

SUPPLEMENTA CALVINIANA

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF
CALVIN'S SERMONS
NOW IN COURSE OF PREPARATION

BY

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SUPPLEMENTA CALVINIANA

1133. Du Mercredi 4. Jo. d'Avoust. 1567.

Mal-heur sur les enfans peruers (dit le Seigneur)

qui prennent conseil, et non point de moy: qui
cachent le secret, et non point de moy. Esprit

voire adionstant peche sur peche. Ilz
tracassent pour descendre en Egypte

et n'interroguent point ma bouche

pour se fortifier en la puissance de

Pharaon, et se fier en l'ombre

d'Egypte. Car la force

de Pharaon vous

sera en cour-

rou, et

la

fiance de l'ombre d'Egypte en opprobre.

Isaie. Chap. 30.

Le Prophece en tout ce Chapitre

et au prochain ne sera sinon redarguer les Juifs de leur
infidelite d'autant qu'ilz alloient vers ce seruaire en Egypte contre
la despenze escurge de Dieu: et espoient paruer qu'ilz pourroient
y estre deus assistans. Et en premiere lieu moy rimois a moiser
qu'ilz m'oyse n'auoient appellee les d'Israel. Et l'ingratitude contre
les rois de Syrie et d'Israel. Comme moiser s'esperoit que les
premierz rois n'auoient iuste s'esperance de luy contre les rois
qu'ilz n'auoient pouuoient approuuer. Et rimois plus tost luy
et l'atrocite qu'ilz ne trouuoient moiser de moiser a luy. Et
pour l'autre en contraire occydeas rimois semblable. Et de cela
moise deuoit s'esperer par leu d'occulpas; car le moise
en est lamentable en toute la escripture: Car de ce qui a aduene
les Rois s'auant, un peuple barbare qui auant y est entre les
montaignes, restait par que moise deuoit qu'ilz dominoit auant d'auant
y est a plus part du monde. Et est escript par les Rois que
d'autant que les premierz et deuis moises les Rois contre les
autres: Il faut conuaincre quelque mal a luy. Et il faut que
moise deuoit par moise, par moise. Cependant de moise auant.



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PREFACE

MY thanks are due to the Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical Research for doing me the honour of inviting me to give the Tyndale Historical Theology Lecture in January 1962. What is more, I am grateful that they gave me the opportunity of bringing to the notice of British scholars what is, I suppose, the most important event in Calvin studies since the formation of the *Corpus Reformatorum* edition of the *Opera Calvini* and which will also no doubt be a noteworthy contribution to the literature of the French Renaissance. I do not remember having seen any reviews of Professor Rückert's edition of 2 Samuel in British periodicals. I know of only one copy of it in a library in Cambridge, and that is in Tyndale House. The University Library does not possess a copy.¹ I enjoyed giving the lecture; I hope that those who braved the snow to hear it also enjoyed it; but I shall be most pleased if this monograph brings to the notice of other scholars this vast and laudable project — the *Supplementa Calviniana*.

Oakington Vicarage,
Cambridge.

T. H. L. Parker.

¹ This is now being put right.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to thank the Chairman of the Editorial Committee, Dr. J. I. McCord, for permission to quote from various works and to reproduce facsimiles of manuscripts.

SUPPLEMENTA CALVINIANA

THREE editions of the *Opera omnia* of Calvin have been formed. The first, in seven folio volumes, was published at Geneva in 1617; the second, in nine folio volumes, at Amsterdam in 1667-71; the third consists of volumes 29 to 87 of the *Corpus Reformatorum*, published at Brunswick from 1863 to 1897. Geneva and Amsterdam contained only Latin works and no French — except that some French translated into Latin was included; most notably for our purpose, the sermons on 1 Samuel and Job. The *Corpus Reformatorum* improved on this considerably by publishing everything of Calvin that had already been published, whether Latin or French — everything, that is to say, that they could discover. They therefore included many sets of sermons that had been printed in the sixteenth century. But they did not include any works in manuscript. In preparing their edition, the editors, Baum, Cunitz and Reuss, noted the existence of certain volumes of sermons in manuscript in the *Bibliothèque publique et universitaire* at Geneva, and at first intended to transcribe and publish them:

