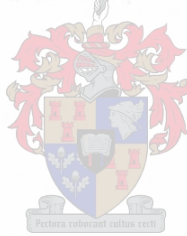


AUGUSTINE AND CALVIN
THE USE OF AUGUSTINE
IN CALVIN'S WRITINGS

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature: Sung-jin Han

Date: September 26 2003

ABSTRACT

The aim of this research is neither to compare the theologies of Augustine and Calvin, nor to establish a theory that reveals Augustine's influence on Calvin's theology. This research, rather, endeavours to set up a bridge between two types of study on Calvin, namely studies on Calvin's use of Augustine and of Augustine's influence on Calvin's writings. In other words, our main purpose is to suggest a basic tool (or information) for further studies. Three related questions are asked: 1. What comprises Augustine's uniqueness in Calvin's writings? 2. Who is Calvin's Augustine? 3. What is the relevance of this study to current research on Calvin?

In Chapter 2, a brief history of earlier research regarding discussion on Calvin and Augustine from the beginning of the 20th century is presented. Then critical conversations follow. These conversations concerning our theme involve three important scholars, namely L Smits, R J Mooi and J M J Lange van Ravenswaay. Finally, a need for a converging method which has the possibility of overcoming some methodological problems that arise in studies on Calvin and Augustine is expressed.

In the third chapter, the use that Calvin makes of Augustine in his own works from the first period of his writing career to the last, fifth, period is thoroughly studied (1532-1565).

Chapter 4 deals with data analyses. In between the analysis of static data and the analysis of dynamic data, Smits's study of Augustinian citations in Calvin's writings is dealt with critically to provide a basic understanding of Augustinian citations.

Finally, the answers to the three related questions that are suggested in the introduction are pursued: What comprises Augustine's uniqueness in Calvin's writings? Who is Calvin's Augustine? And what is the relevance of this study to current research on Calvin. The answers will function as a bridge between the two related studies of Calvin's use of Augustine and Augustine's influence on Calvin.

OPSOMMING

Die doel van hierdie navorsing is nie om die teologie van Augustinus en die van Calvyn te vergelyk nie en ook nie om 'n teorie daar te stel wat die invloed wat Augustinus op Calvyn se teologie uitgeoefen het, sal ontbloom nie. Die navorsing poog eerder om 'n brug op te rig tussen twee soorte studies oor Calvyn, naamlik studies oor Calvyn se gebruik van Augustinus en oor Augustinus se invloed op die skryfwerk van Calvyn. Ons hoof doel is met ander woorde om 'n basiese werktuig (of inligting) vir verdere studie voor te stel. Drie fundamentele vrae word gevra: 1. Waarin lê die uniekheid van Augustinus in Calvin se geskrifte? 2. Wie is Calvyn se Augustinus? 3. Op hoe 'n manier is hierdie studie relevant ten opsigte van huidige navorsing oor Calvyn?

In Hoofstuk 2 word 'n kort geskiedenis van vroeër navorsing aangaande bespreking oor Calvyn en Augustinus, vanaf die begin van die 20ste eeu, aangebied. Dan volg kritiese gesprekke. Hierdie gesprekke ten opsigte van ons tema betrek drie belangrike geleerdes, naamlik L Smits, R J Mooi en J M J Lange van Ravenswaay. Aan die einde word 'n behoefte uitgespreek vir 'n samevloeiende metode wat moontlik sommige metodologiese probleme wat in die bestudering van Calvyn en Augustinus na vore kom, sal oorbrug.

In die derde hoofstuk word Calvyn se gebruikmaking van Augustinus in sy eie werk vanaf die eerste tydperk van sy skryfloopbaan tot die laaste, vyfde, deeglik bestudeer (1532-1565).

Hoofstuk 4 behandel data-analise. Tussen die analise van statiese data en die analise van dinamiese data word Smits se studie van Augustiniaanse aanhalings in Calvyn se geskrifte krities behandel om 'n basiese begrip van Augustiniaanse aanhalings te verskaf.

Uiteindelik word die antwoorde op die drie verwante vrae wat in die inleiding voorgestel word, nagespeur: 1. Waarin lê die uniekheid van Augustinus in Calvin se geskrifte? 2. Wie is Calvyn se Augustinus? 3. Op hoe 'n manier is hierdie studie relevant ten opsigte van huidige navorsing oor Calvyn? Die antwoorde sal as 'n brug tussen die twee verwante studies oor Calvyn se gebruikmaking van Augustinus en Augustinus se invloed op Calvyn dien.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context and relevance of the study

In 1998 Neuser suggested future tasks to be undertaken in International Calvin research. This prompted a double question: (i) Which Calvin research topics have been analyzed and discussed successfully until now? (ii) Which topics should urgently be researched in future? Neuser reported on prior traditional studies regarding Calvin research. These dealt with the historical effects of Calvin's work, Calvin's biography and Calvin as interpreter of the Bible via commentaries and sermons. And he put forward other themes that have been studied often in the seminars of recent International Calvin Congresses. These themes have focused on 'Calvin and the Church Fathers', 'Calvin and theologians of Scholasticism' and 'Calvin and his contemporaries' (Neuser 1998: 154). My field of research is broadly related to the first theme, 'Calvin and the Church Fathers'.

A N S Lane made a clear distinction between three different types of study that concern Calvin's relation to his predecessors. Firstly, some studies set out to compare Calvin's teaching with that of one or more earlier theologians. Secondly, other studies examined the use that Calvin makes of earlier theologians. Here the emphasis lies, not on the similarities or the differences between them, nor on any alleged influence on Calvin by his predecessors, but simply on how he viewed them and how he made explicit use of them in his writings. Finally, there are studies which seek to determine the influence of

earlier theologians on Calvin.

Then Lane suggested that we should choose the second as a basis for further studies: 'Studies of Calvin's use of the Fathers are less spectacular and less momentous than studies of the influences that have shaped his theology. But it is only as his actual usage is studied *and* as these studies are heeded that there will be any solid and enduring results in the search for influences' [Lane's italics] (Lane 1981:156).

In this context, Van Oort (1997:661-700) has provided us with a survey of the main patristic data in Calvin's work, starting with the 1532 *Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia* and ending with the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*. Van Oort then went on to discuss the most important patristic authors and ecclesiastical documents explicitly cited by Calvin. With this development, studies of Calvin's use of the Church Fathers went one step further in the direction of searching for Calvin's relation to each of the Church Fathers.

Recent studies of Calvin's use of Augustine have moved beyond strict comparison of doctrinal points to establish Augustine's position as Calvin's 'star witness' more firmly from the perspective of Christian tradition. Investigations into the substantive similarities and differences between the two theologians have been placed on more solid ground, through more precise determination of how Calvin made use of Augustine in comparison to other authorities, through focusing on which texts he consulted, and when, and the rhetorical function of his appeals to Augustine (Pitkin 1999:347).

1.2 Main Problem

Calvin's knowledge and use of St. Augustine still provides a promising field for research. Although several studies have been devoted to this subject, and although some of them have made real progress, the final word has not been spoken and an all-embracing and definitive study has not yet appeared (Van Oort 1997:661). We have quite precise information about the frequency of the references, their nature, in which works they occur, and to which of the writings they direct us. Yet St. Augustine's influence on Calvin's writings has not been addressed in any profound study. How is this paradox to be explained?

As is usual in such cases, a number of aspects will have contributed to this situation.

First of all, I begin by asking to what extent the achievements of various studies are associated with recent enterprises of scholarship in the three fields distinguished by Lane. Each field has its own goal, method and study network. This makes it difficult to use any field's accomplishments as complementary sources or bases for further studies.

Secondly, there does not seem to be a converging method that could provide a bridge between the three areas of study with regard to Calvin. We need a bridge, especially for linking the second field with the third one. The second area, in which the use, the nature and the function of the citations become important, will lay the foundation for the relevance of the third one.

A more crucial factor in the study of Calvin's use of St. Augustine, is that dynamic aspects in Calvin's writings have been lost in the process of viewing Calvin's citations as evidence of influence? Calvin's citations of St. Augustine have a dynamic character.

Neuser raised a question about Calvin's general epistemology. 'Especially the question about Calvin's dynamical and/or static thinking needs to be explained. For instance, the reality of the Kingdom of God may explain this dynamic, actual thinking . . . Calvin's doctrine of the four offices as such is very handy and convincing. But it is possible that we interpret it by static terms which lead to misunderstandings' (Neuser 1998:157).

The writings (prominent in his *Institutes*) also reveal changes. The study of his writings, which has often centered on the question of the frequency of the citations, has lost this aspect in the discussion of the Church Father's influence on the reformer. This thesis seeks to establish that sensitive changes may be discerned in Calvin's writings, changes which took place throughout his periods of writing.

1.3 Other Questions relating to the Main Problem

While we pursue this main question, other related questions will be encountered.

First, when Calvin cites St. Augustine, whose Augustine does he choose to use as his Augustine? This question is related to Calvin's interpretation of St. Augustine. There are many interpretations of St. Augustine from the Reformation period. Even opponents of Calvin tried to lend strength to their arguments by citing Augustine. Did Calvin choose Luther's (Ganoczy 1987) or Bucer's interpretation (Parker 1981:1-4)? Did he get his information about Augustine through the *via moderna* or the *schola Augustiniana moderna*? Or did he reach his own understanding of St. Augustine through his own study of St. Augustine? These questions have been the basis of continual research into Calvin's interpretation of St. Augustine.

Secondly, Wendel (1963:124) contends that St. Augustine's influence on the reformer is more important and may even be said to be unique of its kind. But he does not provide an explanation of what he means when he says that his influence is unique, except for defining the similarities and the differences between certain doctrines. What is unique in Calvin's use of St. Augustine? Is it possible for researchers to enter the heart and mind of Calvin through an in-depth study of Calvin's relation to St. Augustine? I ask this question because it has become almost crucial to treat Calvin's use of St. Augustine as a basis for the understanding of further research that deals with St. Augustine's influence on Calvin's writings.

Thirdly, we can perhaps pursue a new understanding of Calvin's use of St. Augustine by finding the dynamic aspects in Calvin's writings which will be examined later in this thesis. But what relevance would my research have for recent research on Calvin? Will it make a positive impact on the problems of the church and theology? Will it cause a rupture because it may serve the function of marring recent conversations between Protestants and Catholics or even among Protestants? Since Calvin's use of the Fathers was a masterly sixteenth century attempt to relate Protestantism to historic Christianity, should it not be a source of inspiration for today? However, if all of us would pursue the real church as described in the Scriptures and if we would talk to each other about the church, then I believe that this study can be beneficial. It will be helpful for us to identify ourselves as inheritors of the early churches and to see ourselves over against ourselves in the future. Meanwhile, this thesis is written from a Reformed perspective.

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1.4 Aim of Research

The aim of this thesis is to provide a basic tool to serve as a bridge between studies on Calvin's use of St. Augustine and studies on St. Augustine's influence on Calvin's writings.

In light of the foregoing discussion, it is evident that Calvin's use of St. Augustine with regard to the frequency, the nature and the function thereof develops according to two interrelated but distinct patterns: (i) It is used to illustrate and substantiate evidence of Calvin's reception of St. Augustine. (ii) It can be applied to Augustine's influence on Calvin's writings. To be sure, these are separable, but as they work together in the development of Calvin's use of St. Augustine according to a chronological sequence, the one can be a catalyst for the transition to the other.

To achieve this aim, we need to address three sub-questions with regard to methodology. The first question is that of how to create a converging method to bridge two different fields of study, namely *Calvin's use of St. Augustine* and *St. Augustine's influence on Calvin's writings* on the basis of the former.

The second question relates to the extent to which this method can be used to identify changes in Calvin's writings with changes in Calvin's interpretation of St. Augustine, which therefore relates to Augustine's influence on Calvin's writings.

The third question concerns why this method makes it relevant to bridge two fields of study in interpreting Calvin's understanding. There is no doubt that Calvin cites St.

Augustine more frequently than anyone else in his work. There is no doubt that St. Augustine had an influence on Calvin's writings. There can be doubt that these two ideas are necessarily related. When Calvin writes concerning his relations with St. Augustine, he, however, explicitly confesses that '*Augustinus. . . totus noster est. . .*'¹ Were we disposed to frame an entire volume out of Augustine, it were easy to show the reader that I have no occasion to use any other words than his' (*Inst* 3.22.8). Calvin clearly believed that he was restoring the teachings of Augustine with regard to a wide range of issues. Augustine was fallible and subordinate to Scripture, but Calvin was nonetheless reluctant to admit that he was departing from him. Why should we then not relate these two fields of study when Calvin himself relates his writings to St. Augustine?

To sum up, we can expand studies of Calvin's use and knowledge of St. Augustine into a study explaining St. Augustine's influence on Calvin's work when we use the achievements and results of earlier studies as a new starting point with the critical use of a converging method.

1.5 The Hypothesis

The main hypothesis is that an in-depth study of Calvin's use of St. Augustine can provide a new bridge that can be used to reveal St. Augustine's influence on Calvin's writings. The hypothesis will be tested by the scientific method of the thesis and will, in the end, be confirmed or discarded.

¹ Augustine is absolutely on our side.

To make this hypothesis clear, we need to answer the above-mentioned sub-questions. First, how do we create a converging method to bridge two different fields of study, namely *Calvin's use of St. Augustine* and *St. Augustine's influence on Calvin's writings* on the basis of the former? It is natural that we consider the word 'use' as static while the word 'influence' is considered as dynamic. It is likely that Calvin's use of St. Augustine simply signifies that Calvin cited St. Augustine several times in certain writings. Static aspects such as the frequency, the nature and the function of citations are so predominant that we fail to pay adequate attention to other factors in Calvin's writings. This kind of study seems to take photos of still objects. Calvin's use of St. Augustine, however, is dynamic rather than static. It reveals change in its chronological sequence. This work is rather like taking photos of moving objects. It is possible to capture these dynamic aspects in his writings. Researchers will be able to explain St. Augustine's influence on Calvin's writings more properly and precisely thereby.

Secondly, to what extent can this method be used to identify changes in Calvin's writings with changes in Calvin's interpretation of St. Augustine that therefore relate to Augustine's influence on Calvin's writings? The dynamic aspects of Calvin's writings provide greater insight into the writings. This means that we can find the patterns in which static aspects such as the frequency, the nature and the function of citations begin to transit into dynamic aspects. The dynamic aspects are seen in the increase and decrease of the frequency of citations, in the shift of the focal point in citations, in adding or reducing passages containing Calvin's own explanation through theological reflection or historical necessities, such as polemical purposes, which have been caused by many opponents. These dynamic aspects will turn those photos into a running movie.

Lastly, why would this method be relevant for bridging two fields of study in interpreting Calvin's understanding? The in-depth study of these patterns leads to a new understanding of Calvin's interpretation of St. Augustine for which there is sufficient evidence. When researchers examine the new understanding in comparison with contiguous studies, it has possibilities for articulating St. Augustine's influence on Calvin's work on the basis of Calvin's use of St. Augustine.

There will be many variations during the process of research; the hypotheses themselves will consider such variants as a positive impetus to the thesis.

1.6 Earlier Research

Although it is difficult to draw the exact lines of influence, Calvin's relation to St. Augustine turned out to be particularly important. This relation has been investigated by means of several valuable studies, which culminated in Luchsius Smits's *Saint Augustine dans l'œuvre de Jean Calvin*. Smits identified and indexed a total of 4 119 citations in volume I. Volume II contained one table in which the references are classified according to the works of Calvin as they appear in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, and another classified by an alphabetical arrangement of Augustine's works, indexed to Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. There is still room for further studies. Smits gives us the total number of Augustinian references in Calvin's writings, but he includes implicit citations for his four categories. He groups together 'références avec citation', 'références sans citation', 'identifications de citations sans référence' and 'identifications de passages sans citation ni référence.' The last two categories fail to provide a firm basis (Van Oort 1997:678).

The Dutch scholar R J Mooi gives a very useful overview of the Reformer's knowledge and judgment of all the Church Fathers in his doctoral thesis *Het Kerk-en dogmahistorisch element in de werken van Johannes Calvijn*. The thesis provides full tables of the authors cited in each of Calvin's works, but not of the works cited. This makes it difficult to examine exact positioning and trace citations to their original sources. This thesis had its smaller twin in W N Todd's *The Function of the Patristic Writings in the Thought of John Calvin*.

In 1981, a work from across the Atlantic Ocean was published by Lane, titled *Calvin's use of the Fathers and the medievals*. He gave a useful appendix of works and authors cited in the 1559 *Institutio*. Lane did the first in-depth study in English of Calvin's use of Bernard of Clairvaux. Recently he tried to deal with the intensely interesting question of whether an essentially 'biblical' theology is able to accommodate such an engagement with the theological heritage of the Christian tradition in his book, *Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* (1999).

Irena Backus has made a valuable contribution to the study of Calvin and Eusebius. In 1997 she edited *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*. By any standard, this set of volumes is a magnificent achievement. It is worth saying that this is a form of study whose time has come (Muller 1998:487-488). Although scholars had previously examined portions of this history, no individual scholar or group of scholars had ever attempted to draw the whole history of the "reception of the Fathers" together into a single project. The result is a work of surprising breadth. It reflects a high level of scholarly precision and suggests numerous avenues for further research (Pitkin 2000:124).

Van Oort gives us a survey of the main patristic data in Calvin's work, starting with the 1532 *Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia* and ending with the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*. He discusses the most important Church Fathers, ecclesiastical writers and other relevant documents that Calvin explicitly mentioned. But he does not deal with any alleged influence by or possible comparison with patristic theologians, rather with evident facts such as where Calvin mentions a certain patristic author or writing, *how* he viewed them, and *how* he made explicit use of them in his own writings. By a citation he means a *quotation* of, a *paraphrase* of, or a *clear reference* to a patristic work, council or person.

These are the most important studies devoted to the subject. However, There is other relevant material in the many studies relating to Calvin. Other literature on Calvin and Augustine is reviewed by Lange Van Ravenswaay in *Augustinus Totus Noster* (Lange van Ravenswaay 1990:13-17).

1.7 Possible value of Research

Firstly, this study is the first in-depth study in English of Calvin's use of Augustine. Thus, it will function as basic data for further studies.

Secondly, researchers could expand studies of Calvin's use and knowledge of St. Augustine into a study explaining St. Augustine's influence on Calvin's work.

Thirdly, researchers could gain a new understanding of Calvin's relation to St. Augustine.

Fourthly, researchers could apply this new understanding in various other studies, such as to compare Calvin's teaching with that of earlier theologians and to determine the influence of earlier theologians on Calvin.

Finally, researchers could use the result of this research as a basic tool to compare the true Augustine and Calvin's own Augustine.

1.8 The Delimitation

The limits within which I plan to work are as follows:

Firstly, only Calvin's use of St. Augustine in Calvin's writings will be investigated. It will not include all of St. Augustine's thinking or all of Calvin's thinking.

Secondly, it will neither deal directly with Pauline influence upon St. Augustine, nor with such influence upon Calvin. But this research will be used as a basic tool for further study.

Thirdly, primary sources of reference will be the *Opera Selecta* of P Barth, W Niesel and D Scheuner (*OS*), and the *Calvini Opera* of G Baum *et al* (*CO*) and Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (*PL*). Other critical editions will be used as secondary literary sources.

Fourthly, available English translations of Calvin's texts were used (translations can be found in the bibliography), but where no English translations were available, I have

translated from Latin and 16th century French. In addition, as far as secondary sources are concerned, I have translated from Afrikaans, Dutch, French and German into English.

Fifthly, as far as tertiary literature is concerned, the sources will be limited to the period ranging from the 1990s to recent years, except for some crucial literature.

Finally, even if the thesis succeeds in drawing the correct lines of influence, we know that 'where there is knowledge, it will pass away... . Now I know in part', and we just do our best until Perfection comes. Finally the Lord will be all in all, we shall know fully, even as we are fully known.

CHAPTER 2

EARLIER RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

Let us begin Chapter 2 with a brief history of earlier research regarding discussion on Calvin and Augustine from the beginning of 20th century. Then we will have enough time to critically converse about our theme with three important scholars: Smits, Mooi and Lange van Ravenswaay. To conclude, I will suggest a converging method which offers a possibility to overcome some methodological problems in Calvin and Augustine studies.

2.1 A brief history of earlier research

As we have seen in the introduction, various researches regarding the relationship between Calvin and the Church Fathers have been endeavoured. In this section, we limit our focus to studies on the relationship between Calvin and Augustine. Since the beginning of the 20th century, various studies have tried to relate Calvin to Augustine. Those studies have mainly focused on comparing their theologies, and specifically on comparing the similarities and differences of certain doctrines.

The first meaningful study regarding our theme is J Beckmann's *Vom Sakrament bei Calvin: Die Sakramentslehre in ihren Beziehungen zu Augustin*, written in 1926. Beckmann deals with Calvin's relation with Augustine in Calvin's view on sacraments. This book is important because of its dealings with Calvin's interpretation and usage of

and dependence on Augustine. Beckmann draws an interesting conclusion. ‘Er hat ihn besser verstanden, als jener sich selbst verstehen konnte’² (1926:163). H Barnikol’s *Die Lehre Calvins vom unfreien Willen und ihr Verhältnis zur Lehre der übrigen Reformatoren und Augustins* of 1927 might suggest some relevance to our topic, but is devoted only partly to it. In this regard, P Polman’s *L’élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVIe siècle* does not place more specific emphasis on the relation between them than we expected.

From 1956 to 1958, two volumes, *Saint Augustin dans l’œuvre de Jean Calvin* by Luchsius Smits were published. Before Smits, in 1954, Cadier of course revealed 1 400 of Calvin’s citations from Augustine dealing with Calvin’s appeal to Augustine, and the similarity between them, at the *Congrès International Augustinien* in Paris. Though Smits himself, according to the table presented by M Roux, began with a number of 3 000 citations as a starting point, he arrived at the conclusion that there is a total of 4 119 citations. Smits gives us one table in which the references are classified according to the works of Calvin as they appear in the 58 volumes of *Corpus Reformatorum*, and another classified in an alphabetical arrangement of Augustine’s works, indexed to Migne’s *Patrologia Latina*. Calvin’s *Institutes* are keyed to the *Opera Selecta*. But statistics are deceptive. They have some defects. Nevertheless these two volumes are worth using as a foundation in our studies and have innumerable merits.

After Smits, research again seems to tend to focus on comparing individual doctrines and ideas. S Russel submitted *A Study in Augustine and Calvin of the Church*

² Calvin understood Augustine better than Augustine could understand himself.

Regarded as the Number of the Elect and as the Body of the Faithful in 1958. He attempted a comparative study on predestination, baptism and eschatology in this doctoral thesis. In this period much research undertaken in French seemed to reflect Smits's influence. In 1959, G Bavaud compared the doctrine of predestination and reprobation, showing differences between Calvin and Augustine in *La doctrine de la prédestination et de la réprobation d'après S. Augustin et Calvin*. G Besse dealt with authority accorded to Augustine in Calvin's exegetical works in 1960 in his *Saint Augustin dans les oeuvres exégétique de Jean Calvin*.

In 1963, M Andrews surveyed the doctrine of grace in Augustine and Calvin in his thesis *Doctrine of Grace in St. Augustine and John Calvin*. H N Todd paid attention to the functional aspects of the patristic writings in his doctoral thesis *The Function of the Patristic Writings in the Thought of John Calvin* in 1964. Todd endeavoured to include not only Calvin's conscious theory of the proper function of the patristic sources but also the behavioural pattern followed by him in actual practice. But the result is not satisfactory.

In the following year 1965, however, a real breakthrough regarding this research was made in the Netherlands. R J Mooi published *Het Kerk-en Dogmahistorisch Element in de Werken van Johannes Calvijn*. This work reduced Smits's number of 4 119 citations dramatically. Generally, it depended on Smits's accomplishments but it had success in overcoming some defects in Smits. Mooi expanded his interest to all the patristic authors mentioned in Calvin's writings. Then he provided a very useful overview of the reformer's knowledge and judgment of all the Church Fathers. The research in this field would not have been possible without the pioneering studies of

Luchsius Smits and Mooi. In 1968, F Snell tried to reveal Augustine's relation to Calvin and possible influence upon the reformer in his ThD thesis *The Place of Augustine in Calvin's Concept of Righteousness*.

In the seventies, C Boyer tried a broad doctrinal comparison and J Fitzner argued that Calvin's teaching on the Eucharist was substantially the same as Augustine's. M Vanderschaaf compared predestination and certainty of salvation with regard to Calvin and Augustine. But these works in the seventies did not reflect an interest on any specific methodological approaches.

At the beginning of the eighties, interest in methodology regarding the relationship between the two theologians emerged. In 1980, J Pintard began to draw out differences between them in *Au sujet du culte des saints et de la vierge. Calvin est-il fidèle disciple de saint Augustin?* L Sharp compared the doctrines of grace in his article *The Doctrine of Grace in Calvin and Augustine*. R Ayers, in his *The View of Medieval Biblical Exegesis in Calvin's Institutes*, claimed that Calvin's exegetical methods were influenced by Augustine's, by examining the view of medieval biblical exegesis in Calvin's *Institutes*. Before the eighties there had been no specific difference between texts as evidence and citations as evidence, even though Smits and Mooi eagerly endeavoured to set up such a difference between them much earlier. The researchers were freely using texts and citations as evidence.

A N S Lane's article in 1981 *Calvin's Use of the Fathers and the Medievals* (*Calvin Theological Journal*) is meaningful in this respect. In this article he reviewed previous research critically and renewed it with a methodological interest. He has mainly devoted

himself to studies concerning Calvin's use of Bernard of Clairvaux, but his method is useful and relevant for our theme. Is it from a kind of sense of duty that he suggests 11 theses regarding a particular methodology in his recent book *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* (1999)? The book contains eight newly revised articles and a very useful bibliography of modern works on Calvin and the Fathers/Medievals since 1800.

Though Lane's appeal for a methodological approach came to gain much attention from various scholars, the interest was given, not to a specific application of this method to Calvin's use of Augustine, but to Calvin's use of other ecclesiastical authors such as Bernard, Eusebius and Cyprian. The period from 1981 to 1990 presented a vacuum regarding studies on this topic. An attempt to fill the gap came from Lange van Ravenswaay. In 1990 he published *Augustinus totus noster: Das Augustinverständnis bei Johannes Calvin* on the basis of his earlier doctoral thesis. He began with Calvin's famous comment *Augustinus totus noster est* to reveal the role of Augustine in Calvin's thought. But it is a question whether the aim was successfully achieved or not.

As we have mentioned in the introduction, another big step made in the field was the publication, in two volumes, of *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists* edited by I Backus, in 1997. This work contains really useful surveys regarding our theme: *Erasmus and the Church Fathers* by J Boeft; *Martin Luther and the Church Fathers* by M Schulze; *Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer and the Church Fathers* by I Backus and *John Calvin and the Church Fathers* by Johannes van Oort among others. This thesis is heavily dependant on Van Oort's article.

2.2 Some critical conversations with important works

In the previous section, we have surveyed a history of earlier studies. Now we have time to converse with three important scholars: Smits, Mooi and Lange van Ravenswaay. Although, with the benefit of time, we can find limitations more easily than merits, the aims of their research are still valid. They moreover function as a new motive for our research.

2.2.1 Luchsius Smits: *Saint Augustin dans l'œuvre de Jean Calvin*

Until the fifties, studies on this topic were not pursued properly. If the problem of the relation of Calvin to Augustine has never been studied in detail, it may be because no one who was interested had the fortitude to undertake the preliminary task of providing an exact index of direct references. Wendel commented on this difficulty, 'But, since they started trying to investigate the problems of the relationship between Saint Augustine and Calvin and to define the exact influence that the Bishop of Hippo had exerted on the leader of the Geneva church, they have encountered many difficulties that could hardly be solved. The difficulties include: omitted and incomplete references, wrong quotations, neglected allusions or reminiscences prior to the improved editions. There was a lack of literature, and premature conclusions therefore led to uncertainties' (Wendel 1958:375). It was left to Smits to investigate this in his foundational work *Saint Augustin dans l'œuvre de Jean Calvin*.

2.2.1.1 A brief review of Smits's work

As the subtitle suggests, Volume 1 is a critical study of literature. In Chapter 1, Smits presents the novel view that the words 'Saint Augustine has broadened my understanding from this precept ...' refers to Calvin's conversion. 'The reading of Saint Augustine had suddenly opened the eyes of this humanist and confirmed for him the principles of the Reformation ...' This view leaves room for discussion.

In Chapter 2 he reviews a literary history of Calvin's writings with attention to Augustinian passages and the results frequently summarised and illustrated in charts. He divides Calvin's writing periods into five: the first *Institution*, the second *Institution*, the period at Strasbourg, the second period at Geneva until 1550 and the second period at Geneva after 1550. He sees these five phases as corresponding to the evolution of Calvin's principal work, *Institutions* (Smits 1956:26).

Chapter 3 is a literary history of Augustine's writings analyzing Calvin's use of various parts and showing that Calvin read Augustine in the Erasmus edition (1528/1529). Concerning Augustine, Smits follows Erasmus and Possidius by dividing Augustine's works into twelve groups. Then he assigns the following number of citations, with or without reference: (i) introductory one hundred and twenty, (ii) philosophical 8, (iii) apologetic one hundred and ninety, (iv) dogmatic two hundred and thirty, (v) anti-Manichaeism two hundred and eighty-nine, (vi) anti-Donatist one hundred and sixty-one, (vii) anti-Pelagian 1 051, (viii) anti-Arian thirty-two, (ix) exegetical seven hundred and thirty-three, (x) ethical thirty-eight, (xi) sermons three hundred and sixty-four, and (xii)

letters five hundred and eight. The total number is 3 724. This chapter includes Augustine as well as pseudo-Augustine, African councils and the council of Orange.

Chapter 4 deals with Calvin's working method: How Calvin cited references and dealt with citations in texts. Smits insists that Calvin adopted seven principles in interpreting these citations: separating a term from a word, understanding the context and purpose of the work, understanding literary genre, having a phrase in context, interpreting according to parallel passages, considering the person of the author and setting in the context of the period of the writing.

Finally, in Chapter 5, he replies to the question of how Calvin sees Augustine with relation to the question of authority. His conclusion in Volume 1 is that 'Saint Augustine exerted considerable influence on Calvin ...'. From among the Church Fathers, it is Saint Augustine to whom Calvin refers with great conviction' (1956:272). Though he was not in perfect accord with all the opinions of Augustine, 'the fact of reference to saint Augustine sufficiently affirms the high esteem Calvin had for Augustine. He particularly demonstrates this esteem when he deals with the human nature of corruption, the necessity of grace, predestination and the sacraments' (1956:274).

Volume 2 consists of two main tables and three auxiliary tables. For Table 1 he divides Calvin's work into five groups: *Institutions*, *opuscules*, correspondence, exegetical works and texts not identified as of Augustinian origin. Table 1 classifies Augustinian references in Calvin's writings according to the order in which they appeared in *Corpus Reformatorum* or in *Opera Selecta*.

Institutio christianae religionis

OPERA SELECTA

PATR. LAT.

3, 7-94

AUGUSTINI LOCI

3, 7 ⁷⁻⁹	1543: Lect.	Epist. 7(143,2)*	33, 585 ⁴⁷⁻⁴⁹
3, 16 ²⁹⁻³³	1536: Praef.	In Evang. Joh., 13,[17]*	35, 1501 ¹⁹⁻²³
3, 19 ²⁻⁵	"	Op. monach., 17,[20]	40, 564-565
3, 20 ²⁰⁻²¹ ³	"	Epist. 120(140, 37)	33, 575-577

Table 1. Smits's Data, Type One

Table 2 allocates Calvin's Augustinian references to Augustine's work alphabetically according to Migne's *PL*. This also includes pseudo-Augustine and councils. Thus:

CIV.

PATR. LAT.	Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum	CALVINI OPERA	CORP. REFORM. OPERA SELECTA
42, 605-627	I,3,4-II,9,34		
42, 605-606	<i>I,3,4-5 A</i>	Comm. Joh., 1553:1,1	C.R., 47, 3 ⁴⁻⁹
42, 613 ⁵⁰⁻⁵²	[I,14,19]*	Inst., 1550: II, 8, 5	O.S., 3, 347 ³⁶ -348 ²
42, 614	<i>I, 14, 21 A</i>	Praed. Aet., 1552	C.R., 8, 297 ⁵⁰ -298 ²
42, 617 ⁴³⁻⁵¹	<i>I, 16, 28 A</i>	Neb. Calumn. de praed., 1557	C.R., 9, 260 ⁵² -261 ⁵

Table 2. Smits's Data, Type Two

The second volume is the result of the thorough examination of Augustine's works as presented in Volume 1. The results obtained in Volume 1 are verified and modified and then unified in Volume 2. Smits insists that, with this basis, studies in this field will be able to find more profound influence of elements of Augustine in the work of the

reformer. Then he adds ‘Such is our real goal. It will be the object of the third volume’ (Smits 1958:3). Yet the third volume has not appeared.

2.2.1.2 Critical Conversations

In this section we will address some critical defects in Smits’s work with regard to methodology. Then we will be able to talk about his achievements with confidence in the next section.

First of all, Smits’s interesting suggestion regarding Calvin’s dependence on Augustine for his conversion should be examined. How did Calvin first come to know Augustine? Smits insists that Calvin began to know him indirectly through John Major’s influence at Montaigu. Within higher programmes John Major gave an Occamist commentary on Lombard’s *Libri Sententiarum*. Calvin participated in those programmes and had an occasion to make contact, in an indirect manner, with Saint Augustine because the principal part of *Sentences* originated from the writings of the African doctor. With its numerous Augustinian texts taken from the books of Lombard, the *Institution* immediately demonstrated to which extent it familiarized itself with the work (1956:14). Except for some debates on the ‘Reuter thesis’³, this starting point is not likely to be correct. The first *Institution* shows no trace of any theological influence by Major and there are no grounds for claiming that Calvin, while at Montaigu, attended

³ In 1950 François Wendel claimed that Major influenced Calvin while Calvin was a pupil at Montaigu and gave him direct knowledge of Peter Lombard’s *Sentences* and an Occamist interpretation of them. These passing comments in Wendel’s magisterial *Calvin* were to be developed into Karl Reuter’s magisterial *Das Grundverständnis der Theologie Calvins* in 1963. Reuter’s thesis is that Major was a dominant influence on Calvin’s theological development.

any of Major's theological programmes. Of the principal authorities cited in the published versions of Major's *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, only one is mentioned in the 1536 *Institution* (Lane 1999:18).

