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THE LITURGIES OF GUILLAUME FAREL:
THEIR MEANING AND RELEVANCE.

Dissertation

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PREFACE

Relatively little study has been devoted to Guillaume Farel. Though a number of Biographies have been published, these were mainly devotional or inspirational. The only critical biography to have been published in modern times, and to which the author has made much reference, is that written by the 'FAREL COMMITTEE' to commemorate the fourth centenary of the reformation at Neuchâtel.

The comparative neglect suffered by Farel and his works is surprising in view of his role as pioneer of the reformation in French-speaking Churches. The spotlight has been held almost exclusively on the second generation reformer John Calvin. The paucity of material available may help explain why Farel has remained such an obscure figure. This dissertation does not attempt to bring to light the full scope of Farel's work. This still has to be done. Incidentally the author has been informed that there are at present two American post-graduate students doing research on Farel at Neuchâtel. This may hold a promise of further light on this significant father of the reformation. The author has limited himself here to an examination and evaluation of Farel's liturgical works. These were only a very small portion of his wide field of activity. The further study necessary to investigate the full influence of these liturgies on the development of reformed worship is only outlined here.

In order to set the Farellian orders in their context, a certain amount of historical and doctrinal background has been given. This is by no means exhaustive as each service would justify a separate dissertation. An effort has been made to cut background down to a minimum and to bring out the main tendencies only so as to situate Farel in the development of the understanding of the Church's worship.

Acknowledgement must be given to Professor William Maxwell to whom the author owes a debt of gratitude for having inspired this enquiry and for his patient understanding and encouragement.

Thanks are also due to Professor Henri Meylan of Lausanne University for having opened the eyes of the author to the middle ages and the reformation. The kind help of the Lausanne and Neuchâtel librarians must be acknowledged as also the help and guidance given by Professor Calvin Cook without whom this study would not have progressed beyond the draft stage.

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GUILLAUME FAREL : TABLE OF THE MAIN EVENTS IN HIS LIFE

- Note : Are mentioned in this table only those events and journeys which influenced his career directly. Similarly, after settling at Neuchâtel, he still attended colloquies in Germany and made numerous visits. Only the main titles he published are mentioned here; minutes of disputes, placards etc. have been omitted.
- 1489 - Birth of G. Farel at Gap.
- 1509 - Arrives in Paris.
- 1512 - Meets Lefèvre d'Étaples.
Appointed professor of Philosophy and Grammar at Collège Cardinal Lemoine.
- 1521 - Begins at Meaux (June).
Short visit to Gap.
- 1523 - Forced to leave Meaux, returns to Paris.
Flees persecution at Paris, tries to evangelise Bordeaux region. Seeks refuge at Basel (Autumn).
Received by Oecolampadius.
- 1524 - Visits Zurich (May). Installed as preacher to French-speaking community (June).
Expelled from Basel (July).
Meets Hinne Rode at Basel (1523 - autumn 1524).
- 1524 - Installed as preacher in castle chapel at Montbéliard.
Lorayson Dominicale (1524) Baptism and..
liturgy (1524/25).
Summaire (1525)
- 1525 - Forced to leave Montbéliard (March).
Returns to Basel illegally.
Settles in Strassburg (April). Appointed minister to French-speaking congregation.
Participates in debates on Eucharist.
Short visit to Metz.
- 1526 - Leaves Strassburg.. Travels to Aigle via Basel and Berne (October). Begins at Aigle as schoolteacher (November).
- 1527 - Officially authorised to preach by Berne.
- 1528 - Participates in Bernese Disputation. Becomes organiser of the Reformation at Aigle and district. Attempts to evangelise Lausanne.
- 1529 - Berne sends Farel to region of Morat. Itinerant ministry to Bienne, La Neuveville, Diesse, Erguel, Vallangin, Neuchâtel, Grandson, Orbe, Payerne and Avenches.
Reprint of Summaire without Farel's knowledge (1529).
- 1532 - Participates in Synod at Berne (January).
Visits Valdese Synod at Chanforan (Sept.).
Visits Gap, then Geneva (October).
Returns to Morat and organises Reformation in territory under Bernese control (November).
Aulcunes remonstrances (1530) Jesus sur tout (1530)
Maniere et Fasson (August 1533)

- 1533 - Moves to Geneva (December)
- 1536 - Reformation of Geneva (May). Organises the Church. Stops Calvin and forces him to start work in Geneva (July).
- 1538 - Farel and Calvin expelled from Geneva (April). Farel settles at Neuchâtel (July). Tours Church in region under Bernese control (Oct.)
- 1542 - Visit to Metz (August 1542 - March 1543).
- 1549 - Visit to Zurich with Calvin (May).
- 1556 - Evangelisation tour of Basel principality.
- 1558 - Marries Marie Thorel.
- 1561 - Ministry at Gap (November 1561 to February 1562).
- 1564 - Death of Calvin.
- 1565 - Visit to Metz (May).
Death of Farel (13 September).
- 2nd reprint of Summaire with Traicte de Purgatoire and Salut & Orayson a Jesuchrist (1534).
- Re-edition of Summaire with additions and postscript: La rayson pourquoi ceste oeuvre a este faicte (1538) Lordre et Maniere (1538)
- Reprint of 2nd edition of Summaire with epistle: A tous ceulx qui aymont nostre Seigneur (1542)
- Orayson tres devote (1543)
- Le glaive de la Parolle (1550)
- 3rd Edition of Summaire revised and brought up to date (1552).
- De la sainte Cene (1553)
- Du uray usage de la Croix (1560).

ABSTRACTChapter I - Introduction : Guillaume Farel, the man and his work

Guillaume Farel was born at Gap in 1489. He went to Paris in 1509 to continue his studies, met Lefèvre d'Étaples and began to question the discrepancy between the teaching of the Scriptures and of the Church. He accompanied Lefèvre to Meaux in 1521 and when Briçonnet was forced to abandon his efforts, went to Basel (1525) where he was welcomed by Oecolampadius who also enabled him to meet the leaders of the reformation groups in Zurich and Strassburg. After a few months spent evangelising Montbéliard (1524/1525), he settled at Strassburg where he gained recognition as the leader of the French reformation.

At the end of 1526, he settled at Aigle and set about reforming the district. He participated in the Disputation of Berne in 1528 and organised the reformed Church in Aigle district. In 1530, he was transferred to Morat from where he organised the reformation at Neuchâtel and the Northern canton of Vaud. In 1533, he entered Geneva under Bernese protection and engineered the reformation there in 1536. That same year he prevailed on Calvin to remain in Geneva to guide the reformation. After some disagreement with the Council, Farel and Calvin were forced to leave Geneva in spring 1538.

Farel was called to take up the post of chief minister in Neuchâtel (1538). When the Genevans repented of their rash actions, he again persuaded Calvin to return to Geneva (1542). From Neuchâtel, Farel's influence radiated over most of France and French-speaking Switzerland. He engaged in numerous attempts to find ministers for the Churches in France; he kept in close relation with Calvin in Geneva and Viret at Lausanne. His chief work at Neuchâtel was to try to obtain for the Church a modicum of independence from the state. He undertook a number of missionary journeys, including one to Metz. He also strove to bring Bullinger and Calvin together and was thus instrumental in bringing about the Consensus Tigurinus. In 1558, aged sixty-five, he married, to the disgust of his friends. He visited Calvin shortly before the latter's death. Guillaume Farel died in 1565

after having assisted at the triumph of the reformation at Metz.

Chapter II - The problem of Reformed Liturgies

The reformation did not spring out ex nihilo but was the outcome of a conjunction between various currents of dissatisfaction, the growth of literacy among the people and the development of Biblical studies. These streams found their confluence in the crises which arose in the sixteenth century.

Reformation liturgies sought to express a new view of faith which was in accord with the teaching of Scripture. Two patterns of liturgical reformation may be discerned: clerical and popular. Clerical reformers based their new liturgies on the Mass; popular reformers on the people's services. Farel's liturgies are of the popular type. Reformation liturgies are as important for what they did not include as for the emphases in them.

It is important that reformation liturgies be seen in relation to each other for there was a considerable amount of communication between reformers. Farel's liturgies, until now, have remained on the sidelines, unclassified. It is important for a fuller understanding of the reformation that Farel's liturgies be placed in the general scheme. Consequently the dating of Maniere et Fasson becomes one of our priorities. Having looked at various scholars' opinions on the question, we turn to the context of Farel's work for guidance.

Tracing Farel's liturgical activities at Montbéliard, Aigle, Morat and Geneva, it becomes obvious that Maniere et Fasson of 1533 was no more than the reprint of an earlier liturgy, probably of the same name, which was composed at Montbéliard and printed late in 1524 or early in 1525.

For purposes of comparison, a brief historical outline of the origin of contemporary orders from Berne and Basel as well as the Roman priest's Manuals is given.

The procedure followed looks at the individual services, comparing them with contemporary forms and thus seeking to bring out Farel's motivations and justification for the forms he proposed.

Chapter III - The Baptismal Service

Early references to baptism and particularly to infant baptism are noted. We see the appearance of various ceremonies attendant

on the catechumenate and the baptism of adults and the incorporation of these ceremonies into the medieval baptismal service.

Farel set about producing a theology of baptism and took pains to find a justification for infant baptism. In drawing up his order, he stayed quite close to the Roman order but redesigned the service to deal specifically with infants. He removed all ceremonies associated with the catechumenate and the baptism of adults.

Farel's rite is clearly independent of both Basel and Bernese orders and is the only one to have been redesigned rather than just adapted.

Chapter IV - The Marriage Service

Marriage, as it was found in the Greco-Roman world is examined as also the Church's reaction to customary practices in the first few centuries A.D. In the beginning, the Church considered marriage to be purely a family matter. But during the dark ages, it began taking over the functions of the family. A theology of marriage was developed which considered marriage as sacrament.

The Christian marriage ceremony began as a simple blessing of the couple. Iberian, Gallo-Celtic and Germanic marriage customs found their way into the marriage service and the whole ceremony was finally hallowed by concluding it with a celebration of Mass.

Farel did not accept the view of marriage as a sacrament but otherwise he followed the medieval theologians fairly closely. He disagreed with the conception of celibacy as the highest estate. He reserved this position for marriage. He refused all impediments of relationship which could be resolved by money. He accepted only those restrictions of relationships which were dictated by the Scriptures and common sense. He insisted on the families playing their proper roles in marriage causes and, as a further guarantee, required that all marriages be celebrated before the congregation.

Farel's marriage rite is independent of Strassburg and Berne. It was celebrated at the beginning of the preaching service.

Chapter V - The Lord's Supper

Farel's chief purpose was to restore the celebration of the Lord's supper to its rightful place in the worship of the Church. Chief among the distortions he combatted was the conception of the eucharist as an independent entity with power of its own to confer grace. He also protested against the clericalisation of the Mass and the estrangement of the people from the celebration. He was, to a certain extent, influenced by the 'sacramentarian' movement through his meeting with Hinne Rode at Basel.

Farel rejected Luther's 'consubstantiation' just as he rejected scholastic 'transubstantiation'. His position lay somewhere between these and Zwingli's 'spiritual' interpretation. He would not be drawn to describe the mechanism of Christ's presence in the eucharist.

Farel would have liked the reformed congregations to communicate frequently after due preparation. His order is based on the people's communion to which he re-introduced the words of institution and the eucharistic prayer. Farel's order was designed to form one whole together with the preaching service.

Chapter VI - The Preaching Service

The preaching service is traced from its appearance in the ninth century. It began as part of the Mass. With time, the liturgy of the Word was stripped from the Mass and the preaching service became an independent entity. Internal evidence is found in the preaching service of its early origin. The preaching service became very popular in medieval times and the reformers took full advantage of the popularity of preaching.

We look at medieval preaching and at the structure of the Prone. Farel's preaching service is analysed and studied relative to the Prone and to the Bernese order. Finally, we look briefly at reformed preaching.

Chapter VII - The visiting of the sick

We trace sick visiting and communion from the Jacobean exhortation to medieval practice. This in turn leads us to look at funeral practices. Instructions contained in the priest's

manuals are compared with Farel's directions. We note that Farel mentions neither sick communion nor funerals. Calvin's indebtedness to Farel is shown.

Chapter VIII - Congregational Song

Congregational song such as is depicted by St. Augustine disappeared fairly quickly. It was taken over by clerical choirs. Some sort of informal song did survive however for it is reported that the people sometimes sang at preaching services and at home. This informal singing was probably the inspiration for Luther, Marot and others.

Reformation Strassburg was fortunate in that it had a sound musical tradition and a number of outstanding musicians and composers. Farel was probably influenced by the singing at Strassburg. When he was superintendent at Morat, four collections of hymns appeared (1532/33). Farel's acquaintance and involvement in hymnology may explain the terms used in the 1537 Genevan 'Articles' and constituted the starting impulse for the development of the Genevan Psalter.

Chapter IX - Conclusion

Our conclusion, drawn in Chapter II concerning the date of Maniere et Fasson causes us to change Maxwell's fivefold scheme of reformation liturgies into a sixfold one. Farel's liturgical efforts must therefore be seen as constituting one of the pioneering movements in parallel with those of Luther, Zwingli and Bucer. These four liturgical movements are the foundation on which the later liturgists such as Calvin and Cranmer built.

Farel's liturgies have had a considerable influence. First at Neuchâtel where Farel ministered so long, then also at Montbéliard where Toussain published a liturgy in 1558 which is basically an amended and enlarged version of Maniere et Fasson except in the order for the Lord's supper. The order for celebrating marriage was taken verbatim from Farel by Calvin and the Baptismal service has also left its mark. Through Calvin, therefore Farellian forms were continued throughout the reformed world and may be seen still today. Other Genevan practices, such as the absence of Absolution and the desire for frequent communion

were also adopted by Calvin, but only the first survived for any length of time. But perhaps the most lasting consequence of Farel's pioneering work was the flowering of congregational song, reaching its zenith in the publication of the Genevan Psalter.

As a liturgist, Farel was a man of his time, and a man of the people. His language was direct and easily understood and the form in which he cast his orders met the need for instruction as well as for worship. He was the only reformer to have tackled the challenge of designing a baptismal service for infants. He was deeply Biblical. In form, his liturgies are surprisingly complete. One may surmise that had Calvin taken the Farellian form for the Lord's Supper rather than that of Strassburg, reformed worship might not have gained the reputation for coldness which it later did.

INTRODUCTION

I. GUILLAUME FAREL : THE MAN AND HIS WORK

Guillaume Farel's activities as a reformer have been commemorated by statues in the two key cities of his ministry. At Neuchâtel, his statue stands in front of the Collegiate Church into which he led his evangelical group to establish the Reformation on 24 October 1530. At Geneva, he figures at Calvin's right hand in the central group of the wall of the Reformation¹. As reformer and later pastor of Neuchâtel, the first statue justly acknowledges his particular importance for that city. The second representation does more than acknowledge him as reformer of Geneva; it expresses also the growing recognition modern scholarship has given him for his role in the Reformation as a whole. Earlier, Farel was considered as a sort of sixteenth century John the Baptist, a precursor who laid the foundations on which his successors would build. Yet no serious work on Calvin, usually considered the central personality of the French-speaking Reformation, can be written without some slight acknowledgment of Farel's prior role. Wendel, for instance, refers to Farel as follows:

'One should be careful not to underestimate the work that Farel had already done. In most of the directions which were to claim Calvin's activity, Farel appears as a precursor... Less gifted and no doubt less systematic, he had at least the merit of having staked out the ground and picked the first teams, and having brought Calvin into the work. His shortcomings prevented him from accomplishing by himself what Calvin was to succeed in doing ... In his meeting with Calvin, he had the insight to recognise the man who could realise his designs better than he could himself. And in spite of his own authoritarian character, he had the wisdom to efface himself before the newcomer'².

Farel preceded Calvin by a generation. Like him, he was born into a family of lawyers. His father, Antoine, had added the function of registrar of both temporal and spiritual courts at Gap to the offices of Imperial Delphinal notary, Notary Apostolic and secretary to the procurator of the Cathedral chapter which he had inherited from his own father.

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1. From left to right: Farel, Calvin, Beza and Knox.
 2. François Wendel: Calvin, pp.49-50.

Guillaume was born in 1489, the fifth son in a family of seven¹. From an early age, he took part in religious exercises². He was brought up to accept the teaching of the Church without question:

'I believed everything of the virgin Mary ... and of the others (the saints) also ... of the cross, of pilgrimages, of vows, of bones and other devilry in which I was immersed to the abyss of iniquity ... Where the idolatry of the Mass is concerned, I cannot judge otherwise but that innumerable legions of devils from hell had seized me. Because of this ...³. I strove and suffered so much in my soul, body and possessions...³.

His piety led him to refuse his father's choice for him of a military career. But so great was his respect for and dread of the sacred mystery of the Mass that unlike his three brothers, he felt unworthy to enter the priesthood⁴. After much pleading, he obtained parental consent and support to go and further his studies in Paris. He obtained a bachelor's degree and while working for a master's licence, he began to study the Scriptures⁵.

'But having read the Bible, I was much surprised at seeing that... everything was different to what the Holy Scriptures teach ...⁶.

So deeply was he rooted in his religious practices that the witness of Scripture alone could not effect change; he felt that the fault must lie in his own lack of understanding. This conclusion was confirmed by an unnamed 'doctor' who informed him that no Arts graduate could profitably read the Bible without first having studied philosophy⁷. About this time, he met Lefèvre d'Étaples who was to have great influence over him. He was first attracted by the older man's devotion:

1. Preceded by four brothers and a sister and followed by another brother. His eldest brother, the brother immediately preceding him and the youngest all entered the priesthood. Best known are his lawyer brothers Gauchier and Claude who played a significant role in the reformation in France.
2. 'The first pilgrimage on which I went (aged seven) was to the holy cross which is on Tallard mountain...' Farel: Du uray usage de la Croix, p.149.
3. Farel: Epistre a tous seigneurs..., p.165-166
4. 'I did not deem myself worthy to sing it (Mass)...'. Said by Farel at the disputation of Lausanne. A. Piaget: Les Actes de la dispute de Lausanne 1536, p.200.
5. 'He (the pope) did not dare to deny Holy Scripture ... which is partly the reason why I read it with more faith and reverence'. Farel: Epistre a tous seigneurs, p.167.
6. Ibid., p.168.
7. Ibid., p.169.

'... never did I see a singer of Mass sing it with more reverence... who offered greater devotion to images ... remaining long on his knees, he prayed and said his hours before them (the images), in which I often accompanied him'¹.

The spitefulness and the unjust nature of the attacks of the Sorbonne against Lefèvre began Farel's disenchantment:

'Through this, I began to see the cowardliness of the theologians and no longer did I hold them in such esteem as before'².

But it was a remark by Lefèvre, in the course of a discussion on the merit to be gained through prayer, that brought Farel to what he later considered as the turning point in his life:

'He taught me that we have no merit but that everything is given through grace, by the sole mercy of God without anyone having deserved it. This I believed as soon as I heard it'³.

Inspired by Lefèvre, Farel once again took up the study of the Scriptures.

'For three years and more I prayed God that he might give me to see the true way, and reading often on my knees, I compared the Greek with the Latin to the best of my ability, approaching great and small in search of aid...'⁴.

In the meantime, he continued with prayers to the saints and devotion to the Mass. Only in 1518 did Michel d'Arande, one of his study companions, show him conclusively that God alone should be invoked.

'Then was papacy thoroughly shaken in my heart and I began to hate it, being angry at its having deceived me so long. And the Holy Word of God began to take the first place in my heart and I began to judge and believe that all which was not according to the Word of God was sin...'⁵.

The painful process of weighing up all the beliefs and practices to which he was attached followed.

'Human judgement and affection did not draw me away from it, nor did I have pleasure in leaving any of it; but I was constrained by the pure Word of God and by his express commandment. I did not abandon the said papal abominations all at once, but only gradually did papacy fall away from my heart...'⁶.

This description of the process Farel underwent is the only one extant. Only in the Epistre a tous seigneurs... did he dwell at any length on the stages of his religious pilgrimage. The Epistre was written some

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1. Farel: Epistre a tous seigneurs... p.170.
 2. Ibid., p.171.
 3. Ibid., p.171.
 4. Piaget: op.cit., p.211.
 5. Farel: Epistre a tous seigneurs..., p.173.
 6. Ibid., p.175.

twenty-five years after the events reported; whether or not this reflection on his youth was influenced by his later experience cannot be resolved with any degree of certainty. Farel seems to have arrived in Paris a pious but naive provincial, was driven by his piety to reflect on the substance of his faith and in so doing, and through the providential intervention of a number of people, came to the realisation that the Church as he knew it was vastly different from that pictured in New Testament records. As time passed, he increasingly became conscious of the need to restore the Church to Evangelical principles. This would be no easy task; the intolerance of the schoolmen at the Sorbonne and their jealousy of the humanists' achievements seemed to make any start in Paris impossible¹. When, in 1521, Lefèvre was offered refuge at Meaux by bishop Guillaume Briçonnet, Farel was among the disciples who followed him². Briçonnet made ample use of this influx of talent in his attempt to bring about a pastoral reformation of his diocese. Luther's writings had influenced a number of those appointed to preach in the parishes of the see. They took advantage of their positions to disseminate the new ideas. Farel's biographers are unanimous that he must have occupied some official position at Meaux. Being neither theologian nor priest, it is unlikely that he could have been anything more than casual preacher. Yet his involvement at Meaux was sufficient to fire his zeal for the Reformation. In 1522, he already felt the need to preach the Gospel further abroad than the confines of the see of Meaux. He visited his home town Gap where he gained a number of converts before being expelled³. He returned to Meaux where he remained for a short time until Briçonnet was forced to abandon his attempt and discharge his preachers. From there, Farel went to Paris

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1. Even Erasmus felt the need for a 'cheap' doctorate from Turino to gain a hearing. Chaunu: Le temps des Réformes devotes a whole chapter to Humanism and its struggle with Scholastics, p.296-362.
2. Among those who followed Lefèvre to Meaux, we may note the names of Gérard Roussel, Michel d'Arande, Martial Mazurier, Pierre Caroli, François Vatable and Jean Lecomte de la Croix who was later Farel's co-worker in Switzerland.
3. 'De la il fut deschasse voire fort rudement tant par levesque que par ceulx de la ville trouvant sa doctrine fort estrange sans iamais en avoir ouy parler'. A-L. Herminjard: Correspondance des Réformateurs, I.p.180, quoting from Vie Anonyme, a manuscript biography in Neuchâtel library.

where he seems to have preached to reformist groups¹. When persecution broke out in the capital, he attempted the evangelisation of the Guyenne region². These experiments made it clear to him that in the atmosphere of persecution reigning in France, no successful work could be carried out without a secure base of operations outside the country. Numerous evangelical groups had come into existence but these were isolated from each other and were almost completely lacking in ecclesiology, forms of worship and doctrine. To become the nucleus of a reformed Church, these groups needed to be welded together into one body, to discover their doctrinal position and to evolve forms of worship that would represent their faith. Rather than continue dodging persecution, Farel resolved to go and seek support at Basel, 'drawn ... by this illustrious city's reputation for science and mercy'³.

At Basel, Farel was made welcome by Oecolampadius who kept open house for all who sought refuge on account of their faith. In Oecolampadius' house, Farel met Hinne Rode who had come to supervise the printing of Johan Wessel Gansfort's works. Rode had brought with him a Summa of which a French translation: La Summe de Lescripture sainte... was printed by Thomas Wolff in 1523. Meyhoffer and Schnetzler estimate that the most likely person to have done this translation was Farel, at the request of Oecolampadius⁴. Hinne Rode was to have a considerable influence on reformed thought⁵. His symbolic notion of the sacrament seemed an answer to the general dissatisfaction with the excessively materialistic view of the elements held by the medieval Church.