‘A l’égard des sermons aussi nous sommes en mesure d’enrichir par plusieurs séries nouvelles les collections déjà imprimées’ (C.R., I, p. 2). In the course of the thirty years of publication, two of the editors, Baum and Cunitz, died, and it was left to their surviving colleague, Edouard Reuss, to apologize for the absence of the sermons: ‘La seule exception que nous nous soyons permis de faire, concerne une douzaine de volumes manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque de Genève, et contenant des centaines de sermons recueillis par la voie de la sténographie pendant que l’orateur les débitait. Nous avons pensé que la postérité pouvait s’en passer, après tant d’autres qui sont compris dans notre édition. Ces derniers, imprimés du vivant même de l’auteur, peuvent être regardés comme parfaitement authentiques, et son esprit et sa méthode s’y trouvent suffisamment caractérisée. Il y a d’ailleurs à remarquer que les commentaires de Calvin sur les divers livres de la Bible poursuivent une tendance toute pratique, et que ses sermons, portant généralement, non sur des textes choisis, mais sur des livres entiers, forment, pour ainsi dire, des séries complètes de traités d’exégèse populaire. Il était donc à peu près superflu de publier ces pièces inédites à la suite de ses

autres travaux parallèles, de forme plus savante ' (C.R, LVI, p. III).

We must now go back to the sixteenth century and explain how the sermons had got into manuscript at all. Under the church constitution in Geneva, *Les Ordonnances ecclésiastiques de l'Église de Genève*, preaching was to take place in the various churches thrice on Sundays and once every other day of the week. This was increased in 1549 to every day. Calvin took his part in the regular scheme by preaching twice on Sundays and once daily in alternate weeks. Only illness or absence from Geneva prevented his fulfilling the obligation. He followed a rule, from which he hardly ever deviated, of preaching on Sunday mornings on the New Testament, on Sunday afternoons on the Psalms or the New Testament, and on weekdays on the Old Testament. Moreover, he preached steadily through book after book of the Bible — 200 sermons on Deuteronomy, 159 on Job, 5 on Obadiah, 110 on 1 Corinthians, 43 on Galatians and so on. These sermons were extemporaneous and were never committed to writing by Calvin. Before 1549 some few had been taken down by stenographers and published. But it had apparently been done only intermittently and with some difficulty.

In 1549, however, *la compagnie des estrangers*, the society of refugees, chiefly French, assembled in Geneva, hired a Frenchman, one Denis Raguénier, to take down all Calvin's sermons in shorthand as they were preached and afterwards to superintend their transcription. The resultant folio volumes were committed to the care of the Deacons for anyone to read. Some of them were published, the rest remained in manuscript. In this way, over 2,000 of Calvin's sermons were faithfully recorded between 1549 and his death.

Some¹ time during the seventeenth century the manuscripts were deposited in the *Bibliothèque publique*, first being mentioned in the catalogue of 1697, and at the end of the eighteenth century the Library possessed 44 volumes of manuscript sermons. Many of these were also in print, fortunately, and so survived the catastrophe of 1805. In this year the Librarian, Senebier, sold the lot to a couple of booksellers, and as a crowning indignity, sold them by weight. In *le Journal de Genève*, 23 March, 1826, we find the full melancholy details: 'In 1805 Pastor Senebier was charged by the Directors of the Library to sell to the booksellers Manget and Cherbuliez, the books of which they possessed two copies. He sold these by weight and added to them the

¹ For the next two paragraphs I draw on M. Gagnebin's *L'Incroyable histoire*.

sermons to which not very much importance was then attached, probably because they were not written in Calvin's own hand, but secondly because they were extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to decipher, and finally because they kept in the Library one volume of these sermons and also a considerable number of autograph manuscripts of this great man.' This disaster, so terrible and yet with the elements of comedy about it, was to some extent retrieved. In 1823 two theological students, brothers belonging to the famous theological family of Monod, came upon eight of the volumes in a junk shop, bought them (by weight, of course) and gave them back to the Library. In London, in December 1846, two more volumes were offered at the sale of Professor Maunoir. They were knocked down for £4.15.0 to a French bookseller and at last found their way back to the Library in 1858 and 1867. Yet another, that on Isaiah 30-41, had been bought from Cherbuliez in 1819 or 1820, passed into other hands and was then given back to the Library in 1887. Another returned at an unknown date, thus making thirteen with the one the Library had kept. A fourteenth and much smaller volume, *Huict sermons, faictz par M. Jean Calvin*, most beautifully written by Raguénier as a presentation volume to the city fathers on the occasion of his admission to formal membership in the city, had been retained.

