

## IV. 결론

독일 출신의 스트라스부르 종교개혁가 부셔와 프랑스 출신의 제네바의 종교개혁가 칼빈은 서로 매우 특별한 관계에 있었다. 그 특별한 관계는 상호간의 인격적 교제에서, 그리고 그들의 신학적인 입장에서 어느 정도 짐작할 수 있다. 부셔와 칼빈은 상호간의 교제를 통해 아버지와 아들이라는 특별한 관계 맺고 유지하면서 서로를 존중하고 아꼈다.

칼빈은 제네바 종교개혁가가 되기 훨씬 이전부터 부셔를 알고 지냈다는 사실을 그들의 교환서신들로부터 확인할 수 있다. 두 종교개혁가 사이의 관계는 칼빈이 제네바에서 쫓겨난 후 부셔의 요구로 스트라스부르에서 3년간 그와 함께 사역하면서 더욱 돈독해졌다. 끊을 수 없는 상호 신뢰의 관계가 형성되었고 이 관계는 변함 없이 끝까지 지속되었다.

두 종교개혁가의 신학적 입장 또한 대동소이(大同小異)하다. 부셔의 신학이 장황하여 핵심을 파악하기 어렵고 정리정돈이 잘 안되어 있는 반면에 칼빈의 신학은 일목요연하고 논지가 분명하다. 이런 차이에도 불구하고 그들의 신학적인 관점의 차이는 거의 없다. 특히 그들의 교회론은 다른 어떤 신학 주제보다 더욱더 강한 일치를 보여준다.

신학적으로 두 종교개혁가는 서로 영향을 주고 받았던 것으로 보이지만 칼빈이 부셔에게 받은 영향이 그가 부셔에게 끼친 영향보다 더 많았던 것으로 볼 수 있다. 왜냐하면 부셔는 칼빈보다 한 세대 앞선 종교개혁가였고 또한 칼빈이 종교개혁에 입문하기 전에 이미 부셔는 많은 저술들을 출판했을 뿐만 아니라 그의 활동도 당시 종교개혁에 매우 큰 영향력을 발휘하고 있었기 때문이다.

c'est un trait de caractère. Bucer est beaucoup plus irénique que Calvin. Il veut, beaucoup plus que ce dernier, la paix à tout prix, et cela l'a conduit souvent, notamment envers Luther, à certaines abandons qui donnent soit à sa théologie, soit à son oeuvre, une certaine impression de flottement."

## Calvin's Creative Revision of Liturgical Time

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The reformer John Calvin is famous for many things, but some would say he is infamous for others. This is not the place to develop either aspect of his reputation in detail but it is worth examining one part of his work which has often been regarded negatively to see if the common criticism is true. The topic is the liturgical year, or how Calvin and his followers understood and practiced the worship of God in time. The first short section of the paper outlines the traditional shape of liturgical time in the Latin west, and the changes which Protestants made. The second and longest part discusses the historical context of Calvin's situation in Geneva and then traces the changes in the traditional liturgical year and the theological grounds for these developments. The conclusion gives brief attention to Calvin's creative contribution to liturgical time and reflects on the theology which is manifest in this nuanced(re)vision of worship and time.

## I.

As is well known, the Latin Christian world in which Calvin grew up was shaped by a complex calendar of religious observances which is usually called the liturgical year. There were two main parts. One was related to salvation history: Sunday and special feasts of Christ, from Annunciation through to Ascension and sending the Holy Spirit; the other was the sanctoral cycle or feasts of the Virgin Mary and other saints. Different days or seasons had different ranks of observances; on more important occasions all work was prohibited and a variety of other religious acts, such as fasting, were prescribed. Normally, people were supposed to attend Mass and/or say special prayers on all the holy days. The Bible readings for each Sunday and feast were fixed and the same every year. For example, Trinity Sunday was Rev. 4:1-10 and John 3:1-15; the first Sunday after Trinity was 1 John 4:8-21 and Luke 16:19-31, the second Sunday was 1 Peter 5:6-11 and Luke 15:1-10, and so on. When it was a saint's day, the Biblical text would be read but the focus was usually on the saint.

