 32.401.10, C. T. S. V.250.
 - 51 Inst. III.iii.14 (1539), p.607; O. S. IV.70.29-32.
 - 52 Inst. III.xi.11 (1559), p.739; O. S. IV.193.30-36.
 - 53 Milner, p.166.
 - 54 Inst. III.xiv, chapter heading (1559), p.768; O. S. IV.220.27. Inst. III.xiv.11 (1543), p.778; O. S. IV.230.26-27. (The latter reference is cited by Milner, p.166.)
 - 55 The accent on progress within the context of justification is frequently overlooked (e. g., by Wendel, Wallace, Niesel, etc.); but its absence is nowhere more surprising -- as Milner (p.167) points out -- than in the account of Calvin's doctrine given by T. F. Torrance, who is generally alert to just this dynamic of 'progress' in the reformer's thought (*Kingdom and Church*, p.101).
 - 56 Russell, p.42.
 - 57 Comm. Is. 9.7, C. O. 36.200.25-29, C. T. S. I.316.

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- 58 Lect. 16, Dan. 3.28, C. O. 40.642.19, C. T. S. I.236; cf. Lect. 182, Mal. 4.6, C. O. 44.497.8, C. T. S. V.629.
- 59 Comm. Ps. 110.3, C. O. 32.163.27-28, C. T. S. IV.303; cf. Lect. 156, Zech. 10.9, C. O. 44.296.29, C. T. S. V.297.
- 60 Bouwsma, p.11.
- 61 Lane, p.20.
- 62 Lect. 88, Mic. 4.3, C. O. 43.345.34-38, C. T. S. III.261.
- 63 Lect. 182, Mal. 4.6, C. O. 44.497.3, C. T. S. V.629; cf. 'the peculiar gift of God', Lect. 92, Jer. 24.7, C. O. 38.463.4-5, C. T. S. III.229.
- 64 Lect. 15, Hos. 5.15, C. O. 42.316.50, C. T. S. I.212; cf. Lect. 178, Mal. 3.7-8, C. O. 44.470.13, C. T. S. V.583: 'This kind of expression has often been discussed before'.
- 65 Comm. Ps. 81.14, C. O. 31.766.25, C. T. S. III.324.
- 66 Inst. II.ii.27 (1559), p.288; O. S. III.271.13-14.
- 67 Lect. 37, Ezek. 13.22-23, C. O. 40.299.11-12, C. T. S. II.43; cf. Comm. Is. 19.22, C. O. 36.347.4, C. T. S. II.79.
- 68 Comm. Is. 25.3, C. O. 36.416.1-3, C. T. S. II.193.
- 69 Comm. Is. 65.25, C. O. 37.434.24-26, C. T. S. IV.358.
- 70 Comm. Ps. Pref., C. O. 31.21.32, C. T. S. I.xi.
- 71 On the implications of this passage for Calvin's conversion, see Bouwsma, pp.10-11; J. Cadier: "La Conversion de Calvin", *B. S. H. P. F.* 116 (1970), pp.142-151; Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, ch. 25; Höpfl, Appendix I; McGrath, ch. 4. See also W. H. Neuser: "Calvin's Conversion to Teachableness", in P. de Klerk ed., *Calvin and Christian Ethics*, Calvin Studies Society, Grand Rapids, MI 1987, pp. 57-77. T. H. L. Parker: *John Calvin: A Biography*; Lion Publishing, Tring 1975, Appendix 2. P. Sprenger: *Das Rätsel um die Bekehrung Calvins; Beiträge zur Geschichte und Lehre der Reformierten Kirche, Band 11*, Kreis Moers, Neukirchen 1960.
- 72 Bouwsma, p.10.
- 73 Höpfl, p.222.
- 74 Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, p.265.
- 75 Comm. Ps. 87 Arg., C. O. 31.799.49, C. T. S. III.395; cf. Lect. 131, Hag. 2.7-10, C. O. 44.105.35-50, C. T. S. IV.359-360; Ep. 3139, C. O. 17.684 (1559), Bonnet IV.87.
- 76 Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, p.247.
- 77 Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, p.248.
- 78 See note 71 for details.
- 79 Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, pp.248-49.
- 80 Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, p.249.

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- 81 Inst. I.viii.11 (1559), p.91; O. S. III.80.10-14. Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, p.251.
- 82 Lect. 78, Jon. 3.6-8, C. O. 43.253.38, C. T. S. III.103; Lect. 131, Hag. 2.7-10, C. O. 44.105.47, C. T. S. IV.360.
- 83 See note 71 for details of Sprenger's work.
- 84 Sprenger, pp.73-74.
- 85 Neuser, p.58.
- 86 Neuser, p.63.
- 87 Sprenger, p.73.
- 88 Neuser, pp.68-70.
- 89 Sprenger, p.73; Neuser, p.73.
- 90 As it was noted above (p.183), Calvin identifies three parts to repentance, or conversion: a transformation, the fear of God, and mortification/vivification. The conversion in question here corresponds to the first of these.
- 91 Neuser, p.63 (cf. p.64, 'This teachableness is found at the beginning of faith').
- 92 Lect. 42, Dan. 8.18, C. O. 41.112.52-113.1, C. T. S. II.116.
- 93 Sprenger, p.56.
- 94 Lect. 44, Dan. 9.1-3, C. O. 41.128.47-48, C. T. S. II.139. cf. Lect. 142, Zech. 4.11-14, C. O. 44.193.45-47, C. T. S. V.125: 'This is our wisdom: to be learners to the end'.
- 95 Lect. 20, Dan. 4.27, C. O. 40.673.50-51, C. T. S. I.279; cf. Comm. Is. 22.12, C. O. 36.374.7-8, C. T. S. II.123.
- 96 Lect. 12, Jer. 3.14, C. O. 37.562.51, C. T. S. I.180; Lect. 32, Jer. 8.4-5, C. O. 38.5.23, C. T. S. I.424.
- 97 Lect. 57, Ezek. 18.30, C. O. 40.454.36-39, C. T. S. II.259.
- 98 Lect. 57, Ezek. 18.30, C. O. 40.454.41-42, C. T. S. II.259.
- 99 Lect. 20, Dan. 4.27, C. O. 40.674.1, C. T. S. I.279; cf. Comm. Is. 22.12, C. O. 36.374.11-14, C. T. S. II.123.
- 100 Comm. Is. 22.13, C. O. 36.374.28-32, C. T. S. II.124. cf. Lect. 78, Jon. 3.6-8, C. O. 43.253.49-254.39, C. T. S. III.103-105.
- 101 Lect. 56, Ezek. 18.22, C. O. 40.444.38-41, C. T. S. II.246.
- 102 Conversion to God/to a better way of life: Lect. 78, Jon. 3.6-8, C. O. 43.257.9, C. T. S. III.109; Lect. 78, Jon. 3.6-8, C. O. 43.257.18-19, C. T. S. III.109.
Conversion from a wicked way of life/from wickedness: Lect. 78, Jon. 3.6-8, C. O. 43.257.4, C. T. S. III.108; Lect. 70, Jer. 18.11-12, C. O. 38.300.41, C. T. S. II.402.
- 103 Comm. Is. 30.22, C. O. 36.523.12-22, C. T. S. II.372.
- 104 Comm. Is. 31.7, C. O. 36.539.48-52, C. T. S. II.400.

- 105 Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, p.265. It is true that Ganoczy speaks of 'Calvin's conversion' there, whereas the concern here is in 'Calvin's concept of conversion'; but the context reveals that Ganoczy is conflating the two at this point.
- 106 Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, p.266.
- 107 Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, p.252.
- 108 Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, p.266.
- 109 Lect. 57, Amos 5.4-6, C. O. 43.73.3-13, C. T. S. II.254.
- 110 See chapter two, pp.58-64.
- 111 cf. Lect. 13, Hos. 5.1, in which Calvin complains that there are 'traps set on all sides to prevent anyone from coming over from the Papacy to us'. The complaint presupposes that this was Calvin's wish. C. O. 42.296.13-15, C. T. S. I.181.
- 112 Lect. 57, Amos 5.4-6, C. O. 43.73.34-46, C. T. S. II.255; cf. Comm. Acts 2.40, C.O. 48.56.15-36, C. N. T. C. I.83-84 (Note that the original thrust of this passage, which was composed in 1552, was reinforced by the revisions Calvin made to the *Commentary* in 1560); Lect. 7, Ezek. 2.8, C. O. 40.74.12-13, C. T. S. I.126: 'Let us learn to separate from [the Papists] with boldness' (The whole of this passage is apposite).
- 113 Ganoczy: *Young Calvin*, p.252.
- 114 See chapter four, pp.126-131.
- 115 On this, see H. J. Forstman's classic study, *Word and Spirit: Calvin's Doctrine of Biblical Authority*; Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA 1972.
- 116 Lect. 88, Mic. 4.3, C. O. 43.345.6-14, C. T. S. III.260-261.
- 117 Comm. Is. 49.23, C. O. 37.210.53, C. T. S. IV.40; Lect. 72, Jon. 1.1, C. O. 43.202.24, C. T. S. III.20; Lect. 162, Zech. 12.12-14, C. O. 44.340.1, C. T. S. V.370; Lect. 78, Jon. 3.6-8, C. O. 43.253.16-37, C. T. S. III.103.
- 118 Comm. Is. 6.10, C. O. 36.139.8, C. T. S. I.220.
- 119 Lect. 78, Jon. 3.6-8, C. O. 43.253.16-37, C. T. S. III.103. cf. Lect 40, Joel 1.13-15, C. O. 42.526.42-45, C. T. S. II.33.
- 120 Comm. Ps. 51.13, C. O. 31.520.30-33, C. T. S. II.302. The Calvin Translation Society translation, while seldom a reliable guide to Calvin's words, strays particularly far from the Latin text here. For the proverb 'telling a story to the deaf' see also Lect. 122, Zeph. 2.3, C. O. 44.31.29-30, C. T. S. IV.234.
- 121 Comm. Ps. 51.13, C. O. 31.520.25-28, C. T. S. II.302.
- 122 Lect. 151, Zech. 8.20-22, C. O. 44.255.29-31, C. T. S. V.227. cf. Lect. 180, Mal. 3.16, C. O. 44.481.29-33, C. T. S. V.602-603; Lect. 38, Ezek. 14.6, C. O. 40.304.7-13, C. T. S. II.50.
- 123 Comm. Ps. 51.13, C. O. 31.520.29-30, C. T. S. II.302.
- 124 Lect. 16, Hos. 6.1: 'It is necessary to join these two things together: that we should stir ourselves up to repentance, and then that we endeavour to lead others to it too'. C. O. 42.320.5-7, C. T. S. I.216-217.

125 Lect. 53, Ezek. 17.24, C. O. 40.420.31-32, C. T. S. 212.

126 On this, see the moving section of the *Institutio* with which Calvin introduces 'the sum of the Christian life': Inst. III.vii.1 (1539), pp.689-690; O. S. IV.151-152.

127 Comm. Ps. 110.3, C. O. 32.162.38, C. T. S. IV.301.

128 Comm. Is. 65.24, C. T. S. 37.433.19, C. T. S. IV.404.

129 Inst. III.xiv, chapter heading (1559), p.768; O. S. IV.220.27.

Chapter Seven

The Restoration of Humanity in the Image of God according to Calvin

Introduction

Chapter four has established the significance of the concept of 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ' for Calvin's ecclesiology, and chapter five has drawn attention to his use of the language of reformation and restoration in that context. The point has been made in chapter six that the concept of 'the progress of Christ's Kingdom' also has a soteriological significance for Calvin, which sheds light on his doctrine of conversion and regeneration. In the present chapter the discussion turns to Calvin's application in this new context of the language of reformation and restoration.¹ The fact that it is possible, and even necessary, to expound Calvin's doctrine of regeneration in these terms is a further indication of the intimate association which exists for him between ecclesiology and soteriology, between the experience of the Church as the body of Christ, and the experience of individual Christians as members of it.

The hypothesis advanced in this chapter is that in Calvin's soteriology (as in his ecclesiology) there are two strands to the concept of restoration. The restoration (or the reformation) of humanity in the image of God through Christ is a backward-looking (or protological²) reparation, and a forward-looking (or eschatological) transformation. That is to say, it is both a return to Adam's original integrity, and an advance towards a final consummation -- namely, the end for which Adam was created.³ However, before attention is directed to the reformation of humanity in the image of God, it will be helpful to consider the way in which Calvin understood the creation of Adam in the *imago Dei*, and the effect on that image of the Fall.

The Creation of Adam in the Image of God according to Calvin

If the exact terminology Calvin employs in his doctrine of regeneration has received scant attention in the secondary literature, the same cannot be said of his teaching about the creation of Adam in the *imago Dei*. The latter issue is notoriously vexed; few aspects of Calvin's thought have generated so much debate.⁴ It is also an issue to which consideration must be given in any careful account of his doctrine of regeneration, since he himself states that 'the purpose of regeneration is that Christ should reform (*reformat*) us to God's image'.⁵ He maintains, similarly (although in this instance making the *imago* itself the object of reformation), that 'the sole purpose' of regeneration is 'that the image of God which had been all but obliterated through Adam's transgression might be reformed (*reformatur*) in us'.⁶ The very categories in which Calvin articulates his doctrine of regeneration, therefore, demand that those who attempt to interpret his thought face this question: in what did he consider the creation of Adam in the image of God to consist?⁷

Without doubt the most significant answer to that question has been the seminal study of *Calvin's Doctrine of Man*, by T. F. Torrance.⁸ It would be difficult to exaggerate the impact of this book on the study of this aspect of the reformer's thought. Perhaps it is true that, ultimately, Torrance has failed to persuade most other scholars to adopt his interpretation of Calvin entirely. It is also true, however, that his book identified and articulated the central thrust of Calvin's doctrine so impressively, that the subsequent discussion reads like a series of footnotes to Torrance's text. Even when scholars have criticised his conclusions, this has always been more in order to qualify than to contradict them. The present discussion is no exception in this respect. It will be argued here that Torrance is right in what he affirms about Calvin's doctrine, and wrong in what he denies, and that what he denies obscures the parallel which exists in the reformer's thought between the restoration of the Church and the restoration of humanity.

Torrance's essay, which relies heavily on the sermons preached by Calvin on Job and Deuteronomy in 1554-56,⁹ has been so influential that it is difficult to proceed without providing a short summary of its conclusions. The quotations which follow are intended to convey their tenor, as well as their principal points.

