

AUTHOR 김한주

TITLE Calvin`s Two-fold Diaconate: In Search
of Its Theoretical Root

IN 한국기독교신학논총, Vol.39 (2005)

Calvin's Two-fold Diaconate: In Search of Its Theoretical Root

Kim, Joo-Han*

I. Introduction

This paper is concerned with Calvin's double diaconate, especially with respect to its historical foundation. What is the root of Calvin's diaconate? There is some scholarly polemic as to whether Calvin's diaconate copied the civil system. In an article, Robert Kingdon insists that Calvin simply went along with a civil relief system in Geneva rather than creating a new organization.¹⁾ According to Kingdon, Calvin was rather "providing a religious warrant, drawn from the Bible, for a program of social work already established."²⁾ Calvin allowed city officials who were already at social work to be special leaders for diaconal work. Consequently Kingdon maintains that Calvin's diaconate was merely the consecration of an existing institution. In other words, Calvin developed his diaconate to fit the existing situation at the General hospital. This assertion gives us the impression that Calvin's diaconate is more based upon expediency than upon theology and exegesis.

Exploring carefully Calvin's commentary on the Biblical passages, Elsie A. McKee tries to reveal the theological and exegetical basis for Calvin's diaconate. She argues that Kingdon's notion is too dependent upon institutional history and thus interprets Calvin's diaconate from the viewpoint of social history.³⁾ If we look at the same phenomena

* Research Professor of Historical Theology, Hanshin University.

1) Robert Kingdon, "The deacons of the Reformed church in Calvin's Geneva," in *Melanges D'histoire Du XVI Siecle*, Librairie Droz 11, Rue Massot Geneve, 1970, 82. Hereafter this article will be referred to as *Deacons*.

2) *Ibid.*, 82.

3) Elsie A. McKee, *John Calvin on the Diaconate and Liturgical Almsgiving*, Librairie Droz S.

from a theological and especially exegetical perspective, McKee insists, we get a rather different picture. She holds that Calvin's diaconate is fundamentally based upon the Bible. Consequently, she claims that "Calvin's diaconate is a theological consecration of what he saw as a useful social program."⁴⁾ This argument is inadequate to support a full understanding of the historical context in which Calvin practiced his diaconal work.

The studies of these two persons lead us fundamentally to the following question: is the office of deacon which appears in Calvin's thought as a benevolent work of the church community a simple return to the Biblical pattern or is it a more complex structure which also must be understood in accordance with the social welfare movement in the sixteenth century? Investigating the following issues will help answer this basic question. First, what is the character of Calvin's definition of diaconate? Does it have an integrity of its own? In the second section below, I attempt to draw Calvin's definition of diaconate from his writings. And I examine Calvin's commentary of Romans in which he developed two distinct functions in the diaconal office. This section provides a theological setting for the study of Calvin's diaconate. In the third section, I explore the social historical contours on which Calvin's diaconal ministry is based. It is thus necessary to make certain general observations about sixteenth-century Genevan social welfare. This section examines the social welfare system at General hospital, thereby linking Calvin's doctrine of diaconate with the social reform. This section explains how much the temporal development of Calvin's thought on the theological office of the deacon cooperates with the Genevan social welfare system. In so doing, I will attempt to reveal the distinct characteristics of Calvin's diaconal ministry, in regard to the civil system. In the final section, I conclude by making some comments.

II. Calvin's Definition of Diaconate

In the previous section, I raised the question of whether Calvin owes his double diaconate to the social welfare movement or not. In order to examine this issue, first of all we should investigate the

A. 11, rue Masot Geneve, 1984, 127f. Hereafter this book will be referred to as *John Calvin*.

4) *Ibid.*, 128.

historical development of Calvin's diaconal doctrine.