Sometimes several special events came on the same day, because Sundays and the Lent-Easter-Pentecost cycle are all moveable feasts, meaning that they fall on different calendar dates each year. So for example, the Annunciation on March 25 could be a Sunday and it was always in Lent. Would you preach about Mary the Mother of God or about Jesus? Would you have a celebration for the angel's visit to Mary or continue the penitential mood of Lent? There were instructions about which of the major feasts had precedence over others which might conflict, but these were complex and did not control "ordinary" times. Saints' days frequently fell

on Sundays, and their stories were usually much more lively than the assigned Biblical texts. Also, many priests were not well educated, so it was much easier to tell a story about a saint's life than to try to explain a passage from Paul or Revelations. In fact, sermons were not essential; a Mass was complete without one, though people liked to hear sermons.

The Protestant reaction to the traditional liturgical year took various forms but there were some basic common features. The fundamental one was the objection to the veneration of the saints. Christ is the sole Savior and God alone should be worshiped; not only is it wrong to give Christ's glory to human beings, but also those people who are called saints could not save themselves or anyone else, so praying to them is useless. All Protestants dropped the series of saints' days, though some kept Biblical figures (such as St. Stephen) as models of faith; such figures were not people to worship but ones who showed God's great power and glory. To honor Christ as the only Savior all Protestants put special emphasis on Sundays and insisted that preaching is necessary and it must be based on the Bible. Some Protestants kept most of the special Christological holy days: the Advent-Christmas-Circumcision-Epiphany cycle, the Lent-Holy Week-Easter-Ascension-Pentecost cycle. Others, however, especially the Reformed, thought that quite a few of these observances, such as Advent or Lent, were not really Biblical. Those Protestants who kept the traditional Christological cycle also retained the use of a one-year selected lectionary with fixed New Testament texts for each Sunday and feast. Martin Luther and his colleagues wrote sermons on each epistle and gospel passage so that uneducated ministers could read a good Biblical exposition to their congregations. The Zwinglian Reformed moved to a very modified

form of the traditional liturgical year; they observed only six major festivals: Christmas on Dec. 25, Circumcision on Jan. 1, Annunciation on March 25, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost. They used a combination of the old lectionary and the idea of *lectiocontinua*, reading and preaching straight through a Biblical book.<sup>1)</sup>

At first the Strasbourg Reformed led by Martin Bucer decided to clear away everything that they saw as not scriptural. In the 1524 entitled *Grund und Ursach* they argued for eliminating all the liturgical observances except Sundays, and making the Lord's Day the only holiday, in accordance with the fourth commandment on the Sabbath.<sup>2)</sup> One reason for this was, of course, to follow the Bible(not as a law to earn salvation but as obedience to God's will). A second purpose was to emphasize that keeping religious festivals was not a good work, particularly when those feasts were not Biblical. A third reason was to address what they saw as the terrible social consequences of having so many days when work was prohibited; the reformers thought that this enforced idleness led to immorality and poverty, as people sat around playing games instead of working to feed their families. Dropping every religious holy day except Sunday was revolutionary. By the 1530s, Bucer was beginning to draw back from this extreme position and over the course of the next decades Strasbourg would reintroduce at first a few Christological feasts such as Christmas, and then more traditional holy days as the leadership of the city became

1) Max Engammare, "Reformed Preaching in the Sixteenth Century. The Use of Lectionaries in Zurich," *Zwingliana* 42(2015), pp. 195-224.

2) Martin Bucer, "Grund und Ursach" in *Martin Butzer Deutsche Schriften*, gen. ed. Robert Stupperich. Vol. 1: *Schriften 1520-1524*, ed. R. Stupperich (Gutersloh : G. Mohn 1960), "Warumb wir de Feyrtag abtreiben," pp. 262-68.

Lutheran.<sup>3)</sup>

The French reformer William Farel was influenced by both Zwinglian ideas and those from Strasbourg, but in the case of liturgical time he followed Bucer's more radical lead. In May 1536 Farel and his colleague Pierre Viret and others persuaded Geneva to adopt the Protestant teaching. In mid-June the city ordered and then in July repeated that only Sundays would be holidays and people should work all the rest of the week and the next spring the regulations were extended or clarified.<sup>4)</sup> Several times in 1537 the *Registres du Conseil* note cases of citizens being reprimanded when they were discovered continuing to observe particular occasions such as Ascension(May 31) or Christmas(Dec. 25), or set fines for continuing such behavior.<sup>5)</sup> This is the Geneva to which John Calvin came.

## II.

Calvin has been accused of "abolishing" the liturgical year, and yet a

3) René Bornert, *La réforme protestante du culte à Strasbourg au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle(1523-1598)*(Leiden : Brill, 1981), pp. 337-38.