Calvin uses *imago Dei*... in a particular sense, in which man specially is said to reflect (as in a mirror) the glory of God, by an intelligible response to the Word.¹⁰

There is no doubt that Calvin always thinks of the *imago* in terms of a *mirror*. Only while the mirror actually reflects an object does it have the image of that object. There is no such thing in Calvin's thought as an *imago* dissociated from the act of reflecting.¹¹

The image of God is not any natural property of the soul but is a spiritual reflection in holiness and righteousness, in knowledge and truth, which should characterize all human nature. The *imago Dei* is essentially spiritual... It is not a possession of the soul, though the soul may be said to be the seat of the *imago Dei*. To think of this image... as if it were a natural possession of the soul, is an act of impiety which does despite to grace.¹²

The *imago Dei* is in no sense a natural possession.¹³

The image of God is in no sense a static reflection of the being of God, but a dynamic reflection, by way of active obedience to the Word and Will of God.¹⁴

Two features of this thesis are to be noted. The first is the significance which is attached to the metaphor of a mirror for an understanding of the *imago Dei* -- the image of God is an active, dynamic, relational reflection, rather than a static reflection or a natural possession. The second is the highly exclusive and categoric note which dominates the presentation -- Torrance's position is characterised by words such as 'in no sense', 'never', 'only' and 'always'. At both these points (with respect to their accent on activity, and with regard to their finality) the Barthian character of these conclusions is conspicuous.¹⁵

Torrance's study is the fullest explanation of this position, but it does not stand altogether alone. For example, arguing along similar lines, Niesel states that 'the divine similitude consists not in the fact that man is endowed with reason and will, but in the fact that these faculties in original man were

directed wholly towards knowledge of and obedience to God'.¹⁶ The special distinction, he suggests,

which exalts [the first man] above all creatures is thus not to be understood in the sense that man in creation was given something divine as his permanent possession. It is not that to his body and soul was added a spark of the divine essence. The image of God is not a 'thing' at all, but is located in the right attitude of man to his Creator. The divine similitude depends... on man's relation to his Lord.¹⁷

In a similar vein, Cairns has argued that for the reformer, 'the image of God consists in the acknowledgement of God's goodness and greatness', and that 'man is in God's image insofar as he reflects God's glory back to him in gratitude'.¹⁸

As these scholars have demonstrated, there is a recurring accent in Calvin's writings upon the dynamic, relational character of the image of God in Adam, in his original integrity. For evidence of this, there is no need to look beyond the *Institutio*. Commenting on Genesis 1.27 ('So humanity was made in the image of God') in *Institutio* II.xii.6, for example, Calvin explains that 'in [Adam] the Creator himself willed that his own glory be seen as in a mirror'.¹⁹ Or again, 'God sees in humanity [admittedly redeemed humanity, but the statement undoubtedly holds true for humanity in its created integrity] the traces and lineaments of his own countenance... He beholds [there] his own face'.²⁰ The emphasis is also present in the passage in *Institutio* I.xv, in which Calvin embarks upon a 'Discussion of Human Nature as Created, of the Faculties of the Soul, of the Image of God, and of the Original Integrity of Human Nature'. After dismissing what he understands to be the opinions of Osiander, Augustine and the Manichees,²¹ Calvin proceeds to offer his own explanation.

The likeness of God extends to the whole excellence by which human nature surpasses all other kinds of living creatures. By this word, therefore, is denoted the integrity with which Adam was endowed, when he... truly referred his excellence to exceptional gifts bestowed upon him by his Maker.²²

Chapter Seven

The final clause suggests to Torrance and others that Calvin understood Adam's creation in the image of God to consist not in a possession, but in an act of acknowledgement, or a relationship.²³

It should be said without equivocation that this is the principal way in which Calvin understands the image of God. To this extent Torrance is quite correct. Calvin argues that this primacy reflects a methodological principle which 'cannot be overthrown': that is, that 'what was primary in the renewing of God's image also held the highest place in the creation itself'.²⁴ From the fact that (in Colossians 3.10 and Ephesians 4.24, a pair of passages which Calvin cites repeatedly) Paul understands the renovation of the image of God through Christ in terms of first, 'knowledge', and then, 'righteousness and holiness', he infers that the *imago Dei* also comprised these things in the beginning.

Christ is the most perfect image of God. Conformed to it, we are so restored that with true piety, righteousness, purity and intelligence we bear the image of God.²⁵

Or again

With Paul, I interpret the image of God as 'righteousness and true holiness'... [Thus] the closer anyone comes to the likeness of God, the more the image of God shines in him.²⁶

What is true of redemption, Calvin's argument runs, was true at creation too. Given what we know of Christ, the true image of God, it follows that it was in acknowledging God that Adam also, in his created integrity, bore the image of God.

However, if this is the principal way in which Calvin understands the image of God, it is not the only one, in spite of Torrance's assertions to the contrary. Indeed, even Torrance is forced to concede that 'Calvin is not true to his conception of the dynamic relation or the lively activity of the divine will over against man, and operates to a certain extent with a static conception of the divine Being'.²⁷

This 'static conception' is present even in the programmatic passage of *Institutio* I.xv.3. The full text of the passage is as follows:

The likeness of God extends to the whole excellence by which human nature surpasses all other kinds of living creatures. By this word, therefore, is denoted the integrity with which Adam was endowed, when he [1] enjoyed right understanding, [2] had his affections regulated by reason, [3] had all his senses tempered in right order, and [4] truly referred his excellence to exceptional gifts bestowed upon him by his Maker.²⁸

This is hardly a pithy definition for a theologian with a proclivity for them. It has frequently been noted that the first three components of this definition (omitted in the earlier reference to this passage) also occur in Calvin's 1554 *Commentary on Genesis*.²⁹ There too, Calvin defines the image of God in terms of 'the integrity' of human nature,

as it appeared when Adam was [1] endued with right judgment, [2] had his affections in harmony with reason, [3] had all his senses sound and well-regulated, and [4] truly excelled in everything good.³⁰

The significance made by the alteration of the final clause in the passage from the *Institutio* is certainly not to be underestimated. It does appear that, in the later work, dissatisfied with the attempt to define Adam's creation in the image of God in static terms alone, by the enumeration of the various faculties and abilities with which he is endowed, Calvin goes on to speak *additionally* of Adam's acknowledgement of his Creator: 'he referred [his] excellence to... his Maker'. It cannot be denied, however, that even in the *Institutio*, alongside this additional dynamic emphasis, Calvin continues to interpret the image in terms of the excellence, or integrity, of human nature (which is an endowment), and to interpret integrity in terms of understanding, reason and sensibility (which are the faculties of the soul). Elsewhere he insists that

we do not have a full definition of the 'image' if we do not see more plainly those faculties in which man excels, and *in which* he ought to be thought the reflection of God's glory.³¹

According to Calvin, the *imago Dei* is evident not only in human piety and purity (in the knowledge of God), but also in reason and understanding more broadly, and in the exercise of the will. 'In the beginning', he alleges, 'the image of God was apparent in the light of the mind, in the uprightness of the heart and in the soundness of all the parts'.³² He affirms that the image of God is 'located' or 'fixed' in Adam,³³ and that it 'resides' in the human mind and heart;³⁴ it is to be sought within him, not beyond or outside him.³⁵ Their 'distinguished endowments', in fact, 'demonstrate... that people are formed in the image of God'.³⁶

There would be no debate in the secondary literature at this point, if Torrance and others had only said that 'image' for Calvin carries the active and dynamic connotations of a reflection *as well as* the more static and fixed connotations of an engraving. Even if, ultimately, the image of God in Adam cannot be reduced to a natural endowment, and if (because it is spiritual and heavenly)³⁷ it cannot be identified with the faculties of the soul, it cannot be entirely divorced from them either. At times, when the metaphor of a mirror is uppermost in his mind, Calvin is careful to say only that the image of God 'is evident or shines forth in these outward marks'.³⁸ But on other occasions, especially when he employs the metaphor of an engraving, a printing or a painting, his language is less guarded, and his conception more static. For example, he explains that

when God declared his intention to create man 'in his own image', which was rather an obscure expression, he repeats it, by way of explanation, in this phrase 'according to his likeness' -- as if he were saying that he was going to make man, in whom he would represent himself as in an image, *by means of engraved marks of likeness*.³⁹

Again, he can remark that the image of God is 'engraved' upon the soul.⁴⁰ Calvin's whole argument in *Institutio* I.xv.4 is that whereas the likeness of God ought not to be limited to or identified with part of the human constitution (such as the body or the soul) it is nevertheless 'not absurd for man to be

called the *imago Dei* in respect to' the parts of his constitution. Stauffer is right to point out that although Torrance's interpretation does justice to the first part of this argument, it does violence to the second.⁴¹

As Calvin understands it, Adam's creation in the image of God is both 'a natural endowment and an ordering of [that endowment] to that for which [it] was intended; it is both a substantial endowment of the human creature and a dynamic relation between God and the human creature'.⁴² This two-fold interpretation of the *imago Dei* is never made explicit by Calvin. It is a deduction from his diverse statements on the subject. However, a distinction between the substance of a thing and its accidents was far from original to Calvin, and the traditional application of this distinction to Adam's creation in the image of God is something he does acknowledge expressly. In both the *Institutio* and his *Genesis Commentary*, Calvin dismisses the interpretation which differentiates between the 'image' and the 'likeness' of God, seeing one as the substance of the soul, and the other as its qualities.⁴³ Where the scholastics had taken the 'image' of God to refer to a substantial or natural endowment, and his 'likeness' to refer to something accidental or gratuitous, Calvin insists (to the approbation of most modern biblical scholarship) that the words 'image' and 'likeness' are an example of Hebrew parallelism, and mean the same thing. What the debate in the secondary literature reflects, therefore, is the fact that Calvin retains in his own view of the image this sense that it has both substantial and accidental aspects: the image of God is both natural and gratuitous, it is both facultative and relational. As Gerrish puts it, 'the image of God in man embraces both a gift and its right use, both man's rational nature and its orientation to God in thankfulness'.⁴⁴

The Destruction and Corruption of the Image of God in Adam

There is a corresponding inconsistency in Calvin's thought regarding the effect on the image of God in Adam brought about by the Fall. Potter Engel asks the question, whether, according to Calvin, 'the *imago Dei* is only deformed or [is] totally lost as a result of the Fall', and she is correct in her fundamental conclusion that statements supporting both positions occur frequently in the reformer's writings.⁴⁵

On the one hand, as Torrance underlines,⁴⁶ Calvin can assert without qualification that the image of God is entirely obliterated by the Fall. Calvin sometimes says that sin 'destroys', 'extinguishes', 'erases' and 'effaces' the image of God 'completely'. For example, he declared in a lecture on Ezekiel 18.32, delivered in 1564, that

we are born children of wrath; we are born corrupt and degenerate -- for all integrity, together with the image of God, is blotted out (*deleta*) in us.⁴⁷

Similarly, in the *Institutio*, he describes the image of God as having been 'wiped out' (*delevi*) from the mind and soul of the first man, by his rebellion.⁴⁸ Examples of this kind could be multiplied.⁴⁹ The context usually indicates that Calvin's purpose in such statements is to provide a buttress for the doctrine of election. The obliteration of the image leaves no doubt about the dependence of humanity upon the grace of God for redemption.

On the other hand, Calvin sometimes introduces a qualification, and concedes that there remains some trace of the *imago Dei* in humanity. The point usually takes the form of a concession, rather than a positive assertion, with Calvin. This is so, for example, when he explains in the *Institutio* that

Even though we grant that God's image was not totally annihilated and destroyed (*prorsus exinanitam ac deletam*) in [Adam], it was still so corrupted that whatever remains is a frightful deformity.⁵⁰

In a similar vein, although with slightly less reluctance, Calvin recounts in his *Commentary on the Psalms* that

by the Fall of Adam, all humanity fell from its original state of integrity. For in this way the image of God was almost entirely effaced from us... True it is not utterly extinguished, but alas! how small a portion of it remains amidst the ruins of the Fall.⁵¹

In some sense, then, Adam retains a remnant of the image of God.⁵² In the diversity of natural human skills and abilities, some traces of the image are to be seen.⁵³

In his careful study of Calvin's sermons, this emphasis on the remnant of the image of God is linked by R. Stauffer with the statements made by the reformer to the effect, not just that humanity *was* created in the image of God, but that it *is* so. Calvin asserts that 'all people, from the greatest to the least, are fashioned in God's image'.⁵⁴ It is evident in statements such as these that the reformer discerns the *imago Dei* in non-believers as well as in the faithful. Furthermore, he treats the creation of humanity in the image of God as something which has present implications for it. According to Stauffer, Calvin uses this language (and that of the image of God being 'imprinted' on humanity) to press home three points in particular. First, he argues from the creation of humanity in the image of God, that it is set apart from the rest of the animate creation.⁵⁵ Stauffer demonstrates that, in his sermons, Calvin observes repeatedly that their origin implies that human beings are different from, and superior to, dogs and donkeys and beasts of burden.⁵⁶ Secondly, he considers the creation of humanity in the image of God to be decisive for the way in which human beings are to relate to one another. Since all are created in the image of God, human beings are to regard one another with compassion, to support one another, to forgive one another, and so on.⁵⁷ These various specific injunctions are comprehended in a passage of the *Institutio*, in which Calvin encourages his readers 'not to grow weary in well-doing'. He accepts that most people are unworthy of kindness, if they are judged by their own merits. 'But here', he says

Scripture helps in the best way when it teaches that we are not to consider what people merit of themselves but to look upon the

image of God in all people, to which we owe all honour and love... Suppose someone does not deserve even your least effort for his sake; but the image of God, which recommends him to you, is worthy of your giving up yourself and everything you have.⁵⁸

Stauffer suggests that Calvin refers to the creation of humanity in the image of God, thirdly, to underline that unlike brute beasts, human beings are destined to come to the knowledge of God.⁵⁹ However, he concedes that this application is the least common of the three in Calvin's sermons (as it is in his Lectures), and it is unclear how far it can really be distinguished from the first of the uses Stauffer identifies.

