

# Calvin's Controversies

by Richard Gamble



주저말고, 개혁하자, 칼빈처럼!

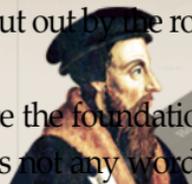
새로운 것이 우리를 미혹하고 우리를 결길로 인도하지 못하도록  
하나님의 말씀에 충실하자.

The literary style of sixteenth century polemical writings is quite foreign to modern readers. For those theologians, religion was a matter of life and death, literally. Phrases and expressions that should not be used in 'polite company' today are found heavily seasoning the writings of both Roman and Protestant polemical authors.

As an example of sixteenth century polemic writing style, listen to Sir Thomas

Moore speak of Martin Luther from his Latin work Response to Luther:

What wonder, then if the stupid scoundrel slanders the prince, since he has already long ago scorned both the apostle James and the whole catholic church and now proceeds to such a degree of impiety that he openly blasphemes the Holy Spirit, since that which everyone sees the Holy Spirit has inspired in all the faithful, this buffoon worse than any infidel dares to blaspheme with his cursed tongue which should be cut out by the roots.



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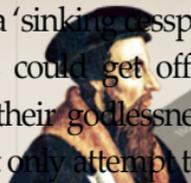
새로운 것이 우리를 미혹하고 우리를 결집로 인도하지 못하도록  
해 주님의 영감을 충실히 따라

But since the foundation of such a facetious fiction [on the element of wine in the Eucharist] is not any word of the prince but the dull-witted device of Luther himself, by which everyone sees that he imputes to the king a statement which the king nowhere makes, who is so foolish that he will not laugh at this fool so foolishly fashioning fools?1

The enlightened and elegant author, Moore, was indeed able to write in such a strong fashion against Luther. Moreover, Luther could reply in a similar manner! This

type of clever, sharp, and brutal writing was the accepted literary genre.

As this literary genre is rather 'strong' for contemporary readers, so also sixteenth century pulpit polemics sound foreign to our ears. In similar fashion, John Calvin used very 'strong' language in the pulpit. In 1549 Calvin referred to certain Genevan citizens as 'dogs chasing dogs in heat', as 'drunkards', and as 'worse than brute beasts'. He had not calmed down in 1551 when he referred to the entire city of Geneva as a 'sinking cesspool of hell'. Likewise, he would not allow that the powerful magistrates could get off free from such a 'standard'; in a sermon from 1552, he addressed their godlessness: 'I say this that the Senators, Judges and Advocates of Geneva not only attempt to argue against God, thereby hoping to gain for themselves the right to mock him, but rejecting all the Holy Scriptures, they vomit forth their blasphemies as supreme decrees. These gargoyle monkeys have become so proud... that they allow no place for reason or truth.'<sup>2</sup>



주지말고 개혁하자 칼빈처럼!  
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Similarly, Calvin's work played an important polemical role at the time. Still, his work as a controversialist can only be understood as an overall part of his ministry in

Geneva. Primarily, the role of Calvin as pastor, biblical commentator, and theological author was characteristic of his ministry.<sup>3</sup> Since Calvin's literary corpus is rather substantial, the sum of his writings that fall under polemical or controversial categories is quite significant; Calvin's polemical writings can be divided into at least five different sections.<sup>4</sup>



This group of writings includes Calvin's polemics against Protestants, and closer to home, Protestants in Geneva, Strasbourg and Paris.

The Psychopannychia<sup>5</sup> is one of Calvin's earlier works, first published in 1534. Calvin attacked the position of many who taught that when one dies, instead of going directly to heaven or hell, the human soul "slept". Though this view originated from

within the Anabaptist community, it apparently spread rather quickly through the Protestant communities. The matter was significant enough that a few British theologians translated the treatise into English in London in 1581.<sup>6</sup>

Calvin's *Against the Anabaptists*<sup>7</sup> was first published in Latin at Geneva in 1544. A few months later it came out in French, and in 1549, it was translated and published in the English language.<sup>8</sup> In this work Calvin first refuted, what we now call, the Schleitheim Confession, which was an anabaptistic 'confession' of the Swiss Brethren written in 1527. The Anabaptists, as Calvin understood their differences, were divided into two sects. One faction held to the authority of the Bible and engaged in theology, though greatly lacking at its foundation; it was against this group which Calvin wrote the tract. The other group was quite different from the first. They were radical Spiritualists and Libertines, and they received their own polemical treatise.

Calvin's treatise *Against the Libertines*<sup>9</sup> was published in French in 1545. The main protagonist as described in the writing was a man named Quintin whom Calvin had previously met somewhere near Paris. Quintin was then enjoying the

patronage of Marguerite of Angouleme. The Libertines were likely dispersed throughout Holland, Belgium, and parts of Germany; Calvin estimated that they were between four and ten thousand in number.<sup>10</sup> These radicals developed a hermeneutic that separated the 'letter' from the 'spirit,' and they likely propagated a pantheistic and speculative spiritualism.<sup>11</sup>

## II. His Response to Sadolet and the Antidote to Trent.



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하나님의 말씀에 충실하자.

This grouping includes technical theological works against the Roman Catholic Church. Calvin's Response to Sadolet was published in 1539.<sup>12</sup> The historical situation that gave rise to the timely Response was very interesting considering the concurrent Reformation in Geneva. Calvin and two other pastors had been banished from the city for refusing to serve the Communion (Eucharist), thus there existed a power struggle between the pastors and the leaders of the city who had set out to control access to the partaking of the Lord's Supper. This turmoil provided a fine

opportunity for the Roman church to attempt to win back the jewel of the city of Geneva. Cardinal Sadolet, author of a 'Letter by James Sadolet, a Roman Cardinal, to the Senate and People of Geneva' was an accomplished scholar. He thought that Calvin would not bother to respond to him because of the dishonour of being banished. On that political point, he was badly mistaken.