4) *Registres du Conseil de Genève à l'époque de Calvin*. Publiés sous la direction des Archives d'Etat de Genève. *Tome I du 1er mai au 31 décembre 1536 (volume 30, f. 1-139)*, Paule Hochuli Dubuis (Genève : Librairie Droz, 2003), June 13 & 16, & July 13, 1536, pp. 35, 37, 69. *Tome II du 1er janvier au 31 décembre 1537*, P. H. Dubuis et Sandra Coram-Mekkey (Droz, 2004), March 30, 1537, p. 127. This regulates that the lieutenant will hold court on all weekdays, without regard to the (traditional) holidays.

5) *Registres du Conseil de Genève à l'époque de Calvin. Tome II du 1er janvier au 31 décembre 1537*, P. H. Dubuis et Sandra Coram-Mekkey(Droz, 2004), June 1 & 4, & Dec. 25, 1537, pp. 127, 203, 208, 447.

close examination of the actual history of Geneva in his day reveals that the issue is much more complex. Indeed, if the whole picture of liturgical time is considered, it will be evident that Calvin created a new vision of how worship is related to time. The first part of this section traces what happened to the traditional liturgical cycles in Geneva; the second part explores why Calvin made the changes to this tradition as he did. Interwoven with this is the development of the reformer's new liturgical addition, the day of prayer.

When Calvin began his ministry in Geneva in 1536, the city observed only Sundays as holidays, that is, times when people stopped all work to worship God. Sundays were not the only times of regular services, however; there were also daily sermons before the work day started. By early 1538 the Genevan government had elected to follow the liturgical changes of their patron Bern. These included re-introducing the special feasts observed by the Zwinglian Reformed: Christmas on Dec. 25, Circumcision on Jan. 1, Annunciation on March 25, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost. Easter and Pentecost were not controversial because they were not only clearly Biblical but also fell on Sundays, so the real question was the other four which usually fell on weekdays. Farel, Calvin, and their colleague Corauld objected vigorously to the city rulers making a decision about worship without consulting the ministers. The result was that Geneva exiled the three clerical rebels, and went ahead to re-establish this modified traditional liturgical year. Within a couple of years the city discovered that it could not do without the good leadership of Calvin so they invited him back. Their minister had some conditions, however. Geneva had to accept the use of a catechism which everyone would follow and the practice of a

church order or discipline. In other words, Calvin demanded a certain ecclesiastical autonomy in teaching and church organization. He did not require changing the liturgical calendar; he wanted to insure that the basic issue of the ministers' authority in specific church matters would be respected and the feast days were a secondary matter. This did not mean that he liked the practice of the four holidays but that their observance was not an essential concern.

Over the course of the next nine years(1541-50) the ways that Geneva observed the traditional liturgical days changed, so that by 1550 only one of the "four feasts" was observed as a day without work. This was Christmas or Nativity, which was celebrated on the Sunday closest to Dec. 25. Ascension was not forgotten but it was not made a special liturgical celebration; Annunciation had been dropped and Circumcision fell out of use. On the other hand, the observance of Passion Week had been added. What had happened? The claim is that Calvin "abolished" the liturgical year,<sup>6)</sup> but this looks much more confusing than that simple statement suggests. In addition, this word is used in a number of ways. To know what "abolish" means it is necessary to define first what it meant to observe these "four feasts."

How were Christmas, Circumcision, Annunciation, and Ascension celebrated in Geneva when Calvin returned in 1541? The key point is that all four days were legally full holidays, i.e., no work was allowed, no shops

6) Some examples : Thomas A. Lambert, *Preaching, Praying, and Policing the Reform in Sixteenth-Century Geneva*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1998), pp. 193 et passim., esp. p. 195 n.91. Willem Balke & Wilhelmus H. Th. Moehn, "Introduction," *Sermons on the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Balke & Moehn (Neukirchen-Vluyn; Neukirchener Verlag, 1994), pp. ix-xi.

could open. However, the liturgical form, the number of services/ day, and the content of the feasts are less clear and this is where arguments about “abolishing” the feasts become mired in confusion. It is therefore important to identify what, in addition to stopping daily work, constituted “observing” the feasts. Three aspects will be examined: the liturgy used, the number of services per day, and the content.