How are these diverse statements to be reconciled -- that the image of God in Adam is utterly effaced by the Fall, and yet that he afterwards retains some remnant of it? Here too Torrance acknowledges the inconsistency in Calvin; but although he concedes that the reformer's position is ambiguous, he refuses to afford the ambiguity any real standing. According to Torrance, Calvin may say that there is a remnant of the *imago Dei* in fallen humanity; but in fact there is 'nothing that really images the glory of God'.⁶⁰

This reluctance to attach any real value to Calvin's teaching about the remnant of the *imago Dei* is perhaps at odds with the fact that Torrance does draw particular attention to the distinction which Calvin consistently makes between the 'supernatural' or 'spiritual' gifts which Adam forfeited entirely at the Fall, and the 'natural' gifts which he afterwards retained, if in a corrupt and degenerate form. Calvin introduces this distinction, which he traces to Augustine, at *Institutio* II.ii.12: 'the natural gifts' (which he identifies, in terms reminiscent of his definition of the image of God, as 'soundness of mind and uprightness of heart') 'were corrupted in humanity through sin'; but 'his supernatural gifts' (which include the 'relational' qualities 'faith, love of God, charity toward neighbour, [and] zeal for holiness and righteousness') 'were stripped from him'. Unquestionably returning to the form and content of his definition of the image of God in *Institutio* I.xv.4, he goes on

Since Christ restores [the spiritual gifts] in us, [they] are considered adventitious, and beyond nature; and for this reason we infer that they were taken away. On the other hand, soundness of mind and uprightness of heart were withdrawn at the same time. This is the corruption of the natural gifts. For... something of understanding and judgment remains as a residue along with the will... Since reason... is a natural gift, it could not be completely wiped out, but it was partly weakened and partly corrupted so that its deformed ruins are evident.⁶¹

Despite the doubts expressed by Potter Engel (which she does not attempt to justify),⁶² Torrance is surely correct in his judgment that this distinction corresponds exactly to the one Calvin makes between the 'primary part'⁶³ of the image of God (which is defined in terms of Adam's relationship to his Creator) and its secondary aspect (which is defined in terms of the faculties with which Adam was endowed).⁶⁴

What then was the effect of the Fall on the image of God? As far as its principal aspect is concerned, the integrity of humanity (in which it was able to relate to the Creator) has been completely destroyed. Humanity no longer has any righteousness, holiness or knowledge of God. However, as far as its secondary aspect is concerned, the faculties in which the image of God is seen are only corrupted. Humanity retains its reason, its understanding and its will (that is, its mind and its heart), albeit in a deformed and degenerate condition.⁶⁵

The Restoration of the Image of God in Christ

The question then arises whether the same inconsistency which is to be found in Calvin's statements about the creation of Adam in the image of God and the effect of the Fall on that image, also characterises his account of regeneration, and the restoration of the image. It will be argued here that this inconsistency is indeed present, and that it reflects the reformer's view that redemption is both protological (insofar as it includes the reparation of the faculties which were originally bestowed on Adam and were corrupted at

the Fall), and eschatological (insofar as it brings about the consummation of Adam's original destiny: his conformity to the image of God).

The point was made in the discussion of the restoration of the Church in chapter five, that the interpretation of Calvin's terminology of restoration and reformation is complicated, firstly, by its fluidity, and secondly, by the fact that although two different concepts (or two aspects to a single concept) can be identified, they are never expressly acknowledged. Exactly the same two obstacles beset the interpretation of the reformer's language in the present context. Yet the ambiguity characteristic of Calvin's treatment of the image of God in the context of Creation and the Fall is never made explicit either, so that it remains somewhat surprising to find that the corresponding ambiguity in his discussion of redemption has not received equivalent attention in the secondary literature. For example, it is quite absent from the expositions of Calvin's thought offered by Torrance, Niesel, and Cairns, to which the earlier sections of this chapter have referred. Potter Engel does raise the question 'whether the restored *imago Dei* in Jesus Christ takes precedence over the created *imago Dei* in Adam and Eve', but her concern is less with Calvin's doctrine of regeneration itself, than with the implications of that doctrine for his treatment of the image of God in creation. It is only in an essay by Prins, on 'The Image of God in Adam and the Restoration of Man in Jesus Christ: a Study in Calvin' that the ambiguity has been recognised and subjected to analysis. Having identified 'two portions' to Calvin's notion of 'the image of God in man', Prins suggests that these reflect the fact that

Calvin operates with two different emphases on the prefix of the word *restoration*. One gives *re-* its full value of *back to* or *return*; that is, a restoration to the full integrity of Adam. The other emphasis is *again*; that is, born anew to Christ.⁶⁶

This statement is on essentially the right lines; but it is possible to provide a fuller account of the contrast at issue. Broadly speaking, it may be said that Calvin distinguishes between the reformation of the *imago Dei* in humanity,

and the restoration of humanity itself, in the image of God. In the first case, Calvin implies a degree of continuity between the deformed remnant of the image left to Adam after the Fall, and its reformation by Christ; in the second, the emphasis is on the complete discontinuity between fallen Adam and the restoration of humanity in Christ. In the first case, the *imago Dei* is construed formally, or statically, in terms of the mind and the heart (that is, in terms of understanding, reason and the will); in the latter, it is construed dynamically, or actively, in terms of righteousness, holiness and the knowledge of God. In the first case, the reformation of the image is open to description as an event; in the second, the restoration is consistently described as a process. In the first case, the reformation looks back to the integrity originally bestowed on Adam; in the second, restoration looks forward to a consummation in Christ, which is the end for which Adam was created. In the secondary literature, it is only the second of these emphases which receives any attention. For this reason, inverting the order adopted in the parallel discussion in chapter five, it will be more convenient to begin with the forward-looking aspect of the concept of restoration and reformation in Calvin's soteriology (Strand 2), and to turn to its backward-looking aspect (Strand 1) only in the light of that.

Strand 2: The Restoration of Humanity in the Image of God: the Progress to Ultimate Consummation

In the first place, then, it is important to register that in the context of Calvin's soteriology, the language of reformation and restoration frequently has humanity itself for its object. Indeed, as Calvin understands it, 'the goal of regeneration is that Christ should reform us to the *imago Dei*'.⁶⁷ He refers to it as a 'spiritual' regeneration, when God 'reforms the children of Adam according to his own image',⁶⁸ because, 'to everyone... whom God receives into grace, he immediately gives the spirit of adoption, by whose power' it is that 'he reforms them according to his own image'.⁶⁹

In this context, two points are to be noted in particular. The first is that Calvin perceives Christ, 'the true image of [God's] glory',⁷⁰ as the agent of this restoration. 'Christ is the restorer of humankind..., [he is] the living image of God, according to which we must be renewed'.⁷¹ The second is that this restoration is defined in dynamic and active terms, in terms of righteousness, holiness, piety and the knowledge of God. 'Christ is the most perfect image of God, [and] if we are conformed to it, we are so restored that with true piety, righteousness, purity and intelligence, we bear God's image'.⁷² That is to say, 'we are restored by this regeneration through the benefit of Christ into the righteousness of God from which we had fallen through Adam'.⁷³ This reformation is a reformation 'into holiness and righteousness of life'.⁷⁴ It is not to be understood statically, since 'when Paul discusses the restoration of the image, it is clear that we should infer that humanity is made to conform to God, not by an inflowing of substance, but by the grace and power of the Spirit'.⁷⁵

Furthermore, it is clear that Calvin perceives the relationship between fallen Adam and restored humanity to be one of complete discontinuity. He posits a radical change, an absolute break, between the sons of Adam and those who are restored to the image of God by Christ. As Cairns has put it, 'Calvin teaches that there is a sheer break between the natural man and the man who is in a state of grace'.⁷⁶ There is what he calls 'a clear difference in condition' between God's children, who are 'reformed by his Spirit', and 'Adam's whole posterity, in whom corruption and depravity prevail'.⁷⁷ Since

all human life has been perverted by the Fall of Adam, so that we are thoroughly corrupt as a result, Christ came with the heavenly power of the Spirit. By a change of our nature, he reforms us in newness of life.⁷⁸

Calvin repeatedly reiterates his conviction that the extent of this discontinuity is such that the restoration accomplished by Christ involves an abolition. In *Institutio* II.v.15, for example, Calvin explains that the Spirit 'cannot govern

without correcting, reforming, renewing'. On these grounds, he concludes, 'we may say that the beginning of regeneration consists in the abolition of what is ours'.⁷⁹ Similarly, in his *Commentaries on Isaiah*, he avers that 'as far as the flesh is concerned, the whole person must be reduced to nothing, so that it may be renewed according to God'.⁸⁰ Again, he argues elsewhere that

[Christ] reigns in order to destroy the old man, and he begins his spiritual kingdom with the destruction of the flesh; but he conducts his administration in such a manner as that afterwards there follows the restoration of the new person.⁸¹

It is, however, important to be clear about the nature of this abolition. Calvin has been misunderstood at this point by Torrance, who takes the abolition to mean that 'whatever may be left of the image of God in the natural man is destroyed by the restoration of the image of God in us when we believe in Christ'.⁸² Torrance cites numerous references to substantiate this reading,⁸³ but none of them bears it out -- not even the passage from the *Commentary on 1 Peter*, in which Calvin states that

[the image of God cannot shine in us] until we are renewed, and put off the image of the old Adam... Whenever Scripture speaks of the renewal of God's image in us, it begins from the point where the old man with his lusts is destroyed.⁸⁴

Torrance's mistake is to view 'the image of old Adam' as the remnant of the image of God in natural man; whereas what Calvin means by it is 'the image *not* of God, *but* of fallen Adam himself'. It is precisely the corruption of the image, not the remnant of it, which is abolished at redemption. That is to say, the discontinuity which Calvin has in mind when he speaks of abolition is not between restoration and the remnant of created integrity, but between restoration and the Fall. It is in this sense that

regeneration is like another creation, and if we compare it with the first creation, it far surpasses it. For it is much better for us to be made children of God and for his image to be reformed within us, than to be created mortal: for we are born children of wrath, corrupt and degenerate, since all integrity was lost when God's image was removed.⁸⁵

Calvin is at pains not to be misunderstood in this respect. When he says that it is necessary for human nature to be destroyed in order for it to be restored in Christ, he spells out that he 'does not mean "nature" as it was established by God, but as it was vitiated in Adam'.⁸⁶ The point is a polemical one. As far as Calvin is concerned, humanity has no contribution to make to its own redemption. Restoration is the proper prerogative of God alone.⁸⁷

This is further borne out by the significance Calvin attaches to Christ, as 'the Second Adam'. In the first instance, the title underlines the continuity between Adam, as originally created, and Christ, who 'is called the Second Adam for the reason that he restores us to true and complete integrity'.⁸⁸ In Christ, God is able 'to restore that which he had given at the beginning, but which had been taken away from us for a time'.⁸⁹ Where this title does imply an element of discontinuity, it is taken by Calvin to be between *fallen* Adam and saving Christ. In order to elucidate the comparison made by the Apostle Paul of Adam with Christ, for instance, Calvin can set out their relationship in terms of opposition. 'By implicating us in his ruin, Adam destroyed us along with himself; but Christ restores us to salvation by his grace'.⁹⁰

On the other hand, there *is* an additional element of discontinuity, in Calvin's view, between the restoration of humanity in the image of God and Adam as originally created. The restoration accomplished by Christ is not simply a restoration to Adam's original integrity. This point is at its most clear in the *Lectures on Jeremiah*, when Calvin reflects on the fact that, at first,

Adam lacked any stain, for he was formed in the image of God. He was upright and free from every vice.

In contrast, he goes on

We are as yet corrupt. Although God has regenerated us by his Spirit, there always remain in us some remnants of the flesh... So the condition of Adam seems to have been better than ours today.

But, quoting Augustine, Calvin insists that 'in fact God deals with us more favourably now than he dealt with Adam. [For] he gave him a nature liable to

change', whereas by furnishing us with his Spirit, God gives us a far superior condition, and 'an indefectible constancy'.⁹¹ Calvin identifies this contrast with the one made by Paul between 'the life-giving spirit which believers receive from Christ' and 'the living soul in which Adam was created'.⁹² Thus, the restoration effected by Christ, the perfect image of God, is not simply a return to Adam's original integrity, but a consummation of humanity's original destiny. Adam had originally been created in the image of God with a hope that, through Christ, he might advance to the knowledge of God.⁹³ Even for Adam, the image of God was something to 'attain'.⁹⁴

As Calvin articulates it, then, this restoration is eschatological. In the first place, this is evident simply in the way that he describes it as a process. No-one, not even the Apostles or the Prophets, is renewed at once in the image of God.⁹⁵ Instead, although 'it pleases the Lord to restore completely everyone whom he adopts into the inheritance of life',

this restoration does not take place in one moment, or one day, or one year; but through constant and sometimes even slow advances God wipes out in his elect the corruptions of the flesh.⁹⁶

Secondly, and more specifically, it is evident in the way in which Calvin describes it as a process which will culminate only on the last day.

Christ is the lawful heir of heaven and earth, by whom the faithful recover what they had lost in Adam; but he has not yet actually entered upon the full possession of his empire and dominion. What is set out [by the Psalmist] will not be fully accomplished until death is abolished.⁹⁷

Meanwhile the faithful can be sure that 'when God reforms his people, he undertakes to govern them even to the end'.⁹⁸ Moreover, if at present the full extent of the renewal of the faithful in God's image is not apparent, Calvin holds out the prospect that when they are fully renewed, 'heaven and earth will also be fully renewed'.⁹⁹

Strand 1: The Reformation of the Image of God in Humanity: the Return to Original Integrity

However, it has already been indicated that there is another strand to the concept of restoration as it is developed by Calvin in his soteriology. For in addition to making humanity itself the object of this reformation, he refers, with slightly different connotations, to the reformation of the image of God in humanity. This is not to deny the considerable overlap which exists between these two strands of his thought. It would be a mistake to separate them too rigidly. At the same time, there are significant differences of emphasis to be observed between them. The degree of overlap is reflected by the fact that Calvin uses the terms *restitutio* and *reformatio* freely in both strands of his thought. Nevertheless, in the present discussion the term *reformatio* has been adopted to denote Strand 1 in particular, for two reasons. In the first place, it will be argued here that the reformation (or restoration) of the image is concerned with the outward *form* (or faculties) of the human constitution. Secondly, it will be shown that the reformation of the image is a reformation of the gifts bestowed on Adam at creation, which were *deformed* at the Fall.