Calvin's rejoinder is uncharacteristically mild. Perhaps his mildness was in response to the charge made by Sadolet and others that Calvin was never able to engage in polemics without hurling insults at his opponent and losing his temper.



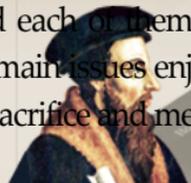
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Continuing with technical responses to the Roman Church, The Antidote to Trent is very thorough.<sup>13</sup> In this treatise, Calvin addressed a number of issues. In religious matters, Calvin asked, how much do people need to submit to human authority? Calvin articulated in this work what is called a great Protestant principle: that the Scriptures alone are the infallible standard of authority.

Calvin analysed the teaching found among the leaders of the ongoing Council of

Trent, a formative assembly of theologians that would provide a standard for Roman Catholic theology. Needless to say, he was not impressed! He was also not overwhelmed with admiration for their opening address. Their own confession demonstrated to Calvin that it was right for those who had attempted to purify the church to leave it.

Calvin proceeded to consider each of the canons of the Council of Trent verbatim, and refuted each of them, which he called the “antidote”, and thus the title of the work. The main issues enjoined were the rule of faith, on original sin, on justification and of the sacrifice and merits of Christ.



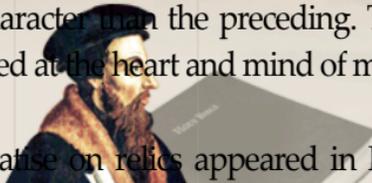
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Calvin reminded his readers that the Roman Church decided that all who refused to receive what the Protestants call the apocrypha (books not properly in the Bible) as inspired of God and authoritative, were anathematised. Calvin was furthermore disappointed that instead of going to the original Greek and Hebrew texts of the Bible, they chose the Latin Vulgate as the authoritative version.

III. His works Against relics; The adultero-German interim, with their refutation: The true method of reforming the church; the Sinfulness of outward conformity; Against astrology; On Scandals.

These polemical writings are all pointed at the Roman Church as well, but have a different character than the preceding. These are not technical theological polemics, but are aimed at the heart and mind of members of the church.



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The Treatise on relics appeared in French 1543 and in Latin in 1548.<sup>14</sup> That it appeared first in the French language is significant; Calvin usually wrote complex theologies in Latin but obviously wanted to reach the people with this text thus he chose to write in French. Subsequently, soon after the Latin text appeared, Cochlaeus, the Roman controversialist, attacked Calvin.<sup>15</sup>

This work was written not only in French, but it was written in a different style

than his theological treatises. Here Calvin outlines some of the absurdities connected with many of the relics. Calvin concluded that image or relic worship is comparable to the gross idolatry of the heathen.<sup>16</sup>

The adultero-German interim, with their refutation: Although most of Calvin's polemical writings concentrated on the city of Geneva, the French Protestantism, or the Roman Church, here Calvin was forced to deal with matters concerning the Emperor Charles V and the German world.<sup>17</sup> The Emperor had drawn a confession of faith, (written by three theologians- two Catholic and one Protestant), which was aimed at settling the religious controversy in Germany. Quickly, results of the Confession's allowances followed: Priests who married were permitted to retain their wives, and the laity was permitted to commune with both bread and wine. The interim certainly succeeded in at least one thing: it infuriated both Catholics and Protestants!

After presenting the full twenty-six sections of the text of the Confession, Calvin laboriously refuted each one. His introduction gives us a flavour of his writing style: 'I

am not here debating with Turks and Jews, who would wish the name of Christ utterly extinguished, or with grosser Papists, who demand from us an open abjuration of true doctrine, but with the contrivers of a kind of specious pacification, who leave us a half Christ, but in such a manner that there is no part of His doctrine which they do not obscure or bespatter with some stain of falsehood. And, this artifice of deforming piety that they send forth ☉ help them! Under the name of reformation!’<sup>18</sup>



The necessity of reforming the church<sup>19</sup> is an address presented to the Diet of Spiers in 1543 and is presented ‘in the name of all who would have Christ to reign’. Calvin considered three main issues here: ‘First, I must briefly enumerate the evils that compelled us to seek for remedies. Secondly, I must show that the particular remedies that the Reformers employed were apt and salutary. Thirdly, I must make it plain that we were not at liberty any longer to delay putting forth our hand, in as much as the matter demanded instant amendment.’

The necessity was so great because it concerned, according to Calvin, ‘the whole

substance of Christianity, viz., a knowledge, first, of the mode in which God is duly worshipped; and, secondly, of the source from which salvation is to be obtained.’<sup>20</sup>

The sinfulness of outward conformity to Romish rights<sup>21</sup> came out at a time when individual members of the Church found themselves in the midst of tremendous social and financial pressure. Converting to Protestantism from Catholicism could in fact spell death. The question that Calvin addressed in this work is how should someone live as a Protestant while dwelling in a land under Papal control? Another way that the question could be addressed is whether or not it is lawful for a person who had personally renounced the Roman Church and her theology in his heart, to conform outwardly, that is with his body, to its rights so that he or she could avoid persecution?

Calvin’s answer was that even when a person’s heart does not conform to the ceremony, it is not right to perform the Roman ceremony. This answer caused many Protestants to be displeased with Calvin. The criticism was levelled against him that it is easy to get such a response when one is safely placed in the city of Geneva. The

censure against Calvin's position was strong enough for him to elicit confirmation of his views by Peter Martyr Vermigli as well as Martin Bucer and Philip Melancthon, which he did.

Against astrology was made public in 1549.<sup>22</sup> The topic of this tract, unlike most of his polemical material, does not appear in any detail in the Institutes.