On the basis of the starting point, Smits continues to decisively extend his theory on Calvin's conversion through Saint Augustine's *De Spiritu et Littera*. Does the theory have enough textual evidence? He leans heavily upon Calvin's reference in the 1539 edition of the *Institution* in which Calvin's maturity as a Protestant thinker is fully established. 'Therefore, our Lord commands **marvelous** fervor of charity that is free from the lust of the world [concupiscence]. This requires **marvelously** a temperate heart that would not go against the commandment of charity ...'. It was Augustine who first opened the way for me to understand this commandment ...' (*OS* 3, 389). Smits adds that 'The reading of Saint Augustine had suddenly opened the eyes of this humanist and confirmed for him the principles of the Reformation ...' (1956:23). It is quite understandable that he grants a role to Augustine in bringing about Calvin's Protestantism, but it is somewhat overdrawn to apply the word *suddenly* and relate the reading of *De Spiritu et Littera* to the moment of conversion implied in Calvin's *Preface to the Commentary on Psalms*.

Then we can ask why Smits put forward such a supposition when there is not enough evidence. He believed that the role which fell to Saint Augustine in the formation and the conversion of Calvin was highly important in understanding the sentiments of the reformer regarding the bishop of Hippo (1956:24). There is a suspicion that Smits built his foundation for his entire study of Augustine in the works of Calvin on this theory. Smits advances his thorough search for all Augustinian passages in the writings of

Calvin to prove it. This leads to his adoption of the four categories: *références avec citation*, *références sans citation*, *de citations sans référence* and *de passages sans citation ni référence*.⁴ This adoption subsequently results in Smits's occasional over-emphasis of Saint Augustine's role in Calvin's writings. For example, Smits considers the first *Institution* as a unity of very heterogeneous parts. So he asks, 'How have such diversified parts been joined together within a unique work?' and he answers, 'The role played by Saint Augustine is closely related to the solution of this question'.

His confidence, however, should have been more balanced. In the fourth chapter, *De sacramentis*, it is Augustine who functions as a key witness. It was Augustine who called a sacrament 'a visible word' (*OS* 1, 119), and Calvin concludes his whole general exposition of the sacraments: 'Augustine has called Christ's sacred side the wellspring of our sacraments' (*OS* 1, 127). In Chapter 5, *De falsis sacramentis*, the most frequently quoted Church Father is again Augustine. It is Augustine who says: 'Let the Word be added to the element, and it will become a sacrament' (*OS* 1, 163). In Chapters 4 and 5 Augustine truly takes part in unifying various patristic testimonies into Calvin's intention. But except for these chapters, the story is different. Although it is possible to detect some hidden references to Augustine which are made explicit in later editions of the *Institution* (Van Oort 1999:667), explicit references are almost totally absent in Chapters 2 and 3. In these chapters Augustine does not play a significant role at all.

Even though Smits gives the number of quotations in the chapters according to his categories: *références avec citation*, *références sans citation*, *de citations sans référence*

⁴ references with quotation, references without quotation, the quotations without references and passages without quotations or references.

and *de passages sans citation ni référence* as 0, 2, 4 and 9 respectively for Chapter 2 and, by the same order as 0, 1, 0 and 11 for Chapter 3. These numbers fail to show reliable evidence. For the first ***Institution*** Smits gave a total number of one hundred and thirty-four Augustinian citations. Among those citations he assigns thirty-nine in Chapter 4, Sacraments, and fifty-eight in Chapter 5, False sacraments: *références avec citation* 7, *références sans citation* 6, *de citations sans référence* 1, *de passages sans citation ni référence* 26 in Chapter 4 and, by the same order, 5, 4, 7, 41 in Chapter 5. The first two (*références avec citation* 7, in Chapter 4 and *références avec citation* 5, in Chapter 5) are debatable but the last numbers are very elusive. For the meantime we can say that the role of Augustine in Calvin's first ***Institution*** is significant in Chapters 4 and 5, but not in all the chapters. As we have seen in the example, this over-emphasis-on-Augustine tendency occupies his whole work.

We can do a research on the basis of one supposition and continue to gather related evidence to prove it. Smits decided to address many more references to expand the possibility of evidence. It is likely that the supposition urged him to pursue more numbers than 4 000 by adopting the four categories. And these expanded numbers subsequently function as leading evidence to validate his related statements. This is a cycle of errors.

2.2.1.3 Suggestions for our study

In the previous section we talked about Smits's defects. The question is, 'what is the benefit of Smits's theory for our study?' A researcher can operate with the aid of preconceived questions, hypotheses, ideas, assumptions, theories, paradigms,

postulations, presumptions, or general presuppositions of any kind to obtain evidence. The obtained evidence provides the possibility of proving his assumption. Valid empirical proof, however, requires not merely the establishment of possibility, but an estimation of probability. Moreover, it demands a balanced estimate of probabilities pro and con. The establishment of probability cannot be undertaken independently of re-questioning the first obtained evidence. Smits quits at this point, when he includes the evidence which was obtained in the last two categories (*de citations sans référence* and *de passages sans citation ni référence*) without any further work towards an estimation of probabilities pro and con. He lost his chance to readjust his first assumption by the methodological process. Therefore, his evidence only provides a possibility and not a probability.

We should allow an opportunity for evidence to speak for itself. Sometimes it can say more than we expect at the verifying stage. It has the possibility to alter, correct and verify the first presupposition on which it was obtained. The lack of the process results in Smits's tendency to over-emphasize Augustine's role in Calvin's writings.

When we learn lessons from Smits's defects, we can use many other accomplishments of Smits properly and confidently. First of all, his total of 4 119 citations can be a useful starting point if we avoid the above-mentioned pitfall. The number can function as an excellent reference work containing valuable data on which to base a thorough study.

Secondly, his four categories can be used if we could develop scientific criteria for them as Mooi converted them to three categories by his working criteria.

Thirdly, his manner of framing questions leaves much room for study. Which Augustine is completely ours? Simply the theologian of grace or the earlier thinker as well? What part of Augustine's work – his theology, his exegetical work, or his ecclesiology? And which of Augustine's books? Again, looking at it from Calvin's end: in what connections does he use Augustine? What does he particularly approve of, what does he disapprove of? Smits's quest for the answers is still valid and profitable.

Lastly, and most significantly, I think his most valuable contribution to our theme is his statement that a study which tries to find Augustine's influence on Calvin should be based on scientific statistical data which have sufficient reliability. Our studies on the theme continue on this foundation.

2.2.2 R.J. Mooi: *Het Kerk-en Dogmahistorisch Element in de Werken van Johannes Calvijn*

There is no 'if' in history, but if we assume that there were no work by Mooi, I wonder whether the value of Smits's work could be rightly esteemed, as it has been until now. Even though Mooi himself reveals some shortcomings in the eyes of time, he overcame some critical defects which had appeared in Smits's work. He appeased Smits's tendency of over-emphasis-on-Augustine when he saw Augustine in relation to other patristic authors.

He expanded Smits's special interest in the relation of Calvin and Augustine into a broader perspective on all the Church Fathers in Calvin's writings, while he limited Smits's totals of 4 119 to 1 736 (including pseudo-Augustine) and altered Smits's four

categories into his own three categories. Although he endeavoured to strike a balance between Calvin's specific use of Augustine among the patristic authors and Calvin's usual use of the Church Fathers including Augustine, he expressed himself in tension regarding Augustine: 'With regard to Augustine, this study greatly restricted the representation of the number of quotations. The citations from this Church Father are so numerous that it is impossible to do full justice to him in the framework of this study' (Mooi 1965:3). This difficulty, however, makes his work more attractive and valuable for our study.

2.2.2.1 A brief review of Mooi's work

This book is largely divided into two parts. The first part of the study is a historical survey of the ecclesiastical and dogmatic data in the works of John Calvin in their chronological order. Mooi follows Smits's five phases exactly, as Smits observed that Calvin's entire life coincided with the emergence of the *Institutes*. In Chapter 1 Mooi deals with Calvin's first works, including the *Institutes* of 1536. In this first period Calvin's approach is very biblical. He never used the writings of the Church Fathers as a basis for his argumentation. Calvin paid great attention to the historical background of the doctrine of the sacraments. The young Reformer especially esteemed Augustine's opinion in this regard, though he showed that solid ground for the doctrine of the sacraments was not found in the usage of the church, nor in the speeches of the Church Fathers, but in the Word of God which came down to us from Jesus Christ (1965:24).

In Chapter 2 the writings of Calvin's first stay in Geneva are dealt with, among them the *Institutes* of 1539. In the historical material he used, Calvin stressed the doctrine of the

bondage of the will, of justification by faith alone, and of predestination. Augustine was a great authority for Calvin on the subjects he was interested in during this period of his life. He found many of his own views confirmed by this Church Father. In Chapter 3, Mooi is concerned with Calvin's stay in Strasbourg, the period in which the 1543 edition of the *Institutes* appeared.

It is interesting that Mooi chooses to deal with twenty-five themes in Calvin's 1543 *Institutes* that reflect Calvin's expanded interest in the doctrine of the church. They include church service, church office and government, jurisdiction, church discipline and church life.

In Chapter 4, Calvin's works of his second stay in Geneva up till 1550 are reviewed. Mooi shows that Calvin made no new historical observations of major importance. What Calvin had to say in this respect he had stated already. In this period, even the Church Fathers are treated in a more critical manner. Augustine is also cited critically in the *Commentary on Genesis* 'Sed nihil utilius est quam in genuina rerum tractatione insistere.'⁵ (CO 23, 123). This reveals how Calvin struggled to acquire a serious and real Bible exegesis free of fanaticism or rigorism. To him the 'genuina rerum tractatio' stands foremost.

Chapter 5 deals with Calvin's stay in Geneva after 1550. In this period, Calvin placed much emphasis on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and of the Trinity. According to Mooi, Calvin allocates authority to Augustine in the controversy with Pighius, 'The fact

⁵ But nothing is more useful than to pursue the natural treatment of things.

that Calvin repeatedly quoted Augustine was not because he desired to argue against Pighius's teachings by using the authority of the Church Fathers, but because Augustine, more than anyone, understood the art of presenting the meaning of the Bible in the most effective manner' (1965:147). Calvin observed that he was in accord with him. He distinguished him from among the other Church Fathers. He, however, made it quite clear that the only authority by which he was guided was founded in Holy Scripture (*CO* 8, 274). Augustine's authority is dependent on his adherence to the authority of the Scriptures.

The chapters of the second part of this book deal successively with the various Church Fathers and theologians in their historical order. Mooi surveyed at least sixty-seven figures (including *Decretum Gratiani*) with their writings which were mentioned in Calvin's writings. The chapters also contain Calvin's own assessments of the Church Fathers.

In Chapter 10, Mooi provides twelve short notes as a summary and conclusion. Among these notes, number 6 is assigned to Augustine. 'Augustine undoubtedly was the foremost authority on Church History for Calvin. Most of the quotes by far are from this Church Father. Calvin apparently made an in-depth study of Augustine's works. This is certainly clear in the case of dogmatics, especially the teachings on sin and grace, the un-free will and the justification of sinners. Calvin reveals less regard for Augustine as an exegete' (1965:352).

Mooi provides us with fifty-seven tables. He chose three categories for these tables: *citaten of omschrijving met aanduiding van plaats van herkomst, citaten of*

omschrijving zonder aanduiding van plaats herkomst and *naamsvermelding zonder meer*.⁶ From Table 1 to Table 56, he shows the numbers of the patristic citations in Calvin's writings and the positions in *CO* chronologically. In Table 49 especially, we find the numbers of citations in Calvin's last edition of the *Institution* in detail, chapter by chapter. Table 57 unfolds all the citations from Calvin's whole period of writing to our eyes panoramically. According to the last table, Calvin cites a total of 3 945 times from the sixty-seven authors (including *Decretum Gratiani* as one author) and a total of 1 708 from Augustine only. These tables provide very useful basic data for surveying the relationship between Calvin and the Church Fathers. The sole inconvenience is that they do not include the original loci of the patristic texts. We would have to re-examine Smits's tables or *CO*'s indexes one by one to try to find the original Augustinian sources.

2.2.2.2 Critical Conversations

How is it possible that Mooi avoided some defects in Smits? He seems to have understood the danger of the reversal of supposition and evidence when he commented on Calvin's methodology. Mooi urges that Calvin's method is correct. Although he agrees that a scientific-historical interest in the modern meaning is not so important to Calvin, in the light of Calvin's own era, 'in general, Calvin cites the content of the patristic citations correctly.' Calvin first cites one text from a patristic source. Instead of hurrying to interpret it, he provides a series of questions seen as penetrating in the eyes of the reader. 'Regarding the content of the biblical preaching, what the fundamental

⁶ citations/quotations indicating place of origin, citations/quotations without indication of place of origin, citations just mentioning names.

intention of the Church Fathers was, and whether the content of the writings of the Church Fathers was truly in accordance with the biblical message ...' (1965:353). There is no room to insert any judgment according to the researchers' personal opinion.

Mooi agrees that a principal dogmatic meaning should neither be drawn from the opinions of the researcher, nor from the place at which the research stands. According to Mooi, Calvin believed that a dogmatic appeal to data of historical character was in the frame of a theological explanation. When Mooi deals with a principal dogmatic meaning which can easily make researchers follow the process by adopting their own opinions of faith according to their various backgrounds of faith, he allows no room for the pursuit of those biased preconceptions.

Mooi follows Calvin's method in this regard. He allows an opportunity for evidence to speak for itself, as Calvin did. So Mooi comments 'that the nature of the material covered and of the method followed reveals that the writer's admiration of the great reformer has been kept in the background. Calvin's greatness is such that the material can speak for itself' (1965:6). This can explain Mooi's adoption of three categories instead of Smits's four, which already included the researcher's own judgment before the process of the interpretation of evidence. Mooi continues his explanation about church-dogmatic aspects in Calvin's writings according to Calvin's five periods. This method is very safe in narrating debatable dogmatic issues such as sacrament, predestination, free will, and trinity without putting forward the researcher's own preconceptions. The advantage of this method lies in the impression of historical growth in the thought of the Reformer.

On the other hand, however, this method can reveal a shortcoming in the repetition of the same conclusion. 'The disadvantage of the method exists in a continual and rather tiring repetition in different loci, moreover repeatedly results in a repetition of the same conclusion as to the relation between the Scriptures and the Church Fathers in Calvin's thought' (Nijenhuis 1966:290). But Nijenhuis' criticism is somewhat groundless. I have no objection to Mooi's conclusions on this issue. They are generally true and sound in relation to the Holy Scriptures and the Church Fathers regarding authority. And Mooi's conclusions have been drawn from his research into the Holy Scriptures and the specific Church Fathers. For example, Mooi especially deals with the issue regarding Augustine in Chapters 4 and 5. In Chapter 4, Mooi reveals that Calvin praised the manner in which Augustine's attention had focused on the meaning of Holy Scripture (Mooi 1965:109). In Chapter 5, however, 'According to Calvin, Augustine tended to view matters Platonically. ... at other times, he switches to allegoric interpretations too easily' (1965:134). It is very difficult for us to find any repetition of the same conclusion regarding Calvin's evaluation of Augustine on this issue. In this regard, the above-mentioned conclusions could be profitable. Mooi might want to show how Calvin esteemed the Bible much more than any other authority. The repetition of the same conclusion regarding the relation between the Scriptures and the Church Fathers does not seem to be a significant shortcoming.

2.2.2.3 Suggestions for our study

We can derive many benefits from Mooi's achievement. Mooi acknowledged the potential importance of evidence in explaining Calvin's usage of the Church Fathers. He did not begin by comparing the similarities and differences in Calvin's thought and the

Church Fathers'. Rather, he pursued his study with specific evidence, which was shown through Calvin's writings, in chronological order. He could select explicit evidence by means of his three categories. The categories got rid of any possibility of over-interpretation. His total of 3 945 citations (for Augustine, 1 708) are explicit evidence which can be used directly for a range of research, for example, research on a specific Church Father in Calvin's writings. Especially because he presented his data chronologically, we can see the developmental sequence of Calvin's thought.

These static data give us an opportunity to pursue dynamic data which will reflect minute changes in Calvin's thought regarding a Church Father: how he thinks of a Church Father initially, what formed his opinion on that Father at that stage, how he changed his first opinion at another stage and what made Calvin change his opinion on the Father. For instance, Calvin originally was rather critical of Bernard, but he later showed more appreciation of him. He quoted him especially on the doctrine of sin and grace. We can see how Calvin even cited some of his mystical passages with approval. This is also evident for Augustine.

Although Mooi made us consider Augustine as one of the Fathers, he missed quite sensible differences between Augustine and the most of other Fathers. He knew that Calvin esteemed the Church Fathers differently. Mooi agreed that Augustine was a great authority for Calvin on the subjects he was interested in during the whole of his writing period. And Calvin found many of his own views confirmed by this Church Father. Mooi pointed out that Calvin's preference for Augustine is quite different from the other Fathers, but he did not go further. He was neither interested in the question of what caused this difference nor what constituted the uniqueness of Augustine. Rather, he

seemed to be satisfied with treating this Father equally with the others regarding the authority of the Bible.

It is true that Mooi paid special attention to Augustine by allocating a tenth of his book to Augustine. According to Mooi, Calvin was very sensitive to the development of Augustine's thought. With regard to the doctrine of free will, Calvin could discern apparent differences between the earlier and the later Augustine (1965:234). When Calvin struggled with his opponents, Augustine was his favourite support. Calvin esteemed Augustine highly because Augustine laid great emphasis on the meaning of the Bible in dealing with the sacraments (1965:253). Calvin showed his agreement with Augustine when he frequently cited him, especially in connection with the doctrine of sin and grace, the doctrine of Church and the doctrine of the Sacraments.

Mooi closes this section on Augustine with his usual conclusion, 'Although Calvin viewed Augustine as a Church Father of great authority, this was human authority. It paled into insignificance when compared to the godly authority of the Word of God' (1965:263). Then he suggests a reason for Calvin's preference for Augustine: 'The Church Father had particular significance for Calvin, he was a special authority to the doctrines of the early church. Finally Calvin also had a preference for referring to Augustine because he could thereby demonstrate that his ideas were by no means a novelty in the church, as it was time and again made out to be by the Roman Catholics'. This might explain Calvin's preference for Augustine in part. As we know, Calvin tried to vindicate the Reformation against the Roman Catholic claim of the novelty of reformation thinking in the first edition of his *Institutes*. But it is not enough to explain all factors that lead to Calvin's special preference for this African Church Father. I think

this question would be answered if we could discern minute differences between Augustine and the other Church Fathers in Calvin's understanding, usage and estimation.

Mooi made it clear that, although Augustine had no outstanding differences with the others regarding the question of authority, Augustine occupied a special position in Calvin's writings. Mooi paid less attention to this difference. But this raises questions that concern us. What is the implied meaning of this special position of Augustine in Calvin's writings? How do we have to understand Augustine with regard to the other Fathers in Calvin's usage? What are the main factors that caused Calvin's preference for Augustine?

2.2.3 J.M.J. Lange van Ravenswaay: *Augustinus totus noster*

What is the meaning of the Calvin's famous words *Augustinus totus noster est*? Lange van Ravenswaay takes this maxim as his starting point. His research is the third one completely devoted to our theme, after Luchsius Smits's and Mooi's. He raises various questions regarding methodology, doctrine and even psychology. We have to critically examine this work because of its merits and its crucial shortcomings and limitations.

2.2.3.1 A brief review of Lange van Ravenswaay's book

This book, which has the attractive title *Augustinus totus noster*, has a subtitle *Das Augustinverständnis bei Johannes Calvin*. In the introduction, Lange van Ravenswaay criticises earlier studies which commonly focused on the comparison of the historical

ideas of John Calvin and Augustine. Then he directs our attention to the method of working. 'As we ask about Calvin's understanding of Augustine, so we ask about the interpretation principles, intentions and interests, theological-intellectual as well as emotional-personal assumptions and processes in Calvin's contact with Augustine. To examine them with the help of available source material, requires setting up a thorough working method based on multiple perspectives in many different ways' (Lange van Ravenswaay 1990:12).

When he first deals with Augustine's predestination, he explains the differences between *praescientia*, *praedestinatio* and *providentia*.⁷ Then he pursues Calvin's thought on predestination as derived from Augustine's.

In Chapter 2, Lange van Ravenswaay insists that Calvin adopted particular working methods and interpretation principles when he used Augustine. He deals with this theme from the *Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia* to the last *Institutes*. According to Lange van Ravenswaay, Calvin, from 1535, constantly adopted the same humanistic exegetic principles such as *sensus literalis*, *simplicitas*, *brevitas*, *perspicuitas*, *mens scriptoris*, *circumstantia* and *intentio*.⁸

For the use and interpretation of Augustinian texts, Calvin made use of the following three criteria, from 1536 onwards and increasingly from 1539: (i) In the use of Augustinian texts, Calvin takes into account the theological development of the Church Father. (ii) Augustinian texts were inserted into the general style of Calvin's

⁷ foreknowledge, predestination and providence.

⁸ literal sense, simplicity, brevity, clearness, author's opinion, circumstances and intention.

theological-doctrinal argumentation in an explanatory, substantiating or summarising function. (iii) The characteristics shown essentially from 1536, and especially tangible from 1539 onwards, were valid, so they are found again from 1543, but intensified and increased (1990:115-116). It is interesting that Calvin now and then specifically paralleled his situation and Augustine's. Lange van Ravenswaay develops this phenomenon to a programmatic principle in presenting the connection as a triangle: *Scriptura sacra-Augustinus-doctrina evangelica Calvini*.⁹

In the following chapter, the author takes up the issue of the relationship of the Bible and tradition in his discussion of the meaning of Calvin's understanding of Augustine. Lange van Ravenswaay surveys the views of Polman, Koopmans, Ganoczy and Oberman regarding Augustine and the authority of the Bible and tradition. Why did Calvin choose Augustine as his reference regarding this theme? He replies that 'Therefore within this dogmatic succession, for him Augustine is a particularly interpretive representative because he is a sincere interpreter of the Scriptures, and in addition to that their doctrinal centerpieces are in Paul's theology' (1990:131). So he concludes: 'In addition it shows that the Reformer uses both Scripture and the tradition of the common doctrines selectively and that the pedagogically oriented ordering efforts are directive for him' (1990:132).

Chapter 4 deals with Augustine's position in Calvin's view of history. Calvin several times made a separation between the 'Fathers' on the one side and 'Augustine' on the

⁹ Holy Scripture – Augustine - Calvin's evangelical teaching.

other side, and he referred to the last as *fidelissimus et optimus testis ex tota antiquitate*¹⁰ (1990:143).

In Chapter 5 Calvin's self-understanding, which leads to his interpretation of Augustine, is considered. Lange van Ravenswaay insists that many examples confirm Calvin's obviously increasing tendency towards identification with Augustine (1990:152).

Chapter 6 'Schola Augustiniana' tracks Calvin's development with regard to his understanding of Augustine from the period of his study at Marche and Montaigu to the period of the 1543 *Institutes*. In the second section, Lange van Ravenswaay discusses the Reuter's theory. He concludes that, although Reuter's theory on Calvin's participation in the theological lessons at Montaigu remains 'unverifiable speculation', 'so it is possible to accept that Calvin was influenced by Major with regard to the philosophical foundations' (1990:162). He seems to agree in accepting Major's influence on philosophical grounds, but he soon retreats from this position with Parker's remark 'We must say at once that this is a very uncertain subject and it would be foolish to pretend assurance' (1990:163).

Then he gives us an interesting statement. When Calvin studied in Orléans, Bourges, Paris and Basel, he possibly became acquainted with the Church Fathers through lectures and studies on the Augustine quotations in the *Decretum Gratiani*. But for the most part, Calvin's knowledge of Augustine came from *his own study* of the Erasmus's *Opera omnia* edition of 1528/29, the *Decretum Gratiani* and Lombard (1990:167).

¹⁰ the most trustworthy and best witness in all Antiquity.

During the period in Strasbourg, Calvin absorbed many influences from other reformers, especially Melancthon's knowledge of Augustine and then, from 1543, Calvin became an initiator of his own 'schola Augustiniana'.

Lange van Ravenswaay's conclusion is that 'No responsible statement on the Reformer of Geneva can be made without taking into account his rightfully repeated motto, *Augustinus totus noster!*'

2.2.3.2 Critical Conversations

In Chapter 1 of *Augustinus totus noster*, Lange van Ravenswaay tries to verify Calvin's famous axiom 'Augustinus totus noster est'. He selects one exemplary doctrine as a test case. This is the doctrine of predestination. Van Oort raises an instant question. 'Was it also the case, for example, with regard to Augustine and Calvin's idea of the Sacraments as a test case? From the first edition of the *Institutes*, Calvin revealed an agreement with the Church Father in which we can find, not only references but also explicit calling upon Augustine, especially in the fourth chapter, *De sacramentis*. It is also mentioned by Lange van Ravenswaay (1990:62), although he does not cite all the evident references that could confirm this. ... It is known that it was only at a later stage that Calvin concentrated more specifically on predestination' (Van Oort 1992:96-97).

Lange van Ravenswaay tried to give a comparative analysis between Augustine's opinion and Calvin's on the doctrine of predestination. He, however, did not offer an adequate explanation of how important the doctrine of predestination was to Augustine

and why it concerned Calvin during all periods of writing just as much as it concerned Augustine. We cannot find a bridge that connects these two ideas. He only gave us simple comparisons or simple quotations from Augustine and Calvin regarding the doctrine. And this is not enough to explain Calvin's full dependence on Augustine regarding the theme.

Rather, Lange van Ravenswaay rightly established the *differences* between them. Lange van Ravenswaay seems to show us that there are more minute discrepancies between the two theologians than their general agreement on the theme.

This failure of the first chapter causes the conclusion of his whole book to be unclear. How we can say 'Augustinus totus noster' if we cannot find enough evidence in Lange's analysis of the doctrine of predestination with which Calvin himself expressed *Augustinus totus noster* (CO 8, 266)? Moreover, Calvin's understanding of Augustine concerns the doctrine of predestination as well as of the sacraments, justification, original sin, the views on history, and ecclesiology.

In his introduction, Lange van Ravenswaay shows that he has recognized some of the problems of our subject of study. So he raises the necessity of a scientific methodology. He tries to establish the pattern and influence from Calvin's understanding of Augustine. This starting point is very sound for addressing a complex of questions in our studies. But I wonder whether he really understands the meaning of *citations*. Van Oort asks Lange van Ravenswaay whether he understood the meaning of the word 'citation' in our field of researches. 'In page 62, he indicates that regarding the counting of the citations, he chooses Mooi and not Smits's' (Van Oort 1992:102). Lange van

Ravenswaay seems to understand the differences between Mooi's categories and Smits's. In actual usage, however, he employs Mooi's and Smits's without any further consideration. As discussed earlier, the last two of Smits's four categories revealed a possibility of including vague evidence. Lange van Ravenswaay freely uses any evidence offered by Smits without hesitation. He does not provide us with any criteria for choosing between references. When Smits and Mooi selected citations, they used their own categories as a working method. This makes it difficult for us to consider Lange van Ravenswaay's evidence as fully convincing.

2.2.3.3 Suggestions for our study

In Chapter 2 of *Augustinus totus noster*, Lange van Ravenswaay deals with Calvin's working methods and interpretation principles as used in his treatment of Augustinian texts. He insists that Calvin used Augustinian texts for building sentences in his employed programmatic connection: Holy Scripture-Augustine-Dogmatic statements of the *Institutes*, or in other words, used the same connection as in the Paul-Augustine-Dogmatic statements of the *Institutes*. This means that Calvin had a personal programme when he used Augustinian texts in his *Institutes*. Lange van Ravenswaay tried to explain *Augustinus totus noster* by means of a theory of Calvin's self-identification with Paul and Augustine. This psychological approach seems attractive but it cannot fill the gap between the true Paul and the true Augustine. A psychological tendency that is identified from a few citations cannot fully explain all the similarities and differences in their theologies. A real foundation for a Paul-Augustine programme as Calvin's inner principle in writing can be established only through serious interdisciplinary studies on the Paul-Augustine connection.

We must not over-exaggerate the importance of Calvin's citations. Citations can be used as evidence of Calvin's reception of Augustine. They can be applied to the studies that find Augustine's influence on Calvin's writings. Until now researchers have struggled just on this issue. For this process we, moreover, have to succeed in explaining the meaning of the texts' various implications and in configuring scientific categories for objective data. If we could set up a foundation on an Augustine-Calvin connection, it could function as basic data for further studies on the Paul-Augustine-Calvin connection. In this respect, even though Lange van Ravenswaay failed to set up sound grounds for it, this connection can be an interesting suggestion for our theme.

Despite his difficulty in establishing a Paul-Augustine programme, he succeeds in attracting attention to an inspiring view. In Chapter 6, when he describes Calvin's development from the studies at the College of Marche to the *Institutes* of 1543, he makes a peculiar statement concerning how Calvin came to know Augustine during the period. He neither spoke of the *schola Augustiniana*, which was famous among Calvin's contemporaries, nor of the influence through John Major at the College of Montaigu. Rather, he urges that Calvin came to know Augustine through *an independent* study of him. Although we cannot agree with his final conclusion that Augustine became the center of Calvin's theology and personality through Calvin's own study, the last part of the statement 'Calvin's own study' is remarkable. This can provide some questions for further studies: What sources could Calvin obtain and read for this study? Were they the originals, a particular collection of Augustine or other authors' quotations? and does *his own study* signify that Calvin's explicit use of Augustine indicates his full knowledge and understanding of the Father, which leads to *Augustinus totus noster*?

Anyhow, I found that there were still two basic – and not properly answered – questions in his study. On what grounds should our studies regarding Calvin and Augustine stand? What is the proper meaning of the words *Augustinus totus noster*?

2.3 Methodology

Until now we have surveyed earlier studies, focusing especially on methodology. It seems that there is a discernable tendency in such studies. When a researcher deals only with Augustine in Calvin's writings, he easily loses his sight of Calvin's common use of Augustine with the other Fathers, while, when a researcher deals with all the Fathers in Calvin's writings, he easily loses sight of Calvin's peculiar use of Augustine.

I think what we need in our theme is a feeling of balance between Augustine and all the Fathers, between citations as evidence and texts as evidence, and between the similarities and differences in their theologies. How to achieve the balance? An instant question on earlier studies leads us to questions regarding our research method. I believe that we can find a few potential answers in Lane's studies and in Van Oort's.

2.3.1 Lane's Methodology

An article, *Calvin's Use of the Fathers and the Medievals* by A N S Lane, was published in the *Calvin Theological Journal* in 1981. This article gives us several important points with regard to methodology. Lane made a clear distinction between three different types of study that concern Calvin's relation to his predecessors. He suggested that the second type of study should be a foundation for further studies. Then

he warned that it did not suffice, in seeking to demonstrate influence, merely to draw parallels between Calvin and an earlier figure. 'Even where Calvin was unquestionably familiar with an earlier figure and quoted him freely, mere parallels in thought are not sufficient to demonstrate dependence, without more precise evidence. There are striking parallels in thought between Calvin and Augustine, with whom he was undoubtedly intimately acquainted, but it is hard to prove that Calvin reached his Augustinian positions through the direct influence of Augustine rather than through the Augustinianism of others' (Lane 1999:150).

If influence cannot be measured simply by contrasting theologies, how could such reliable evidence be acquired? Lane insists that, if Calvin had arrived at profound theological understanding through one of the early Fathers, we could legitimately expect this to manifest itself in his use of that Father (1999:151).

Then, in his new book in 1999, *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers*, he suggests eleven theses regarding a particular methodology. Among the theses, the four theses below can be used directly in our research. The other theses are also usable, with some adaptations in the case of Calvin and Augustine.

Thesis 1: Calvin's citations of the Fathers are not to be confused with modern footnotes and must not be used uncritically to establish sources.

Thesis 8: A critical approach is necessary to determine which authors influenced Calvin, even where Calvin cites them extensively.

Thesis 9: While Calvin's explicit use of a Father does not exhaust his knowledge of the Father,

it does indicate the kind of knowledge that he had and claims about who influenced Calvin should cohere with this evidence.

Thesis 10: A critical examination of Calvin's use of the Fathers, and especially of his literary citations, can provide pointers to which works he was reading at a particular time.

2.3.2 Van Oort's methodology

Van Oort wrote a compact article *John Calvin and the Church Fathers*. Although, at first sight, it seems to be a summary of Smits's work and of Mooi's, it is an inspiring example regarding methodology. Van Oort acknowledged that the best method of approach to the vast theme was to be chronological like Smits and Mooi.

In the first part, Van Oort gives us a survey of the main patristic data in Calvin's works, starting with his 1532 *Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia* and ending with the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*. Here, he revealed very impartial dealings with the Church Fathers and Augustine. He dealt with all the Fathers with equal sensitivity, while he paid enough attention to Augustine specifically. For example, in subpart 3, *The Address to King Francis* (1535) and the first *Institutio* (1536), he emphasized Calvin's intention of using Church Fathers against the opponents' appeal to the Fathers to substantiate their point. 'Calvin counterclaims in essence two things. First, that the doctrines of Rome are contrary to the teaching of the Early Church and, secondly, that the teaching of the Reformers is in fact very close to that of "the ancient writers of a better age of the Church"'. .

Van Oort concluded that these citations have an apologetic-theological aim to protect Calvin against the charge of innovation. Then he focused on Augustine. ‘A pure theological aim is present in his “quotation” from Augustine. (*OS* 1, 60): “forgetting our merits, we embrace Christ’s gifts.” At a pivotal point, viz. when Calvin asserts that man’s salvation consists in God’s mercy alone, this passage is referred to in a way which would indicate Calvin’s personal reading of Augustine’ (Van Oort 1997:666-667). Van Oort showed a way to reveal Calvin’s general usage of the Fathers, including Augustine, while not losing sight of Calvin’s distinctive usage of Augustine.

