

*B.J. van der Walt*

**AD FONTES:  
INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH  
ON THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY REFORMATION  
AND THE POSITION IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Today more research on the Reformation in general and the great reformers in particular is being done than is generally known. The reappraisal of the 16th century has in the past decades brought about important results in Reformation research.

This article will not go into these results – a whole series of articles would be necessary. It will merely illuminate the following facts: where, by whom and about what the relevant research is being done.

Even this cannot be done exhaustively. Attention is focused on the work done at universities and institutes only. It would be an impossible task to mention the contribution of every individual researcher in this field.

As an introduction I would like to say something about the world-wide links in this field of study, as, for example, by means of international associations, congresses and colloquia.

## **1. International co-operation**

### *1.1 Associations*

The “Verein für Reformationsgeschichte” aims at the study of the history of the Reformation in general. This is done mainly through the re-issue of documents originating from<sup>1)</sup> the Refor-

1. The latest catalogue contains, inter alia *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften*, *Melanchtons Werke*, *Calwer-Luther-Ausgabe*, *Andreas Osiander Gesamt-Ausgabe*, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*, *Thomas Müntzer Schriften und Briefe*, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* and a new critical, commented upon edition of Melanchton's correspondence.

mation, and also new publications about<sup>2)</sup> this event. (Membership<sup>3)</sup> of this association has, amongst others, the advantage that members can obtain a whole series of publications at a large discount – up to 30 percent.) The Association also arranges scientific symposiums on the history of the Reformation.

Together with the “American Society for Reformation Research” the “Verein” has since 1972 also published an international magazine *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History*, which contains, apart from articles, regular literature reviews<sup>4)</sup>.

### *1.2 International congresses, conferences and colloquia*

#### *\* Luther congresses*

Up to now five international Luther research congresses have been held. The last congress was held from 14-20 August, 1977, in Lund, Sweden<sup>5)</sup>.

*Lutherjahrbuch*, the official journal for international Luther research, has appeared since 1919<sup>6)</sup>. Volume 44, 1977, contains instructive articles on Luther research throughout the world (inter alia in the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, the Romanic countries, the Anglo-Saxon world and even in Japan.)

2. Amongst others books on Luther, Bucer etc..

3. Membership is DM 25 per annum and must be posted to Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, Dr. Heinz Scheible, Heiliggeiststrasse 15, 6900 Heidelberg, West Germany.

4. Subscription fee is DM 90 per annum payable to the above address.

5. Particulars are published in the *Circular*, nr. 6, July 1977 of the Clearing House of the International Conference of Institutions for Christian Scholarship.

The lectures of the fourth congress for Luther research by H.A. Oberman (editor) have been published under the title *Luther and the dawn of the modern era* (Leiden, Brill, 1974).

6. Published by Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, P.O. Box 77, 3400 Göttingen.

\* *Calvin congresses*

The first European Calvin research congress was held in Amsterdam from 16-19 September, 1974<sup>7</sup>). The lecture by D. Nauta, "Stand der Calvinforschung", delivered on this occasion gives a general survey of where Calvin research finds itself at present.

The second congress on Calvin research was not confined to European participants, but was international and took place in Amsterdam from 25-28 September, 1978. The theme of the congress was "Calvin – teacher of the church"<sup>8</sup>). The venue of the third will be Geneva (in 1982).

\* *Bullinger commemoration*

For the first time in the history of Bullinger research a conference was held from 30 September to 1 October, 1975, to commemorate the 400th anniversary of this reformer's death. Scientists from all over Europe (also from Hungary) gathered in Zürich for this purpose. The conference was arranged by the "Institut für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte" about which more will be said later. (See 2.5). The lectures delivered at the conference were published in 1977 by U. Gäbler and E. Zsindely under the title *Bullinger-Tagung 1975. Vorträge gehalten aus Anlass von Heinrich Bullingers 400. Todestag*.

\* *Colloquium on Anabaptist Movements*

A noticeable phenomenon in the recent research on the Reformation is the particular interest in the anabaptists, spiritualists, anti-trinitarians and libertinists – names for the different radical

7. The papers were published by Neukirchener Verlag under the title *Calvinus Theologus* (157 pages) in 1976.

8. Particulars were published in *Circular* nr 6, July 1977 mentioned under footnote 5 above. A report about it will appear in *Circular* nr. 13, April 1979. The present secretary is Prof. W.H. Neuser, Lahmbrock 17, 4401, Ostbevern, West Germany.

movements which originated outside the official protestant churches at the time of the Reformation. A treasure-house of original sources and documents has become available to researchers<sup>9)</sup>.

The Protestant Theological Faculty at the University of Strasbourg held a colloquium on "The origin and characteristics of the

9. Cf. only the following: Arrington, C.A.: *The Anabaptists. Their relation to the early church and to modern Baptists*. Union Theological Seminary, Thesis, 1948; Balke, W.: *Calvijn en de dooperse radikalen* (1973); Bauman, Cl.: *Gewaltlosigkeit im Täuferum*. Leiden, Brill, 1968; Beachy, A.J.: *The concept of grace in the radical reformation*. Nieuwkoop, B. de Graaf, 1977; Bergsten, T.: *Balthasar Hubmaier, Seine Stellung zu Reformation und Täuferum. 1521-1528*. Kassel, J.G. Oncken Verlag, 1961; Collins, R.W.: *Calvin and the Libertines of Geneva*. (Ed. by F.D. Blackley) 1968; De Wind, H.A.: *The relations between Italian Reformers and Anabaptists in the mid-sixteenth century*. Chicago, Illinois, The University of Chicago, Thesis, 1951; Estep, W.R.: *The Anabaptist Story*. Grand Rapids, W.B. Eerdmans, 1975; Estep, W.R. (Jr.): *Anabaptist Beginnings (1523-1533). A source book*. Nieuwkoop, B. de Graaf, 1976; Fast, H.: *Der linke Flügel der Reformation. Glaubenszeugnisse der Täufer, Spiritualisten, Schwärmer und Antitrinitarier*. Bremen, Carl Schüneman Verlag, 1962; Friedman, R.: *The Theology of Anabaptism*, Scottsdale, Penn., Herald Press, 1973; Gage, D.: *The place of the Anabaptists in the Reformation movement*. New York, N.Y., The Biblical Seminary of New York, Thesis, 1942. Gastaldi, U.: *Storia dell' Anabattismo delle origini a Torino*, Claudiana, s.j.; Geiser, S.H.: *Die Taufgesinnten Gemeinden im Rahmen der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte* (1971); Goertz, H.J.: *Innere und äussere Ordnung in der Theologie Thomas Müntzers*. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1967; Goertz, H.J. (red.) *Umstrittenes Täuferum 1525-1975*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck en Ruprecht, 1975; Goeters, J.F.G.: *Ludwig Hötzer (1500-1529). Spiritualist und Antitrinitarier*. Gütersloh, C. Bertelsman, 1957; Hersberger, G.F.: *Das Täuferum. Erbe und Verpflichtung*. Stuttgart, Evangelisches Verlag, 1963; Hillerbrand, H.J.: *Bibliographie des Täuferums*. Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1962; Hillerbrand, H.J.: *A bibliography of Anabaptism: 1520-1630. A sequel: 1962-1974*. St. Louis, Center for Reformation Research; Hillerbrand, H.J.: *Thomas Müntzer. A Bibliography*. St. Louis, Center for Reformation Research; Horst, I.B.: *The radical brethren. Anabaptism and the English Reformation*. Nieuwkoop, B. de Graaf, 1972; Hulshof, A.: *Geschiedenis van de Doops-gesinden te Straatsburg van 1525-1557*. Amsterdam, J. Claassen, 1905; Kirschhoff, K.-H.: *Die Täufer in Münster*. Münster, Aschendorfsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1973; Klaasen, W.: *Anabaptism: Neither Catholic nor Protestant*. Waterloo, Ontario, Carad Press, 1973; Krahn, C.: *Dutch Anabaptism, Origin, Spread, Life, Thought (1450-1600)*. Den Haag, M. Nijhoff, 1968; Krebs, M. & Rott, H.G. (editors): *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*. 13 parts. Gütersloh. Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn; Lindboom, J.: *Stiefkinderen van het Christendom*. Arnhem, Bijsberg van Loon, 1973; Littell, F.H.: *Das Selbstverständnis der Täufer*. Kassel, J.G. Oncken, 1966; Loewen, H.: *Luther and the Radicals*. Waterloo, Ontario, Wilfred Laurier University, 1974; Oyer, J.S.: *Lutheran Reformer against Anabaptists*. Den Haag, M. Nijhoff, 1964; Renfrew, J.H.: *The Anabaptist movements in the sixteenth century*. Univ. of Illinois, Thesis, 1933. Rotondo, A.: *Calvin and the Anti-Trinitarians* (trans. by J. and A. Tedeschi). Series: Reformation Essays and Studies Vol. II. St. Louis, Center for Reformation Research; Stayer, J.M.: *Anabaptists and the sword*. Lawrence (Kansas), Coronado Press, 1976; *Tragiek en triomf van het geweten. Het boek der ketters*. Amsterdam, Ploegsma, s.j.; Van Dulmen, R. (ed.): *Das Täuferum zu Münster 1534-1535. Berichte und Dokumente*. München, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1974; Verduin, L.: *The reformers and their stepchildren*. Grand Rapids, W.B. Eerdmans, 1964; Von Muralt, L. & Schmid, W. (editors): *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz*. 2 Parts. Zürich,

Anabaptist movement" from 20-22 February, 1975<sup>10</sup>). The participants decided to establish a centre in Strasbourg to co-ordinate the research on this "unofficial" or "non-conformist" Christianity during the 16th century<sup>11</sup>).

