The Calvin Handbook

Edited by
Herman J. Selderhuis

Translated by
Henry J. Baron,
Judith J. Guder,
Randi H. Lundell, and
Gerrit W. Sheeres

William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company
Grand Rapids, Michigan / Cambridge, U.K.
## Contents

*Preface to the English Edition* viii  
*Sigla and Abbreviations* x  

### A. ORIENTATION  
1. Calvin Images: Images and Self-Image  
2. Calvin’s Works — Old and New  
3. Calvin Research: Tools, Institutions, and State of Research  

### B. PERSON  
1. Stations  
   1. France and Basel  
   2. Calvin’s First Stay in Geneva  
   3. Strasbourg  
   4. Geneva II  
2. Historical Connections  
   1. Calvin and Wittenberg  
   2. Calvin and the Swiss Confederation  
   3. Calvin and Strasbourg  
   4. Calvin and France  
   5. Calvin and the Netherlands
CONTENTS

6. Calvin and Eastern Europe 97
7. Calvin and Rome 104
8. Calvin’s Relations with Southern Europe 112
9. Calvin and the British Isles 118

III. Theological Relations 125
1. Calvin and the Church Fathers 125
2. Calvin and the Humanists 137
3. Calvin and the Jews 143
4. Calvin and the Anabaptists 146
5. Calvin and His Opponents 154
6. Calvin and Students 165

C. WORK 173

I. Types 173
1. Sermons 173
2. Commentaries and Prefaces 181
3. Tracts and Treatises 192
4. The Institutes 199
5. Catechisms 206
6. Letters 214

II. Themes 224
1. God and Humanity 224
2. Scripture 235
3. The Trinity 245
4. Christology 257
5. Creation and Providence 267
6. Anthropology 275
7. Faith and Justification 288
8. Pneumatology 299
9. Predestination 312
10. Ecclesiology 323
11. Ethics and Church Discipline 332
12. The Sacraments 344
13. Church and State 355
14. Eschatology 361

III. Structures 365
   1. *Communio cum Christo* 365
   2. *Accommodatio Dei* 372
   3. Exegesis and *Doctrina* 372
   4. Tradition and Renewal 384

D. INFLUENCE AND RECEPTION 397

I. Thematically 397
   1. The Law and Canon Law 397
   2. Liturgy 407
   3. Art and Literature 418
   4. Education and Pedagogy 428
   5. Politics and Social Life 437
   6. Science 448
   7. Marriage and Family Life 455
   8. Spirituality 465

II. Historically 472
   1. Calvin and Reformed Orthodoxy 472
   2. Calvin's Reception in the Eighteenth Century 479
   3. Calvin's Reception in the Nineteenth Century 486
   4. Calvin's Reception in the Twentieth Century 496
   5. Calvin in Africa 504
   6. Calvin in Asia 512
   7. Calvin in America 519

Contributors and Translators 527

Bibliography of Primary Sources and Literature 530

Indexes
   PERSONS 567
   PLACES 578
   SUBJECTS 581
Preface to the English Edition

Calvin published his best-known work, the *Institutes*, for the benefit of students of theology. In a similar way, this handbook is intended to benefit all who want to study the life and work of Calvin. In the research of Calvin, the focus has been on the *Institutes* for such a long time that the impression may have been created that said work contained everything that Calvin could have said. This handbook would like to avoid this pitfall, for it certainly does not claim to say all that can be said about Calvin, nor be the final, definitive word about him. At the same time, this book wants to provide a thorough overview of the biography, the theology, and the influence of Calvin, based on the most recent research.

Calvin research today is in full swing and even enjoys a resurgence worldwide. The preparations for the celebration of Calvin’s 500th birthday in 2009 certainly have given this research a boost, but interest in the Reformer and his work also existed well before this, and will certainly not diminish after 2009. This handbook would like to support and stimulate this research, but it also would like to provide information especially for those who are not engaged with Calvin either scholarly or professionally.

Calvin’s literary production is enormous and covers 59 volumes in the *Corpus Reformatorum* with a total of about 22,000 pages. Accordingly, the literature about Calvin is voluminous and can hardly be surveyed, especially because the number of languages in which works by and about Calvin are being published is expanding rapidly. A handbook like this is able to offer a comprehensive overview of all of this. Because it wants to be not only an introduction, but also a starting point and a point of reference for anyone who wants to study Calvin in greater depth, the setup is that whoever wants to acquire a more intimate knowledge of Calvin will find sufficient material for the beginning of such a study in this handbook.

Calvin writes in 1559 at the publication of the final edition of the *Institutes*
that now he is finally satisfied with its content and organization. Fortunately in this respect, as editor, I do not have to wait for the final edition of this handbook, because even though supplements and improvements are conceivable and possibly desirable, the user of this handbook will be satisfied now already with what experts offer here.

The English quotations of Calvin have been taken, in most instances, from the so-called Battles-McNeill edition. The Latin and French quotations come from the *Calvini Opera* edition in the *Corpus Reformatorum, Opera Selecta* (Barth/Niesel edition), or the new *Ioannis Calvini Opera Omnia* (Droz) edition. Each chapter concludes with a few references to literature which specifically relates to the theme that is dealt with, while references to literature mentioned in the text are incorporated in the general bibliography at the end of the book.

The concept of this *Calvin Handbook* conforms to that used by colleague Beutel in his *Luther Handbuch*. I wish to thank him for incorporating this work in his series. He will be pleased to know that this work will be published in several languages. Thanks for the diligent assistance of the translators, Henry J. Baron, Judith J. Guder, Randi H. Lundell, and Gerrit W. Sheeres. A special word of thanks to Dr. William den Boer, academic staff member of the *Instituut voor Reformatieonderzoek* (Institute for Reformation Research) for his thorough assistance in helping to arrive at the definitive form and content of the various articles. However, I want to express my thanks especially to all the participating authors for their readiness to contribute their much appreciated international expertise to this handbook.