Calvin's understanding of the nature and obligation of the diaconate toward the world was fundamentally born out of scriptural convictions. For Calvin, the scriptural warrant for instituting the diaconate could be found in his commentaries or sermons. In his commentary on *Acts*, Calvin wrote that "Luke is telling us here about the creation of deacons, dealing first with the occasion, secondly with the deliberation involved, and finally with the rite used"⁵⁾ Regarding Acts 6:1-6 as the record of the instituting of the first deacons, Calvin insists that seven men were the church's first deacons. They were ordained by the Apostles through the laying on of hands (Acts 6:6).⁶⁾

The deacons' main duty was to care for the poor and to administer church property. "[The apostles] elected seven persons who had the care of administering the alms and supporting the poor, and all that kind of supervision ... this was done so that this order might be continued in the church of God."⁷⁾ Care of the poor was conceived as a sacred office and a part of the total Christian ministry: "We know what a holy thing it is to care for the poor."⁸⁾ In short, the deacons were the church's social welfare officers and, to some extent, its business managers as well. Therefore, for Calvin, the office of the deacon is a necessary and permanent part of proper church order.

In addition to his commentary of *Acts*, the biblical justification for an alms-distributing diaconate is found in Calvin's commentary on *1 Timothy*. Here Calvin compiled the following qualifications for a deacon:

Deacons ought to be serious and modest in their living, temperate, they ought not to be lazy at all, nor double-tongued; and then, they ought not be given to wine, not dishonest gain, and they should have the secret of the faith in good conscience, and they should be proved

5) Calvin, *Calvin's commentaries, The Acts of the Apostles 1-13*, Trans. John. W. Fraser and W. J. G. McDonald (Tweeddale Court: Edinburgh, 1965), 157. Hereafter *Acts*.

6) With respect to the ordination of the deacons through Apostles' hand, Calvin particularly explained that laying on of hands is a biblical rite for consecration but it does not effect anything. "The laying on of hands was a solemn symbol of consecration under the Law. The apostles now place their hands on the deacons for this purpose, that they may know that they are being dedicated to God ... not of course that it has any efficacy or virtue in itself, but its power and effect depend solely on the spirit of God." *Ibid.*, 163.

7) Calvin, sermon on Acts 6:1-3. Quoted from McKee, *John Calvin*, 154.

8) Calvin, *Acts*, 234.

before being set in office.⁹⁾

These sentences are simply a rephrasing of Paul's own list in I Timothy 3:8. As is examined above, the obvious point to be drawn from Calvin's teaching on the diaconate in reference to the Biblical texts is that Calvin understood diaconal work in terms of an ecclesiastical service. In the regard, McKee asserts that for Calvin the diaconal service was inherently ecclesiastical. She says that "care for the poor was not only a Christian task, as all agreed, but it was specifically a responsibility of the church as church."¹⁰⁾ Therefore, it is certain without doubt that the role of the deacon is the administration of charity, the distribution of alms.

An interesting aspect of Calvin's diaconate was that he classified the office of the deacon into two major service realms. There were deacons to nurse the sick and the poor, and deacons to govern and apportion the commodities dedicated to them.¹¹⁾

Calvin's two-fold division of the diaconate can be traced to his commentary of Romans. In the Commentary of Romans 12:8, Calvin wrote:

When Paul speaks here of givers he does not mean those who give their own possessions, but technically the deacons who are charged with the distribution of the public property of the church. When he speaks of those who show mercy, he means widows and other ministers, who were appointed to take care of the sick, according to the custom of the ancient church. The functions of providing what is necessary for the poor, and of devoting care to their attention, are different.¹²⁾

In this passage, Calvin unequivocally claims two diverse offices to care for the poor; the first to provide for their material needs; the second to visit and to minister unto them. At this point, McKee

9) Calvin, *The Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians and the Epistles to Timothy, Titus and Philemon*, trans. T. A. Smail, ed. D. W. and T. F. Torrance (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964), 228.

10) McKee, *John Calvin*, 151.

11) Later Calvin developed more precisely his two-fold concept of the deacon's office in his writings.

12) John Calvin, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Romans and to the Thessalonians*, Trans. Ross Mackenzie, Ed. D. W. and T. F. Torrance (Tweeddale Court: Edinburgh, 1961), 270.

suggests Calvin's exegesis of Romans 12:8 as the theological evidence of his two-foldness of the diaconate. She suspects some scholars' assertion that Calvin's double deacons' doctrine came out of Geneva's influence of Calvin.¹³⁾

The concept of Calvin's twofold office of the deacon was also asserted in his writings, especially the *Institutes and the Ordinances*.