To begin, Calvin dealt with the importance of having a clear conscience before God and thus to avoid astrology. However, to avoid astrology, a good working definition must be supplied. Calvin defined the differences between true and false astrology this way: false astrology is the attempt to ascertain the future by reading the stars. True astrology is what we would call today, 'astronomy'.

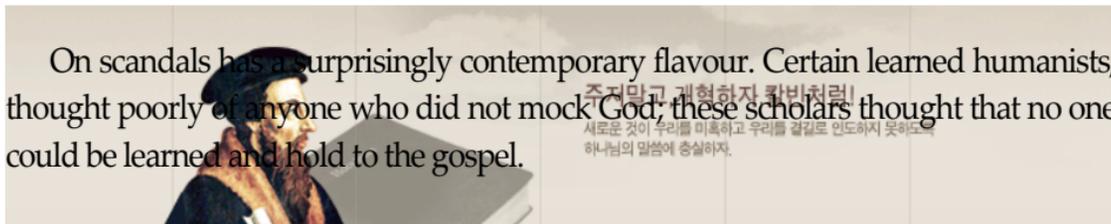
He then demonstrated how the scriptures condemn astrology and provided what he called a "remedy" for the evils of astrology. The remedy would follow these rules: 'To dedicate our souls and our bodies to God and to serve him without pretence...Each person [should] attend closely to the end to which he has been called

in order that he might apply himself to the duties of his office...[so that] the end of their actions might be to edify both themselves and others in the fear of God.'23

On scandals appeared in 1550 in Geneva.<sup>24</sup> A 'scandal' was defined as an offence or stumbling block. The stumbling blocks addressed places where the gospel was being attacked.

On scandals has a surprisingly contemporary flavour. Certain learned humanists, thought poorly of anyone who did not mock God; these scholars thought that no one could be learned and hold to the gospel.

Calvin acknowledged that there are offences from the gospel itself, particularly Christ's demand of self-surrender. During his day, another offence could come with the socio-political upheaval that, in turn, could result as Protestantism was embraced. Another scandal is/was when there is infighting in the Church.<sup>25</sup>



IV. The Eucharistic Controversy. One of the saddest segments of Sixteenth Century history concerns these heated debates between the Swiss Reformed and the German Lutherans surrounding the nature of the Lord's Supper.<sup>26</sup>

The historical context of John Calvin's *Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae de sacramentis* of 1555. By 1528, Martin Bucer of Strasbourg, Johannes Oecolampadius of Basel, and Ulrich Zwingli of Zurich unanimously held, '...that it may not be proved from Scripture that the body and blood of Christ are actually bodily received in the bread of the Eucharst.<sup>27</sup> Luther disagreed with this interpretation of the Supper, and a meeting was organized to discuss the issues. That meeting, or colloquy, held at the castle of Marburg in 1529, produced no harmony between the two Protestant groups but left the Swiss reformed smarting from Luther's condemnation.<sup>28</sup>

Later, Bucer and Philip Melanchthon agreed on what is called the Cassel Formula on the Lord's Supper. They approved that 'Christ was truly and really received; that the bread and wine were signia exhibitiva with which were received at the same time

the body and blood of Christ...what is posited of the one may be posited of the other'.<sup>29</sup> The Second Swiss Confession, known as the Confessio fidei de eucharistia, bolstered what may be called a 'non-Lutheran' position on the supper.<sup>30</sup>

Martin Luther answered the Swiss confession with his Kurzes Bekenntnis vom heiligen Sakrament wider Schwenckfeld und die Schweizer in 1544. As expected, a Zurich response appeared swiftly, the Wahrhaftes Bekenntnis der Diener der Kirche zu Zurich in 1545.



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The sphere of politics always played a role in theological debate, even in what appears to be a purely theological issue. In 1547, Emperor Charles V had successfully attacked south Germany forcing it to come under his political control. The city of Geneva, concerned about the situation, sent Calvin to the other Swiss cities, including Zurich, to confer upon the political conditions. While he was in Zurich, Heinrich Bullinger gave to Calvin a copy of his treatise on the Lords Supper, called Absoluta de Christi Domini et catholicae ecclesiae Sacramentis tractatio.<sup>31</sup>

The apex of Swiss unity was reached on the Supper a few years later with the Zurich Agreement or Consensus Tigurinus of 1549. 32 The Consensus Tigurinus was ratified in May 1549, but was not published until two years later. After the Latin original, a German translation by Bullinger and a French translation by Calvin followed.

It was in the midst of this turmoil that Joachim Westphal, a pastor in Hamburg, published the *Farrago* of Confused and Divergent opinions on the Lord's supper in 1552 against the Zurich Consensus of 1549.33 Westphal condemned both Zwingli and Calvin as heretics for denying a literal eating of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper.34

John Calvin's *Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae de Sacramentis* (1555)35 and responses to Westphal.

John a Lasko had informed Calvin that he was going to respond to Westphal's *Farrago*. Heinrich Bullinger fully supported that idea and had hoped that Calvin

would respond to Westphal's book entitled Right Belief, as well. Moreover, Pierre Viret of Lausanne thought that he would respond to Westphal, and Calvin wrote to encourage him to take up the pen, thus sparing Calvin the effort. However, months passed and no one had begun his work.