In the second part he discussed the most important Church Fathers, ecclesiastical writers and other relevant documents that Calvin *explicitly* mentioned. The word ‘explicitly’ signifies that he used citations critically. It is worth quoting: ‘It may be stressed here that ... we do not deal with any alleged influence by or possible comparisons with patristic theologians – an endless and highly speculative matter indeed! – but merely with evident facts such as *where* Calvin mentions a certain patristic author or writing, *how* he viewed them, and *how* he made explicit use of them in his own writings. When mentioning frequencies and drawing conclusions, we therefore prefer to speak of Calvin’s *citations* of the Fathers.’ It indirectly shows that he faced some methodological problems of earlier studies, especially the danger of suggesting alleged influence by using improper working categories. He tried to avoid them by means of methodological exactness and strictness. It seems that influence could be obtained properly only after accomplishing this preliminary but important process.

Van Oort noticed Calvin’s principles in polemical writings. One of those principles gives a clue to understanding Calvin’s method of interpretation of Augustine:

*Augustinus suus ipse sit interpret*¹¹ (CO 9, 158). Before we interpret Augustine's influence on Calvin, I think, we should set up a principle for our interpretation of Calvin. This is that Calvin must be his own interpreter.

2.3.3 A New Method

How can various methodological shortcomings of earlier studies be avoided? And how can one continue to use the rich merits of their accomplishments with an up-graded method? I believe that, through dialogue with earlier research, we have already come to potential measures to clarify our methodology. I hereby present a new method for my thesis by way of four questions.

(1) On what ground should our studies regarding Calvin and Augustine stand?

Lane tries to answer the question indirectly in the introduction to *Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers*. 'This volume would not have been possible without the pioneering studies of Luchsius Smits and R J Mooi. The value of their works is seen best from the glaring shortcomings of those writers who have chosen to ignore them. In a number of places in the following pages I question their conclusions on specific points, but this should not mask the fact that in many ways they laid the foundations on which these studies are built.' I definitely agree with Lane's saying. We will firstly endeavour to build our research on their foundation. This means that we not only use their citations as illuminating evidence, but also their questions as valuable motivation.

¹¹ Augustine must be his own interpreter.

(2) How must we understand the meaning of *Augustinus totus noster*?

What is the proper meaning of the words *Augustinus totus noster*? I believe that this question should be followed by the next questions. How can a balance between studies on Calvin and the Fathers and studies on Calvin and Augustine be established? What concepts of doctrines are *Augustinus totus noster*? Or what concepts of doctrines are not *Augustinus totus noster*?

The first one reflects that Augustine has a double aspect in Calvin's usage: Calvin's general usage of the Fathers including Augustine and Calvin's special usage of Augustine among the Fathers. The second one relates to Calvin's understanding and interpretation of Augustine. When Calvin debated with Pighius, he used Augustine selectively, especially the later Augustine. Calvin also accepted Augustine's ideas selectively. He showed minute differences in accepting Augustine's doctrines by degrees.

(3) Can we detect Calvin's development through his usage of Augustine as Calvin could detect Augustine's development in Augustine's writings?

The change in Calvin's usage of Augustine is clearer in the *Institutes* than in any other work by Calvin. According to Mooi, Calvin used Augustine from between 24 times in the first edition of the *Institutes* to three hundred and eighty-nine times in the 1559 edition. The increasing tendency in usage is also distinctive of the five periods of Calvin's writing: 'beginning period – fifty times, Geneva I – one hundred and thirty-seven times, Strasbourg – one hundred and eighty-six times, Geneva II before 1550 –

four hundred and fifty-seven times and Geneva II after 1550 – eight hundred and seventy-eight times’ (Mooi 1965:396).

How do we interpret the change in numbers? Does the increased usage have a meaning with regard to Calvin’s development in understanding Augustine? Smits ascribed Calvin’s increasing usage of Augustine, especially in the *Institutes*, to Calvin’s increased polemical necessity (Smits 1956:44). Smits’s observance shows that Calvin did not use Augustinian texts statically, he used them dynamically according to his situation in a certain phase for his debates with his opponents.

(4) Who truly is Calvin’s Augustine?

Calvin’s citations are texts that contain theological meaning in their literary forms. What we firstly need is statistical exactness to examine citations. This is quite a mechanical process of defining whether this or that citation contains traces of Augustine or not. There is no room to insert many theological ideas at this stage. Theological input at this stage can only mar the whole process of research. But when we come to proper evidence we have to involve a sphere of theology because the taken evidence itself contains various theological potentials. At this stage it is evident that theological communication between a researcher and evidence is dominant.

Moreover, study of Calvin’s Augustinian citations relates us broadly to three different time frames: Augustine’s, Calvin’s and the researchers’. This makes it difficult just to follow a scientific-theological approach because the three different time frames have their own languages, interpretations and contexts. In other words, it needs a historical

accumulation. It was once said that historical knowledge is different from scientific knowledge in that historical knowledge will not be accumulated. But now we know that historical knowledge can be accumulated as scientific knowledge. Even though it would be quite impossible to reach the exact point of the truth in the manner of natural science, it would be possible to reach the correct areas of the truth. When we have success in reaching those areas, we will at last begin to talk about theological matters. This is why we need a theological-historical-scientific method in the field of Augustine's influence on Calvin's writings. Who truly is Calvin's Augustine?

So our research process will be as follows :

- (1) Smits's citations (4 119) and Mooi's (1 736) will be gathered as basic data.
- (2) The basic data will be examined according to Van Oort's three categories: a quotation of, a paraphrase of and a clear reference to Augustine or his work and concerned councils.

These preliminary steps are not to be shown in my thesis.

- (3) Static data are to be analyzed by three criteria such as the frequency (Smits, Mooi, Lane & Van Oort), the nature (Mooi, Lane & Van Oort) and the function (Todd, Mooi & Van Oort).
- (4) The results of this process will be presented as tables.
- (5) The tables will be organized chronologically, thematically and functionally.

Through these steps we will develop tables which will reflect Calvin's explicit reception of Augustine. And the tables will be used as basic data for extracting dynamic data.

(6) Changes will be verified on the basis of the tables and formulated in chronological and thematic sequence as dynamic data.

(7) Particular measures will be adopted for analyzing the dynamic data. They are factors such as the increase and decrease of the frequency of citations, the shift of the focal point in citations, adding or reducing passages containing Calvin's own explanation, adding, deleting, adapting or complementing in the context of citations, the change of Calvin's evaluation of Augustine chronologically, the change of Calvin's evaluation of him regarding certain doctrines, etc.

As a result of the steps of this phase, we expect to get data related to the patterns of change in Calvin's usage of Augustine.

(8) Data related to the patterns of change are expected to provide hints for solving some related questions: What is Augustine's uniqueness in Calvin's writings? Who is truly Calvin's Augustine?

Through the above processes we expect to submit a basic tool for bridging the two related studies: Calvin's use of Augustine and Augustine's influence on Calvin's theology with evidence.

CHAPTER 3

CALVIN'S USE OF AUGUSTINE ACCORDING TO HIS FIVE PERIODS OF WRITING

In the second chapter, we surveyed recent work on Calvin and Augustine. And then we suggested a converging method to deal with our theme. In the third chapter we will thoroughly study Calvin's use of Augustine in Calvin's works from the first period of his writing career to the last, fifth period. Before this, we need to talk about the static data. What are they? And what will they bring into our study?

Smits identified 4 119 Augustinian citations while Mooi gave us a total number of 1 708. These numbers were obtained through their own working criteria. Smits adopted four categories. Mooi used three categories. Study in this field developed as researchers devoted themselves to in-depth study of each of the works of Calvin. Therefore new results were suggested. For example, in Calvin's first work, *The Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia*, Smits identified fourteen citations as Augustinian. Mooi subscribed thirteen citations to this African Father. According to Battles, Calvin referred to Augustine twenty times. Calvin's *Bondage and Liberation of the Will* of 1542 contains many citations from Augustine. According to Smits, the total number of Augustinian references is five hundred and ninety-five. Mooi reduced this number to two hundred and thirty-two. Davies again raised the number to more than four hundred. The results vary, as we see in the above examples. Whose data should we adopt as standard? Should we pursue the most probable data when we take a maximalist

approach to the number? Or should we adhere to minimalism? We decided to employ Mooi's information as basic data. This means that we have chosen minimalism. I believe that this approach can reduce some shortcomings of other scholars who have adopted a maximalist approach, claiming use and influence on the basis of little or no evidence. These basic data went through two processes. Firstly, the basic data were compared to critical data of other scholars (who did research on each of Calvin's works). Secondly, the basic data were reselected by Van Oort's definition of explicit citations. The result is the static data which we use as our standard in this study.

Then what are the static data? Static data are the Augustinian citations which were arranged according to the five periods of Calvin's writings. These data contain basic information about the frequency, the nature and the function of Calvin's use of Augustine in a specific period. These data also hold the possibility to reveal dynamic factors in Calvin's writings. So the static data will be a foundation for the dynamic data which will give us information on the patterns of the citations. We will discuss the dynamic data and patterns in Chapter 4.

Now remains a final question. On which grounds do we divide Calvin's writing periods into five? Smits divided Calvin's writing into five periods: the first *Institutio*,¹² the second *Institutio*, the period at Strasbourg, the second period at Geneva until 1550, and the second period at Geneva after 1550. Smits sees these five phases as corresponding

¹² From now on, I use the Latin word '*Institutio*' to represent Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Though the English titles such as '*Institutes*' or '*Institutions*' claim their rights, each title has its own merits and demerits for exactly revealing the original meaning. Therefore I rather use this shortened Latin title, '*Institutio*'.

to the evolution of Calvin's principal work, *Institutio* (Smits 1956:26). This division is very reasonable. The texts and ideas that had been used in various works in the same period were usually incorporated and reunified into the following *Institutio*. Then, how about citations from Augustine? We found that the same tendency continued with regard to citations. In some works Calvin is simply repeating his citations from the *Institutio*. Although he normally omits words, adds words, changes words, changes tenses, and changes word order, the *Institutio* can be used as a key to discern these changes. So it is a logical decision to adhere to the five divisions with regard to Calvin's writing periods.

3.1 The first period

3.1.1 The Commentary on Seneca (1532)

In his first work, *The Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia*, which he more or less finished before March 1531, and which appeared in early April 1532, Calvin – among the many classical sources he discusses extensively – shows virtually no specific knowledge of the Fathers (Hugo 1957). With regard to his references and allusions to patristic sources, Calvin does not seem to have a specific theological aim. This work merely seems to be a normal publication by a young humanist. In fact, the Fathers are of minor importance and serve as humanistic adornments (Van Oort 1997:663). We, however, find an exception when we analyse Augustinian citations in light of textual analysis.

First of all, it is remarkable how Calvin throws Augustine in between the philosophers,

the players and the historians such as Cicero, Seneca, Horace, Ovid, Plutarch, etc. This is 'harmonising' *in optima forma*. Augustine is made equal to these authorities. In some cases, Augustine excels these authorities. Augustine supplements, corrects and sometimes concludes whole debates.

In Commentary Book 1, after a lengthy paraphrase of the whole passage by Seneca, Calvin concludes with an exceptionally apt quotation from Augustine. 'Finally I remembered that even those who had no defense whatsoever, were at least human beings related to me by the name, as Augustine says: "Let us prosecute in them their own wickedness, let us have pity on the nature they share with us. Nothing, then, is conceded to private efforts, nothing to meanness"' (CO 5, 23). Calvin uses Augustine to supplement the pagan meaning of 'common nature' with the Christian meaning.

In Ch XV Calvin corrects Cicero with Augustine: ' . . .this may be the conviction of the philosophers; our religion prescribes for us something far different. For, as Augustine says in his *De communi vita clericorum*: "Conscience and reputation are two separate things: your conscience is necessary to you, your reputation is necessary to your neighbor." He who trusts only in his conscience and neglects his reputation, is cruel' (CO 5, 112).

And when Calvin deals with Seneca's definition of clemency, he concludes this with referring to Augustine after giving a further few lines from Juvenal, Horace, and Virgil, 'In favor of pity, against the Stoics' opinion, read Augustine, books ix and xiv of the *Civit. Dei*' (CO 5, 154). So there it is. The famous Augustinian chapters have come to the surface at the last moment (Hugo 1957: 60).

Augustinian citations are dominant in all patristic citations. Smits identified fourteen citations as Augustine's. Mooi gave thirteen citations to this African Father among fifteen patristic citations. According to Battles, Calvin referred twenty-two times to the Fathers and twenty times to Augustine. The Church Father Augustine already has a relatively prominent place in this work.

These citations clearly show that Calvin already has a certain respect for Augustine from the very beginning of his writing career, before his own theological writing career.

3.1.2 *Psychopannychia*

The *Psychopannychia* poses considerable critical problems. Against which groups or group was it originally intended? How much of the 1542 published version actually represents what Calvin originally wrote in 1534/5? Fortunately, the first question is not central to our present task, so it can be laid aside. We are concerned with the second question only. If this work, which deals with the state of the soul after the death of the body, contains the first thoughts of Calvin in 1534, and had not been revised until 1542 but had just been published at that time, this work has importance as Calvin's first theological work. But if this work had been revised (when considering *Institutio's* frequent revision) by that time, it would just be a reflection of Calvin's thoughts around the year of publishing.

Then what about Calvin's citations from Augustine? According to Mooi, Calvin used ten Augustinian citations in *Psychopannychia*. The citations function as historical information (CO 5, 170), rhetorical adornments (CO 5, 181; 202), polemical use (CO 5,

187; 191), biblical reflection (CO 5, 180), and theological contemplations (CO 5, 189; 202; 215; 216). We fail to gain any specific insight to suggest a clue to the exact date through text analysis because the theme of this work itself is very unique.

Here we employ dynamic factors in Calvin's works. In Calvin's use of Augustinian citations, a discernable tendency rises to the surface. When Calvin uses one citation for a specific issue in a certain work in a certain time period, he repeatedly uses it for the same issue in other works in a near time period, with or without adaptations. And this tendency is more clearly shown in cases of controversies with Calvin's opponents than in any other cases. For example, most of the citations used for Calvin's controversy with Pighius are incorporated in the subsequent editions of *Institutio*. We find only one place in which citations used in *Psychopannychia* are used again. In his *Instruction contre la secte des Anabaptistes* of 1544, Calvin used Augustine for explaining the state of souls after death. This French citation (CO 7, 126) is largely the same as what appeared in *Psychopannychia* in Latin (CO 5, 215).

Moreover, Calvin refers to Augustine's error in expounding on 'a living soul' and Augustine's acknowledging of the error at a later time (CO 5, 202). It is interesting enough. Calvin's attitude to Augustine was so modest in the first period of his writing that it is very difficult for us to find such a direct indication of Augustine's fault in any other works in the period. It is not general as a use of Augustinian citations in the first and second periods.

It could not be seen as solid evidence for adding these citations in the period around 1542, though; it would be probable evidence of later adding or adaptation. It would be

safer to say that Augustinian citations do not provide enough evidence to prove that *Psychopannychia* was written in 1534 and then remained unchanged until 1542.

3.1.3 *Praefatio de la Bible de Neuchâtel* (1535)

Another impression is given by Calvin's 1535 Latin Preface to the French translation of the Bible by his cousin Robert Olivétan. In this *Praefatio*, Calvin more than once appeals to Augustine. Chrysostom and Augustine frequently exhorted ordinary people to reread at home what they had heard in the church (CO 9, 788). Both Chrysostom and Augustine stimulated the common people to study the Bible, which they rightly deemed would fortify them against heresies (CO 9, 789). Apart from one reference to Eusebius and one to Jerome, it is the appeal to Chrysostom and Augustine that especially attracts attention. Chrysostom and Augustine are regarded as having the same authority in these two citations. Augustine appears once more in *Praefatio in Johannis Chrysostomi homilies* (CO 9, 835). The purpose of all these citations from Augustine in these two works is a theological one.

3.1.4 *Preface* (1535) and the first edition of *Institutio* (1536)

Calvin's polemical use of the Fathers is perhaps best illustrated from *The Prefatory Address to King Francis* at the beginning of the 1536 *Institutio* (Lane 1999:33). Calvin complains that evangelical teaching is called 'new' and 'of recent birth', but he rejects this charge. Calvin in essence counterclaims two things. First, that the doctrines of Rome are contrary to the teaching of the Early Church and, secondly, that the teaching of the Reformers is in fact very close to that of 'the ancient writers of a better

age of the church' (Van Oort 1997:665). In other words, these counterclaims clearly signify two points: the Fathers do not support the heresies of Rome, which are contrary to the teaching of the Early Church; the teaching of Calvin and the Reformers is very close to that of the sounder teachers in the Early Church, especially Augustine (Lane 1999:34).

According to Mooi, Calvin uses three Augustinian citations in this prefatory address to King Francis. They all are polemical. 'We, therefore, now answer our adversaries as Augustine then answered the Donatists: the Lord made us wary of these miracle workers when he predicted that false prophets with lying signs and prodigies would come to draw even the elect (if possible) into error [Mt 24:24]' (CO 1, 16). Calvin refutes his adversary's claim by using Augustine's answer to the Donatists. But the authority, which was assigned by Calvin to the Father, is not because of Augustine's own authority. 'It was a Father who affirmed it rashness, when judging of some obscure matter, to take one side or another without clear and evident witness of Scripture' (CO 1, 29). This essentially amounts to an appeal from tradition to Scripture, to the claim that evangelical doctrine is ancient because scriptural. 'If the contest were to be determined by patristic authority, the tide of victory would turn to our side' (OS 1, 27).

The catechetical literature of the later Middle Ages, both in Latin and in the vernacular, took the form of simple expositions of the Law, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, etc. Luther found this form ready at hand when he compiled his *Small Catechism* of 1522 and the *Large Catechism* of 1529. It was natural, then, that Calvin would construct his first edition of *Institutio* from the successive expositions of the Ten Commandments (ch. 1), the Apostles' Creed (ch. 2), the Lord's Prayer (ch. 3), the

Sacraments (ch. 4). To this he appends first a refutation of the papal mass (end of ch. 4) and a long chapter rejecting the so-called five ‘false sacraments’ (ch. 5) on Scriptural and historical grounds. The concluding chapter contains three related essays, on Christian Freedom, Ecclesiastical Power, and Political Power. Calvin, however, is able to engage in more detailed discussion of questions than Luther, in that his work is not a catechism that had to be learned by rote. Generally speaking, these chapters reveal the polemical aspect of the book, more perhaps than the catechetical.

A short analysis of some explicit references in the first *Institutio* may be worthwhile, because it can illustrate Calvin’s method and purpose in his use of Augustine excellently. In the opening chapter, the Law, one finds only three citations from Augustine. The first one (CO 1, 38) does not have significant meaning. In the second citation, Calvin uses Augustine’s famous dictum to substantiate his argument that the law of grace does not incur wandering outside the law:

All these are indeed hard and difficult for our feebleness, even to the least detail of the law. It is the Lord in whom we act virtuously. “Let him give what he commands, and command what he will (*Det ille quod iubet, et iubeat quod velit*).”

To be Christians under the law of grace does not mean to wander unbridled outside the law, but to be engrafted in Christ (CO 1, 44).

Van Oort suggests that the third citation indicates Calvin’s personal reading of Augustine. Because the text is not present in textbooks like Lombard’s *Sententiae* or the *Decretum Gratiani* (Van Oort 1997:667), ‘we grasp and obtain God’s grace, and, as Augustine says, forgetting our merits, we embrace Christ’s gifts (*nostra merita obliti*,

Christi dona amplectimur')(CO 1, 48). A pure theological aim is present in this quotation from Augustine.

It is difficult for us to find explicit quotations in chapters two and three. When we reach Chapter 4, we face Calvin refuting the current Roman Catholic views by appealing to the testimony of the Fathers. And the key witness is again Augustine. Among twenty patristic quotations, Augustine occupies nine. It was Augustine who called a sacrament 'a visible word' (CO 1, 103), and it was he who said that the efficacy of the Word is brought to light in the sacrament, not because it is spoken, but because it is believed (OS 1, 120). When Augustine says, 'The sacraments of the Mosaic Law foretold Christ, but ours tell forth Christ', Calvin explains Augustine, 'Those represented him when he was still awaited; but ours show him as if present who has already been given' (CO 1, 106). And Calvin concludes his whole general exposition of the sacraments: 'when water and blood flowed from his sacred side. For this reason, Augustine has called it the wellspring of our sacraments' (CO 1, 109). Most quotations clearly reflect Calvin's theologically oriented usage of Augustine. Now we face very apologetically oriented usage of those citations in Chapter 5.

It is Augustine who says, 'let the word be added to the element, and it will become sacrament' (CO 1, 142). Calvin refutes the Scholastic distinction of the laying on of hands as a sacrament with Augustine, 'Augustine openly affirms that it is nothing but prayer. Now let them not snarl at me with their foul distinctions, that Augustine meant this act not to be confirmatory, but curative or reconciliatory' (CO 1, 147). It is interesting that Calvin reveals his critical thinking on the character of the Augustinian quotations that were introduced by Scholastics. They insist that their doctrine of

satisfaction has been taken from the patristic sources. ‘As in the present argument, almost all his evidence is taken from Augustine’s book *De poenitentia*, which was carelessly patched together by some rhapsodist from good and bad authors indiscriminately. Indeed, it bears the name of Augustine, but nobody of even mediocre learning would deign to acknowledge it as his’ (CO 1, 174). Calvin even withdraws himself from the debate and set Augustine ahead, ‘But if they reply that my definition is not a law they must obey, let them hear Augustine, whom they pretend to consider sacrosanct’ (CO 1, 176). Calvin uses Augustine apologetically in this chapter because Calvin’s adversaries insist that they are using Augustine correctly. But Calvin reveals that their claims have no ground:

. . . for they will answer through Augustine’s mouth that there is sanctification without visible sacrament and a visible sacrament without inner sanctification.¹³

Again: “that in the elect alone sacraments carry out what they represent” Again: “Some put on Christ as far as the receiving of the sacrament; others, as far as sanctification. The former, good and bad do equally; the latter, the good alone”

Obviously, they were more than childishly deceived (CO 1, 176).

Calvin derides and even ridicules this rite, and in this context he brings up a saying of Augustine which is taken from the *Decretum Gratiani*: ‘Do you forget what they parrot

¹³ When one sees this first quotation in CO, one must be very careful. The footnote to this quotation says it is from 2 Libr. 3. *quaest. Vet. Test.* 1. c. This footnote does not indicate *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testament* which is a pseudo-Augustinian work. It signifies Augustine’s original work, *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum libri septem*. Calvin used this confusing short title ‘*quaest. Vet. Test*’ for ‘*Quaestionum in Heptateuchum libri septem*’ and ‘*quaest. Vet. et (N).Test*’ for ‘*Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testament*’.

from Augustine: “If the word be withdrawn from the water, it will be nothing but water; but it is the word that makes it a sacrament?” (OS 1, 217).

As a brief conclusion to our discussion of the first *Institutio*, we observe that Calvin’s use of Augustine is primarily polemical. It is particularly against current Roman Catholic and Scholastic opinions that he cites Augustinian testimonies.

3.1.5 Conclusions concerning the first period

On the basis of the above overview, some provisional conclusions may be drawn.

- (1) Even though Calvin was not yet ripened theologically, he shows a broad and sometimes rather intimate knowledge of Augustine from the beginning of his writing career. In his first work, the *Commentary on Seneca’s De Clementia*, Calvin already reveals his high respect for this Father.
- (2) With regard to the *Psychopannychia*, there is not enough evidence to prove that this work contains early use of Augustinian citations untainted until 1542.
- (3) As Smits defines the first *Instituio* as devoted to the Sacraments, more than half of the citations are used for this theme.

3.2 The second period

3.2.1. The Lausanne Disputation (1536)

Confirmation of Calvin's knowledge and use of the Fathers can be found in *the minutes of the Lausanne Disputation*, which was held during October 1-8, 1536 at the instigation of the Senate of Berne.¹⁴ This disputation was between Protestant and Roman Catholic theologians. Calvin went to the colloquy with the intention not to speak out and, indeed, maintained silence until the fifth day. But he was stung into action by the charge of Jean Mimard that the Protestants despised antiquity. In his response, Calvin revealed himself as one who had diligently studied the early Fathers (CO 9, 877-884). One of his remarks directly reveals his purpose of using the Fathers, 'should we not all take the trouble to read them and to use the help of their teaching when it serves and as occasion offers?' (CO 9, 877).

The minutes reveal several characteristic features of Calvin's use of the Fathers. First of all, Calvin supports his points with a quotation from various Fathers such as Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine. But while Calvin admits that the reformers subordinate the Fathers to Scripture, he is not prepared to concede that they therefore respect them less in practice than the Roman Catholics do (Lane 1999:27).

Secondly, when we look into these quotations more closely, a more sanguine estimation of his scholarship results (McGrath 1990:97). The Fathers are quoted out of context, often omitting material which points to a different interpretation from that which Calvin

¹⁴ The Bernese, having occupied Lausanne earlier that year, now wished to consolidate their hold on their new acquisition by converting its population to evangelicalism. The tried and tested means of doing this was by organizing a public disputation in the vernacular. But the German-speaking Bernese felt it difficult to present their case to the French-speaking Lausanne. The Bernese city council invited Farel and Viret to present the case for reform. They decided to bring Calvin with them.

suggested (Ganoczy 1966:107). We should, however, remember that Calvin demonstrates his knowledge of the Fathers in an open place by a series of lengthy quotations from Fathers, taken from his memory. He does not seem to use written resources at that time. In this regard, his memory is remarkable:

Tertullian. . .refuting the error of Marcion; St. Augustine. . . in the 23th letter very near the end; in the book against Adimantus the Manichaeon, about the middle. . . on the passage in Genesis ch. 9; on Ps. 98, interpreting the passage Adorate. . .; at the beginning of a Homily on the Gospel of John about the eight or the ninth one, I cannot exactly recall which

Calvin's scholarly standards would not satisfy twenty-first century criteria but by the standards of sixteenth century polemics they were thorough. Actually, his catholic opponents at Lausanne could not refute him. Lane insists that, to assess Calvin as a twentieth century research student rather than a sixteenth century polemicist is surely to be guilty of anachronism.

Thirdly, in this discourse Calvin already manifested the emphasis on Augustine characteristic of his use of the Fathers throughout his life. It is Augustine, 'whom you have made your advocate' (*CO* 9, 880), who is quoted more often, than all the other Fathers put together. On the one hand, this could have been caused by the fact that his opponents appealed to this Father (*CO* 9, 880: 'St. Augustine, whom you have made your advocate . . .') and thus it reflects the general authority accorded to Augustine in the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the nearly two columns devoted to the African Church Father are a fine testimony to Calvin's own predilection and thorough

knowledge (Van Oort 1997:673).

Calvin genuinely believed the Fathers to support his cause, so he could conclude the controversy on the Lord's Supper with the exhortation. 'I advise and beseech you to charge us no longer with contradicting the ancient doctors in this case with whom we are in fact in such accord' (CO 9, 884).¹⁵

3.2.2 The second edition of *Institutio* (1539)

We find a single quotation from Augustine in 1537 (CO 5, 242), no quotations in 1538 and then, in the second *Institutio* of 1539, the quotations from Augustine abound. The second edition of *Institutio* dates from Calvin's Strasbourg period. Published in Latin in 1539, the volume is three times as long as the first edition of 1536, with seventeen chapters instead of six. Additional patristic material has been added almost everywhere; the doctrine of the Trinity, the relation of the Old and New Testaments, penitence, justification by faith, the nature of the Christian life, but one finds new testimonies, particularly in the chapters which mirror the controversies with the Anabaptists, Caroli and Servet. Likewise, Calvin's special study of *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* is reflected in this new *Institutio*, e.g. in the more elaborate exposition on predestination (Van Oort 1997:674).

It is Augustine who is again referred to more than one hundred and thirty times (he accounts for more than one third of all the patristic citations), and especially in the

¹⁵ ' . . . ie vous admoneste et prie de ne nous plus imposer que en cest endroit nous contredisons a tous les anciens docteurs avec lesquelz sommes tant bien daccord . . . '

exposition of the depravation of human nature and free will. It is said that the expansions in the second edition concentrate on the depravation of human nature and the same is true for the newly added citations from Augustine focusing on the same issue (more than fifty citations). 'Therefore, good men (and Augustine above the rest) labored to show us that we are corrupted not by derived wickedness, but that we bear inborn defects from our mother's womb' (*CO* 1, 308). Calvin stresses that our inborn nature was corrupted. Then, Calvin freely introduces Augustine's controversy against Pelagius.

To deny this was the height of shamelessness. But no man will wonder at the temerity of the Pelagians and Coelestians when he perceived from that holy man's warnings what shameless beasts they were in all other respects (*CO* 1, 308).

For this reason, Augustine, though he often calls sin "another's" to show more clearly that it is distributed among us through propagation, nevertheless declares at the same time that it is peculiar to each (*CO* 1, 311).

Hence Augustine, in view of man's corrupted nature, is not afraid to call "natural" those sins which necessarily reign in our flesh wherever God's grace is absent. Thus vanishes the foolish trifling of the Manichees, who, when they imagined wickedness of substance in man, dared fashion another creator for him in order that they might not seem to assign the cause and beginning of evil to the righteous God (*CO* 1, 312).

These citations remind us of the future debate with Pighius who claimed that Calvin was influenced by Manichaeism. The last sentence, however, clearly shows that Calvin

knew before the debate how Augustine evaded this accusation of teaching that God's original creation was evil.

How good is Calvin's understanding of Augustine at this stage? It is clear that Calvin understood the development of Augustine's thinking on human nature. 'Therefore Augustine, although at one time he had thought that passage to be concerned with man's nature, later retracted his interpretation as false and inappropriate' (CO 1, 335). And Calvin knows the difference between *praescientia* and *providentia*. Calvin criticises Augustine for combining these two words (CO 1, 889), but most of Calvin's references to Augustine are very positive. He is quoted several times as the right interpreter of the apostle Paul (CO 1, 311); it is in him that Calvin sees his own situation reflected (CO 1, 359); more than once he tries to harmonize his divergent opinions (CO 1, 740); and even prefers to refute his opponents with Augustine's words rather than with his own words: 'I wish rather to refute their cavil with Augustine's words than with mine' (CO 1, 878). This predilection for Augustine is more clearly revealed when he says, "A saying of Chrysostom's has always pleased me very much, that the foundation of our philosophy is humility. But that of Augustine pleases me even more . . . so if you ask me concerning the precepts of the Christian religion, first, second, third, and always I would answer, *Humility*' (CO 1, 323).

Briefly, in the 1539 *Institutio*, Calvin's knowledge and use of Augustine appears to be enlarged and enriched in accordance with the reworking and enlargement of the whole work.

3.2.3 Conclusions concerning the second period

On the basis of the above overview, some conclusions may be drawn.

- (1) Calvin's preference for Augustine remains a discernable tendency. This preference is not the result of Augustine's own authority but of Augustine's sincere interpretation of Holy Scripture.
- (2) In the second *Institutio*, the main focus falls on the issue of the depravation of human nature. And the frequency of Augustinian citations exactly reflects this concentration on the issue. Among the one hundred and thirty-one citations, more than fifty concern this issue.
- (3) Generally speaking, citations from Augustine are not so refined and articulated. It seems a reflection of Calvin's situation in this period. His own difficulty related to his financial situation. Calvin was living in reduced circumstances. Writing in 1543, Calvin felt obliged to apologize for the lack of detailed quotations in the 1539 edition (completed at Strasbourg around October 1538): he had, he explained, been obliged to quote from memory, having only a single volume of Augustine to hand (*CO* 6, 336).

3.3 The third period

3.3.1 The *Reply to Cardinal Sadolet* (1539)

Among the writings of the Strasbourg period, the *Reply to Cardinal Sadolet* (1539) shows that Calvin sees the Reformation movement in line with the doctrines of the

Early Church. Augustine plays a role as witness together with Chrysostom and Basil among the Greeks and Cyprian and Ambrose among the Latins (CO 5, 394). These mentioned names seem to reveal Calvin's personal preference for them. But the only full reference (name, quotation, and source indication) is to Augustine in demonstrating the Ancient Church's doctrine of Christ's spiritual presence in the Holy Communion: 'it will be better that you read Augustine's *Epistle to Dardanus*, where you will find how one and the same Christ more than fills heaven and earth with the fullness of his divinity, and yet is not everywhere diffused in respect of his humanity' (CO 5, 400).

Likewise, it is only Augustine who is quoted in Calvin's *Petit traité de la Cène* of 1541 (CO 5, 454), in his *Les actes de la journée de Ratisbonne* of 1541 (CO 5, 569), and in his pseudonymous writing, *Eusebii Pamphili explicatio consilii Pauli III* of 1541 (CO 5, 470, 477-478).

3.3.2 *Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (1540)

When we consider the affinity of Paul's theology with Augustine's and Calvin's (even Lange van Ravenswaay suggested this affinity as a Paul-Augustine-Calvin connection), it is truly strange to read Calvin's first commentary, the *Commentary on Paul's Epistle to Romans*, with such a preconception. It seems that we encounter an almost new evaluation of and use of Augustine. But in some respects, it still keeps its usual shape and tendency. Augustinian quotations are dominant in number as usual: Augustine, fourteen times; Chrysostom, five times; Lactantius, four times; Novatian, thrice; Josephus, once; Origen, once; Eusebius, once; Ammonius, once; Ambrose, once; Jerome, once. When we consider the functions of the citations, we can find a new use.

Here they have an exegetical function: rhetorical (once: *CO* 49, 195), historical (once: *CO* 49, 26), theological (six times: *CO* 49, 30; 58; 92; 130; 159; 182) and exegetical (six times: *CO* 49, 7; 82; 102; 124; 130; 149). Most citations are very positive in a doctrinal context. In exegetical use, we sometimes observe a very strong denial of this preferred Father's view: 'And that the body of Abraham was become through age incapable of generating, at the time he received the Lord's blessing, is quite evident from this passage, and also from Gen. 17 and 18, so that the opinion of Augustine is by no means to be admitted, who says somewhere, that the impediment was in Sarah alone' (*CO* 49, 82).