\* *Colloquium on the exegetic methods of the 16th century*

The "Institut d'Histoire de la Reformation" (c/o Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Genève) arranged an international colloquium on the exegesis of the 16th century from 28 September to 2 October, 1976<sup>12</sup>).

There may have been more similar international contacts concerning Reformation research. These few examples are, however, sufficient to illustrate the renewed world-wide interest in different facets of this fascinating epoch in Western history<sup>13</sup>).

Theologischer Verlag, 1952 & 1973; Walzer, M.: *The revolution of the saints. A study in the origin of radical politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965; Wenger, J.C.: *Die dritte Reformation*. Kassel, J.G. Oncken, 1963; Williams, G.H. & Mergal, A.M. (editors): *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*. (Library of Christian Classics no. 25). Philadelphia, The Westminster Press; Williams, G.H.: *The radical reformation*. Philadelphia, The Westminster Press; Williams, G.H.: *The radical reformation*. Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1957; Windhorst, C.: *Täuferisches Taufverständnis. Balthasar Hubmaiers Lehre Zwischen traditioneller und reformatorischer Theologie*. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1976; Yoder, J.H.: *Täuferium und Reformation in der Schweiz*. Karlsruhe, H. Schneider, 1962; Yoder, J.H.: *Täuferium und Reformation im Gespräch*. Zürich, E.V.Z.-Verlag, 1968.

10. Lectures were to be published by M. Nijhoff, The Hague in the series "International Archives of the History of Thought".

11. According to information the *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses* (published by the Strasbourg Protestant Theological Faculty) will from time to time contain information on the progress of the work. Those interested can write to Prof. Marc Lienhard, Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, Faculté de Théologie Protestante, Palais Universitaire, 67084, Strasbourg, France.

12. Cf. the report on this by B. Roussel under the title *Le Premier colloque international d'Histoire de l'Exégèse biblique au xvie siècle*, *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 39:167-171, 1977.

13. A considerable number of the results of the research on the Reformation are at present being published by the following well-known publishers: Gütersloher Verlaghaus Gerd Mohn, J.C.B. Mohr (Tübingen), Theologischer Verlag (Zürich), Zwingli Verlag (Zürich/Stuttgart), Chr. Kaiser Verlag (München), Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Göt-

## 2. Research on the Reformation in Europe

During a recent visit to Europe I was able to find research units on the Reformation only in Würzburg, Tübingen, Strasbourg, Geneva, Zürich and Heidelberg. There is a degree of specialization, but not to such an extent that each centre has confined its research to one single reformer. The following is a brief survey of the most important research being done in the different places.

### 2.1 Würzburg

Study concerning the Reformation and the reformers is no longer of interest to Protestant scholars only. Roman Catholics and researchers from other denominations are also taking part<sup>14</sup>). It has become an ecumenical concern.

An example of this state of affairs is the work of Prof. Alexandre Ganoczy<sup>15</sup>) and Dr Helmut Feld in Würzburg<sup>16</sup>). They are

tingen), Neukirchener Verlag (Neukirchen-Vlyn – amongst others a new edition of Calvin's Bible commentaries as well as the *Supplementa Calviniana* which consists of Calvin's unpublished sermons), Walter de Gruyter (Berlin/New York – amongst others the series "Spätmittelalter und Reformation. Texte und Untersuchungen" under the editorship of H.A. Oberman of the "Institut für Spätmittelalter und Reformation" at the University of Tübingen), E.J. Brill (Leyden – amongst others the two series "Studies in the History of Christian thought" and "Studies in Medieval and Reformation thought" which include a considerable number of works on the Reformation).

14. Information about the Roman Catholic research in connection with, for example, Calvin, is offered in the following two works: H. Scholl: *Calvinus Catholicus. Die katholische Calvinforschung im 20. Jahrhundert.* (Freiburg/Basel/Wien, Herder 1974) and H. Schützeichel: *Die Glaubenslehre Calvins* (München, Max Heuber Verlag, 1972) which on pages 35-41 has a brief summary of the modern Roman Catholic research on Calvin.

15. A. Ganoczy has already written two books on Calvin, viz. *Calvin. Théologie de l'église et du Ministère* (Paris, 1964 – also in German by Herder, Freiburg published in 1968 under the title *Ecclesia Ministrans*) and *Le jeune Calvin. Genèse et Evolution de sa vocation réformatrice* (Wiesbaden 1966).

In addition he compiled a complete catalogue of the books in the Academy of Geneva which was founded by Calvin. It has been published under the title *La Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin. Le catalogue de 1572 et ses enseignements* (Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1969).

16. Address: Forschungsprogramm "Calvin-Forschung", Institut für Systematische Theologie, Lehrstuhl für Dogmatik, Universität Würzburg, Sandering, 2, 87 Würzburg, Germany.

both busy with a "Forschungsprojekt" on the Hermeneutics of Calvin. Particular attention is paid to the relationship between Calvin and the Pauline "theology". In this connection research is being done on the Patristic and especially late Mediaeval background of Calvin's exegetical methods<sup>17</sup>).

In this context Dr Feld is preparing for publication a late Mediaeval theologian, Wendelin Steinbach's, commentary on the letters of St. Paul. The commentary on the letter to the Hebrews appeared in 1971 and Steinbach's commentary on the letter to the Galatians in 1976<sup>17a</sup>). In addition work is also being done on the publication of Cardinal Marino Grimani's commentaries on the Pauline Epistles (1442).

Ganoczy also discovered Calvin's marginal notes on Seneca's *De Clementia* as well as his notes on Chrysostomos' sermons and is preparing them for publication.

## 2.2 Tübingen

The "Institut für Spätmittelalter und Reformation"<sup>18</sup>) is connected to the Eberhard-Karls-Universität which commemorated its 500th year of existence in 1977.

This institute started with two men in 1961 and at present has five full-time researchers and twenty student assistants. As the name indicates, the focus is at the moment on the late Middle Ages because a clear image of this period is of great importance to the correct understanding of what happened during the Refor-

17. The results of the research were to have been completed in 1978. Temporary title: *Calvin als paulinischer Theologe. Eine Studie zur biblischen Hermeneutik Calvins auf dem Hintergrund der spätmittelalterlichen Theologie – und Geistesgeschichte.*

17a. Cf. H. Feld: *Martin Luthers und Wendelin Steinbachs Vorlesungen über den Hebräerbrief. Eine Studie zur Geschichte der neutestamentischen Exegese und Theologie.* Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1971 and H. Feld (ed.): *Wendelini Steinbach opera exegetica quae supersunt omnia.* Vol. I: *Commentarius in epistolam S. Pauli ad Galatas.* Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976.

18. Director: Prof. H.A. Oberman, Hölderlinstrasse 17, 7400, Tübingen.

mation. The intention is to concentrate more directly on the Reformation period at a later stage.

At present work is being done in the following areas:

\* Prof. W. Werbeck is working on the edition of the *Sententiae Commentary of Gabriel Biel*. (Books I and IV have already been published and books II and III are being prepared for publication.)

\* *Critical apparatus* for a (possibly) new edition of the well-known Weimar Ausgabe of *Luther's Works* is being worked on by Dr Hammal.

\* *A subject index to Luther's work*

In this respect Drs K.H. zur Mühlen and H. Jurgens together with their co-workers have accomplished an impressive amount of work. Of the four parts of the plus-minus 70 volume *Luther Opera*, viz. Documents, Class Notes by students, ("Tischreden"), Letters and the Luther Bible (plus the text of translation meetings), only the first part is being worked on. (This includes Luther's published works such as his disputes and sermons.) There is already an index for his "Tischreden". His letters are also important because the development of his theology can be traced in them. (Unfortunately they are being published in Halle behind the Iron Curtain and it is doubtful whether the publication will ever be finished.) Because a concordance of the Luther Bible already exists, it is generally accepted that it is unnecessary to compile an index for the fourth section of Luther's works. Dr H. Jurgens has good reason, however, to plead for the necessity of a subject index for this part of Luther's work also.

About 80 percent of the work has already been completed, but about another 20 years will be necessary to complete the project and to publish the results. (As yet it is only available on cards.)

Anyone who wishes to work on Luther would be foolish not to make use of the results already available. (Textual references on certain subjects are supplied by the institute on request.) Should a Calvin subject index ever be attempted much can be learnt from this Luther project.