Thus, the Library at present possesses one volume of 87 sermons on 2 Samuel, three volumes of 190 sermons on Isaiah 13-52, one volume of 25 sermons on Jeremiah 15-18, three volumes of 177 sermons on Ezekiel 1-35, one volume of 28 sermons on Micah, one volume of 44 sermons on Acts 1-7, one volume of 58 sermons on 1 Corinthians 1-9, one volume of 23 sermons on various texts together with a *Congrégation*, one volume of 7 sermons and 23 *Congrégations*, and finally the Raguénier presentation volume. To these must be added three volumes in other libraries. First, the volume of sermons on Ephesians, which is in Berne. Second, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris there is a volume containing, among other things, five sermons on various texts. Thirdly, and most exciting, an extensive enquiry of the libraries of the world made in 1957 brought to light in the Bodleian Library at Oxford one volume on Genesis. This was not one of the missing volumes but a presentation copy written by Raguénier for Sir Thomas Bodley when he stayed in Geneva. It does not seem to be complete, however, for instead of the original 97 sermons, it has only 84. All this material, apart from the Berne sermons on Ephesians, which were first published in 1562, is completely new.

This is how matters stood until in 1936 Professor Hanns Rückert of Tübingen published the first *Lieferung* of his edition of the series on 2 Samuel. The war interrupted publication, but Professor Rückert took up the task again after 1945 and had the satisfaction of bringing it to an end in 1961. But it was clear that the work of transcribing and editing all these volumes was too much for one man. The World Reformed Alliance was therefore approached for help and advice and a committee was set up under the chairmanship of Dr. James I. McCord, then Dean of Austin Theological Seminary, Texas, and now President of Princeton Theological Seminary. Under the general editorship of Professor Erwin Mülhaupt of Wuppertal-Barmen, certain scholars were invited to undertake the editing of volumes:

Genesis:	Professor Richard Stauffer, of Paris.
Psalms:	Professor Erwin Mülhaupt.
Isaiah 13-29:	Professor Georges Barrois, of Princeton.
Isaiah 30-41:	Reverend T. H. L. Parker, of Oakington.
Isaiah 42-51:	Professor Jacques Courvoisier, of Geneva.
Jeremiah:	Professor Jean-Daniel Benoit, of Strasbourg.
Micah:	Professor Jean-Daniel Benoit.
Ezekiel:	Professor Barnabas Nagy, of Budapest.
Matthew 28, etc.:	Professor Erwin Mülhaupt.
Acts:	Professor Wilhem Frederik Dankbaar, of Groningen.
1 Corinthians:	Professor Wilhem Frederik Dankbaar.

A purely linguistic committee was also formed, consisting of M. Bernard Gagnebin, Conservateur des Manuscrits at the Library in Geneva and, at first, M. Alain Dufour, his assistant. When M. Dufour was unable to continue, his place was taken by Professor Henri Meylan of Lausanne. To have this committee reading the work of those of us who are not French by birth is — I speak from experience! — reassuring. Kreis Moers of Neukirchen, who published Professor Rückert's edition, has undertaken the whole series, issuing two or three *Lieferungen* a year. The collective title is to be *Supplementa Calviniana*, which may, for English readers, need some explanation. *Calviniana* apparently does not mean on the Continent, as it does for us, books about Calvin, but books actually by Calvin. The *Supplementa* is intended to convey that this edition is now completing what the *Corpus Reformatorum* left incomplete.

So far there has been published:

2 *Samuel*, ed. by Professor Rückert (1936-1961).

Lieferungen I-III of Isaiah 13-29, ed. by Professor Barrois (1961-1962).

Der Psalter auf der Kanzel Calvins (1959). This is a German translation by Professor Mülhaupt of the series on the Psalms.

We turn to the consideration of the manuscripts themselves. Excluding the *Huict sermons*, those in the Library at Geneva are of a uniform size, 31 cm. by 21 cm., are written on paper and on both sides of the sheets. The original binding was of vellum, but they have been rebound in the nineteenth century in red half leather. In binding, some of the top edges have been clipped, but I am not aware that the writing has anywhere been cut, apart from some of the more exuberant flourishes. The books are in a good state of preservation, though there has been some damage from water. Whether this has rendered any passages illegible I do not know. The worst difficulty, as may be seen from Plate 4, is where the ink either shows through from the other side or is blotted from the opposite page.