A prime example of this latter strand is the statement cited earlier, in which Calvin asserts, 'I interpret repentance as regeneration, the sole end of which is to reform in us the image of God that had been disfigured and all but obliterated through Adam's transgression'.¹⁰⁰ Another is the passage in which Calvin argues that if the image of God is evident in everyone, 'it is to be noted most carefully among members of the household of faith' since it is in them that 'it has been renewed and restored'.¹⁰¹ The significance of these quotations is two-fold. In the first place, the object of the reformation to which they refer is not humanity, but the image of God in humanity. Secondly, they imply a degree of continuity between the reformed image and the remnant of the image in fallen Adam. If it is rare to find these two features combined so neatly in a single sentence, it is common enough to

find them separately in Calvin's writings. References of this kind, not least from the Lectures on the Prophets, may be multiplied.¹⁰²

In the light of such examples, it is interesting to find Calvin speaking of the 'reformation' or 'renovation' of the soul, and of the mind and heart (or the understanding and the affections, or the will), which are the very faculties in which, as it has been indicated, the remnant of the image of God may still be identified after the Fall. Statements to this effect are widespread whenever Calvin is concerned with the doctrine of regeneration. In a passage from a Lecture on Jeremiah 31.19, for example, in which Calvin is reflecting on the nature of conversion, he defines it as 'the renovation of the mind and the heart'. 'It follows, therefore', he goes on,

that when we are converted, we are renewed in understanding, and then... in our affections... A complete renovation of the soul is embraced in the word 'conversion'.¹⁰³

Elsewhere he employs the terminology of reformation and restoration in the same way. When the Psalmist refers to the conversion of the soul, Calvin equates this with the restoration of the soul, and comments that

in saying that the soul is restored, [the Psalmist] is alluding to the miserable condition in which we are all born. No doubt there still survive in us some small remnants of that first creation; but since no part of our constitution is free from defilement and impurity, the condition of the soul thus corrupted and depraved differs little from death, and tends altogether to death.¹⁰⁴

Conversion, in other words, means restoration; and restoration implies some continuity with 'that first creation'. What is true of the soul as a whole, is true also of its various faculties. In the regeneration of the elect, God reforms their hearts¹⁰⁵ and minds,¹⁰⁶ their wills,¹⁰⁷ desires¹⁰⁸ and understanding.¹⁰⁹ The faculties which were deformed or corrupted, but not entirely abolished, through Adam's transgression, and in which the remnant of the *imago Dei* in fallen humanity is still evident, are reformed, or repaired, in Christ. 'Christ comes to repair our strength and to restore... our original condition'.¹¹⁰ This

is the reformation 'by which God restores his image in his people'.¹¹¹ It is a reformation of degenerate forms and faculties, possessions and capacities.

There is an element of eschatological prospect in this strand of the reformer's thought. He concedes that although 'the image of God is manifest to some extent in the elect, insofar as they have been reborn in the spirit', 'it will attain its full splendour only in heaven'.¹¹² To this extent, the reformation of the image of God is a process. Calvin encourages his readers to cultivate an appreciation of God's goodness, 'so that his image may be reformed in us more and more'.¹¹³

However, it is as common to find Calvin treating the reformation of the faculties of the soul as an event, and as something which can and should be effected completely in the faithful. In terms thoroughly reminiscent of those in which he reproaches the people who are content with only a partial reformation of church institutions,¹¹⁴ Calvin dismisses those who are content with a semi-reformation of their own lives,¹¹⁵ and whose hearts are not 'truly, or fully reformed'.¹¹⁶ As far as the reformer was concerned, the reformation of the image of God is something which can be described as already having taken place. The members of the household of faith are those in whom the image of God '*has been renewed and restored* by the Spirit of Christ'.¹¹⁷ 'The human will can be said to be restored when, after its corruption and perversity are corrected, it is directed to the rule of true righteousness'.¹¹⁸ Reborn, the soul is 'wholly renewed'.¹¹⁹ Calvin can speak of what follows, '*after* the reformation of the will'.¹²⁰

Calvin gives this strand of his thought a protological emphasis. His accent falls on the restoration of human nature to its original integrity. This is perhaps best expressed in *Institutio* II.xii.7, where Calvin describes the Fall as that which separates the first origin of humanity from the restoration which we obtain through Christ, as result of which 'there arose the necessity for human nature to be reformed to its former condition'.¹²¹ There are frequent

references, both in the *Institutio* and in Calvin's expositions of the Prophets, to the 'former' or 'original' state of affairs, lost in Adam and restored in Christ. For this reason, it is fair to describe the reformation of the image of God in humanity as essentially backward-looking.

The fact that this strand of the concept of restoration and reformation in Calvin's thought has been neglected in the secondary literature is a direct consequence of the way in which the significance of the faculties of the soul in Calvin's treatment of Adam's creation in the image of God has been overlooked. Scholars such as Torrance, who have underestimated the extent to which Adam's creation in the image of God has formal and static as well as relational and dynamic connotations, are inevitably led to underestimate this aspect of Calvin's doctrine of redemption and of the reformation of the image of God in humanity. One consequence of this has been to obscure the close parallel which exists between Calvin's ecclesiology and his soteriology at this point.

Conclusion

The object of this chapter has been to demonstrate the significance of the language of reformation and restoration for Calvin's soteriology. Several important conclusions have emerged.

It has been shown, in the first place, that Calvin's discussions of the creation of Adam in the *imago Dei*, and of the effect of the Fall on the image are inconsistent. On the whole he gives Adam's creation in the image of God a relational emphasis; but at times he speaks of the image in terms of certain formal human faculties. On the whole he indicates that the *imago Dei* was entirely obliterated by the Fall; but at times he speaks of a remnant of the image in fallen Adam.

It has been suggested that a corresponding inconsistency pervades Calvin's use of the language of reformation and restoration in the context of

his soteriology. On the one hand, he speaks of the reformation of the image of God in humanity. This is a reformation of the human constitution, of the forms and faculties deformed at the Fall, and of Adam's created integrity. On the other hand, he speaks of the restoration of humanity in the image of God. This is a restoration of humanity's relationship with God, a process which is inaugurated and consummated in Christ. There are sustained echoes here of the two strands, one backward-, and the other forward-looking, which are to be discerned in Calvin's concept of the reformation and restoration of the Church.

Notes

- ¹ In Lect. 180, Mal. 3.17, C. O. 44.484.48-50, C. T. S. V.608, Calvin states that in the first part of 'our salvation' (i. e., in regeneration) 'God rules us by his Spirit, and forms us anew in his own image through the whole course of our life'. This two-fold statement is typical of the way in which Calvin formulates his doctrine of regeneration. The progression from chapter six to chapter seven of the thesis is intended to underline this.
- ² I use the word in the sense adopted by Louth, as referring to a return to origins. See A. Louth: "Western Catholic Christianity", in S. Coakley, ed.: *Religion and the Body*; Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (forthcoming).
- ³ It is this distinction which Calvin has in mind when he asks, 'What is [our] origin? It is that from which we have fallen. What is [the] end of our creation? It is that from which we have been completely estranged.' Inst. II.i.3 (1539), p.244; O. S. III. 230.35-37.
- ⁴ Among the most significant recent contributions to the debate are the following: T. F. Torrance: *Calvin's Doctrine of Man*; Lutterworth Press, London 1947. D. Cairns: "The Image of God in John Calvin", in his *The Image of God in Man*; S. C. M. Press, London 1953, pp.128-145. R. Prins: "The Image of God in Adam and the Restoration of Man in Jesus Christ: A Study in Calvin", *Scottish Journal of Theology* 25 (1972), pp.32-44. B. A. Gerrish: "The Mirror of God's Goodness: Man in the Theology of Calvin", *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 45 (1981), pp.211-222. M. Potter Engel: *Calvin's Perspectival Anthropology*; Scholars Press, Atlanta GA 1988, ch. II. J. L. Thompson: "*Creatura ad Imaginem Dei, Licet Secundo Gradu*: Woman as the Image of God according to John Calvin", *Harvard Theological Review* 81 (1988), pp.125-143. S. E. Schreiner: *The Theater of his Glory: Nature and the Natural Order in the Thought of John Calvin*; Studies in Historical Theology, vol. 3, Labyrinth Press, Durham, NC 1991, pp.55-72. See also the ripostes to Torrance in C. Partee: *Calvin and Classical Philosophy*; E. J. Brill, Leiden 1977, pp.51-54, and in R. Stauffer: *Dieu, la Création et la Providence dans la Prédication de Calvin*; Peter Lang, Berne 1978, pp.201-204.
- ⁵ Inst. I.xv.4 (1559), p.189; O. S. III.179.18-19.
- ⁶ Inst. III.iii.8 (1539), p.601; O. S. IV.63.12-14.
- ⁷ This question addresses substantially the same issue as the fourth of the six 'controversies over Calvin's *imago dei*' which are identified by Potter Engel as having 'emerged in the last few decades': namely, 'whether the *imago Dei* is a substantial endowment of the human creature or a dynamic relation between God and the human creature' (pp.50-54). On the whole, Potter Engel's analysis is excellent. It may be said, however, that her Controversy No. 2, 'Whether the *imago dei* in humankind refers to the body as well as to the soul or to the soul alone' (pp.42-47) is not a controversy in the same sense as the others. While it is true that Calvin had a dispute with Osiander over this question, there is no controversy about it in the secondary literature. The fact that in this section of her book, unlike adjacent sections, Potter Engel does not take issue with any other scholars is a tacit admission that this controversy is unlike the others.
- ⁸ See note 4 for details.
- ⁹ cf. esp. Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, chapter 6, pp.73-82.
- ¹⁰ Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, p.35.
- ¹¹ Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, p.36.
- ¹² Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, p.52.

- 13 Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, p.54.
- 14 Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, p.61.
- 15 This is a point also made by Potter Engel, p. 52.
- 16 Niesel, p.66 (ET: p.68); cited by Potter Engel, p.67, note 51.
- 17 Niesel, p.67 (ET: pp.68-69). Though present in the original, the penultimate sentence is omitted in the English version. The translation offered here is my own.
- 18 Cairns, pp.136-137; cited by Potter Engel, p.67, note 51.
- 19 Inst. II.xii.6 (1559), p. 471; O. S. III.444.16-18; cited by Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, p.42. But cf. also the reference to a mirror in relation to human faculties in Inst. I.xv.4 (1559), p.189; O. S. III.179.3-5.
- 20 Inst. III.xvii.5 (1539), p. 807; O. S. IV.257.33-36; cited by Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, p.43.
- 21 Inst. I.xv.3-5 (1559), pp.186-192; O. S. III.176.36-182.16. In his *Commentary on Genesis* 1.26, Calvin also considers the interpretation of Chrysostom; but he is almost equally dismissive of that. C. O. 23.26.35-38, C. T. S. I.94.
- 22 Inst. I.xv.3 (1559), p.188; O. S. III.178.25-30. The significant ellipsis in this quotation is deliberate, and is explained below. The translation is my own.
- 23 Gerrish (p.215) also isolates this phrase in order to tease out its significance.
- 24 Inst. I.xv.4 (1539/59), p.189; O. S. III.179.28-30. Potter Engel subtly, and misleadingly, overstates this point when she relates (p.62) that 'Calvin [says] in the *Institutes* and elsewhere that nowhere else can one recognise the excellent gifts of the *imago Dei* than in the restored image in Jesus Christ'. In fact Calvin says 'nowhere *better*': Inst. I.xv.4 (1559), p.186; O. S. III.179.5-7 (my emphasis).
- 25 Inst. I.xv.4 (1543/59), p.190; O. S. III.180.3-5.
- 26 Inst. III.iii.9 (1539/59), p.601; O. S. IV.63.22-65.10.
- 27 Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, p.66. But Torrance not only relegates this concession to a footnote; he also implies that this aspect of Calvin's thought is a localised and particular phenomenon, which occurs only in the context of his doctrine of predestination, and which exercises a specific function and has a ready explanation in that setting. This is manifestly not the case.
- 28 Inst. I.xv.3 (1559), p.188; O. S. III.178.25-30.
- 29 Thompson, p.128.
- 30 Comm. Gen. 1.26, C. O. 23.26.48-52, C. T. S. I.94-95.
- 31 Inst. I.xv.4 (1559), p.189; O. S. III.179.3-5. My emphasis.
- 32 Inst. I.xv.4 (1539/59), p.189; O. S. III.179.25-27.

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- 33 *'in homine locatur eius imago'*, Inst. I.xv.3 (1559), p.188; O. S. III.178.35. Where Torrance is right, nevertheless, is in his view that for Calvin, the image of God, even when considered as something substantive, belongs to humanity only by virtue of the continually renewed grace of God, just as 'the whole being and life of man continues to hang on the gracious will and decision of God from moment to moment' (*Doctrine of Man*, p.61). cf. Comm. Ps. 104.29-30, C.O. 32.95.32-96.31, C. T. S. IV.168.
- 34 Inst. I.xv.3 (1559), pp.186, 188; O. S. III.176.38-39, 178.30-31.
- 35 Inst. I.xv.4 (1559), p.190; O. S. III.181.2-3.
- 36 Comm. Ps. 8.6, C. O. 31.92.18-20, C. T. S. I.102.
- 37 Calvin regards it as 'a settled principle that the image of God... is spiritual', Inst. I.xv.3 (1559), p.186; O. S. III.177.6-8. cf. Inst. I.xv.4 (1559), p.190; O. S. III.180.10-11. Inst. II.i.5 (1536/59), p.246; O. S. III.232.39-233.1.
- 38 Inst. I.xv.3 (1559), p.186; O. S. III.177.7.
- 39 *propter insculptas similitudinis notas*, Inst. I.xv.3 (1559), p.188; O. S. III.178.12-14. My translation and emphasis.
- 40 *Animas ergo, quamvis illis insculpta sit imago Dei, creatas esse*. Inst. I.xv.5 (1559), p.191; O. S. III.181.26-27. cf. Lect. 192, Jer. 51.49, C. O. 39.487.19-21, C. T. S. V.271, in which Calvin states that God has engraved (*insculpsit*) his image on humanity.
- 41 Stauffer, p.203.
- 42 Potter Engel, p.50.
- 43 Inst. I.xv.3 (1559), p.188; O. S. III.178.7-10. cf. Comm. Gen. 1.26, C. O. 23.25.48-26.26, C. T. S. I.93-94.
- 44 Gerrish, p.216. The two aspects to the image of God are also noted by Prins, pp.35-37.
- 45 Potter Engel, pp.54-61. Schreiner (p.70) reaches the same conclusion.
- 46 Torrance, *Doctrine of Man*, pp.83-105.
- 47 Lect. 58, Ezek. 18.32, C. O. 40.456.26-28, C. T. S. II.262.
- 48 Inst. III.ii.12 (1559), p.556; O. S. IV.22.11-13. cf. Comm. Gen. 3.1, C. O. 23.52.43-44, C. T. S. I.139.
- 49 Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, p.88, cites examples from Calvin's sermons on Job and Deuteronomy.
- 50 Inst. I.xv.4 (1559), p.189; O. S. III.179.8-11. cf. the reference to *deformitas* in Comm. Gen 1.26-27, C. O. 23.27.8, C. T. S. I.95. The language of deformity which Calvin employs here, and which is also a prominent feature of his ecclesiology (pp.150-157) is significant. Its implications for his soteriology will become clear later in this chapter when the discussion turns to the reformation of the image in Christ.
- 51 Comm. Ps. 8.6, C. O. 31.93.11-20, C. T. S. I.104. cf. Lect. 43, Ezek. 16.10-13, C. O. 40.346.6-8, C. T. S. II.109.