Independent of and yet linked to this institute is the "Sonderforschungsbereich Spätmittelalter und Reformation", with Professors Oberman, Zeeden and Engel as staff members. They are mainly occupied with the publication of different 16th century documents (e.g. by Gregori of Rimini, J. von Paltz and J. von Staupitz) as well as important, but often unknown pamphlets from this period<sup>19</sup>).

### 2.3 Strasbourg

In this city there is no special institute for the study of the Reformation. In the past<sup>20</sup>), however, there have been and at present are eminent researchers attached to the Protestant Faculty of the University of Strasbourg<sup>21</sup>).

One of the best-known Calvin specialists was François Wendel<sup>22</sup>) who died a few years ago. At present significant figures

19. The members of the research group "Sonderforschungsbereich Spätmittelalter und Reformation" are the editors of a microfiche series with the title "Sixteenth century pamphlets in German and Latin (1501-1530)". This project consists of two parts. Firstly the *Flugschriftenbibliographie* which will refer to approximately 5 000 editions of pamphlets and consists of about 10 volumes. Secondly, as a complementary publication, the complete texts of all the pamphlets will be made available on microfiche. The bibliography will take about ten years to publish, but the publication of the microfiche series already started in 1978. The annual instalments will be about 300-500 pamphlets and will be accompanied by printed indices of authors, printers, places and year of publication. Although the bibliography and microfiche series can be used separately, they complement each other.

Editors: Hans-Joachim Köhler, Hildegard Hebestreit-Wilfert, Christoph Weismann. Full details from: Inter Documentation Company A.G. (I.D.C.), Poststrasse 14 6300 Zug, Switzerland.

20. Wilhelm Baum, Eduard Cunitz and Eduard Reuss, all three professors at the Protestant Faculty of Strasbourg, began publishing the *Ioannis Calvini, Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia* in 1863. Fifty-nine volumes appeared in the period 1863-1900. (Nos. 29-87 in the series *Corpus Reformatorum*.)

21. Address: Faculté de Théologie Protestante, Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, 6700 Strasbourg, France.

22. He was the author of the excellent work (originally in French, but now translated into German and English) *Calvin. The origins and development of his religious thought*, (Translated by Philip Mairet), London, Collins, 1963. In 1976, after his death, yet another important work about Calvin appeared, viz. *Calvin et l'Humanisme* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France) in which he indicates how Calvin's thoughts not only before, but also after his conversion, revealed strong humanistic influences. (Calvin's exegetical methods as well as his ethics and political philosophy).

are Prof. R. Peter and Doctors J. Rott, B. Roussel and M. Lienard.

A brief indication of what these men are occupied with will give the reader an idea of their fields of interest.

\* Prof. R. Peter is at present working on the following:

Preparing for publication part of the *Supplementa Calviniana* which will include Calvin's unpublished sermons<sup>23</sup>). Prof. Peter is also interested in Calvin's sermons in general, e.g. his Catechism sermons<sup>24</sup>). (At present the authority on Calvin's sermons is Prof. Richard Stauffer of Paris<sup>25</sup>.)

Prof. Peter has also given attention to Calvin's correspondence<sup>26</sup>).

His most important work at the moment, however, is a new comprehensive catalogue of Calvin's own works. By addition and by indicating exactly in which libraries or archives the works are available Prof. Peter wants to improve on what Erichson had already achieved in 1900<sup>27</sup>). Something of this nature was published in 1976, viz. the *Index Aureliensis*, Vol. VI (Calvin, pp. 235-297)<sup>28</sup>). It is, however, still incomplete and full of errors because

23. Parts I, II, V and VI of the *Supplementa Calviniana* have already appeared: *Predigten über das 2. Buch Samuels, Sermons sur le Livre d'Esaië, Sermons sur le Livre de Michée* and *Sermons sur les Livres de Jérémie et des Lamentations* (all by Neukirchener Verlag). Prof. Rodolphe Peter was the editor of the last volume.

24. Cf. his *Jean Calvin. Deux Congrégations et exposition du catéchisme* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1964).

25. Cf. his dissertation *Creator et Rector mundi. Dieu, la création et la providence dans l'oeuvre homilétique de Calvin* (1977) and his paper *Some unfamiliar aspects of the Theology of the first head of doctrine in the preaching of Calvin* read at the International Calvin Congress, September 1978, Amsterdam.

26. He was, inter alia, (together with J. Rott) co-editor of *Les Lettres à Jean Calvin. De la Collection Sarrau* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1972).

27. In 1960 Erichson's bibliography was reprinted unaltered by B. de Graaff in Nieuwkoop, Holland.

28. Obtainable at B. de Graaff, P.O. Box 6, Zuideinde 40, Nieuwkoop, Holland. Peter's research is concerned mainly with old publications (in some cases also manuscripts) while the bibliography of D. Kempff, *A bibliography of Calviniana 1959-1974*, (published by the Institute for the Advancement of Calvinism in 1975) presents mainly works about Calvin.

the compiler (who is unknown) apparently only wrote to libraries to inquire what they possessed and did not check and carefully rework the information received. He did not take into account that library catalogues may contain errors! (The advantage of this work, in comparison to that by Erichson, is that it at least indicates the libraries where the works are available.)

A second researcher in Strasbourg, Dr J. Rott's (emeritus) speciality is M. Bucer, especially his correspondence<sup>29</sup>).

## 2.4 Geneva

It is worthwhile taking note of the research being done at the

29. Cf. his work *Correspondance de Martin Bucer. Liste alphabétique des correspondants*. Bulletin nr. 1 of the "Association des Publications de la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg", 1977. (Cf. for Bucer's correspondence also J.V. Pollet: *Martin Bucer. Etudes sur la correspondance*. Vol. I (1958) and II (1962) at Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.)

Of Bucer's collected works *have been* published: *Martini Buceri: Opera Latina* (only volumes IV and IVb by F. Wendel at Presses Universitaires de France, Paris and C. Bertelsman, Gütersloh, 1954/55) and *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften* (5 parts, 1960 and following years by the same publishers).

These publications (including Bucer's correspondence) are to be continued in the series "Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought:" of E.J. Brill, Leiden.

The following persons will be responsible for the various parts:

*J. Rott* (Strasbourg): Bucer's correspondence. (Bucer, M.: *Correspondance. Tome I: Jusqu'en 1524*. Vol. 25 in "Studies in Medieval and Reformation thought".)

*P. Fraenkel* (Geneva): Patristic *Florilegium* (sayings of the church fathers compiled by Bucer et al and used by him, inter alia, in disputes) and the *Rotensbonbuch* (1540).

*R.G. Hobbs* (Geneva – soon moving to Vancouver): Bucer's commentary on the Psalms (1529).

*W.I.P. Hazlett* (King's College, University of Aberdeen, Scotland): Bucer's memoranda on the holy communion (including his suggestions for a reconciliation between Luther and Zwingli).

*B. Roussel* (Strasbourg): Bucer's commentary on Romans.

*E. Backas* (Shortly to Geneva): Bucer's commentary on the Gospel of John.

*P. Brooks* (Cambridge): Bucer's English period.

*G. Müller* (Erlangen): The problem of church property in the time of Bucer.

*W. van 't Spijker* (Apeldoorn): Bucer's works of 1545.

C. Augustijn (Amsterdam), M. de Kroon, R. Stupperich and M. Greschat (all from Münster) are working on other aspects of Bucer. (Geschat, for example, is working on the young Bucer and the library he had at his disposal).

All these details about M. Bucer's work are given because it is commonly accepted that to a large extent he was Calvin's spiritual father. This can be clearly noticed from the difference in magnitude between the first two editions of Calvin's *Institutes*. The first edition (Basel 1536) was a small work, while the second edition (1539), which was published in Strasbourg, after Calvin's contact with Bucer and his works, is about three times bigger. The additions to the second edition are mainly due to M. Bucer's influence.

“Institut d’Histoire de la Réformation” which was established in 1965<sup>30</sup>).

Whereas the research at the I.S.M.R. at Tübingen (cf. 2.2) is directed more at the late Middle Ages and subsequent possible influences on the Reformation (on Luther in particular), i.e. the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, the I.H.R. (Geneva) is more interested in what happened during the Reformation itself (e.g. the influence of Bucer on Calvin) as well as in the developments (e.g. at Beza) shortly after the Reformation, i.e. during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

At this institute research is done mainly in the following fields:

\* *The Contra Reformation*

Prof. P. Fraenkel has only now (after 12 years of study) completed a new edition of the work of the Roman Catholic John Eck, viz. *Enchiridion Locorum Communium adversus Luteranos* (1524). This first Roman Catholic reaction against the Reformation, twenty-five years before the Council of Trent, went through 170 different editions (in Latin, German, French, Dutch and Flemish) up to the 17th century.<sup>31</sup>

\* *Bucer research*

In 2.3<sup>32</sup>) mention has already been made of various research-

30. Address: Institut d’Histoire de la Réformation, Université de Genève, c/o Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, 1211 Geneva 4, Switzerland.