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1. Jean Canaye, a student friend, complained in a letter that there had been no preaching since Farel's departure. Herminjard: op.cit., I. No.105 (13 July 1523).
2. The districts south of Bordeaux.
3. Herminjard: op.cit., I. p.359. Farel to the Senate at Basel (6 July 1525).
4. Guillaume Farel: Biographie Nouvelle, p.37 and 118-119.
5. In a letter to Bugenhagen (Pomeranus) dated October 1525, Zwingli recognised his debt to Hoen's Epistola which Rode had shown him.

In autumn 1523, Farel paid his first visit to Strassburg but on this occasion did not seem to have met Capito. On his return to Basel, probably in December, he received from Gérard Roussel a booklet containing the sentence delivered by Paris theological faculty condemning the errors preached at Meaux. This Farel re-edited under its own title: Determinatio Facultatis Theologie Parisiensis with a violently satirical commentary. This essay did not meet with Lefèvre's approval¹ and constituted the point of departure of Farel's dispute with Erasmus².

In order to assist his friend Oecolampadius, Farel held a public disputation on 3 March 1524. In his thirteen theses, he argued against any doctrine that did not originate in the Word of God and against any person who profited from abuses. His arguments gained the sympathy of the evangelical group who admired, in particular, his courage, piety and knowledge of the Scriptures. But these same theses also served to crystallise opposition, particularly from Erasmus who understood only too well the full implications of Farel's views.

Before Easter³, Erasmus' Exomologesis sive modus confitendi came off the press. Its non-committal attitude exasperated Farel who immediately wrote to his friends at Meaux to warn them. His letters were probably the reason why Marguerite of Angoulême, the protector of humanists in France, did not respond to the overtures of Erasmus. Word of Farel's letters and comments seem to have reached Erasmus, increasing his ire.

Soon after Pentecost⁴, Farel left Basel on another journey, designed this time to take him to all the main centres of the Reformation⁵. At Zurich, he met Zwingli by whom he was particularly impressed, as well as

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1. Herminjard: op.cit., I. p.223. Lefèvre to Farel, 6 July 1524: 'I have received this violent pamphlet which, should it fall in the hands of certain persons, will excite their ire and inflame their hatred against us...'
2. In a letter to Melancthon dated 6 September 1524, Erasmus wrote: 'Farel has written a libel of the Parisians and of the pope. What vulgarity, what inept virulence...'
3. 27 March 1524.
4. 15 May 1524.
5. Oecolampadius had furnished Farel with letters of introduction to Luther and Capito. Herminjard: op.cit., I. No.100 and 101.

Myconius, Grebel and others. From there he continued via Schaffhausen to Constance where he decided to abandon his journey and return to Basel. Back at Basel, he was requested by the evangelical refugees to preach in French. He had preached only three times when Erasmus' vindictiveness caught up with him and caused him to be summarily banished from the city.

His friends advised Farel to go to the French-speaking county of Montbéliard. Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, count of Montbéliard, had taken refuge in his French possessions after the annexation of Würtemberg by Austria in 1519. In the course of his numerous visits to neighbouring Basel, he had come to know Oecolampadius and other refugee evangelicals and under their influence, had embraced the reformed faith. Having received a recommendation from Oecolampadius, Duke Ulrich not only gave Farel permission to 'preach and announce the Word of God'¹; he also appointed him preacher to the ducal chapel.

Farel's preaching was soon crowned with success. The growing number of converts aroused his sense of responsibility. Preaching alone was no longer sufficient, his new flock needed pastoral care and nurturing. Severe heart-searching accompanied this change in the scope of Farel's duties. His doubts and concern can be seen from his letters to the Basel theologians and in six chapters of his Summaire. In a letter to Zwingli, Oecolampadius commented on this, explaining that: 'Farel finds justification for his actions in that he was forced to concern himself with the sacraments. As for me, I approve of what he did'². Oral teaching was not sufficient for a growing community like that at Montbéliard. In order to reach more people, to teach in a more thorough manner and to nurture his flock in the faith, Farel began to look for suitable material. A French translation of Luther's letter to the Duke of Savoy was considered useful and distributed as providing a brief introduction to Lutheran doctrine. But this was not enough. No other suitable books were to be found. In the postscript to the 1539 edition of Summaire, Farel wrote about this period:

'Already about thirteen or fourteen years ago, this good and faithful servant of God, doctor and pastor of the Church, John Oecolampadius, at the request of certain good people, exhorted

1. Herminjard: op.cit., I.p.268.

2. Zwingli: Opera..., VII. p.369, dated 21 November 1524.

me to write in the common language so as to give instruction to those who knew not Latin, briefly touching on a few points of which the people have little knowledge, so that all of the French language might have better knowledge and understanding of Jesus... I took care and diligence to do as such a great pastor had exhorted me to ...'¹.

First to appear was a 'little book easily carried in one's hand', entitled Lorayson Dominicale et les articles de la Foy contenus au Credo avec familiere exposition de tous deux pour les simples, which was printed at Basel in August 1524. Apart from the title, which describes the contents, nothing remains of this booklet except for a rough draft of the preface jotted down on the back of a letter. Second to appear was a liturgical manual containing an order for the baptism of children and, if Oecolampadius' letter quoted above is any indication, at least an order for the Communion service². After having enquired vainly for a catechism, Farel decided to write his own, the Summaire et briefue declaration daulcuns lieux fort necessaires a ung chascun chrestien which, in forty-two brief chapters, expounded the main themes pre-occupying the faithful: God, Man, Jesus Christ, the Gospel, Sin, Faith, Merit, Grace, the Scriptures, the Sacraments, Forgiveness, Confession, etc. This was accompanied by another book, which today we have no means of identifying³.

The success of Farel's work was to be its own undoing. Alarmed at the spread of heresy, the Archbishop of Besançon mobilised all his resources to combat Farel. The Swiss cantons were persuaded to present Duke Ulrich with an ultimatum. In the first half of March 1525, Farel left Montbéliard.

For three weeks, he hid in Basel, during which time the difficulties involved in reforming the kingdom of France preyed on him. His contacts with Pierre Toussain⁴ and knight Nicholas of Esch had aroused his interest in the city of Metz in Lorraine. In April, Farel moved to Strassburg where he was received by Capito. Toussain came to fetch Farel and they arrived at Metz on 11 June to be welcomed by Esch and other evangelicals. But this visit was of short duration. Resistance

1. Farel: La rayson pourquoy..., p.5 2.

2. See p.47ff. below.

3. Herminjard: op.cit., I. p.306: referred to in a letter from Anémond de Coct to Farel dated 18 November 1524.

4. Pierre Toussain, canon of the cathedral Church at Metz had already been associated with attempts to preach the reformation there.

to the 'Lutheran' Gospel was building up. On 21 June, Toussain and Farel were advised to leave urgently which they did, escaping their pursuers by riding throughout the night.

Back in Strassburg, Farel landed in the thick of the Eucharistic controversy. Whereas in the beginning, the reformist movements had primarily been concerned with protesting against abuses and distortions in the Church, the time for positive statements had arrived. In the young evangelical communities of Southern Germany, Switzerland and France, the meaning of the Eucharist was a matter of crucial practical importance. At first sight, Zwingli's symbolic interpretation seemed to present the ideal counterpart to the excessively materialistic position of the romanists.

In 1524, Jean Lambert of Avignon, an ex-Franciscan, had arrived at Strassburg from Wittenberg where he had spent two years studying under Luther. Having become aware of the growing divergence between Luther and the southern reformation, Lambert sought to achieve recognition as leader and to draw the French evangelicals to the views held at Wittenberg². At Strassburg, he published a number of works in which he condemned Zwingli's views. Toussain's letters to Farel, dated 9 and 14 July, expressed his alarm:

'From what I hear, all (in France) cherish Zwingli and if this blockhead (Lambert) continues to attack him ... he will bring on himself the scorn of such friends as he may still have there... Already many French Christians complain that on the subject of the Eucharist, Luther is drawing away from the opinion of Zwingli and of the others; it is not necessary for Lambert to bring new tragedies upon us'³.

Lambert's efforts were soon brought to a halt. On 8 October, the ministers of Strassburg sent an emissary to Luther, bearing a letter in which they besought him to end the scandal resulting from disputes between evangelicals on the subject of the Eucharist. In mid-January 1526, the city authorities invited Lambert to refrain from printing anything without their express permission. Then, when Lefèvre, Roussel and Michel of Arande sought refuge at Strassburg, the reforms already effected in worship, ecclesiastical institutions and schooling made

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1. Examples of the concern over the Eucharist at the time are found in Zwingli's writings, in Oecolampadius' De genuina verborum Domini... and in Farel's own aborted treatise Sur le pain et le vin du Sacrement, the draft of which, in his haste, he forgot at Metz.
2. At the time, Lambert was wholly given to Luther's views. Later on, Carlstadt's influence became predominant leading him to a radical spiritualist position.
3. Herminjard: op.cit., I. p.364 and 366.

great impressions on them; they were convinced by Oecolampadius' treatise on the Eucharist and were subjugated by Farel's personality and plans¹. Lambert was left with no prestige and with no possibility of gaining acceptance in France. Farel had thus become the uncontested leader of the French reformation. He was pressed with calls from Metz, from France and from Berne; he also had already attempted to set up a reformed outpost at Neuchâtel². The Strassburg and Swiss reformers helped him to make up his mind. In mid-October 1526 he left Strassburg, passed through Mulhouse and Basel, headed for Berne and finally arrived at Aigle in mid-November.

The political situation in French speaking Switzerland at that time was complex. The counties of Gruyères and Neuchâtel, together with the sees of Lausanne and Geneva had independent sovereigns. The largest tract of land, that governed by the bailiffs of Vaud and Chablais, was ruled by the Dukes of Savoy. Interspersed in these territories were the vassal domains of Oron, Valangin, Aubonne and Coppet³. As a result of the Burgundian wars and the conference of Fribourg in 1476, Berne had obtained the domain of Cerlier, between the lakes of Neuchâtel and of Bienne, and that of Aigle, between Vaud and the lower Valais. Berne also shared sovereignty with Fribourg over the bailiwicks of Morat, Grandson, Orbe and Echallens. In addition, Berne had concluded advantageous alliances and treaties of co-burghership with Bienne, Neuchâtel, Neuveville, Payerne, Lausanne, Geneva and the Valais. Although pressure from France and the jealousy of the Swiss cantons had prevented Berne from consolidating its frontiers by conquest of the lands to the Chablais Alps and the Jura, the ambition to do so remained strong, awaiting the right moment.

At Aigle, Farel started as teacher. On 30 November, he preached his first sermon and, when the governor returned from his travels, Farel applied for permission to hold school and to preach to all who wished to hear the Word. The governor de Rovéréa granted the application on condition that he preach 'the pure, clear word and doctrine of God alone

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1. Evidenced by Roussel's letters to Briçonnet, and LeSueur. Herminjard: op.cit., I.pp.404 and 408.
2. In a letter to Zwingli written while at Strassburg, Farel suggested that Zwingli come to an agreement with the Swiss Cantons' bailiff at Neuchâtel so as to send Jean Vedaste there 'so that in this manner, some light may be shed on unhappy Gaul'. Herminjard: op.cit., I.p.380.
3. Valangin was ruled by René de Challant under the suzerainty of Neuchâtel. The suzerain of Oron, Aubonne and Coppet was the house of Savoy.

according to the New and Old Testaments... without saying anything against the sacraments'¹. Having been recognised by Berne as teacher and private preacher, then later as official interim preacher and finally as permanent preacher, it was natural that he should be invited to take part in and even lead the French section of the Berne disputation in January 1528. Having returned from Berne with the responsibility for organising the reformation in the region, Farel was to suffer much hardship, ill-will and blows before his task was finished, earning, in the process, the title 'bishop of Aigle'². But Farel's eyes were set further than the limits of the Rhone valley. Taking advantage of Bernese indignation at certain libellous statements circulating at Lausanne about the 1528 disputation, Farel offered to visit that city to correct matters. Armed with the authorisation and protection of Berne, Farel was allowed into Lausanne by the council, only to be expelled by the bishop. Farel was thus prevented from preaching in Lausanne; the subsequent diplomatic flurry remained fruitless. But if Lausanne could not be attacked frontally, it could be encircled. Farel knew that at Bienne, Neuveville and in the Diesse region, much sympathy for the reformation had already been manifested. He therefore obtained a letter from the Bernese council requesting its allies to let him preach³. Thus armed, Farel set out on a campaign which Berne encouraged by transferring him to the subject city of Morat⁴. The years 1529 to 1533 were devoted to an itinerant ministry. Farel was then constantly on the road, setting up evangelical groups at Neuveville, Diesse, in the Erguel and in the southern parts of the diocese of Basel.

Farel's transfer to Morat was at the request of the people of the city who, a week previously, had decided for the reformation. In view of his ministry to the West, Farel could not have done very much himself; it seems that he was required mainly as an organiser. Having engineered the consolidation of the Morat bailiwick to the reformation, he turned

1. Herminjard: op.cit., II.p.23.

2. In a letter from the Bernese council dated January 1530.

3. Aktens. No.2612.

4. 22 January 1530.

to Neuchâtel and Valangin and from there, to the South. At Orbe, Grandson, Moudon and Fayerne, he called for the intervention of the Bernese authorities to allow 'the pure Word of God to be proclaimed' and to condemn excessive opposition to the ministers under its protection.

In 1530, two Valdese envoys sent to contact the Swiss reformers had visited Farel then at Neuchâtel. In 1532, he organised a meeting of ministers at Grandson to receive another Valdese embassy. At this second meeting, Farel, Antoine Saunier and Louis Olivier (Olivetan) were chosen to attend the forthcoming Valdese Synod at Chanforan. This Synod was to prove a turning point for Farel. Saunier persuaded the Valdese to join the reformation. In the course of the meetings, Farel was shown some 'samples of the Old and New Testaments in the vernacular written so long ago that none could remember when and thus accessible to very few people'. He 'admonished the brethren that it would be expedient and necessary to revise the Bible according to the Greek and Hebrew languages into French¹.' The Valdese were so taken with this idea that they collected an amount of 500 gold ecus for the printing of a parallel column French-Latin Bible and decided that Olivetan would be entrusted with the task under the supervision of Farel. Finally, on the way back from Chanforan, Farel stopped for a few days in Geneva.

Although they possessed a Bernese letter of recommendation, Farel and his companions suffered rough treatment at the hands of the chapter before being summarily evicted from the city with the promise that they would be executed if they returned. But Farel had had enough time to meet the leaders of the evangelical party with whom he had already corresponded. Before the end of the year, Farel sent his secretary Antoine Froment, then minister at Yvonand, to his Genevan co-religionaries. Froment opened a school and, after the lessons for the day had ended, read and explained the Gospels to a growing audience. Before long, his hearers found the house too small to accommodate them. They took him to the fishmarket where he preached his first public sermon. This sermon was interrupted by the canons of the cathedral who hastened to disperse the people. Froment himself was expelled from Geneva. But **the** Genevan reformation was not long left leaderless; Guérin Muette was sent to Geneva to continue the work.

1. Olivetan: Epître a ses freres fideles..., prefaced to his new translation of the Bible published at Neuchâtel on 4 June 1535. Fo.3.

At the beginning of March 1533, two evangelicals, Claude Salomon and Baudichon de la Maisonneuve set off on a private mission to seek Bernese support. On the way, they stopped at Payerne where Viret and Farel helped them draft the articles of their petition. At the same time, Farel drew up for them a set of instructions for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The mission succeeded. On 25 March, a letter from Berne arrived in Geneva, protesting against the ill-treatment meted to Farel by the canons and other hindrances to the preaching of the Gospel. 'Allow the truth to prevail and let it be licit and possible for those in your city who wish to speak and live according to the Holy Gospel of Jesus Christ, to do so unmolested and unharmed. And let the Word of God be freely proclaimed'¹. Furthermore, on Thursday 10 April, Guérin Muette celebrated the first reformed Eucharist in Geneva according to Farel's directions.

On 20 December 1533, Farel returned to Geneva under the protection of Berne. There he was soon joined by Froment and Viret. He began services in a private house bought for this purpose; here Pierre Viret baptised the first two children according to the reformed rite. Once again the house proved too small to contain the crowds. On 1 March 1534, his audience took Farel to the Franciscan monastery of Rive where they took over the great auditorium. By April 1535, the Council had given the reformers official recognition and lodgings.

From August 1534 onwards, Geneva was on a war footing. The bishop had joined up with the Duke of Savoy to send troops to subdue the city. Like the other citizens, the reformers did their stint of duty, guarding the walls and building new defenses.

'And on watch duty, on the walls during the war, was one of the preachers to instruct them and teach them the fear of God ... so that in such assemblies and watches, it is reckoned that as many or even more people were won to the Gospel ... than in public preaching'².

Many Swiss cities had, by this time, held public disputations to enable the warring parties put their case before the population. The same procedure was followed in Geneva. The disputation of Rive was called on 1 June 1535 to discuss the theses of Jaques Bernard, a recently converted monk of Rive. The weakness of the opposition and

1. Herminjard: op.cit., III.p.33.

2. A. Froment: Les Actes et Gestes merveilleux de la cité de Genève, p.126.

the easy triumph of Bernard, Farel and Viret cast doubt on the relevance of the whole debate. The Council, unable to see a clear mandate, decided to maintain the status quo. In the meantime, the crowds had set Farel up in the pulpit of the parish Church of Saint-Germain and, on 8 August, at the cathedral. The Council was forced to reconsider its position.

'After a lengthy debate on all these matters ... it was resolved that the priests would be called before the Council and asked if they wished to support Mass and images ... that if it be found that wrong was done in breaking images, this would be repaired ... in the meantime, let there be no more pulling down of images and let the celebration of Mass be discontinued until further information has been obtained ...'¹

At the audience, the priests declared that 'they knew not what to answer, being simple folk and accustomed to live as their fathers had taught them without enquiring about such things ...'² The provisional order suspending Mass was then confirmed.

On Farel's suggestion, the new Council which came into office at the beginning of 1536 began to issue directives concerned with issues previously under the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts: no selling of drinks during sermon hours or after nine at night; no profiteering over the sale of bread and wine; all inhabitants of the city to attend the sermon, etc. Furthermore, the rural parishes were provided with preachers and bells, and those of Thiez were informed that they should consider themselves absolved from the sentence of excommunication the bishop had passed on them. Finally, after a public oath of obedience and a general amnesty, a referendum was held on Sunday 21 May 1536. Thus, by show of hands, the Reformation came officially to Geneva.

In mid-July, when Calvin passed through Geneva on his way North, Farel seized the occasion. Using the same arguments Oecolampadius had used to persuade him to enter the ministry at Basel, Farel forcefully showed Calvin that God's purpose for him was to organise the reformed Church in Geneva.

In the meantime, Berne had finally decided to come to Geneva's aid. The city declared war on the Duke of Savoy on 16 January and on 22 January, an army set out, crossed Vaud unopposed and arrived on 2 February in Geneva. Further operations met with little resistance and

1. Reg. Council. 10 August 1535.

2. Reg. Council. 29 November 1535.

soon the lands of Vaud, Gex and the Chablais were in Bernese hands and open to the reformation. From Geneva, Farel contributed to the reformation of the Chablais¹ where his disciple, Christophe Fabri called to him for help. To settle the religious situation in their conquered territories, the Bernese called for a religious disputation at Lausanne. In this disputation, Farel played the leading role seconded by Fabri, Viret and Calvin.

In accordance with the decision taken by the Council in May, Farel proposed some 'Articles on the Government of the Church'². These were accepted in January 1537 and complemented by Calvin's Catechism and a confession of faith. But opposition soon arose. Pierre Caroli struck first: he accused Farel and Calvin of Arianism. Then they were attacked by Anabaptist refugees who contested their interpretation of the 'Word of God'. The Confession of faith soon became an apple of discord in Geneva. In 1538, a new Council came into office which sought, in flagrant contradiction to the 'Articles' of 1537, to decide on church matters without reference to the ministers; when Farel and Calvin refused to accept this interference of the state in church affairs, they were expelled from the city³.

The reformers made their way to Basel via Lausanne and Berne. While they were in Basel, they received a deputation from Neuchâtel which had been sent to persuade Farel to come and minister to the city he had reformed. Calvin was also approached; the plans for him seem to have been to engage him as minister at La Neuveville, but Bucer and their Basel friends dissuaded Calvin by showing him the folly of

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1. The southern shore of Lake Léman.
 2. These are dated November 1536.
 3. This is a most complicated chain of events. Resistance to the confession of faith was undoubtedly the motive force behind all that happened but relations with France and internal politics also played their part. The climax finally came when, in order to show their attachment to their Bernese allies, the Councils decided to adopt the Bernese religious 'Ordinances' (Reg. Council, 11 March 1538). When the reformers requested time to discuss the matter, the Council felt honour bound to demand immediate implementation. The crisis came on Easter day 21 April with both Farel and Calvin refusing on principle to obey. The council of 200 and the general council of 22 and 23 April decided on expulsion (see the registers for those days).

accepting an appointment so near to Geneva where he had aroused such enmity¹. Farel therefore accepted the call to Neuchâtel and Calvin continued on his way to Strassburg.

Farel saw his expulsion from Geneva not so much as a slight on himself as a defeat for the Church of Christ. His first task, therefore, was to reconquer a city where he still had a number of faithful followers and from which he intended to radiate into France. From Basel, Farel had written to his followers in Geneva exhorting them not to hate their enemies or seek revenge on them but to humiliate themselves and to win over their foes by patience and charity². They were to show themselves more moderate than those that were then in power and thus draw to themselves the sympathy of the population. The Synod which met in Zurich from 28 April to 4 May to investigate the Geneva disturbances had upheld the stand taken by the reformers while recommending that they conform to Bernese usages and show more patience towards an undisciplined people. This Synod had charged the Bernese with the task of working for the return of Farel and Calvin to Geneva. But Bernese hostility towards Calvin inhibited their efforts and rendered them ineffective. Surmounting his disappointment at what he considered a traitorous action on the part of the Bernese, Farel took it on himself to visit Jean-Jaques de Watteville, one of the leaders of the opposition to Calvin. In this interview, Farel managed to change de Watteville's attitude to Calvin as a man. But it also brought into sharp focus the fundamental disagreement between the reformers and the Bernese about Church structures.

In October 1538, Farel undertook a tour of inspection. After celebrating Viret's marriage at Orbe, he continued to Lausanne and Thonnon before returning via Morges and Grandson. This journey enabled him to take the pulse of the churches of French-speaking Switzerland and to confer with his fellow ministers. In the meantime, Capito and Bucer, concerned at the harm done by disagreement to the reformed cause, had pressed the leader of the Bernese clergy, Peter Kunz, to do his utmost to effect a reconciliation. Kunz began corresponding with Farel and in the process, cleared away a number of misunderstandings. This correspondence led to a colloquy at Morges, on 12 March 1539, at which all parties reached and signed a formula of concord.

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1. Herminjard: op.cit., V. Letters to and from Farel from 20 July to 15 August.
 2. Herminjard: op.cit., V. p.172. (19 June 1538).