Several scribes took part in the work, spread as it was over fourteen or fifteen years. I am myself, of course, acquainted only with the scribes in my own particular section, and in any case lack the necessary training in palaeography to enable me to form just and confident judgments. I therefore quote from M. Gagnebin's careful and complete essay:

' 1. The three volumes of sermons dating from the years 1549-1551 — those on Jeremiah (1549), Acts (1549-1551) and Micah (1550-1551) come from three scribes whose writing is not dissimilar, whom we may call A, Y and Z.

' 2. The three volumes of sermons on Isaiah were transcribed by four scribes (B, C, D and E), plus scribe A, who wrote fol. 1, 157-159 and 287 of ms. fr. 17 (1557) and fol. 207 of ms. fr. 19 (1558).¹

' 3. The three volumes of sermons on Ezekiel, dating from the years 1552-1554, were written by a score of different hands. We again find the writing of A on fol. 1, 10-18, 36-107 and 364 of ms. fr. 22 and that of Z in the largest part of the same volume as well as in some sermons in ms. fr. 23.

¹ Professor Barrois, however, is of the opinion that only four scribes wrote Isaiah.

' 4. The volume of sermons on I Corinthians (1555-1556) is almost completely written by yet another scribe, different from the foregoing, as well as by three or four others here and there.

' 5. The volume of sermons on II Samuel (1560) is written by another group of four scribes, again different, and distinguished by Professor Rückert in his edition.

' 6. The ms. fr. 40a, which brings together sermons on various texts preached from 1551 to 1560, is written by some ten hands, notably that of A (for the first leaf of three sermons on the Psalms and even for one whole Psalm), that of Z, that of the chief scribe of the I Corinthians sermons, one of the copyists of the sermons on Ezekiel and one of those who transcribed the sermons on II Samuel. Ms. fr. 40b, containing the sermons on the Passion preached in 1562 is, on the other hand, by one scribe alone. As for ms. fr. 40c, with the *Huict Sermons* presented by Raguénier to the Council, it is impossible to compare it with the writing of the copyists, as it is so beautifully and carefully written.

We do not hesitate to identify scribe A with Denis Raguénier himself

The other scribes have not been identified and indeed probably cannot be.

The layout of the sermons follows a consistent pattern. At the head of the sermon is written the number of the sermon in the volume, followed by its number in the series. Then comes the date. Underneath is written the text, usually some two or three verses. All this and the first line of the sermon itself are in ornamented script. The heading and the text were not necessarily written by the transcriber of the sermon as a whole. The rest of the sermon is in an everyday sort of hand, except that the running text, which Calvin is at that point expounding, and the first words of the final prayer, are in ornamental script.

It is clear that the transcriber wrote from dictation, presumably by Raguénier. For not infrequently he will write the wrong word with the same sound. Thus, we find *ces* for *ses*, and vice versa. Once, in my sermons, the scribe has written *mot*, which Raguénier himself later noticed and corrected to *maulx*. The sermons certainly seem to have been revised. Most often the scribe himself spots his error by the time he has heard the next word or phrase and hastily corrects it. A few mistakes slip past him, but most of these are captured by the reviser. The final result is a remarkably reliable text, with an odd error here and there.

It will be remembered that one of the reasons advanced by the editors of *Corpus Reformatorum* for their omission of these sermons was that they were not sufficiently sure of the authenticity of the text. Nothing could, in fact, be further from the truth than their suspicion. First and most important, we possess such a large number of sermons by Calvin that it is not at all difficult to pronounce whether a passage is Calvinian or not. His usual vocabulary is small, he uses a great number of stereotyped phrases, his expository style is distinctive. We may in fact go so far as to say either that *all* the sermons are suspect or that none is. (This is not to deny that Denis Raguénier may have made occasional slips in his shorthand notes or that some scribal errors have also been preserved.) Moreover, these sermons are the work of a great theologian of immense learning who has delivered them in very fine French. Was Raguénier capable of either the theology or the French? But if Raguénier is not responsible even for the French, it follows that we have the *ipsis-sima verba* of Calvin. It is difficult to speak too highly of Denis Raguénier, undertaking this arduous and sustained task. He was a very fine secretary.

The scribes differ, not only in their handwriting and its legibility, but also in their spelling, punctuation and accentuation.