Herman J. Selderhuis

*Translated by Gerrit W. Sheeres*
Symbols and abbreviations follow Siegfried M. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete (IATG)*, 2nd ed., 1993. In addition to those in Schwertner, the following abbreviations are particularly important (further information about these titles is incorporated in the Bibliography in the Appendix).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BSRW</td>
<td>Basler Studien zur Rechtswissenschaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CaHR</td>
<td>Cahiers d’Humanisme et Renaissance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COR</td>
<td>John Calvin, <em>Ioannis Calvini Opera Omnia denuo recognita</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS</td>
<td>Calvin Translation Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSO</td>
<td>John Calvin, <em>Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae de servitute et liberatione humani arbitrii adversus calumnias Alberti Pighii Campensis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBBibl 1</td>
<td>J. Staedtke, <em>Heinrich Bullinger, Bibliographie</em>, vol. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBBW 4</td>
<td>Heinrich Bullinger, <em>Briefwechsel</em>, vol. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ReHT</td>
<td>Reformed Historical Theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>John Calvin, <em>Calvin-Studienausgabe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>John Calvin, <em>Supplementa Calviniana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMRR</td>
<td>Studies in Early Modern Religious Reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHCT</td>
<td>Studies in the History of Christian Thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>StGH</td>
<td>Studies in German Histories</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. Orientation

I. Calvin Images: Images and Self-Image

At the end of the sixteenth century, a farmer reported to his Lutheran pastor that at night he had seen a witch fly around the house. When asked to describe the witch, the farmer said that it had looked suspiciously like Calvin. This story tells us something about the Calvin image in two ways, namely, that his image was well known and that it was not a very positive image. On the first point, caricatures were drawn of Calvin, some of which were saved. Calvin’s physiognomy, such as we know it, did provoke such caricatures, especially where his outward appearance confirmed the general image of the Calvinist. Beza describes Calvin as one “of medium height, a very pale face, and dark-looking eyes which until his death remained clear” (CO 21, 169).

That negative image remained intact through the centuries and sometimes seemed stronger than the positive image that many of his followers through the centuries had of him. At an auction in London in the summer of 2007, a newly discovered letter of Calvin was offered for sale in which he wrote about suicide. The auctioneer reported that Calvin in this letter was “unusually compassionate.” Thus the image is of a merciless Calvin, the man without a heart, the uncompromising pursuer of heretics who kept his enemies on the run, and who also saddled his followers with a joyless lifestyle. It is also striking that Calvin did not think so positively about himself either, so that his image and self-image in some ways exhibit similarities.
1. Intolerance

These negative impressions of Calvin in some countries led to an exclusively negative definition of the concept of “Calvinistic” or “Reformed.” Calvin himself likely made an important contribution to this negative image with his participation in the proceedings against Michael Servetus in 1553. On the one hand, it should be noted that Servetus received the punishment in Geneva that he, according to the laws of the emperor, would have received in every other city in the realm and that Rome and the Reformation in this case were on the same page. On the other hand, precisely in this case against Servetus, Calvin could have adopted a stance in which his own conviction would have become apparent that certain insights cannot be forced on others. Therefore the Servetus case is the most important argument that is generally advanced for the negative image of Calvin, all the more so in light of the relative ignorance about the rest of his life and works. This tradition began with the work of Sebastian Castellio (1515-1563), who rather inconsistently condemned Calvin because he had contributed to the death sentence for Servetus while leaving other heretics, such as Anabaptists and Catholics, undisturbed when he really should have persecuted these to their death as well. The German church historian Heinrich Bornkamm suggested that Calvin comes the closest to the Middle Age approximation of the problem of how to deal with heretics. He based his notion exclusively on the Servetus case. The American church historian Roland Bainton did the same. He asserted, on the basis of the Servetus case, that Calvin could not be bothered with freedom of conscience but led the Protestant persecution to its highest point.

Two influential examples of the promotion of a negative Calvin image are the British historian Lord Acton (1834-1902) and the Swiss writer Stefan Zweig (1881-1952). Acton, a liberal and ardent Roman Catholic, was professor of history at Cambridge. In his *History of Freedom and Other Essays* (1907) he claimed that persecution is inherent in Protestantism, specifically Calvinism, in which Calvin as the enemy of tolerance advanced the theory. Acton appealed to a passage of Calvin in which he says, in fact, the opposite of what Acton claims. Still, the influence of this view is noticeable in the work of historians such as Roland Bainton and Jonathan Israel (Balke, *Calvijn en de Bijbel*, 19-26). But especially Stefan Zweig’s *Castellio gegen Calvin* (1936) — translated and circulated worldwide — spread and affirmed a negative image of Calvin. Zweig gives the kind of description of Calvin that most will recognize as strikingly similar to that of Hitler. But specialists in the area of Reformation research have also described Calvin as one who lacked love of mankind and goodness and for whom friendship was an unknown concept (Imbart de la Tour, *Calvin*, 171).

Attempts such as those of Ernst Pfisterer (*Calvins Wirken in Genf*,
Neukirchen, 1957) to show from the writings that this Calvin image is wrong can indeed be regarded as successful, but they were hardly able to readjust the image that existed among the broader public. On the other side, a possible counter-weight to the negative image was not forthcoming because within Reformed Protestantism the worship of Calvin as a saint never emerged. Calvin's theology emphatically rejects such a relationship with people, just as he rejected the concept of "Calvinism." Further developments in the history of church and theology of Reformed Protestantism also made sure that the movement was hardly connected to the person of Calvin. Only closer research of the archives in Geneva and especially Calvin's correspondence helped to correct the existing image and allowed Calvin to be seen as a cordial person who was not only very sensitive himself but also tried carefully to deal with the feelings of others.