The order of service probably followed the liturgy established for Sunday morning, since a note in the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* prescribed that form for all special observances.<sup>7)</sup> This inference presents its own puzzle regarding the singing of a metrical Psalm. That was one distinctive aspect the Sunday liturgy and was also the practice on the Wednesday day of prayers. A table indicating the Psalm assigned for each service was introduced in 1546(though copies are extant only from 1549). There is no provision for appointing a Psalm for the occasional “holy day” but it is possible that the one for Sunday was used. Alternatively, the one for Wednesday may have been chosen because, as will be seen below, in several instances the feast day replaced the day of prayer.<sup>8)</sup> For present purposes, although it is probable that the Sunday liturgy was used, it is evident that no special provision was made for the “four feasts,” either in terms of a liturgy or a metrical Psalm.

A second formal liturgical issue in identifying what it meant to observe a holy day was the number of services/ day which were accorded to it.

7) “Ecclesiastical Ordinances,” *OperaSelecta* II, pp. 337-38 note e: “Si ce fait quelque priere extraordinaire pour la necessité du temps, on gardera l'ordre de dymenche.” Also in OC 10:22.

8) For the development of singing, the days and times, see McKee, *The Pastoral Ministry and Worship in Calvin's Geneva*, chap. 3, pp. 203-20.

On Sundays there were always two in the morning: dawn and 8 a.m., as well as catechism and the afternoon service. Having a dawn service and one at a later than usual time was also the practice for Calvin's special liturgical creation, the Wednesday day of prayer. (Although at first this may have been the case only in Greater Geneva, it was probably extended to St. Gervais by the mid-1540s at the latest.)<sup>9)</sup> So to observe the four feasts would almost certainly mean holding two services on that day, one at dawn and one later. This was in fact the case at least until the end of 1544. To hold two services on the feast of Christmas was essential because it was one of the four annual celebrations of the Lord's Supper,<sup>10)</sup> and there is no good reason to suppose that any of the four feasts was treated differently – at least at first. But the time soon came when the parallel but different developments of the day of prayer and of the four feasts would lead to changes in the number of services.

In March 1544 Calvin asked if Annunciation would be celebrated. The Senate replied in the affirmative, but since the feast fell on Tuesday, it was decided to suspend the day of prayer, i.e., to replace the weekly Wednesday observance with the Annunciation on Tuesday.<sup>11)</sup> The reason-

9) “Ecclesiastical Ordinances,” *OperaSelecta* II, p. 337. For development of two services for day of prayer, see McKee *The Pastoral Ministry and Worship in Calvin's Geneva*, pp. 294, 344-45.

10) *Registres du Consistoire de Genève au temps de Calvin* Tome I (1542-1544), ed. T. Lambert, I. Watt, (Genève : Droz, 1996), April 6, 1542, pp. 34-35, gives full picture of Lord's Supper arrangements : “Pour Saintz Pierre pour les deux Cenes: ... Pour Saintz Gervays: ... Pour la Magdeleine: ... Et entrer en chayre à 4 heures pour le premier et pour le second à VII heures et dymi.” Dec. 20, 1543, pp. 292-93, gives Christmas celebration on Saturday, Dec. 24, 1543.

11) March 21, 1544; *OperaCalvini* 21:332 (RC 38 f131): “Sur ce que leditz Mr Calvin a exposé que mardy prochain est le jour appellé annunciacion et voyer si tel jour sera faycte la priere aut non : ordonné que leditz mardy soyt faycte la priere et consequemment troys

ing was almost certainly that it was impractical to hold double services on two successive days, and the Annunciation took precedence – at this time. In December 1544 when Christmas came in mid-week, the Senate ordered something similar. The day of prayer would be dropped in favor of Christmas, and they added that the same would be done for Circumcision the next week; and henceforth the four feasts would be observed with only one sermon (i.e., one time of worship/ day, not two).<sup>12)</sup> Obviously Christmas would have to be the exception because the sacrament had to be available at two times to insure that everyone could participate. Thus the end of 1544 marks the point at which Circumcision, Annunciation, and Ascension were no longer accorded the honor of two services; however, they retained the status of having worship at the same hour as the main service on Sunday, i.e., later than on ordinary weekdays.<sup>13)</sup>

The third aspect of what it meant to observe a feast regards the content of the sermon. Here there was one common factor: focus on the traditional theme of the day. There were significant differences in practice among the four feasts, though, which are related to how each one was valued: some were less important, others more so. For example, even dur-

mardy apres.”