Sixteenth-century orthography, of course, is always confused. In these manuscripts the spelling is indeterminate, frequently startling, and we need be surprised at nothing we encounter so long as it does not make nonsense of the basic structure of the word. *Parole* or *parolle*; *volonté* or *volunté*; *souz* or *soubz*; *hypochrisie* or *ypochrisie* or *ipochrisie*; and so on. Not merely does one scribe differ from another, but sometimes also from himself. That my first scribe (whom we may call α to avoid confusion with M. Gagnebin's A, who is Raguénier and with Professor Barrois' A, who is M. Gagnebin's B, I presume) will use the spelling *tousjours*, and my second scribe β *tousjous* is not out of the way. But, although I have not met scribe α using *tousjous*, scribe β does sometimes use *tousjours*. Nevertheless, there is a general consistency with the scribes, sufficient to surprise the reader if it is varied. Thus, scribe α has *cognoistre*, *c'estassavoir*, *moyen*, *cercher* and *coys*, whereas scribe β almost always prefers *congnostre*, *c'estascavoir*, *moien*, *chercher* and *quoys*. The usual sixteenth-century forms which are known to anyone who has read some of the literature of the period are followed — *oi* for *ai* in the verb endings, for example ('Ronsard me celebroit du temps que j'étois belle') or the insertion of an *s* where modern

French omits it or supplies a circumflex accent, or *y* for *i*. This orthography imposes an added burden on the transcriber, for he can never take a spelling for granted, and must always read, not the word but the letters.

The manuscripts abound with the old mediaeval contractions, many of which will be familiar to readers of sixteenth-century books.

Again, the punctuation is anything but consistent. Some scribes use only full-stops, colons and question marks. Others have the added refinement of commas. But this is the extent of the punctuation, except for the occasional use of brackets. Question marks are nearly always given; in fact, I do not remember an occasion when I have had to supply one, but possibly this may vary from scribe to scribe. Full-stops and colons are erratic.

Thirdly, the use of accents, apostrophes, cedillas and hyphens is variable. My own scribe α (who was both a more careful and, in general, a better worker than β) supplies some acute accents on the final *é* of past participles, *etc.*, some grave accents on such words as *à* and *là*, frequent cedillas, hyphens to connect the verb and the pronoun in inversions and apostrophes between contractions like *qu'il*. Scribe β has no accents, no cedillas, is erratic with hyphens but usually has apostrophes. Another scribe of my acquaintance omits the apostrophe; and this can lead to some confusion, between *quelle* and *qu'elle*, for example.

The chaotic state of the manuscripts in these respects is being controlled in the *Supplementa Calviniana* by a uniform system of editing. The editorial committee has agreed on the following rules:

1. The spelling of the various scribes shall be followed exactly as given. However, the modern distinction of *u* and *v*, *i* and *j* shall be introduced, in conformity with the current practice of French scholars editing ancient texts.
2. All abbreviations shall be resolved . . . with the spelling preferred by that scribe When ordinal numbers are given in figures, instead of being written in letters, the usage of the manuscript shall be followed.
3. In numerous cases the separation or union of words is most arbitrary and may be considered a purely graphic occurrence. For example, *à ce* — *ace*, *de ce* — *dece*, *à son* — *ason*, *etc.* In such cases, the spelling shall be normalized after the modern usage The separation or union of words in such

locutions as *pource que*, *puis que*, ought to be reproduced as given. The practice of the scribes in using or omitting the hyphen shall be followed without modification.

4. The use of the apostrophe by the scribes appears to be most arbitrary For the sake of clarity, the apostrophe ought to be supplied regularly It seems advisable, however, to follow the scribes in their spelling of *aujourduy*, or *aujourdhuy*, or *aujourd'huy*.

5. The punctuation, which is most arbitrary in our manuscripts, shall be normalized according to logic and the usage of modern French The use of majuscules at the beginning of sentences . . . or of nouns such as *l'Église* should also be normalized

6. The acute accent on final tonic *é* should be supplied regularly The prepositions *à*, *là*, *où*, shall be marked with grave accents in order to avoid any confusion

7. The setting of the cedilla under *c* in words like *façon*, etc. was unanimously recommended by the French-speaking members of the Committee. . . .

A part of the office of the new edition will be to identify quotations and references, a task noticeably left undone in the *Corpus Reformatorum*. And here we enter upon one of the most delicate and difficult parts of the editor's work, though also, let it be confessed, one of the most absorbing.