It is interesting to note that we cannot find a purely polemical use of citations. It is natural because this is a commentary, which needs exegetical and theological contemplation. Calvin did not want to take too much freedom for his dealing with the biblical texts; he placed rather severe restrictions on his freedom to make the crucial hermeneutical transition between scriptural exposition and theological affirmation. Commentaries may clarify points of detail within scriptural texts. In this regard, one of his citations shows this trait characteristically. 'According to what Augustine has well observed . . . that we courageously bear adversities, and are thus confirmed in our hope, because we, having been regenerated by the Spirit, do love God' (*CO* 49, 92). Calvin seems to accept Augustine's explanation about the love of God, and he continues: 'It is indeed a pious sentiment, but not what Paul means; for love is not to be taken here in an active but a passive sense' (*CO* 49, 92). Calvin presents theological acceptance but exegetically denies Augustine's explanation in order to pursue Paul's true meaning. This specifically shows Calvin's basic opinion that his sole authority is Scripture. Arguments taken from Augustine are never used as his basis, but they can only function as a

supporting authority. In fact, the *testmonia patrum* only serve as an illustration of the truth of Scripture. It is for this reason that even Augustine is sometimes criticised, especially in Calvin's exegetical works (Van Oort 1997:690).

3.3.3 The third edition of *Institutio* (1543)

A further Latin edition appeared in 1543, with a French translation in 1545. Now expanded to twenty-one chapters, this included, as its most significant addition, a major section on the doctrine of the church. The impact of experience upon Calvin's religious reflections is evident in this edition, particularly in the discussion of the importance of ecclesiastical organization. Among the several elaborations and additions it is indeed this ecclesiological element that attracts attention. It is Augustine who is cited most frequently, not only in the chapter on the Church (some thirty citations), but also in the chapters 'De cognitione hominis' (about twenty-seven), 'De Sacramentis' (about seventeen), 'De coena Domini' (about fourteen), and 'De lege' (about twelve). Besides, all five patristic references made in the new chapter, 'De traditionibus humanis' come from Augustine, who is thus again seen as a witness *par excellence* against Roman Institutions.

After studying these citations from Augustine thoroughly, we could discern three characteristic factors in this edition of *Institutio*. Firstly, many citations reflect Calvin's deepening understanding of Augustine regarding Christology. One example in *CO* will be enough to show this development. It is worth a long quote:

I prefer to explain this in Augustine's words rather than my own: "Christ was to go by

death to the right hand of the Father, whence he should come to judge the living and the dead. This he would do in bodily presence, according to pure doctrine and the rule of faith. For his spiritual presence with them was to come after his ascension.” Elsewhere he expresses it more fully and clearly: “According to ineffable and invisible grace what he has said will be fulfilled: Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world. According to the flesh that the Word took upon himself, according to the fact that he was born of the virgin, according to the fact that he was seized by the Jews, fastened to a tree, taken down from a cross, wrapped with linen, laid in a sepulcher, manifested in the resurrection, these words were fulfilled: You will not always have me with you [Mt 26:11]. Why? Because he went about in the flesh for forty days with his disciples, and while they were in his company, seeing him but not following him, he ascended into heaven [Ac 1:3], and is not here: for there he sits at the right hand of the Father [Mk 16: 19]; yet he is here, for the presence of majesty has not withdrawn [cf. Heb 1:3]. Therefore, we always have Christ according to the presence of majesty; but of his physical presence it was rightly said to his disciples, You will not always have me with you [Mt 26:11]. For the church had him in his bodily presence for a few days; now it holds him by faith, but does not see him with the eyes” (CO 1, 532).

And this deeper Christology is incorporated, especially in the views on the church and the sacraments.

Secondly, citations on the Sacraments are more articulated and more refined in contrast with two earlier editions of 1536 and 1539. For example, in the 1536 edition of *Institutio*, Calvin uses the words of Augustine briefly, ‘Let the word be added to the element, and it will become sacrament’ (CO 1, 142), but now Calvin explains the

meaning of these words:

Let the word be added to the element and it will become a sacrament. For whence comes this great power of water, that in touching the body it should cleanse the heart, unless the word makes it? Not because it is said, but because it is believed. In the word itself the fleeting sound is one thing; the power remaining, another. "This is the word of faith which we proclaim," (*CO* 1, 940).

Thirdly, Calvin's use of citations from Augustine concerning views on the church does not stop at the theoretical level but goes on to the practical level. Does this reflect his own experience in the church of Strasbourg? Smits agrees that, 'The fruit of the sojourn incorporated in the third edition of *Institutio*, . . . was retarded and came into press by 1543' (Smits 1956:47).

Although, we encounter one of the very few instances in which Calvin disapproves of an opinion of Augustine in this edition, 'I frankly admit that even in that ancient form which Augustine commends there is something that I do not like very much' (*CO* 1, 448), we meet an assured testimony of Calvin on Augustine in the same edition, 'Augustine . . . is incontrovertibly on our side' (*CO* 1, 1005).

In brief, the edition of 1543 *Institutio* marvellously shows how Calvin incorporates the citations from Augustine into christologically-ecclesiologically interwoven themes.

3.3.4 Conclusions concerning the third period

On the basis of the above overview, some conclusions may be drawn.

(1) Even a casual inspection of these works in this period points to a new clarity of expression and breadth of vision, which can only be attributed to the broadening of Calvin's intellectual and institutional horizons achieved through the first-hand experience of running a church in Strasbourg. This experience includes affluent patristic material at hand. Most citations are very accurate in loci.

(2) With regard to the *Commentary on Romans*, we meet a new use of and evaluation of Augustine. The theological contemplations in this Commentary do not directly incorporate into the 1543 edition of *Institutio*. Rather, we find this development in the edition of 1539 *Institutio* and the last 1559 *Institutio*.

(3) The most frequently used patristic data come from Augustine and is especially focused in the view of the Church. Calvin specifically employs Augustine when he accentuates the true nature of the Church. According to him, the Church is based on Scripture, not on the Ecumenical councils, traditions nor the authority of the Church. And Christ is the sole Lord of the Church. Augustine's role is outstanding in witnessing to this fact.

3.4 The fourth period

3.4.1. *The Bondage and Liberation of the Will (1543)*

In the second edition of *Institutio*, which appeared in 1539, two chapters especially

concern us here: Chapter 2 'The knowledge of Humanity and Free Will' and Chapter 8 on 'The Predestination and Providence of God.' When this edition appeared, the Dutch Roman Catholic theologian Albert Pighius decided to respond on behalf of the Roman Catholic side. His *Ten books on Human Free Choice and Divine Grace* was published in August 1542. Of the ten 'books' (chapters in modern meaning), the first six respond to Calvin's second chapter, the remaining four to Chapter 8.

Calvin felt a pressing need to respond lest the evangelical cause be lost by default. He dealt with the first six only in *Defence of the Sound and Orthodox Doctrine of the Bondage and Liberation of Human Choice against the Misrepresentations of Albert Pighius of Kampen* because he wanted to meet the time limit for the 1543 Frankfurt book fair. The next controversy over predestination would appear in Calvin's *Eternal Predestination of God* in 1552, which was a late response to Pighius (he had died) and a quick response to Jerome Bolsec.

This work contains many citations from Augustine. According to Smits, the total number of Augustinian references is five hundred and ninety-five. Although Mooi reduced this number to two hundred and thirty-two, it is second to none except the three hundred and eighty-nine of the last *Institutio*. The main battle is over the freedom of the human will and human choice and the main character truly is Augustine: Seventeen patristic Fathers appeared (including pseudo-Clemens and pseudo-Augustine) and Tertullian occupied the second seat with eleven citations. Except for these two Fathers, nobody could hit a number higher than ten.

A considerable proportion of Pighius's *Free Choice* had been devoted to refuting

Calvin's contention, in his 1539 *Institutio*, that, apart from Augustine the early Fathers were so confused, vacillating, and contradictory on the subject of free choice that almost nothing could with certainty be ascertained from their writings. Pighius sought to refute the claims that the early Fathers were inconsistent and that Augustine supported Calvin. Calvin joins battle with zest; in fact, about a third of the text of Book 3 is composed of patristic quotation.

In the 'On Book one', we find rhetorical use of Augustine, 'to use Augustine's words, "we exhort and preach so that those who have ears to hear may hear"' (CO 6, 254).

In the 'On Book two', when Pighius compares reformers to ancient heretics, Calvin refutes Pighius's claim with patristic testimonies including Augustine's (CO 6, 262). Calvin identifies himself with Augustine because Augustine faced the same charges (CO 6, 264). Pighius appeals to the Fathers to support his view on tradition and says some Fathers (Irenaeus, Tertullian and Origen) appealed to tradition, not Scripture, when they were engaged in doctrinal controversy with the heretics. After explaining those Fathers' views on Scripture, Calvin supplants his words with Augustine's to show that tradition has a role but is to be tested by Scripture:

The books of God are open; let us not look away from them. Scripture cries out; let us pay attention and listen . . . So that it may be of the greatest benefit to you, do not be reluctant to read it again often. It will show you the identity and nature of the disputes for whose resolution and healing an authority then prevailed which is not human but divine. From that authority we may not depart if we wish to reach our goal (CO 6, 276).

'On Book three' is full of Augustinian citations. Because Pighius is devoted entirely to Augustine in his third book, Calvin responds to this challenge, 'For since I appropriated him alone out of all the rest, [Pighius] tries not only to snatch him away from me, but even to bring him over to his own side' (*CO* 6, 292). Underlying the bondage of the will is the doctrine of original sin, which surfaces a number of times in the debate. Calvin repeatedly criticises Pighius's understanding of the effects of Adam's Fall, accusing him of Pelagianism (*CO* 6, 303-305; 310). Calvin, by contrast, held that the fall affected every aspect of human nature (*CO* 6, 306). Fallen human beings are in bondage to sin. Before the operation of God's grace there is no good at all in the human will (*CO* 6, 304; 311; 313; 320-322; 325). Because of this view Calvin was accused of Manichaeism, of teaching that God's original creation was evil. He responded with one of the most important distinctions of the whole work, that between human nature as created and as fallen (*CO* 6, 308; 309). Human nature was good as originally created, but has become corrupted as a result of Adam's fall. Calvin also uses this distinction as a tool to interpret the Fathers and the early writings of Augustine (*CO* 6, 294-301).

Because of the bondage of the will, there is no way in which people can prepare themselves to receive God's grace. But Calvin wishes to say more than this. Prevenient grace does not simply make it possible for people to respond. Grace is efficacious and effects conversion (*CO* 6, 310-311; 313-317; 321-326). This is true not just of the beginning of the Christian life. Grace is needed at every stage and, in particular, for final perseverance. This is a gift of God, not something that is merited by previous obedience (*CO* 6, 311, 322-325). Therefore 'even though Pighius may make much ado, we cannot be deprived of the fact that Augustine is on our side' (*CO* 6, 326).

In the 'On Book four', Pighius appeals to early Fathers to support his discussion of 'absurdities' in the *Institutio*. Calvin replies that Augustine interpreted them to be in accord with the teachings of Scripture.

In the 'On Book five', Calvin refutes Pighius with an array of demonstrations. If we make it simple, it seems like Aristotle's triple logic: Augustine supports Calvin (CO 6, 353). Pighius follows Pelagius (CO 6, 365). So Pighius opposes election and twists Scripture (CO 6, 373).

In the 'On Book six', Calvin dedicates the final small chapter to Augustine's *Rebuke and Grace*. After considering differences in terminology on free choice between him and Augustine, which Pighius attacked severely, Calvin scorns Pighius with 'Who now, I ask, will not grant me that Augustine is expounding essentially the same teaching in different words? How will Pighius then benefit by separating parts that are so thoroughly intertwined?' (CO 6, 403).

Van Oort suggests one of the basic hermeneutical principles of Calvin, i.e. to read the Church Fathers on the basis of his 'later work'; in contrast with Pighius's claim that the *nuda veritas* diminishes in Augustine's later work, he sees there an increase of the *vera et sana doctrina* (CO 6, 294) and this different approach to Augustine seems to have been one of the foundational disagreements in the controversy between Roman Catholics and Protestants.

3.4.2 Works until 1550

There are many works dealing with in this period, so we use one subsection according to the date of publication and two subsections for commentaries. Augustine is mentioned four times in *La forme des prieres et chantz ecclesiastiques* of 1542. The first two are frequently repeated citations concerning sacraments: a sacrament is a visible word, and that is the word of faith. (CO 6, 167). The other two are about hymns (CO 6, 169; 170). Calvin reviews the time of Augustine twice as to the question of relics in *Traicté des reliques* of 1543 (CO 6, 409; 446). References to other Church Fathers (in this case to Ambrose, Eusebius, and Theodoret) outnumber those to Augustine in this tract.

At the request of Bucer (Bucer's letter to Calvin on 25 October 1543) Calvin utilized the occasion of the fourth Diet of Speyer assembled by Charles V in February 1544. For this Diet, Calvin prepared *De necessitate reformandae ecclesiae* in 1543. Here there are no important citations to consider deeply, since eight citations are already shown in the previous editions of *Institutio*. The remaining two are related to the historical witness of Augustine. *Ce que doit faire un homme fidèle entre les papistes* of 1543 contains only one citation from Augustine and one from Cyprian.

In 1542, the doctors of theology at the University of Paris drew up a set of twenty-five articles defining what they held to be orthodox Roman beliefs, and prescribed them as binding upon lecturers and students alike. And Calvin immediately wrote a reply, publishing the articles with an ironical 'proof' attached to each, and then adding a more positive exposition in counterargument. In his *Articuli facultatis theologicae Parisiensis* of 1544, Calvin uses Augustine in eleven of the twenty-five articles. Before expounding the articles, Calvin explains his principle in dealing with these matters:

In the admirable words of Augustine, “When an obscure matter is under dispute, no aid being offered by clear and certain passages of sacred Scripture, human presumption, which gains nothing by leaning to either side, ought to restrain itself” (CO 7, 6).

Eleven of the thirty-three citations are distributed in Article two, ‘Of the will’. The citations in Article two are very similar to those of 1543, *The Bondage and Liberation of the Will*, both in content and usage. In this work, citations from Augustine are again dominant (second in frequency is Gregory the Great, who is quoted eight times) and Calvin reveals his predilection for this Father very strongly. When he talks about purgatory in Article 17, he already knew of Augustine’s acceptance of it. But he tries to make an apology for Augustine: ‘But though Augustine allowed himself, as I said, to be ruled by custom, so as not to deny a purgatory’ (CO 7, 28). To substantiate his claim, Calvin submits two pieces of evidence: One is Augustine’s attitude, ‘he does not venture to make any positive assertion with regard to it’. Another is Augustine’s exposition of John, ‘he teaches that souls, when they leave the world, meet with different receptions, the good enjoying delight, while the bad are tormented, and moreover, that the rest which is given immediately after death, every one receives the moment he dies, provided he is worthy of it.’ These proofs are not supportive because they, the second one especially, are used out of context in light of the original Augustinian text.

Calvin did not employ many testimonies from Augustine when he dealt with the Anabaptists and the Libertines. In his *Instruction contre la secte des Anabaptistes* of 1544, Calvin used Augustine once to explain the state of souls after death. This French citation (CO 7, 126) is largely the same as in his *Psychopannychia* in Latin (CO 5, 170-

171). Only one patristic citation used in *Contre la secte des Libertins* in 1545 comes from Augustine: ‘Nevertheless, as Saint Augustine says, the greatest perfection is to acknowledge and confess how imperfect one is and to confess without end one’s weaknesses to God’ (CO 7, 205). In *Pro Farello adversus Carolum* of 1545, Calvin uses nine citations from Augustine though, most of them from the *Epistolae 474* (CO 11, 560-561) of May 1543.

In Calvin’s *Remarks on the letter of Pope Paul III to Charles V* (1547), he summons Augustine as a witness in a case concerning Constantine the Great’s use of secular power in an ecclesiastical matter regarding Donatus (CO 7, 263). Calvin employs Augustine’s words indicating that human beings fell into a state of being totally insane and stupid. So our only hope is not in perfection of virtues but in the forgiveness of sins (*Contre un Cordelier de Rouen* 1547; CO 7, 351; 360).

The refutation of the acts of the first seven sessions of the Council of Trent was published in 1547. *Acta synodi Tridentinae cum Antidoto* was the first strong reply to the Council from the side of the Reformation. The fundamental points fully considered are the rule of faith, original sin, justification, and the sacrifice and merits of Christ. The key witness again is Augustine (forty-nine times). The other Church Fathers are Cyprian (four times), Chrysostom (twice), Leo (once), Ambrose (three times), Jerome (four times) and Rufinus (once).

In his *Preface to the antidote*, Calvin stresses that Augustine bestows no small honour upon Councils (CO 7, 379). Then the next citation appears in the fourth session: ‘We must ever adhere to Augustine’s rule, “Faith is conceived from the Scriptures.”’ (CO 7,

413). In regard to original sin, the doctrine of the Tridentine Canon, Calvin tries to prove it to be disguised Pelagianism. 'Here they craftily introduce the term *erase*, which they know to be in bad odor, as the Pelagians annoyed Augustine with it (*CO 7, 425*) . . . in baptism the law of sin is remitted, not ended (*CO 7, 427*) . . . so the concupiscence of the flesh, which the Good Spirit resists, is also sin, because there is disobedience in it against the dominion of the mind . . . and the cause of sin from defect of will or corruption of nature' (*CO 7, 428*).

Catholic scholars in the council asserted that men were prepared by the grace of God for receiving Justification, but they assigned to this grace the office of exciting and assisting, men themselves freely co-operating. Calvin refutes this with Augustine's view on the human will and the grace of the second Adam (*CO 7, 445*). Even though Augustine is not so much the authority to be quoted here as Paul, who acknowledges that he lives by the faith of Christ (*CO 7, 451*), Calvin explains Augustine in detail: 'The human will obtains not grace by freedom, but freedom by grace, and in order that it may persevere, delectable perpetuity and insuperable fortitude' (*CO 7, 453*), thus, 'faith is the beginning of salvation, and the foundation of justification' (*CO 7, 453*).

Everybody is a sinner before God, so nobody can be freed by his own merits but anybody can be freed by the free gift of God. In explaining this critical issue of the Council of Trent, Calvin is really in accord with Augustine:

By what right or in what sense the Good Works which the Spirit of Christ performs in us are called ours, Augustine briefly teaches when he draws an analogy from the Lord's Prayer: saying, that the bread which we there ask is called "ours" on no other ground

than simply that it is given to us . . . Accordingly, as the same writer elsewhere teaches, no man will embrace the gifts of Christ till he has forgotten his own merits . . . He sometimes gives the reason: because, what is called merit is nothing else but the free gift of God (*CO* 7, 485).

If the canons of the Council of Trent are wrong, as Calvin insists, then how to achieve the goal of bringing peace to Christian countries and of reforming the church? *Vera ecclesiae reformandae ratio* of 1549 is an answer to the questions that were submitted in *Acta synodi Tridentinae cum Antidoto*. It was Calvin's desire that *Acta synodi Tridentinae cum Antidoto* should be read together with his work on *The True Method of Giving Peace to Christendom and of Reforming the Church*. This fact suggests what the word 'antidote' really meant to Calvin. Augustine is dominant in frequency of citation (nine times), but the function of the citations is in no way different to the citations from the other patristic testimonies of Irenaeus, Cyprian, Origen, Eusebius, Chrysostom, etc. They function as historical information from the early church.

In *De Scandalis* of 1550, Calvin uses three Augustinian citations. Augustine calls pride the mother of all heresies (*CO* 8, 48).

3.4.3 Calvin's Epistles from 1542 to 1550

Is it possible for us to go into Calvin's inner life through an in-depth study of his correspondence? This correspondence begins in his youth and is only closed on his deathbed (May 1528 to May 1564). It thus embraces all the phases of his life. Nothing can exceed the interest of this correspondence, in which an epoch and a life of the most

absorbing interest are reflected in a series of documents equally varied and genuine; and in which the familiar effusions of friendship are mingled with the more serious questions of theology, and with the heroic breathings of faith. But with regard to our study, it is very disappointing that this correspondence does not provide enough clues to help our pursuit of Calvin's developmental understanding of Augustine. From the year of 1542 to 1550, we can identify only fourteen Augustinian citations. Four citations come from his personal letters to Le Curé (1542), Schnepfius (1544), Bullinger (1547) and Socinus (1549). Two citations are related to historical witness and the other two, to the Sacraments.

Eight citations come from the letters sent to the ministers of Neuchatel (1543, 1545). Most of the citations in *letters to Neuchatel* appear again in *Pro Farello adversus Carolum* of 1545. The divinity of Christ is dealt with in detail regarding the relationship between the Father and the Son:

Of himself, he is called God. In relation to the Father, he is called the Son; and again, on the other hand, the Father, in reference to himself, is called God; in reference to the Son, he is called Father. When what is spoken relates to the Son, the Father is not the Son. When he is spoken of as the Son in his relation to the Father, he is not the Father. When what is spoken relates to the Father and the Son as self-existent, this is the Father and the Son, the same God (*CO* 11, 560).

And then in the letter of 1545, the issue of Trinity is dealt with: This citation reflects Augustine's acceptance of the Nicene Creed and Calvin's agreement with it (*CO* 12, 19). The remaining two citations come from the letter to the ministers of Montbeliard with

regard to the controversy with Lutherans over baptism (1544).

3.4.4 Calvin's New Testament Commentaries

Calvin's *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* was first published in the year 1546, and his *Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* was published in the course of the same year and revised in 1548. It was a year that was greatly unfavourable to Calvin's repose. It is surprising that he should have found leisure to prepare this portion of his Commentaries in such circumstances. For the first time in Calvin's main works, Augustine yields his seat to Chrysostom. Chrysostom is cited forty-nine times, Ambrose twelve times and Augustine eighteen times. It seems like a list of a popularity votes and Augustine takes the second position here, though his authority as an exegete is recognized by Calvin with two others: 'The second meaning is approved by Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine, and hence it is commonly received' (CO 50, 131). And except for one reference to 'obscure' (CO 49, 391), Calvin's evaluation of Augustine is very positive in the exegetical sphere, as well as in theological and historical spheres. Calvin in several instances praises Augustine's exegetical expression with the use of 'elegantly' (CO 49, 406; 50) and 'in a more refined way' (CO 49, 521).

From 1548 to 1550, the consecutive publication of his Commentaries on Paul's Epistles continued: *Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (1548); *Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* (1548); *Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* (1548); *Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Colossians* (1548); *the first and the second Commentaries on Paul's Epistle to Timothy* (1548); *Commentary on*

Paul's Epistle to Titus (1549); *Commentary on Hebrews* (1549); and *the first and the second Commentaries on Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians* (1550).

In *Commentarius in Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas*, Calvin agrees with Augustine in asserting that Paul's rebuke of Peter's unseasonable dissimulation is unplanned and occurs out of Christian zeal (CO 50, 192). He, however, strongly criticises Augustine's interpretation of the word 'προεγράφη' (have been set forth) as harsh and inconsistent with Paul's design (CO 50, 202).

Calvin reveals his high esteem of Augustine when he deals with the theological problems related to heretics such as the Catharists, Celestines, Donatists, the Pelagians and the Manicheans in his *Commentarius in Epistola Pauli ad Ephesios*. But when it comes to Augustine's allegorical interpretation of some passages of Paul, Calvin is really critical:

Augustine is quite delighted with his own acuteness, which throws no light on the subject. Endeavouring to discover some kind of mysterious allusion to the figure of the cross, he makes the "breadth" to be love, - the "height", hope - the "length", patience, - and the "depth", humility.

And in this context Calvin suggests his own principle of interpretation, 'this is very ingenious and entertaining but what has it to do with Paul's meaning. ... I shall state what will be universally acknowledged to be the simple and true meaning' (CO 51, 187). *Simplex et verum* stands foremost in Calvin's primary interpretation principles of the Biblical passages.

In his *Commentarius in Epistolam Pauli ad Colossenses*, Calvin's attitude to Augustine is favourable. Calvin confesses that he is inclined to express himself in Augustine's words rather than in his own (CO 52, 94).

In his *Commentarius in priorem Epistolam Pauli ad Timotheum*, Calvin's dual position on Augustine is clearly revealed. With regard to the debate on old heresies, he is generally in accord with Augustine's views. But with regard to the exegesis, especially the exegesis of Paul, he is very sensitive and very critical. Calvin calls Augustine's view 'quite childish' because Augustine twisted Paul's words so as to denote ceremonial observances customary at that time (CO 52, 265). This tendency continues into the second Epistle where, expounding on the words 'before eternal ages', Calvin expresses total disagreement with Augustine in favour of Paul, 'For that ingenious reasoning which Augustine conducts in many passages is totally different from Paul's design' (CO 52, 353).

Smits suggests that there are six citations from Augustine in *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraicos*, but Mooi indicates no Augustinian quotations here. Both of them are right in line with the results of each one's working principles.

It seems likely that Calvin is trying to solve a slight difference between Paul's exegesis and Augustine's regarding Thessalonians 4:16, 'Here Augustine gives himself much distress . . . because Paul seems to contradict himself, inasmuch as he says elsewhere, that seed cannot spring up again unless it die . . . The solution, however, is easy, inasmuch as a sudden change will be like death' (*Commentarius in priorem Epistolam Pauli ad Thessalonicenses*, CO 52, 167).

3.4.5 Calvin's Old Testament Commentaries

Calvin's first Commentary on the Old Testament is his *Commentary on Isaiah*, in 1549. The patristic element is of minor importance in this commentary, but a certain tendency to quote Jerome can be discerned. Although Jerome is mentioned nineteen times (Augustine five times and Chrysostom only twice), most of the citations from Jerome are regarded negatively. Some examples of the first four citations will be enough to show this:

Jerome translates it. ...but it is plain enough (CO 36, 29), Jerome gives a harsher exposition (CO 36, 68), I wonder why Jerome renders it (CO 36, 130), I do not know on what he supposed that opinion to be founded (CO 36, 141).

How about Chrysostom who is Calvin's preferred Church Father for exegesis? Calvin praises Chrysostom's beautiful observation once (CO 36, 108), and rebukes Chrysostom once, 'Chrysostom views it as relating to the human nature of Christ . . . but that is a wide departure from the Prophet's meaning' (CO 37, 261).

Calvin esteems Augustine's exegetical skills highly:

Hence Augustine justly exclaims (CO 36, 668), the saying of Augustine is exceedingly true (CO 37, 63), Augustine examines this passage judiciously, and applies it skillfully (CO 37, 277).

And from one of these citations, we observe Calvin's other principle in exegesis, 'but he

forbids us to inquire or search beyond what he has revealed to us in his word; for, as Augustine says, “that is a learned ignorance” . . . let us know that it lays a restraint upon us from indulging curiosity in our researches into the purpose of God’ (CO 36, 130).

Calvin lectured on Genesis from 1550 to 1552. In the summer of 1550 he started work on his commentary, but the pressure of other work delayed it so that it appeared finally in 1554. Jerome is the most frequently cited Father here, with twenty-four citations. Augustine is cited nineteen times and there is only one citation from Chrysostom (CO 23, 26) in this *Commentary on Genesis*. Most citations from Jerome again are negative. Some of them already appeared in the 1539 *Institutio* and are repeatedly used negatively in the commentaries. For example, Calvin rebukes Jerome on the view of marriage; ‘he attempts to render hallowed wedlock both hateful and infamous’ (CO 23, 46). Some citations from Augustine had also already appeared in the previous works, especially in his previous works of the *Institutio*. Augustine’s famous prayer in the first edition of the *Institutio*, ‘give what you command, and command what you will’, appears again (CO 23, 90), as well as Augustine’s statement on Noah’s righteousness, ‘God will crown his own gifts’ of the 1539 *Institutio* (CO 23, 129). Augustine’s and Eucherius’ figuring of the tree of life as Christ (CO 23, 38) also appears in the 1550 *Institutio*. Generally, Calvin satisfies himself with Augustine’s expositions:

But Augustine, beyond all others, speculates with excessive refinement (CO 23, 25), Augustine is more correct, who says, that pride was the beginning of all evils, and that by pride the human race was ruined (CO 23, 60), I therefore readily subscribe to the exclamation of Augustine, “O wretched free-will, which, while yet entire, had so little stability!” (CO 23, 63), but rather we must hold fast the saying of Augustine (CO 23,

90).

It is true that there are negative comments as well as positive ones on Augustine's exegesis in this commentary. But it is clearly shown that Calvin tries to evade strong denial of and a critical attitude to this Church Father. Most comments, even negative ones, are soft and mild in tone in contrast to comments on other patristic writers. 'What Augustine adduces is specious rather than solid; namely, that he was called Jacob in reference to his present life, but Israel in reference to his future life . . . Let this, however, be regarded as settled' (CO 23, 470). Calvin recognizes Augustine's interpretation as too allegorical, but he diverts his arrow to Origen. 'I purposely pass over the allegorical application which Augustine makes of the figure of the ark to the body of Christ . . . because I find there scarcely anything solid . . . Origen still more boldly sports with allegories.' Then Calvin introduces one of his principles of interpretation:

but there is nothing more profitable, than to adhere strictly to the natural treatment of things (CO 22, 123).

Calvin's assessment of Augustinian citations is highly correct. He only once erroneously claims that Augustine held the view that Adam and Eve fell after a mere six hours (CO 23, 63). Calvin either relies upon an inaccurate memory concerning Augustine, or has been misled by an intermediate source.

3.4.6 The fourth edition of *Institutio* (1550)

There is no major change in Calvin's 1550 edition of *Institutio*, but he inserted some minor additions into this edition. Nearly all-new patristic references are to Augustine, one is to Ambrose, and one new but critical remark is made about Gregory the Great. Among the seventeen new citations, six are dedicated to the issue of the authority of Scripture. Smits amplified this, describing this new edition as 'the edition of the Holy Scriptures' (Smits 1956:82). Calvin seriously explains the real purpose of Augustine's statement that 'For my part, I should not believe the gospel except as moved by the authority of the catholic church' (*ML* 42, 176). Calvin insists that we should interpret this passage from the context of Augustine being concerned with the Manicheans. And the Manicheans believed that they themselves possessed the truth (*CO* 1, 294). Augustine only meant to indicate what we also confess as true: those who have not yet been illumined by the Spirit of God are rendered teachable by reverence for the church, so that they may persevere in learning faith in Christ from the gospel (*CO* 1, 295). Calvin strongly appeals to Augustine on the authority of Scripture over the authority of councils (*CO* 1, 642) and firmly declares that in departing from Scripture, councils have deteriorated and even those of Nicaea and Chalcedon were defective.

Other issues relating to Augustine concern sin and providence; false images of deities; the object of faith, prayer for the dead; testimony with Romans 9:16; and the true nature of the corporeal presence relating to the sacrament. These citations function as historical-theological supports for Calvin's recent practical issues regarding these matters.

3.4.7 Conclusions concerning the fourth period

The conclusions that we reach here are the following:

(1) We observe Calvin's constant commitment to the priority of the Scriptures over tradition regarding the understanding of and interpreting of Church Fathers, including Augustine in the debate with Pighius.

(2) In this fourth period, a tendency is held on to very strongly. One citation from Augustine in a certain work is used repeatedly in the other works on the same subject.

(3) In the New Testament Commentaries, Calvin shows his usual trust in Augustine in theological matters. It diminishes by half in exegetical matters. Calvin is critical of Augustine's allegorical method. When there is a disagreement between Augustine's exegesis and Paul's, Calvin is severely critical of Augustine. Calvin's most preferred Church Father regarding the New Testament Commentaries is Chrysostom.

(4) When it comes to the Old Testament Commentaries, the situation is different. Augustine returns. Calvin's evaluation of Augustine's exegesis is mostly quite positive and the use of Chrysostom in the Old Testament Commentaries is of minor significance.

(5) Some patristic citations in the Commentaries are incorporated into the fourth edition of *Institutio*. These adopted citations render the expressions of the *Institutio* more fluent and more vivid. They function as a bridge between the biblical texts and the doctrinal texts.

3.5 The last period

3.5.1 Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God (1552)

Calvin once cites Augustine in *Compendium de Coena* (1551) regarding the Lord's body in the sacraments. The *De aeterna Praedestinatione Dei* was published at Geneva by John Crespin in 1552, but the intention which led to its appearance has its roots nine years earlier in his *The Bondage and Liberation of the Will* of 1543. Even though Albert Pighius was dead by that time, Calvin saw the influence of Pighius, with whom he had never dealt fully. And in October 1551, the controversy about predestination, far from subsiding, broke out afresh, and Jerome Bolsec, formerly a monk and now a Protestant physician (though afterwards he reverted to Rome), repudiated Calvin's doctrine. It is this combination of circumstances that occasioned the composition of the *De aeterna Praedestinatione Dei*.

The treatise *Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God* is the longest and most sustained exposition which Calvin wrote on the subject. The statement of his position is also to be found elsewhere, especially in the relevant parts of the *Institutio*. This present work contains more than a statement. Augustine's role in this work is absolute. He is quoted ninety-six times, and Ambrose once. There are two reasons for this. First of all, Calvin's main opponent, Pighius, resorted to Augustine. But as we see in the first citation, according to Calvin, 'He [Pighius] explicitly condemns the opinion of Augustine' (CO 8, 259). Secondly, the words of Rom 9:20 *O homo, tu quis es?*¹⁶ is repeatedly advanced in the course of the argument, and almost as frequently Augustine's affirmation that God's grace does not find but makes men elect is adduced

¹⁶ O man, who are you?

in various forms. Much of the formal difficulty of his argument is resolved in these two basic structures, and the circularity and repetitiveness, which seem to characterise it, are seen to give it added strength (Reid 1982:10). Calvin introduces Augustine into main debates regarding God's sovereignty, foreknowledge, God's reason in election, election, reprobation and justice, and assurance of the doctrine. It is certainly logical in the sense that the argument moves carefully and step by step from one point to the next. There is no need to forward any other explanations except Augustine's own:

It was what the Pelagians say, that the grace of God is given according to merit, which is nothing but the negation of grace (*CO 8, 265*).

Human race is born guilty of the sin of Adam . . . Faith therefore from beginning to end is the gift of God: and . . . this gift is given to some and not to others (*CO 8, 266*).

He does not call them elect because they are about to believe, but in order that they may believe; he does not call them elect whom God foresaw would be holy and immaculate, but in order that they might be made so. Again, God did not choose us because we believe, but in order that we might believe, lest we should seem first to have chosen Him (*CO 8, 270*).

Nor is the point omitted by Augustine: the term foreknowledge is to be taken as meaning the counsel of God by which He predestines His own to salvation' (*CO 8, 272*).

In a word, what Augustine says is most true, that the redeemed are distinguished from

the lost by grace alone (CO 8, 280).

This first grace He gives to whom He will, says Augustine, because He is merciful.

Even if He should not give it, He is just (CO 8, 306).

Attend to who God is and who you are. He is God. You are man. Should you think you are talking of justice, is the fount of justice dried up? You as a man expect an answer from me. But I also am a man. Let us both therefore listen to one who speaks:

O man, who are you? (CO 8, 311).