2. Beza and Bolsec

The fact is that the two particular Calvin images, namely, the predominantly positive and the especially negative image, emerged fairly shortly after Calvin's death and scarcely changed through the centuries. The biography, which Beza already published in the year of Calvin's death, presents Calvin to us as the great reformer and hero of faith. With some reluctance, Beza also makes a few negative marginal notes of Calvin's character. The third printing of this work of Beza in 1575 was occasion for Hieronymus Bolsec to publish his La vie de Calvin (1577) and his "life, morals, devilish wiles and his physical death with which he left this world, under blasphemy, profanity, scandal, maledictions and in utter despair" (Bolsec, Vie, 140). Bolsec stated that he wished through his work to point out the errors of the Calvinist sect in order to bring back many to the Catholic Church. The structure he applied is meant to put Calvin down as a heretic. That is also the reason why he pays so much attention to Calvin's dying, which due to its terrors was typical of the deathbed of a heretic. But in his life also Calvin already proved to be heretical. Thus Bolsec accuses Calvin among other things of having been a glutton, adulterer, consorter of prostitutes, homosexual, miser, and revolutionary who in addition suffered from egotism, pride, obstinacy, vindictiveness, and neophilia. A number of theological deviations may be added to these. Bolsec's work enjoyed a large circulation in the sixteenth century and was translated into Latin, German, Dutch, and Polish. In the nineteenth century French-language editions appeared as well. Also, this work constituted the source for other descriptions of the life and work of Calvin, such as the two-volume biography of J.-M.-V. Audin (Histoire de la vie, des ouvrages et des doctrines de Calvin, Paris, 1841), which determined the Calvin image in French Catholicism until after World War I. Audin reinforced that negative im-
age by elaborating on Calvin's outward appearance as well. His nasal voice, cadaver-like figure, bent back, a half-blind eye, colorless lips, and white hair incited, according to Audin (Tome 2, 13), much hilarity already in his own time; it’s a picture with which Audin brings Calvin’s outward appearance close to that of witches.

Calvin’s image becomes more positive, surprisingly, within Catholicism in the second half of the twentieth century, a development stimulated by the ecumenical movement, the Second Vatican Council, and research of the sources, specifically the reading of Calvin’s work.

3. Idol

It is incorrect to say that over against this negative image of Calvin an ideal image of him exists as if these two images were to keep each other in balance. Correspondingly, in the course of the centuries Calvin was pictured only in a limited way as an ideal theologian and pastor. Among the “Reformed saints” he occupied but a modest place as person, in contrast to the place accorded to Luther in the Lutheran tradition. On the other hand, his theology has become more normative for the Reformed tradition than has that of Luther for Lutheran theology. Calvin had an authoritative voice in many exegetical and theological discussions, and eventual criticism of his interpretation and point of view was rather cautiously expressed. Still, the normativity of the Reformed confessions was greater than those of Calvin. Closely related, there was a constant awareness of Calvin’s own view that also his own thinking was but relative and needed to be examined in the light of Scripture. Calvin himself was delighted when he observed that his works were circulated and used widely, but at the same time he warned against the danger, of which he apparently was aware, that he should be turned into an idol. Johannes a Lasco informed Calvin in 1552 of a matter in the Waldoon part of the London community, where a number of members appealed to Calvin. Calvin answered with a letter to the whole congregation in which he requested “not to make an idol of me and of Geneva a kind of Jerusalem” (CO 14, 362-365).

He did not become an idol; an ideal, yes, and thus in fact within Reformed Protestantism he gained the position of doctor ecclesiae. In addition, he received the credit for many other positive developments in society, politics, and science. The well-known Calvin scholar Emile Doumergue made a direct connection between Calvin and modern democracy (Tome 5, 611), an idea that was modified by Ernst Troeltsch when he observed that what must be meant is a conservative democracy with a strong authoritarian stamp on it and therefore different from the French and American model (Troeltsch, Sozialehren, I, 605). For
Marxist historiography, Calvin’s ideas counted as revolutionary. Friedrich Engels described Calvin as one who completed the revolution initiated by the Reformation. His doctrine of predestination shows how dependent one is on circumstances beyond his control, while Calvin’s concept of church equalizes all social ranks and stations (Marx/Engels, Werke, 19 [1962 ed.], 533).

Noteworthy is the variation in appreciation of Calvin in the different parts of the world, in the sense that in North America, Asia, and South Africa Calvin is generally much more highly regarded than in Western Europe. In the first-mentioned regions he is appreciated as innovator of church and theology and as one who made a significant contribution to the development of politics, education, and science. In the Reformed world of Eastern Europe Calvin is also known especially as a reformer who helped the church and society advance and whose work remains relevant.

Besides this geographical variation, there is also a difference in judgment that is determined by changes in, for example, political and ecclesiastical situations and points of view. Thus the 1685-1870 period in France indicates that Protestant and Catholic interpretations of Calvin cannot always be simply divided into pro and con categories, while his view of the authority of the Bible and the place of the home sometimes emerges more prominently among Catholics than it does among Protestants.

It is especially the push to a more historical rather than a theological understanding of the sixteenth century that led in the past decades to an increasingly greater revision of both a predominantly negative image of Calvin and an exclusively positive one. But it took centuries before his enemies ceased to speak only ill of him and adherents to speak only good of him. However, it has never been disputed that Calvin made a substantial contribution to the political, ecclesiastical, and social changes in the Western world, and that the nature of his theology entails a lasting actuality and influence.