Challenging the traditional definition of the diaconate on the basis of his Biblical studies, Calvin continues to develop his doctrine of diaconate in the *Institutes*. In book four of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), Calvin sets out his notion of the diaconate, along with the nature and character of institutional church, its structure, officers and powers. Here he insists on the diaconate as an ecclesiastical ministry of charity and rejects the traditional liturgical interpretation. In the discussion of the office of pastor and teacher, Calvin regards the two offices of pastor and teacher as the public ministry in the church. These two offices are recognized as distinct enough from each other to have respective resemblance to the earlier apostles and to the ancient prophets.¹⁴⁾ To these two offices two further functions are added: governors and deacons (caring for the poor). Here, Calvin wrote simply that deacons were created by the Apostles to provide for the poor. "The care of the poor was entrusted to the deacons ... Their origin, institution, and office are described by Luke in the Acts [Acts 6:3]."¹⁵⁾ On the basis of his understanding of Acts 6:3, Calvin mentions that deacons are "those whom the church has appointed to distribute alms and take care of the poor, and serve as stewards of the common chest of the poor."¹⁶⁾

Here we can see that Calvin's diaconate is not primarily a liturgical office, but the ecclesiastical ministry of care for the poor and sick. In fact, Calvin criticizes the abuses in the appointment of the deacon, that is to say, abuses associated with collation to clerical benefices by Roman church. Bishops of the Roman church very wickedly corrupted the ancient institution (deacon system). "When they consecrate deacons, they do nothing about their true and proper office, but ordain them only for certain rites concerned with chalice and paten."¹⁷⁾

13) McKee, *John Calvin*, 128, 196ff.

14) John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Ed. John T. McNeill, Trans. Ford Lewis Battles (The Westminster Press: Philadelphia, 1965), 4.3.5. Hereafter *Institutes*.

15) *Institutes*, 4.3.9.

16) *Institutes*, 4.3.9.

According to Calvin, Roman bishops interpreted the title of deacon as "meaning an income sufficient for their support." Therefore, Calvin proclaims that the work of the deacon is definitely a ministry of benevolence. He vehemently opposed the Romanists restriction on the office of the deacons to the purely liturgical function. According to Calvin, the Romanists did not create their deacons for the inherent purpose of the deacons, that is, "holy dispensing of church goods." "For they charge them only with ministering at the altar, reading or chanting the gospel, and goodness knows what other trifles."¹⁸⁾ The Roman Catholic church had even built up a complex hierarchy of sub-deacons, deacons, and arch-deacons, which had neither scriptural warrant nor sacred purpose.¹⁹⁾ For Calvin the ecclesiastical functions, which are regarded as proper for the office of deacons, were shifted in a radical way.

In the *Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances* of 1541, Calvin provided more detailed explanation of the diaconate. In this document, Calvin delineated for the first time a fully elaborated four-fold ministry of which one branch was the diaconate. These Ordinances were to be the charter of Geneva's ecclesiastical executive and judicial system. They were adopted on November 20, 1541 by the civil authorities of Geneva.

The *Ordinances* of 1541 begins with a significant and normative statement bearing on a four-fold ministry: "There are four orders of office instituted by our Lord for the government of his church. First, pastors; then doctors; next elders; and fourth deacons. Hence if we will have a church well ordered and maintained we ought to observe this form of government."²⁰⁾ As we compare Calvin's formulation of this four-fold ministry in his *Ordinances* with the requirements laid down in the *Institutes*, we find a similar outline. In his *Institutes*, Book IV, chapters 3 to 5, Calvin deals particularly with the purpose, function, and election of the ministry, and the corruptions of the primitive church pattern. But it is commonly agreed that Calvin's four-fold ministry was influenced by the reformer of Strasbourg, Martin Bucer. Bucer believed that as the public ministers of the church,

17) *Institutes*, 4.5.4.

18) *Institutes*, 4.5.15.

19) *Institutes*, 4.4.5.