Not often does Calvin refer to other commentators. In the *Praelectiones in Daniele* he tells us why: 'I do not usually refer to conflicting opinions, because I take no pleasure in refuting them, and the simple method which I adopt pleases me best, namely, to expound what I think was delivered by the Spirit of God' (Dn. 9: 24. C.R., XLI, p. 167). When he cites, it is usually under some such incognito as *alii* or *illi*. But in the sermons even such references become very much rarer, and it is only when we turn to the parallel passage in the Commentary concerned that we come upon the learning that lies behind the exposition in the sermon. As soon as we start investigating the sources of Calvin's exegesis we find that we have hit upon a rich lode.

The editors will doubtless have their own individual ways of dealing with this matter, and therefore all I can do is to show the course I am following and try to justify it.

In the first place, I take it as mere common sense to look first to the more obvious writers: only if they fail us need we go further afield. But who are the more obvious writers in this con-

nection for Calvin? Those for whom he expresses a preference and also those whom he quotes most frequently. Both these groups will probably vary from book to book of the Bible; they will partly vary between the Old and the New Testaments. Sebastian Münster may be expected to appear in the Old Testament, Erasmus mostly in the New. Nevertheless others, Jerome for example, will appear everywhere.

Who, then, are these writers to whom Calvin's thought is directed in Isaiah 30-41, the section with which I am concerned as editor? Elsewhere in Isaiah he refers by name to Athanasius, Augustine, Chrysostom, Jerome, Oecolampadius and, collectively, 'the Rabbis'. Augustine wrote no commentary on the whole of Isaiah, and the references to him relate to several different works. Similarly Athanasius, where Calvin is quoting a spoken remark recorded in Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book III, chapter 14. The citations of Chrysostom refer also to general works. We are therefore left with Jerome, Oecolampadius and the Rabbis. Let us then posit for a beginning that Calvin knew and used Jerome's and Oecolampadius' commentaries on Isaiah and also the commentaries of certain of the Rabbis, either directly or at second hand.

In 1540 Viret had written asking for information about commentaries on Isaiah. Calvin replied: 'Capito has some things in his lectures which may be useful to you in illustrating Isaiah. But as he does not dictate any of it to his audience and has, moreover, not yet reached chapter fourteen, he cannot at present help you much. Zwingli does not lack an apt and ready exposition, but he takes too many liberties and therefore often strays far from the prophet's meaning. Luther does not worry much about how he expresses things or about historical accuracy either. He is content to elicit a fruitful doctrine. I think that no-one has applied himself more diligently to this task than Oecolampadius, though he has not always arrived at the full scope or meaning' (*C.R.*, XI, p. 36).

But it is plain that we must seek other commentators as well. A considerable number of commentaries on Isaiah had been written between the first century and 1557 when Calvin preached these sermons. In my edition of the sermons on Isaiah 53 I give a list of twenty-one commentaries, to which at least one other should be added. And here it is just a matter of comparing all these authors with Calvin and seeing whether in fact they correspond with the quotation. Unfortunately, of course, the quotations are most often given in Calvin's own words, though

sometimes he gives one or two leading words which facilitate identification. Not infrequently the quotation could refer to more than one author.

At this point we must mention Nicolas of Lyra and the material associated with his *Postillae* — the *Glossa interlinearia*, the *Glossa ordinaria*, the *Additiones* of Paul of Burgos and the *Replicae* of Matthias Döring. This was a whole library of exegesis in itself, containing as it did not only mediaeval exegesis but also, in the *Glossa ordinaria*, a catena of comments from the Fathers. These vast volumes were several times printed at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, often with a very bewildering layout, so that no less a scholar than John Jewell of Salisbury was moved to groan that 'Nicolas Lyra, Paulus Burgensis and Matthias Doring, are all three so joined together, not only in one book, but also oftentimes in the one side of the leaf, that, unless a man be very watchful, he may soon take one of them for another' (*Works*, Parker Society, III, pp. 59of.). It is sometimes thought that Lyra formed one of the chief sources of Calvin's exegesis. I myself, however, cannot at present give him such an important position. That Calvin knew and used this material is indisputable, but it is still to be proved that it is a major source — and proved by strict and scientific investigation. The basis of my doubts is twofold. First, the simple one that where I have compared the two I have rarely been able to discover a close correspondence between them; nor does the hunting down of Calvin's references often lead us into the thickets of this *Biblia*. And secondly, only once does he mention Lyra by name in the whole of his commentaries. Admitted that the index of *Corpus Reformatorum*, from which I take this information, is unreliable. But it is not so unreliable that we must add many more references — five in all would be fantastic generosity. This paucity of reference is no proof, but it is a good indication that Calvin does not put Lyra in the forefront.