31. This work will be published under the title *Enchiridion* (J. Eck) by Corpus Catholicum at Münster i.W.. There is an English translation available with the title, Johann Eck *Enchiridion of Commonplaces, against Martin Luther and his followers* translated by F.L. Battles, Pittsburg, Pa, Duquesne University, 1976.

32. Cf. Footnote 29 above.

Of importance are also the following two works on Bucer: M. de Kroon & F. Krüger *Bucer und seine Zeit, Forschungsbeiträge und Bibliographie*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976. (Volume 80 in the series “Veröffentlichen des Institutes für Euro-

ers (such as P. Fraenkel, R.G. Hobbs<sup>33</sup>) and E. Backas) who are busy with Bucer research in Geneva<sup>34</sup>).

\* *Beza research*

Apart from Bucer research the "Musée Historique de la Réformation" (est. plus-minus 1946) – next door to the "Institut de la Réformation" – does a considerable amount of study of Théodore Beza.

The biggest project here is that of Mmes Claire Chimelli and Beatrice Nicollier. They are busy with the publication (under the editorship of A. Dufour) of Beza's correspondence<sup>35</sup>).

In addition J.B. Fellay is working on Beza's commentary on Romans. He is also busy with a bibliography on Beza's New Testament which has had a great influence especially in Holland, Hungary and England.

Other recent important studies are J. Raitt on Beza's doctrine

päische Geschichte Mainz") and F. Krüger: *Bucer und Erasmus. Eine Untersuchung zum Einfluss des Erasmus auf die Theologie Martin Bucers*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1970 (Volume 57 in the series "Veröffentlichen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz").

33. R.G. Hobbs graduated at the University of Strasbourg with a thesis (as yet unpublished), *An introduction to the Psalms Commentary of M. Bucer*.

W.I.P. Hazlett (until 1977 attached to the institute, but at present a member of the Department of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, Aberdeen, Scotland) took his doctorate at the University of Münster with an as yet unpublished thesis, *The development of M. Bucer's doctrine of the Lord's supper, 1523-1536*.

34. The following works are also important for a study of Bucer: A. Mampila's thesis at the University of Geneva (unpublished 1976) *Martin Bucer: Commentateur des Évangiles, 1527-1528. Patristique, Thomisme et Érasme chez un réformateur*; M. de Kroon & F. Krüger: *Bucer und seine Zeit. Forschungsbeiträge und Bibliographie*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976 (valuable bibliography on p. 134-165); H. Bornkamm: *Martin Bucers Bedeutung für die europäische Reformationsgeschichte* (includes a bibliography of Bucer's work by R. Stupperich). Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlaghaus Gerd Mohn, 1952 and J. Müller: *Martin Bucers Hermeneutik*. Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlaghaus Gerd Mohn, 1965.

35. Cf. H. Meylan, A. Dufour & A. de Henscher *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze* 8 vols. Genève, Librairie Droz, 1960 and following years.

of the Holy Communion<sup>36</sup>), T. Maruyama on Beza's Ecclesiology, J.S. Bray on Beza's doctrine of predestination<sup>37</sup>) and P.C. Holtrop on the basic structure of Beza's theology.

\* *Minutes of ministers' meetings in Geneva at the time of Calvin*

Under the leadership of A. Dufour, two ladies, (Misses Sabine Citroen and Marie Claude Junod) at the "Musée Historique de la Réformation" are working on the edition of the minutes of the ministers' meeting in Geneva at the time of Calvin<sup>38</sup>).

\* *Calvin study*

The "Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation" in the city of Calvin offers excellent opportunities for anyone who wants to do in-depth research on Calvin. At present (as far as I could determine) there are, however, only two persons at the institute busy with study on Calvin. They are J. Paluka-Rubinga who is working on Calvin's Isaiah commentary and B. Girardin who is busy with Calvin's Romans commentary<sup>38a</sup>).

## 2.5 Zürich

Here I visited the "Institut für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte"<sup>39</sup>). Until recently this institute was mainly concern-

36. Title: *The Eucharistic theology of Theodore Beza. Development of the reformed doctrine.* Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, American Academy of Religion, 1972.

37. Title: *Theodore Beza's Doctrine of predestination.* Nieuwkoop, B. de Graaf, 1975.

38. Vol. I (1546-1553) and vol. V appeared respectively in 1964 and 1976 with the title *Registres de la Compagne des Pasteurs de Genève au temps de Calvin.* (Genève, Librairie Droz).

38a. Dr T.H.L. Parker (England) has already done a considerable amount of research in this area. Cf. his paper "Commentary on Romans. Calvin the exegete – change and development", delivered at the International Calvin Congress, Amsterdam, Sept. 1978.

39. Address: Prof. Fritz Büsser, Director, Institut für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte, Kirchgasse 9, 8001 Zürich, Switzerland.

ed with the publication of Zwingli's works in the series *Corpus Reformatorum*. Only the three last volumes still have to be published before the work is complete. A Zwingli bibliography is already available.

There is also a "Zwingliverein" (Zwingli Association) with a regular magazine *Zwingliana Beiträge zur Geschichte Zwinglis, der Reformation und des Protestantismus in der Schweiz*<sup>40</sup>).

At present the main task of the I.S.R. is the editing of H. Bullinger's works. He was Zwingli's successor at Zürich. This edition is being prepared under the editorship of the director of the I.S.R., Prof. Fritz Büsser. He has the help of three fulltime and one half-day research assistants as well as a secretary and a librarian. The project encompasses the following four series:

*Bibliographies of*

\* Bullinger's printed works<sup>41</sup>).

\* Unpublished Bullinger manuscripts. (This task will take about twenty years to complete.)

\* Works on Bullinger.

*Correspondence*: The first part was already published in 1973.

*Theological works*: being worked on.

*Historiographic works*: being worked on.

According to Prof. Büsser, Bullinger was in a certain sense a more important reformer than Calvin. His reasons are that Bullinger's Biblical expositions and sermons (especially on the New Testament) had an immense influence on the whole of Europe at the time. Because his expositions were written in popular style and in German they were more readily accessible than Calvin's *Institutes* which was meant mainly for students of theology. As regards this Prof. Büsser specifically mentions Bullinger's *Ser-*

40. Membership fee for the "Verein" is 15 Swiss Francs for individuals and 50 for institutes. Address of society and *Zwingliana*: c/o Central-Bibliothek, Zürich. Editor: Dr Ulrich Gäbler, Turnerstrasse 34, 8006 Zürich, Switzerland.

41. Volume I – *Bibliographie* (1972) of *Heinrich Bullinger Works* has already appeared at Theologischer Verlag, Zürich.

*monem decades quinque* (1550) or the "Hausbuch" as it was called in German<sup>42</sup>).

It has already been mentioned that in 1975 this Institute, at the commemoration of Bullinger's death 400 years before, arranged an international Bullinger conference<sup>43</sup>).

## 2.6 Heidelberg

The "Melanchton-Forschungsstelle" (Melanchton Research Centre) is at the University of Heidelberg and falls under the directorship of Dr Heinz Scheible. At present the most important project is the preparation and publication of Melanchton's correspondence. The research centre has managed to trace about 9 200 letters written to and by Melanchton between 1514 and

42. For more particulars about Büsser's theory cf. his article Bullinger, nicht Calvin. *Neue zürcher Zeitung*, 6/7 Nov. 1976.

43. Cf. 1.2 above. For Bullinger study in general it is important to take note of the following two works (which appeared in 1975 during the Bullinger commemoration) by U. Gäbler and E. Herkenrath: (Heinrich Bullinger, 1504-1575. *Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 400. Todestag. Band I: Beziehungen und Wirkungen. Band II: Leben und Werk. Zürich, Theologischer Verlag, 1975.*

In his "Introduction" to the "H. Bullinger and Züricher Reformation" microfiche project (see footnote 66) F. Büsser again stresses the importance of Bullinger (1504-1574) over and against the mistaken concept that the Reformation has been brought about mainly by Luther and Calvin and perhaps Zwingli as well. The assertion that Bullinger has thus far always been overshadowed by Calvin (1509-1564) in research in Reformed Protestantism is biased, if not wrong. The reformed churches had two main centres and two spiritual leaders: Zürich with Bullinger and Geneva with Calvin. In the first place it was Bullinger who saved the reformation in Zürich after Zwingli was killed at Kappel in 1531. And in the second place, before, during and after Calvin, Bullinger can be seen at least as an equal to the Geneva Reformer as far as his influence and importance are concerned. His influence and impact are seen in his roughly 100 publications in Latin and German, the most important of which were reprinted many times and translated into other languages before his death. But this is seen even more clearly in the innumerable still unpublished manuscripts and his unusually large correspondence comprising roughly 12 000 letters. For several decades Bullinger's house functioned as a kind of agency where the latest information from all over Europe was collected, analysed and passed on. For many who needed advice and council (including Calvin) he was a wise "oracle" and an energetic helper.