20) The Library of Christian Classics Vol. XXII, *Calvin: Theological Treatises*, Trans. J. K. S. Reid (The Westminster Press: Philadelphia, 1965), 58. Hereafter *Treatises*.

there are "teachers, pastors, rulers, deacons (the stewards of the communal alms), and any others needed for ordering the life of the community of Christ as beneficially and worthily as possible, and for promoting his glory."²¹⁾

Calvin certainly concurred with this view of Bucer's diaconate. Prior to Calvin's stay in Strasbourg(1538-1541), Calvin did not spell out a complete structure or a consistent rationale for his diaconate as the public ministry. It was not until publication of the Ordinances of 1541 that Calvin had fully theoretized about a public ministry consisting of four offices. Calvin developed his diaconate more concretely in association with the Genevan context. In Calvin's four-fold ministry, the deacons were ranked as the fourth order of ecclesiastical government. The office of the deacons was "always two kinds in the ancient church."

The deacons to be called *procurator* are those who "deputed to receive, dispense and hold goods for the poor, not only daily alms, but also possessions, rents and pensions." The second type of deacons were called *hospitallers* and were related directly to those who "tend and care for the sick and administer allowances to the poor."²²⁾ Both deacons were to be chosen in much the same as had been established for the elder's office according to Paul's specifications in I Timothy 3:8. In addition to this basic office of two deacons, a more precise recommendation of *procurator's* duties was added. They were charged with the supervision of the public hospital and with caring for "the sick and the old people unable to work, widowed women, orphaned children and other poor creatures."²³⁾ Care for the poor dispersed through the city was also a responsibility of *procurators*. They were ordered to accompany representatives of the minister, elders with one of the Lords syndic on regular visitations of the hospitals. By comparison, on the duties of the *hospitallers*, Calvin just stated that they were to be good rulers of their families, for they had "to govern houses dedicated to God."²⁴⁾ *The Ordinances* seems to indicate the fact that Calvin's concept of the deacons was quite consonant with the Genevan social welfare system (Hospital-General). For example the *Ordinances*

21) D. F. Wright, ed. *Common Places of Martin Bucer* (The Sutton Courtenay Press: Abingdon, 1972), 239. cf. 278.

22) *Treatises*, 64.

23) *Ibid.*, 65.

24) *Ibid.*, 65.

states that "the number of *procurators* appointed for this hospital seems to us to be proper."²⁵⁾ This fact shows that the form of Calvin's diaconate was similar to the system of social service at the Genevan hospital. Hence, we need to examine how Calvin formulated his diaconal system in accordance with the Genevan situation. The exploration of the applicability of Calvin's doctrine of diaconate to practical church order in Geneva is the subject of the following section.

III. Calvin's Diaconal Ministry and Social Reform

What we have to explore in this section is two things: First, we should note the Genevan social welfare situation, especially focusing on General hospital in connection with the sixteenth century's social welfare movement. Second, we must investigate the relationship of Calvin's diaconate to charitable activities in Geneva.

The sixteenth century is often seen as the beginning of modern social welfare. It is generally agreed that the characteristics of the sixteenth century in social welfare movement are centralization, laicization and rationalization.²⁶⁾ During this period, new institutions to centralize and coordinate welfare movements were established and social welfare programs gradually shifted from ecclesiastical to secular hands in its control.

Along with the Reformation, Geneva's citizens created many new political, social and religious institutions. The schools and hospitals were all created by the secular councils. After this General hospital was established in 1535, the attempts to reform hospital institutions were continued in association with the sixteenth century's reformed welfare movement. The hospital reforms were all-encompassing and progressive. Yet, at the same time, they maintained the city traditions for serving the needs of the poor. The councils unified the scattered, individual, unproductive efforts into a comprehensive, city-wide

25) *Ibid.*, 65.

26) Elsie Anne Mckee, *Diakonia in the Classical Reformed Tradition and Today*, William G. (Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1989), 50f. Hereafter *DCRT*; Jeannine E. Olson, *One Ministry Many Roles Deacons and Deaconesses through the Centuries* (Concorea Publishing House: St. Louise, 1992), 144f.; Robert M. Kingdon, "Social Welfare in Calvin's Geneva", *American Historical Review* 76 (1971), 51. Hereafter *Social Welfare*.

approach to social welfare in order more effectively and inexpensively to serve the poor.