4. Self-Image

Research of the archives of Geneva has revealed that Calvin definitely did not have the decisive power in this city, as well as that his ideas in many respects were progressive and certainly not reactionary. Furthermore, the broader study of Calvin’s work — that is to say, broader than only the Institutes — has contributed to a revised image of Calvin, considering that the negative image originated mainly from a few works that in the literature became determinative without anyone asking whether what was portrayed corresponded with the facts. Still, what had been written was in the meantime adopted without criticism by others in reference works. An important element in this revised view is
that increasingly more attention has been given to what Calvin said about himself.

His pronouncement — in the letter to Sadoleto — that he did not like to talk about himself (“De me non libenter loquor,” CO 5, 389) was largely understood to mean that Calvin had never said anything about himself at all. However, not only a careful reading of his letters and commentaries reveals much about the person of Calvin, but also the fact that Calvin in his writings and sermons often speaks of “we” when he means “I” is a key to a better understanding of Calvin.

As already mentioned, Calvin did not have a very positive self-image. He continually cites in his letters a number of negative characteristics that he is aware of but which he at the same time has a hard time hiding. Thus he admits to great difficulty in preserving the peace through moderation and tolerance, though, contrary to his nature (“tamen vim ingenio mea”), he tries to do his best (CO 11, 365). In the foreword to the commentary on the Psalms, he writes: “I have to admit that by nature I lack courage, I’m shy, fearful, and lax” (CO 31, 19). That Calvin is not made of stone, as some descriptions of him suggest, is, for example, evident from his reaction to the report that Luther read his work with enjoyment. “If we are not mollified by such moderation, then we are totally made of stone. I am really mollified. So, I have indeed written something that pleases him” (Herminjard VI, 130, Calvin to Farel, November 20, 1539).

In spite of this insight into his own weaknesses, Calvin thinks that he lived as he had taught others to live (CO 9, 620), an opinion confirmed by research. The criticism of his walk of life and the accusations of immorality in different areas, which made the rounds during his life, proved to be baseless. He is simply incapable of not speaking the truth, for that is completely contrary to his nature. (“Car de luy faire accroire que le blanc est noir, c’est trop contre mon naturel, et il ne me serroit pas possible,” CO 20, 8-9). He likes sincerity and candi-
dness. (“Etsi autem mihi, qui rectitudinem sincerumque candorem amo,” CO 9, 249). He goes rather far in that candidness, as, for example, in his criticism as a young theologian of the experienced and older (by fifteen years) Bucer. But he says that he cannot do otherwise: “I would rather openly utter my complaint against you than to repress my anger and thereby increase it” (CO 13, 594). Thus he thinks it is more honest to give offense in his “simple peasant” way than to give one hypocritical praise (“me rustica potius simplicitate offendere, quam adulatorie in ullius hominis gratiam loqui,” CO 13, 594). Those who think that he is a “slimy fellow” do not know him very well (“Male me nosti, D. Lismanine, qui ingenio tam servili et adulatorio esse putasti,” CO 19, 42), and in fact nothing makes him happier than to have others speak as openly with him as he does with them (CO 15, 304).
5. Person and Issue

In that spirit of candidness, Calvin, according to his own words (and he said this in 1558), always wanted to separate the person from the issue at hand, and he was proud to have accomplished that (“Adde quod merito gloriabor, utcumque me inexorabilem vocent improbi, neminem esse mortalium cui ob privatas iniurias unquam fuerim inimicus,” CO 17, 235). He contended with Pighius only while Pighius was living and then only because of his teachings (CO 7, 258). He reacted so strongly to Sadoleto not because he felt attacked in his person but in his office (CO 5, 386), and two hours before Servetus ascended the funeral pyre, Calvin declared that he had never battled with him out of personal motives. “I do not hate you, I do not despise you, and I did not want to persecute you too severely” (CO 8, 495). The fact that Servetus had always responded differently did not bother Calvin, according to him. All the defamation that Servetus poured on him meant no more to him than a dog barking on a manure pile (CO 8, 637).

That Calvin had enemies in his life had to him a clear cause:

Insofar as I have enemies, they are all clearly enemies of Christ. I have never assumed a hostile stance out of a personal motive nor out of desire for strife. In fact, I have never been the cause of such. It is completely sufficient to me that I have an enemy for no other reason than that he ventured to oppose the pious teachings and the welfare of the church in a blasphemous manner. (CO 9, 570)

But when Calvin says that he has enemies only because they are enemies of Christ, the problem clearly emerges. Calvin thinks that he needs to attack everyone who according to him deviates from the teachings of Christ. That has much to do, among other reasons, with his self-identification with David, which becomes apparent throughout his commentary on the Psalms. Calvin is the unexpectedly called servant of God who, just like David, has no other task than to contend for God’s honor and people. Just as in David’s life, the consequence is unavoidable that this task should generate enmity. This self-identification with David gives Calvin at the same time the opportunity to give expression to his feelings of loss, loneliness, fear, and sadness without contradicting his remark about not liking to talk about himself. In short, through Calvin’s description of David we come to see a very vulnerable and human Calvin.

This image is confirmed by his letters, in which he opens his heart to others and tries to touch the hearts of others.

In conclusion, we can say that the image of Calvin has gradually become more positive or in any case less negative. This may very well be due to the fact
that there is now more awareness of Calvin’s self-criticism. There is more flesh and blood, more heart and soul in this man than his statue in the wall of Geneva would make one suspect.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


II. Calvin’s Works — Old and New

John Calvin was a prolific writer and preacher. The Bibliotheca Calviniana (3 vols., edited by Rodolphe Peter and Jean-Francois Gilmont, Geneva: Droz, 1991-2000) identifies 329 editions for 119 titles published between 1532 and 1564. The availability of many of Calvin’s works in multiple editions and languages from the sixteenth century to the present is unique among the reformers.