In 1540, persecution was rife in France. Farel took advantage of German attempts to reach a religious compromise to recruit support for the reformed faith in France. While visiting Strassburg in June to confer with Calvin, Bucer and Capito, he attended the colloquy of Haguenau. In August, he was back in Strassburg, accompanied this time by Jehan de Bely who had been delegated by the class of Neuchâtel to attend Calvin's wedding. In December, he undertook another journey to the north in an attempt to obtain support for the persecuted French churches. He went as far as Worms to attend a colloquy and there forged ties of friendship with Melancthon. The colloquy was adjourned; when it reconvened in Regensburg in 1541, Calvin was sent as one of Strassburg's representatives. But Farel's plans envisaged Calvin in Geneva rather than in Germany because once again the situation had changed. As a consequence of their mismanagement of the city's affairs, the reformers' opponents had had to flee. In October 1540, the Council had decided to call Calvin back. Reluctantly, Calvin had agreed that he would answer the call at the end of the colloquy. Importuned by Farel, he left Strassburg and arrived in Geneva on 13 September 1541.

Even though Farel had to concern himself with the problems arising from his assumption of duty at Neuchâtel, two matters remained of vital concern for him: aid to the churches in France and settling the Genevan question. The French connection remained his greatest concern throughout his ministry. In the following pages, we shall see him taking advantage of every shift in secular and religious politics to gain support for the reformed churches in France and to alleviate their sufferings. We shall see him arranging for ministers to work in France and offering even himself to nurture the growing flock there. By the end of 1541 the Genevan situation could be considered as much more settled. Calvin had been called back to take the leadership of the Church. But many problems were yet to arise. The Genevan Church would have to be built up and organised to become the beacon of the Reformation and the inspiration of all who sought to live according to the Gospel. Calvin would have to be counselled, guided and supported. And in dealing with these two questions, Farel was made to acknowledge the necessity for all the Churches of the Reformation to work together, to cease their internecine quarrels, for mutual support and to present a common front to the forces of reaction.

From the moment of his arrival in Neuchâtel, Farel fought for the institution of an ecclesiastical discipline. The ministers' Class meeting of 2 October 1538 only gave him a resolution in favour of a more proper manner of celebrating Holy Communion. In a letter to Calvin, he wrote: 'We celebrated two Communion services, one on Sunday 22nd and the other at Christmas; neither with the proper order, respect or decency ...'¹ In another letter, to the ministers at Zurich, he expressed his concern: '... the very Holy Communion is offered to the most profane and impious of men. It is hardly even refused to dogs!'² In December 1540, he had shared his dismay with Melancthon and obtained a letter from him exhorting the Church at Neuchâtel to institute three bodies for the keeping of order: ecclesiastical consistories, matrimonial legislation and pre-communion instruction³. But his efforts to institute discipline were met with a revolt of the Neuchâtel libertines. By the time tempers had cooled the Genevan 'Ordinances' of 1541 provided a pattern. These were amended to suit the situation at Neuchâtel⁴ and presented to the authorities.

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1. Herminjard: op.cit., V. p.205 (27 December 1538).
 2. Herminjard: op.cit., VII. p.102 (30 April 1541).
 3. Herminjard: op.cit., VI. p.419 (26 December 1540). The preachers meeting at Worms to the ministers at Neuchâtel.
 4. The Neuchâtel draft 'Ordinances' mention the laying on of hands at ordination which is absent in the Genevan form. The Class is designated as the body to make enquiries in cases of disciplinary action against ministers whereas in the Genevan form, it is the Ecclesiastical Consistory. The Genevan articles 24 to 29 referring to number, places and times of sermons was replaced by: 'On Sunday mornings, let there be a sermon at the Hospital, then a general sermon in the upper church (the Collegiate church); at noon, the children's catechism then, in the evening, the sermon. During the week, three days at the hospital: Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.' The election of elders was also to be organised differently: two were to be elected by the little Council and four by the General Council, or two by the Dame's Council and four by the town Council. Furthermore, 'The gentlemen of the little Council shall take care to name the best and most capable persons available and may call on the ministers to consult with them. Then they shall present those they have chosen to the Council of the four Ministers which shall approve them if they be worthy'. Finally, Article 87 of the Genevan 'Ordinances' was left out of the Neuchâtel draft.

The Council would not countenance the theocratic emphasis of these draft ordinances and to counter this tendency the government, without any reference to the Class's wishes or consultation with the ministers, published in 1542 its own 'Constitutions and Ordinances'. In the six articles, dealing with the public exercise of religion, the Council clearly claimed jurisdiction over the Church:

1. Holy Communion was to be celebrated according to the Bernese instructions with unleavened bread and was to be attended by all the people;
2. Baptism was to be administered only by the ministers, in the Church, and in the presence of the parents or the father; baptism of people not of that particular parish was forbidden;
3. No one was to be married outside of his or her parish and the marriage was to be preceded by the usual treble banns;
4. Attendance at Mass was forbidden;
5. All people were compelled to attend the sermons on Sundays;
6. All blasphemy was forbidden.

Other articles followed, the last of which reserved to the Council executive all powers to judge civil and religious cases.

The only effective counter seemed to lie in a Synod. Farel enlisted the help of Berne and a meeting was called for 9 May which produced 'Articles drawn up by the ministers of Neuchâtel requesting the authorities:

1. Not to admit any minister who did not submit to all the rules of the Class;
2. to institute a deacon (an assistant minister) to work with the poor and the sick;
3. to teach the children in a school and to obtain books for them;
4. to publish the 'Ordinances' throughout the country.

The ministers also expressed their wish to follow their Bernese colleagues in matters of Church discipline by electing and inducting to the eldership two or four or as many good and Godfearing people as necessary in each parish. These elders would admonish and exhort evildoers according to the Word of God and, where necessary, would report them to the Consistory to which the government would delegate authority to constrain the transgressors, the obstinate and the rebels. In addition, the ministers requested a more frequent celebration of Holy Communion, more precise regulations concerning Church attendance and morality; and 'we plead that it please you to call ministers of

the Gospel when you deal with matters concerning ecclesiastical polity and church order, which things cannot be rightly judged apart from the Word of God'¹.

The requests concerning the deacon, Church attendance and the school were granted within certain limits. But the recognition of the Class as a statutory body and the provision for consultation with the ministers in Church affairs met with strong opposition. The ministers were accused of attempting to usurp 'part of the magistrate's office as the monks used to do'². The 'City Ordinances' of July 1542 drew the line clearly:

1. Ministers may preach only that which they can prove by the Word of God;
2. ministers are forbidden to introduce excommunication, otherwise known as correction or Church discipline, seeing that the Council has sufficient authority to act in case of vice or sin;
3. ministers may not meddle in cases concerning the government except insofar as the Word of God may clearly show;
4. ministers may refuse no one communion except for those forbidden by the Council and notorious sinners;
5. ministers are enjoined to admonish vice and sin in general in their sermons but without mentioning particular people or places³.

All Farel's efforts had been thwarted. In spite of repeated demands, the Councils did not budge in any essential from their position.

In the second week of August 1542, the Church at Neuchâtel gave Farel leave to attempt once again the evangelisation of Metz. In 1529, the year during which Strassburg abolished the celebration of Mass, certain inhabitants had attempted to call Toussain back and to have his benefices restored to him⁴. At the end of 1537, Toussain visited Metz secretly and contacted the leaders of the reformed party. From that time on, he remained in constant correspondence with them, informing

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1. Articles dressez par les ministres de Neufchastel. Neuchâtel library. VI/6/6c.
 2. From fragments of the correspondence between the Class and the Council. Neuchâtel library. VI/6/6b.
 3. 'Responses a quelques articles dressez par les ministres de Neufchastel et deputez au Conseil de la Ville'. Neuchâtel State Archives. Mss. D.9, No.29.
 4. Herminjard: op.cit., II. p.179. Mentioned in a letter from Farel, at Aigle, to Capito.

them of Farel's doings¹. At the Diet of Regensburg, the emperor had decreed a limited degree of religious toleration which the evangelicals at Metz claimed should also apply to them. The election of a sympathiser, Gaspard de Heu, as chief magistrate for 1542 encouraged them to press for what they considered their rights: the use of a church building and the provision of a minister. Farel arrived in late August in answer to their call.

The public preaching of the reformed faith aroused virulent opposition which was expressed in fighting and tumults. De Heu himself was violently attacked by the Council of Thirteen. Pleas from Frankfort and Strassburg for the provision of a church building met with stubborn refusal. On 2 October, Farel was forced to move to Montigny, not far outside the city, to hold services. This place was relatively safe because it was situated on an estate linked with the Schmalkaldic league. Harassment of the reformed community in Metz continued. In January 1543, de Heu resolved to seek letters of recommendation from Strassburg to enable him to plead personally with the protestant princes at Nuremberg. During his absence, it was felt safer for Farel to move to Gorze, a place which fell outside the jurisdiction of the Dukes of Guise and which was garrisoned by the Count of Fürstenberg.

On 9 July, Fürstenberg had been insulted by the Romanist party in Metz and had lost one man in a skirmish that followed. For this, he demanded reparation from the city and, as a show of force, placed a strong garrison at Gorze. In March 1543, a series of meetings was held with the Metz authorities to deal with this claim, to which the reformed claims were also attached. These meetings gave satisfaction to Fürstenberg who consequently reduced his garrison at Gorze and retired to Strassburg. The meetings also granted permission in principle for the evangelicals to have their own minister. But Claude de Guise, Duke of Lorraine, saw his chance to rid himself of the threat posed by Gorze. On Easter day, 25 March 1543, just as the evangelicals, including some two hundred people who had come over specially from Metz, had finished breakfast after an early Communion and were preparing to attend the 10 o'clock sermon, de Guise's troops burst into the town. Some of the refugees from Metz, Farel included, managed to reach refuge

1. Herminjard: *op.cit.*, IV. p.336 and V. pp.12, 54 and 58. Toussain's letters to Farel and to Blaurer.

in the castle which resisted valiantly. The garrison finally capitulated on Wednesday 28 March after having received the assurance that it would be allowed to go free and take the refugees with it. In order to save Farel, on whose head de Guise had put a price, the garrison commander made him change his clothes and lie among the sick and wounded on a cart. Thus Farel escaped through the enemy lines and reached Strassburg.

Farel remained some time in Strassburg. Caroli, who had returned to Romanism, had established himself in Metz and posed as a champion of Rome attacking the reformers, particularly Farel and Calvin. Negotiations for a public disputation broke down. Caroli was loth to risk public refutation of the allegations he made. By the beginning of September, Farel was back at Neuchâtel.

The death of Dame Jeanne de Hochberg, countess of Neuchâtel, and the regency of Claude de Guise brought new difficulties. In her dotage, Dame Jeanne had allowed many of her benefices to pass into the hands of the town of Neuchâtel. This had gone so far that a reaction had set in and the whole matter brought before four independent assessors for investigation¹. Finding that Dame Jeanne had dissipated her revenues,

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1. The judgement of 21 February 1539 enacted and confirmed by the Dame on 10 May and by the Council on 20 May may be summarised as follows:
 - (i) All church revenues were to be used for God and for pious causes. The town received the hospital but as its revenues were insufficient, it would also perceive the dimes and revenues of the chapter within the bounds of the mayorship of Neuchâtel; also the 'preachers' house and two other buildings. All other buildings and properties of the chapter were to revert to the Dame. The town was to pay its two preachers and the minister at Fenin; it would pay a yearly pension of 100 Pounds to the seven surviving canons for as long as they lived and also to the ex-hospitaler who was also to keep the revenues of the censes he had enjoyed till then. In order to face these charges, the town would also perceive the dimes of Fontaines, Boudevilliers, Fenin and Saint-Blaise.
 - (ii) A police law was to be proclaimed; the product of the fines levied would be divided equally between the town and the Dame.
 - (iii) The town was to give up the mayorship. Nevertheless the Dame would choose the mayor from among the members of the Council of Twenty-four.
 - (iv) All other ecclesiastical benefices situated outside the town were to revert to the Dame.

J. Boyve: Annales Historiques du Comté de Neuchâtel et Valangin depuis Jules César jusqu'en 1722, II. p.388-395. Quoted by Guillaume Farel: Biographie Nouvelle, p.513 note 1.

de Guise conscientiously set about restoring the county to a sound financial footing for his ward, eight year old François of Orléans-Longueville. He attempted to have the alienations and promises made by Dame Jeanne in favour of Valangin, Solothurn, Fribourg and Berne annulled and to recoup the ecclesiastical benefices from Neuchâtel. In order to save as many advantages as possible, the Council sacrificed the interests of the Church. An agreement was reached which set aside the judgement of 1539: all citizens residing in town were freed from premisses and dimes on vineyards they owned or might purchase within the mayorship, on condition that these premisses and dimes would revert to the Church should it ever be restored to unity by a council or other means; the town would support its two ministers as well as the ministers at Fenin and Boudevilliers on the revenues of the chapter and have, furthermore, the right to appoint their successors; the town would retain the school building but the teacher's salary would be abolished - the teacher would have to live on the school fees¹.

To complicate matters further, Anabaptists were making their presence felt in some of the Neuchâtel parishes. As part of their propaganda, they commissioned a French translation of Hubmaier's treatise on The Christian baptism of believers. On 23 February 1544, Farel sent Calvin a copy of this book with the request that he should prepare an answer: 'The brethren reckon it necessary to provide a reply, not that this book is worth it, but because of the simple among whom there is some fear of God. They therefore ask you, in the name of the Lord, to undertake this task'². Calvin accepted this mandate. On 1 July 1544, the Brief instruction to arm all good faithful people against the errors of the common sect of the Anabaptists came off the press. Its preface was addressed to his principals, 'the ministers of the churches of the county of Neuchâtel'³. The Brief instruction ... won the admiration and praise of the Neuchâtel ministers and may even have helped to bring some of the sectarians back to the fold, but the

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1. F. de Chambrier: Histoire de Neuchâtel et Valangin jusqu'à l'avènement de la maison de Prusse, p.319. Quoted by Guillaume Farel: Biographie Nouvelle, p.521.
 2. Herminjard: op.cit., IX. p.172.
 3. Calvin: Opera, VIII. p.45 ff.

punitive measures of the civil authorities contributed still more to ending the troubles¹.

The following years saw Farel occupied at Neuchâtel. From this vantage point he followed closely the evangelicals' fortunes in France and Toussain's progress at Montbéliard. He corresponded with the leaders of the reformation at Strassburg, Basel, Zurich and Berne and paid particular attention to the problems facing Viret at Lausanne and Calvin at Geneva. In 1546, when Viret resigned from the chair of Theology he held with his pastoral post, the Bernese authorities created a separate post of professor of theology. Viret wrote to Calvin for his opinion as to who would be most suitable to fill the post. Calvin recommended Farel who 'is much more conversant with the reading of Scripture and who, moreover, will interpret it more faithfully, not to mention his knowledge of Hebrew ...'². The Class at Lausanne followed Calvin's advice and proposed Farel's name to Berne. But Berne was not prepared to appoint to Lausanne a man notorious for his opposition to state control of the Church such as it was exercised by the Bernese.

At Berne, disputes on the Eucharist had continued unabated. In 1544, the extreme Zwinglians had gained the upper hand over the Bucerian faction, bringing about a return to the position set out in the Theses of 1528 and the Acts of the Synod of 1532. Viret thought that the French-speaking reformers should serve as mediators but he did not see that in Bernese eyes, their doctrine was indistinguishable from Bucer's³. At Zurich, Bullinger still commanded considerable respect and was constantly approached for his opinion. If his letter to Theobald Thamer, professor at Marburg, can be relied on, Bullinger held that the Lutheran concept of 'impanation' was nonsense; that the body and blood of the Lord are truly eaten even if through faith and spiritually. To the idea of the Eucharist as a memorial, he added that of a communication of life to the believer⁴. These notions are

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1. The edict of 12 April 1544 against the Anabaptists stated that they would be imprisoned on a bread and water diet until they abjured and if obstinate, subjected to torture. If they repented, they would be forced to make public penance. If they relapsed into their error, they would be beheaded.
 2. Calvin: Opera, XII. Epistle 816.
 3. Calvin: Opera, XII. Epistle 612 (7 February 1545). See also the letter from Fry, minister at Bienne to Bullinger (6 June 1546) in Calvin: Opera, XII. Epistle 801.
 4. Calvin: Opera, XII. Epistle 851 (14 November 1546).

expounded more fully in a treatise on the Sacraments he sent Calvin for comment¹. Calvin's long reply expressed his general agreement but also his desire to see some of the points formulated differently². Bullinger took this as an attack and broke off correspondence. Alarmed by the bitterness engendered by these questions and by the excesses at Berne, Viret wrote to Bullinger exhorting him to do all in his power to re-establish concord³. Only by the end of 1547 or beginning of 1548 did Bullinger finally reply to Calvin's comments⁴. This time it was Calvin's turn to be offended. In a covering letter to Viret accompanying Bullinger's, he wrote: 'You will see that this letter shows a surprising amount of pride. I already told you about Zurich people that they always sing the same song. May they not, under the pretext of constancy, come to proud obstinacy. You will understand that you were mistaken when you thought that I could manage something by the letter to which he replies as though I had provoked him to measure himself with me in the arena'⁵.

Farel, having seen Bullinger's letter, intervened to soothe Calvin's hurt feelings and to encourage him to continue his efforts to secure an agreement between Swiss theologians: 'The subject treated in the letter is of great importance and if God does not arrange matters through you and Viret, I do not see any hope. I therefore beseech you to persevere in your efforts in such manner that all people, of Zurich and elsewhere, may see that if you gain a hearing, it is not only due to the excellence of your opinions but to your moderation and your charity'⁶. With Farel's encouragement, understanding was slowly built up. In May 1549, Farel managed to persuade Calvin of the necessity to meet personally with the Zurich theologians to finalise the agreement.

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1. Absoluta de Christi Domini et catholicae ejus ecclesiae sacramentis tractatio.
 2. Calvin: Opera, XII. Epistle 880 (25 February 1547).
 3. Calvin: Opera, XII. Epistle 947 (28 September 1547).
 4. This letter is now lost and known only through references to it.
 5. Calvin: Opera, XII. Epistle 990 (23 January 1548).
 6. Calvin: Opera, XII. Epistle 995 (5 February 1548).

Having arrived at Zurich, the two reformers were immediately granted an audience with the ministers of the city. Calvin described the events: 'What I had not even hoped for and what no one could have expected after the prelude to this affair, God blessed this first meeting in such a manner that in the space of two hours, we established the text you received. The entire merit for these negotiations must come to Farel for he was the only one to think of it'¹. A few changes were made later: the prologue and epilogue were replaced by letters to make the Consensus Tigurinus seem more of a personal agreement. Very soon, the Swiss Churches adopted this Consensus as their official formula on the sacraments. Only the Lutherans continued to disagree.

The years 1545 to 1560 saw the publication of some of Farel's most important writings. First of these, in 1545, was Forme dorayson pour demander a Dieu la sainte predication de leuangile et le uray et droit usage des sacremens, a revised and considerably enlarged version of Orayson tres deuote. In this revision, Farel did not include the metrical version of Psalm 120 which had featured in the previous work but added the epistle A tous cueurs affamez...

In 1548, Farel published his best known and most quoted epistle: Epistre a tous seigneurs et peuples In this he recounted the religious experiences of his youth and his conversion. The purpose of this treatise was to encourage and exhort all who were tempted to abandon the reformed faith in the face of mounting opposition. That this was inspired by the defections which had resulted from the application of the Augsburg Interim in Southern Germany and at Montbéliard is spelt out: 'Seeing that the conquest of truth is so difficult, one should take care not to lose any aspect of it; they are bad leaders, enemies of God and traitors to the Gospel who advise people to conform, to attend at Mass and to kneel before images in the thought that it is folly to flee one's country to escape idolatry. Such people would be ready to portray Mahomed's Alcoran as acceptable

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1. Calvin: Opera, XIII. Epistle 1309 (26 November 1549) to Myconius.
2. Published in 1543 after his adventures at Metz and at Gorze.

just as they already show no detestation for the Interim which is so contrary to Christian teaching'.

Farel's longest treatise, Le glaive de la parole... was published in 1550. This was aimed at the sect of the 'Spirituals'¹, an offshoot of mystical and quietist movements which had flourished in Germany and the Netherlands during the middle ages. Their basic eschatological doctrine² came from Joachim of Flora³ and from the Brethren of the Free Spirit, but varied in detail with each particular group⁴. The 'Libertines' had given the reformers a certain amount of trouble in Geneva but they constituted a far greater threat to the reformation in France with their 'spiritual' interpretation of the Scriptures. Calvin had already written a treatise against the sect in general⁵ but having heard that at Rouen, a Franciscan friar was attracting a large following with his 'spiritualist' interpretation of the doctrine of predestination, he wrote a letter of refutation to the Church there⁶. The friar had replied with a Shield of defense...

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1. Calvin gave them the disparaging name of 'Libertines'.
2. This taught that after the age of the Father and the Law, and after the age of the Son and the literal Gospel, the age of the Spirit had come. Consequently the Law had been abolished as also the New Law given by Our Lord and his apostles. Christ according to the flesh was not the Saviour of men but only a model for men; the only true Christ was Christ according to the Spirit who must be born in men's hearts and communicate to them what He himself is. The Spiritual Christian had no more need for Scriptures, sacraments or any ecclesiastical institutions; it was sufficient that he follow the inspiration of the Spirit within him. The 'Libertines' did not, for all this, reject the Bible but they distinguished between the literal meaning, which they held to be valueless, and the spiritual sense which they claimed to discover through allegorical interpretation.
3. See M. Reeves: The influence of prophecy in the later middle Ages, and H. Mottu: La manifestation d l'Esprit selon Joachim de Fiore.
4. According to the reformers' writings, this particular group was pantheistic. God, the universal and infinite Spirit, is everywhere and is the author of everything that happens including our thoughts and deeds; God cannot do anything evil therefore there is no evil; evil is an illusion of which we should rid ourselves; sin consists solely in pretending to be something whereas man is really only a fragment of the divinity in which he is destined to return.
5. 'Against the fantastic and furious sect of the Libertines who call themselves spirituals', printed in 1545.
6. Calvin: Opera, VII. p.341 ff.: 'Epistle against a certain Franciscan..'

This Shield, Farel now attacked with his Sword, subjecting each statement to scrutiny in the light of the Gospel¹. This book did much to discredit the 'Libertines' in the eyes of French reformed groups. Very soon, the sect had almost ceased to exist in France.

Published in 1553, four years after the Consensus Tigurinus, Farel's De la sainte Gene... ignored the violent accusations hurled by ultra-Lutheran groups against the doctrine expounded by Calvin and Bullinger. In the Epistre aux lecteurs fideles which forms part of the preface, Farel mentioned that his first intention had been to revise and complete all that he had previously written on the subject. Instead, he changed his mind and sought to give a practical turn to his teaching. He strove to show the real meaning of the Eucharist, how it should be celebrated, the conditions required to receive the great blessings it brought to believers and how one should behave after partaking. The concept of the Eucharist in the Consensus underlies his whole argument: the spiritual communication of the body and blood of Christ (i.e. the very person of Christ) to whoever receives the bread and wine with firm faith in the free salvation granted him by Christ's death and resurrection.

The last of Farel's major works was Du uray usage de la croix. In this book, which appeared at the beginning of 1560, Farel dealt finally with a subject that had preoccupied him for years: the opposition between evangelical doctrine, in which the cross derived its significance and power only insofar as it was identified with Christ crucified, and the Roman conception which ascribed to the cross (both the relic and the sign of the cross) an almost independent power to ward off evil, to protect from danger and to ensure the blessing of God. Farel roundly condemned Helen, mother of Constantine, for seeking out the relic, and the fathers² for gradually allowing a distorted view into the Church.