It is clear that this reformer does not deserve the little or no attention researchers have paid to his theological and ecclesiastical activities, and his shadow existence beside Calvin and others. The reformation of the sixteenth century was the work of more than one or two men!



1560. The letters will be published in about 82 volumes by the publisher Friedrich Fromann Verlag Günther Holzboog GmbH & Co., P.O. Box 500460, 7000 Stuttgart 50 (Bad Canstatt). The complete publication of *Melanchtons Briefwechsel* (under the editorship of Heinz Scheible) will comprise the following sections:

Part I (7 volumes) summaries

Part II (2-3 volumes) registers)

Part III (2-3 volumes) manuscript catalogue

Part IV (plus-minus 35 volumes) texts)

Part V (plus-minus 35 volumes) commentaries.

One volume of parts I-III will be prepared per year. The first appeared in 1977. After this will follow Parts IV and V in two volumes per year. It will therefore be quite a number of years before the complete new edition of Melanchton's correspondence will be available.

This project which was launched with the aid of a computer was necessary because the existing collections of Melanchton's letters<sup>44</sup>) by Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider (*Corpus Reformatorum*, parts I-IX, 1834-1842) were incomplete (only 7 000 letters) and not dependable as regards the dating and text. Not much came of the efforts to correct the weaknesses in the *Supplementa Melanchtoniana*. Only one part containing a revision of the letters until 1528 was published in 1926 under the editorship of Otto Clemen. The plan to publish a *Melanchton-Studienausgabe* in four volumes together with a selection of the praeceptor Germaniae's correspondence could not be fully realized. Only the first two parts under the editorship of Hans Volz were published (1971-1975).

As has become apparent from the re-publication of the works

44. For the history of earlier editions of the Melanchton Letters (inter alia shortly after his death) see the "Einleitung" (pages 17-24) in *Melanchtons Briefwechsel. Kritische und kommentierte Gesamtausgabe Band I: Regesten 1-1109 (1514-1530) bearbeitet von Heinz Scheible, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Fromann-Holzboog, 1977. (Address of Dr H. Scheible: Heiliggeiststrasse 15, 6900 Heidelberg, 1, Germany.)*

of the other reformers, this project too is time-consuming and costly. When the project has been completed, however, we shall have a fund of information at our disposal – not only about Melancton himself, but also about his time and his contemporaries.

### 3. Research on the Reformation outside Europe

There are a number of individuals in Germany, France, the Netherlands<sup>45</sup>) and even behind the Iron Curtain (such as Prof. M. Bucsay<sup>46</sup>) and others in Hungary, Plath and Molnar in Czechoslovakia, Z. Galffy and S. Júhasz in Romania and a number of

45. The library of the Free University in Amsterdam for example contains a fine collection of documents from the period of the Reformation (Luther, Calvin, Beza, Zwingli, Bullinger, English reformers etc.). Most of these documents belong to the "Mr H. Bos Bibliotheek". Dr W. Heijting provides the following information: "Apart from a large number of manuscripts, Dutch historical pamphlets and modern works, the *H. Bos Collection of the Free University* at Amsterdam comprises about 11 000 early books (printed before 1901).

"Details about the collector and his library are to be found in: J. Stellingwerff, *De Mr H. Bos-Bibliotheek van de Vrije Universiteit* (Amsterdam, Buijten & Schipperheijn, 1971).

"The lists of the series 'Aanwinsten uit de Mr H. Bos-Bibliotheek' (Acquisitions from the H. Bos Collection) serve the purpose of presenting the most interesting early books from this collection, occasionally supplemented by some acquisitions from other collections. After completion of the series an index-volume will be published.

"Separate lists can be ordered by a remittance of D.fl. 5 into giro account 2908198 of 'Stichting Vrienden V.U. Bibliotheek' Amsterdam. Research libraries and members of the 'Stichting Vrienden V.U. Bibliotheek' (Foundation 'Friends of the F.U. Library') will receive a free copy of the lists".

Further information can be obtained from: Willem Heijting, Free University Library, Rare Book Department, P.O. Box 7161, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

46. *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Ungarn* by Prof. Mihály Bucsay appeared in Stuttgart in 1959. Recently (1977) the first part of a far more comprehensive edition, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn: 1521-1978. Ungarns Reformationskirche in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Teil I: Im Zeitalter der Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform.* Wien/Köln/Graz, Verlag Hermann Bölaus. This first part concerns the history until 1715. (It contains a bibliography of 60 pages.) Part II will appear in 1979.

At the Second International Calvin Conference Prof. Bucsay gave an interesting lecture on "Calvins Präsenz in Ungarn". (This lecture is also available with the title "The Presence of Calvin in Hungary during the Reformation Era, 1512-1608".)

academics in the "Deutsche Demokratische Republik"<sup>47</sup>) who have made their contribution to Reformation research. In this survey, however, we shall confine ourselves to the more organized research outside Europe.

### *3.1 England and Scotland*

It was not possible for me to obtain particulars about any organized Reformation research in Great Britain. It is apparent that here too — as in many other countries — it is only individuals who are doing research on the Reformation. I did ascertain, however, that researchers in various libraries have a treasurehouse of research material at their disposal. The most important are the Evangelical Library (London)<sup>48</sup>) and the university libraries at Cambridge, London and Oxford.

In Scotland the most important libraries containing research material are The National Library, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh; The New College Library, The Mound, Edinburgh; the libraries of the Scottish Reformation Society and the Free Church of Scotland (both in Edinburgh) and the university libraries of Aberdeen, St Andrews and Glasgow.

Names such as T.F. and J.B. Torrance and T.H.L. Parker are well-known with regard to the study of Calvin. I suppose Edinburgh would be the obvious place for research on John Knox.

### *3.2 The U.S.A. and Canada*

From the many theses (mainly in Xerox form) on Calvin and

47. The addresses of persons from behind the iron curtain who attended the Second International Calvin Congress in Amsterdam (Sept. 1978) can be obtained from the Secretary, Prof. W.H. Neuser, Lehmbruck 17, 4401 Ostbevern bei Münster, West Germany.

48. Address of the Evangelical Library is 78a Chiltern Street, London WC1, England. Membership costs £2,50 per annum and includes the *Evangelical Library Quarterly*. This magazine contains articles and particulars concerning new acquisitions.

Calvinism it can be deduced that among individuals in the USA there is a considerable interest in research on the Protestant Reformation. I have as yet not been able to gather detailed information from the "American Society for Reformation Research"<sup>49</sup>).

Particular attention is given to the Reformation at the following three centres:

3.2.1 *The Center for Reformation research* in St Louis which devotes itself to general research on Luther and the Reformation<sup>50</sup>). The director gives the following information concerning his centre in a letter dated 1978/8/31.

"The organization was originally founded in 1957 as the Foundation for Reformation Research. It seeks to further research on the life and thought of the Reformation era by engaging in a variety of programs, the most important of which are as follows:

- \* An annual Summer Institute, which provides training in paleography and research techniques to a selected group of graduate students and post-doctoral scholars from the United States and Canada.
- \* The sponsorship of seminars and conferences.
- \* The collection on microfilm of works relevant to the sixteenth-century but not generally available elsewhere in the United States. At present, our collection contains approximately 12 000 titles with special emphasis on intellectual history and the Lutheran theologians of the later sixteenth-century. These works are available on loan, as well as for use at the Center.
- \* A series of publications.

49. Address: Dr Hans J. Hillerbrand, 33 West 42nd St., The City University of New York, New York, NY 11036, USA.

50. This centre is attached to the Concordia College. The Director is Dr William S. Malby. It has a good collection of rare books from the Reformation period. Except for arranging seminars and conferences it also shares the publication of *The Sixteenth Century Journal. A journal for Renaissance and Reformation students and scholars*. (Address: L.B. 115, N.M.S.U., Kirksville, Missouri 63502, USA. Subscription \$12 per annum for two editions.) It also publishes a newsletter with the title *Center for Reformation Research Newsletter* in which more can be read concerning the activities of this centre. A list of publications and microfilm collections in the possession of this center can be obtained free of charge. Address: 6477 San Bonita Ave., St Louis, Missouri 63105, USA.

\* The Center also serves as business agent for the American Society for Reformation Research and the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference.

The Center is a private, non-profit corporation with a national board of directors headed by Professor Robert M. Kingdom of the University of Wisconsin. It is nondenominational and open to scholars of all faiths”.

3.2.2 *The Center for Reformation and Renaissance studies* in Toronto, Canada<sup>51</sup>). This centre was established in 1964 and concentrates on the period 1450 to 1650 (Renaissance and Reformation), whereas at the “Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies” (St Michael’s College, Toronto) and the “Center for Medieval Studies” (University of Toronto) the attention is focussed on the Middle Ages.

Although it has the name “Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Research” it consists of a library only. (As far as I could determine no specific fulltime research projects on the Reformation – not on Calvin anyway– were being conducted.) The library consists of about 16 000 volumes of which about plus-minus 2 500 date from the 16th and 17th centuries. Among them are quite a number on the Swiss Reformation and earlier English translations of Calvin’s works.