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- 52 Comm. Gen. 9.5-7, C. O. 23.147.18-21, C. T. S. I.296.
- 53 Inst. II.ii.17 (1559), p.277; O. S. III.260.24-25. cf. Inst. III.iii.9 (1539), p.601; O. S. IV.63.12-14.
- 54 Lect. 108, Hab. 1.14-15, C. O. 43.513.46-48, C. T. S. IV.49; Lect. 75, Jon. 1.13-14, C. O. 43.227.47-48, C. T. S. III.61; Lect. 21, Jer. 5.23, C. O. 37.633.15, C. T. S. I.297. cf. the specific reference to the Turks in Calvin's 15th. Sermon on Is.13-29 (1557) (in *Sermons sur le livre d'Esaïe 13-29, Supplementa Calviniana II*; ed. G. Barrois, Kreis Moers, Neukirchen 1961, pp.138-139); cited by Stauffer, p.243, note 237.
- 55 Inst. I.xv.3 (1559), p.188; O. S. III.178.35-37. Not that this remnant of the image of God provides human beings with any grounds for boasting. On the contrary, like the *sensus divinitatis*, the remnant of the image of God is just enough to render a human being inexcusable before God. Comm. Ps. 62.10, C. O. 31.589.42-55, C. T. S. II.426-427.
- 56 Stauffer, p.203, notes 232-235. cf. Lect. 170, Mal. 1.2-6, C. O. 44.401.27-32, C. T. S. V.471; Lect. 62, Jer. 16.1-4, C. O. 38.240.19-21, C. T. S. II.304.
- 57 Stauffer, p.203, notes 236-250. Lect. Hab. 1.14-15, C. O. 43.513.27-31, C. T. S. IV.49.
- 58 Inst. III.vii.6, (1539), p.696; O. S. IV.156.31-34, 157.7-9. cf. Comm. Gen 9.5-7, C. O. 23.147.8-11, C. T. S. I.295-296; cited by Cairns, p.132. In Lect. 10 on Ezek. 3.18, Calvin draws out the evangelistic responsibility which pastors have for those whom God 'has created in his own image', C. O. 40.94.52-95.14, C. T. S. I.156.
- 59 Stauffer, p.204, notes 251-254. cf. Lect. 170, Mal. 1.2-6, C. O. 44.401.46-49, C. T. S. V.472; Comm. Ps. 8.6, C. O. 31.92.20-21, C. T. S. I.102.
- 60 Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, pp.93-94. Potter Engel rightly remarks (p.56) that, here too, Torrance seems to be attempting to force Calvin's theology into a Barthian framework.
- 61 Inst. II.ii.12 (1559), p.270; O. S. III.254.30-255.14. Note the term *deformitas* once again. Calvin reiterated his acceptance of this 'ancient' distinction, between the supernatural gifts (which were lost) and the natural gifts (which were corrupted), in Lect. 30 on Ezek. 11.19-20, C. O. 40.245.22-24, C. T. S. I.375.
- 62 Potter Engel, p.56.
- 63 Comm. Gen. 1.26, C. O. 23.26.47-48, C. T. S. I.94; Inst. I.xv.4 (1539/59), p.189; O. S. III.179.28-30.
- 64 Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, pp.89-90. The point is also made by Prins, pp.35-36.
- 65 Cairns is wide of the mark in his summary (pp.134-135) that 'when Calvin talks of what God gives in the image, then he says it is not wholly lost, but when he speaks of what we contribute then he must talk of it as obliterated in the natural man since the Fall'. For Calvin, both what is lost and what is only corrupt is gift by origin, and all that humanity has contributed is corruption and obliteration.
- 66 Prins, pp.39-40.
- 67 Inst. I.xv.4 (1559), p.189; O. S. III.179.19.
- 68 Lect. 133, Hag. 2.21-24, C. O. 44.121.48, C. T. S. IV.386; cf. Lect. 132, Hag. 2.11-15, C. O. 44.114.46, C. T. S. IV.386; Lect. 181, Mal. 4.2, C. O. 44.491.8, C. T. S. V.619.

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- 69 Inst. III.xi.6 (1559), p.732; O. S. IV.187.22-24. My translation. cf. Lect. 7, Hos. 2.19, C. O. 42.252.12, C. T. S. I.116; Comm. Ps. 14.2, C. O. 31.138.41, C. T. S. I.175.
- 70 Inst. III.ii.1 (1539/59), p.544; O. S. IV.8.15.
- 71 Comm. Ps. 8.6, C. O. 31.93.7-24, C. T. S. I.104.
- 72 Inst. I.xv.4 (1543), p.190; O. S. III.180.4. cf. Inst. II.i.6 (1539), p.248; O. S. III.234.28. Inst. II.xvi.13 (1539), p.521; O. S. III.500.9.
- 73 Inst. III.iii.9 (1539), p.601; O. S. IV.63.24.
- 74 Inst. III.xi.12 (1559), p.742; O. S. IV.196.30.
- 75 Inst. I.xv.5 (1559), p.191; O. S. III.182.10.
- 76 Cairns, p.142.
- 77 Comm. Ps. 14.2, C. O. 31.138.41, C. T. S. I.175.
- 78 Comm. Is. 42.1, C. O. 37.60.14, C. T. S. III.287.
- 79 Inst. II.v.15 (1539), p.335; O. S. III.10-13.
- 80 Comm. Is. 6.5, C. O. 36.131.9, C. T. S. I.208.
- 81 Comm. Ps. 75.4, C. O. 31.702.29, C. T. S. III.186.
- 82 Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, p.152.
- 83 Comms. Rom. 12.2; 1 Cor. 5 [sic, for 15].51; Col. 3.10; 1 Pet. 1.13f; 2 Pet. 1.3; Inst. II.i.9; II.v.19; III.ii.25. Torrance: *Doctrine of Man*, p.152.
- 84 Comm. 1 Pet. 1.14 (1551), C. O. 55.221.36-46, C. N. T. C. p.244.
- 85 Lect. 58, Ezek. 18.32, C. O. 40.456.27, C. T. S. II.262. cf. Comm. Ps. 81.14, C. O. 31.766.27, C. T. S. III.324: 'This renovation is a work surpassing creation itself'; and Calvin's repeated interpretation [e.g., Comm. Is. 19.25, C. O. 36.349.44, C. T. S. II.83, Lect. 56, Ezek. 18.23, C. O. 40.446.18, C. T. S. II.248] of what it means to speak of God's people as his 'workmanship'.
- 86 Inst. II.i.6 (1559), p.249; O. S. III.235.26-27.
- 87 Lect. 56, Ezek. 18.23, C. O. 40.446.15-18, C. T. S. II.248; Comm. Ps. 6.3, C. O. 31.75.8, C. T. S. I.68; Comm. Ps. 119.25, C. O. 32.225.27, C. T. S. IV.419.
- 88 Inst. I.xv.4 (1559), p.189; O. S. III.179.13-14.
- 89 Inst. II.ii.25 (1559), p.286; O. S. III.268.37-38.
- 90 Inst. II.i.6 (1543), p.248; O. S. III.235.3-5.
- 91 Lect. 131, Jer. 32.40, C. O. 39.44.9-37, C. T. S. IV.218-219.
- 92 Inst. I.xv.4 (1559), p.189; O. S. III.179.14-17.

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- 93 Inst. I.xv.8 (1559), p.195; O. S. III.185.33-34, 186.1-2. cf. Comm. Ps. 8.6, C. O. 31.92.20-21, C. T. S. I.102. Even in his created integrity, Adam required a mediator: Inst. II.xii.1 (1559), p.465; O. S. III.438.1-2.
- 94 Comm. Gen. 1.26, C. O. 23.27.12-15, C. T. S. I.95.
- 95 Lect. 61, Jer. 15.18, C. O. 38.231.20, C. T. S. II.290.
- 96 Inst. III.iii.9 (1559), p.601; O. S. IV.63.25 (quoted above, p.184). cf. Lect. 92, Jer. 24.7, C. O. 38.465.35, C. T. S. III.232.
- 97 Comm. Ps. 8.6, C. O. 31.94.23-27, C. T. S. I.106.
- 98 Lect. 16, Dan. 3.26, C. O. 40.640.6, C. T. S. I.233.
- 99 Comm. Is. 65.17, C. O. 37.429.19-29, C. T. S. IV.398-399.
- 100 Inst. III.iii.9 (1539), p.601; O. S. IV.63.11-14.
- 101 Inst. III.vii.6 (1539), p.696; O. S. IV.156.34-36.
- 102 Lect. 56, Ezek. 18.23, C. O. 40.446.15-18, C. T. S. II.248; Comm. Is. 62.3, C. O. 37.284.41, C. T. S. IV.324.
- 103 Lect. 121, Jer. 31.19, C. O. 38.673.23-674.2, C. T. S. IV.102-103. There is a very similar passage in Lect. 57, Ezek. 18.30, C. O. 40.454.25-27, C. T. S. II.259.
- 104 Comm. Ps. 19.7, C. O. 31.200.13-21, C. T. S. I.319.
- 105 Lect. 7, Hos. 2.19, C. O. 42.252.12-19, C. T. S. I.116; Comm. Ps. 25.8, C. O. 31.255.21, C. T. S. I.422; Lect. 143, Zech. 5.5-8, C. O. 44.199.40, C. T. S. V.135.
- 106 *animas nostras Deus reformat*, Comm. Ps. 119.73, C. O. 32.246.41, C. T. S. IV.455.
- 107 This is Calvin's particular preoccupation in the *Institutio*. cf. Inst. II.iii.7 (1539), p.299; O. S. III.281.11; and Inst. II.iii.8 (1539), p.300; O. S. III.283.12.
- 108 *studio... reformati*, Comm. Ps. 119.37, C. O. 32.230.28, C. T. S. IV.427.
- 109 *omnes sensus reformat*, Lect. 130, Jer. 31.33, C. O. 38.691.1, C. T. S. IV.130.
- 110 Comm. Is. 65.20, C. O. 37.430.34, C. T. S. IV.400.
- 111 Comm. Is. 44.4, C. O. 37.107.17, C. T. S. III.361.
- 112 Inst. I.xv.4 (1559), p.190; O. S. III.180.21-23.
- 113 Comm. Is. 62.3, C. O. 37.284.41, C. T. S. IV.324.
- 114 See pp.153-154.
- 115 Lect. 163, Zech. 13.5, C. O. 44.351.17-23, C. T. S. V.389.
- 116 Comm. Is. 31.7, C. O. 36.539.24, C. T. S. II.399.
- 117 Inst. III.vii.6 (1539), p.696; O. S. IV.156.31-34, 157.7-9. My emphasis.

¹¹⁸ Inst. II.v.15 (1539), p.335; O. S. III.315.17.

¹¹⁹ Inst. II.iii.1 (1539), p.289; O. S. III.272.9.

¹²⁰ Inst. II.iii.8 (1539), p.301; O. S. III.283.6.

¹²¹ Inst. II.xii.7 (1559), p.472; O. S. III.445.20.

Conclusions, Appendices and Bibliography

Conclusions

The objective of this thesis has been to give an account of Calvin's theology and practice of evangelisation. A number of important conclusions may now be drawn in the wake of this account.

In the first place, with regard to his practice of evangelisation it can be said without equivocation (notwithstanding the relative neglect of this point in the secondary literature) that the last years of Calvin's life were dominated by his work towards the evangelisation of France and other parts of western Europe. The extent of his involvement in this missionary activity has been demonstrated with reference both to his Lectures on the Prophets and to his letters. From the Lectures it has been shown that he was concerned with the training of the missionaries who were despatched from Geneva to serve as the ministers of newly organised reformed churches; and from his letters, that he was also instrumental in their placement, and concerned with their progress. His correspondence indicates that many of them were known to him personally, and that they turned to him for advice and encouragement as they sought to meet his expectations of them.

Secondly, a whole series of conclusions emerge from the account in this thesis of evangelisation in Calvin's thought. The most obvious of these is the simple fact that (again, despite the relative neglect of this point in the secondary literature) there is indeed a missionary drive to Calvin's theology. If this drive is absent from the *Institutio*, it is most certainly present in his expositions of the Prophets, including his Lectures. Both the theme of 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ' and that of 'the restoration of the Church' are replete with missionary imperatives. For example, with reference to both 'the Kingdom of Christ' and 'the restoration of the Church', Calvin can look back on their inauguration, forwards to their consummation, and can trace their inexorable progress between the two, a progress which he can discern

Conclusions

even in the events of the mid-sixteenth century and which is effected by the preaching of the Gospel.

There are three related implications to be drawn from the fact that, for Calvin, both 'the progress of the Kingdom of Christ' and 'the restoration of the Church' are fundamentally ecclesiological concepts. In the first place, it is clear from this that according to Calvin the proper context for the theology of evangelisation is ecclesiology. It follows, secondly, that he considered the practice of evangelisation to be the preserve of the Church. It is not merely that Calvin understood evangelisation to be a truly Christian responsibility, nor even (although this is the case) that he regarded it as a corporate and institutional responsibility. It is above all that Calvin considered the Church to be the sole proper agent of evangelisation. The third implication to be drawn from the ecclesiological character of these concepts is the fact that Calvin understood evangelisation to consist in the establishment of true churches where none was to be found, and in their increase where such churches existed already. It was in terms of the organisation of assemblies into churches (but not, it is worth reiterating, of *églises plantées* into *églises dressées*, as the conventional distinction in the historiography of the French reformation has it) and in the ensuing increase of such churches that Calvin gauged the progress of the Kingdom of Christ, and of the restoration of the universal Church.