12) Dec. 19, 1544(RC 39 f75): “Le jour de Noel prochain, Le ministre Calvin a exposé qu’il seroyt bon ordre en l’eglise que voyeant que le jour de Noel est pour judy, que les prieres cessent le mecredy et soyt fait semblable des aultres quatre festes et que il sera assés de presché une foys lesd. jours. Ordonné que led. ordre soyt observé.” Margin: “Du jour de la circoncision prochain et consequement des aultres festes que sont en nombre 4.” Quoted in Lambert, *Preaching, Praying and Policing*, p. 195, n. 91.

13) When a woman is before the Consistory about possible immoral behavior on the day of Ascension she refers to the service at 8 a.m.; Thursday, May 17, 1548, *Registres du Consistoire au temps de Calvin*, Tome IV(1548), ed I. Watt, T. Lambert(Genève: Droz, 2007), p. 67.

ing Calvin's exile, the Senate apparently regarded Circumcision as less prominent than the other days; this is evident because they debated ordering work on the city's fortifications that day, something they would never have contemplated for Christmas.<sup>14)</sup> By 1545 the council had come to accept Calvin's view that the Annunciation was “superstitious” because it was associated with the veneration of the Virgin Mary rather than Christ.<sup>15)</sup> Ascension was uncontroversial in content and celebrating the Nativity was very important. It is fairly sure that the sermons on Circumcision, Annunciation, and Ascension focused on the themes of the specific days, but almost certainly not in the traditional fashion! In 1551 Calvin claimed that he had preached on the Annunciation to warn people against it.<sup>16)</sup> So the content of the four holy days probably continued to be thematic until the official abolition in 1550, but the theme was not always treated in a positive fashion and the value of each holy day varied considerably.

Note that Christmas has not been discussed in the same way as the other three feasts. This is the one major exception to development of the four feasts. For Christmas, the liturgy was naturally that for Sunday morning; there were necessarily two times of worship; and the subject was obviously the birth of Jesus, with a sermon based on Luke 2. This then summarizes the less clear aspects of what it meant to observe the four week-

14) Dec. 31, 1540; *Registres du Conseil de Genève à l'époque de Calvin* Tome V, ed, S. Coram-Mekkey et al.(Genève : Droz, 2011), p. 720: “(Circoncision) icy az esté parlé voyer si demaen l'on travaillieraz aux terraulx de laz ville aut non, Arresté que pour az present l'on ne doye rien inover.”

15) March 20, 1545, *OperaCalvini* 21:349(RC 39 f59): “La feste de la conception combien que c'est superstition se fayct. Ordonné que ledit jour l'on fasse ainsi que le jour de la priere.”

16) Calvin's letter to Bullinger in April 1551, #1482, *OperaCalvini* 14:105-06.

day feasts: liturgical form, number of services, and thematic content. In the early 1540's these criteria held true for all four, but by the end of 1544, at least the number of services had changed for three of the four, and the treatment of the subject matter varied from reverence for Christmas and Ascension to identifying the Annunciation as superstitious.

It is now possible to return to the question of the legal status of these four as weekday holidays, i.e., days when work was prohibited. As early as 1538 Calvin had taken the stance that people should not be prohibited from returning to work on a holiday, as he explained to Heinrich Bullinger in the strife over the re-introduction of the four feasts.<sup>17)</sup> When he returned to Geneva in 1541 he had not changed his mind and so throughout the 1540's, the holiday status was the key focus of Calvin's objections to the four feasts as a whole, regardless of their content. When the four were "abolished" in 1550, this provision was the one common factor. The theological rationale for the objection to weekday holidays will be considered briefly below. Here the task is to trace the changing legal status of these feasts.

Over the course of the 1540's the question of holiday observance changed in Geneva, in various ways and at different tempos. The establishment of Calvin's day of prayer was one factor. For Calvin, this special service of repentance, intercession, and thanksgiving was second only to

17) See Letter #111, OC 10b:191. "In feriis plurimam laboramus perplexitate, quemadmodum semper sumus professi, neque alia conditione concedere possumus istas quatuor institui, nisi ut tollatur nimium imperiosae auctoritatis, ac liberum sit iis qui volent post concionem ad opus se conferre. Non tamen fenestram audemus aperire tot turbis, quas emersuras iam prospicimus si aliter fiat." Calvin's primary problem was the government's imposition of the rites without pastoral participation in the decision, but with regard to the holidays he had already decided that he opposed requiring the day to be an enforced holiday.