The most valuable possession of the library is the Erasmus Collection. The Centre co-operates in the Toronto “Erasmus in English” publication project. Apart from that it supports the Canadian journal *Renaissance and Reformation*.

3.2.3 *The Dr H.H. Meeter Calvinism Research Collection* at Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan. This Calviniana collection has under the leadership of Dr Peter de Klerk (librarian of Calvin Seminary) been built out into one of the most compre-

51. Director: F.D. Hoeniger, E.J. Pratt Library, Victoria University, 71 Queenspark Crescent East, Toronto M5S 1K7, Ontario, Canada.

hensive collections in the world<sup>52</sup>).

A colloquium on "Calvin and Calvin Studies" was held at Calvin College, Grand Rapids, in April, 1976<sup>53</sup>). A second meeting of the same nature with the theme "Calvin and the reformed view of Christian life in a European perspective" is planned for 16 and 17 November, 1978<sup>54</sup>).

Dr Ford Lewis Battles, formerly of the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, recently joined the Calvin College Staff. This eminent Calvin specialist<sup>55</sup>) will, with his enthusiasm, make sure that the Calviniana collection is fully benefitted from. Could a few full-time researchers be appointed here, Calvin research in America would be stimulated immensely.

52. Once a year a bibliography of new Calviniana throughout the world is published in *Calvin Theological Journal*. It is compiled by Dr P. de Klerk, librarian of Calvin Theological Seminary.

53. The papers were published in 1976, with the title *Renaissance, Reformation, Resurgence* (editor P. de Klerk).

54. Particulars available from Dr P. de Klerk, Calvin Theological Seminary, 3233 Burton Street, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506.

55. Prof. Battles — widely recognized as one of the foremost Calvin scholars today — has done much by way of translations to make the heritage of the Reformation accessible to the English speaking world. The most important are the following: *Calvin's Commentary on Seneca's "De Clementia"* (published in 1960, together with the South African A.M. Hugo); *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1559 edition) which appeared as parts 20 and 21 in the "Library of Christian Classics" in Philadelphia from Westminster Press (eighth impression in 1977). Cf. in this connection also his *New light on Calvin's Institutes. A supplement to the McNeill-Battles translation* Hartford, Connecticut, The Hartford Seminary Press, 1966 as well as his *A computerized Concordance to Calvin's "Institutes of the Christian Religion"*. Further: *John Calvin: Catechism* (1538) published in 1972 and revised in 1976. Apart from this Battles has also translated the first Latin edition of the *Institutes* of 1536, viz. *Institution of the Christian Religion* (1536). Atlanta, John Knox Press, 1975.

His *An Analysis of the Institutes of the Christian Religion of John Calvin* (1970 and revised in 1976) is a valuable work in that it makes Calvin's *Opus magnum* easier to understand. His introductions to the various translations are also of great value. For Calvin research see his paper "The Future of Calviniana" *In: Renaissance, Reformation, Resurgence* (1976, ed. P. de Klerk) and his paper for the Second International Calvin Congress (Sept. 1978, Amsterdam), titled "Calculus Fidei. Some ruminations on the structure of Calvin's theology" are of particular importance. Battles' most recent publication on Calvin is really excellent: *The piety of John Calvin. An anthology illustrative of the spirituality of the reformer*. Grand Rapids, Michigan, Baker Book House, 1978. From various of his writings Calvin himself is speaking. The book's first aim is to

A seminary and two universities at present offer the possibility for post-graduate specialization in the field of Reformation studies.

3.2.4 *The Westminster Theological Seminary* offers a study program for a doctorate in Reformation and Post-Reformation studies.

3.2.5 *The University of Waterloo* (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada) specializes in the German-Lutheran Reformation and the *University of Guelph* (Guelph, Ontario) in the English and Calvinistic Reformation. At both universities master's and doctor's degrees in Reformation studies can be taken.

### 3.3. Japan

At the Second International Calvin Congress (attended by five Japanese Calvin specialists) details concerning the translation of Calvin's work into Japanese were given. The "Japan Calvin Translation Society", established in 1959, has translated the following works of this reformer: Commentary on Romans (13 reprints with a total impression of 7 500 copies) and subsequently (with the exception of Calvin's harmony of the four Gospels) all his Bible commentaries (with an impression of 39 000 copies). The *Institutes* was translated into Japanese 15 years ago (17 reprints

know Calvin as he saw his own life. The second is to see the Christian life as he understood it. The third is to examine both his theoretical exposition of prayer and his own prayers in liturgy and for other occasions.

Prof. Battles' translations, however, go further than the documents of Calvin. Because he likes to regard the reformation as a dialogue or polilogue between differing points of view (for example, Calvin in conversation with the Roman Catholic church on the one hand and the Anabaptists on the other) and also lectures in this manner. He has therefore translated various other documents, as, for example, the Roman Catholic Johan Eck's *Enchiridion contra Lutheranos* (most recent edition 1978 at Grand Rapids, Calvin Theological Seminary). He also translated works of the early church, e.g.: *The sermons of Nestorius*. (Pittsburgh, 1973) and Pelagius: *The Christian life and other essays*. (Pittsburgh, 1972).

with a total impression of 12 000).

Indeed a remarkable achievement for a country in which only 1 percent of the population of 110 million are Christians!

For thorough research on Calvin and the Reformation, however, most Japanese students still have to go to Europe or the USA.

### 3.4 Korea

I received the following report on the degree of interest in the Reformation (especially Calvin) in Korea from Prof. Jong Sung Rhee (Seoul, Korea):

“Studies on Calvin’s thought are still in a premature stage though there is a considerable quantity of publication. Prior to 1945 (in which year Korea was liberated from Japanese rule), there was little effort to study Calvin and few publications appeared. But after 1945, the Korean Presbyterian Church began to have an interest in Calvin’s thought, and more publications were published at various levels<sup>56</sup>). As I see it, Calvin studies in Korea

#### 56.\* *Calvin’s own works*

*Institutes*. Moonche Kim, Vol. 1-4, Sejong Press, 1977; *Institutes*. Bokyun Shim, vol. 1 (the three other books are under preparation), Word of Life Press, 1964.

*Institutes in compend*, edited by Hugh T. Kerr, translated by Dr Jong Sung Rhee, CLS Press, 1960.

*Commentaries* are being published by two publishers and are expected to be completed in four years.

#### \* *Publications on Calvin written by Koreans*

Keumsam Lee: *Calvin and Calvinism*. Dorea Seminary Press, 1972.

Jong Sung Rhee: *Calvin; His Life and Thought*. CLS Press, 1968, 1978 (New edition).

Jong Sung Rhee (ed.): *Anthology on Calvin: 400th Memorial Year*, 1965.

Kyung Yun Chun: *Calvin’s life and his thought*. Protestant Press, 1959.

#### \* *Translations of works on Calvin*

Edwards, Charles E.: *Devotions and Prayers of John Calvin*, tr. by Sukho Moon, Word of Life Press, 1978.

Niesel, Wilhelm: *Die Theologie Calvins*. tr. by Jong Sung Rhee. CLS Press, 1973.

Parker, T.H.L.: *A Portrait of Calvin*. Tr. by Chaijoon Kim. CLS Press, 1960.

Murray, John: *Calvin’s View of Scriptures and his concept of Authority*. Tr. by Youngwha Na. Literature Mission Press, 1976.

#### \* *Articles on Calvin Studies*

There are about 70 articles printed in various magazines and periodicals, and 15 of these are theses for Th. M. Degrees. Only 15 percent of all published books and articles were written before 1945 and no single book was published before that year.



are just beginning. Unfortunately, the Korean Presbyterian Church has not trained even a single Calvin scholar until now.

Though there is a small group of people who are interested in Calvin's thought, because of financial difficulty, there are no sizeable activities. Korean Presbyterians believe that they are good Calvinists in so far as they believe the Bible as the Word of God without a single error, and in so far as they undersign the Westminster Confession of Faith and Standards. Recently new attempts have been made to study Calvin's thought by a group of young people, but the older generation is not ready to accept the new trend of study.

Traditionally, the Presbyterian Church is founded on a firm theological understanding of Calvin's reformed and evangelical thought, but the Korean Presbyterian Church in general is called a Presbyterian church without having such a firm theological foundation of Calvin, without which no church can be called a Presbyterian or a Reformed church.