However, in September of 1554, Calvin informed Bullinger that a response was forthcoming and, within a month, the draft was sent to Zurich. Calvin solicited Zurich's input on the work, and consequently received it.<sup>36</sup>



Calvin promptly responded to the suggestions and submitted a second draft by the end of the week. The *Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae de Sacramentis* was approved and published in Zurich in 1555, wherein Calvin did not explicitly name Westphal.<sup>37</sup> The hope of many of the Swiss was that the controversy would now end. Calvin also believed that he had Philip Melanchthon's support on the nature of the Lord's Supper, and thus carried a hope for peace though it was evidently a false hope in the end.<sup>38</sup> However, this theological defence did not satisfy the Germans, nor did it stop their attacks. In response, Calvin published *Secunda Defensio piae et orthodoxae*

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de Sacramentis fidei contra Ioachimi Westphali calumnias in 1556, his second defence.<sup>39</sup>

In the Secunda Defensio<sup>40</sup> Calvin reminded his readers that neither in the Consensus Tigurinus nor in later writings on the Lord's Supper had anyone been attacked by name. The peace that had been coveted by the Consensus Tigurinus was, as Calvin said ironically, used 'as a kind of Furies' torch to rekindle the flame'.<sup>41</sup>

The main issues, as Calvin saw them, were threefold: First, whether 'the bread of the Supper is substantially the body of Christ'. Second, whether the body of Christ 'is immense, and exists everywhere without place.' Finally, whether or not there may be a 'figure of speech' in Christ's words of institution.<sup>42</sup>

The Swiss maintained, 'the flesh of Christ gives life, and that we are truly made partakers of it in the Supper,' but they would not affirm that the 'bread is substantially the body'. The Swiss also argued that the Holy Spirit 'transfuses life into us from the flesh of Christ' but again would not agree that 'the body of Christ is actually placed

before us'. 43 They also believed that there was sufficient warrant from Scripture concerning the sacraments, that 'an analogy is drawn between the sign and the visible action and the spiritual reality'.44

Calvin's second defence against Westphal was presented in the 'calm and cool' style typical of sixteenth century theological polemic.

'If he is to be believed,' asserted Calvin, then 'I exhibit canine eloquence. Although I long not for the praise of eloquence, I am not so devoid of the gift of speaking as to [be] obliged to be eloquent by barking. ...From the withered flowers which he sheds over his discourse, it is plain how very jejune a rhetorician he is, while his intemperance sounds more of the Cyclops than anything human. One thing I deny not: I am not less alert in pursuing the sacrilegious, than the faithful dog in hunting off thieves.'45

Nonetheless, the publication of Calvin's rather long treatise of one hundred and seventy-two pages did not end his conflict with Westphal. The Last Admonition to

Westphal, subtitled: Who if he heeds it not, must henceforth be treated in the way which Paul prescribes for obstinate heretics,<sup>46</sup> contains quite a bit of heat. Calvin's methodological approach in the treatise hinges upon a few presuppositions. Calvin accused Westphal of three crimes: first, charges of heresy against the Swiss were unwarranted.<sup>47</sup> Second, Westphal unfairly slandered both the living and the dead, even when Westphal's own name was never mentioned in public.<sup>48</sup> Finally, Westphal's debating presupposition, that heretics should be treated harshly and be silent when proven wrong, was true in principle but rightly applied to Westphal as opposed to the Swiss!<sup>49</sup>

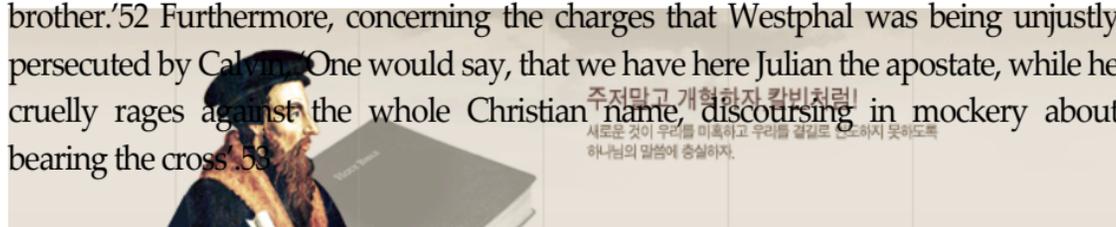


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Armed with those rules of debate Calvin decided to sharpen his pen. And sharp it was! It was the sharpness of Calvin's pen that Westphal protested. In response, Calvin did not deny Westphal's charge that his response was 'full of sting and virulence'. Rather, he retorted, 'I am not surprised at the former epithet,' said Calvin, 'nor am I sorry that men so stupid have, at least, felt some pricks'.<sup>50</sup> Westphal charged that Calvin threw every possible insult at him, to which Calvin countered, 'When he says in another place that I have anxiously laboured not to omit any kind of

insult, how much he is mistaken will best appear from the fact'.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps with a silent sigh, Calvin noted: 'Since his ferocity has proved intractable, it is easy to see the frivolousness and childishness of all his declamation. As if lions and bears, after rushing madly at every one in their way, should complain that they do not meet with soothing treatment, this delicate little man, after atrociously attacking the doctrine of Christ and his ministers, regards it as a great crime that he is not treated like a brother.'<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, concerning the charges that Westphal was being unjustly persecuted by Calvin, 'One would say, that we have here Julian the apostate, while he cruelly rages against the whole Christian name, discoursing in mockery about bearing the cross.'<sup>53</sup>



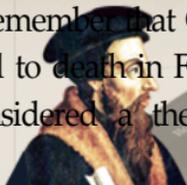
Westphal refused to be silenced. After Calvin's final reply, he published Some apologetic writings in 1558 and Answer to some of the outrageous lies of John Calvin for Calvin personally. The debates continued, but Calvin no longer joined in the fray.

## V. Theological Controversy: Against Servetus; Against Pigius and Bolsec; Against Caroli.

These are theological works written against Protestants. Calvin's Defence of the doctrine of the Trinity Against Servetus was published in 1554, after Servetus' death.<sup>54</sup>

In much of the popular literature concerning Calvin, certain misconceptions are tacitly accepted without a critical analysis of historical sources and historical circumstances. The force of the misconception regarding Calvin and Servetus could be summarized like this. Calvin the religious zealot was directly responsible for the execution of the extremely talented medical doctor and theologian named Servetus. The reason is that because Servetus would not become a 'Calvinist,' and was just as talented as Calvin; Calvin had him executed because of either jealousy or religious fanaticism on the same level of any current Ayatollah. This vision of the circumstances, although popular, is false.