It was the city of Geneva where a most thorough and uncompromising reform developed not only in church organization but also in the social welfare movement in the sixteenth century. "Geneva became a sort of Protestant Rome."²⁷⁾ In Geneva, the center of social welfare practice was General hospital. In regard to this hospital, Kingdon says that it was "an all-purpose institution that provided 'hospitality' to all sorts of people who were recognized to possess needs that they could not meet with their own resources."²⁸⁾ This hospital had a large building in the center of Geneva where there were many orphans or foundlings and a few old people. The hospital also provided food or bread for the poor or visitors who had just arrived in Geneva. According to Kingdon, in establishing this hospital, the Genevan community endorsed the two principles: rationalization and laicization.²⁹⁾ Therefore, by this principle this hospital was able to organize as an institution, and entrusted the administration or direction of this institution entirely to laymen.³⁰⁾

The *procureurs* had many special duties. They were responsible for the care of all the considerable properties allocated to the hospital.³¹⁾ They supervised the properties owned by the hospital and collected rents which fell due on them. In a very secular sense, they were still councillors and served as liaison between the councils and the hospital. Among their various obligations the most important thing was to request consistently for supplementary grants of cash to finance adequately all the social programs sponsored by the hospital.³²⁾ *Procureurs*, like other officials, were voted into office during February of each year. Most of them were, by profession, merchants. They set on many Genevan communities during their life time. Practical experience in business affairs enabled them to conduct the financial life of the hospital. Nevertheless, they must have been busy individuals, considering that their obligations to the hospital made exhausting demands on their

27) Kingdon, *ibid.*, 51.

28) *Ibid.*, 52. General Hospital was established in 1535 before Calvin arrived in Geneva. In 1535, there at least eight institutions devoted primarily to coping with social problems in the city, seven of them were called "hospitals". *Ibid.*, 53.

29) *Ibid.*, 53f.

30) *Ibid.*, 54.

31) *Ibid.*, 57.

32) *Ibid.*, 58.

time.³³⁾

What is the relationship between Calvin and General hospital? Did Calvin intervene in the administration of this hospital? There is no practical evidence that Calvin was directly involved in the management of this hospital. Kingdon holds that "as for Calvin's role in the later development of the General hospital, I suspect it was profound but extremely indirect."³⁴⁾ Calvin "did consecrate it." In this perspective, Kingdon analyzes Calvin's doctrine of the diaconate in connection with the Genevan context, Kingdon declares that Calvin's two-fold distinction of the deacon was an arbitrary one created to accommodate the practices extant at the Genevan hospital. In short, Calvin basically adopted the civil system. Kingdon holds that Calvin's deaconal teaching should be understood in terms of "the social obligations of the Christian community."³⁵⁾ Therefore, Calvin's diaconate has to begin logically with the deacons of Geneva.

Kingdon considers the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* of 1541 in which Calvin distinctively described the double office of the deacon as the document Calvin drafted for the city of Geneva in 1541 shortly after his triumphal return from Strasbourg. According to him, only in this document is the title deacon applied to the administrators of the Hospital.³⁶⁾ In other words, the *Ordinances* is often seen as possibly an attempt to resacralize or reestablish ecclesiastical control over a lay institution. As was already noted, the social workers of two types in the General hospital were regularly elected by city council. There were five *procureurs* and one *hospitallier* in this hospital before Calvin arrived in Geneva. In Kingdon's view, these people are really "the first deacons of the Reformed church in Geneva."³⁷⁾

Kingdon acknowledges that Calvin developed the two-fold concept of the deacon based on the key Biblical proof texts. But he advocates we should note the fact that most of Calvin's he had established himself definitively in Geneva and after "the Geneva General hospital had been operating smoothly for many years."³⁸⁾ Consequently, Kingdon

33) *Ibid.*, 57.

34) *Ibid.*, 61.

35) Kingdon, "The Deacons of the reformed church in Calvin's Geneva," in *Melanges D' Histoire Du XVI Siecle*, Librairie Droz 11, Rue Massot Geneve, 1970, 81. Hereafter *Deacons*.

36) *Ibid.*, 87.