Calvin asks with us why Christ chose us as his sheep, though formerly wandering sheep and outside the fold. He replies with Augustine, 'Meantime, though they did not know it, the shepherd knew them, according to that eternal predestination by which He chose His own before the foundation of the world, as Augustine rightly declares' (CO 8, 337).

Calvin completes the whole of his work with Augustine's conclusion, 'When the last day dawns, as Augustine says, there will be seen in the clear light of wisdom what pious faith now maintains before it is seen as manifest knowledge, namely, that the will of God is certain, immutable and most efficacious, and that there are many things which it is able but does not will to do and nothing which it wills and is not able' (CO 8, 366).

3.5.2 Three consecutive works regarding the debates with Westphal (1555, 1556 and 1557)

Calvin defends the orthodox doctrine of Trinity in his *Defensio doctrinae de Trinitate*

contra Servetum (1554). Tertullian is cited forty-six times (secondly, Irenaeus thirty times and thirdly, Augustine six times). Calvin had to focus on Tertullian because Servet built his theory on Tertullian, not on Augustine (Mooi 1965: 170). Augustine is of no significance in this work. There are no Augustinian citations in Augustine's famous work, *De Trinitate*. No Augustinian citations are directly related with the issue of Trinity.

The real battle regarding the sacraments was initiated by the Lutheran side. When Calvin published his *Defensio doctrinae de Sacramentis* in 1555, one of the ministers of Hamburg, Joachim Westphal, was enraged by this publication. He launched a bitter attack on Calvin and accused him of heresy regarding his views on the Lord's Supper. Calvin was forced to reply in 1556 (*Defensio Secunda contra Westphalum*), and then again in another powerful counter-attack, entitled *Ultima admonitio ad Westphalum* (1557).

Augustine is cited thirteen times in *Defensio doctrinae de Sacramentis*, seventeen times in *Defensio Secunda contra Westphalum*, and then, finally, one hundred and thirty-two times in *Ultima admonitio ad Westphalum*. This irregularity of frequency shows one of the traits of Calvin's use of Augustine. The first work was basically written for the mutual consent of the churches of Zurich and Geneva as to the sacraments. Though there had been a slight difference between the two churches, most differences were already solved by that time. And their mutual understanding of Augustine in this regard had not signified any other interpretations. There was no need to comprehensively appeal to Augustine. The second work was a defense of the first work that had not contained so many citations. When the controversy had barely died

down with the *Second Admonition to Westphal*, Calvin began to understand the character of the battle. Westphal introduced Philip Melancthon as Calvin's opponent and the Confession of Augsburg. Calvin could not find words that were contrary to the doctrine of the Swiss churches, both in Melancthon and in the Confession of Augsburg (CO 9, 148). Then Westphal brought Calvin into controversy with the ancient Church under the name of Augustine (CO 9, 148), and Calvin decided to go to Augustine, as he believed all his writings proclaimed him to be wholly on his side (CO 9, 149).

Here the *last admonition* mainly will be dealt with because citations in the first and the second works are mostly repeated in the third work. Most citations are well organized according to the sequence of the work's logical flow.

What is the meaning of the Lord's words 'This is my body'? Why do we have to interpret the body and the blood as symbols? Did Peter and Judas eat the same bread? Then what exactly is signified by the term 'signifying'?

The questions continue with the questions about Jesus' human nature, divine presence and corporeal presence. If Christ is everywhere present as God, where is his real body? Is it omnipresent? Or does it occupy some place in heaven? How then do we consume Jesus' body here on earth?

The debate stretches to the present meaning of the Lord's Supper via the difference and the resemblance between the manna and the Supper. If they are all spiritual food, then what is the Supper to us now? Or what its effect? What real changes happen when the word is added to a sacrament?

Westphal tried to incur much odium by collecting passages from Augustine against Calvin (*CO* 9, 249). Calvin answers all the questions related with Augustine in detail and step by step, and with eagerness. Most citations employed by Westphal truly were the very words of Augustine. Calvin found that they were sometimes misrepresented, sometimes conflicted by Augustine's own words and sometimes used out of the context. Thus Calvin strongly suggested that Augustine 'must be his own interpreter' (*CO* 9, 158). Most of Westphal's attempts to use Augustine were disposed of by 'the context' (*CO* 9, 158).

In this work, we find one of the strongest points of evidence revealing Augustine's direct influence on Calvin's unique (as distinctively different from those views of Lutherans and Catholics) view of the Lord's Supper.

Then will the body and blood of Christ be life to every one, if that which is taken visibly in the sacrament is eaten spiritually in the reality (*CO* 9, 166).

This sentence clearly shows that Calvin's unique theory of the spiritual eating, which was so heavily attacked by Westphal, was directly derived from one of Augustine's main statements regarding the character of the Lord's Supper.

It is conspicuous that Augustine is absolutely dominant in frequency and in importance in these three works. Irenaeus occupies the second seat (mentioned four times). This fact also clearly shows that Augustine is the most influential Father with regard to Calvin's view of the Lord's Supper.

3.5.3 Calvin's other works

An appendix to *Ecclesiae reformandae ratio* is presented in 1555. Calvin regrets that Augustine cuts off the hope of life from infants in fixing the danger of misunderstanding of the Infants' necessity of the redemption of Christ, though he approves of the received practice of the Church in running to baptism (CO 7, 683). Calvin uses a decree of the Council of Carthage in which women are prohibited from administering Baptism (CO 7, 684).

In *Responsio ad diluendas nebulonis calumnias de praedestinatione* of 1557, Calvin again deals briefly with the doctrine of predestination. Calvin cites Augustine ten times. Calvin summons Augustine with Bucer and Luther to proclaim the will of God to be the supreme cause of all things that happen in the world, rather than to involve God in any guilt (CO 9, 259). He cites what Augustine says: God in a marvellous and secret way wills justly to be done what is done unjustly (CO 9, 259). Augustine is cited four times regarding voluntary sin, twice concerning the double will of God, and once regarding the hidden providence of God. It is very interesting that Calvin distinguishes Young Augustine from later Augustine,

For seizing what escaped from Augustine when young and less well versed in Scripture, he omits the clearest passages, where the judgments of God are recognized in the real and, as I may say, actual blinding of certain men (CO 9, 264).

Calvin expounds God's secret providence in his *Calumniae nebulonis de occulta Dei providentia* (1558). Calvin agrees fully with Augustine on this issue contrasting God's

omnipotence with the Human will to sin. The distinct difference is that ‘God could work good even out of the evil done’ (CO 9, 296). Then He explains God’s secret will with Augustine:

Augustine did, indeed, by way of concession and explanation to his adversaries, make mention of a two-fold will, or of different wills of God – a secret will, and an open or revealed will – but he so represented that twofold will as to show that they are in such consummate harmony with each other, that the “last day” will make it most gloriously manifest that there never was, nor is, in this multiform way of God’s workings and doings, the least variance, conflict or contradiction, but the most divine and infinite harmony and oneness (CO 9, 302).

In 1560, François Stancar of Mantua began to assert that Christ is not a Mediator, except according to the flesh, bringing a charge of Arianism against all who held that he was a Mediator as God. Although Melancthon had tackled the similar claim earlier, there was still a danger of falling into the error of the Tritheists in refuting Stancar. Calvin resolved these two problems in his *Responsio ad Stancari errorem*. Following Augustine, Calvin overcomes two extremes skillfully. Calvin cites Augustine in expounding the trinity of God, the human nature of Christ (CO 9, 353), Christ being a mediator by offering himself as sacrifice (CO 9, 357), and the condition of being a mediator (CO 9, 357). According to Augustine, the divinity without human nature cannot be a mediator and the humanity without divine nature cannot be a mediator. There is nobody who can meet this condition except Christ (CO 9, 357).

One year later, under the semblance of a moderate reform, François Baudouin, a former

pro-reformer (he changed his position several times), defended all the customs of the Roman Catholic church. Calvin published a refutation, *Responsio ad Versipellem quendam mediatorem*. Because Baudouin considers Augustine as his advocate concerning the Roman Catholic ceremonies and the ecclesiastical unity, Calvin summons Augustine as a witness for historical facts and an advocate for the authority of Holy Scripture (CO 9, 539).

In the same year of 1561, Gabriel de Saconay, priest at Lyon, reproached Calvin. Gabriel insisted that Calvin had marred the unity of the church with his doctrine of the Lord's Supper. But the Genevan reformer replied that it was not his theory of the Lord's Supper, but the doctrine of transubstantiation, which had marred the unity of the church. Calvin submits thirteen testimonies of Augustine regarding the Lord's Supper and the unity of the church in his *Congratulations to Gabriel de Saconay*, which has a very ironical title. Most of them had already appeared in the last edition of *Institutio*.

Augustine calls the body of Christ in the Eucharist a sign (CO 9, 435). Augustine, Tertullian, Chrysostom and Basil support Calvin's view (CO 9, 439). Calvin refutes Gabriel because he uses Augustine's judgment in attacking Augustine's interpretation (CO 9, 442). Calvin questions him about who the real breaker of the church unity is besides the papal decrees, when we follow Augustine's witness (CO 9, 452). Calvin contrasts the Donatists with the Anabaptists to show that church unity is not accomplished by the excellence of the doctrines, but by the One Lord of the Church, Jesus Christ. (CO 9, 452). Because the origin of the Church put on the bridegroom, Jesus Christ, the true religion flows from Jerusalem to the whole world (CO 9, 452).

A year or two year after the Westphal controversy, there appears another person who fishes from the waters left troubled by the controversy, the Heidelberg professor Tilemannus Heshusius Vesalius. Calvin resumes his battle against the Lutherans over the Lord's Supper in his *The true partaking of the flesh and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper* (1561). The main points of the controversy were not so different from the Westphalian controversy. Calvin focuses on the issue of Christ's corporal presence in the Eucharist.

Because Heshusius tried to produce Augustine as an advocate or witness (CO 9, 501), Calvin adopts the same tactics as in the Westphal controversy. 'If an explanation is sought, there cannot be a clearer interpreter than [Augustine] himself' (CO 9, 480). Although most Augustinian citations had already appeared in the *last admonition to Westphal*, Calvin reveals his literary skills in freely dissecting, combining and reusing citations from different texts and contexts to amplify his focuses. Moreover, he provides us with a very detailed discussion of sayings of various Church Fathers in this work. This clearly shows that Calvin has reached a certain zenith in his use of patristic data by this time.

3.5.4 Calvin's New Testament Commentaries (1551-1556)

From 1551 to 1556, Calvin accomplished numerous New Testament commentaries: *Commentary on the First Peter* (1551); *Commentary on the First John* (1551); *Commentary on Jude* (1551); *Commentary on the Second Peter* (1551); *Commentary on Acts, 1-13* (1552); *Commentary on John* (1553); *Commentary on Acts, 14-28* (1554); *Commentary On A Harmony of the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke*

(1555); *Commentary on Philemon* (1556). In these commentaries, Calvin's most frequently quoted Church Father again is Augustine (fifty-eight times in three commentaries). The second is neither Chrysostom (Calvin's favourite Church Father in his New Testament commentaries), nor Jerome (Calvin's most frequently used Church Father besides Augustine in his Old Testament commentaries). It is Josephus who is cited forty times in these commentaries. He is used as a historical witness. Purely historical purposes and uses of the patristic citations can be shown in the citations from Josephus.

In *Commentary on Acts* of 1552, the citations from Augustine are very critically used, except for a few agreements on exegetical issues (CO 48, 174; 226; 227). In this commentary and the second part of this commentary in 1554, we find Calvin's reason for criticising some exegeses by Augustine: high and subtle interpretation of Augustine (CO 48, 25), sometimes more subtle than is needed (CO 48, 168). Meantime Calvin suggests some basic principles on exegesis in this commentary.

Nothing is safer than bidding adieu to uncertain opinions, simply to embrace that which is set down in the Scriptures (CO 48, 188).

I know that Augustine's deep insight did please some . . . But when the Spirit of God himself is his own interpreter . . . we must not invent any other sense (CO 48, 301).

Therefore, subscribing to Augustine, I do not doubt but that this is a taunting excuse . . . because plain speech becomes the ministers of the word (CO 48, 505).

In *Commentary on John* (1553), Calvin cites Augustine twenty-two times. Some citations are very suggestive for our study. This commentary includes all facets of Calvin's attitude to Augustine from highly positive evaluation to extremely negative evaluation. Calvin's dealing with Augustine is truly impartial, both in theological matters and exegetical matters. Sometimes he shows full acceptance of Augustine in the issues regarding the church government and the pastors' flight under specific conditions.

The remark of Augustine is exceedingly just, that this passage informs us what we ought to desire, what we ought to avoid, and what we ought to endure, in the government of the Church (CO 47, 241).

I prefer greatly the moderation of Augustine, who allows pastors to flee on the condition that, by their flight, they contribute more to the public safety than they would do by betraying the flock committed to their charge (CO 47, 242).

Calvin gives general agreement to Augustine regarding God's pre-presence (CO 47, 3), grace as God's free gift (CO, 47, 17), the total depravation of human ability to do good (CO 47, 68), the sacraments (CO 47, 422), and a denial of the papal supremacy (CO 47, 452). This general agreement was not accorded by Augustine's own authority, but was due to Calvin's conviction that the Scriptures supported these ideas. He praises Augustine because he follows the natural order, 'and therefore Augustine follows the natural order, when, in explaining this chapter, he does not touch on the Lord's Supper till he comes to the conclusion' (CO 47, 155).

Sometimes his criticism is really obvious: In the exegesis of John 1:3, Calvin was very

critical because of Augustine's 'excessive addiction' to the philosophy of Plato:

Augustine, who is excessively addicted to the philosophy of Plato, is carried along, according to custom, to the doctrine of ideas; that before God made the world, he had the form of the whole building conceived in his mind; and so the life of those things which did not yet exist was in Christ, because the creation of the world was appointed in him. But how widely different this is from the intention of the Evangelist we shall immediately see (*CO* 47, 4).

Calvin could not understand why Augustine had interpreted 'the will of the flesh' as 'the will of woman' in the text of 'the will of the flesh and the will of man', which was appeared to him to mean the same thing (*CO* 47, 12). Calvin agrees less with Augustine regarding recent converts (*CO* 47, 50). Chrysostom's and Cyril's views on God's power are better than Augustine's (*CO* 47, 58). Augustine flies to allegory (*CO* 47, 211). Though Augustine suggested a manner of reading a passage, we should stick to the agreement of all the Greek manuscripts (*CO* 47, 294).

One citation reveals Calvin's excellent sense of balance between what he agreed to as a theological idea and what he could not agree to as an exegetical passage.

Augustine speaks more soberly, but he approaches to that opinion; for, since faith forgives and blots out all sins, he says that the only sin that damns a man is unbelief. This is true, for unbelief not only hinders men from being delivered from the condemnation of death, but is the source and cause of all evils. But the whole of that reasoning is inapplicable to the present passage; for the word sin is not taken in a

general sense, but as related to the subject, which is now under consideration (*CO* 47, 351).

The above citations are strong evidence that Calvin employs the same principles that he used against his opponents, in refuting Augustine, in spite of his personal preference of him. So does the next citation. 'In the first place, if they choose to talk with Augustine, the solution will be easily obtained . . . But we have a surer way of refuting them, taken from Christ's own words' (*CO* 47, 361). Even Augustine should be interpreted in the context of the sentences and under the authority of the Holy Scriptures. This is a key for explaining Calvin's amazing sense of balance which is characteristic in his last period of writing.

The 1555 *Commentary On A Harmony of the Evangelists* provides us with Calvin's full acceptance of Augustine regarding the exegesis of the first three Gospels. There are no citations that deny Augustine's interpretations or exegeses. All thirteen explicit citations are positive and in agreement with Augustine historically, theologically and exegetically. Is this because he wanted to show his harmony with Augustine like the harmony between the evangelists?

3.5.5 Calvin's Old Testament Commentaries (1555-1565)

Before entering into discussion of Calvin's *Commentary on Psalms* (1555, 1557), we have to consider one thing. The numeration system of Psalms in *CO* is slightly different from ours. If we just follow the chapters and verses in *Calvini Opera Omnia*, we will

easily be mistaken.¹⁷ We need to do a double check of the numeration with the modern versions of the Psalter.

Calvin cites Augustine twenty-six times in this commentary. These citations are used for theological, exegetical and historical purposes. In theological citations, we find a polemical character. Calvin mentions Servet (*CO* 31, 689; 32, 96) in relation to the Manicheans. He assimilates the Catharists, Novatians, and Donatists with the Anabaptists (*CO* 31, 143), and the Pelagians with the Papists (*CO* 31, 513). These citations are generally positive.

With respect to Augustine's exegesis, most of Calvin's evaluation is not so positive. Although the words, 'ingenious(ly)' and 'refined' appear several times with regard to Augustine's exposition (*CO* 31, 569; 595; 807; *CO* 32, 51; 56; 184; 211), only one citation (*CO* 32, 184) renders a positive meaning. The others are neutral or very negative. Some citations, which are accepted theologically, are rejected exegetically.

All this may be plausible, and, in its own place, useful, but proceeds upon a complete misapprehension of the meaning of the passage (*CO* 31, 559)

Augustine quotes this text more than a hundred times as an argument to overthrow the

¹⁷ McGrath gives a clue for placing the numeration of the Psalms in his *Reformation Thought* (Appendix 5). This clue is very useful for discerning the difference between some major works of the sixteenth-century, for example Luther's *Dictata super Psalterium* and the modern English versions of the Psalter. But for Calvin's *Commentary on Psalms* in *CO*, it does not work. So we need to do a double check. For example, verse twenty-one of Psalm 9 in *CO* is now verse twenty of Psalm 9. Psalm 51:7 in *CO* is now 51:5.

merit of works . . . and puts a sense upon them foreign to their genuine meaning (*CO* 31, 659).

In *Commentary on Jonah* (1557, 1559), Calvin introduces Augustine three times. The first citation explains Jonah's attempt to run away from God's order, 'for the more strenuously they run, the farther they recede from the right way' (*CO* 43, 244). The other two are about the tree that God prepared for Jonah. Jerome interpreted it as 'ivy', some a 'cucumber' and others a 'gourd'. When Augustine questioned Jerome's interpretation, and Jerome replied to it angrily, Calvin points out that Augustine's attitude was not so wise. To Calvin it is not important whether it is a 'gourd' or a 'cucumber'. 'I would rather retain in this place the word gourd, or cucumber, than to cause any disturbance by a thing of no moment' (*CO* 43, 273). The important thing is that the tree was prepared by God for Jonah (*CO* 43, 274).

In *Commentary on Haggai* (1559), Calvin praises Augustine's wise explanation. 'Augustine has very wisely explained this in his fourth book against Julian. He says, that it would be an absurd thing for the faithful to judge of works by the outward appearance; but that they ought to be estimated according to the fountain from which they proceed, and also according to their design' (*CO* 44, 113).

In *Commentary on Malachi* (1559), Calvin uses two citations from Augustine. One concerns the Manichean's false dream that man's soul is of the substance of the Deity (*CO* 44, 401). Another is about God's predestination and foreknowledge (*CO* 44, 406).

Calvin quotes Augustinian citations five times in *Commentary on Jeremiah* (1563).

Only two quotations (CO 38, 463; 595) are related to the exegesis of Jeremiah: Jeremiah 24:7, 'And I will give them a heart to know me'; Jeremiah 32:39, 'And I will give them one heart, and one way'. The two are used for establishing Paul's sayings with Augustine (CO 38, 90; 207). One quotation is for the exposition of Isaiah 44:7 (CO 38, 571).

In *Commentaries on the four last books of Moses* (1563), we face a new phenomenon in Calvin's dealing with Augustine regarding some rhetorical expressions. Most of the twenty-three citations are neutral or positive. Only two seem slightly negative, but not explicitly so. When Augustine dealt with 'vaticinations' and Satan's foreknowledge of secret things, it seems to Calvin that Augustine troubled himself too anxiously (CO 24, 269). In the explanation of Exodus 24:12, Calvin introduces Augustine's words; 'the Law was written by the finger of God, because only the Spirit of God engraves it on our hearts'. Calvin is afraid that the speculation of Augustine is more subtle than correct (CO 25, 78). This is usual in Calvin's Old Testament commentaries, since he has shown a certain respect for Augustine, even in a disagreeing exposition.

We find an unusual element in the rhetorical sphere. Usually Calvin's attitude to Augustine in the Old Testament commentaries is very clear in the case of positive expressions. He never restrains himself from expressing a clear 'yes' with distinct rhetorical expressions, as we have observed in the above citations. In *Commentaries on the four last books of Moses*, neutral expressions are dominant. The only highly positive expression that we can find is just 'for rightly does Augustine remark' with regard to the Sabbath (CO 24, 578). The other positive sentences distinctly lack such a rhetorical ornament. Does it reflect the fact that Calvin's understanding and use of

Augustine has reached a zenith for the moment? Thus, does it make him express his affirmation of Augustine more clearly without any superficial ornaments? My answer is affirmative, after careful investigation of the quotations. With the exegetical issues the primary aim was to establish the meaning of the text. And Calvin succeeded in it with the Augustinian citations only, and without any other complementary addition.

3.5.6 Sermons, letters and confessions

Calvin sincerely wanted to help common people understand God's words and to practice His instructions in their daily lives. It was not necessary to introduce Church Fathers into his sermons to meet his purposes. We can trace the footprints of the Church Fathers in only four of his sermons. Augustine is referred to three times, Cyprian twice and Ambrose once. The last bishop of Rome (Calvin calls Gregory I the last bishop of Rome in the *Institutio* 4.17.49), Gregory I, is cited twice and Bernard is cited once.

In *Sermons sur Deutéronome* (1555, 1556), Calvin accentuates the fact that the true authority comes from the Word of God, not by tradition, councils and Church Fathers. In the case of the Church Fathers, they can be regarded as true Church Fathers when their teaching is within the Word of God and when they are bound to it. This is the testimony of Augustine, Ambrose and Bernard (*CO* 28, 713).

We dedicate glory only to God, as Augustine and Cyprian said, since no glory is ours (*CO* 49, 776; *Sermons sur la première Épître aux Corinthiens* 1558).

In *Sermons sur la seconde Épître à Timothée* (1561), a famous citation, namely 'God

will crown his own gifts' is used again (CO 54, 342).

In the fifth period, the situation in Europe was very dramatic and fluid. Many evangelicals were arrested and suffered in France. Eight of ten Augustinian citations in Calvin's correspondence are related to this situation.

In April 1552, five young Frenchmen, instructed at the school of theology of Lausanne and devoted to the ministry, made arrangements for returning to France. At Lyons, they were arrested and led away to the prisons. On the first rumour of the arrest of the five students, the church of Geneva expressed the liveliest testimonies of their sympathy and support by the voice of Calvin in *Aux prisonniers de Lyon* (1552). Because one of the students, Bernard Seguin, had asked Calvin to solve some problems earlier, Calvin answers one of the questions, using Augustine with regard to the nature of a glorified body.

He shall come again in the same form and substance of the flesh, to which certainly he gave immortality. . . . the soul can offer religious worship, not in the bondage of the flesh, but rather in the liberty of the spirit (CO 14, 333).

In 1557, Monsieur de Saules and Nicholas du Rousseau (the inspector of the church of Paris) were arrested at Dijon. Nothing was found on De Saules but some books and letters were found on Du Rousseau. Du Rousseau died in the dungeons of Dijon, and his body was thrown to the flames. Calvin offers solace to the mind of the believers in Paris and exhorts patience in persecution. And he deals with ministers sent to them, using Augustine on how they should act in such an event (CO 16, 631).

One citation appears in *Schallingio* (1557). It is repeated several times and concerns the difference between Judas' and the disciples' partaking of the bread (CO 16, 430). The last citation is in *Calvinus friderico electori Palatino* (1563). Calvin warns against misuse of Augustine's words regarding Christ's substance in a sacrament (CO 20, 76).

We find few traces of the Church Fathers in the various confessions. In *Summa doctrinae de ministerio Verbi et Sacramentorum* (date unidentified), Calvin tackles how one and the same Christ more than fills heaven and earth with the fullness of his divinity, and yet is not everywhere diffused in respect of his humanity (CO 9, 776).

In *Congrégation sur l'élection éternelle* (1551), Calvin refutes the claim that men cooperate by half with God and that there is a concurrence of human power with grace (CO 8, 103). And again in *Congrégation sur l'élection éternelle advertisement* (1562), Calvin argues the necessity of preaching the doctrine of predestination and God's eternal election in Augustine's own words:

. . . handle God's eternal election reverently, and hold believers under the discipline of a godly life . . . Even if what is said of predestination. . . be true, yet it must not be preached to the people? Assuredly it must be preached so that "he who has ears to hear may hear" . . . For as piety must be preached that . . . God may be rightly worshipped, . . . so also must be preached such a predestination . . . that he who has ears to hear of God's grace may glory, not in himself but in God (CO 8, 140).

In *Confession de France pour présenter à l'empereur* (1562, 1564), Calvin expresses his agreement with Augustine regarding the efficacy of the sacraments (CO 9, 771).

3.5.7 The last edition of *Institutio* (1559)

With the fifth and final Latin edition of 1559, Calvin produced his standard version. As indicated by its full title¹⁸, the work is now not only divided into four books and eighty chapters, but there is ‘so much added matter that it can almost be regarded as a new work’ (Van Oort 1997:681). This work reflects the development of Calvin’s thought, experiences in his life, and accumulations of his works. In the same manner, it reflects developments and changes in Calvin’s use of Augustine.

Mooi identified three hundred and eighty-nine Augustinian citations in this last edition of *Institutio*. Although two hundred and ninety-three citations out of three hundred and eighty-nine are shown in the earlier four editions of *Institutio*, some of them are set by the new arrangement of the order of the work. This new arrangement and use of earlier citations clearly reveals how Calvin understood the citations and how he used them to meet his plans and purposes. The changes in the five editions of *Institutio* according to its sequential development will be dealt with in the next chapter. In this chapter, we rather focus on ninety-six new citations in the 1559 edition.¹⁹

In Book One, we identified nineteen new citations. We find new augmentations in the paragraphs concerning the doctrine of Trinity. Calvin demonstrates Augustine’s dealing

¹⁸ *Institutio Christianae religionis, in libros quatuor nunc primum digesta, certisque distincta capitibus, ad aptissimam methodum: aucta etiam tam magna accessione ut propemodum opus novum haberi possit.*

¹⁹ Strictly speaking, the words, ‘new citations’ mean the Augustinian citations which were not yet used in the four earlier editions of *Institutio*. So some of the new citations may be found in earlier works besides the four editions of *Institutio*.

with the word, 'hypostasis' (CO 2, 93). Calvin mentions Augustine's *fifth book on the Trinity* regarding the Father and the Son (CO 2, 106). He stresses how carefully Augustine studied this subject from all ancient writings, even in the minutest point (CO 2, 116). Once, he expresses denial of Augustine's speculation that the soul is a mirror of the Trinity, inasmuch as it comprehends within itself intellect, will, and memory (CO 2, 139). At the same time, Calvin contrasts the Manicheans with Servet to deny of the idea that the soul was a transmission of the substance of God (CO 2, 139). Calvin also uses new citations in the exposition of man's creation, his loss of free will, God's good will and predestination.

In Book Two, the new citations are situated mainly around the issues of sin and grace and predestination. They complement, explain or conclude earlier citations in the texts. Explaining that when the human will was free, it made itself the slave of sin, Calvin strongly insists that his idea is directly derived from Augustine, 'My readers hence perceive that the doctrine which I deliver is not new, but the doctrine which old Augustine delivered with the consent of all the godly, and which was afterwards shut up in the cloisters of monks for almost a thousand years' (CO 2, 214). At the end of the Augustinian citations from the 1543 *Institutio*, Calvin adds a new citation to explain 'no merit but grace' in detail,

To the same effect he elsewhere says that grace is not of merit, but merit of grace. And shortly after he concludes, that God by his gifts anticipates all our merit, that he may thereby manifest his own merit, and give what is absolutely free, because he sees nothing in us that can be a ground of salvation (CO 2, 231).

In the concluding chapter of Book two, Calvin introduces new citations. He relates grace and predestination with Christ.

As Augustine writes most truly, “The Savior, the man Christ Jesus, is himself the brightest illustration of predestination and grace: his character as such was not procured by any antecedent merit of works or faith in his human nature. Tell me, I pray, how that man, when assumed into unity of person by the Word, co-eternal with the Father, as the only begotten Son of God, could merit this ...”. Again, in another passage, “There is not a more striking example of predestination than the mediator himself. He who made him (without any antecedent merit in his will) of the seed of David a righteous man never to be unrighteous, also converts those who are members of his head from unrighteous into righteous” (CO 2, 386).

The main issues of the new citations in Book Three are again sin and grace, and predestination. Here we find some citations already used in *Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God* (1552). Except for these issues, Calvin introduces Augustine’s mentioning of Monica praying for the dead in Augustine’s *Confessions* and then adds that Augustine was full of doubt about the praying for the dead in another book (CO 2, 500).

Book Four strongly reflects the influence of the debates with the Lutherans regarding the Lord’s Supper. Except for a few citations concerning the church and the customs of the church, more than thirty citations are related to the issue of the Lord’s Supper, directly or indirectly. Although Calvin borrowed many citations from *Ultima admonitio ad Westphalum* (1557), his dealing with the issue through Augustine is more audacious

and more penetrating in this edition.

The Lord did not hesitate to say, This is my body, when he gave the sign (CO 2, 1027).

One person is God and man, and both one Christ, everywhere, inasmuch as he is God, and in heaven, inasmuch as he is man. ... Christ left the disciples in bodily presence, that he might be with them in spiritual presence. ... for in spiritual presence he was to come to them, and to be with the whole Church in the world until its consummation (CO 2, 1028).

And hence, he who remains not in Christ, and in whom Christ remains not, without doubt neither spiritually eats his flesh, nor drinks his blood, though with his teeth he may carnally and visibly press the symbol of his body and blood (CO 2, 1036).

Prepare not the jaws, but the heart; for which alone the Supper is appointed. We believe in Christ when we receive him in faith: in receiving, we know what we think: we receive a small portion, but our heart is filled: it is not therefore that which is seen, but that which is believed, that feeds. . . . Then will the body and blood of Christ be life to each, if that which is visibly taken in the sacrament is in reality spiritually eaten, spiritually drunk (CO 2, 1037).

As Smits has indicated (Smits 1956:107), Calvin's use of Augustinian doctrines regarding predestination and the Lord's Supper is outstanding in this fifth edition of *Institutio*. And the citations clearly reveal Calvin's riper understanding of Augustine regarding these issues.

3.5.8 Conclusions concerning the fifth period

The analysis of the fifth period provides us with a number of conclusions

(1) The treatise *Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God* (1552) is clear evidence that reveals Calvin's heavy dependence on Augustine regarding the doctrine of predestination. Except for Augustine (ninety-six times), the only quoted Church Father is Ambrose and he is cited only once.

(2) With regard to the debates with Westphal, there are relatively few Augustinian citations in the first two works (thirteen times in *Defensio doctrinae de Sacramentis*, seventeen times in *Defensio Secunda contra Westphalum*, and then finally one hundred and thirty-two times in *Ultima admonitio ad Westphalum*). This reflects that Calvin's use of Augustine depends mainly on his own purpose in writing.

(3) In the New Testament commentaries of this period, Calvin's most frequently quoted Father is again Augustine (fifty-eight times in three commentaries). The second is neither Chrysostom, nor Jerome, but Josephus. Except for Augustine, no Church Fathers are used with this kind of consistency in the New Testament commentaries. We cannot say that Calvin's evaluation of Augustine in these commentaries is always positive. We can, however, say that, as Lane suggested, even a negative comment may be a mark of respect in the commentaries.

(4) In the Old Testament Commentaries (1555-1565), Calvin lessens his use of the patristic sources. Sometimes Calvin uses quite neutral expressions on Augustine in the

rhetorical sphere, especially in *Commentaries on the four last books of Moses* (1563). We conclude that this tendency is not a reflection of Calvin's reduced esteem of Augustine, but a reflection of Calvin's riper understanding and use of him.

(5) Some Augustinian citations in Calvin's correspondence in this period reflect the difficult situation that Calvin had to deal with. Calvin used the citations to support and exhort those who were suffering persecution by the Roman Catholics. Some recipients of the correspondence were arrested and killed.

(6) In the last *Institutio*, most of Calvin's explicit references are to Augustine's anti-Pelagian works, such as his *Contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum*, *De correptione et gratia*, *De bono perseverantiae*, and *Contra Iulianum*. In this respect, Calvin claims an essential conformity between Augustine and Reformed theology (Van Oort 1997:683). Calvin's strong denial of 'merita nostra' or strong emphasis on 'sola gratia' is consistent with Augustine. This idea is embedded as background to the debates, especially regarding sin and grace, predestination, and the Lord's Supper.

(7) There are both common and uncommon factors in respect of authority. All Church Fathers are under the authority of the Holy Scriptures. The authority of a certain Father does depend on whether he is faithful to the teachings of the Bible or not. In this respect, Augustine's authority among the Church Fathers is unique and outstanding in this period. This uniqueness of Augustine will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

(8) Finally, regarding the last *Institutio*, we suggest that Smits and Mooi have failed to pay proper attention to the repeated citations from the earlier editions of the *Institutio*.

It seems that the citations do not have a new significance in content because they used again and again. Although there is nothing new in the contents, there is something new in the arrangement and use of them as to context in the last edition. We believe that the repeated citations in context will give us an invaluable clue to Calvin's understanding and use of them. This is the task for Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

In the third chapter, we made a thorough study of Calvin's use of Augustine in his works from the first period of his writing career to the last, fifth period (from 1532 to 1565). In the earlier chapter, the focus was directed to the contents of the Augustinian citations in the context of textual criticism. Now the focus will be directed to the analysis and interpretation of the citations themselves. First, the static data will be analyzed in chronological, thematic and functional order. Secondly, as a bridge between the analysis of static data and dynamic data, Smits's analysis of Augustinian citations will be reviewed critically. Finally, the dynamic data will be analysed.