Michael Servetus was in fact an extremely talented person. He was capable in both theology and medicine. He is even credited with making some pioneering discoveries in the later field. However, perhaps in light of his great abilities he also had some serious personality flaws. In 1531, Servetus published his first book, entitled *On the Trinity*, which was roundly condemned by the Reformers. In addition, in that same decade, Calvin made a special trip to Paris to meet with Servetus, to, as Calvin recalled, 'gain him for the Lord.' However, Servetus failed to show up for the meeting. We must remember that Calvin's trip to Paris was made at great risk. He had been condemned to death in France, and Calvin put his very life on the line. However, Calvin considered a theological reconciliation with Servetus to be sufficiently important.



Communication between Calvin and Servetus continued into the forties. As one reads the letters, it is easy to get the distinct impression that there was something seriously wrong with Servetus, mentally. One outstanding Calvin scholar has found it hard to believe that Servetus was completely sane at that time.<sup>55</sup> In the 1550's, Servetus' pen was again active, this time authoring *The Restoration of Christianity*;

this work was condemned to be blasphemous and heretical by Protestants and Roman Catholics alike.

Servetus had been arrested by the Roman Catholic authorities in France and condemned to death as a heretic, but he escaped from jail. For some very strange reason Servetus travelled to Geneva and was sitting in the congregation when Calvin was preaching. He was recognized, and the city magistrates had him arrested. Previously, Calvin had warned Servetus that his safety could not be guaranteed in the city of Geneva.



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Servetus was tried by the city for heresy and his sad story ends in execution, being declared an unrepentant heretic. Although Calvin approved of the death sentence, as did all Protestants at the time, he was not legally responsible for the execution of Servetus; however, only the city magistrates could perform such acts. Indeed, those facts will hardly sound like much of a defence for those persons who attempt to believe the worst about John Calvin! However, it should also be added that Calvin was persistent in his personal appeals to Servetus that he change his mind as he

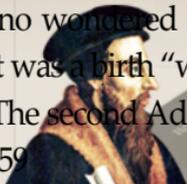
visited him in prison. Calvin furthermore requested that Servetus' sentence be reduced from burning to beheading, a much more humane means of execution, but that request was denied by the city authorities.<sup>56</sup>

Today there are no “Christian governments” who exercise the option of death for blasphemy. That type of activity would be relegated only to certain extreme Islamic groups. Furthermore, that type of action would have been rightly condemned by other governments and medias. Nevertheless, whether we believe it to be proper for any government to execute heretics of the church is a moot question. In the sixteenth century, no enlightened civil leader believed that the government did not have the right to execute blasphemers and heretics, and John Calvin was certainly a child of the sixteenth century. Thus, when contemporary readers understand the sixteenth century cultural context in which Calvin lived, this act of execution, although not to be regarded with approval, is much more understandable. The sixteenth century was not necessarily any more violent than our own, but the doctrine and purity of the church was guarded with much more passion and care than is comfortable for us today.<sup>57</sup>



주저말고 개혁하자 캄비치럼!  
세로운 것이 우리를 미혹하고 우리를 잡길로 인도하지 못하도록  
그리스도 믿는 자들이 힘써라

Calvin's *Contra Mennonem* was an answer to the request of his friend Martin Micron for help against Menno. We note from Calvin's correspondence that he had heard about Menno's theology as early as 1545, and that is also the year of a Lasco's book against Menno.<sup>58</sup> Calvin's work analyzed each of Menno's twenty articles on the incarnation. Menno thought that Christ was incarnate without partaking of Mary's flesh. His was a heavenly humanity, becoming a man in Mary but not of Mary. Menno wondered how Jesus could be formed of Mary's flesh and not come under sin. It was a birth "without a mother"; she only fed him but gave nothing of her substance. The second Adam corresponded to the first Adam as he was before the fall in Paradise.<sup>59</sup>



주저말고 개혁하자 캄비치림  
세도운 것이 우리를 미혹하고 우리를 갈길로 인도하지 못하도록  
대내외 믿음의 동행하라

Against Pighius and Jerome Bolsec. Albert Pighius was a Dutch Roman Catholic theologian who responded against Calvin's 1539 *Institutes*.<sup>60</sup> Calvin's work *Against Pighius*<sup>61</sup> came out in 1543. Calvin had addressed only six of Pighius' ten subjects, focusing on the bondage and liberation of the human will. Before he could address predestination and the last four books, Pighius subsequently died.<sup>62</sup>

Not that the issue of predestination would lack for attention! Jerome Bolsec had served as a monk and lived in Paris. Leaving the Roman Church, he became a court physician outside of Geneva. Bolsec was against Calvin's notion of predestination. Bolsec accused Calvin of making God the author of sin. The ministers of Geneva asked for advice for what to do with him from the other Swiss Protestant churches. The theological issue on the table concerned the universality of salvation. As a result, Bolsec was banished from Geneva.<sup>63</sup>



On eternal predestination in 1552 by Crispin.<sup>64</sup> On predestination has its own history; it began with the controversy against Pighius. Calvin neither had nor took the time to address the topic for nine years, but was later compelled by the charges of Bolsec.

Peter Caroli, recipient of the work *Against Caroli*,<sup>65</sup> was a doctor of theology and a theologian of Sorbonne who turned to Protestantism and was forced to flee from France in 1533. After some time in Geneva and Basel, (August 1535-March 1536),

주저말고, 개혁하자, 칼빈처럼!

새로운 것이 우리를 미혹하고 우리를 결집으로 인도하지 못하도록

영광 받으라!