The following partially annotated bibliography provides an historical list of frequently published works by Calvin and their most recent translations. The titles are grouped by types of collections.

1. Collected Works — Opera

This section highlights titles in which Calvin’s known works are brought together in one place. Some include all of his writings, while others are only a few works, but in either case, the compiled works are published in their entirety.

Opuscula Omnia in Unum Volumen Collecta. Edited by Nicholas des Gallars. Geneva: Jean Gerard, 1552. The titles in this one-volume collection are all in Latin; those originally in French were translated by Des Gallars.

Recueil des opuscules, c’est à dire, Petits traitez de M. Jean Calvin. Geneva: Jean-


Opera omnia theologica in septem tomos digesta. 7 vols. Geneva: Vignon, Petrum, Chouët, 1617.

Ioannis Calvini Noviodunensis Opera Omnia. 9 vols. Amsterdam: Johannes Jacob Schipper, 1667-1671. This edition was the basis for A. Tholuck’s nineteenth-century New Testament commentary set.


Ioannis Calvini Opera Omnia. 12 vols. Edited by Helmut Feld et al. Geneva: Droz, 1992-. This long-term project is updating the nineteenth-century Calvini Opera. Recognized scholars provide new notes and bibliographic information for each of Calvin’s writings. Individual titles will appear later in this essay.

Calvin-Studienausgabe. 6 vols. Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1994-. This work is an ongoing publication providing Calvin’s original works in Latin or French plus a German translation.

Tracts Relating to the Reformation. 3 vols. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2002. This is a reprint in a long line of reprints of the original title published in Edinburgh for the Calvin Translation Society in 1844.
2. Collected Works — Selections or Extracts from Larger Works

These titles include parts of larger writings. The selections chosen by the editors are determined by the overall theme of the book.


3. Individual Collections

3.1. Letters

Calvin’s more than 1,200 extant letters are useful for understanding him as an individual, pastor, and counselor as he dealt with personal issues, analyzed events around him, and advised colleagues and leaders concerning spiritual matters.

Ioannis Calvini Epistolae et Responsa. Geneva: Peter Santandreanum, 1575. This is a collection of letters that Calvin gave to Beza for possible publication. Beza, with the help of Charles de Jonvillers, produced this first book of letters.


3.2. Sermons

Individual sermons and small collections of sermons were published during and after Calvin's lifetime. Although many sermons were lost in the early nineteenth century through a decision made by the University library in Geneva, 874 sermons that remained were collected in the *Calvini Opera*. Since that time reprints of sermons and translations of individual sermons have taken place sporadically. In the twentieth, and now the twenty-first century, an ongoing project entitled the *Supplementa Calviniана* provides a supplement to the sermons contained in the *Opera*. T. H. L. Parker's 1992 informative work entitled *Calvin's Preaching*, published by Westminster/John Knox Press, analyzes Calvin's preaching style and method, and provides a bibliography of published sermons.

*Supplementa Calviniана Sermon inédits*. Edited by Erwin Mülhaupt et al. Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1936-.

The volumes for this ongoing series are edited by various individuals and contain the following: Volumes 2 and 3 — Isaiah 13–29 and 30–41; Volume 5 — Micah; Volume 6 — Jeremiah and Lamentations; Volume 7 — Psalms (selections) and Matthew (Passion); Volume 10, pt. 3 — Ezekiel; Volume 11, pts. 1 and 2 — Genesis 1–4 and 11–20.

Banner of Truth Trust, Old Paths Publications, and P&R Publishing have reprinted several English translations of Calvin’s sermons.


3.3. Commentaries and Lectures (*Praelectiones*)

Calvin wrote numerous commentaries on many Old and New Testament books and lectured on others. After 1556 his lectures on Hosea, the Minor Prophets,
Daniel, Jeremiah and Lamentations, and Ezekiel were published and are included in published editions of his commentaries. The nineteenth-century *Calvini Opera*, volumes 23-55, contain Calvin’s commentaries and sermons. The nineteenth century also saw the publication of other Latin and French editions, plus the translation of many commentaries into Dutch and English. The process of translating Calvin’s commentaries into other languages continued through the twentieth century and will no doubt continue throughout the twenty-first century.


A seven-volume in four-book edition of the same set was published by Guilelmum Thome in 1838. These sets are based upon the 1667 Schipper edition published in Amsterdam.

*Calvin's Commentaries.* 22 vols. Edited by Calvin Translation Society. Edinburgh: Printed for the Calvin Translation Society, 1847-1855. This is the first set of commentaries translated into English by various translators. It has been reprinted several times. The most recent reprint was by Baker Book House in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1979.

*Verklaring van de Bijbel.* 15 titles in 41 vols. Translated by J. van de Heuvel et al. Kampen: De Groot Goudriaan, 1888-2004. This is a Dutch translation of the commentaries within the nineteenth-century *Calvini Opera*.


*Calvin’s New Testament Commentaries.* 12 vols. Edited by David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959-1973. Various volumes were reprinted in the 1980s. This set is an English translation based upon the Berlin (Tholuck) edition of the commentaries from 1834. The Scripture text,
except where Calvin’s own comments demand a variant reading, is that of the Revised Version.


Commentaires de Jean Calvin sur l’Ancien Testament. 1 vol. Edited by Pierre Marcel et al. Marne-la-Vallée: Éditions Farel & Aix-en-Provence: Éditions Kerygma, 1978-. The only volume in the set is Le livre de la Genèse. These Old and New Testament French commentaries were the work of La Société Calviniste de France and were published under the auspices of the International Association for Reformed Faith and Action.