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1. Farel's method inevitably led to much tedious repetition. When a subject seemed important, he developed it to inordinate lengths. Demonstrating the importance of the person and work of Christ, which the 'Libertines' minimised, Farel devoted over a hundred pages to the exposition of the Pauline doctrine of the Old and the New Adam. Farel also criticised the Franciscan's fanciful exegesis and emphasised man's duty to distinguish between good and evil, the duty to blame the guilty and to punish sinners, man's corruption since the fall, the necessity of salvation in Jesus Christ, of faith 'working in charity', of the preaching of the Word and of the use of the sacraments.
2. In this work, Farel demonstrates his familiarity with the fathers. He quoted extensively from Augustine, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Eusebius, Irenaeus, Origen, etc.

From Neuchâtel, Farel and the Class made a number of attempts to help the evangelicals at Landeron, Lignièrès and Créssier, three small towns which had refused the Reformation and were faithfully supported by the Romanist canton of Solothurn. Farel's concern for his French co-religionaries prompted numerous letters as well as visits to Berne to seek aid. He also visited Geneva a number of times to support Calvin before the Council there. When in 1555, Berne proceeded to evangelise the southern portion of the county of Gruyères, which it had bought from the bankrupt count, Farel's eagerness to break new ground once again became manifest. During his ministry at Aigle, he had already visited the 'Pays d'en Haut' and made a number of converts. He therefore persuaded Viret to let him accompany him there in April/May 1556. Three weeks' travelling in the mountains proved quite strenuous for the sixty-five year old reformer yet his letters to Haller and to Calvin showed great enthusiasm¹.

On 27 November 1556, Henri II of France published an edict of persecution against the Valdese in Italy. Appeals were made to Geneva and Neuchâtel. In April 1557, Farel and Beza set off to tour Berne, Zurich, Schaffhausen, Basel, Strassburg, Heidelberg and Göppingen where they successfully solicited the intervention of evangelical powers and princes. When, on 4 September 1557, a clandestine reformed Church was discovered in Paris and a number of its members captured, Gaspard Carmel, minister at Paris came to Geneva to seek aid. Geneva decided to send an embassy composed of Carmel, Beza and Jean Budé to the Swiss cities and German princes. Farel joined this delegation at Zurich. He was especially eager to visit Germany as a colloquy was due to begin deliberations at Worms on 11 September to attempt a reconciliation between Romanists and Evangelicals. If this colloquy failed in its principal aim, Farel hoped it might at least bring understanding between Lutherans and reformed. At Worms, the delegation obtained little else than the assurance that the evangelical theologians would intercede with the princes. There was therefore no chance of mutual understanding.

Soon after his return from the first journey to Germany, in

 1. Calvin: Opera, XVI. Epistle 2450 (9 May 1556).

December 1556, Farel launched an attack on the three districts of the principality of Basel which had not come over to the reformation¹. He was forcibly ejected. Again in February 1557, Farel set off, accompanied this time by Emer Beynon, minister at Serrières. At Saignelégier, they preached to eager audiences. At Porrentruy, they were welcomed by the civil authorities. But the bishop did not give in without a fight. On their way to an audience with the Council, the dean of the chapter waylaid them and launched violent accusations at Farel. Jaques Sorel, minister of Boudry was then sent by the Class to strengthen those who had accepted the reformation. On 23 April, as he spoke with some burghers in the street, the curate, Jean Penol, accosted him, insulted him and had him severely beaten by a henchman. The bishop appealed to the Romanist cantons; the Class appealed to Berne. The Romanist cantons decided that Farel should be imprisoned if he showed his face again in the diocese. Berne requested the punishment of the dean and of Sorel's assailants. On 21 June, Farel was back in Porrentruy with a letter from Berne. He was allowed to preach but the bishop refused to chide his dean; Sorel's attackers meanwhile had fled to safety. Through lack of support from evangelical cantons, evangelisation was stopped and no further progress was made by the reformed cause.

In 1558, aged sixty-nine, Farel scandalised the Church at Neuchâtel by marrying a young woman. Farel had given refuge in his house to the widow of Alexandre Thorel of Rouen together with her daughter Marie and her son Noël. The reformer, who for so long had been too busy with evangelisation and Church organisation to think of his own home was suddenly smitten. He visited Calvin to seek support for his matrimonial plans. Calvin was not sympathetic: he considered Farel mad to embark on such a purpose at his age. He nevertheless advised Farel that in order to reduce ill-intentioned

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1. These are the districts of Franches-Montagnes, Porrentruy, and Delémont, all in the Jura. The Bishop of Basel had settled in the town of Porrentruy.

gossip, he should arrange not to live in the same house as Marie until they were married¹. A call from the evangelicals at Metz furnished Farel with a pretext for leaving. He announced his engagement; the banns were called for the first time on 14 September and Farel left immediately after. He did not go to Metz himself. From Strassburg, he organised embassies to various princes, calling for their intercession.

Back at Neuchâtel in early November, Farel finally was married on 20 December. With his marriage, gossip died down. Six years later, his wife gave him a son Jean who died at the tender age of four in 1568.

Farel's marriage does not seem to have dampened his activities. In the first few months of 1559, he was once again headed for Strassburg to deal with questions concerning the church at Metz. Among other things was a request that Viret, who had been banished from Lausanne, be sent to Metz as minister. On this journey, Farel also visited the French evangelical refugees who had been settled on the estates of count Adolph of Nassau-Saarbrück. He insisted that the refugees be given a French minister. In this, he was supported by the count against the German clergy who would have liked the refugees to be absorbed into the Lutheran fold.

Farel showed no less concern for the fortunes of the Alpine Valdese; he demonstrated this by undertaking numerous embassies on their behalf when they were persecuted by the French crown. Persecution did not cease after they were returned to Savoy; driven to despair, they rose in rebellion and defeated the ducal troops. Their victory won them freedom of worship through the treaty of 5 June 1561. But rebellion had also exhausted their resources; in their misery, they appealed to their fellow-evangelicals by sending ministers to collect relief funds in Switzerland and Germany. At Neuchâtel, these were well received; they requested and obtained the

1. Witness to the general attitude is this note written in the register of banns by Farel's colleague Fabri: 'This marriage was considered very strange and unseasonal by most people for it appeared to them that having reached the age of sixty-nine without having thought of marriage, he could well have continued to dispense with it on the edge of the grave'. Reported by O. Perrot: Vie de Guillaume Farel, p.127. The register of banns has since disappeared.

assistance of Farel who accompanied them in their visits to the Churches both in Switzerland and Germany where they went as far as Stuttgart and Tübingen.

1561 was also the year of Calvin's total triumph in Geneva. On 13 November, the new ecclesiastical edicts were finally approved. Thereafter, Genevan affairs seemed less pressing to Farel although, for their part, the Genevans did not forget him¹.

After the persecution in France during the reigns of Henri II and François II, the regency of Catherine of Medici was relatively favourable for the evangelical cause. Even under persecution, the reformation had spread to most French provinces and penetrated the ranks of the burghers as well as the nobility. More important still, the evangelicals had constituted themselves into organised churches, bound together by confessions of faith and by discipline. The churches of Neuchâtel and Geneva felt obliged to answer calls for assistance from their French counterparts, particularly as a number of their own ministers were themselves French refugees. The Class of Neuchâtel in particular almost stripped itself of its ministers and teachers, sending them on short or permanent leave to minister at Paris, Grenoble, Châlons, Sedan, Vitry, Digne, Caudebec, Vienne, Moncla, Castelmaure, Troyes, Loisy, Séant, Sens, Mâcon, Châteaudun and many other places². Farel himself was not unmoved by these appeals. In November 1561, he once again took to the road to answer a call from the church at Gap. On the way he stopped at Grenoble where he left Eynard Pichon as minister. At Gap, his relationships with the authorities seem to have been unusually friendly and respectful. The reformed Church flourished under his care. But Farel was disturbed by news from Neuchâtel: his presence was required there for the Synod which met in January 1562. As he wrote to the Class, he would very much have liked to assist at the Synod but he saw the needs of

1. The Council register for 20 May 1561 states: 'It has been reported that Guillaume Farel is here, and seeing that he was the first to preach the Gospel to us and suffered much for us, it is hereby resolved that he be presented with wine, he be feasted and reimbursed, and it shall be enquired of the ministers whether it would not be good to retire him in this city and give him a pension lest we be accused of ingratitude'. Calvin: Opera, XXI, p.749.
2. An indication of French needs is given in a letter written by Jean de Beaulieu to Farel after a tour of evangelisation in the South of France: 'More than three hundred parishes have abolished Mass'. Calvin: Opera, XIX. p.9. Epistle 3545.

the church at Gap which could not be left untended; he would be unable to leave until a replacement arrived. Farel missed the Synod at Neuchâtel but seems nevertheless to have left Gap before his successor arrived. In March 1562, he presided over a Synod at Montélimar and by June was back at Neuchâtel. His ministry at Gap had been particularly blessed. The church had been given a new spurt of life and among the converts were the bishop of Gap, Gabriel de Clermont, and the provost of the chapter. Writing to Calvin afterwards, he described his work at Gap: 'I wish I could work as I did among my own people. Then it seemed I really lived'¹. The life of the church at Gap is reflected in a letter from Fabri dated 24 December 1563, stating that services there regularly brought together congregations of over two thousand members.²

The Synod of 1562 which Farel had missed, had finally won for the Church what it had fought for so long. Convened by permission of the sovereign, Leonor of Orléans, against the wishes of the governor, the institution of ecclesiastical consistories was allowed³. It was some years before these new consistories were set up and functioned in a purely ecclesiastical setting, but the principle of freedom from state interference in the Church's internal affairs had been won.

Back at Neuchâtel, Farel found his strength affected by the years. No more could he rush to the aid of Churches in difficulties or engage in missionary ventures. Furthermore, his colleague Fabri on whom he had always relied was now in France. The ecclesiastical organisation and more particularly the Church discipline formulated by the Synod of 1562 kept Farel busy. The establishment of the consistories had provoked strong opposition. The fate of the French Churches remained a matter of grave concern. Added to all this, was grief at Calvin's death.

From 1558 onward, not a year passed without it being recorded that

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1. Calvin: Opera, XIX. Epistle 3831 (3 August 1562).
 2. Neuchâtel, Bibl. des Pasteurs. File 5. No.51.
 3. One must be careful to distinguish between the ecclesiastical consistories, consisting of ministers and elders with power to admonish and to excommunicate (i.e. for spiritual guidance) and feudal consistories which were civil courts presided by the local lord for the regulation of public morals and having the power to fine and to imprison. At Neuchâtel and Valangin, these feudal consistories existed long before ecclesiastical consistories were allowed.

Calvin had suffered from some severe illness. Wracked by suffering, his body was giving up the struggle. On 6 February 1564, Calvin preached his last sermon. On Easter day 2 April, he had to be carried to the communion service. On 2 May, he wrote to Farel to dissuade him from coming. But Farel was undeterred: he hastened to Geneva, met his colleague, talked and dined with him. Then, the next day, having preached in the assembly, he took final leave of Calvin to return to Neuchâtel where the news of his colleague's death seems to have taken rather long to reach him¹.

Although physically much diminished, Farel answered a call from Metz to come and rejoice with the Church there in its new prosperity. At Neuchâtel, the Class tried to dissuade him from undertaking such a journey at the age of seventy-six. But Farel could not refuse this invitation. On 12 May 1565, he arrived at Metz to a tremendous welcome. The following day he preached in the Church. He met with the ministers and most of the elders but did not stay more than a few days. On 27 May he was already back at Neuchâtel.

The journey to Metz had proved too much for Farel. A few weeks later, he had to take to his bed. There he was visited by many people whom he encouraged and exhorted. On 13 September, he died peacefully. He had run his course and attained his prize.

Farel's colourful personality, his perseverance under duress and his physical courage have made him the ideal subject for a heroic biography². But this is not giving him his due. This brief survey shows something of Farel's many-sided contribution to the Reformation.

As a biblical scholar, he perceived the absolute status of the Word of God as the norm which, standing independently of the Church, has the power to guide and to judge it. As evangelist, he recognised the power of the new preaching to communicate a new perception of the Gospel. As a reconciler and traveller, he played a unique role in bringing reformed theologians together and in fostering mutual understanding. But perhaps his unique significance, greater than the love

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1. Calvin died on 27 May 1564. Yet in a letter to Fabri, dated 6 June 1564, Farel wrote: 'Although I have no certain news of the passing away of our beloved and so necessary friend and brother Calvin, nevertheless rumours circulating and the state in which I left him cause me great concern...'. Neuchâtel. Bibl. des Pasteurs. File 1/4, No. 9.
 2. F. Bevan's Life of William Farel (Pickering & Inglis, London), and S. Delattre's Guillaume Farel (Edited by the author, Privas, 1931) are two examples of the heroic and inspirational treatment.

and pastoral concern he showed for the brethren under persecution, greater still than the political acumen he displayed in his selection of objectives for evangelisation, was the discernment that just as the vernacular scriptures gave a new expression of the Gospel, so the new religious awareness has to be manifested and bolstered through the liturgy of the Church. Underlying all his prodigious efforts and heroic actions was a growing conviction that just as the Mass could be held responsible for the entrenchment and growth of superstition, so the new evangelical freedom would need to be expressed in the practices of reformed worship. His analysis of the logic of Christianity went further than that of any other reformer. Protests against deviations and distortions was not enough, nor was simple adherence to doctrinal positions. In order to be truly evangelical, the reformed Church would have to conform to the Spirit of Christ both in its public manifestations and in the life of its members. The form of public worship then should stand as an inspiration and a guide for the faith of the people of God.

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II. THE PROBLEM OF REFORMED LITURGIES

1. The background to the Reformation

'Any history should, by virtue of its own nature, go back to the origins'¹, for no period or event ever arises in isolation or without links with what has happened before. Although going back to origins is out of the question here, it should nevertheless be recognised that for more than two centuries prior to Luther's nailing of his theses in 1517, reforming currents streamed through Latin Christianity. At the beginning of the 16th century, these diverse currents came together in agreement on the necessity for reform. 'The Protestant Reformation was not the first, it did not spring out ex nihilo from the trough of a wave; it appeared, rising out of an ascending tide. It was not a break. Rather let us say that in the intensity of religious life over a wide area where the number of "readers" had increased fivefold over a century and tenfold since the middle of the 13th century, it revealed the difficulties of unity after a certain number of thresholds had been crossed'².

Among the factors contributing to the generalised desire for reforms, a number should be mentioned here for their particular relevance to the Reformation. Distortions and abuses in the Church have been cited ad nauseam as having constituted the justification for the 16th century Reformation. The morass of evils in Church practices and structures is discussed by Chadwick³, Green⁴ and Chaunu⁵ and in the Church's worship by Jungmann⁶. The middle ages are noteworthy for repeated attempts to bring about

1. P. Chaunu: Le temps des Réformes, p.31.

2. P. Chaunu: op.cit., p.11.

3. O. Chadwick: The Reformation, Ch.1.

4. V.H.H. Green: Renaissance and Reformation, pp.109, 115.

5. P. Chaunu: op.cit., pp. 147-244.

6. J.A. Jungmann: Pastoral Liturgy, pp.64-80.

structural reforms especially in religious orders but also in the pastoral context¹. The Conciliar movement also sprang out of dissatisfaction with church structures and even if it failed to achieve its aims can be considered reformist. Only in worship was there no attempt at reform, unless one wishes to classify in this category the absorption of certain elements of the popular cults into the local liturgy.

Paradoxically, the increasing cleavage between clergy, including the orders, and laity was accompanied by a blurring of distinctions between the two estates. Whereas the use of Latin, the over emphasis on the transcendence of God and the almost exclusive view of the ecclesiastical function as performance of the sacrifice turned the clergy into a separate caste, the retardation of marriage made most people at least temporary celibates² and, to a certain extent, the equals of those who practiced celibacy as a vocation. Furthermore, in a time when chastity was considered as the highest possible virtue, the high frequency of sexual irregularity among the clergy contributed to a considerable extent to lowering their status in the eyes of the laity.

The growth of literacy was chiefly the result of two causes. Whereas the use of parchment had made the possession of books very expensive, the use of paper reduced costs by a factor of ten. The invention of printing further reduced costs and ensured the distribution of large numbers of identical copies. As literature became available, the number of 'readers' increased; literacy was no longer the prerogative of a small number of rich people and of the clergy. The horizons of the emergent middle-classes opened to new vistas. This development in the diffusion of knowledge by means of the press was the mainspring of the humanist movement. Without the press and without paper, humanism would have had no more impact than the 'renaissances' of the 8th and 12th centuries. But owing to this new means of communication, humanism spread throughout

1. Guillaume Briçonnet's attempt to reform his diocese of Meaux is but one of many such attempts that took place - with varying fortunes.

the university world and penetrated the middle classes thus ending the clergy's quasi-monopoly of learning.

Perhaps the most important single factor for the Reformation was the development of Biblical studies. Humanism emphasised philology. From the rediscovery of classical Latin, as opposed to the debased Latin of the schoolmen, humanism brought a new appreciation of Greek and Hebrew¹. Humanists began to collect manuscripts; they soon turned to collating and therefore exercising a critical function in sorting out true antiquity from late interpolation. Lorenzo Valla, 1407? - 1457, brought the critical, philological and historical methods the humanists applied to profane texts, to bear on the sacred text of the Vulgate². In going to the text of the Scriptures as prime referent, the relectio of the schools was short-circuited. It is significant that both Luther and Farel were brought to awareness of the shortcomings of the Church by their study of the New Testament. Although abuses brought longing for structural reforms, it was finally the challenge of the Scriptures and the doctrinal reforms they demanded that brought about the Reformation.

2. The Significance of Reformation liturgies

The Reformation liturgies are unique in the history of worship in that they sought to express a new view of faith. Unlike the majority of liturgical revisions which are primarily concerned with form, the reformers emphasised the contents. They were driven to examine the worship of the Church in the light of their doctrinal rediscoveries and, finding it lacking, were faced with the task of giving it more suitable means of expression. None of the reformers could accept that the medieval liturgy expressed the Christian faith they understood from their investigations into the Scriptural message. Like all the writers of the later middle ages, they 'saw the primitive Church through rose-coloured glass. Once there was a golden age... But now that ancient age of gold has degenerated imperceptibly to silver, from silver to wood, from wood to iron'³. Through their emphasis on Scriptural doctrine, they attempted to

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1. These languages in turn broke the Latin monopoly of meaning. The result was a new emphasis on the Spirit behind the letter.
 2. Annotationes in Novum Testamentum. 1448.
 3. Chadwick: op.cit., p.19.

restore the Church to that far off golden age. It must be accepted, right at the outset, that none of the reformers were liturgists in the modern sense; they lacked the knowledge which historical and comparative study of the forms of worship in the Church has brought. They were therefore reduced to trying to reconstitute the past on the basis of what they thought the ancient Church believed and their conviction that where the present forms differed, they should be rejected. The reformation liturgies are therefore of particular interest in both their aspects of creation and rejection.

We may discern two distinct patterns in the liturgies of the reformation. Clerical reformers tended to be the more conservative. They sought to retain old forms as far as possible even where a radical change of contents was involved. This procedure was all the easier as it coincided with the change of liturgical language. With the maintenance of the old forms, people who had never followed the Latin would absorb reformed doctrine painlessly. Reformers of this clerical origin are to be found mainly in the German-speaking world. Schwarz and his Strassburg successors, Luther, Oecolampadius and Zwingli all sought to produce 'German Masses'¹. Their basic procedure was to translate the Mass into the vernacular and, in so doing, eliminate all that they deemed contrary to the Scriptures. The second group of lay reformers, of which Farel is the chief example, felt much more free to reject old forms and to endeavour to find more appropriate means of expressing the Church's worship². The first group can therefore be said to have worked by elimination whereas the other, starting from scriptural presuppositions worked by elaboration.

Whatever their origin, the reformers did not seek novelty for its own sake. Their claim to have re-established worship according to primitive usage may draw amused smiles from the modern scholar.

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1. Zwingli is interesting in that he did not remain long in the clerical pattern. The reason for this is that his process of elimination was so radical that he was left with hardly any form at all. In association with Leo Jude, he finally elaborated on the sketchy form left and produced the 'Zwinglian' forms of Zurich and Berne.
 2. Calvin, being a second generation reformer, should not be classified in this manner. Even though he was a layman, he was profoundly marked by the forms he found in Strassburg.

These claims are true, nevertheless, in that they attempted to translate the faith depicted or implied in the New Testament into a pattern of worship relevant to their day and age. If Farel, at times, produced forms which are closer to the primitive liturgies than to the medieval Mass, it can be no more than the coincidence of similar faith being expressed in similar terms. In the course of his humanistic studies at Paris, he might just conceivably have come across copies of some of the great primitive orders but that is unlikely. When he drew up his Maniere et Fasson however, there is no likelihood that he could have consulted such works. Furthermore, one should remember that it is extremely difficult to avoid being marked by the burden of tradition and custom; the reformers were no exception. No matter how radical the changes brought about by the reformers, the usage of the medieval Church even when consciously rejected, may still be detected in their liturgical creations.

Particularly relevant to Farel is the tradition of the people's services. Detailed analysis of his orders indicate a reference to or reminiscence of what was contained in the priests' manuals. In his rejection of medieval worship, he nevertheless could not escape showing reformed worship within the framework of the very forms he rejected.

The liturgies of the reformation are important for what they can teach us of the theological insights of the reformers. One of the chief complaints of modern liturgiologists is that reformation liturgies are much too didactic. The problem of the reformers was not only to inaugurate renewed forms of worship but also to teach adherents of the reformed faith the meaning of the faith they professed. Reformed liturgies thus tend to stress the main emphases of the reformers' doctrines. Conversely, where such doctrinal emphases in the teachings of the reformers are not reflected in their orders for worship, one may detect the reluctance of congregation or authorities to depart too far from traditional patterns.

The liturgies of the reformation are also significant for what they do not contain. Their avoidance of certain ceremonies and practices are an indication of what the reformers found reprehensible

in medieval worship. This aspect, though negative, is particularly valuable in view of the paucity of information available on medieval worship as seen through the layman's eyes. Until recently, the grievances of Synods together with occasional references to abuses in official documents have been our sole course of information on the life of the Church before the reformation. Now the modern schools of macro-sociological studies have indicated that there could be considerable differences between the pronouncements of theologians and the practice of the clergy, and even more between the latter and the faith of the laity. Further differences have come to light in the expression of Christianity in different sees, towns and even villages. The studies of Pierre Chaunu and of Philippe Ariès have been of inestimable value in focusing the author's attention on the common people as distinct from the learned circles and in pointing out certain general trends of attitude if not of practice.

A comparison of missals and of priests' manuals substantiate this diversity. In the diversity macro-sociologists picture, these documents have also confirmed the existence of certain trends mentioned by the reformers. Farel's orders, for instance, refer to some priests' manual. Which manual, we cannot determine except that it was neither Basel's nor Constance's. Nevertheless the manual he used did have certain matters in common with the abovementioned two. The point to note, therefore, is that despite differences in detail, Farel's orders refer to trends in the Church which were sufficiently general to make his liturgies relevant throughout the French speaking world.