Caroli was chosen to be the professor of Old Testament and the primary preaching minister in the Swiss city of Lausanne. That was the same year as Calvin's arrival at Geneva. Immediately upon his arrival, Caroli caused a disturbance in Lausanne in that he apparently still held to the efficacy of prayers for the dead. Perhaps to counter-attack his accusers, Caroli, charged Viret, who was a pastor in Lausanne, Calvin, and Farel with Arianism. To resolve the situation, there were discussions in Lausanne in October of 1536, later in Berne, and finally, a synod met in Lausanne in May of 1537. These meetings supported Farel and Viret. But it was Farel and Caroli who were to debate the issues in Berne in June of 1537. However, the debate never occurred because Caroli returned to the Roman Church. Shortly thereafter (1539), Caroli went back to Protestantism, was forgiven and received, and given a pastorate. However, in 1543, Caroli published a tract against Calvin and Farel which in turn produced Calvin's Pro G. Farello et collegis ejus in 1545.<sup>66</sup>



주저말고 개혁하자 캄비차렘

새로운 것이 우리를 미혹하고 우리를 걸림으로 인도하지 못하도록

개혁의 열매를 맺자

Conclusion. Calvin was a prolific controversialist. The body of works examined is extensive, but not everything has been analysed here, including his writings against the Italian anti-Trinitarians<sup>67</sup>, and the Pole Stancarius. <sup>68</sup> For the contemporary

reader, once the very foreign genre of controversial works is overcome, tremendous insight into the theological, political and social issues of the day are underlined through the polemical works.

Bibliography. Still the best biography of Calvin is by T. H. L. Parker, John Calvin a biography. Westminster/John Knox 1975. The Writings of John Calvin by W. de Greef trans. Lyle Bierma Baker/Grand Rapids is unsurpassed. A readily available collection of Calvin's controversial works is found in the first three volumes of his Tracts and treatises. Better primary text work can be found in John Calvin, Treatises against the Anabaptists and against the libertines, edited by Ben Farley, and John Calvin, The Bondage and Liberation of the Will ed. by A. N. S. Lane, translated by G. I. Davies. There is much of Calvin's controversial material with helpful introductions in Calvin's Ecclesiastical Advice trans. Mary Beaty and Benjamin W. Farley. On Calvin and the Anabaptists, Willem Balke's Calvin and the Anabaptist Radicals, Trans. William J. Heynen Eerdmans 1981 is outstanding.

The best anthology of articles on Calvin the controversialist, with twenty-two

selections, is found in vol. 5, Calvin's Opponents edited by Richard C. Gamble, Garland Publishing, New York & London 1992.

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This article will soon be published by Cambridge University Press.

1 Responso ad lutherum II, 10, p. 433 and 434.

2 Naphy, 157-160.

3 See the chapters by Thomson, DeVries, etc.

4 See D. Alfons Ericsson, *Bibliographia Calviniana*, 1960-Nieuwkoop pp. 115 following.

5 An English translation is found in Calvin, Tracts vol. 3. For further literature see W. de Greef, *The writings of John Calvin* pp. 165-167.

6 "A treatise on the immortality of the soul, by which is proved that souls after the departure of the bodies our way can you live: against those that think they do sleep. By John Calvin. Translated out a French by Thomas Stalker."

7 Brieve instruction pour armer tous bons fideles contre les erreurs de la secte commune des Anabaptistes. CO 7: 49-142. A modern English translation can be

found in Calvin, *Treatises against the Anabaptists and against the Libertines*, ed. and trans. B. Farley, Grand Rapids, Baker, 1982 pp. 11-158.

8 For more information, see Karl H. Wyneken, "Calvin and Anabaptism" in Richard C. Gamble, *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism Vol. 5*, and *The Writings of John Calvin: An Introductory Guide* by W. de Greef, translated by L. Bierma, Baker, Grand Rapids 1993 p. 167 n. 4.

9 *Contre la secte phantastique et furieuse des Libertins que se nomment Spirituelz.* CO 7: 149-248. For an English translation see Calvin, *Treatises Against the Anabaptists and Against the Libertines*, ed. Farley pp. 159-326. The following year, still in French, a work was published in Strassbourg that combined the two.

10 Zwingli had many dealings with Anabaptists before Calvin. He wrote *In catabaptistarum strophas elemnchus*. See Richard Stauffer, "Zwingli et Calvin, critiques de la confession de Schleithem" in *The Origins and Characteristics of Anabaptism* ed. Marc Kienhard The Hague: Nijhof, 1977.

11 For more information, see Ben Farley, "The Theology of Calvin's tract Against the Libertines" and Allen Verhey and Robert G. Wilkie "Against the Libertines"; both in Richard C. Gamble, *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism Vol. 5*, and de Greef, *The*

Writings of John Calvin, pp. 169-171.

12 It came out with the Strasbourg publisher Rithelius. It was published again in 1540 in Geneva in Latin and in French. It was published again in 1540 in Geneva in Latin and in French. See de Greef, *The Writings of John Calvin*, p. 152 n. 8 for bibliography. An English translation is found in *Calvin's Tracts and treatise*, volume.

13 An English translation in *Calvin's Tracts and treatise* volume three.

14 *Traite des reliques*. For text history see de Greef p. 156 n. 15.

15 *De sacris reliquiis Christi et sanctorum eius, Brevis contra Ioannis Calvini calumnias et blasphemias responsio*. Mainz 1549.

16 English translation is in volume one of *Tracts and treatises*.

17 *Interim adultero-germanum, cui adiecta est Vera Christianae pacificationis et ecclesiae reformandae ratio*. CO 7: 54-674. It was published in French in 1549. There was also a German translation. De Greef says concerning it: 'The peculiar thing about the German edition is that a section of the original work was left out, and in a critical note Calvin was accused of Pelagianism in connection with his conception of infant baptism.' To correct this and make other editorial changes, Calvin published *Appendix libelli adversus Interim adultero-Germanum* in 1550. See De Greef p. 163.