Sunday.<sup>18)</sup> It is appropriate to measure it by the criteria listed above: liturgy, number of services, and content. Like Sunday morning, the day of prayer was honored with its own printed liturgy, including the singing of a metrical Psalm. It also had services held at two times, dawn and 7 a.m. or 8 a.m.; the fact that the second service was held at a later hour than the usual daily worship was another sign of the importance of the day of prayer. Most weeks there was no special text for the sermon; the minister continued to expound the book on which he was currently preaching. On some rare occasions the Biblical text and the sermon were specially chosen to respond to a particular situation. For content, it was the prayer of intercession which gave this service its distinctive difference from Sundays, while the singing of Psalms and other prayers distinguished it from ordinary weekdays. What the day of prayer did not have at first was legal status with regard to stopping work. By 1545, however, the Senate had made the day of prayer a partial holiday by forbidding shops to open until after the second worship service.<sup>19)</sup> That lasted until 8 a.m. or 9 a.m., making a significant dent in the workday every Wednesday.

In these same years – the mid-1540's – the obligatory character of holiday observance of the four traditional feasts began to diminish. In 1544 Calvin was urging that those who wished to do so should be able to go back to their regular daily occupations after the 8 a.m. worship on the

18) See McKee, *The Pastoral Ministry and Worship in Calvin's Geneva*, chap. 4, esp. pp. 310ff.

19) Sept. 4, 1545, quoted in Lambert, *Preaching, Praying, and Policing*, p. 307 n.57: "Suyvant ce que le Monsr. Le sindicques Des Ars a exposé que estant hier au Consistoryre, il fust parler de ceulx qui ne vont point au sermon, dont les jours de la pryeres sont pleine les rues, requerant il mectre ordre. Ordonné que les cries soyent renouvellee et que le mescredi soyt fait comme la dimanche jusques apres le sermon." From RC 40, f231(r) archives@etat.ge.ch, accessed Jan. 8, 2013.

four Christological holy days.<sup>20</sup> This evidently became the practice as a growing portion of the Genevan population took advantage of the permission to return to their shops, and there was increasing tension between those who kept the full legal holiday as a time for relaxing and merrymaking and those who went to their ordinary work. By 1548 Calvin was protesting to the Senate about the disorder which this division was causing.<sup>21</sup> Apparently he was principally disturbed by the scandal of disunity and confusion and conflict. When the "abolition" of the four feasts came, Calvin claimed that he had not asked for this.<sup>22</sup> It is quite possible that he protested too much, but it is also possible that he had not sought the shape of the reform which the Senate implemented. Calvin had already achieved the city's recognition of the Annunciation as superstitious and the reduction of the importance of observing Circumcision, Annunciation, and Ascension. What he really wanted now was a change in their legal status so that all Genevans would have the same work patterns; there would be no full holidays on weekdays but only partial ones when, on certain days, businesses could not open until after worship. He may have feared that if he asked simply to abolish the feasts there would be repercussions for the day of prayer, and he certainly wanted to foster that

20) May 22, 1544; OC 21:334-35(RC 38 f209v): "M. Calvin ministre. Lequelt a exposé qu'il seroyt fort utile pour oster toutes superstitions et que touchant les quattres festes que fere passé par le general de fere: il seroyt bon de presché ung chascun jour d'ycieulx de matin: et apres disné qu'il fust en liberté de travaillé ou reposé. Ordonné que cella soyt advisé plus outre en petit grand et general conseyl."

21) May 14, 1548, OC 21:426(RC 42 f89): Calvin "semblablement a prié il advise sus les quaitre festes que sont esté publiés out les ungs ovrent leur buctiques les autres non qu'est scandalle. Ordonné que l'on en aye conference avecque les ministres."