Commentário à Sagrada Escritura. 6 vols. Edited by Eline Alves Martins. São Paulo: EPedições Parakletos, 1998-. The volumes contain the Salmos (Psalms), Daniel (Daniel), Romanos (Romans), I Corinthios (I Corinthians), Gálatas (Galatians), I & II Timóteo, Tito, Filemom (I and II Timothy, Titus, Philemon). This incomplete set of commentaries is translated into Portuguese from the nineteenth-century English edition published by the Calvin Translation Society.
4. Individual Works

Through the years many individual works by Calvin have been published in various languages. Two books useful in discovering which titles have been translated are *Bibliographia Calviniaca: Calvin’s Works and Their Translations 1850-1997* by M. Bihary, and *The Writings of John Calvin* by W. de Greef. Bihary’s work lists all of Calvin’s titles and indicates their English, German, French, and Hungarian translations. De Greef’s book describes each work and indicates through footnotes current publications and translations of each title.

Many titles could be noted; however, in this section the individual works available in the new *Opera Omnia* are listed. Also, the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* is featured because it is one of Calvin’s most well-known works, and because it continues to be translated into many languages.

4.1. Individual Works Available in the New *Opera Omnia*


4.2. The *Institutes of the Christian Religion*

As one of the most recognized titles by Calvin, the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* was first written in 1536 and then revised in 1539, 1543, 1550, and 1559. The 1949 reprint of the 1813 John Allan English translation and the 1960 Battles English translation of the 1559 Latin edition of the *Institutes* each contain a literary history of the work.


The 1559 edition of the *Institutes* has been translated into many languages. Included in this list are four of the most recent translations.


5. Bibliography

In conclusion, the following four works are extremely useful for understanding Calvin’s literary history:


Paul Fields
III. Calvin Research: Tools, Institutions, and State of Research

Already in the nineteenth century, scholars had begun to assess the state of Calvin studies. The interest in informing readers about the state of research and the appearance of new publications continued unabated throughout the twentieth century. More recently, the appearance of electronic and digital collections of primary and secondary sources related to Calvin has only made the task of assessing Calvin studies all the more complex. While the electronic media in particular are allowing more people to gain access to Calvin’s writings, the shelf-life of the various technologies is a cause for concern. This essay highlights the principal tools, institutions, and publications that currently shape the field of Calvin studies, but readers should note that information regarding websites and electronic publications may become rapidly obsolete. A more durable aspect of this contribution may well be its overview of trends in Calvin studies, based on the theses, monographs, edited volumes, and articles that have appeared within the last decade. It is certainly fair to say that the rate of publications, both in traditional formats and electronically, bears eloquent witness to the health of the discipline.

Those wishing to gain an insight into the field of Calvin studies may well appreciate works that help them get a general sense of what Calvin wrote and what later scholars have written about Calvin. For Calvin’s own writings, two of the most helpful tools are W. de Greef’s *The Writings of John Calvin: An Introductory Guide* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1993; revised Dutch edition 2006), and the three-volume *Bibliotheca Calviniana*, edited by Jean-François Gilmont and the late Rodolphe Peter. De Greef provides a compact and very accessible survey of Calvin’s writings, while Gilmont/Peter offer a detailed study of original title pages, background to the various editions, location of surviving copies, and the like. As for secondary sources, the yearly Calvin Bibliography, prepared by the Meeter Center Curator and published in the fall edition of the *Calvin Theological Journal*, provides an extensive list of recent publications on Calvin and Calvinism, organized by subject topics. The first bibliography, covering works published between 1960 and 1970, appeared in 1971. From 1997 onward, the annual bibliographies are available on the web, at www.calvin.edu/meeter/bibliography.

Indeed, given the rapid advance of electronic media, especially in the western hemisphere, it comes as little surprise that many of the newest and most promising tools for Calvin studies are available electronically. One important set of tools to be considered, however, is in an older format, namely, the IDC microfiche series (www.idcpublishers.com). In particular, “The Works of John Calvin” offers all of the Latin and French editions of Calvin’s *Institutes* up to 1559/1560, fifty-two of his polemical works, and fourteen of his volumes of
commentaries, lectures, and sermons. The fiches are compact, durable, and relatively inexpensive. They can be bought as a set or individually, making it possible for users to purchase only the work they need. Readers who are most comfortable in English can access nearly all of Calvin’s works in translation on the CD-ROM published by AGES Digital Library in their Christian Library Series. For more information, see www.ageslibrary.com. The material is also available for purchase as a PC download. Those most interested in Calvin’s *Institutes* can turn to the older but still useful CD-ROM available from the Meeter Center. It offers a searchable text of the *Institutes* in Latin (the 1559 edition) and in English (the Beveridge translation). The text can even be presented in a split-screen format, enabling readers to compare the Latin and English texts. This CD-ROM is not compatible with Macintosh computers. Users who would like to access Calvin’s works digitally without charge can turn to the Christian Classics Ethereal Library, which makes works that are in the public domain accessible to anyone on the internet. See www.ccel.org for the list of works by Calvin that are available. Almost all are in English, and they focus primarily on his commentaries.

While English translations of Calvin’s works are deeply appreciated by many users, other organizations have focused on providing digital access to Calvin’s writings in their original languages. The most complete collection is the DVD of the *Calvini Opera* prepared under the oversight of Dr. Herman Selderhuis of the Institute for Reformation Research (IR) at Apeldoorn in the Netherlands. The DVD offers a searchable complete text of the fifty-nine volumes of the *Calvini Opera*. Information on ordering and prices can be found at www.instituutreformatieonderzoek.nl. Scholars interested in Calvin’s shorter writings can purchase a searchable CD-ROM of the *Recueil des Opuscules*, the collected volume of Calvin’s tracts and treatises, originally published as a two thousand-page volume in French in 1566. This CD-ROM was prepared under the oversight of Max Engammare, the head of the Droz publishing house in Geneva. More information is available at www.droz.org, by entering “Recueil des opuscules” in the book title search. Finally, the Ad Fontes group offers web-based access to a large database of early modern texts in their original languages, including the collected works of John Calvin in the 1667-1671 Schipper edition. See www.ad-fontes.com for more information. The texts are fully searchable.