The passage that the index refers us to is perhaps the most significant of any in this respect. It occurs in the *Praelectiones in Danielelem*, and the verse under consideration is Daniel 9: 24: 'Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city.' Calvin is attacking the opinions of the Rabbi Isaac Abarbanel, whom he calls Barbinel. Barbinel makes a great to-do about the different explanations of this verse among Christian commentators; but in fact, says Calvin, he does not go far enough, 'for I am ready to concede far more than he demands. For that

brawler was ignorant of everything and exhibits only petulance and garrulity He takes as authorities among us Africanus and Nicolas of Lyra, Burgensis and a certain doctor called Remond. He is ignorant of the names of Eusebius, Origen, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Apollinaris, Jerome, Augustine and other such writers He (Africanus?) errs again on another chapter, by taking the years to be lunar, as Lyranus does' (C.R., XLI, p. 175). He goes on to show the differences between these commentators and ends by saying that readers will find the modern commentators useful for understanding the passage, particularly Oecolampadius; Philip Melancthon, although he 'excels in genius and learning and is happily versed in historical studies', cannot be approved in his computations here (C.R., XLI, p. 176). This passage is of great importance in that it shows some of the commentators with whom Calvin was accustomed to work. But it also very firmly relegates Lyra and his accompanying material to the, at most moderate, place that Calvin allows him. For the passage is to be interpreted thus: 'Barbinel' wants to prove Christian disagreement. To do so he takes Lyra, Africanus, Paul of Burgos and Remond as the important texts to work on. But he should in fact have taken the really significant commentators like Eusebius and the others named. Indeed, if you want this verse really well expounded, you must come to Oecolampadius. We may illustrate all this with two or three examples.

1. Isaiah 30: 20: 'yet your Teacher will not hide himself any more, but your eyes shall see your Teacher' (RSV).

Calvin: 'The rain will no more pass away, but your eyes shall see the rain.' Both in the commentary and in the sermons he deliberately rejects the rendering 'Teacher'. Comm.: 'That some take מורה as teacher (*doctor*) does not fit in.' Sermon.: 'It is true that the word he uses could mean teacher (*docteur*) and some have taken it in this sense.'

The 'some' number the Vulgate, Lyra, *Glossa interlinearia*, Pagninus, Zwingli and the Rabbis Jarchi and Kimchi. But where does Calvin get the distinctly unpopular translation 'rain' from? It is to be found in three moderns, Oecolampadius, Münster and Brenz.

2. Isaiah 30: 32: 'And in every place where the grounded staff shall pass'

Sermon.: 'Now the prophet adds that this staff shall be grounded (*fondé*). Some take this word as referring to the

decree of God. But it is a very apt similitude by which the prophet has declared that this staff leaves its imprint on the head and on the back of the wicked.'

Here Calvin is refusing Lyra and the *Glossa interlinearia*. Lyra comments: 'that is, the rod of the divine judgment. *Grounded*: that is, firm and steady, because that judgment is irretractable.' And *Glossa int.*: 'The smiting of the eternal vengeance.' Again we find Calvin following Oecolampadius, who says: 'floggers who beat so hard that the rod sinks into the flesh of the man being flogged.'

3. Isaiah 30: 12: 'You trust in oppression and perverseness.'

Calvin: 'You have trusted in violence and malice.' And in the sermon he says: 'When men trust in some opinion that they have conceived and do not keep themselves to the promises of God, it is called violence; for it is only audacity and temerity, as if men wanted to win it by their fury, like brute beasts.' In choosing *violence* he tacitly rejects two other renderings which he notes in the commentary: 'riches wrongly acquired' and 'trickery'. The former is to be found in Ibn Ezra, Kimchi and Brenz; the latter in *Glossa int.*, Münster and Oecolampadius. Vatablus and Zwingli have 'trickery', but they also have 'violence'; indeed, Vatablus' comment is Calvin's translation word for word — *confisi estis in violentia*.

This fascinating exercise could be pursued at much greater length; and indeed, for the matter to be settled, it would have to be pursued at length. But enough has been said, I hope, to show something of the exegetical tradition behind Calvin's sermons that a critical edition will discover.

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