There is a further conclusion to be drawn from the fact that both these themes, while basically ecclesiological, also have soteriological correlates. The sustained parallel between Parts II and III of the thesis, bears witness to the close connection which exists between ecclesiology and soteriology in all Calvin's thought about evangelisation. The identification and elucidation of this parallel is perhaps the single most important contribution made by this thesis to an understanding of Calvin's theology.

Conclusions

Finally, six concluding remarks of a more specific nature are in order. Firstly, although Calvin's own practice of evangelisation was limited almost entirely to areas of western Europe, his Lectures and his letters leave little room for doubt that he understood his own work to be part of the progress of the Kingdom of Christ from its inauguration to its consummation. Within this eschatological framework, it is clear that Calvin expected this Kingdom to extend to the ends of the earth. Nevertheless, Calvin's attitude to the Turks suggests, secondly, that there is a real discrepancy between his thought and his practice at this point. His pre-occupation with the restoration of the Church within Christendom was so all-consuming that he failed to perceive evangelistic opportunities beyond its borders. It is possible that this failure reflects the residually humanist character of Calvin's view of restoration. It has been shown, thirdly, that the distinction commonly made by historians of the Reformation, between Magisterial 'reformers' and radical 'restorers' of the Church is misguided. While Calvin does employ the terminology of both reformation and restoration, he uses the latter markedly more often than the former, especially when it is the Church rather than humanity which is under discussion.

It has been demonstrated, fourthly, that according to Calvin, Christian conversion is both an event and a process: it is an event which has definite implications for ecclesiastical allegiance, and a process which has reference especially to the Word of God. It has been suggested, fifthly, that although he generally speaks of regeneration in terms of the restoration of humanity in the image of God, he also describes it, with slightly different connotations, in terms of the reformation of the image of God in humanity. The suggestion may be made, sixthly, and lastly, that this predilection for the language of restoration and reformation, whether in an ecclesiological context or in a soteriological one, is a reflection of the continuity Calvin perceived between creation on the one hand, and redemption on the other.

Appendix I

A List of Letters from Reformed Churches and Communities in France, mostly requesting Pastors from Calvin and his Colleagues in Geneva, 1555-63

Date	Signatory	Addressee	Location of Letter
12.04.59	L'Eglise de Dieppe	Calvin	C. O. 17.497, Ep. 3041.
19.06.59	L'Eglise de Toulouse	Ministers	C. O. 17.557, Ep. 3074.
19.06.59	L'Eglise de Toulouse	Calvin	C. O. 17.559, Ep. 3075.
10.07.59	L'Eglise de Gien	Calvin	C. O. 17.580, Ep. 3086.
29.11.59	Les Anciens de Valence	Ministers	Roman, p.10.
end 1559	L'Eglise de Montbrun	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.2.
22.02.60	Flavigny [Paris]	Ministers	C. O. 18.18, Ep. 3164.
09.02.60	L'Eglise de St. J d'Angely	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.44.
26.03.60	L'Eglise de Chatellerault	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.47.
07.01.61	L'Eglise de Roquecourbe	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.51.
15.01.61	L'Eglise de Mallevall	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.53.
10.01.61	Bouteiller [Angouleme]	Calvin	C. O. 18.310, Ep. 3313.
03.02.61	L'Église d'Ys sur Thille	Jehan Altet	Ms. 121, f.17.
04.02.61	L'Eglise de Mas	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.54.
07.02.61	L'Eglise de Beaulne	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.56.
17.02.61	Deprele [Dijon]	Calvin	C. O. 18.368, Ep. 3342.
17.02.61	L'Eglise de St. Pourçain	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.58.
23.02.61	L'Eglise de Couches	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.60.
28.02.61	St.-Paul [Amiens/Dieppe]	Calvin	C. O. 18.383, Ep. 3350.
28.02.[61]	de Laune [Marseilles] ¹	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.21.
01.03.61	L'Eglise de St. Ambroix	Calvin	C. O. 18.384, Ep. 3351.
10.03.61	Fécamp	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.67.
12.03.[61]	Moyse [Castillon]	Calvin	C. O. 20.474, Ep. 4199.
12.03.61	L'Eglise de Libourne	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.69.
12.03.61	L'Eglise de Rouen	Ministers	[C. O. 21.745].
20.03.61	Bordat [Bergerac]	Colladon	Ms. L. 121.8, f.22.
20.03.61	Beret [Vivaraïs]	Calvin	C. O. 18.408, Ep. 3363.
20.03.61	L'Eglise de Gigean	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.71.
30.03.61	L'Eglise de Cognac	[blank]	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.73.
31.03.61	L'Eglise de Tours	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.74.
02.04.61	L'Eglise de Marsillargues	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.76.
05.04.61	L'Eglise de Bagnols	Calvin	C. O. 18.413, Ep. 3367.
08.04.61	Semidde [Lyon]	Calvin	C. O. 18.416, Ep. 3369.
14.04.61	L'Eglise de Poet-Laval	Viret	Ms. L. 121, f.25.
15.04.61	Seelac [Ste. Foy]	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.26.
17.04.[61]	Thelligny [Montreal]	Calvin	C. O. 20.475, Ep. 4200.
22.04.61	Semidde [Lyon]	Calvin	C. O. 18.432, Ep. 3375.
26.04.61	Veran [Bourges]	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.20.

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03.05.61	L'Eglise de St.-Germain	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.82.
05.05.61	L'Eglise de St.-Leonard	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.53.
06.05.61	L'Eglise du Vigan	Ministers	C. O. 18.440, Ep. 3382.
07.05.61	L'Eglise d'Uzes	Ministers	C. O. 18.441, Ep. 3383.
10.05.61	L'Eglise de Chinon	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.101.
10.05.61	L'Eglise de Ganges	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.88.
12.05.61	Mauget [Ganges/Vigan]	Ministers	C. O. 18.446, Ep. 3386.
23.05.61	L'Eglise de Chabeuil	Ministers	Roman, p.31.
24.05.61	de la Croix [Tours]	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.106.
26.05.61	Tartier [Lignières]	Calvin	C. O. 18.471, Ep. 3400.
27.05.61	Brunon [Bourges]	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.35.
27.05.61	L'Eglise de la Rocheposay	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.100.
28.05.61	L'Eglise de Bergerac	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.36.
29.05.61	Seelac [Ste.-Foy]	Calvin	C. O. 18.475, Ep. 3402.
29.05.61	Reynac [Aultretot]	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.39.
29.05.61	L'Eglise d'Aix	Calvin	C. O. 18.477, Ep. 3403.
01.06.61	L'Eglise d'Annonay	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.111.
02.06.61	L'Eglise d'Orange ²	Calvin	C. O. 18.500, Ep. 3409.
02.06.61	Morel [Meschiers]	Chauvet	Ms. L. 121, f.42.
11.06.[61]	L'Eglise d'Issoudon	Henec	Ms. L. 121, f.43.
11.06.61	L'Eglise d'Orange ³	Calvin	C. O. 18.506, Ep. 3413.
12.06.61	Merlin [Duchesse Ferrare]	Calvin	C. O. 18.507, Ep. 3414.
12.06.61	Boissierre [for Cognac]	Morel	C. O. 18.512, Ep. 3415.
12.06.61	de la Porte [for Cognac]	Morel	C. O. 18.512, Ep. 3416.
15.06.61	Seelac [Miremont]	Colladon	C. O. 18.517, Ep. 3419.
16.06.61	Meylier [for Montélimar]	d'Anduse	Roman, p.32.
18.06.61	Barrabaut [Aubusson]	de Moranges	Ms. L. 121.3, f.51.
18.06.61	Le Consistoire de Blois	du Four	Ms. L. 121, f.53.
18.06.61	Le Consistoire de Blois	Viret	Ms. L. 121, f.54.
20.06.61	Goddart [Languerville]	Calvin	C. O. 18.521, Ep. 3422.
02.07.61	L'Église de Negrepelice	Ministers	Gaberel, p.175.
16.07.61	L'Eglise d'Aubenas ⁴	Calvin	C. O. 18.562, Ep. 3446.
17.07.61	L'Eglise du Poet-Laval	Calvin	C. O. 18.563, Ep. 3447.
17.07.61	Bize [St. Antoine]	de Colonges	Roman, p.33.
18.07.61	L'Eglise de l'Albenc	Calvin	C. O. 18.564, Ep. 3448.
18.07.61	L'Eglise de Montélimar	Calvin	C. O. 18.565, Ep. 3449.
25.07.61	Semidde	Calvin	C. O. 18.574, Ep. 3455.
27.07.61	Le Seigneur de Montjaux	Chevalier	Roman, p.40.
30.07.61	L'Eglise de Montreal	Calvin	C. O. 18.576, Ep. 3458.
01.08.[61]	De la Vigne [St.-Lô]	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.66.
01.08.61	L'Eglise de Montpellier ⁵	Calvin	C. O. 18.584, Ep. 3463.
01.08.61	Perissin [Lignières]	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.62.
01.08.61	Avyssault [Duras]	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.63.
01.08.[61]	Dalmeres [Gien]	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.67.
01.08.61	Seelac [Miremont]	Colladon	C. O. 18.586, Ep. 3464.
05.08.61	L'Eglise de Frontignan	Calvin	C. O. 18.594, Ep. 3468.
06.08.61	Seelac [Bazas/Puschaux]	Calvin	C. O. 18.596, Ep. 3470.
07.08.61	Grené [Bordeaux]	Calvin	C. O. 18.597, Ep. 3471.
07.08.61	Duranson [Brodeaux]	Calvin	C. O. 18.598, Ep. 3472.

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08.08.61	Ducastera [Puyols]	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.135.
08.08.61	L'Eglise de Bazas	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.133.
08.08.61	Puyssault [Puyols]	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.63.
10.08.61	L'Eglise de Montélimar	Ministers	Romans, p.41.
12.08.61	L'Eglise de Montpellier ⁶	Calvin	C. O. 18.607, Ep. 3478.
14.08.61	Laparade [Ganges]	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.75.
25.08.61	L'Eglise de Maize	Chauvet	Ms. L. 121, f.79.
29.08.61	Le Baron de Font	d'Anduse	Ms. L. 121, f.81.
30.08.61	L'Eglise de Nismes	Calvin	C. O. 18.655, Ep. 3499.
30.08.61	Mauget [Nismes]	Calvin	C. O. 18.657, Ep. 3500.
31.08.61	L'Eglise de Bernis	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.149.
02.09.61	Chevallier [Allez] ⁷	Ministers	C. O. 20.479, Ep. 4203.
05.09.61	Davarenda [Aiguesmortes]	Calvin	C. O. 18.677, Ep. 3510.
06.09.61	L'Eglise du St.-Esprit	Calvin	C. O. 18.678, Ep. 3511.
13.09.61	L'Eglise de Nort	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.155.
13.09.61	L'Eglise de Tournon	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.154.
15.09.61	L'Eglise de Chateaubriant	Calvin	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.157.
15.09.61	L'Eglise du Chasteauduloir	Calvin	C. O. 18.715, Ep. 3520.
16.09.61	L'Eglise d'Aulas	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.159.
16.09.61	Semidde [Bagnaults]	Calvin	C. O. 18.717, Ep. 3522.
17.09.61	L'Eglise de Pont St. Esprit	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.161.
19.09.61	L'Eglise de Lunel	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.183.
20.09.61	Angevin [Tonneins]	Calvin	C. O. 18.726, Ep. 3527.
22.09.61	Seelac [Miremont]	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.88.
26.09.61	L'Eglise de Tonneins	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.168.
26.09.61	Durant [Bourges]	Colladon	Ms. L. 121, f.95.
27.09.61	Chaumergy [Maçon]	Calvin	C. O. 18.748, Ep. 3536.
28.09.61	L'Eglise de Montigni	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.173.
01.10.61	L'Eglise de Nantes ⁸	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 402, f.65.
06.10.61	Fournelet [Chalons]	Calvin	C. O. 19.20, Ep. 3552.
08.10.61	L'Eglise de Forqualquier	Ministers	C. O. 19.33, Ep. 3557.
08.10.61	L'Eglise d'Ys sur Thille	Calvin	C. O. 19.34, Ep. 3558.
11.10.61	L'Eglise d'Yssoudon	Calvin	C. O. 19.45, Ep. 3566.
11.10.61	L'Eglise de Maçon	Ministers	C. O. 19.46, Ep. 3567.
12.10.61	Mercurins [Lormarin]	Calvin	C. O. 19.48, Ep. 3568.
12.10.61	Sr de Vieil-Dampierre	Ministers	B. S. H. P. F. 46, p.457.
12.10.61	Sr. de Nettancourt [V-D]	Ministers	B. S. H. P. F. 46, p.459.
13.10.61	Sorel [Troyes]	Calvin	C. O. 19.49, Ep. 3569.
15.10.61	Les Fidèles de St.-Marcelliod	Richon	Roman, p.48.
15.10.61	L'Eglise de Marseilles	Ministers	B. S. H. P. F. 46, p.460.
23.10.61	L'Eglise de Valence	Calvin	C. O. 19.75, Ep. 3585.
24.10.61	L'Eglise de Maize	Chauvet	Ms. L. 121, f.91.
26.10.61	L'Eglise de Mézin	Calvin	C. O. 19.78, Ep. 3587.
27.10.61	L'Eglise de St. Marcelliod	Richon	Ms. Fr. 197, f.3.
28.10.61	L'Eglise de Roquefort ⁹	Calvin	C. O. 19.81, Ep. 3590.
28.10.61	N. de Hettenville [Ferté]	Ministers	B. S. H. P. F. 46, p.462.
28.10.61	Cousin [Ferte]	Ministers	B. S. H. P. F. 46, p.463.
30.10.61	L'Eglise de Montbasing	Ministers	B. S. H. P. F. 46, p.464.
04.11.61	L'Église de Chalon	Ministers	Gaberel, p.157.
06.11.61	L'Eglise de Castres	Calvin	C. O. 19.102, Ep. 3603.