The tools listed in the previous paragraphs provide much-needed access to Calvin’s works in their original languages and in translation. Yet relying on Calvin’s writings alone without considering the writings of his predecessors and contemporaries can lead to a decontextualized study of Calvin’s impact, and can foster anachronisms or misinterpretations. Thus, those working in Calvin studies need a much broader range of sources and materials in order to set Calv-
vin’s distinctive contributions in their historical context. In many instances, the best and most efficient way to do so is to take advantage of the expertise and collections available in one of the several centers dedicated to Calvin studies or to Reformation studies more generally. These institutes and centers are growing in number and significance. While the older centers have the advantage of having had more years in which to build their collections, some of the more recent ones also offer excellent opportunities for research.

In Europe, the key center for Calvin studies is the Institut d’Histoire de la Réformation in Geneva. Established in 1969 as part of the University of Geneva, the Institute houses the private collection of books and manuscript sources belonging to the Musée historique de la Réformation. Researchers can also access the collections of the University of Geneva library on-site and of the Archives d’Etat (Genevan State Archives) in the old city. The Institute fosters research by graduate students and outside scholars, and offers summer courses on various aspects of early modern history, literature, and theology. Through the Bourse Regard, the Institute offers a short-stay fellowship every year. See www.unige.ch/ihr (French text) for more information about the Institute and its programs. Other institutes and centers in Europe focus on the Reformation more broadly. In Zürich, the Institut für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte focuses on the Swiss Reformation more generally, and on the Zürich Reformation in particular. Established in 1964, the Institute has made its name by focusing primarily on the Zürich reformers Zwingli and Bullinger. The Institute does not currently offer fellowships for outside scholars. Researchers in Zürich can gain access to the Institute’s own collection, as well as to the riches of the Zentralbibliothek and the Staatsarchiv elsewhere in the city. See www.unizh.ch/irg (German text) for more information. Scholarly interest in the Reformation has also spread beyond Switzerland: in Britain, the St. Andrews Reformation Studies Institute has been in operation since 1993. It offers master’s and PhD programs in Reformation Studies through the School of History at the University of Saint Andrews. Though the Reformation Studies Institute does not have its own library, scholars visiting the Institute can gain access to the extensive collections of the University Library. See www.st-andrews.ac.uk for more information about the Institute. In Apeldoorn in the Netherlands, the aforementioned Institute for Reformation Research, founded in 2002, has begun its work. It seeks to focus on the Reformation more generally, on both its theology and its history. Because of its recent creation, many of its undertakings, including offering access to a collection of materials, are only in their early stages. Its website, www.instituutreformatieonderzoek.nl, is available in English. In German, scholars can take advantage of the collection of the Johannes a Lasco Library in Emden. This center for Reformation studies offers an extensive and user-friendly library and has a fellowship program. See www.jalb.de, and follow
the links under “Forschung” and “Stipendienprogramm der Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek” to find out more. The a Lasco Library also provides information and internet-based short courses on the Reformation through its linked website, www.reformiert-online.net (text available in English, German, Spanish, and French).

In Asia, the Institute for Calvinistic Studies in Sungnam, Korea, directed by Dr. Samuel Chung since 1985, seeks to provide a center for Calvin research and broader studies on Calvinism. The website, www.johncalvin.co.kr, has some pages in English, but most are in Korean. In Japan, the Institute for Calvin and Reformed Theology at the Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai Seminary in Tokyo sponsors conferences, seminars, and lectures, and offers a collection of ten thousand works on Calvin and the Reformation. See www.calvin.jp for an English version of their website. The Institute was set up in 1998, but held its formal opening in 2005.

In North America, the H. Henry Meeter Center for Calvin Studies, in Grand Rapids, Michigan, has been in operation since 1982. It houses approximately five thousand printed primary sources, theses, monographs, and edited volumes, as well as an ever-expanding collection of articles searchable on-line by author, title, or subject. The center also owns an extensive set of IDC microfiche series, as well as microfilmed archival sources in their original languages. Finally, the Center houses a rare book collection focusing primarily on Calvin, but also including some works by other reformers and a number of early modern Bibles. The Center offers annual fellowships for PhD students and faculty members from other institutions, and for pastors in the Reformed tradition. More information on the Center, its collections, and the fellowships can be found at www.calvin.edu/meeter. A more broad-based collection is held at the Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies at the University of Toronto in Canada. Founded in 1964, the Center focuses on the period from 1350 to 1700, and offers lectures and seminars. It provides fellowships for undergraduate, graduate, and postdoctoral students as well as for faculty from other institutions. The Center’s website, www.crrs.ca, provides detailed information on its activities.

Apart from institutes and centers, research on Calvin is also fostered by a network of scholarly societies that hold regular conferences where current research is presented. Among these, one of the most well-known is the International Calvin Congress, which meets every four years in a different location around the world. The congress was organized in the early 1970s and held its first meeting in Amsterdam in 1974. The proceedings of each meeting are subsequently published. The congress executive also oversees the production of the Calvini Opera Omnia Denuo Recognita, the new critical editions of Calvin’s works in their original languages. In North America, there are two societies that
hold biennial conferences in alternate years: the Calvin Studies Society, begun by Peter de Klerk in Grand Rapids, and the Calvin Colloquium, begun by John Leith at Davidson College, but now based at Erskine Theological Seminary. Each of these bodies has published proceedings of its meetings. The Calvin Studies Society is the only one of the three with a website: its address is www.calvinstudiesociety.org.