3. The Origin of reformed liturgies

A considerable amount of work has been performed by scholars such as Smend¹, Hubert² and Baum³ in collecting and comparing the liturgies of the early reformation. Erichson⁴ and Maxwell⁵ have

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1. J. Smend: Der erste evangelische Gottesdienst in Strassburg.
 2. F. Hubert: Die Strassburger liturgischen Ordnungen im Zeitalter der Reformation.
 3. J.G. Baum: La manière et fasson quon tient es lieux que Dieu, de sa grace a visités.
 4. A. Erichson: Die Calvinische und die altstrassburgische Gottesdienstordnung, Strassbourg, 1894.
 5. W.D. Maxwell: John Knox's Genevan service Book, 1556, Edinburgh, 1931.

taken this a step further by seeking to correlate these liturgies and show their mutual dependence. These studies have traced the relationship between the Strassburg liturgies and the family of liturgies derived from Calvin. Owing to the fact that the only extant copies of Farel's Maniere et Fasson are from the 1537 Neuchâtel edition, this liturgy has only been perfunctorily studied. Maxwell, for instance, wrote it off in a footnote: 'This was an utterly barren rite, a result of Zwinglian influence and the extreme views of Farel. It had no influence whatever upon any succeeding rites, except that Calvin borrowed from it considerably for his marriage service'¹. Such a view tacitly relegates the Farellican rite to secondary rank and takes no account of its chronological importance among the pioneering liturgies of the reformation. It will consequently lead to false conclusions and a number of unanswered questions. This study seeks to show that Farel's rite not only constituted the backbone of Calvin's Marriage service but also of his baptismal service as well as leaving traces in other orders. If one is to reach full understanding of liturgical developments in the Reformed Churches, and, incidentally, also in the Church of England, one just cannot afford to ignore any of the pioneer rites. Farel's liturgies, together with Zwingli's and the Strassburg Deutschen Messen are such pioneers from which all modern reformed orders are derived.

But in order to see these early liturgies in their proper perspective, it is essential that they be correlated chronologically. The early reformation is unique for the 'camaraderie' between its protagonists. Even though they might have disagreed on certain points, the amount of correspondence between reformers of different background and culture is amazing. Overriding their differences, were huge areas in which, in their efforts to return to beginnings, they influenced one another. Maxwell distinguishes between five schools of liturgical revision: Lutheran efforts beginning with Carlstadt in 1521 and Schwarz at Strassburg in 1524; Zwingli from 1523 onwards; Bucer at Strassburg who developed a via media between Luther and Zwingli from about 1525; Calvin at Strassburg and Geneva

1. W.D. Maxwell: An outline of Christian Worship, p.112. note 1.

from 1539 onwards and Cranmer in England from 1548¹. To find the place of Farel's liturgies within this scheme, or whether the scheme itself should be expanded to make room for him, we must pinpoint the period of his liturgical activity. Only then shall we be able to look back to his predecessors for his sources and forward to trace his influence on those who followed.

Various opinions have been expressed as to the origin of Maniere et Fasson. Vuilleumier² based his argument on a letter of about 20 February 1537 written by Calvin to Megander³ in which he mentioned that he had had the Bernese liturgy translated into French so it could be compared with that used in Geneva. Calvin concluded that 'the first differs from the second only by its brevity'⁴. Knowing Calvin's conciliatory spirit where 'non-essentials' were concerned, this does not seem to mean very much. But Vuilleumier went on to analyse the theological pre-suppositions of Maniere et Fasson and found there the same Zwinglian emphases as in the Bernese manual. He concluded, therefore, that Maniere et Fasson was no more than an amplified translation of the Bernese orders of service. In his article, La plus ancienne liturgie...⁵, he wrote: 'Were they (the liturgies) sent to him in French or was he put in charge of having them translated for the use of the ministers of the French-speaking province? We do not know. Whatever the case may be, we have here, a first sample of the liturgical prayers introduced in the French-speaking reformed Churches'. Vuilleumier's argument implies that the first printing of Maniere et Fasson should have appeared some time in 1528. This implication is supported by his statement that: 'This close relationship partly explains why, for the first twelve to fifteen years, the Bernese government did not deem it necessary to send a French translation of the liturgy in

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1. Maxwell: An outline of Christian Worship, p.73.
 2. H. Vuilleumier: Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée du Pays de Vaud, I, p.312.
 3. Caspar Grossman of Zurich (1495-1545). A minister called to Berne in 1528 as professor of theology.
 4. Herminjard: Correspondance des Réformateurs, IV. p.190.
 5. In Revue de Lausanne (1895) XXVIII. p.496 ff.

use in the German-speaking districts for the use of preachers in the French-speaking territories. Maniere et Fasson was a satisfactory substitute¹.

In their chapter on Farel's activities in the south of the see of Basel², Robert Gerber, Charles Simon senior and Charles Simon junior followed a train of thought similar to that of Vuilleumier. Having reported that in June/July 1530, the Council of Bienne twice sent Jakob Würben to Farel, then at Morat, 'to have books written in French on the subject of Holy Communion and the Baptism of children, which books were sent to the preacher of the valley (the Erguel)',³ they added this comment: 'It was probably a matter of translating the Cancell unnd Agendbüchli der Kilchen zu Baërn which had appeared in 1529',⁴. This would mean that Farel made the translation, had it printed and delivered to Morat where he was staying, within the space of two months at the most. Again such a conclusion postulates the existence of another liturgical handbook of which no trace or reference has been found. If such a French translation had existed, would the Bernese have found it necessary to commission an official translation in 1551 and to enforce its use?

Working from a comparison of the texts, Bersier⁵ postulated that Maniere et Fasson was the original of which the Bernese orders were the abridged versions. Subsequently, the discovery of the origins of the Bernese orders⁶ invalidated his theory. Another tentative opinion was expressed by Meyhoffer⁷ who, hearkening back to Farel's 1524 order, reckoned that this might well have constituted the first printing of Maniere et Fasson. Meyhoffer was particularly struck by the coincidence between the titles Maniere et Fasson and Form unnd Gestalt and saw this as resulting from the close bonds, cooperation

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1. Vuilleumier: op.cit., I. p.313.
 2. Guillaume Farel: Biographie Nouvelle, Chapter V.
 3. Archives of Bienne: ccxc. p.12.
 4. Guillaume Farel: Biographie Nouvelle. p.200.
 5. E. Bersier: Projet de révision de la liturgie des Eglises réformées de France, p.xxxii.
 6. See p.54 ff.below.
 7. Guillaume Farel: Biographie Nouvelle, Ch.III -2, p.141-142.

and mutual influence of Farel and Oecolampadius. He did not, however, pursue his theory and produce textual evidence of this mutual influence in the liturgies concerned. Meyhoffer's theory is but a development of that first expressed by Baum¹ who guessed that Farel's 1524 order might have been the first printing of Maniere et Fasson. In this he was followed by Emile Doumergue.²

4. The context of Farel's Liturgies

It is impossible to examine the question of dating Farel's liturgies without first having looked at the circumstances of Farel's life. And the first thing to appear is that Farel was not a person to publish readily. Although he conducted an extensive correspondence, he only wrote for publication when circumstances seemed to necessitate this. At times, years would go by without his having produced anything. But there are five occasions during which Farel seems to have concerned himself with liturgical matters. We shall therefore take each of these separately for closer study.

1524 - At Montbéliard

While still at Basel, Farel had been petitioned by the French refugees to conduct services in their language. Before accepting, he had sought advice from all his friends and was finally convinced by Oecolampadius who overcame his scruples about a layman entering the ministry of the Word³. His official appointment by Duke Ulrich, count of Montbéliard constituted, in Farel's eyes, the final legitimation for his ministry: 'Having been called by the people and with the consent of the prince ...'⁴. The needs of the people, who flocked to his preaching, prompted him to produce catechetical

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1. J.G. Baum: La Manière et Fasson qu'on tient es lieux que Dieu de sa grace a visités. Première liturgie des Eglises réformées de France de l'an 1533. Introduction.
2. E. Doumergue: Jean Calvin, II. p.153 notes 5 & 6.
3. La rayson pourquoy ...: '... in preaching, to which this saintly person, ordained of God and legitimately entered into the Church of God, incited me with the invocation of the name of God. I did not deem it permissable to resist ...'. Farel, in turn, used this same invocation to persuade Viret and Calvin.
4. Ibid. p.S3.

and liturgical material¹. The latter is clearly indicated in the postscript² to the 1539 edition of the Summaire. Farel defended himself against accusations of Anabaptist leanings:

'Before I even started work on this booklet (Summaire), by my actions and in writing I testified to Baptism as belonging to little children, not only baptising them but also removing the hotch-potch and spittle of the pope, writing the prayers and exhortations, questions and promises to be used when children are brought for baptism... and putting in the holy Gospel which declares the grace of Jesus on the children and the part they have in the kingdom of heaven'³.

The Baptismal liturgy referred to here sounds very similar to that contained in Maniere et Fasson. But Farel claimed that it had been written before the Summaire, i.e. in late 1524. Anyone seeking to know his real opinion on the subject of infant baptism could easily get hold of this text and see for himself. Why did Farel not refer explicitly to Maniere et Fasson? The early liturgy must have been out of print by 1539⁴. Was it because Maniere et Fasson was identical to the earlier liturgy, at least in the Baptismal service? This seems quite likely. Furthermore, referring to the earlier liturgy, did it only contain a Baptismal rite or was this only one of a number of rites published in one book? Oecolampadius' letter to Zwingli⁵ spoke of Sacraments in the plural. Also the Summaire of 1525 showed that Farel was concerned with more than Baptism. He discussed the Sacraments together in one chapter (Ch.18); the Mass and his criticism of it (Ch.19); preaching and congregational worship

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1. See p.7ff. above.
2. The title of this postscript is: La rayson pourquoy ceste oeuvre a este faicte.
3. La rayson pourquoy ..., p.S7.
4. Had it still been available in March 1533, it would have been simpler to give the Genevans a copy rather than to jot down instructions. See p.13. By this time, it was obviously out of print, this necessitating the reprint known to us as Maniere et Fasson in August 1533.
5. Zwingli: Opera, VII. p.369. (21 November 1524) Oecolampadius to Zwingli: 'Farel finds justification in that he was forced to concern himself with the sacraments. As for me, I approve of what he did'.

(Chapters 15, 16, 28, 33 and 34); the ministry (Ch. 33-36); marriage (Ch.38); and how to prepare for death (Ch.40). Then we should also note the coincidence pointed out by Meyhoffer, the publication only a short time later of Oecolampadius' liturgy Form unnd Gestalt, tht title of which is very nearly a German equivalent of Maniere et Fasson and which contained orders for Holy Communion, Baptism and sick communion. Both the situation at Montbéliard and contemporary evidence mentioned above make it rather unlikely that Farel should have published a Baptismal liturgy on its own without orders for other services. This early liturgy, together with Summaire and another unidentified booklet were to have been printed at Basel in November 1524 but this proved unfeasible. Conrad Gresch, the only printer equipped for French publications, already had his hands full with the setting and printing of Lefèvre d'Étaples' revised French New Testament. Of this parcel of three books seeking a printer, Summaire was printed by Pierre de Vingle at Lyons¹, as was also the second unauthorised reprint of 1529. It is more than likely that the other two books were handled by the same printer, de Vingle, who also printed the extant edition of Maniere et Fasson in 1533.

1528 - At Aigle

Here, we must begin by noting the Bernese instruction which accompanied the sending of Touffbüchli to Farel: on 31 March 1528, the Bernese authorities recorded that they had sent Farel a copy of Touffbüchli together with the new liturgy for Holy Communion, with the instruction that he make 'the local liturgy conform with that of Berne'.² This instruction raises a number of questions, chief amongst which must be: did each predicant use his own forms or was there only one liturgy in use in the Aigle district?

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1. In the series Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, No.xxviii, entitled Aspects de la propagande religieuse. A monograph Pierre de Vingle, l'imprimeur de Farel in which Eugenie Droz traced the characters used in the 1525 edition of Summaire to old stocks belonging to de Vingle's father-in-law. She also follows the association between Farel and de Vingle from 1525 onwards.
 2. Steck & Tobler: Aktensammlung, No.1585. See also the article by H. Vuilleumier in Revue de Lausanne (1895) XXVIII, p.495 : La plus ancienne liturgie.

Berne had given Farel carte blanche in organising the Church. He had written to his friends at Basel, Strassburg and Zurich to ask for names and addresses of candidates for ministry at Aigle and had personally engaged those he deemed suitable after having corresponded with them and obtained recommendations concerning them. When they arrived, he placed them as ministers in charge at Bex, Ollon, Chessel, Gryon etc. but did not leave them to fend for themselves. He instituted fortnightly colloquies 'to discuss with them their common task and to impart to them the benefit of his experience'¹. Under his 'episcopal' authority, the unity he fostered among his colleagues through the colloquies point to the use of common forms and methods, especially in view of the reluctance of the people to accept change even after they had pronounced for the reformation.

There is no mention of the liturgy used by Farel and his colleagues at that time. Nor is there any record of the printing of a liturgy in French to conform with that of Berne. If such a French version of Touffbüchli existed, it would have to have been printed, distributed and used without passing through official channels² and have left no trace or reference even to its title. Farel's failure to take action on the instruction from Berne can therefore only mean that he had already instituted the use of a liturgy in French.

The existence of a 1524/25 edition of Maniere et Fasson and its use in the Aigle district sheds a new light on the situation there. There would be no interest in replacing Maniere et Fasson by such a rudimentary manual as Touffbüchli; this would account for the lack of zeal shown by Berne in providing an official liturgy to align their French-speaking dependencies with the German-speaking canton. The form used by Farel and his colleagues at Aigle continued in use until the late 1540's when it was superseded by Calvin's La forme des Prieres³. It took growing suspicion of Calvin and a

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1. Reported by Vuilleumier: op.cit., I. p.47.
 2. The Biennese knew nothing of the existence of any liturgies in French. They only knew that Berne could not help them and that their best chance of obtaining anything was to approach Farel.
 3. La Forme des Prieres became very popular and was widely used in the Canton de Vaud. The 1551 insistence on the use of the Bernese forms raised widespread opposition there. See Vuilleumier: op.cit., I. p.314ff.

desire to counter his influence in their provinces to make the Bernese authorities issue an official translation of Cancell unnd Agendbüchli in 1551 and to make its use compulsory.

1530 - At Morat

The Biennese records refer to two embassies to Farel between June and mid-August 1530 and to the expenses incurred. How many books did the preachers in the Erguel require? Not knowing this makes it very difficult to apportion the moneys mentioned between books and travel expenses. If, as has been suggested¹, these embassies imply the production of a new publication, the total amount mentioned of one pound and eighteen sous seems insufficient to cover both travel costs and printing expenses. Nor does the time involved, a maximum of two months, leave much latitude for the writing of the books, dispatch of the manuscripts to the printers, printing and delivery of the finished product to Farel at Morat. Furthermore, nowhere are the titles mentioned. The Biennese request was for 'the books on the Lord's Supper and the Baptism of children'. This seems to indicate liturgical forms. If Touffbüchli had been translated into French in 1528, it would have satisfied Biennese needs for Bienne was a Bernese possession. But then the embassies would have gone to Berne, not to Farel.

The best explanation of the need for two visits at relatively short intervals is that Farel knew that the required liturgical books were available from his suppliers. Farel's authorship can be assumed since once the books were delivered, Biennese gratitude was expressed by granting him citizenship.

1533 - At Morat

When the extant edition of Maniere et Fasson appeared in 1533, Farel was at a turning point in his ministry. From his base in Bernese possessions, he had planted the reformation in most French-speaking cities and regions allied to Berne. Through his contacts locally and at Basel and Strassburg, Farel had recruited enough

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1. See p.44 above.

ministers to supply most of the important centres. Neuchâtel had proclaimed the reformation and Valangin was in the process of evangelisation. Only in a few places, allied both to Berne and to Fribourg, was there still resistance to the Gospel and to the preachers. Now, back again at Morat, Farel was turning his eyes to the Valdese valleys of the Piedmont which he had visited in 1532 and to Geneva where he had spent a few days that same year. This was a time of great epistolary activity: pleas to Berne on behalf of the churches under his supervision and on behalf of Genevans, recommendations to Basel, pastoral exhortations and advice to friends at Geneva.

Considering the reports of eucharistic celebrations in the years 1530 to 1533¹, it seems unlikely that he should have waited this long to set about drawing up a manual, particularly when one remembers Bernese insistence on uniformity. The Biennese episode discussed above shows that something most probably composed by him was already in circulation. Nor is it likely that at this time, he should have set about a revision of his 1524 order; since this was still quite satisfactory for his purposes. Farel only began to

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1. (a) The Council registers of Payerne, dated September 1533 state that heavy fines were to be imposed on all who had been married or had their children baptised according to reformed rites. Herminjard: op.cit., III. p.85ff. This repressive measure was aimed at a number of well-known citizens and sought to dampen the ardour of any others who might be thinking of joining the new group. On the other hand, it also implies that such rites were common enough to warrant steps being taken to stop them.
 - (b) On Thursday of passion week, 10 April 1533, Guérin Muette celebrated the Lord's supper in Geneva according to instructions drawn up by Farel. At Grandson, another city where Farel had pioneered the reformation, it is reported that by the end of 1532, 'seventy adults, not to mention the youth', were partaking of Holy Communion, thus implying the existence of a reformed rite celebrated regularly. Herminjard: op.cit., III. p.129. Journal de Jean Lecomte.
 - (c) At Orbe, on Whitsunday 28 May 1531, Farel visited his young colleague Pierre Viret and celebrated the Eucharist. G. de Pierrefleur: Mémoires, p.44. Vuilleumier: op.cit., I.p.62, adds that within a year, the number of communicants had almost trebled.
 - (d) At La Neuveville, it was reported that on Thursday 14 April and Easter day 17 April 1530, Jehan Bosset, a priest at St. Catherine's who had, the previous year, argued against Farel for the Mass, celebrated the Eucharist in both species according to a reformed rite. Archives of the see of Basel. No.ccli,4 - Letter written by Abbot de Bellay on 23 April 1530.

revise his basic works after he found himself at the head of a church in a city that had already accepted the reformation, a period we may call the second part of his ministry. The revisions of Summaire only began in 1539 when Farel was antistes of the church at Neuchâtel and could pay attention to detailed reactions to his exposition. Maniere et Fasson was revised and appeared in 1538¹, when Farel was head of the church at Geneva, too soon after his arrival at Neuchâtel for him to have done any of the work there.

Maniere et Fasson itself seems to argue against a revision or new composition in 1533. The attacks mentioned in the preface:

'Do they not shout that these damned heretic dogs who wish to keep this new law live like animals, give up everything, keeping neither faith nor law, give up all the sacraments, and that they do not want to baptise, and keep nought of the Holy table of our Lord, that they despise the virgin Mary and the saints male and female, and that they hold no marriage...'

do not seem to refer to the events of the years 1532-1533. The decree of the Council of Payerne² tends to show the contrary. Farel seems rather to refer to the attacks instigated by Antoine de Vergy, Archbishop of Bezençon, from July 1524 onwards during Farel's ministry at Montbéliard. Furthermore, with reference to the Baptismal service, if this had been drawn up anew or revised in 1533, Farel might be expected to have taken a stronger position on infant Baptism as a consequence of the Anabaptist upheavals which started at Zurich in 1525. It is, however, only in Ordre et Maniere of 1538 that he categorically states that children MUST be baptised.

If the 1533 Maniere et Fasson was a new or extensively revised publication, it is difficult to see how Farel could have referred to it in 1539 as easily available evidence as to the position he held in 1524 concerning the baptism of children. We are therefore led to believe that 1533 Maniere et Fasson could have been no more than a reprint of an earlier liturgical manual which bore the same title and appeared in 1524/25.

1. Under the new title: Ordre et Maniere qu'on tient...

2. See p.50 above note 1 (a).

1537/38 - At Geneva

Although Farel had already left Geneva when Ordre et maniere quon tient en administrat les saintz sacremens: assavoir le Baptesme et la Cene de nostre Seigneur appeared there, there is little likelihood that he could have finished its preparation after having left. For Farel, 1537 was a year of close collaboration with Calvin in trying to establish the Genevan Church on firm foundations with the publication of a catechism¹ and a confession of faith. But it was also a difficult time during which the reformers had to defend themselves against accusations of Arianism. Following on this, their project to make an oath of adherence compulsory for all who would reside in Geneva proved to be ill-advised and raised much opposition to them personally. In this hostile atmosphere, Farel set about correcting his major works in order to bring greater clarity and precision to his declarations and teaching.

Ordre et Maniere, in spite of its new name, is no more than a revised version of Maniere et Fasson. The revision is chiefly a rearrangement of the subject matter:

| <u>Maniere et Fasson</u> | <u>Ordre et Maniere</u> |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Brief exhortation | Brief exhortation |
| Preface | Preface |
| Baptism (in which is found) | Concerning the Sacraments: Baptism (in which is found) |
| Lord's Prayer | Lord's Prayer |
| Decalogue | Decalogue |
| Apostles' Creed | Apostles' Creed |
| Marriage | Holy Communion |
| Holy Communion | Marriage |
| Preaching service | Sick visiting |
| Sick visiting | Preaching service |

In Ordre et Maniere, a number of stylistic improvements have been made and the term 'minister' ('pastor' on one occasion) has replaced

1. This catechism which accompanied the Articles of 1536/37 should not be confused with that which appeared in 1542.

'servant'. Some changes show the influence of Calvin's theology:

'... the Baptism of the Spirit, given personally to the elect... but by the sole will of God, who grants mercy ... to whom and when it appears good to him...'¹

'... all must be nourished with one same spiritual bread... in which the very communication of Jesus Christ is presented to us so that he might be ours entirely together with all his blessings and spiritual bounty, living in us to make us live in faith by his Spirit, by whose bond he joins us all together...'²

'... Jesus our saviour has satisfied and so has given himself to us that we are participants in his body and of his blood, feeling within us the virtue and effect of all that he did and suffered...'³

Some corrections are clearly in defence against accusations that he did not hold trinitarian beliefs:

'...You shall also teach him to have all his trust in God, and consequently to call on him in every need, give him praise for all good, recognise all his justice to be in Jesus Christ, all his strength in the sanctification of his Spirit, adore one God only and serve him alone...'⁴

'... in confirmation of the promises God made them to be their God and of their seed, to give them remission of their sins by the cleansing of the precious blood of Jesus his son, to regenerate them by his holy Spirit...'⁵

Others again to defend against accusations of Anabaptist leanings:

'... in this wise was circumcision received as the first entry into the Church of God ...'⁶

'... You have heard how our Lord wants children to be presented and that we impart to them all things pertaining to baptism. For by his praying and imposition of hands he acknowledges them to be no less his than by baptising them...'⁷

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1. Declaration du saint Baptesme.
 2. Declaration briefue de la sainte Cene de nostre Seigneur Jesuchrist.
 3. Order for the Lord's Supper.
 4. Order for Baptism.
 5. Declaration du saint Baptesme.
 6. Declaration briefue de la sainte Cene de nostre Seigneur Jesuchrist.
 7. Order for Baptism.

'... we pray ... that you give this child your Holy Spirit, receiving him into the covenant of your mercy and the participation of your grace...'¹

Finally, there are corrections of order, such as the deletion of the reduplication of the prayer for authorities which appeared both in the opening prayer of the preaching or Sunday morning service and in the post-communion prayer. In the post-communion, it is replaced by:

'... we shall pray the most merciful Father that it please him firmly to print in our hearts the remembrance of this holy mystery in which we have partaken, and also of the particular graces in it testified and represented; that acknowledging them we might increase daily in the sure trust in his kindness which he shed generously on us, and that we might ascribe to him due praise; also that he manifest himself in his great goodness to all people on earth and call them to participation in this incalculable benefit...'²

5. Contemporary orders

Having examined the historical setting in which Farel worked, we shall now look at contemporary orders with which he could have been acquainted and which could perhaps have influenced his own liturgical outlook. These can be summed up under three headings: the Bernese (Zwinglian) orders, the Basel order of Oecolampadius and the collections of orders used by the parish priests for non-eucharistic services.