4.1 Static data analysis

Smits identified 4 119 Augustinian citations. He identified two types of data from these citations. Type One data contain five items of information: (i) the title of Calvin's writing, (ii) loci in *Opera Selecta* or in *Calvini Opera Omnia*, (iii) the date and loci in Calvin's writings, (iv) loci in Augustine's writings, and (v) the loci in *Patrologia Latina*. The focus was on Calvin's writings. Type Two data contains five items of information: (i) the title of Augustine's writing, (ii) loci in *PL*, (iii) loci in Augustine's writings, (iv) the date and the title of Calvin's writings, and (v) loci in *OS* or *CO*. The focus was on Augustine's writings.

Mooi submitted 1 708 Augustinian citations. His data contained only three items of information: (i) the title of Calvin's writing, (ii) frequency, and (iii) loci in *CO*. The loci in *CO* are not exhaustive. If one tries to find one Augustinian citation in *Responsio contra Pighium*, it is not easy to identify true Augustinian citations without proper knowledge of Augustine. For example, there are four probable quotations (lines 9-12, 20, 37-42, 43-52) from Augustine on page 391(*CO* 6, 391). If one resorts to Mooi's data only, one may encounter a difficulty. Mooi does not give the smallest hint concerning which one is original or which one is pseudo-Augustinian. But Smits's data show clearly that the last two are not of Augustinian origin and come from a pseudo-Augustinian text, *Hypomnesticon contra Pelagianos et caelestianos vulgo libri Hypognosticon* (post 435).

This is why this research uses static data as study data. Static data are based on Mooi's data because his data have excellent credibility. Nevertheless, the static data have also adopted some of the merits of Smits's data because his data contain much information. The following is an example of static data. This is a computer-based datum.

1 5, 15⁵²-16¹ 1532 Senecae De Clementia cum commentario quamvis eius dogmatis autorem laudet Antisthenem **Augustinus** lib. VII. de Civit. Dei: virtutem scilicet esse ultimum finem, quem omnes actus, omnia vitae humanae opera et consilia respiciunt.²⁰ Theme:virtue Function:philosophical

Original:De Civitate Dei

²⁰ although Augustine credits Antisthenes as the author of this teaching - consider that virtue undoubtedly is the ultimate end, to which all acts, all works and counsels of human life look.

It contains eight items of information. The first number presents a sequential number pertaining to the data (from no. 1 to no. 1696). The second shows a locus in *CO* (fifth volume of *CO*, from line 52 of page 15 to the first line of page 16). The third item is the publication date. The fourth item is the title of Calvin's writing. The fifth item is a specific citation. The sixth item is the theme of this citation. The seventh item is a functional factor of the citation. In addition, the last item shows the original source of the citation. If one puts these data into any good computer data base programme, one is able to get valuable information about frequency, theme and function of Augustinian citations in Calvin's writings.²¹

4.1.1 Chronological analysis

For the chronological analysis, the focus is on the frequency of the citations. For Smits and Mooi, the number of a citation had no crucial meaning. This number was just a sequential mark to identify each datum. However, the frequency analysis by chronological order can provide us with a characteristic factor in Calvin's use of Augustinian citations. Moreover, it will function as basic data for further thematic and functional analyses.

According to Mooi's data, Calvin used Augustinian data increasingly during his five periods of writing (table 3). Table 3 shows that Calvin used Augustinian citations fifty times in the first period, one hundred and thirty-seven times in the second period, one

²¹ A computer data program is used in this research. It is a pile-maker pro 6.0. It is marvelous that Smits and Mooi could give us such wonderful data without the help of a computer program. They took the whole process by themselves.

hundred and eighty-six times in the third period, four hundred and fifty-seven times in the fourth period, and finally, eight hundred and seventy-eight times in the fifth period. What is the meaning of this increase in Calvin's use of Augustinian citations? Was it a result of Calvin's increased access to more works by Augustine? Or, does it reflect Calvin's developmental understanding and use of Augustine? Can we, therefore, interpret this as indicating that Calvin's dependence on Augustinian citations increased with the passing of time?

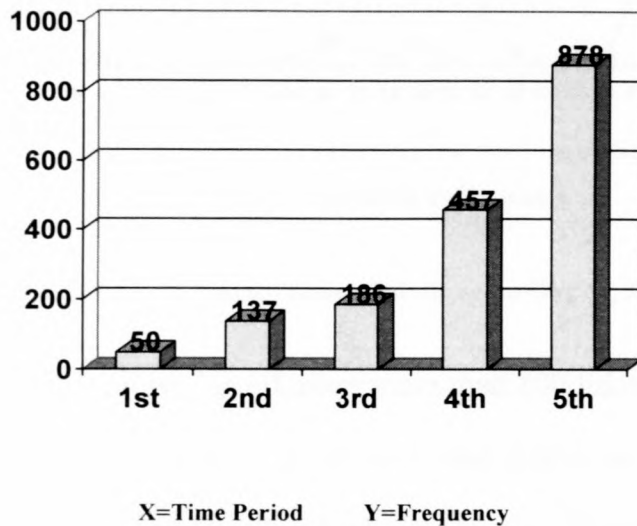
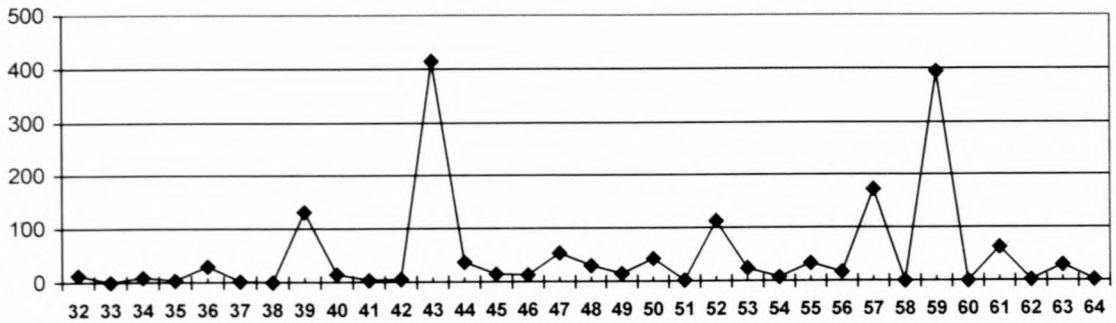


Table 3. Calvin's use of Augustinian citations according to Mooi's data

Because Mooi's intention was neither directed to the frequency of the citations nor to data analysis, a researcher who simply analyses this table only would be mistaken. Table 3 seems to show that Calvin's use of Augustinian citations increases chronologically. However, if one analyses this frequency by years, a different result could be obtained. Table 4 reveals a yearly frequency according to static data.

Table 4 reveals a quite irregular use of citations. Generally speaking, the numbers indicate a slow increase, though; it does not signify the regular rise that is shown in Table 3. The development is rather irregular and unpredictable. This irregularity exactly reflects one of characteristic factors in Calvin's use of Augustinian citations.



X=Year (From 1532 to 1564) Y=Frequency

Table 4. Frequency of Augustinian citation according to static data

Calvin did not often use Augustinian citations more than 100 times in a year during his periods of writing. Only in 1539 (one hundred and thirty-two times), 1543 (four hundred and fifteen times), 1552 (one hundred and fourteen times), 1557 (one hundred and seventy-two times), and 1559 (three hundred and ninety-four times), the frequency hits over one hundred. The high peaks are mostly coincidental with the appearance of Calvin's major work, the *Institutio*, in 1539, 1543 and 1559. For the year 1536, the frequency is twenty-nine times and the edition of this year's *Institutio* contains twenty-four Augustinian citations. The numbers from 1532 to 1538 clearly indicate that Calvin's use of Augustinian citations has just begun in this period. With the third *Institutio* of 1543, Calvin's use of Augustinian citations faced a crucial turning point. The citations used in this year were to be used repeatedly year after year. There is no

high peak in 1550. This is because Smits and Mooi only dealt with seventeen newly appearing quotations in the 1550 *Institutio*. Thus, static data of this year that were derived from Smits's and Mooi's data do not contain repeated quotations. One could imagine one more high peak in 1550, if repeated citations were included in this chart. The last four high peaks in 1543, 1552, 1557 and 1559 suggest a characteristic factor in Calvin's use of Augustinian citations.

The frequency in 1543 gives us a useful clue to understanding data from other years. Except for the *Institutio*'s one hundred and sixty-six quotations and *De libero arbitrio*'s two hundred and thirty-two quotations, we find only seventeen quotations from *Traicté des reliques* (twice), *De necessitate reformandae ecclesiae* (ten times), *Ce que doit faire un homme fidèle entre les papistes* (once), *Epistle 474* (thrice) and *Epistle 521* (once). This clearly shows that most Augustinian citations are mainly used for Calvin's polemical work such as *De libero arbitrio* and his theological work such as the *Institutio*. This characteristic factor is substantiated and supported by the cases of sudden peaking in 1552, 1557 and 1559. In 1552, Calvin published his *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione*. It contains ninety-six quotations and two other works from this year include only eighteen quotations. In 1557, Calvin's *Ultima admonitio ad Westphalum* was published. It contains one hundred and thirty-two quotations and four other works have forty quotations. In 1559, except for the *Institutio*'s three hundred and eighty-nine quotations, only six quotations occur in the *Praelectiones in librum Jonae*. Because of the analysis of static data, a brief conclusion can be drawn: According to the chronological data analysis, Calvin used Augustinian citations mainly for polemical-theological works. Among a total of 1 696 static data, 1 214 data were found in the *Institutio* and in three major polemical works such as *De libero arbitrio*, *De aeterna*

Dei praedestinatione, and *Ultima admonitio ad Westphalum*.

4.1.2 Thematic analysis

In this subsection, only part of the static data will be dealt with. There is a reason for this choice. First, there is the difficulty of selecting all of 1 696 citations as a standard sample group for thematic analysis. As we have seen in Table 4, Calvin's use of Augustinian citations is rather irregular. This means that static data do not provide an even sample group. This unevenness does not matter in a chronological analysis. However, it could present a problem in a thematic analysis. If one tries to analyse all the static data, one soon faces doubt about the sample group's representativeness. As we know, for example, Calvin's *De libero arbitrio* (1543) has two hundred and thirty two citations. These citations comprise more than 13% of all the data. The data from this work are directly or indirectly related to the issue of sin and will (this extensive dogmatic category includes sub-issues such as free will, Adam's fall, original sin, unfree will, God's will . . .). We can easily conclude that the issue regarding sin and will is significant in Calvin's dealing with Augustinian citations, 'Because it occupies more than 10% . . .'. This result can create the imprecise impression that the percentage of occurrence of a certain issue reflects Calvin's priority and the issue's importance. And this is not true.

Thus, what we need is a sample group which can give us information about Calvin's general use of Augustinian citations in the instance of his dealing with particular issues. In other words, we need an even sample group. The last edition of Calvin's *Institutio* is ideally suited to meet this condition. As discussed in the previous chapter, the data of

the last edition reflect all Calvin's past writings regarding his dealing with Augustinian citations. This is not a mere dogmatic book separated from other works by Calvin. And this is not a book that suddenly appeared in 1559 without any relation to the past. It reflects the development of Calvin's understanding in various fields. For example, two hundred and ninety-three citations out of three hundred and eighty-nine are shown in the four earlier editions of the *Institutio*.

And many data are derived from Calvin's polemical works such as *De libero arbitrio*, *Ultima admonitio ad Westphalum* and *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione*. A number of citations in the last edition had already appeared in Calvin's exegetics, small tracts, confessions, letters and sermons. The data of the last edition is an accumulation of all Calvin's previous writing until 1559.

Moreover, a good amount of the data in this edition of *Institutio* was to be used repeatedly in the subsequent works of Calvin after 1559. In this regard, the data of the last edition provide an ideal sample group which reflects all the periods of writing with regard to Calvin's use of Augustinian citations in the case of thematic analysis. The result of this analysis is presented in Table 5.

Themes of the static data used in the 5th edition of <i>Institutio</i>	
Themes used more than 20 times	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the Sacraments (68 times, including baptism and the Lord's supper) 2. the church (54 times, including church custom, etc.) 3. will (34 times, including free will, God's will, etc.) 4. sin (34 times, including concupiscence, total depravity, etc.)

	<p>5. grace (28 times, including gratuitous grace, work and grace, etc.)</p> <p>6. Christology (22 times, including sole mediator, etc.)</p>
Themes used from 10 to 20 times	<p>7. predestination (17 times, including election, foreknowledge, etc.)</p> <p>8. works (16 times, including merits, etc.)</p> <p>9. the Law (14 times, including Ten Commandments, etc.)</p> <p>10. on God (13 times, including divine providence, etc.)</p> <p>11. faith (11 times, including justification, etc.)</p>
Themes used from 5 to 10 times	<p>12. creation (7 times, including fall, etc.)</p> <p>13. Scripture (7 times, including the authority of Scripture, etc.)</p> <p>14. Trinity (6 times)</p> <p>15. Man (6 times, including human nature, etc.)</p>
Themes used less than 5 times	<p>Adam, the Church Fathers, calling, care for the dead, councils, error, fate, heretics, humility, idolatry, image reverence, indulgence, the Jews, learning and ignorance, limited deliverance, magistrates, the Manicheans, Moses, peace of mind, the particular, the Pelagians, perseverance, prayer, pride, progress in understanding, punishment of an individual fault, proof of something being right, purgatory, responsibility to the truth, the righteous after death, salvation, soul, suffering of the Apostles, war (34 themes)</p>

Table 5: Themes of the static data used in the 5th edition of *Institutio*

Table 5 strongly testifies to the fact that the static data of the last *Institutio* provide an ideal sample group for this analysis. This table includes most of Mooi's doctrinal themes. According to Mooi, Calvin distributed Augustinian citations throughout all of his writings. Calvin employed these citations in more than fifty ecclesiastical-dogmatic themes. Except for minor themes such as confirmation and ordination of priests, this table contains all the themes that Mooi gathered from Calvin's complete works as far as Calvin's use of Augustine is concerned.

Moreover, this table is more clearly demarcated than Mooi's themes. Firstly, this table clearly shows that Calvin's use of Augustine was not limited to the doctrinal sphere. Calvin introduced Augustine's quotation about Seneca to explain an idolatory (CO 2, 75). He also contrasted the Stoics' erroneous idea of fate, fortune and chance with Augustine's idea of God's providence (CO 2, 151). Calvin beautifully interwove various threads of philosophical, historical, exegetical and sometimes socio-political themes with doctrinal themes to make his statements clearer for his readers.

Secondly, the method that I used in extracting this table, suggests a potential field for further research. Two approaches are possible in accessing the Augustinian citations for thematic analysis: a multi-dimensional approach and an ecclesiastical-dogmatic approach. An ecclesiastical-dogmatic approach was used by Smits and Mooi. This approach is very useful for unfolding Calvin's theology in terms of the relationship between Calvin and Augustine through focusing on ecclesiastical-doctrinal factors in the Augustinian citations. I believe that this approach is still valid for a deep systematic study on Calvin's and Augustine's theology. But if one wants to reveal Augustine's influence on Calvin's theology in terms of Calvin's use of the Augustinian citations, I believe that the multi-dimensional approach will provide a better tool for such research. The multi-dimensional approach is able to reveal Calvin's actual use of Augustine without any limitations, according to the actual way in which Calvin applied the citations to his writings. And this approach retains all the merits of the ecclesiastical-doctrinal approach.

For example, Calvin's first four writings (*Senecae De Clementia cum commentario*, *Psychopannychia*, *Praefatio de la Bible de Neuchâtel* and *Praefatio in Johannis*

Chrysostomi homilias) contain twenty-six static data. How many themes did Calvin adopt or introduce from Augustine into these four writings? If one adopts the multi-dimensional approach, one finds that the data represent at least nineteen themes: 'pagan's virtue', 'human desire', 'fortitude', 'Sulla', 'piety', 'conscience and reputation', 'war', 'death of the soul', 'God's image', 'soul's sleep', 'eternal life', 'Lazarus', 'spiritual body', 'Augustine's exegesis', 'soul after death', 'the day of judgment', 'bible study', and 'Calvin's evaluation of Augustine'. If one adopts the ecclesiastical-doctrinal approach, one should get rid of some philosophical or historical themes to focus on theological themes. What would the result be if some of the themes were cut off? If one faces Augustine's above-mentioned quotation of Seneca in Calvin's *Institutio*, one might be wondering why Calvin used this citation in this position. Such wondering would be natural because of a lack of information about the background of this citation and about Calvin's often (though not frequent) use of some philosophical, historical or exegetical themes to clarify his doctrinal theme.

There is also a further merit in the adoption of the multi-dimensional approach regarding thematic analysis. If one follows the ecclesiastical-doctrinal approach, one should introduce boundaries and hierarchies among doctrines. In other words, one should stick to today's systematic definitions of certain doctrines. Mooi identified three large categories to explain Calvin's use of Augustinian theology. They are the doctrine of sin and grace; the doctrine on the church; and the doctrine of the Sacraments. The first category, sin and grace, contains seven sub-categories such as 'original sin', 'unfree will', 'will and grace', 'justification without works', 'purgatory' and 'predestination'. Mooi had reasons for these divisions. And making divisions between doctrines for modern readers who do not easily understand any concept without the help of a distinct

definition, and who are accustomed to such logical divisions, was indispensable. But did Calvin really limit himself to such definitions and categories? It does not seem so. This is why I have added some related themes such as 'will', 'works', 'grace', 'sin' and 'faith' separately to Table 5.

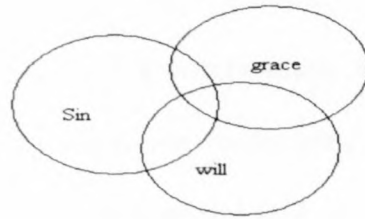


Table 6. Relationship among three themes in Calvin's use of the Augustinian citations

Table 6 shows a relationship among three themes in Calvin's use of the Augustinian citations. These three themes are just a sample for revealing Calvin's free use of certain doctrines. There were no artificial boundaries or hierarchies in Calvin's use of the Augustinian citations regarding themes. He did not perceive any difficulty in his use of such combinations as 'sin and grace', 'sin and will', 'grace and will', 'will and grace'. If one inserts one more circle of 'works' or two more circles of 'works' and 'faith', the combination will be more complicated. And Calvin did actually use such combinations of 'works and sin', 'will and merits', 'sin and merits', 'merit and grace', 'will and faith', 'sin and faith', 'grace and faith' or 'faith and merits'.

As a result of thematic analysis, some conclusions can be drawn. First of all, Calvin's use of the Augustinian citations was not limited into a doctrinal sphere. A varying range of themes were used. He freely used philosophical themes, exegetical themes, historical

themes and sometimes socio-political themes in his discussion of theological subjects. And these themes were successfully intermingled with his doctrinal themes. Secondly, Calvin's understanding of various doctrines was much broader than today's strict definition of them. Calvin did not perceive any trouble in his use of a particular combinational theme such as the combination of 'the nature of Christ', 'predestination', 'Trinity', 'merit', 'grace' and 'faith' (CO 2, 386). It might be very difficult for modern theologians to think of using such a combination for one subject. These themes are, however, combined seamlessly and are freely used in Calvin's writings. Thirdly, the multi-dimensional approach can be a useful tool for a thematic analysis in the field of church history. This multi-dimensional approach is again applicable to the next analysis of function.

4.1.3 Functional analysis

In this section, I will focus on the functions of the static data. What is the 'function' of the static data? The word 'function' signifies the role or the character of the data in the texts. In other words, it is closely related to Calvin's purpose in arranging a specific Augustinian citation in a text. I have already spoken of the difficulties encountered in analysing the whole of the static data in the previous section. For the same reasons as with the previous thematic analysis, I chose the static data which were shown in the last edition of the *Institutio* as a standard sample group for the functional analysis.

It has been known that Calvin's Augustinian citations function theologically, historically, polemically, and exegetically in the texts (Todd; Van Oort). I analysed the sample group by seven categories: theological, polemical, historical, exegetical, rhetorical,

philosophical, and other (socio-political: one; just reference: four; and hard to identify: two). The result is shown in Table 7.

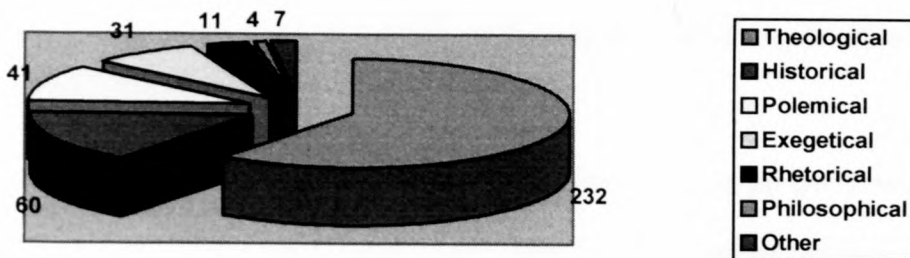


Table 7. Functional composition of the static data in the last *Institutio*

The theological function occupies more than half: theological: 59%, historical: 17%, polemical: 10%, exegetical: 8%, rhetorical 3%, philosophical 1%, and other 2%.²² This table shows that Calvin’s main intention in using the Augustinian citation in the last edition of the *Institutio* is theological. It is noteworthy that the theological-historical use of the citations outnumbers the theological-polemical use of them. The theological-polemical character is not as prominent in the last edition of the *Institutio* as in Calvin’s polemical works in which the theological-polemical use of the Augustinian citations is important. For example, the data from Calvin’s polemical work *De Aeterna Dei praedestinatione* (1552) consist in the proportion of theological (47%), polemical (36%), exegetical (9%), historical (4%), rhetorical (2%), and philosophical (2%).

²² The word ‘theological’ does not mean that a datum functions purely theologically. There are some data which are used purely with one purpose, though there are many data which contain two or three characters simultaneously. In the latter case, ‘theological’ can refer to the major tendency of the datum. When a datum reveals 51% theological character and 49% polemical character, it is identified as ‘theological’.

Some observations can be noted here as a result of the functional analysis.

First, Calvin's main purpose in his use of Augustinian citations was basically theological, except for one instance in his first work, *Senecae De Clementia cum commentario* (1532), in which philosophical-rhetorical functions are absolute (71%).

Secondly, Calvin used and distributed the Augustinian citations properly according to his purpose in certain works. He applied a different combination of the functions, with the main function being theological, according to the targeted readers of particular works. For polemical works, theological-polemical functions lead all other functions as is shown in the above example of *De Aeterna Dei praedestinatione* (theological-polemical: 83%). For his commentaries, theological-exegetical use of the citations is dominant. For example, the *Commentarius in Psalmos* shows the proportions as theological (42%), exegetical (27%), polemical (19%), philosophical (8%) and historical (4%). For his letters and sermons, the proportion is theological (47%), polemical (33%), historical (13%) and exegetical (7%).

Thirdly, the relatively high percentage of theological-historical factors in the last edition of the *Institutio* corresponds to Calvin's purpose with the *Institutio*. Calvin wanted the last edition to provide an easy introduction for theological candidates and wanted it to be a summary of religion for anyone (CO 2, 1-2). This double purpose might have caused him to make greater use of the historical function, as well as to avoid much use of the polemical function for the enhanced understanding of the specific readers. Augustine is frequently summoned as a witness to the authority of Scripture, the old church customs, monasticism, and the Sacraments.

4.2 Smits's analysis of the quotations

Before initiating the analysis of dynamic data, Smits's research on the original Augustinian texts and Calvin's Augustinian citations will be critically reviewed. This is due to the unique character of Calvin's use of Augustinian citations. When one tries to survey Calvin's Augustinian quotations, one can discern two kinds of basic changes: the changes occurring in the transition from the original Augustinian texts to Calvin's texts, and the changes occurring during Calvin's use of them in his writings. The former is related to Calvin's interpretation of the Augustinian texts. And the latter is directly related to Calvin's understanding and use of Augustine, and, at the same time, was indirectly related to Augustine's role in Calvin's writings. Smits devoted himself to a study of the first change, which occurred during a transition from the original Augustinian texts to Calvin's texts. Thus, for better understanding of the second change, getting enough information of the first change is indispensable.

4.2.1 Smits's divisions of the quotations according to their textual traits

Smits divided Calvin's quotations from Augustine into three basic categories according to their textual traits. The quotations accordingly are either 'literal', or 'free', or more or less one or the other.

First, the literal quotations are the strictly literal quotations which show no difference whatsoever from original, i.e. the edition of Erasmus. According to Smits, they account for approximately 10% of the total (Smits 1956:243). The literal quotations do not reveal any significant changes. Thus, most of the quotations of this type are included in

Mooi's data, as well as in the static data.

Second, the free quotations are the reshaped quotations by Calvin. When the original texts arrived in the hands of Calvin, he reshaped all the sentences, making a personal text of it. Smits submitted the following example to show Calvin's superb skill in condensing long passages to short and well-structured sentences.

Epist. 130, 12, 22: Nam quaelibet alia verba dicamus, quae affectus orantis vel praecedendo format ut clareat, vel consequendo attendit ut crescat; nihil aliud dicimus quam quod in ista dominica oratione positum est. Quisquis autem id dicit quod ad istam evangelicam precem pertinere non possit, etiamsi non illicite orat, carnaliter orat: quod nescio quemadmodum non dicatur illicite, quandoquidem spiritu renatos nonnisi spiritualiter decet orare (*PL* XXXIII, 502; *CSEL* XLIV, 64).²³

Inst., III, 20, 48: Atque adeo numeris omnibus absoluta est haec oratio, ut quicquid illi extraneum alienumque additur, quod ad eam referri non possit, impium sit et indignum quod a Deo probetur (*OS* IV, 365).²⁴

²³ For whatever other words we may say, - whether the desire of the person praying go before the words, and employ them in order to give definite form to its requests, or come after them, and concentrate attention upon them, that it may increase in fervor, — if we pray rightly, and as becomes our wants, we say nothing but what is already contained in the Lord's Prayer. And whoever says in prayer anything which cannot find its place in that gospel prayer, is praying in a way which, if it be not unlawful, is at least not spiritual; and I know not how carnal prayers can be lawful, since it becomes those who are born again by the Spirit to pray in no other way than spiritually.

²⁴ And this prayer is in all respects so perfect that any extraneous or alien thing added to it, which cannot be related to it, is impious and unworthy to be approved by God.

This example, however, is not so convincing. It is not easy to identify the origin of this citation as derived from Augustine because too many drastic changes have been introduced. According to Smits, these free quotations count for a fourth of the total, though it is better for current researchers not to deal with these free quotations. It is a time-consuming work with no guarantee of meaningful results. Thus, Mooi got rid of all quotations of this type from his research.

The third type of quotation attracts attention. These are intermediaries (free-literal). Between the literal quotations and the free quotations, there is a range of free-literal quotations, some accentuating the ‘free’ element, others the ‘literal’ element. While retaining identifiable traits of Augustine, these quotations were used quite freely for Calvin’s purposes. Pighius had reproached Calvin for mutilating and truncating the quotations to the degree that they did not represent the opinion of Augustine any more. Calvin retorted that he had transcribed them without omitting the terms which could appear to oppose the clear idea, in *Defensio doctrinae de servitute humani arbitrii contra Pighium* (CO 6, 325). These quotations were, in fact, rather free; the reformer took up the ideas of Augustine without feeling compelled to render them word for word. It is not astonishing that these quotations are so numerous (almost 65% of Smits’s total, approximately 75% of Mooi’s total). Calvin’s designs were not like ours. Nowadays, it is required that reproduced texts correspond perfectly to the original, down to every comma. Calvin’s free use of Augustine, however, has opened a window for looking into Calvin’s interpretation of Augustine until today.

4.2.2 From Augustine to Calvin

Smits excellently analysed the grammatical difference between the original Augustinian texts and Calvin's Augustinian citations (Smits 1956:243-248).

1. For the adaptations of the text to the context, the direct speech easily becomes indirect speech.

Ench., 32, 9 : Nolentem praevenit, ut velit;
volentem subsequitur, ne frustra velit (*PL* XL,
248).²⁵

Inst., II, 3, 7: Augustinus dicit: Dominum
praevenire nolentem ut velit: volentem sequi
ne frustra velit (*OS* III, 281).²⁶

2. The search for stylistic effect leads Calvin to change the disposition of the text. Thus it shows a taste for the hyperbaton. This stylistic device consists in separating two substantives which, grammatically, should be juxtaposed.

Epist. 194, 5, 19: Omne bonum meritum
nostrum non in nobis faciat nisi gratia (*PL*
XXXIII, 880; *CSEL* LVII, 190).²⁷

Inst., II, 3, 13: Omne bonum in nobis opus
non nisi gratiam facere (*OS* III, 290).²⁸

3. For the same stylistic device, the suppression of the conjunctions which abound in the original texts occurs.

²⁵ It goes before the unwilling to make him willing; it follows the willing to make his will effectual.

²⁶ Augustine says that the Lord anticipates an unwilling man that he may will, and follows a willing man that he may not will in vain.

²⁷ Grace alone brings about every good merit of ours in us.

²⁸ Grace alone brings about every good work in us. [direct translation: Every good, in us, work is brought only by grace].

In Evang. Joh., 41, 12 : Sed si carne servis legi peccati, fac quod ait ipse Apostolus: Non ergo regnet peccatum in vestro mortali corpore ad obediendum desideriis eius, neque exhibeatis membra vestra arma iniquitatis peccato (*Rom.*, VI, 12. 13) (*PL XXXV*, 1698).²⁹

Inst., IV, 3, 13: Si carne servis legi peccati, fac quod ait ipse Apostolus, Non regnet peccatum in mortali vestro corpore ad obediendum desideriis eius (*Rom.*, VI, b. 12) (*OS IV*, 69).³⁰

4. Sometimes theological reasons come into play. With respect for the sovereignty of God, the reformer replaces the imperative by the subjunctive of exhortation in the well-known adage:

Conf., X, 29, 40: Da quod iubes et iube quod vis (*PL XXXII*, 796; *CSEL XXXIII*, 256).³¹

Inst., II, 5, 7: Det Deus quod iubet, et iubeat quod velit (*OS III*, 305).³²

5. On another occasion, Calvin seeks to clarify the theological sense by adding a word:

In Evang. Joh., 41, 12 : Quandiu peccatum necesse est esse in membris tuis; saltem illi regnum auferatur, non fiat quod iubet (*PL*

Inst., IV, 3, 13: Quandiu **v i v i s** peccatum necesse est esse in membris tuis, saltem regnum illi auferatur, non fiat quod iubet (*Rom.*, VI, b.

²⁹ But if with the flesh thou servest the law of sin, do as the apostle himself says: "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lust thereof: neither yield ye your members as weapons of unrighteousness unto sin."

³⁰ If you serve the law of sin with your flesh, do what the apostle himself, says: Let not sin...reign in your mortal body to obey its lusts [Romans 6:12].

³¹ give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt.

³² Let God give what he commands, and command what he will.

6. Lastly, the necessity of shortening very long passages sometimes requires changes in the quotations. These syntheses are so recurrent that one can see the characteristic method of Calvin's quoting. Calvin extracts certain words from the text to form a more correct and current sentence with it.

Trin., III, 10: *peracto ministerio* transitura, sicut

Inst., IV, 17, 28: *peracto ministerio* (sic!) panem

panis ad hoc factus in accipiendo Sacramento

consumi (OS V, 382).³⁶

consumitur (PL XLII, 880).³⁵

In conclusion, Smits's suggested reasons for the 'free-literal' character of the quotations explain this as the results 'of a grammatical nature', 'of a theological nature', 'of a psychological nature', and 'of a practical nature'. These reasons naturally lead to Calvin's principles of interpretation.

4.2.3 Calvin's principles of interpretation

Smits used Calvin's polemic works as a sample for discovering the criteria of

³³ So long as sin must be in thy members, let its reigning power at least be taken away, let not its demands be obeyed.

³⁴ So long as *you live*, sin must needs be in your members. At least let it be deprived of mastery. Let not what it bids be done.

³⁵ after having accomplished its ministry, as the bread made for the purpose is consumed in the receiving of the sacrament.

³⁶ after the completion of the mystery the bread is consumed.

interpretation principles. According to him, Calvin employed seven basic principles — five concerning internal criticism and two concerning external criticism (Smits 1956:248-253).

- (1) Calvin separated the 'term' from the 'word'. The text should always be interpreted in a sense faithful to the intention of the author. He pursued the clear significance of the terms that were used by Augustine.
- (2) The sense of an author's language and meaning should be determined by the current usage of the word, not by a later use. Calvin noticed the differences between Augustine's terminology and Calvin's. There was a thousand year gap between them.
- (3) Calvin took account of the 'literary genre' of Augustine's writings. This principle is of the highest importance because the diversity of its range is very large: popular sermons, dogmatic speculations, and polemic works. Thus, Calvin could evade some of the pitfalls of Augustine's allegorical interpretation.
- (4) Calvin used phrases in context. He not only relied on the words and the sentences, but also on the context. Like Augustine, Calvin knew that anyone might convey all that he wanted to say with a single sentence out of the context.
- (5) Calvin resorted to the parallel passages. He managed to clarify some doubtful or obscure texts with this principle.

The above principles all concern internal criticism. The other two principles, of external criticism, which Calvin knew well, are:

(6) the personality of the author.

(7) the time in which the author lived.

Thus, when Calvin's opponents objected to him on account of a text from an early work of Augustine, he returned them to *Retractationes* by saying 'Besides, Augustine was of this opinion for a time, but after he had gained a better knowledge of Scripture, he not only retracted it as patently false, but stoutly refuted it' (CO 2, 694).

Further principles can be added to these principles through a study of Calvin's exegetical works. Firstly, the exegesis of Scripture must be 'natural' and 'literal' in the grammatico-historical sense (CO 9, 835; 22, 123). *Simplex et verum* stands foremost in Calvin's primary interpretation principles of the Biblical passages. Secondly, if there was a conflict between Paul and Augustine in exegetical matters, Calvin always followed Paul's exegesis (CO 49, 92; 51, 187). Thirdly, sometimes, a time comes when it is better not to pursue further interpretation (CO 7, 6; 36, 130; 48, 301). The latter two principles testify to Calvin's firm acceptance of the authority of Scripture in exegetical matters (CO 48, 188).

4.3 Dynamic data analysis

Smits only dealt with the changes that occurred in the transition from the original

Augustinian texts to Calvin's texts. Here arises a question. Why did he not deal with the changes that occurred within Calvin's texts? Had he not noticed these minute changes in Calvin's writings? He clearly realised that it would be beneficial for researchers to study Calvin's use of the Augustinian citations in the various editions of the *Institutio*. Smits, for example, identified some omissions in Calvin's various *Institutios*.