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06.11.61	Beaulieu [Seant]	Calvin	C. O. 19.103, Ep. 3604.
08.11.61	L'Eglise de Millauld	Calvin	C. O. 19.106, Ep. 3606.
14.11.61	L'Eglise de Montfrein	Ministers	Gaberel, p.158.
15.11.61	La Riviere [Moulins]	Calvin	C. O. 19.111, Ep. 3610.
16.11.61	N. [Valence]	Calvin	C. O. 19.116, Ep. 3613.
18.11.61	L'Eglise de Condom	Calvin	C. O. 19.117, Ep. 3614.
23.11.61	L'Eglise de Liborne	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 402, f.99.
26.11.61	Dumont [Angoulesme]	Colladon	C. O. 19.138, Ep. 3628.
28.11.61	Nourrisson [Tours]	Calvin	C. O. 19.139, Ep. 3629.
29.11.61	Faget [La Rochelle]	Colladon	C. O. 19.142, Ep. 3631.
29.11.61	Dumont [d'Angoulesme]	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 402, f.108.
30.11.61	Costa [Condom]	Calvin	C. O. 19.145, Ep. 3633.
30.11.61	L'Église d'Angoulesme	Ministers	Gaberel, p.190.
01.12.61	Molinon [Loix]	Calvin	C. O. 19.146, Ep. 3635.
04.12.61	L'Église de Melun	Ministers	Gaberel, p.189.
10.12.61	L'Eglise de Mirebel	Ministers	Gaberel, p.189.
10.12.61	L'Eglise de Durfort	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 402, f.116.
13.12.61	Gravelle [Troyes]	Calvin	C. O. 19.160, Ep. 3643.
14.12.61	L'Église de Lyon	Ministers	Gaberel, p.193.
15.12.61	Monlyard [Orleans]	Colladon	Ms. Fr. 197, f.19.
16.12.61	Bise [Romans] ¹⁰	Calvin	C. O. 19.180, Ep. 3654.
16.12.61	Sorel [Troyes]	Calvin	C. O. 19.182, Ep. 3655.
17.12.61	L'Eglise de Troyes	Calvin	C. O. 19.183, Ep. 3656.
17.12.61	Viret [Nismes]	Calvin	C. O. 19.184, Ep. 3657.
23.12.61	Popillon [Chalons] ¹¹	Calvin	C. O. 19.190, Ep. 3660.
23.12.61	L'Église de Sommieres	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 402, f.123.
25.12.61	Pichon [S. Marcellin]	Calvin	C. O. 19.203, Ep. 3665.
26.12.61	Villefranche en Rouergue	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197, f.124.
29.12.61	Suraeus [Orleans]	Calvin	C. O. 19.213, Ep. 3673.
29.12.61	L'Eglise de Maçon	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.287.
30.12.61	L'Eglise de Poitiers	Ministers	C. O. 19.215, Ep. 3675.
30.12.61	L'Estang [Poitiers]	Calvin	C. O. 19.217, Ep. 3676.
Dec. 1561	Chevalier [Alais]	Colladon	Ms. Fr. 197, f.22.
undated 61	L'Église de Grasse	Ministers	Gaberel, p.163.
undated 61	L'Église de Nismes	Ministers	Gaberel, p.162.
undated 61	L'Église de Foix	Ministers	Gaberel, p.165.
undated [61]	Costa [Condom]	Calvin	C. O. 19.145, Ep. 3634.
undated [61]	L'Eglise de Montbrun	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.2.
undated [61]	L'Eglise de Dijon	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.11.
undated [61]	L'Eglise de Anger	[blank]	Ms. Fr. 197a,
f.20.			
undated [61]	Jean Milot [Nuits] ¹²	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.30.
undated [61]	L'Eglise d'Uzes	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.32.
undated [61]	L'Eglise d'Ambert etc	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 402, f.131.
06.01.62	Bermen [Die] ¹³	Colladon	C. O. 19.236, Ep. 3687.
10.01.62	Chapel [Privas]	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.1.
17.01.62	L'Eglise de Vaulrere	Calvin	C. O. 19.253, Ep. 3697.
20.01.62	Moras [Castelmoron]	Chauvet	Ms. Fr. 197, f.28.
22.01.62	Chapel [Privas]	Ministers	Gaberel, p.163.
23.01.62	L'Église de Bourges	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.3.

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03.02.62	Du Coindeau	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.5.
04.02.62	L'Église de Saulieu	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.7.
10.02.62	Casaubon [Crest]	Colladon	Ms. Fr. 197, f.29.
10.02.62	De Nort	Calvin	C. O. 19.282, Ep. 3714.
11.02.62	L'Eglise de Sisteron	Ministers	Gaberel, p.169.
11.02.62	L'Eglise de Toulouse	Ministers	Gaberel, p.170.
16.02.62	De Frasans [Dijon]	Calvin	C. O. 19.287, Ep. 3716.
24.02.62	L'Eglise de Buxy	Ministers	Gaberel, p.168.
28.02.62	L'Église d'Orleans	Ministers	Gaberel, p.167.
12.03.62	Ponnat [Grenoble] ¹⁴	Calvin	C. O. 19.329, Ep. 3738.
12.03.62	Chapel [Privas]	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.15.
16.03.62	L'Église de Vars	Calvin	C. O. 19.343, Ep. 3745.
22.03.62	L'Église d'Angiers	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.16.
23.03.62	L'Église de Camaret	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.17.
29.03.62	L'Eglise de Romorantin	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.19.
29.03.62	L'Eglise de Montélimar	Calvin	C. O. 19.362, Ep. 3756.
05.04.62	de Vaux [Milhaud]	Calvin	C. O. 19.383, Ep. 3768.
08.04.62	L'Eglise de Thuelz	Calvin	C. O. 19.385, Ep. 3770.
11.04.62	L'Église d'Orange	Ministers	Gaberel, p.171.
13.04.62	L'Eglise de Gresivaudon	Ministers	Roman, p.26.
24.04.62	L'Église de Noyer	Ministers	Gaberel, p.174.
26.04.62	L'Église d'Annonay	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.24.
29.04.62	Raletus [Annonay]	Calvin	C. O. 19.398, Ep. 3778.
30.04.62	L'Eglise d'Annonay	Calvin	C. O. 19.399, Ep. 3779.
07.05.62	Les Freres de Bonvoiseau	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.28.
15.05.[62]	de la Vigne [St.-Lô] ¹⁵	Calvin	C. O. 19.416, Ep. 3790.
20.05.62	L'Église de Blausac	Ministers	Gaberel, p.173.
29.05.[62]	Gravelle	Beze	C. O. 19.425, Ep. 3795.
08.06.62	de la Place [Valence]	Ministers	C. O. 19.431, Ep. 3801.
14.06.62	L'Eglise d'Alais	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.37.
22.06.62	L'Église de St.-Hippolite	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.38.
20.08.62	L'Église de Vernons	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.39.
02.09.62	Semidde [Bernis]	Calvin	C. O. 19.516, Ep. 3847.
09.11.[62]	Les Fideles de Beaulne	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 402, f.91.
06.01.63	Bernier [Die/Chastillon]	Colladon	Roman, p.109.
29.01.63	Les Freres de Montpellier	Ministers	Gaberel, p.156.
30.01.63	Les Consul de Montpellier	Ministers	Gaberel, p.179.
end Jan 63	Les Anciens de Grenoble	Syndics	Roman, p.113.
02.02.63	L'Eglise de Buis	Procuration	Roman, p.122.
13.03.63	L'Église de St. Nicolas	Ministers	Gaberel, p.179.
14.03.63	L'Église de Bagnols	Ministers	Gaberel, p.181.
17.03.63	Les Anciens de Pontaix	Colladon	Roman, p.124.

05.04.63	L'Église de Johannas	Ministers	Gaberel, p.182.
07.04.63	L'Église de Biax	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.48.
22.04.63	L'Église de Romans	Ministers	Roman, p.126.
25.04.63	L'Église de Jaujac	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.53.
05.05.63	L'Église de Pragelat	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.56.
06.05.63	d'Aireboudouse [Nimes]	Calvin	C. O. 20.5, Ep. 3801.
08.05.63	L'Église de Nismes	Ministers	Gaberel, p.184.
09.05.63	L'Eglise de Baix	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.62.
17.05.63	Les Conseillers de Lyon	Ministers	Gaberel, p.183.
19.05.63	Noel [Grenoble] ¹⁶	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a ¹⁷
21.05.63	Les Consul de Grenoble	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.68.
08.06.63	L'Église de Chalancon	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.80.
19.06.63	Graignon [Sommieres]	Ministers	Gaberel, p.153.
04.07.63	L'Eglise d'Autun	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 197a, f.36
22.09.63	L'Église d'Aviollion	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.85.
25.09.63	L'Église de Montpellier	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.87.
16.11.63	Tachard	Calvin	C. O. 20.186, Ep. 4044.
19.11.63	L'Église de Montaubon	Ministers	Ms. Fr. 403, f.97.
29.11.63	L'Église de Montorcier	Ministers	Gaberel, p.154.
01.12.63	L'Église de St. J d'Angely	Ministers	Gaberel, p.155.

Notes

- 1 For Merindol.
- 2 For Puy Michel.
- 3 For Puy Michel, again.
- 4 For Montlémar.
- 5 For Frontignan, Poussan, Baleruc and Villemagne.
- 6 For Lunel.
- 7 For Bagnols and Nismes.
- 8 For Pontigny.
- 9 For Roquefort and Mont de Marsan.
- 10 For Beaurepair, Moras and St.-Valier.
- 11 For Beaulne, Arné le Duc, S.-Luc, Chalons en Bourgogne.
- 12 For Beaulne.
- 13 For Valdrome and Chastillon.
- 14 For Clavans and Misoêns.
- 15 For Duce, pres d'Avranches.
- 16 For le baron de Sassenage.
- 17 cf. C. O. 20.58, note 1.

A Table indicating the Frequency with which these Letters were written
during the Period 1559-63

Date	Letters	C. O.	Other pubs.	Mss.
1559	6	4	1	1
1560	3	1	0	2
Jan. 1561	3	1	0	2
Feb. 1561	8	2	0	6
Mar. 1561	10	3	0	7
Apr. 1561	8	4	0	4
May 1561	16	6	1	9
Jun. 1561	14	7	1	6
Jul. 1561	9	6	3	0
Aug. 1561	21	9	1	11
Sept. 1561	17	7	0	10
Oct. 1561	20	10	7	3
Nov. 1561	15	10	3	2
Dec. 1561	20	11	3	6
undated ['61]	10	1	3	6
total 1561	171	77	22	72
Jan. 1562	6	2	1	3
Feb. 1562	9	2	4	3
Mar. 1562	7	3	0	4
Apr. 1562	8	4	3	1
May 1562	4	2	1	1
Jun.-Dec. '62	6	2	0	4
total 1562	40	15	9	16
Jan.-Mar. '63	8	0	8	0
Apr. 1563	4	0	2	2
May 1563	7	1	2	4
Jun. Oct. '63	5	0	1	4
Nov./Dec. '63	4	1	2	1
total 1563	28	2	15	11
1559-63	248	99	47	102

Appendix II

Colladon's Three Lists of French Churches requesting Pastors from Geneva, and of the Men despatched in response to them

A. The Aide-Mémoire of Pastors and French Churches (Ms. Fr. 402, f. 100v.)

- [1] M^e Jehan de Bosco [B.45, C.143]/Castres. [B.45, C.33, C.143]
 - [2] Gombauld/Le Luc
 - [3] Plateanus [B.32, C.134]/Valence [B.32, C.134]
 - [4] M^e gilbert [B.42, C.141]/Millauld [B.42, C.141]
 - [5] m^e Sebastian. [B.1, C.130]/Beaulne [B.1, C.130]
 - [6] m^e Vitalis. [B.41]/Soliers [B.52]
-

- [7] Angiers [B.36, C.137]
- [8] Le bourg d'ys [B.28, C.132]
- [9] Le gentilhomme de champaigne
- [10] la ferte [B.38, C.138]
- [11] foix [B.48, C.146]
- [12] Basauges [B.53, C.148]

B. The Catalogue of French Churches requesting Pastors, and the Corresponding Assignments (Ms. Fr. 402, ff. 101v, 101)

[fol. 101v.]

- [1] Beaulne [A.5, C.130]/M^e Sebastian Tyran [A.5, C.130]
- [2] Cahors.
- [3] S. Cyprian
- [4] Brives
- [5] Cisteron
- [6] La Vaux
- [7] Le poet de Laval
- [8] la Rochelle
- [9] Un baron de Dauphine
- [10] Issoire [C.131] j'ay l'argent m^e george Laurent [C.131]

- [40] Cornon Terrail [C.139] diocese de Montpellier. Leonard Second
qui est l'une des parroisses [C.139]
ou presche Le More cousin de m^e Charles Maubué.
-Maubué [B.40]
- [41] Montbasing [C.140] qui est un village au diocese ~~Guillaume Montaule~~
de Montpellier a demande m^e ~~Jehan Vital~~ [A.6] m^e guillaume Montauld
qui a este envoye [C.140]
- [42] Millauld [A.4, C.141] m^e Gilbert [A.4, C.141]
- [43] Mezin. [C.142] m^e Pierre de bosco. [C.142]
- [44] Montfrein
- [45] Castres [A.1, C.33, C.143] m^e Jehan de Bosco [A.1, C.143]. Il n'y est
pas allé ains est encore demeuré à Lausanne
- [46] Gresivauldon
- [47] Nantueil [C.144] aupres de Meaux/ m^e Guy Saint [C.144]
Monsieur de la Pommeraye [C.145]
- [48] foix [A.11, C.146] m^e Antoine Caffer [B.36, C.146]
- [49] Domeine [C.147] pres de Grenoble — monsr de Reaumont [C.147]
- [50] Le Sanyet
- [51] Liborne [C.61]
- [52] Soliers [A.6]
- [53] Bazauges en Bretagne [A.12, C.148]. La boissiere [C.148]
- [54] La Reolle
- [55] Montsecut
- [56] Guitres qui est ung bourg aupres de Bordeaux. monsieur
pellissier nomme pour ce lieu là m^e Remy Goudon. mais ledict
n'a este trouve suffisant.
- [57] Mirebel
- [58] Mascon [B.34, C.112, C.135, C.149]. m^e Mondon de Jussier [C.149].
- [59] Bedarioux [C.150]. M^e Pierre Osteti demande par eulx. [C.150]

C. The Inventory of Pastors from Geneva and of the French Churches to which they were assigned (Ms. Fr. 402, ff. 103-106)

[fol. 103]