37) *Ibid.*, 87.

38) *Social Welfare*, 60.

insists that "Calvin was probably thinking of the Genevan arrangement" in his development of the two-fold diaconate.³⁹⁾ In conclusion, Kingdon affirms that Calvin's diaconate was influenced by Geneva's social welfare system, not vice versa. In other words, "Calvin may have been describing an institution which he had seen operating in Geneva."⁴⁰⁾ Calvin consecrated the existing civil system and presented the Biblical warrant for it. It seems to me that Kingdon argues as if Calvin attached the secular to the church.

This argument is possible but tracing the historical development of Calvin's understanding of the diaconate through his writings, especially the exegetical history of various passages seem to indicate a different origin.

Over against social historians who point to social motives contributing to the development of Calvin's two-foldness of the deacons's office, McKee deals with this issue in the theological and Biblical perspective. She acknowledges that maybe Calvin logically followed the Genevan practice in organizing two kinds of deacons. "Certainly the practical efficiency of the civil poor-relief system must have appealed to Calvin."⁴¹⁾ However, she says that "social influence as a source of a double diaconate cannot tell the whole story and may possibly distort the picture slightly."⁴²⁾ She begins her argument with presumption that theologically Calvin's charity is by definition necessarily ecclesiastical. Calvin's ecclesiastical deacons did not have to be civil welfare officers and could exist without civil cooperation. They could also function in a disestablished fashion. Thus, McKee claims that Calvin's deacons should theologically be understood as "ecclesiastical ministers of benevolence."⁴³⁾ Calvin retained the name "deacon" for an ecclesiastical minister. His diaconate was possible without civil base.

Did Calvin simply create a diaconate by consecrating the welfare system? A negative answer to this question becomes apparent when we consider descriptions of the diaconate Calvin explains in his many cannot

39) Kingdon says that "one gets the impression that the deacons were regarded as secular officers of the state rather than as ministers of the church." *Deacons*, 86. Reid is also in the same notion with Kingdon: "the procurators and hospitallers may reflect rather the arrangements to which Geneva was already accustomed than an T. H. L. Parker (Epworth Press: London, 1966), 106.

40) *Deacons*, 87.

41) McKee, *DCRT*, 59.

42) *Ibid.*, 59.

43) *Ibid.*, 59.

be said to have caused Calvin to develop a distinct office for the diaconate.⁴⁴⁾ In order to show evidence that Calvin's real form of double deacons was rooted in the Biblical background, McKee carefully examines Calvin's commentaries and homilies. She claims that Calvin's double deacons were instituted by the pattern found in the exegesis of the Biblical texts, especially Romans twelve. Calvin used Roman 12:8 to explain the origin of the distinction between the *procureurs* and the *hospitalliers*.⁴⁵⁾ Certainly Calvin's two-fold concept of the deacon was born out of his Biblical exegesis. Calvin applied his theory to the Genevan church.

As was examined above, Kingdon claims that Calvin's two-fold diaconate was owed to the civil system rather than to the Biblical text. He thought that Calvin was simply using the vest Biblical warrant he could find to explain, enhance, and perhaps influence the civil welfare system.⁴⁶⁾ However, we need to evaluate Calvin's teaching on the double diaconate in the wider context of his theology and the Biblical exegesis and ecclesiastical policy. In this regard, McKee suggests noting the fact that later the two-fold understanding of Romans 12:8 is found further north in Europe.⁴⁷⁾ This fact illustrates the double-diaconate apparently grew out of a natural development of understanding of Romans 12:8.

Obviously, Calvin's Genevan church practiced its diaconal office in accordance with the civil social welfare movement. But this does not mean that Calvin's diaconate lost any specifically ecclesiastical role in welfare. Rather, Calvin might have developed a theory which can approve benevolence as a religious duty of the Christian civil power. As McKee says, the theory was one of "an ecclesiastical ministry of diaconia which could overlap with the welfare program of a civil government."⁴⁸⁾ Therefore, Calvin's deacons could work with independent integrity alone or in cooperation with the civil officials. McKee says this was a peculiar feature of Calvin's diaconate during the sixteenth century.

44) *Ibid.*, 63.