주지말고, 개혁하자, 칼빈처럼!

새로운 것이 우리를 미혹하고 우리를 결집로 인도하지 못하도록

그리스도의 교명에 충실하라!

For an English translation see volume three of the Tracts and treatises.

18 Calvin's Tracts and treatise volume 3. Pp. 240-241.

19 English translation in Calvin's Tracts and treatise volume

20 Necessity of Reform, Selected Works I, p. 126

21 Found in Calvin, Tracts and treatises volume three.

22 *Advertissement contre l'astrologie qu'on appelle iudiciaire: et autres curiositez qui regnent aujourdhuy au monde.* First translated into English in 1561 and published in London. A modern French version was published in 1962 in Paris.

23 Calvin, "A warning against judiciary astrology and other prevalent curiosities" translated and introduced by Mary Potter. *Calvin Theological Journal* Vol. 18 No. 2, November 1983. P. 189.

24 *De scandalis quibus hodie plerique absterrentur, nonnulli etiam alienantur a pura evangelii doctrina.* CO 8 1-84. Printed by Crispin; there was also a French at the same time.

25 An English translation is by John Fraser.

26 Parts of this section will be published in Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations, *Studies in the History of Christian Thought.* ed. Frank A.

James III. Leiden: E. J. Brill, (forthcoming in 2002) "Calvin and Vermigli: a Study in the Foundations of Reformed Eucharistic Theology".

27 See Hastings Eels, Martin Bucer pp. 70-92.

28 Literature on the Marburg colloquy is vast. See Walther Koehler, Zwingli und Luther: Ihr Streit über das Abendmahl nach seinen politischen und religiösen Beziehungen (2 vols. 1924 & 1953). Peter Buhler, "Der Abendmahlsstreit der Reformatoren und seine aktuellen Implikationen" Theologische Zeitschrift 35 (1979) pp. 228-241. Hastings Eels, Martin Bucer, Russell & Russell, NY repr. 1971, lists literature on p. 452 n. 151.

29 December 30, 1534. See Hastings Eels Martin Bucer, 1971 pp. 173-182.

30 Hastings Eels, Martin Bucer, p. 214. English Translation in J. K. S. Reid Calvin: Theological Treatises London, 1954, pp. 167-69.

31 W. de Greef, The Writings of John Calvin. Tr. L. Bierma, Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 1993 pp. 190-93. Also during the First Schmalkaldic War Peter Martyr Vermigli was forced to flee the continent, leaving Strasbourg, and made his way to England. Cf. John Patrick Donnelly (trans. & ed.), Peter Martyr Vermigli: Dialogue on the Two Natures in Christ. Kirksville, 1995, xi. Vermigli was later joined by Bucer,

who went to Cambridge.

32 Text in B. J. Kidd, Documents of the continental Reformation, Oxford, 1911. "The Consensus Tigurinus", May 1549 No. 319 pp. 652-656. English Translation by Ian D. Bunting JPH 44 (1966) pp. 45-61. See also P. Schaff, The Creeds of Christendom, Vol. 1 pp. 471-473.

33 Farrago confusaneorum et inter se dissidentium opinioinum de Coena Domini, ex Sacramentarium libris congesta (Magdeburg, 1552). Cf. Karl Moenckeberg, Ioachim Westphal und Iohannes Calvin (Hamburg, 1865). Cf. Joseph N. Tylenda, "The Calvin-Westphal Exchange: The Genesis of Calvin's treatises against Westphal" Calvin Theological Journal 9 (1974) pp. 182-209.

34 J. P. Donnelly, Dialogue on the Two Natures in Christ. 1995, p. xiii.

35 OS 2: 263-87. French translation by Calvin in 1555. Cf. Uwe Plath, Calvin und Basel in den Jahren 1552-1556 (Zurich 1974) pp. 174-92. Cf. Bernard Cottret, "our une semiotique de la Reforme: Le consensus Tigurinus et La Breve Resolution...(1555) de Calvin" AESC 39 (1984) pp. 265-85. Cf. Kilian McDonnell, John Calvin, the Church, and the Eucharist, p. 177.

36 J. Tylenda, "The Calvin-Westphal Exchange" CTJ 9, p. 192.

37 Calvin's Selected Works Volume 2. The text had three sections: a dedication letter, a defense of the Consensus Tigurinus, and the text of the Consensus.

38 Correspondence J. Tylenda "The Calvin-Westphal Exchange" CTJ 9 pp. 197f. "How lamentably Calvin had misjudged the strength of the Westphal party, and how incautiously he had overestimated Melancthon's popularity!" p. 204.

39 CO 9: 41-120. Cf. J. K. S. Reid, Calvin: Theological Treatises pp. 258-324. And Calvin's Selected Works, Vol. 2 pp. 245ff.

40 Secunda defensio piae et orthodoxae... Jean Crispin Geneva. OC 9: 45-120; English Translation Tracts and Treatises vol. 2.

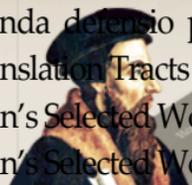
41 Calvin's Selected Works Vol 2., p. 247.

42 Calvin's Selected Works Vol 2., p. 248.

43 Calvin's Selected Works Vol 2., p. 249.

44 Calvin's Selected Works Vol 2., p. 250.

45 Calvin's Selected Works Vol 2., p. 311. The Secunda Defensio continues: "But while all see it to be your purpose completely to destroy the reputation of Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, John a Lasco, do you think there is any pious and impartial man in the world who does not feel indignant at



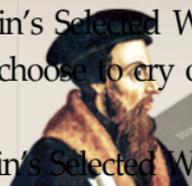
주저말고, 개혁하자, 칼빈처럼!