<p><i>Praed. Sanct.</i>, 15, 31: Humana hic merita conticescunt, quae perierunt per Adam: et regnet quae regnat Dei gratia per Jesum Christum unicum Dei Filium, Dominum (<i>PL</i> XLIV, 983).³⁷</p>	<p><i>Inst.</i>, III, 15, 2: Humana merita hic conticescunt, quae perierunt per Adam: et regnet Dei gratia per Jesum Christum (<i>OS</i> IV, 240).³⁸</p>
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In the above example, the preposition, 'quae regnat' is omitted by a simple negligence on the part of the printer. This omission occurred in all editions between 1539 and 1554. Smits commented that 'only the examination of the various editions of the *Institution* will be able to clarify the true reason for each omission' (Smits 1956:246). But his attention had only focused on this grammatical change. He did not go further in evaluating the various changes that had occurred within Calvin's numerous writings. There are reasons for this.

At a certain stage Smits, as well as Mooi, considered 'the newly appeared citations' as

³⁷ Here let human merits which have perished through Adam keep silence, and let that grace of God reign **which reigns** through Jesus Christ our Lord, the only Son of God, the one Lord.

³⁸ Let human merits, which perished through Adam, here keep silence, and let God's grace reign through Jesus Christ.

representing Calvin's developing use and understanding of Augustine. Thus, there was not any urgent need to seriously analyse all the repeated quotations. Moreover, he had no tool for understanding the meaning of the changes within Calvin's texts. In other words, he could not understand or discern the meaning of the minute changes in nuances or in the context. Smits found some changes had been introduced to the original Augustinian texts in Calvin's Augustinian citations. So he provided excellent comparisons between them. He, however, could not extend his attention to the changes occurring in Calvin's use of the Augustinian citations.

Smits believed that the comparison between the Augustinian originals and Calvin's texts would be sufficient, because it would provide enough samples for clarifying Calvin's working method in dealing with them. Thus, Smits insisted that 'for our study, the various divisions or groups in nuances do not have importance' (Smits 1956:243). But this is not his fault. Only after the publishing of Millet's *Calvin et la dynamique de la parole: Étude de rhétorique réformée* (1992), have researchers begun to pay attention to the rhetorical forms in Calvin's patterns of expression and argumentation (R A Muller 2001:135). Now researchers have a little light for illuminating the minute changes in Calvin's appeals to Augustine.

Before analysing dynamic data, it is necessary to define 'dynamic data'. What are dynamic data? If one compares 'analysing data' to 'taking photos', one could explain 'static data' as 'still objects' and 'dynamic data' as 'moving objects'. Actually, each datum is just a still object, though we have observed that Calvin repeatedly used particular data. And I have defined these repeatedly used data as 'dynamic data' for the sake of this research. Any static datum that is used only once does not qualify as a

dynamic datum. So dynamic data form a collective data group, which comprises repeated static data. And these data contain changes that occurred in the process of Calvin's use of the citations. Firstly, some dynamic data will be selected and analysed in the context and in nuance. Then, some patterns that are visible in them will be identified.

4.3.1 Analysis of two dynamic data samples

There are many dynamic data in Calvin's Augustinian citations. For example, in the last edition of the *Institutio*, more than 75% of the static data do not appear for the first time. Thus, they are dynamic data. It is impossible to analyse all the dynamic data. So it is necessary to select some dynamic data as samples. Some conditions are applied in selecting these samples. Since the focus of this analysis lies on Calvin's use of the citations in his writings, the citations themselves must not show many variations from the original Augustinian sentences. If the selected citations show few changes, the research becomes easier, because researchers can then mainly focus on the contexts and the nuances in the phrases that contain the citations. And the selected citations must be repeated more than five times, at least, because frequent use of the citations provides more possibilities to access various writings.

As such limitations and conditions are indispensable, two famous dynamic data groups were selected for the analysis. The samples do not cover all of Calvin's use of Augustinian citations, but they give enough information to facilitate understanding the patterns in Calvin's use of Augustinian citations in his writings.

4.3.1.1 *ML* 32, 796: *Da quod iubes et iube quod vis*

When Augustine confessed that all hope is in the mercy of God, he finished his prayer with this maxim, which left Pelagius feeling severely offended. ‘And my whole hope is only in Thy exceeding great mercy . . . O love, who ever burnest, and art never quenched! O charity, my God, kindle me! Thou commandest continency; **give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt**’ (*ML* 32, 796; *Conf.*, 10.29.40).

Calvin used this maxim five times in different contexts and with different nuances: twice for the *Institutio*, twice for his exegeses, and once for his *De libero arbitrio*.

This prayer first appeared in the first, 1536 edition of *Institutio* (*CO* 1, 44). In the opening chapter, the Law, Calvin used Augustine’s famous dictum to substantiate his arguments.

All these are indeed hard and difficult for our feebleness, even to the least detail of the law. It is the Lord in whom we act virtuously. “Let him give what he commands, and command what he will (*Det ille quod iubet, et iubeat quod velit*).” To be Christians under the law of grace does not mean to wander unbridled outside the law, but to be engrafted in Christ.

He employed this maxim to bridge our inability to keep the law and our duty to keep the law of grace as Christians. This saying successfully functions as bridging to the dual character of the law that has continuity as well as discontinuity, and inability in human efforts, as well as possibility in Christ’s grace. To give an effect to this antithesis, Calvin changes the verbs of the maxim from the second person to the third person.

The next use appeared in Chapter 2, the knowledge of man, of the 1539 edition of *Institutio*. The phrase that contains this dictum is a fine demonstration of Calvin's use of Augustinian citations. Calvin introduces a consecutive combination of Augustinian statements. His dealing and distribution of them is outstanding. He insists that 'on this point these profound statements of Augustine are pertinent'. Then he employs one sentence from Augustine's *On Grace and Free will* (ML 44, 900, lines 16-17): 'God bids us do what we cannot, that we may know what we ought to seek from him'. To explain the first citation, he uses another citation from Augustine's *Letter 29* (ML 33, 739): 'the usefulness of the precepts is great if free will is so esteemed that God's grace may be the more honored.' Then he connects God's grace directly to Faith by a short sentence from the *Enchiridion* (ML 40, 287): 'Faith achieves what the law commands.' And he employs one citation that occurred in various works of Augustine to explain the short quotation (ML 35, 1631; 32, 796; 32, 798; 44, 214; 44, 899; 45, 1026):³⁹ 'Indeed, God requires faith itself of us; yet he does not find something to require unless he has given something to find.' Finally, he concludes these consecutive introductions of Augustinian citations with this dictum: 'Again, "Let God give what he commands, and command what he will."' (CO 1, 362). The tension between quotations slowly increases and finally it ends with this famous dictum. The final repetition supports the final conclusion. It causes the final citation to function as a maxim. Calvin's skill in these

³⁹ Preceding this sentence, Calvin inserted a sentence from *On Grace and Free will* in the 1543 edition of the *Institutio*. This is the same quotation as the first quotation of this phrase, but this time it has one more line (ML 44, 900, lines 16-18): 'Indeed, it is for this reason the law commands, that faith may achieve what had been commanded through the law'. This repeated but longer quotation functions to refocus reader's attention and to amplify the tension between the short statement and its explanations. This insertion shows that Calvin employed the rhetorical effect of *explicitio* to explain the first sentence in detail. Thus, argumentation and amplification by repetition are reinforced mutually.

phrases increase a rhetorical effect: a statement, an explanation of it, another short statement, an explanation of the second statement (with a repetition and elaboration of the first statement), and finally ending with the famous saying.

The third use appeared in Calvin's polemic work, *De libero arbitrio* (1543). Calvin and Pighius revealed totally contrary interpretations of Moses' teaching on the law. Calvin gave a loose summary of Pighius's quotation of Deut. 30: 16: 'But Pighius insists on the fact that Moses shortly afterwards adds: so that you may do [the works of the law]⁴⁰ and fulfill it with your might.' To Calvin, it constituted a serious twist of the meaning of Scripture. Thus, he suggested a natural response to Deut. 30:16 and he finished the argument with the famous dictum:

Certainly, so that after hearing this we may know **the inevitability of our duty**, having made trial of our own strength and having been convinced of our weakness or rather of our impotence, be compelled to say to God: "Give what you command, and command what you will" (*CO* 6, 348).⁴¹

Calvin uses this Augustinian citation to emphasize the inevitability of our duty. He does not focus on the interpretation of the citation, but rather uses it for the effect of emphasizing the above argument.

In his *Commentarius in Genesisim* in 1550(1554), Calvin uses this maxim instead of a conclusion of the exegesis of Genesis 4:7: 'And unto thee shall be his desire, freedom of

⁴⁰ [the works of the law] signifies Pighius's understanding of the sentence.

⁴¹ *Da quod iubes, et iube quod velis*

will, who distort this passage to prove the freedom of the will, Nor, truly, must we conclude, that as often as God commands anything we shall have strength to perform it, but rather we must hold fast the saying of Augustine, 'Give what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt' (CO 23, 90).

The most beautiful use of the saying is shown in *Commentarius in quatuor reliquos libros Mosis* (1563). Calvin introduces this dictum with the history of Deuteronomy in the exegesis of Exodus 31:2, 'See, I have chosen Bezaleel'. Now the Israelites were at the brink of the Promised Land. They were preparing the artifacts for the Holy Place.

Although God had omitted nothing which related to the form of the tabernacle, but had accurately prescribed everything that was to be done, still the actual difficulty of the work might have overwhelmed both Moses and the whole people with despair; for this was no ordinary work, or one on which the most skillful artificers might exercise their ingenuity, but a marvelous structure, the pattern of which had been shewn on the Mount, so that it might seem incredible that any mortals should be able by their art to compass what God had commanded. Besides, they had been entirely engaged in servile tasks in Egypt, such as would extinguish all intellectual vigor, and prevent them from aspiring to any liberal arts.

The situation that the Israelites had to face looks like the situation of human inability before God's command. They were in despair. In this situation, Calvin uses this Augustinian dictum to encourage them (or readers).

Hence we gather that all, who obediently follow God's voice, are never destitute of

His aid. In all our difficulties, then, let this prayer encourage us to proceed: “Give what Thou commandest: and command what Thou wilt” (CO 25, 58).

Calvin does not try logical persuasion; rather he endeavours to gain emotional sympathy. He skillfully overlaps the situations of the Israelites and his readers by using the second plural present verb, *colligimus* (we gather). Who are ‘we’? The Israelites of the past and the current readers are naturally and seamlessly connected to each other in this ‘we’, and led to the prayer to God for help. Thus, the prayer of Augustine now becomes the prayer of the Israelites and of the current readers.

4.3.1.2 ML 35, 1840: *Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit Sacramentum*

The origin of this citation is Augustine’s *In Joannis Evangelium*. Augustine uses the biblical words of John 15:3 in a debate regarding the baptism. ‘Why does He not say, You are clean through the baptism by means of which you have been washed, but “because of the word which I have spoken to you,” save only that in the water also it is the word that cleanses? Take away the word, and the water is neither more nor less than water. **The word is added to the element, and there results the Sacrament**, as if itself also a kind of visible word’ (ML 35, 1840).

Calvin uses this sentence several times with regard to the Sacraments, with small changes in the citation. Calvin uses ‘accedat’ (present subjunctive) instead of ‘accedit’ (present indicative) and ‘fiet’ (future indicative) instead of ‘fit’ (present indicative).

Calvin first uses this citation in the first edition of *Institutio*. In Chapter 5, on the false

sacraments, he seems to agree that there are artistic, beautiful and charming aspects in the narration of the Romanists' confirmation (*CO* 1, 142): 'This confirmation is performed with anointing and with this formula: "I mark thee with the sign of the holy cross, and confirm thee with the chrism of salvation, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." All beautifully and charmingly done!' As soon as he has expressed the compliment, he changes his tone.

But where is the Word of God, which promises the presence of the Holy Spirit here? They cannot show us one jot. How will they assure us that their chrism is a vessel of the Holy Spirit? We see the oil — the gross and greasy liquid — nothing else. Augustine says, "Let the word be added to the element, and it will become sacrament" (*CO* 1, 142).

Calvin uses the citation as pointing out a critical defect in the Romanists' formula. Then he scornfully asks them to respond to this word. 'Let them, I say, bring forth this word, if they would have us see in the oil anything else than oil.' This application of the Augustinian sentence seems slightly different from Augustine's original use of it. Augustine did not use 'the word' in the connection of 'oil' and 'confirmation'; but in the connection of 'water' and 'the baptism'. Calvin picks up only this sentence from the original texts, and then puts it into different texts. If one read the above phrases without any background information, it would be acceptable as natural and logical. This use clearly shows that Calvin pursued the real significance of the texts in the context. In his thinking, such use could never be a distortion or misrepresentation of Augustine's true intention. Thus, the exact same phrases recur in the editions of 1539 (*CO* 1, 1069) and 1559 *Institutio* (*CO* 2, 1069).

Then we have to consider the question as to whether Calvin had known and understood the actual meaning of the citation? Calvin himself answers the question in his 1543 *Institutio*. He strongly rebukes his opponents' understanding of the word and the sign in the sacraments. He insists that the word without meaning and without faith is a mere noise, like a magic incantation, which has no force to consecrate the element. Then he explains the real meaning of the word in the sacraments with a full quotation from Augustine's original. This full quotation reappears exactly in the last edition of the *Institutio* (CO 2, 943).

Far different is the teaching of Augustine concerning the sacramental word: "Let the word be added to the element and it will become a sacrament. For whence comes this great power of water, that in touching the body it should cleanse the heart, unless the word makes it? 'Not because it is said, but because it is believed', says the apostle [Romans 10:8]. Accordingly, in The Acts of the Apostles: 'Cleansing their hearts by faith' [Acts 15:9]. And the apostle Peter: 'Thus baptism...saves us, not as a removal of filth from the flesh, but as an appeal...for a good conscience...' [1 Peter 3:21]. 'This is the word of faith which we proclaim' [Romans 10:8], by which doubtless baptism, that it may be able to cleanse, is also consecrated." You see how the sacrament requires preaching to beget faith (CO 1, 940).

In the 1556's *Defensio Secunda contra Westphalum*, Calvin revealed that he was considering the context of the texts as well as the real meaning. At the time, his opponents were not the Romanists, but the Lutherans. And this time it is not Calvin who plays with words. Westphal does as Calvin did in the 1536 *Institutio*. This time, the replaced terms are not 'oil' and 'confirmation' but 'the bread' and 'the Supper'.

It is worthwhile here to observe his wondrous shrewdness. **He says, that in the Supper, when the word of Christ is added to the bread, the bread becomes a sacrament.** ... Westphal adds, that when faith is added to the word, the fruit of the sacrament is received, because we enjoy the benefits of Christ. ... He says, that though unbelievers defraud themselves of the benefit, the bread does not however cease to be to them an entire sacrament.

Calvin points out that Westphal's play with words was done out of the context.

When **Augustine** teaches that by the addition of the word the element becomes a sacrament, **he is expressly treating of baptism.** His words are, Therefore Christ says not, you are clean because of the baptism by means of which you have been washed, but because of the word which I have spoken to you. The context clearly shows his meaning to be, that by the word the element becomes a sacrament, so that its virtue or effect may reach us.

Does Calvin's criticism seem fair? Westphal never denied the importance of the word of Christ in a sacrament. And Calvin himself earlier used similar word play against the Roman opponents. Did not Westphal pursue the real meaning and then apply it into new texts as Calvin did? If there is no significant difference between Calvin's argument and Westphal's argument, there will be no way for Calvin to dodge a charge of unfair accusation of Westphal. Calvin, however, knew that there was a wide difference in their understanding of Augustine's idea of the integrity of a sacrament.

Westphal, excluding the effect, wrests the meaning, and applies it to some strange figment of substance. Augustine adds, whence such virtue in water to touch the body and clean the heart, but just from the operation of the word? Such is **Augustine's idea of the integrity of a sacrament**, viz., that it is an effectual instrument of grace to us. Westphal imagines **this operation of the word** to take place **without grace** (CO 9, 89-90).

The decisive difference between them was not the bread to which Christ's word is added. The real issue was that which guaranteed the effect of the sacrament. It was the faith of believers by the grace of Christ. Thus, the operation of the word focuses the recipients' thoughts on Christ's promise, not on the magical effect of the bare element in the sacrament. This debate was getting deeper and deeper.

In the *Ultima admonitio ad Westphalum* of 1557, Calvin strongly defended the fact that all the sacraments depended on Christ's promise. But the Lutherans attacked Calvin, saying that he dis severed the word from the elements, because Calvin had insisted that Christ does not impart to us the matter of bread and wine, but rather would have us look to the promise. Calvin did not deny the conjunction of the word and the elements; rather he attempted to explain the nature of the conjunction. He defended himself from the accusation with Augustine's words.

Therefore, that the meaning may be true and effectual, and the reality may be exhibited, we recall the minds of the pious to the promise. To this Augustine refers, when he says, Let the word be added to the element, and it will become a sacrament. Hence it appears with what good faith the Magdeburgians charge us with guile, and

how modestly and civilly they upbraid us with imperiously ordering what never came into our mind. For who sees not, that the use of signs is truly held to profit in piety, when due honor is given to the promise, without which the whole action degenerates into a kind of ludicrous show? (*CO*, 9, 218).

4.3.2 **Patterns and use of dynamic data**

Some general patterns occurring in Calvin's use of Augustinian citations have been collected as results of the analysis of dynamic data.

- (1) The proportion of repeated citations increases according to Calvin's five periods of writing. During the first period, only 20 citations (40%) comprise dynamic data, meaning data 'repeatedly used by Calvin in the same work or in the different works': Nine citations are used twice; five citations three times; two citations four times; one citation five times; and three citations seven times. During the last period, for example, in the last edition of *Institutio* alone, more than 75% of the citations are also in the earlier editions of *Institutio*. If one considers those citations that come from the other works (except for the earlier editions of *Institutio*), the proportion will be larger than 75%.
- (2) The increasing proportion, however, does not mean that the repeated citations are used in exactly the same way or in the same context. As in the above two samples, Calvin freely used the same Augustinian citations in different genres, in different contexts, or in different subjects. Thus, one can see how Calvin deftly employed the citations according to his plans or intentions for his writings.

- (3) According to dynamic data analysis, there is, however, a discernible tendency in the citations that are used less than three times. They are usually repeated in similar contexts or in the same period of time or in consecutive time periods (There is an exception. In the case of the consecutive editions of the *Institutio*, there was no time limitation).
- (4) Regarding negative citations, in which Calvin did not agree with Augustine, it is very difficult to find such citations that are used more than three times in dynamic data (as well as in Mooi's data). This clearly shows that Calvin employed Augustine mainly as his supporter or as witness for his arguments or statements, as Smits and Van Oort pointed out.
- (5) Contrary to the observation in point number 4, the most frequently used quotations can be regarded as a reflection of the intensity with which Calvin agreed with Augustine's specific ideas. According to Smits's data, Calvin's most frequently used citation came from Augustine's *Contra Maximinum arrianum libri duo* (ML 42, 772) regarding the authority of Scripture. Calvin used the citation twenty-seven times in eighteen different works. As for static data, the most frequent citation is from Augustine's *Epistolae 23* (ML 33, 364) regarding Christ's body and the symbol in the Sacraments. It is used eleven times in eleven works.
- (6) Calvin employed the rhetorical effects such as *copia*, *brevitas*, *amplificatio*, *inclusio*, *explitio*, and so forth in his own statements as well as in his use of Augustinian citations. His use of these devices is not only for literary eloquence,

but also for the readers' convenience. In the example of *CO* 1, 362, the structure shows one of the typical uses of *explitio*: proposal, proof or explanation, confirmation of the proof, development by *explitio*, and final conclusion (Millet 1992:744-752). Calvin liked to develop the various aspects of an idea by presenting the successive elements of the explanation by means of the same syntactic-diagrammatical repetition. This structure makes whole sentences much clearer.

- (7) As in the above observation number 6, Calvin seemed to adjust himself to his readers. One can discern minute differences in Calvin's use of a certain Augustinian quotation according to its application in various genres. He was a warm-hearted theologian who ceaselessly endeavoured to express himself according to the readers' capacity to understand. The use of Augustinian citations in his commentaries, especially, reveals that Calvin was very aware of the effect of interaction between the biblical texts and his readers' sympathy towards them. The Augustinian citations were used as a bridge between the two sides.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: AUGUSTINE IN CALVIN'S WRITINGS

I have done my best to listen to Calvin's own voice regarding Augustine. There are three reasons for my choice. Firstly, it was impossible to deal with such a great mass of secondary and tertiary sources in one thesis. Secondly, I found that the best way to understand Calvin's use of Augustine was to follow Calvin's own way of reception and understanding of this Church Father. Thirdly, I began to realise that there possibly are some gaps between the true Augustine and Calvin's Augustine.

Thus, the aim of this research is neither to compare the theologies of Augustine and Calvin, nor to establish a theory that reveals Augustine's influence on Calvin's theology. Rather, this research endeavours to set up a bridge between two kinds of study on Calvin, namely, *Calvin's use of Augustine* and *Augustine's influence on Calvin*. In other words, our main purpose is to suggest a basic tool (or information) for further studies. This clear definition helped me to focus on valid tasks and necessary processes.

It is necessary to remember the three related questions in the introduction. In this final chapter I will try to answer those questions. What constitutes Augustine's uniqueness in Calvin's writings? Who is Calvin's Augustine? And what is the relevance of this study to current research on Calvin? I believe that the answers will function as a bridge between the two related studies of Calvin's use of Augustine and Augustine's influence on Calvin.

5.1 Augustine's uniqueness in Calvin's writings

Calvin's works were literally permeated with references to the patristic authors. The frequency of such references is second only to his references to the Scriptures. A similar collection of patristic quotations of such richness and conciseness could not easily be found in the writings of the other Reformers or of any of Calvin's contemporaries (Todd 1964:169-171). What was the provenance of Calvin's characteristic use of the early Church Fathers? It is not so difficult to detect why Calvin appealed to these Fathers. They are, for him, representatives of a purer age, when Scripture was used as the norm for faith and practice, and Calvin wants his fellow Christians to follow their example (*OS* 1, 27).

Calvin used the Fathers in several ways. First of all, the patristic sources most frequently employed by Calvin served to guarantee the integrity and the catholicity of the Reformation to show that it was not an innovation but that it was in continuity with the doctrines of Scripture (*CO* 1, 9-26). Secondly, in attempting to set forth the 'perfect doctrine' contained in Scripture, Calvin was forced into doctrinal discussions and controversies. The Church Fathers were part of these discussions (*CO* 1, 16). Thirdly, the Fathers are quoted to support Calvin's exegetical conclusions, as we have seen in Chapter 3 regarding Calvin's commentaries. Fourthly, the patristic data function as vivid historical testimonies of the early church, as prominent in the last edition of the *Institutio*.

However, this use of the Church Fathers does not indicate direct authority of the Fathers. Smits is entirely wrong in thinking that Calvin substituted the authority of the

ancient Church for the authority of the Roman Church (Smits 1956:272) – Calvin substituted the authority of Scripture for the authority of Rome. Authority for Calvin was Truth derived from Scripture (*CO* 2, 862). From the first stage of his writing career, Calvin consciously articulated his views on the role of antiquity and on the proper use of the Fathers in *the Prefatory Address to Francis I*. Calvin wanted to make it quite clear that any authority which he attributed to the Fathers was a result of their faithfulness to Scripture (*CO* 1, 18). In other words, Calvin claimed the authority of the Fathers as proof for the Reformation doctrine of *sola Scriptura*. In claiming the authority of Christian antiquity, the claim was not made on the basis of the Reformation's agreement with the consensus of the church, but on the basis of its continuity with God's eternal truth (Todd 1964:149-150).

In this light, we can discuss Augustine's uniqueness among the early Church Fathers. What constitutes Augustine's uniqueness in Calvin's writings? Neuser commented on the relationship between Augustine and other Church Fathers:

I doubt that Calvin understood these Church Fathers as independent theologians. Didn't they serve him as additional evidence to support his doctrines, which he in turn took from the Bible? ... An exception is Augustine, the most influential theologian of the early and medieval church. His ideas were also the nearest to the reformation (1998:155).

As Neuser suggested, we can find Augustine's uniqueness in Calvin's writings in relation to Calvin's normal use of patristic sources (including Augustine) and in the way in which he also used Augustine differently.

5.1.1 Life-long use and interest

No one can compete with Augustine as far as the frequency with which he is quoted is concerned. Table 8 represents the frequency of use of patristic sources in Calvin's writings.⁴²

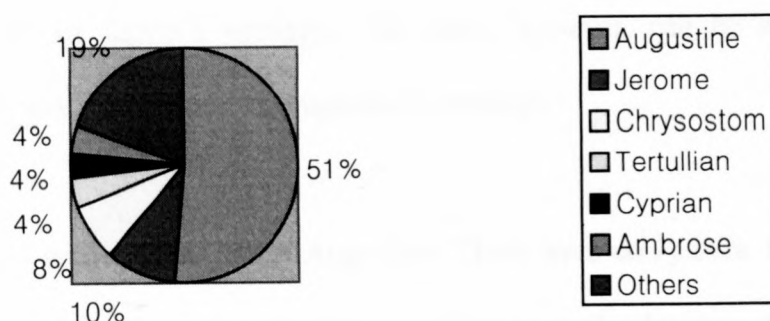


Table 8. The frequency of use of patristic authors in Calvin's writings

According to Mooi's data, Calvin used Augustine 1 708 times (51%); second was Jerome, who was quoted three hundred and thirty-two times (10%); third was Chrysostom, with being quoted two hundred and fifty-nine times (8%); fourth was Ambrose, with one hundred and thirty-three times (4%); fifth was Tertullian, with one hundred and twenty-two times (4%); sixth was Cyprian, with one hundred and twenty-

⁴² I do not include the Fathers of the sixth century because they have no importance save Gregory I. And Gregory's main significance for Calvin was his being a standard by which to judge the polity of the sixteenth-century Roman Church (Van Oort 1997:695).

one times; and other Church Fathers were quoted six hundred and forty-five times (19%).⁴³

The frequency of use does not necessarily represent each Father's position and importance in Calvin's writings. For example, one cannot say that Jerome is more important than Chrysostom in Calvin's commentaries because Calvin used Jerome more frequently than Chrysostom. Thus, this table cannot be used as evidence that represents Augustine's importance in Calvin's writings. This table, however, can be seen as evidence of Calvin's heavy dependence on Augustine's writings.

Table 9 shows Calvin's predominant use of Augustine. There were no Fathers, besides Augustine, in whom Calvin showed such continual interest and who was used as continually.

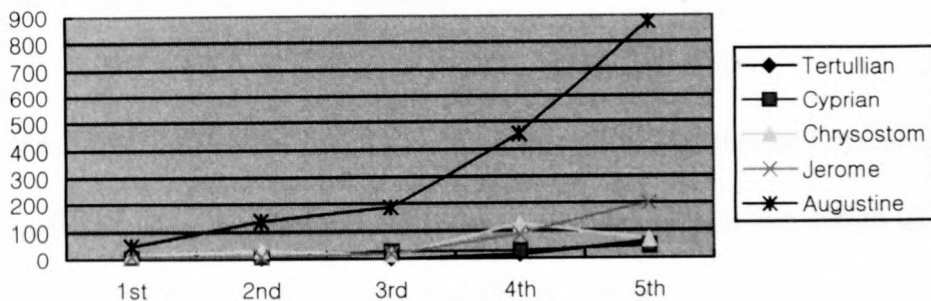


Table 9. Periodical use of some patristic authors in Calvin's writings.

⁴³ 'Others' include twenty-eight patristic authors before Augustine excluding pseudo-authors. The seventh is Irenaeus (eighty-four times); the eighth is Josephus (seventy-two times); the ninth is Hilary (fifty-four times); the tenth is Leo I (fifty-three times).

The use of Jerome only became concentrated during the fourth and fifth periods. As we have seen in the Chapter 3, the citations from Jerome were mainly used in the commentaries (two hundred times) and were usually used in a negative manner. It is surprising that Chrysostom was not the most frequently used Father in Calvin's commentaries. Chrysostom appeared one hundred and twenty-nine times in Calvin's commentaries. He is conspicuous only in the fourth period regarding Calvin's New Testament commentaries. Calvin never used Chrysostom in his Old Testament commentaries between 1555 and 1565.⁴⁴

Calvin's use of and interest in Augustine was life-long, whereas the interest in some of the other prominent Latin Fathers was topical and periodical. There are four Latin Fathers in whom Calvin showed a brief interest (Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian and Cyprian). Justin Martyr, Irenaeus and Tertullian were of major interest only at the time of the Trinitarian controversies. And Cyprian began to be used from the third period with regard to the doctrine of the Church.

The citations from the work of Justin has minor importance in the work of Calvin (Mooi 1965:357). All of ten citations from Justin were used in Calvin's last period of writing. Concerning the doctrine of the Trinity and the Eucharist, Calvin observed that Justin corresponded to the old church's teachings. However, in Calvin's opinion, Justin was deficient in theological formulation (Van Oort 1997:685).

⁴⁴ Commentaries on Psalm, Hos., Am., Jona., Micha, Hagg., Zach., Mal., Daniel, Exodus, Lev., Num., Deut., Jeremia and Lamentations, Joshua, Ezech., Joel, Nah., and Hab.

Calvin employed Irenaeus's theological judgments in the discussions with Pighius, Servet, Gentilis, Westphal and Heshusius, with regard to the trinity. Calvin concluded that he did not differ essentially from Irenaeus (Mooi 1965:358). Calvin, however, paid no attention to Irenaeus' logos doctrine or to the doctrine of recapitulation (Mooi 1965:199). This clearly shows Calvin's selective use of the Fathers in accordance with his own necessity and purpose.

Calvin especially referred to Tertullian for the controversies with Pighius and Servet (Van Oort 1997:686). Calvin pronounced an idea, which is found in Augustine, yet not actually in Tertullian (Mooi 1965:200). Calvin had a high regard for Tertullian and stated that 'Tertullianus totus noster est'(CO 9, 410) in his work against Gentilis, though he did not hide his criticism of the somewhat rough and quibbling way in which this writer formulated his thoughts (Mooi 1965:358).

Calvin used Cyprian mostly in his *Institutio* from 1543 (Mooi 1965:205) and Cyprian was used to the greatest extent, in the 1559 additions to Book IV of the *Institutio* dealing with the Church. Calvin had much appreciation for the mildness of Cyprian in Church's discipline (Van Oort 1997:687). However, as is usual, Calvin used a citation from Cyprian repeatedly⁴⁵ only because Augustine had quoted it so often (CO 2, 193).

As we have seen in Chapter 3, Calvin's interest in and use of Augustine were life-long and constant throughout his periods of writing, while the above examples show that Calvin's interest in and use of the other Church Fathers were topical and periodical.

⁴⁵ We ought to glory in nothing, because nothing is ours.

5.1.2 An exclusive use of Augustine in some doctrines

As I suggested in Chapter 2 of this thesis, regarding Mooi's work, Calvin used the patristic authorities in two ways. Calvin used all patristic authors (including Augustine) to support his doctrines. But he used Augustine differently from the other patristic authors. Calvin contended that certain of his doctrines were identical with and even formed under the influence of Augustine (Todd 1964:181). In this instance he used terms such as 'only Augustine', 'except Augustine', or 'save Augustine' to emphasize Augustine's exclusiveness among the Church Fathers. Or sometimes he submitted clear marks to reveal this fact.

The central doctrine of the Reformation was justification by faith alone. All truth and doctrine was judged by this. If we merely form a judgment from Calvin's use of patristic citations, Augustine was the only Father about whom he felt that he taught the Reformation doctrine of grace, justification, and regeneration clearly (Todd 1964:181-186). Contrary to Calvin's own assertion that the Reformation doctrines are in agreement with the early Church Fathers (*OS* 1, 27), it is difficult to find significant citations from the other Church Fathers besides Augustine. For example Calvin uses all of Augustine's statements on grace, and especially in the anti-Pelagian works. Regarding the human will, only Augustine was seen as trustworthy. Calvin cites Cyprian, Augustine, Eucherius, and Chrysostom but acknowledges that none of them, except Augustine, teaches the particular doctrine of the inability of the human will in fallen man. Calvin compares Augustine with Chrysostom especially as a representative of the Greeks:

Further, even though the Greeks above the rest — and Chrysostom especially among them — extol the ability of the human will, yet all the ancients, **save Augustine**, so differ, waver, or speak confusedly on this subject, that almost nothing certain can be derived from their writings (*CO 2*, 188).

Calvin directly adopted Augustine's own comment that, before the rise of Pelagius' heresy, there were no Fathers who had offered exact and precise teaching about predestination. During this presentation, Ambrose was quoted once, this was due to Augustine's introduction of him.

But since the authority of the ancient Church is offensively brought against me . . .

But I would rather disperse this accusation, such as it is, with the words of Augustine than with my own. . . . before the rise of Pelagius' heresy, the fathers did not teach so precisely and exactly about predestination; and this is a fact (*CO 8*, 265).

Calvin testifies that he could (and almost did) compose his doctrine of predestination on evidence from Augustine's books:

Further, Augustine is so much at one with me that, if I wished to write a confession of my faith [on predestination], it would abundantly satisfy me to quote wholesale from his writings (*CO 8*, 266).

Calvin's exposition of the doctrine of predestination in the *Concerning the eternal predestination of God* confirms this. Almost all evidence came from Augustine. In addition, Calvin's knowledge of the Church Fathers, councils, and history of

Christian antiquity was outstanding *for his day* (Todd 1964:169), though he gave no evidence of having had any very thorough knowledge of the lives of the Fathers. The only exception was Augustine. Calvin knew his life well and knew that he had undergone decided changes:

But Ambrose, Origen, and Jerome held that God distributed his grace among men according as he **foresaw** that each would use it well. Besides, Augustine was of this opinion for a time, but after he had gained a better knowledge of Scripture, he not only retracted it as patently false, but stoutly refuted it (*CO 2*, 694).