The Bernese Orders: Touffbüchli - Cancell unnd Agendbüchli

Less than two weeks after the publication of the edict of Reformation on 7 February 1528, the Bernese authorities had already managed to distribute a copy of a sixteen page booklet to every minister in the canton. This booklet was entitled: Ein kurtze gemeine form / kinder zetouffen / die ee zebestaren / die predig anzefahen und zu enden / wie es zu Bernn gebrucht wird. Because it began with an order for Baptism, it soon gained the popular name of Touffbüchli (Baptism booklet). In addition to an order for baptism, it also contained orders for the 'confirmation of marriage'; a form for the prayer before the sermon; a very short prayer for pardon to be used after the confession of sins; the form to be used in

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1. Order for Baptism.
2. Order for Holy Communion.

announcing the names of those who had died in the course of the week; and instructions as to the keeping of baptismal and marriage registers. The government had hurriedly issued these instructions for baptism and marriage because under the Christian state, these were considered as much civil as religious acts. The following month, March 1528, saw the appearance of another pamphlet containing an order for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. This was later joined to the Touffbüchli and re-edited in 1529 under the name Cancell unnd Agendbüchli der kilchen zu Baërn.

One may wonder at the promptitude with which these liturgical instructions were distributed. Before this could happen, the booklet had to be composed by the ministers of the city, printed and sanctioned by the Council. The explanation for such unaccustomed speed of execution was given by the discovery of Türlér, state archivist at Berne, of a copy of the original Touffbüchli which had been used to line the cover of an old folio. This Touffbüchli is a sixteen page octavo booklet bearing the date MCXXVIII. Research by A. Fluri¹ has shown the Touffbüchli to be no more than a partial and slightly amended version of a Zurich order called Ordnung der Christenlichen Kilchen zu Zürich a copy of which is in the Zurich cantonal library. This order dates from 1526 or 1527 and appears to have been co-authored by Zwingli and Leo Jude. The alterations could have been made during or just after the disputation at Berne and sent almost immediately to the printers, probably Froschauer at Zurich.

The Agendbüchli was reprinted without major alteration in 1540, 1545, 1551 and 1586 and finally made way for a reworked and enlarged version in 1589. More important for our purpose is the fact that it was only on the occasion of the 1551 reprint and, in order to counter the growing popularity of Calvin's La forme des prières, that Nicolas Zurkinden was commissioned to prepare a French translation which, when printed, was distributed to all ministers of French speaking congregations in Bernese territory.

1. A. Fluri: Das Berner Taufbüchlein von 1528: Ein Bibliographische untersuchung Article in Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz 1895 p. 103-118.

Oecolampadius: Form unnd Gestalt

Even before coming to Basel, Oecolampadius (John Hüssgen) had been attracted by reformation ideas. In the beginning, he was particularly influenced by Luther's position but during 1521, while in cloister, he seems to have moved away from Lutheran eucharistic theology to something much closer to the sacramentarian position. He came to recognise the Word of God as a kind of sacrament in itself, and Holy Communion, as a means by which God reconciled Himself with the faithful under the symbol of bread and wine. In communion, he held that the faithful became part of Christ's mystical body descending from heaven. These new views were soon to find expression. He began, while chaplain to Francis of Sickingen at Ebernburg, by introducing the vernacular reading of Epistle and Gospel in the Mass.

When, in November 1522, he was appointed vicar at St. Martin's, Basel, he came to a city which, having liberated itself from the temporal authority of the Bishop, was well on its way towards liberating itself from his spiritual authority also. From as early as 1518, Capito, curate at the cathedral, had come under the influence of Luther whose writing were being printed and circulated by Froben. In 1521, Wilhelm Reublin (or Röblin), priest at St. Alban's, had preached against the Mass, purgatory and the cult of the saints, and on 27 June 1522 he was expelled from the city for having substituted the Bible for relics during a procession. Wolfgang Wissenburg, preacher at the Hospital, had celebrated Mass in the vernacular while Pellicanus (Konrad Kurschner) was devoting his time to the publication of Luther's writings. Oecolampadius, sensing the support received by Reublin, soon understood that it needed only a little more prudence to convert the whole city to a sacramentarian reformation. Shortly after his arrival in May 1523, the Basel magistrates issued a decree instructing preachers to proclaim 'the pure Gospel only, while respecting ancient tradition'¹. The immediate effect of this decree was to cause the Bishop to leave his city and settle at Porrentruy.

 1. Staehelin: Buch der Basler Reformation, p.57.

Perhaps the chief quality of Oecolampadius was the hospitality he lavished on all who sought refuge from persecution. Among those so welcomed were Farel and Hinne Rode¹ who was already there when Farel arrived and whom Oecolampadius encouraged to visit Zurich and meet Zwingli. Through Oecolampadius Farel was introduced to Zwingli, appointed preacher for the French-speaking community, directed to Montbéliard and after this, given letters of introduction to the Strassburg reformers.

The year 1523 saw the appearance of the pseudo-Oecolampadian Testament Jesu Christi which we shall ignore here. In spite of Oecolampadius' early reforming efforts, perhaps because of the conservative attitude of the Council, it was only late in 1525 that his Form unnd Gstalt wie des Herren Nachtmal, der kinder tauff, der kranken haymsuchung, zu Basel gebraucht unnd gehalten werden came off the press of Philip Wehart at Augsburg. The services contained in this manual were soon put into use. Oecolampadius seems to have introduced his baptismal rite at the beginning of October 1525 and his service for Holy Communion on All Saints day.

The services contained in this manual are those mentioned in the title: Holy Communion, Baptism of children and sick communion rather than sick visiting. In the first two orders, there is clear evidence of his sacramentarian sympathies. The communion service has strong emphases on 'thinking over the passion of Christ and his sufferings', on keeping 'these good deeds in eternal fresh memory', on being 'implanted into His body as members', on being 'set free and cleansed by His blood', on 'faith in the death of Christ'; and in the baptismal service, a prominent place given to the forgiveness of sins; all emphases which were in the process of being developed by the Anabaptists at Zurich. But the dangers of the extreme sacramentarian position were soon to make themselves felt. As early as 1526, Oecolampadius modified his views and published a second revised edition of his liturgies.

1. See Chapter V, p. 98ff. below.

The Roman Manuals

It is disconcerting for the student of medieval Church practice to discover the paucity of material available concerning the Roman Church. Not only was there a complete lack of service books for the use of laymen, but very few seem to have been available for priests. Thus one of the major contributions of the reformation was to distribute service books, often attached to psalter or hymnary, throughout the ranks of the congregation¹. In all fairness, however, it must be remembered that the first impact made by the advent of printing on the dissemination of the written word came only shortly before the reformation. But printing is only part of the explanation. The real reason must be sought in the theology and devotional practice of the medieval Roman Church in which only the clergy participated as agents in worship and the laity were relegated to being spectators.

Because the worship of the Church centred on the sacrifice of the Mass, the various parts of the service were brought together into a book called a Missal. Missals usually provided a standard form containing the immutable elements of the service; the variable parts, propers, collects, readings and other items were then listed according to the calendar. For use in cathedral Churches, the various forms of consecration and blessing used by the bishop were compiled in books called Pontificals. A third set of books contained the music for high Mass: the Gradual and the Troper.

As a result of the displacement of non-eucharistic public worship by the scheme of monastic devotions, the daily offices or hours were brought together in a book called the breviary. This was used almost exclusively by the clergy for their private devotions, the exceptions being such people as were both rich and literate. The forms required by the parish priest in the exercise of his pastoral duties were collected in Manuals or Rituals. We will turn our attention mainly to these latter books as they contain the services used in congregational life. Most useful among these, because of its date and the area in which it was used, is the Manual

1. See P. Chaunu: Le Temps des Réformes for a treatment of the role played by printing in the reformation. pp.83-86, 314-327 and 508-510.

drawn up by Johan Ulrich Surgantz, a priest at Klein Basel, who collated the necessary services in the year 1507. Such Manuals contained orders for Baptism, Marriage, the blessing of women after childbirth, for the visiting of the sick, for sick communion, for the people's communion and for the preaching service.

6. Proposed procedure

We have already sketched the background of the times by looking at the main events of Farel's life and taking cognizance of contemporary reformed liturgical activity. We shall now consider each service individually as it appears in Maniere et Fasson; first by looking briefly at the historical development of thought and practice concerning that particular form in the middle ages, then by examining clues to Farel's own thinking as they appear in his 'explanations'. We shall then tabulate the outline of the Farellian services together with contemporary Roman and Reformed orders. By discussing points of agreement and disagreement in order, wording, emphasis and rubrics, referring to contemporary writings and descriptions of the situation, and seeking further guidance in other works by Farel, we shall endeavour to bring to light his motivation and justification for the services he offered for use in the French-speaking reformed communities. From there, we can proceed to examine Farel's influence on the development of reformed liturgies.

III. THE BAPTISMAL SERVICE

There is a considerable gap between the sketchy descriptions of Baptism in the New Testament and the practice as it appears at the end of the second century. The New Testament tells of Baptism with water of people who have confessed their faith¹. This is sometimes followed by the laying on of hands. This manner of proceeding is still reflected in Justin's first Apology and in the Didache. But when we come to Tertullian, the sequence catechuminate, water baptism, anointing, signing and imposition of hands seems already to be taken for granted².

According to Hippolytus³, initiation began with a catechuminate of some three years. The end of this was marked by a ceremony during which the Bishop breathed on the faces of the candidates and signed their foreheads, noses and ears⁴. Then came a period of final instruction during which an exorcism would be pronounced daily over the candidates. When the time came for them to be baptised, they were required to renounce Satan and were then anointed with the oil of exorcism. They were immersed three times after confessing their faith in three formulae, after which the Bishop laid his hands on them, kissed them and anointed them with oil. At the subsequent eucharist, they received two additional cups, one of milk and honey and the other of water.

Other ceremonies were gradually introduced into this scheme of the Baptismal service: salting, footwashing, the putting on of the white robe, the lighted candle and, particularly in the East, the crowning and the cutting of the hair⁵.

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1. Acts 2: 40-41, Acts 8: 12-15, Acts 8: 36-38, Acts 10: 46-48, etc.
 2. De Resurrectione carnis 8.
 3. Apostolic Tradition 21.
 4. This is called 'effeta or apertio (aurium)',... after the healing of the deaf and dumb man of Mark 7: 32-35.
 5. It may be noted, in passing, that John Chrysostom knew no anointing or imposition of hands as a post-baptismal rite at Antioch. See G. Kretschmar: Recent research on Christian Initiation in Studia Liturgica Vol. 12. No. 2/3.

Although all these ceremonies have been rationalised and given symbolic meaning, there is nothing really to provide an explanation of their origin. Most of them appeared in the last quarter of the second century and the beginning of the third, a period during which, if the Fathers are to be believed, the Church was torn between rival claims to represent the true revelation. The writings of Hegesippus, Irenaeus, Tertullian and Cyprian of Carthage among others, provide us with some idea of the efforts undertaken to combat a wild proliferation of 'revelations' and to keep some continuity with the Apostolic Church. It seems significant that just when the Church was running the risk of being submerged by the esoteric teachings of various illuminated groups, the baptismal rite should have suddenly acquired this welter of ceremonies.

It has been inferred that the practice of baptising children might have dated from Apostolic times. This is certainly the view of Origen who states that: 'the Church received from the Apostles the tradition of also baptising children'¹. In this he was supported by Irenaeus². Although strongly combatted by Tertullian³, the practice was taken for granted by Hippolytus: 'And they shall baptise the little children first. And if they can answer for themselves, let them answer. But if they cannot, let their parents answer or someone from their family'⁴. When Cyprian of Carthage convened a Synod to discuss the matter of infant baptism, he was not concerned with the principle as such but whether there should be a rule of baptism on the eighth day or the choice of the date be left to individual discretion. By the IVth century, paedobaptism seems to have been so universally accepted, that Augustine was able to use the fact to embarrass Pelagius in their controversy over original sin.

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1. Epistle ad Rom. Ch.6.
 2. Adv. Haer. 2, 22, 4.
 3. In De Baptismo he states that a person must desire to be baptised by virtue of his own decision and by his own responsibility. He must receive it in the faith of one who known Jesus Christ for himself. His conclusion is: 'Do not cast your pearls before the swine'.
 4. Apostolic Tradition.

The effect of the move towards generalised infant baptism was to separate the baptismal rite from the catechumenate. Furthermore there was a gradual separation between the water baptism and the imposition of hands which the Bishop tended to reserve for himself. In some Churches in Gaul and in Spain before the Carolingian reform separation was contested but eventually, the Roman practice of reserving the imposition of hands together with a post baptismal unction and consignation to the Bishop became the rule. The episcopal ceremonies became separate in time from the water baptism and evolved as an independent rite of 'confirmation', a strengthening of the gift of the Spirit, whereby a Bishop perfected a somehow incomplete baptism.

Baptism, therefore, as it was practiced at the dawn of the reformation, consisted of all the abovementioned elements from the end of the catechumenate up to the first post-baptismal unction. Perhaps the most striking feature is that although the rite had been used for some five hundred years almost exclusively for children, yet it was still a rite for adults. The deletion of the part concerned with the catechumenate made the beginning incoherent. The dialogue that took place between the priest and the infant made the ceremony look ridiculous. The first part took place ~~at the~~ Church door; only the second part corresponds to what was associated with baptism in the patristic period. There was a mention that the candidate might be an infant, when he was led into the Church, but after this, the dialogue and the action went back to the original pattern. The rite found by the reformers was, therefore, confused and inapposite¹ and with the prevalent custom of having children baptised as soon as possible after birth², was one of the first things to need attention when the worship of the Church was examined.

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1. The Roman form was to remain unchanged until, as a result of 2nd Vatican Council, new liturgical orders were issued. The 'Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy', par. 64-68, states that the norm of Baptism requires the candidate to be adult yet it does not deny the licitness of infant baptism. For this reason, separate forms were drawn up for infant and adult baptism. These are in the Rituale Romanum, the Ordo baptismi parvulorum published with decree of 15 May 1969 and the Ordo initiationis Christiannae adultorum, published with the decree of 6 January 1972.
 2. This was held to prevent them dying in a state of original sin which would have condemned them to hell (or to the limbo).

In the 'explanation', Farel sets down six points on which his understanding of Baptism is based:

- a) The Church's baptism is the same baptism as was undergone by our Lord and which he commanded his disciples to continue.
- b) Although visible and material, baptism has no power in itself to effect any change in people (no virtute operis operati).
- c) True Christian baptism is of the Spirit. It is therefore invisible and interior and not bound by ceremonies, persons or times.
- d) Visible baptism by which one is received into the Church must not be administered without at the same time asking for the invisible baptism of the Spirit; so that as one is received into the Church, one may also, by grace, become a true child of God.
- e) Private baptism is rejected: The Baptismal ceremony is for the edification of the Church. Baptism must be administered in the congregation of the faithful so that they might be witnesses. All are encouraged to attend baptismal services as these remind the faithful of their own engagements and duties.
- f) For these reasons, those to whom the Lord has given charge over children present them to the Church for baptism. Ordre et Maniere adds: 'They do this in confirmation of the promises of God that He shall be God of their seed, give them remission of sins through Jesus' blood and regenerate them by His Holy Spirit that they might become His people and heirs of the kingdom of God'.

A tabulation of the relevant orders, although it can do no more than provide us with approximations, can already help us to classify the reformed liturgies in different streams. But one thing stands out clearly: they have all attempted to correct one of the most flagrant weaknesses in the Roman order, by evolving a rite designed specifically for the baptism of CHILDREN. The condensed catechumenate represented by the questions and answers in the Roman order was kept in various forms in the reformed orders. Form unnd Gestalt changed it into a declaration of intent, which was followed by an invocation, after which the idea of teaching was picked up again. Touffbüchli made a little ceremony out of the recording of the names of all involved, then, after an invocation, required a declaration of intent. Here, Maniere et Fasson simplified more than the others. This first part was reduced to the invocation and the declaration of intent.

One of the most important changes found in the reformed orders concerned the exorcism. The original idea of the candidate renouncing

the 'world' to turn to God had long disappeared. The increasing frequency of infant baptism and the rise of the more extreme formulations concerning original sin had resulted in a conception of the child as possessed by the devil. The reformers generally regarded such views with abhorrence. Oecolampadius, and the other reformers, abandoned the form addressed to the devil. Instead, their forms pray that the child be taken out of the realm of darkness and brought into the light of salvation¹. To this, is added the notion of the baptizand being joined to the faithful and entering the Christian community of the Church. The prayers for baptismal grace and for regeneration have therefore been summed up here.

SCHEMATIC COMPARISON OF ORDERS FOR BAPTISM.

| <u>Roman</u> | <u>Form unnd Gestalt</u> | <u>Touffbüchli</u> | <u>Maniere et Fasson</u> |
|---|--|--|---|
| P: What do you seek from the Church? A: Faith P: Faith unto what? A: Eternal life. P: Life eternal is: Love the Lord... & your neighbour as yourself. | Q: Do you wish this child baptised? A: Yes <u>Invocation:</u> Our help Exhortation about sinfulness, lostness and the redeeming work of Christ. | First writes down names of child, parents and godparents. <u>Invocation:</u> Our help Q: Do you wish this child baptised? A: Yes. Q: Name the child. A: N | <u>Invocation:</u> Our help Q: Do you present this child for baptism? A: Yes. |

1. This prayer is rather similar to that contained in Ordo Baptismi parvulorum, alternative b) which runs as follows:

'Almighty God, you sent your only Son to rescue us from the slavery of sin, and to give us the freedom only your sons and daughters enjoy. We now pray for these children who have to face the world with its temptations, and fight the devil in all his cunning. Your Son died and rose again to save us. By this victory over sin and death, bring these children out of the power of darkness. Strengthen them with the grace of Christ, and watch over them at every step in life's journey. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

| Roman | Form unnd Gestalt | Touffbüchli | Maniere et Fasson |
|--|---|---|--|
| <p>Blowing with exorcism & scolding of Devil.</p> <p>Uction</p> <p>Prayer that cand. may truly accede to Bapt.grace.</p> <p>Benediction salt. Salt in mouth</p> <p>Peace Prayer for regen. of candidate.</p> <p>Signing.</p> <p><u>Effeta</u>(with spittle)</p> <p>Intro. of cand. into Church & lead to font.</p> <p>Cand.& priest: Creed Pater</p> <p>Q:Renunciation of Satan?</p> <p>Uction Q:Do you believe in God (Trin. formula with answers).</p> <p>Q:Do you wish to be baptised? A:Yes</p> <p>Baptism</p> <p>Peace Uction</p> <p>Prayer:may God grant you remission of sins and grace of salvation.</p> <p>White Robe</p> | <p>Exorcism: Prayer for Spirit that child be brought into light & memb. of Church.</p> <p>Mk.10:13-16 <u>Exhortation:</u> Meaning of Bapt.</p> <p>Prayer:that cand. shall henceforth live in Christ, Our Father ... Q:Do you wish this child baptised? A:Yes Q:Abjuration of Satan?</p> <p>Q:Do you believe in meaning of creed? A:Yes</p> <p>Baptism</p> <p>White Robe</p> | <p>Prayer:Child be given faith.</p> <p><u>Salutation</u> Mk.10:13-16 <u>Exhortation:</u> Instruct child in Xtian faith and life. Our Father ... Ave Maria ... Q:Do you wish this child baptised? A:Yes Q:Name it. A:N Baptism</p> | <p>Prayer:God give child true faith,that visible Bapt.be sign of in invisible Bapt.of grace.</p> <p>Our Father ...</p> <p>Prayer:That child receive Spirit that he may serve God & be truly Bapt.to newness of life.</p> <p>Mk.10:13-16 <u>Exhortation:</u> God also God of children.</p> <p>Q:Do you bring this child for baptism? A:Yes Q:Promise to instruct child in: Decalogue, Creed,have faith in God and serve Him. A:Yes Q:Do you want this child baptised? A:Yes Q:Name it A:N Baptism</p> <p>Prayer:that child become true member of Christ</p> |

(continued overleaf)

| Roman | Form unnd Gestalt | Touffbüchli | Maniere et Fasson |
|----------------|--|-------------|-------------------------|
| Lighted candle | Ps.116:10-19 Dismissal with peace Glory be to God | | Dismissal with peace |

Farel was less radical than he thought himself to be. In the preface, he states:

'Here is ... the form and manner held in baptising ... with reference to the manner practised by the ancients who should rather be called innovators. Therefore let none seek here the adjurations and conjurations of the priests by which they adjure to the devil as though he possessed children and they were demoniac. So also should one understand concerning the adjured and enchanted water on which the priests blow saying: "May the Holy Spirit descend into the water stoup"... The salt, spittle and oil are not to be found here...'

As far as externals are concerned, all that he claims is true. The blessing of the water, the exorcism, the various unctions, the effeta, the salting, the candle and the white robe have been eliminated. But apart from his rejection of the conception of the child as being under the devil's sway before baptism, he remained fairly close to the spirit of the Roman order. The ceremonies of exorcism, of unction, of salting, of signing, and of the effeta were replaced by a prayer: that God would give the child true faith and that the visible baptism which he was to undergo might be a sign of the invisible interior baptism which God, by His Spirit, graciously conferred. This was followed by the Lord's prayer and another prayer, gathering up all that was signified by the Roman ceremonies, requesting the gift of the Holy Spirit for the child, his incorporation into the Covenant of God's mercy according to God's foreordained purpose, that in good time, the child might know God as his God and serve Him.

The Bernese Touffbüchli presents us with a different view altogether. Zwingli (in whom it has its source), tended to be as conservative as his theological questioning allowed him to be. His 1523 order remained well within the Roman tradition, containing both the exorcisms. These he abandoned in his 1525 order after doubts about the justification for any such ceremony. Subsequently, he

departed still further from the ideas expressed in the exorcism. In Touffbüchli, this ceremony has been eliminated completely. The only remaining trace of the ceremonies preceding the introduction of the candidate into the Church is a prayer, based on the post-exorcism prayer, asking that the child be given faith and be incorporated into the life, death and resurrection of Jesus and live faithfully so as to appear blameless on judgement day.

It is interesting to note that all three reformed orders introduce the reading of Mark 10:13-16 at this point. The choice of this text is more than a simple coincidence; it represents their concern for a justification of infant baptism which, although it was the general rule in the Church, yet seemed to them rather weak theologically. The point is that a critical re-appraisal of the Church can prove rather embarrassing. The reformers had already repudiated five 'sacraments' - of the remaining two, baptism, insofar as it applied to children, seemed doubtful yet they just could not afford to get rid of it also. Even though the Markan text is not quite satisfactory, it nevertheless provided them with a peg from which to hang a justification of this sacrament.

In such circumstances, it was necessary for an exhortation to accompany the Bible reading. Oecolampadius expounded the meaning of baptism as an 'entrance into the Christian life'. As water washes away bodily faith, so also in baptism the grace of the Holy Spirit washes away inner uncleanness and bestows forgiveness of sins. Baptism is received by faith. At this point, Oecolampadius seems to avoid the implications of infant baptism (this is also evident in the questions put to the child). He seems to have held views close to those of Luther¹ but found some difficulty in making them follow his first general statements. To all practical purposes, the audience was left to deduce, from the Markan passage, how baptism should apply to infants.

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1. Luther: The Babylonish Captivity of the Church. Acknowledging the need for faith, he explains it thus: '... I say ... that the faith of others is their succour, the faith of those who offer them. For as the spoken Word is powerful to change the heart of the impious, so likewise, through the prayer of the Church offering and believing ... even a child by infused faith is changed, cleansed and renewed.'