22) Calvin's letter to Bullinger in April 1551, #1482, *Opera Calvini* 14:105.

liturgical practice. He probably wanted essentially to make the four feasts legally like the day of prayer: shops closed until after the 8 a.m. service and then everyone would go back to work. What the city ordered was something which may have pleased him more, though. Geneva "abolished" all weekday full holidays, while maintaining the partial holiday for the day of prayer and decreeing that its practice should never again be usurped by any other observance. It also ordered that the Lord's Supper should be celebrated only on Sundays.<sup>23</sup>

Did abolishing the holidays mean abolishing the holy days? Yes and no. Circumcision, Annunciation, and Ascension no longer had special annual liturgical markers, but Christmas did. Calvin's Geneva continued to observe Christ's Nativity but not on Dec. 25. "Christmas" as Christological event was definely *not* abolished. What was changed was its observance on a particular calendar date unless Dec. 25 fell on a Sunday. The annual celebration of Christ's birth continued to have the highest status: a special liturgy, two services, distinctive content which also included the Lord's Supper, plus holiday status because it was celebrated on Sunday. The one major change was the timing from Dec. 25 to the Sunday closest to that date. This change had the effect of curtailing the merrymaking since what had been customary at Christmas did not fit so well with Sunday observance.

In fact, despite the reactions of Calvin's contemporaries, the Genevan changes to Christmas did not constitute as significant a difference from some other Reformed neighbors as might be imagined. Zurich is a case in

23) See Nov. 11, 1550; OC 21:470(RC 44 f125).



point. That church celebrated its Christmas Lord's Supper on the nearest Sunday, even though it continued to observe Dec. 25.<sup>24)</sup> Any objections Bullinger could pose to Geneva's altered calendar were really applicable in essence only to the traditions of a weekday holiday and Christmas festivities, not to the content of the religious service – or even to the date of the Christmas Lord's Supper.

Further to highlight the significant role of making a day legally free of work it is worth looking at the sermons on the Passion, a weekday Christological observance which Geneva introduced. Calvin repeatedly said that it was inappropriate to observe Christ's Circumcision and not His passion.<sup>25)</sup> Although it was apparently not his initiative, the reformer was fully in accord when in 1544 Geneva began to mark the week before Easter with sermons on the Passion at the regular times of daily worship.<sup>26)</sup> Since this practice did not change the status of the days to holidays it does not figure in the arguments about the liturgical year. However, it does serve to demonstrate that the issue for Calvin was not whether one should or should not remember the most important events of Christ's life in public worship at specific seasons of the year, but what relationship that observance had to Biblical teaching on rest and daily work.

Clearly, Calvin was selective in "abolishing" the holy days, and the common focal point of that abolition was essentially the weekday holiday

status of the traditional feasts. This makes it possible to identify more precisely the theological reasoning which shaped the changes to the four feasts. Calvin disapproved of the holiday character of weekday observances; only one day/ week was excluded from work on the grounds of scripture.<sup>27)</sup> This does not have anything to do with whether a particular time is holy or not. In principle every day belongs to God and the faithful should rest from their own agenda continually, seven days a week. Every day is holy in the sense that it should be dedicated to doing God's will. However, God's word sets aside one day in seven for rest and special gatherings for worship. Again, in principle, any day could have been designated, since none has any intrinsic, ontologically distinct character. The Lord's Day was chosen by the early church because it was the day of the resurrection, and so it is the appropriate day for Christians to observe as a rest from daily labor.<sup>28)</sup> The purpose of this "holiday" is not to escape work as if it were evil. God created human beings to work as well as to worship; it could be said that work is also a form of worship. Ceasing to do daily labor is not virtuous in itself, but it is necessary in order to enable believers to do a different kind of activity: to hear God's word, receive the sacraments, and respond to God's grace with praise and *koinonia*(mutual sharing)(Acts 2:42).

24) See Engammare, "Reformed Preaching in the Sixteenth Century," p. 212.

25) Calvin's letters : to Johannes Haller, #1428, and to Bullinger, #1482, *Opera Calvini* 14:5 and 14:105.

26) March 21, 1544; *Opera Calvini* 21:332(RC 38 f131) "Ordonné que les predicans tout au long de la sepmainne devant pasques ayent à precher la passion," See McKee, *The Pastoral Ministry and Worship in Calvin's Geneva*, pp. 299-301.

27) For a summary of these arguments as developed through the *Institutes* and sermons on the fourth (Sabbath) commandment, see McKee, *The Pastoral Ministry and Worship in Calvin's Geneva*, pp. 178-87. The stance is evident from the *Institutes* 1536, see *Opera Selecta* I, pp. 47ff, 385ff, et passim. Cf. 2.8.30-34.

28) For reference to the early church choice of the day of resurrection, see *Inst.* 2.8.34 (from 1543).