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------|
| [1] Gilles Tartier | à Maçay |
| [2] Guillaume Coquin | {Aultretot |
| [3] M ^e Noel [C.42] | {en Normandie |
| [4] M ^e Pierre Gaultier | Aubigni |

[5]	Fournier	S. Ambrois
[6]	Jaunay	Monravel
[7]	M ^e Pierre Merlin [C.75]	Paris
[8]	Paulmier [C.97]	Niort
[9]	Guillaume L'Evesque est demeuré à S. Genis [C.34] ayant este ordonné pour	Casteljaloux- [C.65]
[10]	Baptiste	Nerac
[11]	M ^e Olivier le vilain	Clerac
[12]	Faverges	Montaulban
[13]	Levet	Chasteaubriant
[14]	le Coq	Croisic
[15]	M ^e Pierre le Roy	Digeon
[16]	M ^e Michel le lievre [C.71] avoit este premierement ordonne à	Condon [C.50] depuis pour S. Million [C.71]
[17]	M ^e Philippes monsieur de Thisey	pedagogue chez Mirembeau
[18]	M ^e Vincent Meslier	S. Paul
[19]	S. Pierre	S. Basile [C.113]
[20]	Magni	la Coste.
[21]	Rigolet [C.57] procureur de Grenoble avoit este ordonné pour aller à	Salon depuis envoye a Grace # [C.57]
[22]	M ^e Pierre Julier	S. Pierre le Monstier
[23]	M ^e Pierre Raillet [C.77] maistre d'eschole à Chanci	Annonay [C.77]
# dont quelque temps apres il est retourné.		
[fol. 103v.]		
[24]	Hersan [C.79]	deux villages de Provence
[25]	M ^e Hugues Sureau	Orleans
[26]	M ^e Guillaume Serre	Taillecavat
[27]	Davarenda	Aigues Mortes
[28]	Vachier	Maugeau
[29]	M ^e francois	Mons ^r du Solier

Appendix II

[30] Jacques Lambert	Caulmont
[31] Georgeot	Soubise
[32] Joachim Marche	Alsap
[33] Flori de la rivoire	Castres [A.1, B.45, C.143].
[34] Ayme Lutel [C.64]	S. Genis [C.9]
[35] Monsieur de Senesme	
[36] Monsieur de la ripaudiere	Lion
[37] Baron	Chastelerauld
[38] me Pierre Sachet	Marsilargues
[39] Charles Bernard	Monclat
[40] Me Claude Chevalier	Aleys
[41] francois Tenant	Grateloup en Agenois
[42] Me Noel [C.3]. <u>Il n'a pas arresté audict</u>	<u>Vertueil</u>
[43] Me fancois Richier	Chauvigny [B.18]
[44] Me Jehan de Tournay	Chinon
[45] Molinon [C.84]	Marseille [B.29].
	[fol. 104]
[46] Cochois à	Jonzac
[47] cousin d'Antoine Morel	à Castelmoron
[48] Guy de Moranges	Orillac
[49] Me francois Richard	à la Gironde
[50] Costan	à Condon [C.16].
[51] Boesmier	à Isigeac
[52] Bourbon	à Villereal
[53] Jehan Antoine	à Enval Meyra & Teuch qui sont trois villages en Vivarois
[54] Jacques Berthet	à S. Aignon & Mont= richard
[55] Me Antoine durant	Bourges.
Guy de Moranges [C.48]	Orillac [C.48]
[56] Me Reymon Reynac demeurant chez feu maistre Denis Peserivain	à Colmars [C.78]. il est retourne depuis

[57]	Rigolet [C.21]		à Grace [C.21]. Il
			est retourné
[58]	Estienne Courreau		Aigues Vives
[59]	Monsieur Salvar		Nevers
[60]	Guillaume Boissin		S. Germain de Coberte
[61]	Pierre Sorel		Liborne[B.51]
[62]	Reymond Bernard		à puislaurens ou Sorise ou Carmens
[63]	M ^e francois felix		Au Vigan
[64]	Ayme Lutel [C.34]		A Ganges
[65]	M ^e Jehan Chambely		Castelialoux [C.9]
			[fol. 104v.]
[66]	M ^e francois Teron		à Meyruez
[67]	M ^e Pierre fournelet		à Chaalons en Cham= paigne
[68]	M ^e Jehan venu de NeufChastel}		
[69]	& Archembauld[C.99] pedagogue du }		à Bordeaux [B.24, C.99]
	monsieur Chevalier		
[70]	Laurent Taussac		la Roche Chalaix
[71]	Michel le lievre [C.16]		St Million [C.16]
[72]	M ^e francois l'enfant		Ste Livrade
[73]	Alardi		Pésne
[74]	Ainemon Lacombe		Romans
[75]	La croix cousin de		
	M ^e Pierre Merlin [C.7]		Tours
[76]	Maurice		Ligueul
[77]	M ^e Pierre Raillet [C.23]		la rocheposé. [B.17]
			Il n'y est pas allé, pourceque ceulx d'Annonay [C.23] l'ont redemandé.
[78]	Boniface Esmiuc	demande & accordé pour	Gignac
			mais ils ne l'ont emmené: de=
	Il n'y est pas allé		
	pource qu'ils ne le		puis demande & accorde pour Colmars [C.56].
	sont venus querir.		
[79]	Hersan [C.24]		Les vans
[80]	Robert fraisse }		à la force/aynesse
[81]	& Jehan Gueydon }		& gardonne
[82]	Arnould Cordier		Cams

[83] Michel Rouillard	Saint Leonard
Maurice [C.76]	A Ligueur [C.76]
1	2
[84] Molinon [C.45].	[85] l'aulmosnier de monsr de Valence /
3	
[86] Le pedagogue de Camaille	
4	5
[87] Pierre Martel	[88] Pierre Grenade
ont este emmenez	
par le Thresorier d'Armignac. aussi [89] mons ^r de Beaulieu luy	
a este assigné pour aller quelque temps apres à sa commodité.	
	[fol. 105]
[90] Claude Persin	Lignieres en Berry
[91] Guillaume Furege	Vire en Normandie
[92] Bompar	à Rouen
[93] Guillaume du Coindeau	à Aubernas
Claude Persin [C.90]	à Lignieres en Berry [C.90]
[94] Pierre chevillard	à Negrepelice
[95] Joachim Massot	à l'Alben en Daulphiné
	qui l'ont requis
[96] Barruel	envoye à mons ^r de Montieux
	qui l'avait demande
[97] Jaques Paulmier [C.8]	à Lerac
[98] Antoine Manduca	à Montreal
[99] Archambauld [C.69] de chez	
monsieur Chevalier qui	
avoit este envoye a Bordeaux [B.24, C.69]	
a este accorde à l'Eglise de _____	Basats
toutesfois ceulx de Bordeaux l'ont envoyé à St Justin	
[100] Jaques Sorel _____	Troye en
	Champaigne
[101] M ^e Pierre Nostri _____	Busanceys
[102] Monsieur Pierius _____	Blois ou Mer
[103] Monsieur de Parey _____	Chalons en
	Bourgoigne
[104] Matthieu Seguin _____	Bernis
[105] Jehan Odinet _____	Chabueil
[106] Dothee _____	Pusch de Gontau

[107] Casaubon _____ Le Crest

[fol.105v.]

[108] Bourdenave _____ à frontignan

[109] Jehan Meslier _____ Puyols

[110] Guillaume du pont _____ Granges

[111] Tourtelon _____ S. Pierre
de la salle

[112] Maistre Pierre Boulot revenu de
la sauveta, envoyé a _____ Mascon [B.34, B.58, C.135, C.149]

[113] Jehan Boveri _____ Ste Basile [C.19]

[114] Rodigus _____ Pragela

[115] Guillaume Herauld _____ Aulas

[116] Charles Miclot _____ Lorient

[117] Jehan Daumarin _____ Le Monestier de
Clermont

[118] Jehan d'Abbaye _____ Montpesat

[119] Jehan Cruseau _____ Le bourg Saint
Pierre

[120] Jaques Montfousch _____ Preschas

[121] Bastien L'ouvrier _____ à St Antoine en Perigord

[122] Lois Bergeac aultremont monsieur du Vergier — a Montelimar

[123] Jehan Le Clerc _____ à Miremont en
Agenois

[124] Andre Omo _____ à St Antoine en Daulphiné

[125] Me vincent Ortin _____ au St Esprit

[126] francois Viguiet _____ à Tournon en Agenois

[127] Jehan Lassus _____ à Fueillet et Villotte

[128] Mons^r Daignon _____ à Chaumont en Bassigny

[129] Mons^r de Passi _____ à Yssouldung

[fol. 106]

[130] me Sebastian Tyran [A.5, B.1] _____ A Beaulne [A.5, B.1]

[131] Maistre George Laurent [B.10] _____ Yssoire [B.10]

[132] Monsieur Maupeau [B.28] _____ yz sur Tille [A.8, B.28]

[133] Me Jaques Guerin [B.31] _____ forqualquier [B.31]

[134] Plateanus [A.3, B.32] _____ Valence [A.3, B.32]

[135] Me Pierre Pasquier [B.34] _____ Mascon [B.34, B58, C.112, C.149]

- [136] M^e Charles Vernet [B.35] ————— a Vieildampierre & [B.35]
aultres villages
- [137] N. Marais [B.36] —————a Angiers [A.7, B.36]
- [138] M^e Claude de Creci [B.38] —————à la ferte frenel [A.10, B.38]
en Normandie
- [139] Leonard Second [B.40] —————à Cornon Terrail [B.40]
- [140] Guillaume Montauld [B.41] ————— à Montbasing [B.41]
- [141] M^e Gilbert [A.4, B.42] —————à Millauld [A.4, B.42]
- [142] M^e Pierre de Bosco [B. 43] —————à Mezin [B. 43]
- [143] M^e Jehan de Bosco [A.1, B.45] ————— à Castres [A.1, B.45, C.33]
- [144] M^e Guy Saint [B.47] ————— à Nantueil [B.47]
- [145] Monsieur de la Pommeraye [B.47]
- [146] M^e Antoine Caffer [B.36, B.48] ————— a foix [A.11, B.48]
- [147] Monsieur de Reaulmont [B.49] ————— à Domeine [B.49]
- [148] Monsr la boissiere [B.53] —————à Bazauges [A.12, B.53]
- [149] Mondon de Jussier [B.58] — à Mascon. [B.34, B.58, C.112, C.135]
- [150] M^e Pierre Osteti [B.59] —————à Bedarioux [B.59]

Appendix III

Calvin's Lectures on the Prophetic Books of the Old Testament, and the Publication of his 'Commentaries', 1557-65

O. T. Book	First Lecture	Last Lecture	Commentary Dedication	Commentary Publication
Psalms	1552	[c. 1556]	22 July 1557	1557
Hosea	[c. 1556]	[c. 1556]	13 Feb. 1559	1557
Minor Proph.	[c. 1556]	[c. 1558]	26 Jan. 1559	1559
Isaiah (revd.)	[c. 1547]	1550	15 Jan. 1559	1559
Daniel	12 June 1559	April 1560	19 Aug. 1561	1561
Jeremiah	15 April 1560	9 Sept. 1562	23 July 1563	1563
Lamentations	21 Sept 1562	19 Jan. 1563	-	1563
Ezekiel	20 Jan. 1563	2 Feb. 1564	-	1565

Appendix IV

**References to Restoration, Reformation and Renovation in
Calvin's Expositions of the Old Testament Prophets**

Table 1

References to *restitutio*, *reformatio*, *instauratio* and *renovatio* in the 1557
Psalms Commentary

Term	Group A Humanity	Group B Faculty	Group C Institution	Group D Accessory	Group E All Things	Totals
<i>restitutio</i>	42	22	38	4	10	116
<i>reformatio</i>	3	3	0	0	0	6
<i>instauratio</i>	7	4	15	0	3	29
<i>renovatio</i>	18	11	5	8	4	46
Totals	70	40	58	12	17	197

Table 2

References to *restitutio*, *reformatio*, *instauratio* and *renovatio* in the 1559
Lectures on the Minor Prophets

Term	Group A Humanity	Group B Faculty	Group C Institution	Group D Accessory	Group E All Things	Totals
<i>restitutio</i>	16	7	142	19	7	191
<i>reformatio</i>	7	2	7	0	0	16
<i>instauratio</i>	0	0	23	1	1	25
<i>renovatio</i>	7	8	12	9	7	43
Totals	30	17	184	29	15	275

Table 3

References to *restitutio*, *reformatio*, *instauratio* and *renovatio* in the 1559
Isaiah Commentaries

Term	Group A Humanity	Group B Faculty	Group C Institution	Group D Accessory	Group E All Things	Totals
<i>restitutio</i>	22	12	163	15	18	230
<i>reformatio</i>	16	8	6	0	1	31
<i>instauratio</i>	4	0	112	2	18	136
<i>renovatio</i>	18	5	13	4	20	60
Totals	60	25	294	21	57	457

Table 4

References to *restitutio*, *reformatio*, *instauratio* and *renovatio* in the 1561
Lectures on Daniel

Term	Group A Humanity	Group B Faculty	Group C Institution	Group D Accessory	Group E All Things	Totals
<i>restitutio</i>	6	4	10	3	2	25
<i>reformatio</i>	1	0	0	0	0	1
<i>instauratio</i>	0	0	5	0	0	5
<i>renovatio</i>	0	2	5	3	5	15
Totals	7	6	20	6	7	46

Table 5

References to *restitutio*, *reformatio*, *instauratio* and *renovatio* in the 1563
Lectures on Jeremiah and Lamentations

Term	Group A Humanity	Group B Faculty	Group C Institution	Group D Accessory	Group E All Things	Totals
<i>restitutio</i>	6	0	115	13	1	135
<i>reformatio</i>	1	2	4	0	0	7
<i>instauratio</i>	0	0	13	1	0	14
<i>renovatio</i>	10	8	0	4	3	25
Totals	17	10	132	18	4	181

Table 6
References to *restitutio*, *reformatio*, *instauratio* and *renovatio* in the 1565
Lectures on Ezekiel.

Term	Group A Humanity	Group B Faculty	Group C Institution	Group D Accessory	Group E All Things	Totals
<i>restitutio</i>	2	2	32	2	0	38
<i>reformatio</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1
<i>instauratio</i>	0	1	5	0	0	6
<i>renovatio</i>	14	7	5	1	2	29
Totals	16	11	42	3	2	74

Bibliography

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