Farel felt the need to give a more positive lead. Jesus expressed the wish that children should not be prevented from coming to him, thus showing that God is the Father and Saviour of children as well as adults. Inasmuch as Jesus is in us, we shall bring children to him, receiving them into his Church and communion by baptism, that in his mercy, he might grant them his holy blessing. Farel was clearly conscious of well-founded objections to infant baptism and to meet them, used the Markan passage to the utmost. Nevertheless his argument for infant baptism was sketchy indeed. He clearly did not know how to present a cogent explanation for this practice: his unease is apparent in his Summaire of 1525:

'For by the death and passion of Jesus, and the blood he shed, they (Christians) have remission of their sins and are transplanted from the old man Adam into Jesus Christ, who they confess their desire to follow and live to Him like his disciples, giving up all for the love of Jesus, and for a sign of this are baptised and undergo the baptism of water ... Nevertheless one should not believe that baptism administered by man can save, for there is only one saviour Jesus, by the power of the Father giving the Holy Spirit...'¹

By 1538, when Ordre et Maniere was published, Farel took a stronger position. The exhortation now read:

'You have heard how our Lord wishes that children be presented to Him, and that one should communicate to them all that pertains to baptism. For by prayer and the imposition of hands he acknowledges them no less to be His than by baptising them inasmuch as He is also Father and saviour of children...etc.'

The 1542 edition of Summaire showed the same hardening in his position. After the words 'giving up all for the love of Jesus...' of the 1525 edition, he added:

'... in whom believing, they obtain all the promises made to them, as much for themselves as for their children. And for a sign of this are baptised and undergo the baptism of water and present also their children to seal and confirm before all the covenant they have with God...'².

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1. Farel: Summaire (1525) Chap. 18. 'Des Sacrementz'.
 2. Farel: Summaire (1542) Chap. 23. 'Des Sacremens'.

But there was also a new addition to this chapter. If the faith of the congregation was to play a role in the baptism of children, then these children had to be of the congregation.

'For this the minister should be wise and prudent and faithfully dispense such great and worthy things ... and also receive only those who according to God must be received, as at holy Baptism the children of those who are of the Church to whom the holy promise of the Kingdom of God has been given...'

In 1525, therefore, Farel could only see baptism from the angle of adult baptism; the adult confessed his faith and was incorporated into the body of Christ. But the practice of infant baptism was established in the Church to the extent of being almost the only form of baptism administered by the Church¹. To question infant baptism would be to arouse the ire of the whole of the Christian world which had been taught that baptism, as early as possible, was necessary to ensure the physical and spiritual well-being of infants. Among the reformers, Luther had already been forced to take a stand for infant baptism against some of the more extreme elements in Germany. In 1524, when Farel was writing his liturgy and Summaire, there was already a certain amount of agitation against infant baptism in Zurich and at Basel². This rejection of infant baptism was founded on a concept of Baptism as the sacrament of conversion and reconciliation. According to these views, Baptism could and should be repeated every time a person became convinced of his sinfulness and unworthiness and wished to rejoin the 'true' Church.

To Farel's mind, the Anabaptist conception devalued the sacrament of Baptism. To have agreed with them on infant baptism would have been to support their whole baptismal theology and to be identified with them in their other claims also. Furthermore, Farel's knowledge of the fathers had taught him that infant baptism had been administered in early times and could not therefore

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1. Adult baptism was extremely rare, being administered to converts of whom there were very few.
2. The Zurich Anabaptists made their formal break with Zwingli in January 1525. See also G.H. Williams: The Radical Reformation for a description of the rise and development of the Anabaptist movements.

be dismissed casually. So Maniere et Fasson presents one of the first reformed attempts to justify infant baptism on Biblical grounds by relating baptism to Jesus' injunction to let the little children come to Him, justification still found in most reformed liturgies. Yet Farel was conscious of the weakness of his argument, all the more so when he began to be accused of Anabaptist sympathies (reflected in the Postscript to Summaire of 1542). In order to counter such accusations, he introduced a categorical statement in Ordre et Maniere that children MUST be baptised, and added specific references to children's baptism in Summaire of 1542. In this manner, he hoped to remove all trace of ambiguity. No longer could it be claimed that Summaire¹ reserved the sacrament of baptism for adults only.

Touffbüchli went even further than Oecolampadius in letting the Markan passage stand on its own. No longer did the exhortation deal with baptism: it simply exhorted the parents and godparents to instruct the child in the faith. Incidentally, this exhortation also did away with the need for questions, to whomever they might be addressed. The omission is easily explained by reference to Zwingli's very early recognition that the doctrine of justification through faith implied that it would be better not to baptise children until they reached the age of reason². But Zwingli was a prudent man, very sensitive to what the authorities at Zurich could or could not accept. His 1523 rite, therefore, remained fully orthodox. It was not until 1525, when as the result of their Anabaptist extremism, he was forced to break with the group led by Conrad Grebel, that he plumped for infant baptism, while

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1. Summaire of 1525 could, in fact, be interpreted in this way.
 2. '... und nachdem man ihnen einen festen glauben ins hertz gegeben hat und sie denselben mit dem Munde bekannten, hat man sie getauft. Ich wollte das dieser brauch der Belehrung heutzutage wieder allgemein eingeführt würde'. 67 Articles: Art.18. Hubmaier embarrassed Zwingli by quoting this as proof that Zwingli supported Anabaptist views in: Ein gesprech Balthazar Hubmaiers von Fridburg Doctors auff Mayster Ulrich Zwinglens zu Zurich Tauffbuechlein. Zwingli defended himself rather lamely claiming that this statement referred to his discussion on Confirmation.

circumventing the vexed question of the infant's faith in the manner seen in Touffbüchli¹.

In the Roman order, the baptizand (or rather the godparents in the usual infant baptism) recited the creed, the Pater and then formally renounced Satan. This was followed by an unction, a set of questions to establish the candidate's faith in God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit and then a formal question of intent. Oecolampadius followed this scheme in its main lines although he changed the order somewhat: first, the Lord's Prayer, then the formal question of intent, followed by the abjuration of Satan and a question whether the baptizand believed in the faith as expressed by the Creed. Oecolampadius seems still wedded to the Roman practice. He forgot that his order was supposed to be designed for infant baptism. The dialogue consequently sounds strange; it is addressed to the infant while the real participants are the priest and godparents.

We have already noted the absence of any question as to faith in the Touffbüchli and the reasons for this. In the Bernese rite, the exhortation is followed by the Lord's Prayer and an Ave Maria (presumably in German). The formal question of intent and the naming of the child followed immediately after this. We may, in passing, note the retention of the Ave Maria which was used and taught, according to the mural catechisms, until well after 1551 in Bernese possessions. In Geneva also, it was maintained a long time under the name 'the angelic salutation'. The reformed Churches in Switzerland at least, were not essentially Mariophobic.

Farel had perhaps the best adaptation of the order for baptism to infant baptism. After a formal question of intent, promises were extracted from the parents or godparents to instruct the child in the main elements of the faith which he specified as the Decalogue and the Creed. They were also to teach the child

1. See G.H. Williams: op.cit., for the history of the Zurich controversies.

practical Christianity:

to 'place all his faith in God, to adore and serve Him alone, to love Him with all his heart, mind, strength and understanding and his neighbour as himself, that as a true Christian he might renounce himself, abandon all to follow Jesus, bearing his cross which is to say the tribulations and afflictions our Lord may send, so that his whole life might be to the honour of God and to the edification of all. And to this purpose, you shall exhort and admonish him, correct him where he fails as each is bound to do to his Christian brother, so that he may be nourished and taught in the holy doctrine of God'.

Here, Farel showed that he was following the Roman order fairly closely. Without noticing it, he introduced another question of intent, making three altogether and so spoiling an otherwise well composed rite. The name of the child was announced after the answer to this third question of intent.

All four orders baptised 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit'. The Roman order followed with the Peace pronounced upon the baptizand, an unction and a prayer that God might regenerate him, remit his sins and mark him with the chrism of salvation. The white robe draped over him 'so that you may bear it before the tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ and have eternal life', and then he was given the lighted candle.

Oecolampadius followed the baptism immediately with the white robe: 'God lead you that as you are now clothed in white, so also you may appear before Him on the last day with a clear conscience'. Instead of the candle ceremony, Psalm 116: 10-19 was recited and the congregation dismissed with the Peace and Gloria. Touffbüchli followed Oecolampadius in retaining the ceremony of the white robe (which it called the little shirt) accompanied by the same formula. It ended with a simple Amen. The reason for this short ending is that baptism was not an independent rite. The Bernese edict of reformation contained the instruction: 'Concerning baptism, we command that children may be baptised on any day. Nevertheless it appears seemly that in all parishes children be baptised on Sundays after the sermon'¹. This preference for the normal diet

1. Cited by L. Vulliemin: Le Chroniqueur p. 348.

of worship was again emphasised by the Synod of Berne which stated: 'We therefore request and exhort him who baptises to accustom his people to bring their children to baptism on Sunday, when the congregation has assembled ... for if the Church be not present, such baptism is not a sacrament of the Church but simply an ablution of the child...'¹.

Farel abandoned the ceremony of the white robe and all the reformed liturgies in French follow his example in this. The omission gave rise to a certain amount of unrest in the canton of Vaud when in 1551, Berne made mandatory the use of the French translation of its liturgy². Farel placed the prayer: 'May our Lord in His grace and goodness grant that this child who He created and formed in His image and likeness become a true member of Jesus Christ His Son, bearing fruit worthy of a child of God', which is reminiscent of the formula accompanying the white robe, after the baptism. Then the order dismissed the congregation with peace. Like the Bernese, Farel was adamant in rejecting baptism without the presence of the congregation. The Churches he founded and organised, baptised children at the end of the Sunday morning service. The same formula of dismissal was employed in both the Sunday service and in the baptismal rite, (the first being left out when Sunday worship was followed by baptism).

When we come to classifying the reformed services discussed above, we are forced to conclude in favour of independent origin. Form unnd Gstalt can be compared to Maniere et Fasson in that both remain fairly close to the Roman order once the corrections necessitated by the reformed faith have been made. Of the two, Form unnd Gstalt is by far the more conservative, retaining the abjuration of Satan and the ceremony of the white robe, both of which Farel dropped. On the other hand, one may also see a theological relationship between Touffbüchli and Maniere et Fasson

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1. Actes du Synode de Berne de 1532 Ch. XXI.
2. See Vuilleumier: op.cit., pp.314-316. The Articles of protest sent by the class of Lausanne to the Bernese Senate are to be found in Calvin: Opera. XIV, pp. 232-236.

in ~~that~~ both face the issue of infant baptism resolutely. Yet whereas Touffbüchli contents itself with making the best out of a rather doubtful practice, Maniere et Fasson endeavours to give this practice new meaning. This is what may have prompted some to see, in Maniere et Fasson, the amplified copy of Touffbüchli.

Meyhoffer's suggestion that Farel and Oecolampadius may have consulted each other and discussed the orders they were working on seems quite plausible in view of the evidence gathered above. But in the final drafting, Farel was much bolder, not only in his rejection of so many ceremonies but in his expression of his conception of a distinction between internal and external baptism. This, coupled with his need to appease his own doubts by providing justification for infant baptism, led him to give his order an entirely different colouring.

Farel's baptismal liturgy clearly illustrates his standpoint as a reformer. In his attempt to return to the practices of the early Church, he followed the humanist's method of appealing to Scripture as the prime referent¹. To him, Scripture represented the ultimate authority by which all tradition and the views of the early fathers were to be judged.

Following this criterion, Farel had no hesitation in recognising baptism as a Dominical sacrament. But when it came to constituting a form for infant baptism, his ground was much less firm. The eunuch's baptism by Philip² provided the outline for Farel's rite, and to make it more particularly applicable to children, he brought in the pericope concerning Jesus' reception of the children³ and an appeal to God's covenant with his chosen people.

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1. Although the scholastics acknowledged Scripture to be the ultimate referent, their method in practice consisted of lectio and relectio, rarely going back further than the Sentences of Peter Lombard. The humanists, as a consequence of their philological work, effectively short-circuited the scholastic cycle by going right back to the original Greek and Hebrew texts.
 2. Acts. 8: 36-39.
 3. Mk. 10: 13-16.

Farel did not lightly abolish the ceremonies and unctions accompanying baptism. Although his rite did away with those ceremonies which, in ancient times, had belonged to the catechumenate¹, Farel's reform included their reevaluation. This he made plain in the promises given by parents or sponsors. As the child grew, the parents were to teach him to observe the decalogue, the doctrines of the creed, and the practical day to day consequences of the Christian faith. Significantly Farel's first publication, in 1524, was a simple exposition of the Lord's prayer and of the creed². Some six months later, he supplemented this first catechetical work with the more dogmatic Summaire. His concern for the religious instruction of children is reflected in the Genevan Articles of 1537:

'There was formerly a catechism to teach everybody the fundamentals of the Christian religion ... and particularly the children were taught this catechism that they might come to Church and witness to their faith ... What we propose is that there be a short and easy summary of the Christian faith which all the children can be taught ...'³.

Farel sought to bring a new understanding of baptism and of the Church. His view was that God had retained his 'dominium' and had not delegated it to the Church. Consequently, the Church was limited in its powers and in what it could do. It had no power, in itself, to bind God; its actions had no virtute operis operati. This, Farel clearly showed by distinguishing between visible and spiritual baptism. As the universitas praedestinatorum, the Church could administer the visible sign of membership in a visible community. But such administration also required the prayer of the community that God, in his mercy, might grant the spiritual baptism - the membership of the spiritual body of Christ. For this reason,

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1. Catechesis of the people was very superficial when it existed at all. See Chaunu: op.cit., p.168 ff. Also Genevan Articles of 1537, 3: '... vu le mepris de la parole de Dieu que nous voyons et la négligence des parents à instruire leurs enfants en la voie de Dieu, dont on voit une merveilleuse rudesse et ignorance en beaucoup ...'
 2. See above p.8.
 3. Articles 1537. 3.

the administration of the visible baptism of water needed the presence and participation of the visible Church, the congregation of the faithful, that together they might pray for and testify to God's mercy. Baptism, as the sacrament of entry into the body of Christ, could not be administered except in the context of the community, meeting in its Lord.

IV. THE MARRIAGE SERVICE

1. The Church's conception of marriage.

In the course of its expansion among people of different ethnic background and varying social structures, the early Church came up against diverse marriage customs. But under the unifying mantle of Greco-Roman culture, certain ceremonies tended to become standard practice. These were, by no means accepted everywhere, nor were marriage customs limited to these. Yet we can list them here as forming the frame within which marriage took place:

- a) The Betrothal: arranged by the parents and considered as binding as the marriage itself. This was sealed by the giving of a ring signifying the new allegiance of the girl.
- b) The cession of the bride by her father or her dissociation from her father's family. This was signified by the putting on of the veil.
- c) The translation or solemn procession of the bride, dressed in white, crowned and veiled, to the groom's house.
- d) The confarreatio, or introduction of the bride to the groom's household. She was brought into the house (carried through the doorway), was solemnly received as a member of the household (the veil taken off), and shared the nuptial bread with her husband.

It should be noted, in addition, that the bride's consent was necessary and that it was implied in the translation.

In the early days, when married converts were admitted to the Church, no question was raised as to the legitimacy of their marriage. The Church, generally, did not consider it necessary to pay much attention to what was, essentially, a family affair. And whereas Ignatius stated that Christians should marry only with the Bishop's approval¹, he does not seem to have been followed in this opinion: Christians continued to regard marriage as the concern of the families involved. Although marital dissention and difficulties may have aroused the Church's pastoral concern, it was taken for

1. Ignatius: Ad Polycarpum. 5,2.

granted that all matrimonial cases were subject to Roman law and would therefore be referred to civil courts¹. Until well after the 4th century, it was generally held that where straightforward marriages between Christians were concerned, there was no need for the Church or its representatives².

The earliest witness to marriage prayers or benedictions comes from the 4th century. In his Liber questionum novi et veteris Testamenti pseudo-Ambrose defends the gift of marriage, instituted and blessed by God at creation. This same benediction was also given at the Synagogue and therefore 'the present practice in the Church' only continued this tradition. The practice referred to here probably developed from the customary visit of priest or bishop to the bridal pair when he would naturally be asked to bless their venture into matrimony. The first references to nuptial masses and benedictions given by the priest after the family and civil ceremonies, date from the 4th and 5th centuries³. Even so, these apply to clerics or minors in the care of the Church, who were to have their marriage blessed by a priest. For the rest, only those whose conduct was deemed irreproachable could ask for this blessing.

By 1000 A.D. marriage came increasingly under the jurisdiction of the Church. This process was gradual, aided by pastoral concern for the welfare of the flock in the unsettled conditions of the time, and by the rise of the feudal system under which bishops combined civil and religious duties. The Church's jurisdiction did not seek to standardise marriage procedures; these were still laid down by the various local customs. Generally speaking, it was sufficient that a man and a woman exchange their mutual consent for their marriage to be valid: even a witness was not strictly necessary. The ecclesiastical courts concerned themselves with impediments to marriage and judged in cases where annulment was requested. But because of the prevalence of bride-theft, the Church began to require the exchange of consent in public. In

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1. See Synod of Elvira (c 306) canon 54.
2. Tertullian: Ad Uxorem 2, 9.
3. See Siricus (384-399): Epist. ad Himerium, and Innocent I (404): Epist. ad Victricium.

this way, marriage began to leave the confines of the family circle; it was brought out into the full view and knowledge of the whole community (in facie ecclesiae), and the ceremony came to be held in the porch of the Church.

Between the 11th and 12th centuries, all matters relating to marriage were to come under the jurisdiction of the Church¹ so that the Church even came to settle the civil aspects of the marriage contract. As the ancient customs gradually declined in importance, the role of the priest gained pre-eminence at the expense of that of the bride's father. From neutral broker, the priest came to repeat and then take over completely the role of the father: the priest began by repeating the legal procedure carried out by the father or tutor of the bride, and finally took over the power to unite the couple, as is attested in the 13th century formula: 'et EGO coniugo vos in nomine Patris...'.

Along with the juridical takeover, there developed a sacramental and moral theology of marriage. This development coincided with and was probably prompted by two new factors which affected the medieval Church. First of these was the spread of dualistic heresy, during the 12th and 13th centuries, in the European centres of high population density. The heretics considered marriage, together with all material things, as belonging to the prince of darkness. Against this, the Church exalted the virtues of procreation. The second factor arose from the increasing tendency to defer marriage². Before that, the excellence of virginity had been affirmed by the existence of a celibate clerical society. When marriage was put off to a later date, every Christian was, in effect, promoted to undergo the 'clerical' discipline of celibacy for some years. What had constituted the main difference between layman and clerk was abolished, at least temporarily.

Apart from St. Augustine, the fathers had been reluctant to deal with anything that touched on sexuality. On the basis of Ephesians 5: 21-32, St. Augustine had developed the idea of a sacred bond (sacramentum) uniting a couple. This bond effectively prevented any

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1. In a few regions however, marriage remained a purely civil affair until the 13th century.
 2. See Chaunu: op.cit., p.56 ff. and table p.69 for study of changes in the average marrying age.

dissolution of the marriage, even in cases of adultery. In his mind, marriage contained the characteristic elements of a sacred alliance, similar to the obligations one had assumed at baptism in regard to the Kingdom of God. The scholastics developed this by seeking to locate the sacramentum; some placed it in the action of the priest, others in the union of hearts (consensus animorum), and still others in the conjugal act itself (consensus carnis). These different views were more or less synthesised by Hugh of St. Victor¹.

Hugh regarded every marriage, even the non-believers, as a sacramentum. A sacred bond existed in all marriages, but only to Christians did it confer grace. Marriage was a communion of life through mutual consent; a contract both of love and of spiritual union. In addition, God had ordained that the human race be perpetuated by means of the corporal union of men and women. The physical union therefore was the sacramental expression of the corporal union of Christ and His Church. Hugh was unable to make a satisfactory synthesis of the bond of love and the bond in one flesh since, like most of his contemporaries, he could not avoid thinking that the carnal act was in some way contaminated by original sin. For him therefore, the bond of love was the constitutive element in marriage; a marriage was thus fully valid even without sexual relations². Such a view created a practical difficulty for canon law: did non-consummation still constitute a ground for dissolving a marriage?

St. Thomas Aquinas brought finality to this question by distinguishing between communion of life before and after the first conjugal act. Before, marriage represents the community of grace of the individual with Christ. Sin can break this community and consequently a non-consummated marriage may be dissolved should there be serious reasons for doing so. But by reason of the carnal act, the conjugal community formally becomes the sacramental sign of the union of Christ with His church; this, like the reality it represents, is indissoluble.

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1. Treatise on Marriage, De Beatae Mariae Virginitate, De Sacramentis.
 2. There was a concern to picture Joseph and Mary as forming a perfect couple while maintaining the perpetual virginity of Mary.

St. Thomas also definitely fixed the rank of marriage as one of the seven sacraments of the Church because it was not only a sign of salvation but was also able to save. In stating that the form of the sacrament lay in the words used in mutual consent, St. Thomas finally dealt the death blow to the early conception of the priestly action as constituting the sacrament.

2. Early forms of marriage

The first description of Christian marriage to come to us is that given by Paulinus of Nola¹ at the beginning of the 5th century. The ceremony took place in Church. The father led his guests to the altar where the Bishop blessed the marriage by improvising a prayer and covering the couple with a veil.

In Gaul, the priest blessed the marriage at the moment of entry into the bridal chamber; in Spain, there was in addition to the blessing of the bridal chamber, a liturgy of betrothal where a ring served as guarantee or deposit on the brideprice. At first the trothing couple was blessed; later the ring itself. In Britain, until the 11th century, two different forms were in use. One followed the ancient Gallo-Celtic practice of blessing the bridal chamber at the arrival of the bride at her new home; the other blessed the ring. Both forms were maintained a long time and were conjoined with the nuptial mass in a variety of patterns and sequences.

In time, elements from such varied sources were consolidated. The Missal of Rennes (12th century) provides us with the following outline:

At the Church entrance, the priest asked for the mutual consent of the couple. After this came the handing over of the bride, with the father giving his daughter to the groom. The dowry was paid, the ring was blessed and put on the bride's hand and the priest gave a nuptial benediction. The whole party then proceeded into the Church for a nuptial Mass during which another special benediction was given and the veil imposed. The priest then gave the groom the kiss of peace which he, in turn, transmitted to the bride. Often this Church ceremony was followed by the benediction of the bridal chamber.²

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1. Carmen XXV. See E. Schillebeeckx: Le Mariage for a fuller investigation into early marriage customs.
 2. Quoted by Schillebeeckx: op.cit., p.246. The Rennes Missal dates from the 12th century.

What therefore were originally civil and family practices from various regions had now been incorporated into the liturgy of the Church. The deposit or first instalment on the brideprice (the ring), the dowry, the mutual consent, the joining of the right hands, the veil - ceremonies of Graceo-Roman, Celtic, Frankish, Germanic and other cultures - all became parts of Church practice.

3. Farel's 'Explanation' of marriage.

In his preface, Farel had already expressed his purpose as follows:

'Thus is done and kept at holy marriage, where all the crude additions (decorations) of copes and other manners of doing which are not taken from holy Scriptures are rejected...'