### III.

Calvin's teaching about the traditional liturgical year was shaped by his Biblical theology and serves as a coherent expression of how that theology was embodied in religious time. The radical changes were not simply an iconoclastic fervor to remove anything not explicitly ordered by scripture. The modifications to the tradition were intended to follow scriptural guides about rest and work. Yet the point was not a new legalism, much less a claim to distinguish holy and profane time; the object was to provide for proper use of all time, since all belongs to God. The elevation of Sunday and revision of the practice of the four feasts are aspects of Calvin's thinking about liturgical time which have received most (if not almost all) scholarly attention. However, the truly creative and long neglected part of his work was the development of the day of prayer, as a means for people to practice looking at their daily life for God's continuing active engagement. The complete story has been told elsewhere,<sup>29)</sup> so a summary must suffice here.

By long tradition, grounded in Biblical teaching, Christians have regarded major disasters such as wars or plagues, or great blessings such as victories, as evidence of God's particular intervention in the lives of God's people to correct sin or give aid. Typically, the church's response has been to call for special acts of repentance or thanksgiving. Essentially Protestants continued this pattern of engaging in liturgical forms of pen-

itence and sometimes of rejoicing, although they dropped many of the ways (such as processions) by which the medieval church expressed repentance or gratitude. This is the background of the Calvinist Reformed day of prayer. Before Calvin came to Strasbourg Bucer had been seeking ways to make this kind of attention to God's acting in the world a regular thing, but he had not had much success. The severe plagues in 1541-42 led the churches of both Strasbourg and Basel to call for weekly or monthly observance of a special day, but this practice did not have a recognized theological basis or liturgical shape. Calvin changed that.

The practice of day of prayer in Calvin's Geneva demonstrates that it was the complement to Sunday. As soon as he returned in the fall of 1541, Calvin requested a regular weekly day of prayer with the specific focus of intercession and he wrote a special prayer for it. Within a few months he published both a rationale and a liturgy for this service, elevating it to a place second only to Sunday morning, the only other time of worship which had a written order of service. As with most Sundays, there was usually no fixed content for day of prayer sermon; the pastor continued his *lectio continua* text except on certain occasions.<sup>30)</sup> Over time, as the place of the four feasts diminished, Calvin strongly nurtured the practice of the day of prayer. At least by 1545 he had won for it recognition as the one weekday when everyone should attend worship; to make this easier there would be services at two times on both sides of the city, and the shops would not open until after the services. By 1550, when the four

29) McKee, *The Pastoral Ministry and Worship in Calvin's Geneva*, pp. 310-52. See also Elsie McKee, "Calvin's Day of Prayer: Origins, Nature, and Significance," in *Calvin und Calvinismus - Europäische Perspektiven*, ed. I. Dingel & H. Selderhuis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), pp. 315-32.

30) For the liturgy and examples of the special day of prayer services which were exceptions to the *lectio continua* rule, see McKee, *The Pastoral Ministry and Worship in Calvin's Geneva*, pp. 326-44.

feasts were definitively re-defined ("abolished"), the day of prayer was recognized as the only fixed weekday observance in the Genevan liturgical calendar. That this day stood out as a notable development among Calvin's contemporaries is evident in the way that he was attacked for creating "a new saint's day," but its appeal as an expression of Biblical teaching is seen in how quickly it spread among most of the Reformed churches. It became the second fulcrum of time for the Calvinist Reformed tradition.

Here the key point is to observe how the day of prayer completes and illuminates Calvin's sense of liturgical time. The traditional Christological celebrations, focused on Sundays and including special recognition of the Nativity, Passion Week, Easter, and Pentecost, were the central aspects of religious time because the focus of faith is the work of Christ. However, the Calvinist Reformed balanced this with a secondary but still important attention to the engagement of God in the contemporary world in which Christians live day by day. God's providence, God's immediate presence in every moment of the believer's life is a very important part of Calvin's teaching. The day of prayer gives a regular weekly liturgical expression to this theological conviction, so that the Lord's Day and the day of prayer make a rhythm of celebrating God's saving and sustaining love in the concrete worship life of God's people. In his changes to the traditional liturgical year Calvin was primarily interested in revising the practice of worship according to Biblical theology. In his development of the day of prayer, he was not trying to be "creative" but to ground and embody in regular worship the Christian faith in God's providence. The combination of Sunday and the day of prayer demonstrates in a concrete fashion the co-

herence between Calvin's teaching on soteriology and providence, and his practice of corporate worship. It also reveals that Calvin had a very thoughtful and nuanced perception of liturgical time.