45) McKee, *John Calvin*, 135.

46) Cf. Kingdon, *Deacons*, 82.

47) McKee, *John Calvin*, 202f.

48) *DCRT*, 46.

IV. Conclusion

Considering the two different opinions of Calvin's diaconate, I set out in the introduction and relying on the results of discussion examined so far, the following conclusions can be drawn. First, Calvin emphasized a more socially charitable role of the deacons than merely their liturgical function as an assistant to priests. Second, the concept of the twin purpose of the diaconate was clearly indicated in Calvin's writings written before he arrived in Geneva. Third, therefore, the distinctive two-fold deacons grew out of the application of Calvin's theory to the Genevan context. Fourth, in this meaning, Calvin's diaconal types copied the Biblical form rather than the civil system. fifth, Calvin bent the conclusions of his Biblical research to fit the existing situation at the General hospital. Sixth, for Calvin, the Biblical text was one key proof for the diaconate, whose ecclesiastical place and function were anything but a compromise with secular pressures.

| Key Words |

Calvin, Two-fold Diaconate.

Bibliography

- Bainton, Roland H. *The Reformation of the sixteenth century*. The Beacon Press: Boston, 1952.
- Buck Lawrence P. and Zophy, Jonathan W. *The Society of the Reformation*. Ohio State University Press: Columbus, 1972.
- Calvin's Commentaries: The Acts of the Apostles 1-13*. Trans. John W. Fraser and W. J. G. McDonald, ed. D. W. and T. F. Torrance, Tweeddale Court: Edinburgh, 1965.
- Calvin's Commentaries: The Epistles of Paul The Apostle to the Romans and to the Thessalonians*. Trans. Ross Mackenzie, ed. D. W and T. F. Torrance, Tweeddale Court: Edinburgh, 1961.
- Calvin's Commentaries: The Second Epistle of Paul The Apostle to the Corinthians and the Epistles to Timothy, Titus and Philemon*. Trans. T. A. Smail, ed. D. W and T. F. Torrance. Tweeddale Court: Edinburgh, 1964.
- Dickens, A. G. *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth Century Europe*. Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966.
- Hopfl, Harro. *The Christian Polity of John Calvin*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1982.
- Kingdon, Robert M. and Linder Robert D. *Calvin and Calvinism Sources of Democracy*. D. C. Heath and Company, 1970.
- The Library of Christian Classics Vol. XXII, *Calvin: Theological Treatises*. Trans. J. K. S. Reid, The Westminster Press: Philadelphia, 1965.
- The Library of Christian Classics Vol. XXI. *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Vol. II. Ed. John T. McNeill, The Westminster Press: Philadelphia, 1965.
- Ed. McCord James I. and Parker, T. H. L. *Services in Christ*. Epworth Press: London, 1966.
- McKee, Elsie Anne. *John Calvin: On the Diaconate and Liturgical Almsgiving*. Librairie Droz S. A. 11, rue Massot, Geneva, 1984.
- _____. *Diakonia in the Classical Reformed Tradition and Today*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., : Grand Rapids, Mich., 1989.
- Monter, E. William. *Calvin's Geneva*. John Wiley and Sons, Inc.,: New York, 1967.
- Mueller, William A. *Church and State in Luther and Calvin*. Broadman Press:

Nashville, Tennessee, 1954.

Melanges D'histoire Du Xvie Siecle: Offerts a Henri Meylan. Librairie Droz
11, Rue Massot: Geneva, 1970.

Olson, Jeannine E. *One Ministry Many Roles: Deacons and Deaconesses
through the Centuries.* Concordia Publishing House: St. Louis, 1992.

Parker, T. H. L. *John Calvin: A Biography.* The Westminster Press: Philadelphia,
1975.

Tonkin, John. *The Church and the Secular Order in Reformation Thought.*
Columbia University Press: New York and London, 1971.

Wendel, Francois. *Calvin: The Origins and Development of His Religious
Thought.* Trans. Philip Mairet, Harper and Row, Publishers: New York
and Evanston, 1950.

Wright, D. F. *Common Places of Martin Bucer.* The Sutton Courtenay Press:
Abingdon, 1972.