새로운 것이 우리를 미혹하고 우리를 결길로 인도하지 못하도록  
하나님의 말씀에 충실하자.

your malicious detraction?" Calvin's Selected Works Vol 2., p. 262. Furthermore, "with regard to the discussions which have taken place in England, I would rather leave it to Peter Martyr, a faithful teacher of the church of Strasbourg, to give the answer, which, I trust, he is now preparing." Calvin's Selected Works Vol 2., p. 314.

46 Ultimo admonition Ioannis Calvini ad Ioachim Westphalum, cui nisi obtemperet, eo loco posthac habendus erit, quo pertinaces haereticos haberit iubet Paulus. Jean Crispin, Geneva. OC 9: 137-252. English Translation Vol. II pp. 346-494.

47 Calvin's Selected Works Vol. 2., p. 348. "Why did Joachim, when so mildly requested, choose to cry out heresy, rather than to point out the error, if any there was?"



주저말고 개혁하자 칼빈처럼!  
세로운 것이 우리를 시혹하고 우리를 갈길로 인도하지 못하도록  
하나님의 말씀에 충실하자.

48 Calvin's Selected Works Vol. 2., p. 350. "After our Agreement was published, and Westphal had full liberty to correct any thing that was faulty, calumniously searching in all quarters for an appearance of repugnance, he in savage mood lashed the living and the dead. I, in repelling this savage attack, refrained from giving his name, in order that if he was of a temper that admitted of cure his ignominy might be buried." "Considering that this obstinate intemperance was not to be cured by gentle remedies, I took the liberty to sharpen my pen."

49 Calvin's Selected Works Vol. 2., p. 352. "Joachim insists that anything is lawful to him against us, because, as he says, he is defending true doctrine against impious error."

50 Calvin's Selected Works Vol. 2., p. 347.

51 Calvin's Selected Works Vol 2., p. 349.

52 Calvin's Selected Works Vol 2., p. 351.

53 Calvin's Selected Works Vol 2., p. 347.

54 Defensio orthodoxae fidei de sacro Tinitate, contra prodigiosos errores Michaelis Serveti Hispani. CO 8: 453-644. 1554 with a French translation It appeared in Latin, by Stephanus, and in French in Geneva by Crispin. It has appeared in modern German translated by Rogge, Berlin 1964.

55 T. H. L. Parker, John Calvin: a biography Westminster Press, Philadelphia 1975, p. 118.

56 The acts against Servetus can be found in CO 8: 721-872. Servetus was accused of 38 points of departure in religion and Servetus responded to the charges. Cf. CO 8: 501-553 and 799-801.

57 For further information, see 'Servetus and the Genevan Libertines' by Roland

Bainton; 'Calvin and Servetus' by G. Coleman Luck in Richard C. Gamble, Articles on Calvin and Calvinism Vol. 5. See also Jerome Friedman's, Michael Servetus: A Case study in total heresy Geneva 1978.

58 W. Balke, Calvin and the Anabaptist Radicals, pp. 202ff.

59 Balke 206. "one cannot imagine anything to be prouder than an ass, more impudent than this dog." "But who beyond the communal opinion of all people would believe the figments of an unlearned man" . Menno is "a writer in blood, a man of blood who approved of the persecution of the faithful children of God."

60 De libero hominis arbitrio et divina gratia, libri decem 1542.

61 Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae de servitute et liberatione humani arbitrii adversus calumnia Alberti Pighii Campensis in Geneva by Gerard. CO 6:225-404. An English text, Calvin's Calvinism: Treatises on the Eternal Predestination of God and the Secret Providence of God, Trans. Henry P. Cole Grand Rapids, Eerdmans 1987. See L. F. Schulze, Calvin's Reply to Pighius. (Potchefstroom: Pro Rege, 1971). John Calvin, The Bondage and Liberation of the Will. A defence of the Orthodox doctrine of human choice against Pighius. Ed. by A. N. S. Lane, and translated by G. I. Davies. Baker Books, Grand Rapids 1996.

62 For further information see L. F. Schulze, "Calvin's Reply to Pighius- A Micro and a Macro View" in Richard C. Gamble, *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism* Vol. 5.

63 de Greef *The Writings of John Calvin* pp. 118-119.

64 *De aeterna Praedestinatione Dei* Wilhelm Neuser

65 *Confessio de Trinitate propter calumnias P. Caroli* CO 9:703-10. Cf. also Calvin's letter to Caroli CO 11: 72-75 and the *Pro Farello et collegis eius adversus Petri Caroli calumnias defensio Nicolai Gallasii*, which was written by Calvin. CO 7: 289-340.

66 For further information see Richard C. Gamble, "Calvin's theological method. The case of Caroli" pp. 130-137. W. Vant'Spijker, ed. *Calvin. Erbe und Auftrag. Festschrift für Wilhelm Neuser*. Kampen, Kok 1991. See also Calvin, *Defense de Guillaume Farel et de ses collegues Contre les calomnies de Pierre Caroli par Nicoal Des Gallars. Avec diverses lettres de Calvin, Caroli, Farel, Viret et autres documents traduits et presentes par Jean-Francois Gounelle*. Presses Universitaires de France 1994.

67 *Impietas Velentini Gentilis detecta et palam traducta, qui Christum non sine sacrilege blasphemia Deum essentiatum esse fingit* CO 9 361-420.

68 Responsum ad fratres Polonos, quomodo mediator sit Christus, ad refutandum Stancarum errorem. 1560 CO 9: 333-342. Ministorum ecclesia Genevensis responsio ad nobiles Polonos et Franciscum Stancarum Mantuanum ad controversia mediatoris 1561 CO 9: 345-58.