A group of Presbyterian ministers and theologians agreed to form an organization for promoting Calvin's theological thought in Korea and called the inaugural meeting on December 12, 1963. The association has three working committees: a Study Committee, Publication Committee, and Managing Committee. According to the decision of the general meeting, the association has been carrying out various activities, holding public meetings, inviting some outstanding Calvin scholars from abroad, in-

*\* Some Translations of Works on Calvinism*

Boethner, L.: *The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination*. Tr. by Ikpyo Hong. Beckhapp Press, 1972. (Another translation of the same book by Chungdug Kim is published by Bommon Press); Dakin, J.: *Calvinism: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, tr. by Sungku Chung. Sejong Press, 1977; Kuyper, A.: *Lectures on Calvinism*, tr. by Yongnang Park. Sejong Press, 1971; Meeter, H.: *The Basic Ideas of Calvinism*, tr. by Chinhong Kim. Sungmoon Press, 1959; Ness, C.: *An Antidote to Arminianism*, tr. by Kybong Kang. Word of Life Press, 1974; Spier, J.M.: *What is Calvinistic Philosophy?* tr. by Namshik Kim. Sejong Press, 1971; Steel, D.N., Thomas, C.: *The Five Points of Calvinism*, tr. by Namshik Kim. Korea Bible Press, 1975; Strong, R.: *The Five Points of Calvinism*, tr. by Changwon Lee. Bockdwen Malsum Press, 1961; Dengerink, J.D.: *Calvinistic View on Politics*, tr. by Chungsook Chung. Shinhak Jinam Press, 1969; Reid, W.S.: *Natural Science and Calvinism in the 16th Century*, tr. by Youngwoo Kim. Shinhak Jinam Press, 1972.

cluding Dr Wilhelm Niesel and Prof. Nobuo Watanabe from Japan and publishing articles, books and theses. The most ambitious project is to translate Calvin's *Institutes* into Korean. Recently, however, the association has not been able to have any activities, mainly because of financial difficulty".

### 3.5 South Africa

Because South Africa is regarded as a Calvinistic country by many people one could rightly expect much to be done about the study of the Reformation. There are a number of Calvinistic organizations<sup>57)</sup> and also Calvinistic magazines, but surprisingly there is little evidence of any real study of the *sources* of our reformational (especially Calvinistic) heritage.

Now and then some event draws people interested in Calvin's thought together, as, for example at the Calvin Congress which took place from 10-11 August, 1977, in Pretoria and which was arranged by the Church Historical Association of the "Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerk". Such an event is, however, the exception and not the rule. There is, as yet, no centre at which full-time research on the Reformation is done.

The Institute for the Advancement of Calvinism (established in 1966) at the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education<sup>58)</sup> only appointed a full-time director in 1974. Before that year the Institute was run on a spare time basis with no permanent staff.

With the financial aid from the Human Sciences Research Council, Dr D. Kempff has, as a part-time researcher, been able to work on a bibliography of works on Calvin and Calviniana, es-

57. Cf. in this connection my review "Christelik-Nasionaal. Die spoor van die Calvinisme in Suid-Afrika". *Koers* (Potchefstroom): 43(2):129-153, 1978. This article will appear in English in the Paul Woolley "Festschrift", edited by W. Stanford Reid under the title "Christian-National. On the track of Calvinism in South Africa".

58. Address: Potchefstroom, 2520, Republic of South Africa.

pecially such as have appeared since 1959<sup>59</sup>). In order to facilitate research a separate catalogue has been compiled for the Calviniana collection of the Ferdinand Postma Library at the PU for CHE. Books available elsewhere in South Africa have also been included in this catalogue. This Calviniana collection has been enlarged considerably in recent years.

With a view to a research project "The impact of Calvinism in South Africa" a second Human Sciences Research Council award has been received for the period 1977-1979. Apart from a bibliography of relevant South African magazine articles<sup>60</sup>) the above-mentioned project entails a study of the historical European background of South African Calvinism as well as its impact on present-day South African society.

Thus, for the first time a brief scientific survey of Calvinistic life in South Africa can be given. Brief, I say, because this project (bibliographical section excluded) has to be completed within two years. There is nobody available for the necessary research on a full-time basis. The director of the Institute for the Advancement of Calvinism has many administrative tasks and the three other co-researchers can only be relieved from their various departments at the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education for a few months. Consequently they can do little more than introductory research.

#### 4. Conclusion: Ad Fontes

It may well be asked what the purpose of this article on inter-

59. It was published in 1975 by the Institute for the Advancement of Calvinism in collaboration with E.J. Brill in Leiden with the title *A bibliography of Calviniana 1959-1974* by D. Kempff.

60. To be published in 1979 by the Institute for the Advancement of Calvinism with the title *Die inslag van die Calvinisme in Suid-Afrika. 'n Bibliografie van S.A. Tydskrif-artikels* (4 parts).

national research on the Reformation is. Has such research at the end of the twentieth century, on a period historically 400 years old, any meaning? Can it have any sense to enter the dusty archives of the past? Should we not rather shake the dust of the past from our feet?

Should we adopt such an attitude we shall have forgotten that our Calvinistic view of life developed out of the sixteenth century Reformation. A return to the sources need not be suffocating; it will be highly refreshing.

In many respects our Calvinism differs from what Calvin taught. Calvin was the child of his own time and place, but the influence of his work goes far beyond the 16th century. The more we study this particularly gifted child of God, the more we shall realize that he is our contemporary and that the so-called "contemporary theology" is irrelevant.

There are remarkable correspondences between the sixteenth century and today. Calvin also searched for a real Biblically obedient Christianity midst all the byways propagated in his time. His time, as ours, was an epoch of intense crisis: the passing of an old era and the painful birth of a new one. At this crossroad in history there were already those who at the time of Calvin wanted to face the future on their own strength. In contrast Calvin and the other reformers looked upon God and His Word for illumination on the untravelled road ahead.

The caricature of Calvin as the moody, morbid tyrant of Geneva, the father of capitalism, suppressor of personal freedom, enemy of art, music and any form of pleasure, the man of a doctrine of predestination that implies "Herrenvolkisme" etc., still haunts South Africa. Such a caricature is obviously the result of ignorance<sup>60a</sup>).

If we do not gather much more *original* knowledge concerning

60a. One of the aims of my booklet *From Noyon to Geneva. A pilgrimage in the steps of John Calvin (1509-1564)*, Potchefstroom, Institute for the Advancement of Calvinism, 1979 is to engender new interest in Calvin and his thought in Southern Africa.

the Calvinistic view of life, it cannot continue to exist in South Africa, let alone be a dynamic experience.

We should be envious of the research being done abroad. What should we do? I wish to stress only a few obvious things.

#### *4.1 The cultivation of interest*

At the academic level much more can be done about the study of the Reformation by incorporating it in the existing syllabi. *This does not apply to the Faculty of Theology only.*

Let students, for example, make contact with the original Calvin. It need not necessarily be his *Institutes*. It can be his Bible commentaries or his more or less 50 smaller treatises. Calvin's thought developed out of contacts with different currents of thought. This becomes evident out of these smaller documents aimed at the Roman Catholic Church<sup>61</sup>), the radical trends (Anabaptists, Spiritualists, Anti-trinitarians, Libertinists<sup>61a</sup>) etc., other Protestant churches (e.g. the Lutheran), superstitions (e.g. astrology) and also at the reformation and the unity of the church.

It could be fascinating to let students regard the Calvinist reformation as a dialogue, actually a polilogue with the spiritual trends of the 16th century. Then the controversies of this period are no longer an antiquarian hobby for an elite, but are *real* and relevant because all the tendencies of that time, even if in different forms, are powers which still compete for the spirit and direction of our day.

Calvin was, in every way, a man of his time. He took from the

61. Cf. for instance, Calvin's reply to the Roman Catholic Cardinal Sadoletto available in *A reformation debate. Sadoletto's letter to the Genevans and Calvin's reply*, edited by J.C. Olin. Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 1966.

61a. Cf. in this connection the Dutch translation: *Tegen de wonderlijke en verwoede secte van de Libertijnen die zich geestelijken noem* door J. Calvyn. Meeuwen, De Gereformeerde Bibliotheek, 1968. (In the series "Stemmen uit Genève", vol. 6) as well as the Dutch translation of Calvin's *Psychopannychia*, vol. 8 in the same series.

past (Church Fathers and the Middle-Ages), was influenced by the spiritual tendencies of the time (Humanism, the Renaissance, Stoicism, Neo-Platonism) as well as by contemporaries (Bucer, Luther, Melancton)<sup>62</sup>).

Calvin scholars therefore cannot as has so often been done, concentrate on Calvin only. His ideas came into being in conversation with many and divergent schools of thought.

Even so Calvin's thought cannot be reduced to all these influences. He offered something unique which can serve as a directive for our own age. Because this unique contribution is founded upon the Bible it can even today be a stimulus to discover new ways in our own circumstances.

#### 4.2 *The availability of study material*

I wish to plead strongly that we should concentrate on the original sources. *Ad Fontes!* Libraries must *at least* be equipped with editions of the work of figures such as Luther<sup>63</sup>), Calvin,

62. The present author has in preparation a book on the different philosophical influences on Calvin's thought.

63. *D. Martin Luthers Works*. Parts 1-58. Weimar, H. Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1883-1948.

The American translation of 56 volumes has almost been completed. The editor of parts 1-30 was Jaroslav Pelikan and of parts 31-55 Helmut T. Lehmann. It was published by Fortress Press in Philadelphia from 1955 onwards with the title *Luther's Works*.