Through their regular gatherings and publication of their proceedings, these groups and others help to foster current research on Calvin and Calvinism. Other endeavors to encourage networking among Calvin scholars include the website set up by Wulfert de Greef, www.calvijnstudie.nl. This site, called the “Centre for Calvin Studies,” offers information in Dutch and in English on current projects, book reviews, a list of new publications, and a forum users can join to discuss themes related to Calvin research. The aim of the site is to provide a venue for the exchange of information among Calvin scholars, an important undertaking given the ever-expanding number of projects and publications on the subject.

Indeed, an overview of the field in the last ten years shows that publications focusing on Calvin have continued unabated. For instance, the Meeter Center collection features thirty-five master’s theses and sixty-nine PhD dissertations on John Calvin written between 1995 and 2005. In fact, these figures do not reflect the total number of theses on the subject, since not all theses appear on searchable databases. Yet a minimum of nearly seventy PhD dissertations on various aspects of Calvin’s thought and work within the last decade testifies to the enduring interest in the reformer. One particular area of growth is the number of PhD dissertations written by Korean students on Calvin. For instance, slightly less than a fifth of the PhD theses on Calvin produced in the last ten years and held by the Meeter Center were written by Korean students, as compared with less than a tenth in the previous decade. The influence of Calvinism in its Presbyterian form in South Korea has continued to be strong, and it seems that as more and more young Korean theologians enter graduate school, the focus of their research is on the founders of the Reformed tradition, especially on Calvin.

Indeed, scholars around the world have continued to demonstrate a strong interest in Calvin’s theology and intellectual outlook, as evidenced by the number of books and articles published on the subject within the last ten years. In theology, much of the attention has been devoted to deepening the understanding of Calvin’s key concepts and doctrinal contributions, and to examining overarching themes in Calvin’s thought. A very accessible summary of Calvin’s theology can be found in Christopher Elwood’s *Calvin for Armchair Theologians*. Writing from the viewpoint of philosophy, Paul Helm provides an in-depth analysis of Calvin’s thought in his *John Calvin’s Ideas*. Another significant
overview, which has become very influential in the years since its publication, is Richard Muller’s *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition*. In this work, Muller presents his analysis of the structure of Calvin’s theology and provides a particularly helpful section examining in detail the various editions of the *Institutes*.

While interest in Calvin’s theology has continued to be strong, a number of scholars, particularly in Europe, have concentrated on analyzing Calvin and his impact from the standpoint of intellectual history. In 1997, Jean-François Gilmont published *Jean Calvin et le livre imprimé*, available in an English translation, *John Calvin and the Printed Book*, beginning in 2005. This work provides an in-depth study of Calvin’s relation to the world of printing, from an investigation of the books he read, to a survey of his writing practices, including his selection of recipients of his dedicatory epistles. The work also provides a helpful examination of censorship practices in Geneva and Calvin’s role in overseeing printing both in Geneva and beyond the city walls. Another study of Calvin’s impact on communication, both oral and written, is Francis Higman’s “Calvin écrit, Calvin parle” in *Les deux réformes chrétiennes*.

Aside from works focusing on various aspects of Calvin’s theology or on intellectual history, the major trend in Calvin studies in the last decade has been an increasing emphasis on social history. Much of this work has been underpinned by the ongoing publication of key primary sources, including the records of the Genevan Company of Pastors (*Registres de la compagnie des pasteurs de Genève*) and of the Genevan Consistory (*Registres du consistoire de Genève*). Thanks to these materials and others, scholars have been able to investigate Calvin’s role in the day-to-day life of the Genevan church and state. Key works include studies of the Genevan church, focusing especially on the ways in which Calvin’s ideas on church life were put into practice. See, for instance, the excellent (but unfortunately unpublished) PhD dissertation by Thomas Lambert, “Preaching, Praying and Policing the Reform in Sixteenth-Century Geneva” (University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1998), as well as his “Daily Religion in Early Reformed Geneva” in the *Bulletin Annuel: Institut d’Histoire de la Réformation*. Other scholars have considered specific institutions or groups within Genevan society, and have sought to establish how Calvin’s ideas were implemented. Thus, Erik de Boer’s “The Presence and Participation of Laypeople in the Congrégations of the Company of Pastors in Geneva” and Jeffrey R. Watt’s “Calvinism, Childhood, and Education: The Evidence from the Genevan Consistory,” both in the *Sixteenth Century Journal*, provide helpful insights into these themes. Watt has also analyzed Calvin’s impact on other key social issues: see, for instance, “Calvin on Suicide,” which appeared in *Church History*. On a generally more positive note, John Witte Jr. has focused his attention on marriage in Geneva in “Between Sacrament and Contract: Marriage as Covenant in
John Calvin’s Geneva,” which appeared in the *Calvin Theological Journal*, and in his recent joint publication with Robert Kingdon, *Sex, Marriage and Family in John Calvin’s Geneva*. This volume is the first in a series on marriage issues in Geneva during Calvin’s period, and offers an admirably detailed survey of various aspects of engagements and marriage issues, with in-depth analysis of extensive primary sources including extracts from Calvin’s sermons, commentaries, and correspondence.

As the field of Calvin studies continues to expand and develop, both in terms of the countries of origin of Calvin scholars and in terms of the range of topics surveyed, contributions highlighting the tools, institutions, and trends in Calvin scholarship can only highlight certain aspects, or risk becoming unduly lengthy. In many ways, therefore, the most effective way for everyone in the field to remain abreast of developments is to increase the communication between institutions and among individual scholars. By creating and maintaining strong networks of communication, Calvin scholars can strengthen their own research and help Calvin studies make a significant impact in the wider world.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


**Karin Maag**