The understanding of the changes in Augustine's life was one of his strongest pieces of equipment when Calvin had to deal with several opponents. Among Calvin's numerous opponents there were none who had sufficiently discerned and who could properly make use of these changes in theological controversies. The later Augustine taught that predestination (election) proceeded from the eternal decision of the divine will (not from the foreknowledge of merit) and in this Calvin followed him (Mooi 1965:242):

... Why does this man believe and that not? why does God deliver this man rather than that? ... If any should ask why God should make some His sheep and not others, the apostle, fearing this question, exclaims: O the depth, etc. (Rom 11:33). ... Just as Augustine derives the beginning of election from **the gratuitous volition of God**, ... perseverance is bestowed upon the elect and from it they can never fall away. ... to the those whom He had justly predestined to punishment and to the salvation of

those whom He had mercifully predestined to grace. ... For, as Augustine wisely observes, he does not call them elect because they are about to believe, but in order that they may believe; he does not call them elect whom God foresaw would be holy and immaculate, but in order that they might be made so (CO 8, 267-270).

Todd's observation about Calvin's prominent dependence on Augustine regarding the Lord's supper is precise: 'In Calvin's exposition of his own doctrine, Augustine is prominent on four major points, the dyophysite conception of Christ's nature, the meaning of symbols, the meaning of sacraments, and the role of faith' (Todd 1964:198), if we can add one more unique debt to Augustine's spiritual eating (CO 9, 166), as we have seen in Chapter 3. Todd was, however, wrong in his insistence that Calvin failed to submit evidence from Augustine for the doctrine on the dual predestination. Calvin did submit evidence from Augustine's *De gratia et libero arbitrio ad Valentinum* (CO 2, 229).

According to Mooi, Calvin claimed that he had support from the Church Fathers regarding the doctrine of justification, the doctrine of sin and grace, the doctrine of the free will or unfree will, the doctrine of the Church and the doctrine of the Sacraments (Mooi 1965:353). As far as Calvin's actual use of the patristic sources in his writings is concerned, however, Augustine is almost exclusively and most positively used regarding these doctrines. Thus, Todd expresses his concern about the discrepancy between Calvin's own comments on the agreement of the early Church and his actual use of the patristic sources:

Calvin never quoted with complete approval any Father other than Augustine so that it is impossible to determine exactly what he meant by the general consent of the ancient church (1964:189-190).

5.1.3 An exclusive position in Calvin's personal evaluation

In Calvin's personal evaluation of the early Church Fathers, Augustine occupied an exclusive position. Calvin gladly presented Augustine as a representative of the whole of antiquity, even though he knew that there were differences between Augustine and himself in some cases.

And we do not need to labor much over investigating what ancient writers thought about this; Augustine alone will suffice for this purpose, since he faithfully and diligently collected the opinions of all. Let my readers, therefore, obtain from him whatever certainty they desire concerning the opinion of antiquity (*CO* 2, 441).

We have not counted how many times Calvin preferred to use the words 'I prefer to explain this in Augustine's words rather than my own'.

Sometimes Calvin resorted to Augustine's authority. This was usually due to the opponents accrediting authority to Augustine. 'Do you think my view lacks authority? It was Augustine who first opened the way for me to understand this commandment' (*CO* 2, 302). Among the contemporaries, there seemed to be an explicit agreement on Augustine's authority. When Calvin reported the results of the diet of Ratisbon to Farel on 11th May 1541, he revealed that agreements on the doctrines of original sin and free

will were based on Augustine's writings.

Our friends in the commission have come to agreement on the doctrine of original sin without any difficulty; a discussion followed on that of free-will, which was drawn together out of the writings of Augustine; they departed in neither of these points from ourselves (*CO* 11, 215).

Did Calvin himself notice that he had a certain personal prejudice for this African Father? It seems so:

Perhaps I may seem to have brought a great prejudice upon myself when I confess that all ecclesiastical writers, except Augustine, have spoken so ambiguously or variously on this matter that nothing certain can be gained from their writings (*CO* 2, 193).

It is generally agreed that, in the scheme of the preferred Fathers, Chrysostom enjoyed a unique place in Calvin's exegetical works. Calvin himself praised Chrysostom for being the greatest exegete and Augustine the greatest theologian' (*CO* 9, 834-836). Contrary to what would be expected from Calvin's own statement in 1535, Chrysostom was not the most prominent Church Father in his commentaries, as we have seen in Chapter 3. This makes it seem that Calvin's evaluation of Chrysostom and Augustine was mainly directed to their style and manner in exegesis. Calvin stated that in exegetical matters Augustine was too allegorical in his treatment of the text and excessively Platonic in some of his interpretations and that he preferred Chrysostom because his exegesis was more 'natural' and 'literal' (*CO* 9, 835). Calvin, however, added that Augustine's over-

all interpretation of the economy and doctrine of Scripture was superior to that of Chrysostom (CO 9, 833-835).

As far as Augustine was concerned, even negative comments can be strong evidence of respect, as Lane has pointed out. Calvin revealed his ambivalent feelings about this African Father in glimpses in his letter to Farel. Here he tried to evade a perplexing situation in comparing his respect for Augustine and his dissatisfaction with his literary style. Farel seemed to know very well how much Calvin respected Augustine. Thus Farel could understand that Calvin's criticism of the literary style of his recent book did not signify lack of respect for him.

I said from the first, what is true, that I mistrusted my own judgment regarding your writings, seeing that our mode of writing is so different. You know with what respect I regard Augustine. Not, however, because I disguise from myself how much his prolixity dissatisfies me. Perhaps my style, in the mean time, is over-concise. But I am not at present discussing which is best. For I have not confidence in myself [to do so], for this reason, that whilst I follow my own inclination, I had rather pardon than condemn others (CO 13, 374).

What was the best compliment that Calvin dedicated to his beloved Church Father? In my thought, a short dedication in Augustine's words, which appeared at the end of *Calvin's epistle to the reader* of the 1559 *Institutio*, would be the best compliment that the old Calvin – as prolific a writer, biblical theologian, and practical pastor as Augustine, could dedicate to him:

Augustine Epistle 7

I count myself one of the number of those who write
as they learn and learn as they write ⁴⁶ (CO 2, 3).

5.2 Who is Calvin's Augustine?

When Godfrey quoted Lane, he revealed exactly the most difficult situation in Calvin studies regarding Augustine's influence on Calvin: 'Still there is a remarkable affinity between the theologies of Augustine and Calvin. But the exact lines of influence are elusive' (Godfrey 1996:6). According to Lane, it is hard to prove that Calvin reached his positions on Augustine through the direct influence of Augustine rather than through the Augustinianism of others. Until Calvin's age, almost all western theologians had tried to interpret Augustine. Thus, it is really difficult to exactly identify the originality of certain ideas. Not a few scholars have dedicated themselves to finding out who or which schools of ideas had influenced Calvin's understanding of Augustine, or who or which schools of ideas Calvin had adopted as his inner principle of interpretation for Augustine. Recently, Pitkin has suggested that Calvin's relationship to Augustine and medieval Augustinianism was more than mere appropriation (1999:347-369).

5.2.1 The *schola Augustiniana moderna*?

When and through whom did Calvin first encounter Augustine? Did he meet him at the *college de la Marche*? Or did he really attend one of John Major's theological courses at

⁴⁶ *Ego ex eorum numero me esse profiteor qui scribunt proficiendo, et scribendo proficiunt.*

the *college de Montaigu* in Paris? In spite of Reuter's newly devised suggestion (1981) and Torrance's lengthy speculations (1988), their opinions, in view of the facts, lack both historical and textual proof for their statements.

Then, what is a conceivable influence? What Reuter and Torrance see as proof of Calvin's indebtedness to Major, McGrath sees as evidence of the influence upon him of the *schola Augustiniana moderna* (1987). Lane supports McGrath's theory: 'the case for the influence upon Calvin of a specific *school* of late-medieval thought is much stronger. It is much easier to show that an idea is distinctive of a school of thought than of a single individual' (Lane 1999:25). I agree partly with Lane. McGrath's theory, however, contains some critical defects. McGrath's theory presents a few textual proofs but also contains abundant counter-evidence.

Firstly, before looking at the similarities between a specific late-medieval school of Augustine and Calvin's Augustinianism, Calvin's reception of Augustine in the broader context of the Renaissance and the Reformation should be considered. If one has a little knowledge of the common (or general) abhorrence to anything related to 'Scholastic' that was prevalent among the participants of the two movements (for example, Erasmus's famous abhorrence of Luther – he might have thought of him as a Scholastic), one can understand why Calvin hardly ever names late-medieval theologians or theological schools and why he uses terms like 'sophists' and 'scholastics' instead.

Secondly, Lane criticised Torrance because the passages cited, which allegedly showed Major's influence, were taken almost without exception from the second edition of the *Institutio*. I think that the same criticism is applicable to McGrath's theory. If the *schola*

Augustiniana moderna had influenced Calvin so deeply in the 1520s, would one not have expected to find the evidence in Calvin's first work, *Commentary on Seneca's Clementia*? We only find some similarities between the *schola Augustiniana moderna* and Calvin's Augustinianism in Calvin's first edition of the *Institutio*. How can McGrath fill up this clearly existing gap?

Thirdly, let us think about this in view of Calvin's motivation. Here is a young prospective humanistic scholar who is eager to read the originals of antiquity. He is preparing for his first work on Seneca as a humanist scholar. Two sources lie opened on his desk. One is Augustine's work, *Civitate Dei* and the other is Gregori of Rimini's brochure on predestination. He has to choose only one of them for his new work. What will his choice be? Moreover, with the publication of Johann Amerbach's edition of Augustine at the beginning of the century and that of Erasmus in 1528/29, more precise original works by Augustine had come to be available. In this regard, evidence in Calvin's *Commentary on Seneca's Clementia* clearly shows that Calvin was a son of the Renaissance rather than a son of late-medieval Augustinianism. There was no reason or motivation for the young Calvin to choose to read some works of specific late-medieval Augustinianism instead of Augustine's originals in order to understand or interpret or use Augustine, if we correctly understand the meaning of *ad fontes* or 'back to the originals'.

McGrath insisted that seven major features of Calvin's thought have direct parallels with the *schola Augustiniana moderna* (1993:84). When we compare his arguments with recent studies on the late medieval theologies, the problems of his theory become more complicated.

Firstly, on what ground can McGrath relate the *schola Augustiniana moderna* to medieval Augustinianism? According to the recent study of Saak, Trapp did not equate the *schola Augustiniana moderna* with ‘Augustinianism’, but rather with the historical frame of mind, combined with a *cognitio rei particularis*, evident among the Augustinian theologians beginning with Gregori of Rimini, the ‘first Augustinian of Augustine’ (Saak 1997:n 30). Moreover, it is very difficult, according to Saak, to define late medieval Augustinian streams: ‘Should the label ‘Augustinian’ be applied to a theological Augustinianism, the renewed campaign *contra pelagianos modernos* beginning with Thomas Bradwardine; to a philosophical Augustinianism of illumination under the influence of Bonaventure and Henry of Ghent; to a political Augustinianism which can be traced from Giles of Rome and Augustine of Ancona to Richard Fitzralph and John Wycliff; to the theology of the Augustinian School throughout the later Middle Ages; or to some combination of all the above? As David Steinmetz put it, “it all depends on what you mean by Augustinian” (Saak 1997:373-374). In this regard, McGrath did not give a clue of what he meant by the ‘schola Augustiniana moderna’ and ‘late medieval Augustinianism’.

Secondly, McGrath tried to connect two different schools of thought (the *via moderna* and the *schola Augustiniana moderna*) by a factor (voluntarism) common to both and stealthily submitted this common factor as a piece of evidence of the *schola Augustiniana moderna*’s influence on Calvin (1993:84).

Calvin began his academic career at the University of Paris in the 1520s. As study after study has made clear, the University of Paris — and especially Calvin’s college, the Collège de Montaigu — was a stronghold of the *via moderna*. During his four or

five years studying at the faculty of arts at Paris, Calvin could not have avoided encountering the leading ideas of this movement. One especially obvious point of affinity between Calvin and late medieval theology concerns voluntarism. ... In the later Middle Ages, the voluntarist position gained increasing sympathy, especially within radical Augustinian circles. Most theologians of the *via moderna* and *schola Augustiniana moderna* adopted it (1993:81-82).

According to Trapp, the *schola Augustiniana moderna* was very short-lived (Saak 1997:n 30): 'The death knell of the *Schola Modernorum* rang when the schism destroyed the scholastic standards of Paris by subordinating the academic world, its institutions and its magisterial dignities, to political expediency. ... Some of the *Moderni* were still copied, but the school was at an end (Trapp 1991:189-220; 198-199). How could the extinct school of medieval thought have had an enormous influence on Calvin just because he had stayed and studied the *via moderna* in Paris in the 1520s?

Moreover, as Lane himself insisted, 'Calvin's explicit citations must be given due weight, paying attention both to the extent (or otherwise) of Calvin's citations of particular figures and to the nature of his citation of them' (Lane 1999:23). We find no evidence of citations from Gregori of Rimini or from Bradwardine in the whole of Calvin's use of authorities. A lack of proof does not vindicate a theory as true or false, as McGrath argued (1987:94-97). The lack of proof, however, will not substantiate the truth of McGrath's theory. It is very difficult to imagine a strong influence from a specific school of thought without the appearance of significant individuals in Calvin's use of authorities.

5.2.2 Calvin's own *schola Augustiniana*

It is true that Calvin's theology directly or indirectly reflected what had been continued through the Dark Ages by a few Augustinians (if we can call them such). After Gottschalk of Orbais, who was condemned for heresy in 849, the first eminent representative of an unqualified Augustinianism was the scholarly theologian and ecclesiastic Thomas Bradwardine, who died immediately after his consecration as archbishop of Canterbury in 1349. He emphasized that grace was given by God's initiative, not by previous works of men (Oberman 1957). Similar views were held by Gregory of Rimini, who died as general of the Augustinian Hermits in 1358 (Oberman 1981:211-223). In this area of doctrine, Wycliffe was a disciple of Augustine, and John Hus, though less a Wycliffite than his accusers supposed, was hardly less an Augustinian than Wycliffe (Spinka 1953:196; 249; 261). In this context, can Calvin be considered as one who stands as the continuation of this spiritual line?⁴⁷

Then, how can we clear up this discrepancy between the total lack of clear evidence and some similarities between late-medieval Augustinian theology and Calvin's theology as expressed in his own works?

There are two suggestions. The logical consequences and implications of the two suggestions are as follows:

(1) The first suggestion

⁴⁷ I agree that there had been such a spiritual line, but I am not sure that they, altogether, had formed a solid and uniform school of thought that influenced Calvin so largely.

- 1) Calvin was well informed concerning a specific late-medieval Augustinian theology through his education or through his own studies or somebody's influence before his writing career commenced.
- 2) When he initiated his theological writing career he adopted the specific late-medieval theology as his interpretation principle for Augustine. Thus, Calvin reproduced a particular late-medieval interpretation of Augustine, and sometimes revealed a more extreme 'Augustinianism' than Augustine himself.
- 3) Calvin, however, did not wish to frankly confess his dependency on this late-medieval theology. Even he did not make any sort of reference to *any* late medieval theologian, let alone one as obscure as Major, in the 1536 edition of the *Institutio*. Thus, future readers would not find even one example of conceivable proof or reference, especially from Thomas Bradwardine and Gregory of Rimini.

(2) The second suggestion

- 1) Calvin had acquired general (or common or basic) knowledge of the Augustine of his own times through his education (including formal textbooks such as *Decretum Gratiani* or *Sententiae*), or his own study (of Augustine's originals), or somebody's influence. The characteristic traits of this acquisition were well represented in his first humanist work, *Commentary on Seneca's Clementia*.
- 2) Some 'sudden' change (Calvin's own expression) happened to him. It changed

his world-view. He began to express his thoughts and found that his thoughts were especially similar to those of Augustine. Through his Bible study, patristic study, and experiences in the pastoral field (including influences from other Reformed colleagues), his understanding and use of Augustine was deepened and widened. Finally, he began to understand and use Augustine in his own way. It sometimes resulted in a more radical Augustine than the real Augustine because the needs of the time were different.

- 3) Because Calvin sincerely and truly believed that ‘Augustinus totus noster’, despite some differences and disagreements, he gladly expressed his dependency on him whenever the opportunity arose. Thus, future readers could find at least 1 706 direct quotations from Augustine in Calvin’s works.

The two suggestions seem to be simplistic. The first suggestion, however, is exactly what McGrath implied (1987:102-103). If one decides to follow the logical consequences of the first suggestion, one must seriously question Calvin’s qualification as a Reformer. In accepting McGrath’s theory, Lane simply (or scornfully) dismissed Lange van Ravenswaay’s theory about Calvin’s own *schola Augustiniana*. ‘Calvin’s own wide reading in Augustine meant that he could “bypass the circuitous road of scholastic reception” (Oberman 1994:121) and found his own “schola augustiniana” (Lange van Ravenswaay 1990:180). This argument is not completely convincing’ (Lane 1999:23). Lange van Ravenswaay’s argument, however, cannot be dismissed with a simple asseveration. If one had an ability to understand the meaning of ‘ad fontes’ in the period of the Renaissance, and its

Christian revival of the early Church Fathers (Stinger 1997:473-474),⁴⁸ one could consider the possibility of ‘Calvin’s own wide reading in Augustine’ leading to his own *schola Augustiniana* with a ‘bypass of the circuitous road of scholastic reception’ as conceivable.

What is Calvin’s truth? I think we must give him a chance to defend himself. One will not count how many times Calvin confessed in every work of his that certain of his ideas came directly from Augustine. Did Calvin really believe that he was directly related to Augustine without any medieval intermediary? One example will be enough. Calvin denies any intermediate transmission of Augustinianism regarding human will.

My readers hence perceive that the doctrine which I deliver is not new, but the doctrine which old Augustine delivered with the consent of all the godly, and which was afterwards *shut up* in the cloisters of monks for *almost a thousand years* (CO 2, 214).

Throughout all of his works, Calvin’s self-confessed indebtedness to Augustine is constantly apparent. If one believes in Calvin’s sincerity, one will not easily throw away such numerous confessions regarding Augustine. Contrary to Lane’s assertion, let us assume that the second suggestion is not so unacceptable. There remains a much more serious problem still in the second suggestion: how to explain the existing similarities between Calvin’s theology and the specific late-medieval theology? I think what Lane

⁴⁸ According to Stinger, reinvigorated study of the Church Fathers formed an integral part of the humanists’ overall agenda to revivify the ancient world. Italian humanists did more than merely discover (or rediscover) texts of the Church Fathers.

could not really understand is this point. How could it be? Lane frankly expresses his doubt: 'If Calvin reproduces a particular late-medieval interpretation of Augustine (and especially if that interpretation in places adopts a more extreme 'Augustinianism' than Augustine himself), is it likely that Calvin just happened to reach the same conclusions *independently*? Would one then go on to say that he *simply read* his Bible and *just happened to* reach *the same conclusions* as Augustine?' (Lane 1999:23).

Before putting this question to Calvin, it is necessary to put the same question to Calvin's predecessors. If one lost the importance of the personal experiences of conversion of such individuals, it would be very difficult to understand continuity and discontinuity, and similarities and differences of the individuals' thoughts before and after the conversion. How can we properly understand Paul's change without understanding the meaning of the Damascus experience in his life? What happened when Augustine unfolded and read Rom 13:13? If these two saints are too remote from the age of Calvin, we can ask Thomas Bradwardine, called *Doctor Profundus*, who was a former believer in the Roman Catholic doctrine of grace and work. How could he overcome his Pelagianism and then be considered one of the founders of late-medieval Augustinianism? What happened to him? In his long treatise *De causa Dei contra Pelagium*, Bradwardine tells us that in his early foolishness and vanity he had imbibed the Pelagian notions that prevailed about him, but that he had been 'visited' by the conviction of God's initiative 'as by a beam of grace.' Then, habitually citing Augustine and the Bible, he argued that 'grace is given *gratis*,' not on condition of previous works, and that predestination is 'according to the free [*gratuitam*] will of God,' without reference to works. He read his Bible and reached the same conclusions as Augustine by a beam of grace. Why could the same thing not happen to Calvin?

They never *simply read* the Bible. If one had a little knowledge of them and of their ages, one would not say so. How many people died for the publication of the Bible in their own languages and for the preaching of the Bible before Calvin? If one considers why one of the main principles of the Reformation must be ‘sola Scriptura’, one will not talk of ‘simply read his Bible’ (It is sad that there are a few scholars who ‘simply read’ the Bible nowadays or only read it academically).

At this stage I want to adopt one of Calvin’s principles of interpretation, which is ‘an acknowledgement of the area of mystery’. Calvin never ceased expressing this point in his works (more than twenty loci in *CO*), especially with respect to the relationship between his doctrines and mystery. For Calvin, piety is unavoidably associated with doctrine, and all experience is a challenge to thought. But he knows experiences that lie beyond his powers of thought, and sometimes brings us to the frontier where thinking fails and the mystery is impenetrable to his mental powers. At this point he can only bid us go on reverently if we are able (Battles 1975a:lii).

But when we mark the relation that he has with the Father, we rightly make the Father the beginning of the Son. The whole fifth book of Augustine *On the Trinity* is concerned with explaining this matter. Indeed, it is far safer to stop with that relation which Augustine sets forth than by too subtly penetrating into the sublime mystery to wander through many evanescent speculations (*CO* 2, 106).

For eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the mind conceived, the reward laid up for those who love God; but the Spirit alone penetrates into this mystery. And further, as Christ is given to us for sanctification, and brings with it [sanctification] the Spirit of

regeneration, in short, as he unites us to his own body, it is also another reason why no one can have faith, except he is born of God (*CO* 55, 360-361).

There is a strong necessity for researchers to acknowledge the power of the Holy Spirit who brings about changes in the human mind and life. If one would deny this area of mystery, it would be impossible to properly understand Bradwardine, Gregory of Rimini, Wycliffe, Luther and Calvin, who have this factor in common with regard to the Bible and Augustine.

Moreover, Calvin never *just happened to* reach *the same conclusions* as Augustine. There is a possibility that Calvin read Augustine by a new reading method, which was different from various medieval readings of Augustine. As we know, following on from the rebirth of secular learning and the overall quest for knowledge spurred on by the Renaissance, there was a revival of interest in the ancient philosophers in the sixteenth century. The Reformation, which itself revolved around a reappraisal of questions of authority, sources of knowledge and methods of thinking, was hugely intensified by the entrance of the ideas of the Renaissance into the theological arena (Krohn 2003:6). Calvin's approach to the Church Fathers, especially to Augustine, was therefore not merely a theological exercise, but also a response to the general epistemological and methodological drift of his times. According to Stinger, the humanists adopted a new approach, 'imitative reading':

This involved reading not only for the purpose of emulating the style of admired ancient authors, but more fundamentally to absorb what the humanists saw as the ethos of author. ... These humanist approaches to reading, especially 'critical reading',

meant seeing authors not as *auctoritates*, but rather as *fontes*, that is as individual sources of experiences or interpretation whose meaning and significance needed to be historically constructed and critically assessed. The humanists thus became increasingly sensitive to personal, political, intellectual, and cultural contexts in their quest to understand **the intention of the author's text** (1997:474-475).⁴⁹

In this context, Calvin's Augustinianism could be one of the answers of his age which was ignited by the Renaissance. In other words, Calvin seems neither to have 'simply read his Bible' nor to have 'just happened to reach the same conclusions as Augustine'.

I neither know how greatly Augustine had influenced Calvin in his conversion (Smits insisted that the very strongest factor of Calvin's conversion was the reading of Augustine), nor how much the reading of the Bible influenced Calvin's understanding of Augustine. It is, however, clear that something dramatic had happened to him and that the work of the Holy Spirit had changed him completely, as we observe through his confession in the *Introductory to the Commentary on Psalms*. Nobody knows what exactly had happened to him. One can, however, infer that this experience of conversion changed something in Calvin's inner heart and mind. Calvin seemed to begin to read his Bible in connection with Augustine or to understand and use Augustine in connection with the Bible after his conversion. This is a clear fact when we see Calvin's general use of Augustine in relation to the Bible.

Well, then, since we are now at the principal point, let us undertake to summarize the

⁴⁹ The dynamic data analysis and Calvin's seven interpretation principles (Smits) in Chapter 4 clearly testify that Calvin's use of Augustine is methodologically similar to this Renaissance approach.

matter for our readers by but a few, and very clear, testimonies of Scripture. Then, lest anyone accuse us of distorting Scripture, let us show that the truth, which we assert has been drawn from Scripture, lacks not the attestation of this holy man — I mean Augustine (CO 2, 217).

So far are we from being so abandoned as to wish to vent such blasphemy, that we implicitly receive what our Lord Jesus Christ pronounced; only we require that the natural sense of the words be well understood. Now we do not seek the exposition of them in our own brains, but derive it from the constant usage of Scripture, and the common style of the Holy Spirit. Did we bring forward any novelty, it might be odious or suspicious. ... To be brief, we protest that we neither think nor speak otherwise than St. Augustine has expressed word for word (CO 9, 771-772).

It is true that there are similarities⁵⁰ between Calvin's theology and a specific medieval Augustinianism. However, these similarities do not consequently signify that Calvin accepted the medieval Augustinianism (the *devotio moderna* or the *schola Augustinana moderna*) as his principle of interpretation for the Bible and for Augustine. In other words, there is not any convincing evidence to prove that Calvin directly or consciously subscribed to any medieval trend in Augustinian thinking. It is safer to say that there is a possibility that Calvin had learned (or had acquired) the general or common Augustinianism of his age before his theological writing career, and then began to use Augustine in relation to Scripture in his own way after his conversion.

⁵⁰ For example, see Pitkin's recent article, *Nothing but Concupiscence: Calvin's understanding of Sin and the Via Augustini* (1999).

5.2.3 Who is Calvin's Augustine?

In the previous subsection, I supported Lange van Ravenswaay's theory of 'Calvin's own *schola Augustiniana*' (1990:180) as conceivable. This recognition, however, does not mean that I agree with Lange van Ravenswaay's central dogma theory in which the doctrine of predestination takes a central role in Calvin's theology regarding Augustine (1990:19-20). As far as data analysis is concerned, contrary to his observation, there is no evidence of Calvin adopting one doctrine as central and developing all of his Augustinian theology on it. According to Smits's data, Calvin showed fidelity to the theological thoughts of Augustine on certain principal topics which impassioned them both: original sin, free will and grace, predestination, significance of the Church and the sacraments, the Eucharist in particular. Smits insisted that Calvin gained strong support for his work from these ideas of Augustine (Smits 1956:275). Mooi's observation was similar to Smits's with some differences in the details. According to Mooi, Calvin mainly used Augustinian citations especially in relation to the doctrine of sin and grace, the unfree will, the justification, the doctrine of the Church and the doctrine of the Sacraments (Mooi 1965:352). According to my research, Augustine left his imprint on Calvin's writings though the range of influence is varied: grace, justification and regeneration, original sin, free will (or unfree will), predestination, the Sacraments (baptism and the Lord's supper), the doctrine of the Church, and the authority of the Bible.⁵¹

Calvin did not just use the opinions of Augustine mechanically. He judged and criticised

⁵¹ Loci of these quotations can be found in Chapter 3.

them, like those of any other Church Father and of any council, according to their fidelity to the single standard of the Scriptures. He hardly showed any appreciation for Augustine in certain doctrinal positions. He could neither accept the allegorical exegeses of the biblical texts, nor the philosophical subtlety of the speculations. He nevertheless saw in him the Father of the Church who had best grasped the whole of the doctrines of the Scriptures and he regarded him as the best qualified representative of the old Church of the first five centuries, with regard to, in his eyes, remaining faithful to the Scriptures. In this context, I confirm Calvin's own proclamation of *Augustinus totus noster*. In other words, Calvin's Augustine is the Augustine who was uniquely interpreted and used by Calvin in the sixteenth century.

5.3 Relevance of this study in recent Calvin research

How relevant is Calvin's use of Augustine for recent Calvin research? I think that the situation that Calvin had to deal with regarding Augustine is very similar to that of ours. The way in which Calvin dealt with Augustine was very different from those of his opponents. His understanding and use of Augustine was extraordinary for his time. In his debates with Roman Catholics, Calvin preferred to use Augustine directly, in his original words, rather than from other scholars' interpretations of him, while his Roman counterparts experienced no problems with using Augustine as interpreted by their tradition. He also quoted from the standard Roman textbooks such as the *Decretum Gratiani* or the *Sententiae* several times. This, however, was mainly due to his opponents' quoting from those books. In his debates with the Lutherans, Calvin showed his precise knowledge of changes in Augustine's life and thought while his rivals were simply satisfied with their general use of Augustinian texts. Calvin's use of Augustine

was one of excellent representation of the spirit of ‘ad fontes’. In today’s words, Calvin revealed superb skill in using the text and context of Augustine.

In this context, Muller’s comment on recent Calvin research (more exactly, doctrinal or theological studies of Calvin) in an article, *Directions in Current Calvin research*, is quite informative.

Barth’s *Theology of John Calvin* deserves mention as an old essay recently offered in a new critical edition for the English-speaking public (1995) and as a primary example of the dogmatic or ideological essay. When we read that Calvin’s *Institutes* evidence a theology in “crisis” and that, in Calvin’s theology, “Christ stands once more between the contradictions or rather above them, as the principle of knowledge”(165), we can be sure that the sixteenth-century context has disappeared and that this is a book not about Calvin’s theology but about the theological struggles of the young Barth. It does not illuminate Calvin (Muller 2001:133).

Barth’s influence on modern dogmatics was so serious that it has changed basic concepts in the area of Church history. Scholars in Church history who gladly adopted Barth’s interpretation of Calvin as a lense for interpreting Calvin’s theology, have failed to position Calvin’s own texts exactly in Calvin’s own context. This tendency is especially discernable in some doctrinal or historical areas such as soteriology, Christology and ecclesiology. This preconception has permeated directly or indirectly into studies regarding Augustine and Calvin. It has made it more difficult to identify Augustine’s influence on Calvin’s theology because Calvin’s own theology itself had already been misidentified, as Muller observed,

We now have an essay interpreting an interpretation - and the possibility of returning the line of argument to the actual analysis of Calvin's text has become nearly impossible (2001:133).

Calvin must be his own interpreter. I cannot count how many times Calvin emphasised that Augustine must be his own interpreter: 'there cannot be a clearer interpreter than himself' or 'there cannot be a more competent interpreter than its author'. Calvin knew well that if any ambiguity occurred in the meaning, there could be no fitter interpreter than the author of the text.

Secondly, Calvin's use of Augustine suggests that, if we would be more faithful to Calvin's own texts and contexts to acquire better understanding of his theology, we should be able to learn how to use Calvin's works in their full range. It is true that the *Institutio* is Calvin's *opus magnum*. This work, however, does not contain all his doctrines. 'For example: he treats his understanding of the Bible only partially, namely the Divine authority of the Bible, Old and New Testament and the relation of ecclesiastical authority and Scripture. There are more statements with regard to the Bible in his commentaries and sermons' (Neuser 1998:154). The same is true for his use of Augustine. If we see the *Institutio* in dynamic relation with commentaries, letters, sermons, theological articles and polemical works, our understanding of Calvin will become more fruitful and fluent. Calvin's use of Augustine is one of the strongest testimonies of this dynamic relationship between the *Institutio* and the other works. How superbly Calvin used Augustinian citations in different genres, made changes, adaptations and applications we have seen in the previous chapters! And how beautifully has the results of such dynamic use reflected his development in his Bible

study, his experiences and his theological speculations which resulted from numerous debates, and were incorporated again in the *Institutio!*

Finally, this study raises the urgent necessity for cooperation among various studies concerning Calvin and Augustine. Because I consciously endeavour to listen to Calvin's own voice regarding Augustine, there is a possible gap between the true Augustine and Calvin's Augustine. This implies that, without full knowledge of Augustine, the exact line of influence would be very elusive. To exactly identify Augustine's influence on Calvin, comparison between the real Augustine and Calvin's own Augustine is indispensable. This requires an open cooperation between those who are engaged in research on Augustine and those who are involved with Calvin.

Furthermore, if one omits the two theologians' common indebtedness to Paul's theology, can one form an adequate picture of them? According to my research, Calvin never expressed his full agreement with Augustine without the support of Pauline texts. Calvin's dependence on Paul is greater than I first expected. In this context, Lange van Ravenswaay's suggestion of the Paul-Augustine-Calvin connection (1990:70) does not seem to be unrealistic. We do not know whether or when the connection will loom large with enough evidence to support it. Calvin's use of Augustine in relation to the Scriptures suggests what are really in need of this realisation. One needs both academic excellence in the Scriptures to see how the Scriptures influenced them, as well as sincere love for Holy Scripture to understand how and why they responded to the call of the Scriptures.

I have tried to build a bridge between two related studies: *Calvin's use of Augustine* and

Augustine's influence on Calvin. In Chapter 2, a brief history of earlier research regarding discussion on Calvin and Augustine from the beginning of the 20th century was presented. Then critical conversations followed. These conversations concerning our theme involved three important scholars, namely L Smits, R J Mooi and J M J Lange van Ravenswaay. Finally, a need for a converging method which has the possibility of overcoming some methodological problems that arise in studies on Calvin and Augustine was expressed.

In the third chapter, the use that Calvin makes of Augustine in his own works from the first period of his writing career to the last, fifth, period (from 1532 to 1565) is thoroughly studied. This chapter is the first in-depth study of Calvin's use of Augustine in English. Thus, it could be used as basic data for further studies.

Chapter 4 dealt with data analyses. In between the analysis of static data and the analysis of dynamic data, Smits's study of Augustinian citations in Calvin's writings was dealt with critically to provide a basic understanding of Augustinian citations. These data analyses could provide researchers with clear evidence to reveal characteristic aspects in Calvin's use of Augustine.

Finally, the answers to the three related questions that were suggested in the introduction were pursued: What comprises Augustine's uniqueness in Calvin's writings? Who is Calvin's Augustine? And what is the relevance of this study to current research on Calvin? The answers that have been derived will function as a bridge between the two related studies of *Calvin's use of Augustine* and *Augustine's influence on Calvin*.

Smits had been eager to finish his third volume but has abandoned it.⁵² The quest for Augustine's influence on Calvin's theology could be an attractive topic for future studies. Although I have just submitted a tiny possibility of a picture of Calvin's own Augustine, I hope this study will be a helpful tool for identifying Augustine's influence on Calvin's theology. As someone who feels attraction to this topic myself, I will also endeavour to continue this search for Augustine's influence on Calvin's thought.

⁵² According to Van Oort's remark on 15 Feb. 2003, Smits had told him that the third volume, which would reveal Augustine's influence on Calvin, would never appear.

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