There is a soft-covered edition *Culwer-Luther-Ausgabe* in 8 volumes for those who cannot afford all of Luther's works. The editor is W. Metzger and it is published by Gütersloher Verlaghaus in the series "Gütersloher Taschenbücher". (Price for the full set is about DM 65.)

In the "Library of Christian Classics" (Philadelphia, The Westminster Press) series the following editions which contain works of Luther in English have appeared:

15: *Luther: Lectures on Romans*, ed. W. Pauck.

16: *Luther: Early theological works*, ed. J. Atkinson

17: *Luther and Erasmus: Free will and salvation*, editors E.G. Rupp & P.S. Watson.

18: *Luther: Letters of Spiritual counsel*, ed. T.G. Tappert.

Zwingli, Melanchton<sup>64</sup>), Knox, Bucer<sup>65</sup>), Bullinger<sup>66</sup>) and Be-

64. The works of Melanchton, Calvin and Zwingli appeared respectively in vol. 1-28, 29-87 and 88ff of the well-known *Corpus Reformatorum*, Brunsvigae, C.A. Schwetschke. The 28 volumes of *Philippi Melanchton, Opera quae supersunt omnia* were published from 1834-1860 under the editorship of C.G. Bretschneider. The 59 volumes of *Ioannis Calvini, opera quae supersunt omnia* were published from 1836-1900 under the editorship of G. Baum, E. Cunitz and E. Reuss. The *Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke* was published from 1905 under the editorship of E. Egli and G. Finsler.

Later reprints were done by Johnson Reprint Corporation (New York) and Minerva (Frankfurt am Main).

As in the case of Luther *opera selecta* of Melanchton and Calvin are available. Cr. *Melanchtons Werke*, ed. R. Stupperich. Gütersloh, C. Bertelsman, 1951-1955 (7 volumes) and *Joannis Calvini Opera Selecta*, eds. P. Barth and G. Niesel. München, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1926-1952 (5 volumes).

As stated in footnote 23, some volumes of the *Supplementa Calviniana* have appeared.

The following information is available as regards translations into English:

\* *Calvin*: (Bible commentaries, sermons and prayers excluded): *Calvin's Commentary on Seneca's 'De Clementia'*, introduction, translation and notes by F.L. Battles and A.M. Hugo. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1969. The best English translation of the *Institutes* is under the editorship of J.T. McNeill and translated by F.L. Battles. It has the title *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Volumes XX and XXI of the "Library of Congress Classics"). Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1977<sup>8</sup>. Calvin's catechism has been published with the title *Catechism 1538*, translated and annotated by F.L. Battles, Pittsburgh, Pa., The Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 1972, (revised 1976).

In the series "Library of Christian Classics" (Calvin's *Institutes* comprises parts 20 and 21) the following 2 volumes with other works by Calvin have been published: *Calvin: Theological Treatises*, ed. J.K.S. Reid (volume 22) and *Calvin: Commentaries*, ed. J. Haroutunian (volume 23).

\* *Zwingli*: There are plans to translate part of his works into English. The only work in English of which I am aware is *Zwingli and Bullinger*, ed. G.W. Bromiley, number 24 in the series "The Library of Christian Classics" published by The Westminster Press, Philadelphia.

\* *Melanchton*: The only selection of his work of which I am aware is *Melanchton and Bucer*, ed. W. Pauck, number 19 in the series "The Library of Christian Classics", published by The Westminster Press, Philadelphia.

65. Cf. *Martini Buceri, Opera Latina*. Ed. François Wendel (only volumes XV and XV bis). Paris, Presses Universitaires de France and Gütersloh, C. Bertelmann Verlag, 1954 and 1955. In addition: *Martin Bucer's Deutsche Schriften*. Editor R. Stupperich (7 volumes), 1960 and the following years – the same two publishers as above.

The only two works with excerpts of Bucer's works in English of which I am aware are *Common Places of Martin Bucer* (translated and published by D.F. Wright in the series "the Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics", volume 4, Appleford, The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1972) and *Melanchton and Bucer*, (editor W. Pauck, in the series "The Library of Christian Classics" number 19, published by the Westminster Press, Philadelphia).

66. As far as I could find out about the latest edition of *Heinrich Bullinger Werke*, only Part I: *Bibliographie* has appeared. Editor J. Staedtke. Zürich, Theologischer Verlag, 1972.

The only existing work with excerpts in English of the works of Bullinger of which I am aware is *Zwingli and Bullinger*, ed. G.W. Bromily, in the series "The Library of

za<sup>67</sup>). Second in importance are the original texts of other significant schools of thought such as Roman Catholicism<sup>68</sup>) and the radical tendencies (like Anabaptists)<sup>69</sup>) at the time of the Reformation. From here one could look further afield and purchase documents of thinkers such as important writers from the Patristic Period and the Middle Ages who had an influence on

Christian Classics", number 24 (published by The Westminster Press, Philadelphia).  
Apart from new prints, a microfiche project has been undertaken recently to make Bullinger's published and unpublished works and his correspondence accessible for research. It is called "H. Bullinger and the Züricher Reformation" on microfiche and includes contributions by contemporaries of Bullinger such as Gwalther, Jud, Lavater, Pellikant, Stumpf and Vermigli. Full details available from Inter Documentation Company (I.D.C.), Poststrasse 14, 6300 Zug, Switzerland.

67. Up to the present only Beza's correspondence has been published. All his other works exist only in 16th century publications. Cf. *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze* under the editorship of H. Meylan, A. Dufour and A. Henschel. (Eight volumes have already appeared in the series "Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance".) Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1960-.

68. Of these the *Corpus Catholicorum. Werke Katholischer Schriftsteller im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* is certainly of the most important. As far as I could determine 31 volumes appeared between 1919 and 1974 at Westfalen published by Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung.

69. The most important here is the *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer* by the Gütersloher Verlaghaus Gerd Mohn (various editors). About 13 volumes have already been published. Volume 10 is a *Bibliographie des Taufertums* by H.J. Hillerbrand (1962).

A major part of the interest (especially since World War II) is the so-called "Radical Reformation" in Europe during the sixteenth century pertains to the recovery of the primary sources; both archival and printed. Actually this recovery has been a kind of rescue operation, because many of the books were written in secret, and when published prohibited and confiscated by the authorities. In this way much has been lost. In some cases only one or two specimens of a forbidden book are known to exist. Many of these books are among the rarest printed records and too fragile to be handled by researchers.

Therefore a project has recently been undertaken to make these sources available on microfiche. It will eventually cover a period of seventy-five years up to 1600 (the rise, flowering and decline of this interesting chapter in European religious history).

The first step towards the complete microfiche collection of the printed records of the "Radical Reformation" (spread over quite a number of libraries) was to photograph all the sixteenth century books in the Library of the United Mennonite (Doopsgezinde) Congregation in Amsterdam which is at the moment kept in the library of the "Gemeentelijke" University of Amsterdam (collected over two and a half centuries). Apart from works of Hollanders like Menno Simons, Dirk Philips and David Joris it also includes the writings of figures like Thomas Münster, Balthasar Hubmaier, Melchior Hoffmann and Bernhard Rothman.

Particulars about this first section (entitled "Mennonite and related sources up to 1600") of "The Radical Reformation Microfiche Project" is obtainable from: Interdocumentation Company A.G., Poststrasse 14, 6300 Zug, Switzerland.



the reformers.

The reformers unfortunately did not speak English or Afrikaans. (Calvin admitted that one reason why he refused a certain woman as his bride was because she refused to learn French!) It is now, unfortunately, too late to teach them English. It is, however, not too late to use available English translations<sup>70</sup>) or to make new ones. Should we wish to inspire students who do not know French, Latin, German or Dutch to study in this field, urgent attention must be given to the matter of translations.

English-speaking scholars outside South Africa have already stressed this. We thus do not have to shoulder the burden alone.

Nevertheless it is a shame that the only work of Calvin which we have available in Afrikaans is an abbreviated version of his *Institutes*<sup>71</sup>). It is definitely not to the credit of a Calvinistic country like South Africa! Can no effort be made to at least translate the 1536 edition of the *Institutes* into Afrikaans?

#### 4.3 *The necessity of more researchers*

I commenced my plea with a call to awaken interest in students and a comment on the availability of references in the hope that in future there will be more people who will devote themselves on a full-time basis to further study in this period of Western civilization.

In South Africa we do not have all the old documents out of the Reformation period available in order to work on new editions. We can, however, make use of the work done overseas in studying the reformers anew. An original contribution from Pro-

70. Cf. footnotes 63 to 67 in which some English translations of original works have been mentioned.

71. *Institusie van Calvyn*. Abbreviated by A. Duvenage, Bloemfontein, SACUM, 1951 (456 pages).

testant South Africa should not be excluded.

#### *4.4 The financial aspect*

Large sums of money are necessary for the purchase of original texts, for bursaries toward further study in South Africa and abroad and to be able to appoint full-time researchers.

However, the money required is not much when compared to the astronomic sums made available to often less important matters. We must have our priorities in the right order!

It is high time that we should prove that we are still children of the Reformation by, for a change, thinking and acting on a grand scale.

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