His purpose was to remove all unnecessary ceremonies. The teaching of the 'Explanation' did not go further into details, but briefly took up the main points of the theology of marriage already defined by the scholastics, without recognising it as a sacrament. Farel's prime purpose was to reinstate marriage, despised and considered inferior by certain 'churchy' circles¹, to its high position in Scripture. He saw it as instituted and ordained by God, a community of love striving towards the perfection of the couple. Couples should express thanks for the gifts of God (children) by carrying out their duties towards them. In other words, marriage was given by God and must remain centred on Him. Farel's use of the phrase 'l'alliance charitable et la promesse' (the alliance in love and the promise ...) is reminiscent of the medieval 'bond of love' ('consensus animorum').

Although he considered that our Lord 'willed it that holy marriage be a mystery, sign and representation of our salvation, our good and our triumph', and that the estate of marriage itself 'is a source of love, charity, good and an incitement always to do better'², he did not, at this juncture, discuss the merits or demerits

1. The idea of celibacy as constituting a peculiarly holy estate and as such superior to marriage remained prevalent in spite of statements issued by many councils, e.g. Latran (1139) anathemised those who despised and condemned 'the legitimate conjugal union'.
H. Denzinger: Enchiridion Symbolorum n.367.

2. Summaire (1525). Du mariage Ch. 38.

of ascribing sacramental status to marriage. Not until the 1542 edition of Summaire did he broach this subject in a tirade in defence of marriage and then only indirectly:

'But the papist school, in making a sacrament of marriage and thereby affirming that through it, grace is conferred, are so blind as to say that should any of the tonsured Church come to this holy estate, they would sin. How is it if, as you say, grace is conferred through it, that receiving grace can be sinful? But in answer to the papists I wish to say that it comes not from marriage nor from God who ordained it but from those marked by the Pope who, coming to marriage, chase all grace away from it; and not only from marriage but also from all the other ordinances of God, be they sacraments belonging to the faithful like baptism and holy Communion, or common like marriage, the sword, fatherhood and taking up estate according to God to earn one's living. From all these, the marked ones chase away grace'¹.

Although he held marriage in high esteem and considered it a superior estate, Farel did not, like Luther, despise celibacy. He did not discuss celibacy as such but implied its possibility and acceptability. We may also note that Farel did not marry until December 1558, many years after the final editions of both his liturgy and his Summaire. What Farel was really attacking was the immorality prevalent in the society of his day, both among celibates and married people.

'You kings, princes, lords, judges and others to whom our Lord has given charge over his people, do you not see the great scandals committed by the ministers of the Anti-Christ in your lands and realms? Ravishing and seducing girls and wives, manifestly committing filthy and infamous adultery and fornication so that one may see thousands of poor girls seduced and lost by them and innumerable marriages spoiled and broken up and resulting in many murders ... Husbands, love your wives, conversing with them to avoid fornication ... Wives ... keep faith and loyalty; for any woman who breaks up her marriage must die of death, she and the whoremonger ... Should you avoid the hand of man and bodily death, fear the hand of God and eternal death which one cannot flee from...'².

In Farel's mind, there was one cure for all these disorders: 'To avoid such scandals and evil, it is necessary that marriage be held in high esteem according to the institution and ordinance of God'³.

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1. Summaire (1542) Du Mariage Ch. 39.
 2. Summaire (1525) Du Mariage Ch. 38.
 3. Ibid.

To a large extent, the 'Explanation' was both a defence and a guide to procedure. The minutiae of relationships preventing marriage were to be relegated to oblivion: 'For God gave no exception of times nor persons unless it be for a few degrees of relationship (in which no one can be so rude as not to understand that marriage cannot be contracted) ...'¹. All other impediments based on superstition (as in the case of the pseudorelationship with and between godparents) and caste were to be ignored. The very fact that these could be surmounted when 'gold and silver dispatch them' proved their lack of foundation. We have seen how gradually marriage had ceased to be a family affair and had come under the control of the Church. This change, Farel correctly diagnosed as the source of many of the abuses and malpractices prevalent in his day. Decrees of ecclesiastical Councils against clandestine marriages and for making the ceremony public had not succeeded in remedying this state of affairs. Farel's intention, therefore, was to reintroduce family control which he regarded as more effective than any other. He insisted on both family and congregational participation in the process leading up to marriage. Sons and daughters belong to their families and remain under their jurisdiction. Parental consent is necessary on both sides (and all the more so if those involved are minors) to prevent unsuitable marriages and also 'because youth and wisdom hardly go together'². Furthermore, marriage was not something to be embarked on without long and careful consideration. 'Many people come to this holy estate rather foolishly, without having prayed to God and without having taken good advice as God wills us to use his good creatures, by taking counsel and advice from wise people'³.

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1. Summaire (1525) Du Mariage, Ch. 38.
 2. Summaire (1542) Du Mariage, Ch. 39. One of the curses of the Roman view of marriage was that ambitious young men could take advantage of it to further their own ends with impunity. It was sufficient for a man to detain a young girl and to seduce her for the marriage to be effective in the eyes of the Church and therefore indissoluble. This had led to a considerable number of clandestine marriages contracted without permission from the parents. See Eric Fuchs: Le désir et la tendresse, particularly Chapter 4 in which he deals with the historical development of marriage practice.
 3. Summaire (1542) Du Mariage, Ch. 39.

All this Farel added to the current practice of publishing banns in the hearing of the congregation so that objections and impediments might be brought to the fore timeously. The proposed marriage was to be announced on three Sundays; only if there was no impediment would the marriage ceremony take place. The process of publication did not end there; in the course of the wedding service itself, which took place before the assembled congregation, a general challenge was to be issued for lodging any last minute objections.

4. Farel's order for marriage

Unfortunately, Oecolampadius did not include a form for marriage in his Form unnd Gestalt and so comparison is impossible. Maxwell saw the origin of Farel's order in the Strassburg liturgies of 1526¹. This seems chronologically unlikely if we accept the publication of a marriage service in Farel's liturgy of 1524/1525. Furthermore we have seen that there is very little likelihood that Farel might have revised his liturgical texts for the 1533 edition of Maniere et Fasson². There is, of course, the possibility that Farel might have been influenced to a certain extent by the Strassburg reformers. His first visit to that city took place in autumn of 1523 when he met Bucer. A second trip was arranged for May/June 1524 but this he abandoned half way. Farel went to Zurich, Schaffhausen and Constance, then returned to Basel without visiting either Strassburg or Luther³. Only after his return from Montbéliard in 1525 was Farel able to visit Strassburg again. On this occasion, he stayed from April 1525 to September 1526 and became firm friends with both Capito and Bucer. During this stay, he was mainly concerned with the question of the Eucharist. On the author's request, he revised the manuscript of Oecolampadius' treatise on Holy Communion⁴ and engaged in eucharistic disputations with Lambert of Avignon.

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1. W.D. Maxwell: The Liturgical portions of the Genevan service Book. p.53.
 2. See p. 5 above.
 3. Farel carried two letters of introduction from Oecolampadius: one to Capito and one to Luther. While at Zurich, he decided to abandon his plans for the rest of the journey.
 4. Ioannis Oecolampadii: De genuina verborum Domini, Hoc est corpus meum, juxta vetustissimos authores expositione liber. Printed at Strassburg in September 1525.

Although Farel's first visit predated the writing of his first liturgy, it also preceded by a considerable time the development of the Strassburg reformed liturgies. The second visit came too late to influence in any way Farel's ideas on worship as they appear in Maniere et Fasson. Furthermore, there is no indication that during this period, he concerned himself with the question of marriage. The only remaining possibility is that having discussed his work with the Strassburg reformers, Farel's order for marriage might have inspired them in the preparation of their own liturgy. Farel visited Strassburg in 1539 and 1541 but this was too late to have influenced either Maniere et Fasson or even Ordre et Maniere.

Available and more or less contemporary orders for marriage have been tabulated for purposes of comparison.

None of these orders specify the day of the week to be given over to marriage services. The only reference in the Roman order is to the ecclesiastical calendar and that the marriage ceremony should take place early in the morning, implying perhaps before any of the regular services. By this time, it had become customary and even normative for the marriage ceremony to be followed by a nuptial Mass. This was a logical consequence of the prevalent ideas concerning the sacrifice of the Mass¹. In reaction against this, we may note Calvin's later statement that in honour of the Sacrament, one should refrain from celebrating marriage on days when Holy Communion is held². All three reformed orders required the marriage to be celebrated before the whole congregation - presumably at the beginning or end of a regular diet of worship. The Strassburg order began abruptly with the betrothal vow. It obviously was tagged on to another service, probably of the Word. It ended, however, with a complete form of dismissal and blessing. One may therefore conclude that in Strassburg, marriage was celebrated as an appendix to one of the regular services. The Bernese order, with its clear starting point and lack of blessing,

1. See p. 95 below.

2. Projet d'ordonnance eccles. 1541. 'Il sera bon que le jour qu'on aura célébré la Cene on s'en abstienne pour l'honneur du sacrement'.

Contemporary orders for the solemnisation of Marriage

| <u>ROMAN</u> | <u>STRASSBURG</u> | <u>FAREL</u> | <u>BERNE/ZURICH 1528</u> |
|--|--|---|--|
| <p>Not between 1st Adv. and Epiphany, not between Ash Wed. and end of Paschal Oct.</p> <p>Banns on 3 Sundays. If no objection, in early morning before breakfast/lunch and with at least two witnesses.</p> <p>Marriage Vow Joining of right hands. Confirmation by minister. Aspersion with holy water. Benediction of ring & aspersion of ring. Placing of ring.</p> <p>Versicles <u>Kyrie eleison</u> <u>Pater noster</u> with embolism. Salutation. Very short prayer.</p> <p>Nuptial Mass</p> | <p>Banns on 3 Sundays. If no objection, before the whole congregation.</p> <p>'Betrothal' Vow. Marriage Vow</p> <p>Confirmation by minister.</p> <p>Scripture: Gen.2: 18-24 Matt.19: 3-9 Eph.5: 22-23 Exhortation or exposition. Ps. 128</p> <p><u>Vater Unser</u></p> <p>Marriage prayer.</p> <p>Dismissal and Blessing</p> | <p>No limitation of times.</p> <p>Banns on 3 Sundays. If no objection, before the whole congregation.</p> <p>Invocation: Exhortation 'Betrothal' Vow. Marriage Vow</p> <p>Confirmation by minister.</p> <p>Scripture: Matt.19: 3-9</p> <p>Very short exhortation.</p> <p>Marriage prayer.</p> <p>Blessing</p> | <p>No mention of banns. Ceremony held before the whole congregation.</p> <p>Statement of purpose of ceremony and exhortation to congr. to pray for couple.</p> <p>Challenge (general) Marriage Vow Joining of right hands. Confirmation by minister.</p> <p>Very long marriage prayer.</p> |

could be inserted either at the beginning or in the middle of a regular diet diet of worship. It seems that practice must have been fairly free, until in 1543, a decree was published to the effect that marriages should be celebrated on Sundays during morning service¹. If the changes brought about in the canton of Vaud by the publication of the French translation of the Bernese liturgy in 1551 can be taken as reflecting Bernese practice, marriages were celebrated after the sermon, that is in the second half of the service².

Farel is the most difficult to place because his marriage service is complete and self contained. Yet he insisted that it be held before the whole congregation. Fortunately pre-1551 practice in the canton of Vaud provides us with the information that 'as in Geneva, marriages were celebrated before the sermon'³. This information is completed for us by one of the resolutions taken by the Council in Geneva after reception of the Articles, permitting marriages to be celebrated any day of the week⁴.

The exhortations are very different in nature in Berne and Farel. The Bernese exhortation was directed to the congregation: all were invited to pray for the couple. Farel's exhortation, on the other hand, was a discourse based on Genesis 1, Ephesians 5: 22-29, Matthew 19: 1-9 and I Corinthians 6: 19-20, laced with a number of other texts. In this, he set out to explain the origin of marriage and expounded the standards it expected. The last sentence of the exhortation, quoting the condemnation to death for adultery as it appears in Leviticus 20: 10 was dropped by Calvin who otherwise faithfully followed the Farellian text.

The first vow in the Strassburg and Farellian liturgies has been called a betrothal vow by Maxwell⁵. Strictly speaking, it should rather be called a statement of purpose or even, if we refer back to

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1. A. Ruchat: Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse. IV. p.484.
 2. Vuilleumier: op.cit., I. p.346.
 3. Ibid.
 4. 16 Jan. 1537: 'les mariages se doège faire annoncer trois dimanches et esposer tous les jours en la congregation'.
 5. Maxwell: op.cit., p.54.

our discussion on marriage theology, an expression of mutual consent. The question appears as follows:

'You therefore N. N. (naming the groom and bride), in the knowledge that God has so ordained, do you wish to live in this holy state of wedlock which God has so greatly honoured? Do you have this purpose which you signify here before the holy congregation asking that it be approved?'

The answer was a simple YES; one should therefore interpret this not as a relic of the ancient betrothal but rather as a formal request to the Church by the couple asking the Church to approve their stated purpose of marriage.

All three reformed orders then issued a general challenge to the congregation to come forward with any objection. In Farel and in Strassburg, this challenge was prefixed by a formal reminder to the congregation that they were witnesses to the action about to take place. This last opportunity having been given for the expression of any objections, the marriage proper could follow.

The marriage vow or pledge varied considerably in wording. The Roman order used the formula:

'Does it please you to accept N. as your legitimate wife (husband) according as the holy mother Church has ordained?'

The reason for this wording becomes clear as we continue. The couple joined right hands and the officiant declared: 'I join you in marriage in the name of the Father etc.'. It was the Church that married. People desiring marriage came to it and asked. Outside the Church there was no marriage.

The Bernese order has no set form for the pledge. The rubric simply states:

'Then, when the minister has asked both whether they desire each other in marriage and when they have said YES, he shall join their hands with the following words: "Therefore you, husband, shall protect, shield and love your companion as Christ his Church, who gave himself to death for her in all her needs. You, wife, shall love your husband, your head and master, obey him and in all things recognise him as your protector and shield. And both of you shall have such love and fidelity towards one another as Christ for his Church and the Church for Christ. And may the same boundless love which exists between Christ and his spouse the Christian Church be also between you. In the name of the Father etc."'

There is a marked departure from the 'I join you...' of the Roman order. It is no longer the Church that marries, it is the couple itself through their pledge. The statement as to the mutual relationship between bride and groom is now only a reflection of the consequences of their pledge to marry each other.

The Farellian order is already more precise. Groom and bride, in turn, were called to answer with a 'Yes' the question: 'Do you, N., confess here before God and his holy congregation, that you have taken and take N. here present for your wife and spouse (or legitimate husband) ... and promise to ...'. According to Farel, the Church did not perform the marriage. The ceremony was a public confession of marriage before God and the congregation, when the couple also took on specific engagements as to their Christian life. The Church then prayed 'the Father of all mercy who has called you to this holy estate of marriage ... that he might grant you his holy Spirit that his holy will be perfected in this holy estate'. The Strassburg order offered only a slight variant on this with each of the couple repeating after the minister: 'I acknowledge that I have taken and take you N. as my legitimate wife (husband)'. The minister then joined their right hands and confirmed publicly that they were truly married.

The fact that there was no declaration that the couple had at that moment, become man and wife was common to the reformed orders. Reformed understanding of marriage seems to have reverted to the ancient view that this was effected by the mutual consent. The Church then did no more than recognise the marriage in a Christian context and pray for God's blessing. Farel did not mention the joining of the right hands, nor did Calvin, who followed him almost word for word. Did they take it for granted or did they seek to abolish the custom as another of the pointless 'decorations'? If the Church ceremony was to be considered as the confirmation of a state already having come into effect through joint decision, the symbolism in the joining of the right hands became superfluous. Be that as it may, we may note that in the French-speaking Swiss Churches, those which like Vaud remained long under Bernese rule have maintained this symbolical action whereas the others, like Geneva, did not know this ceremony until it was reintroduced in the

1945 revision of the Genevan liturgy¹. None of the reformed orders studied here make any mention of the other ceremony of the ring. Maxwell² blandly states that it was not the custom to use the ring in the early reformed Church. Nevertheless, it seems that even though the ceremony may have been expunged from the liturgy, and reappeared only in 1945 in the French-speaking Churches, the custom of the wedding ring remained in popular usage. The original meaning of the ring has been forgotten; the ring is no longer representative of the bride price. Modern French liturgies speak of rings, which are now taken to be symbols of loyalty³.

At this point the orders of Strassburg and of Farel introduced scriptural readings. Whereas Strassburg had three readings followed by an exposition or exhortation, Farel used only one reading followed by a very short exhortation to believe and live accordingly. After this, Strassburg picked up again from the Roman order with a number of versicles, the Kyrie eleison, the Pater noster and a salutation. This sequence Strassburg adapted, by proposing the reading of Psalm 128 followed by the Lord's prayer in German. A prayer followed; very short in the Roman order, of medium length for Strassburg and Farel, and very long for Berne. The Bernese prayer took up the subjects dealt with by Farel in his opening exhortation and by Strassburg in the readings from Scripture and their exposition. The prayers of Farel and Strassburg were so close that Maxwell feels justified in assuming that 'there can be no doubt that the German (which has its roots in the marriage orders of the old Church) is the source of the French'⁴. In view of the chronology we have established, we might well reverse this statement.

Both Strassburg and Farel then closed the service with a blessing, and whereas the Roman order continued with a nuptial Mass, Berne followed with whatever it was customary to have in conjunction with a marriage⁵.

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1. Liturgie de l'Eglise de Genève (1945). It appears as an appendix to the ceremony of the rings.
 2. Maxwell: op.cit., p.156 note 16.
 3. See Liturgie de l'Eglise de Genève (1945) pp. 388 and 397.
 4. Maxwell: op.cit., p.159 note 18.
 5. See page 88 above.

Vuilleumier¹, in his desire to show the dependence of Maniere et Fasson on Touffbüchli, goes so far as to assert that Farel's order is 'to a large extent identical' with the Bernese order; 'entire sentences are repeated almost word for word'. Against this, Maxwell² says that 'the origin of Farel's service lies among the German reformed orders of Strassburg from 1526 to 1533 ... Much of it appears to be Farel's own language and arrangement, but undoubtedly the German orders were his main source'. Both these theories suffer from one major weakness: they are entirely dependent on the assumption that Maniere et Fasson appeared as a completely new work in 1533 and therefore ignore Farel's own statement that he had published a liturgy in 1524/1525. Furthermore, we may add that Vuilleumier's 'entire sentences' have proved rather elusive for we have found no more than cases of general concordance of ideas such as are to be expected in liturgies dealing with the same subject.

By extrapolating from the relationship between Maniere et Fasson and Ordre et Maniere, we may obtain some insight as to what Farel's early liturgy might have been like.

When Ordre et Maniere was printed in 1538, Farel had already been in intimate contact with Calvin at Geneva for two years. Calvin and Farel had been working together on a project for ecclesiastical ordinances and had published a confession of faith. Calvin's 'Institutes' had appeared in 1536. Ever since the beginning of their partnership when Farel forced Calvin to settle in Geneva, Farel admired his power as a theologian. In the postscript to the 1542 edition of Summaire, Farel writes: 'John Calvin, in his Institutes, has so amply treated all the points touched on in this booklet that he has taken away the need for me and for others to write more fully. For this reason I find nothing better to do than to refer all to such an excellent work'³. But even in the doctrinal parts, there is no change between Maniere et Fasson and Ordre et Maniere. If Farel deemed his text flexible enough to adapt to Calvinist theology, should we not also assume that it was

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1. Vuilleumier: op.cit., I, p.312.
 2. Maxwell: op.cit., p.53.
 3. La raison pourquoy ceste oeuvre a este faicte. Postscript to Summaire of 1542.

flexible enough in the first edition not to need redrafting for 1533?¹

Between Farel's text and the Strassburg liturgies, there are certainly both a strong relationship as well as differences. The 'betrothal' vow, common to Farel and Strassburg, might well have been current practice in certain sees before the reformation: it harked back to the ancient practice in the Church porch depicted in the Missal of Rennes². Apart from this, both emphasised that the Church did not perform a marriage but recognised it, and both introduced Scripture readings followed by an exhortation or exposition. It is quite possible that when he came to Strassburg in 1525, Farel showed his liturgy to his reformer friends there, and perhaps even used it in the French speaking congregation. Maniere et Fasson may well have served as the pattern for the Strassburg reformed marriage orders, and if this is so, we have an example in the independence of the reformers where it came to seeking the way best adapted to the particular circumstances. The Strassburg reformers did not hesitate to move all the teaching from the introductory exhortation to a later point, where it served as an exposition of Scripture. In addition we may note that Strassburg was more conservative than Farel in its retention of Psalm 128 (replacing versicles) and the Lord's prayer.

1. See discussion also on pages 50-54 above.

2. See p.81 above.

V. THE LORD'S SUPPER

1. Medieval Eucharistic Worship

'In order to guard against their deceiving people and giving out their lies as truth, here is set out, for all the faithful to see, the form and manner followed ... for the very holy supper and table of our Lord, in the common language of those present, as it is set out in the holy doctrine of God from which this has been taken ... without reference to what was done by the ancients whom we should rather call modern. For they have presumed to change and alter the holy ordinances of Jesus and mixed their flour in with the holy doctrine and institution of our saviour. At the holy table of our Lord, that which is abhorrent to the Word has been removed. We have, however, tried to conform as much as possible to the littleness of the infirm so that they be offended in nought.'¹

In renewing liturgical forms, Farel's chief purpose was to guard against existing corruption and distortion, not only of form but particularly of spirit. It is significant to note, in this respect, that the Mass was the last of the practices he rejected; he was finally driven to renounce it by his new-found faith². It should be remembered that the reformation did not set out with the purpose of effecting a revision of the liturgy; it found no attraction in tinkering with forms. It produced a renewal of the liturgy only because it perceived that the existing practices were contrary to the faith taught in the Scriptures. This is just as true for Luther, who sought to change as little as possible, as it was for Farel who tried to rebuild from the foundations, on the basis of Scripture.

Chief among the distortions Farel combatted was the conception of the Eucharist as an independent entity³. With the passing of time, a sacrificial view of the sacrament had arisen. The accent came to be laid on the sacrifice offered by the priest on behalf of the Church. Special virtue was attached to the performance itself. Communion as a congregational activity was relegated to the background

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1. Maniere et Fasson: Preface
 2. See p. 3 above.
 3. E. Brunner: The misunderstanding of the Church, has noted the consequences of such objectivisation of the rite on the development and understanding of Church structures.

and disappeared almost completely. The objectivisation of the Mass is demonstrated in a letter from St. Boniface to Abbot Optatius: pleading for concerted action to save the souls of monks, living and dead, from the grasp of the devil, he suggested that' ... we might offer a common prayer for the living and that prayers and missarium solemnia be celebrated for the dead of this age when we send each other the names of our dead'.¹

The people followed the clerical lead; the Mass became a 'lightning arrestor'. Chapel Mass, Fraternity Mass, Guild Mass, Prison Mass, Regimental Mass, Wedding Mass, Mass was mixed in with everything.² In effect, the pagan principle of seeking to control the will of the deity by means of the appropriate ritual became entrenched in the Church. Mass became an instrument to legalise or give potency to all sorts of human enterprises.

At the same time, the doctrine of material localisation in the eucharistic species also brought about a superstitious dread of the sacrament. Too much familiarity with God through the eucharistic species came to be feared. With the vertical element in Mass preponderating, communion became a matter of clerks; God did not require so much from the common folk. Frequency of communion declined; communion became a last resort to be taken in articulo mortis when a relapse into sin was no longer to be feared.

Generally speaking, Mass became a clerical rite during which only the officiant communicated. The layman merely watched and listened without taking any part in the liturgy. As knowledge of Latin declined among the people and the practice arose of a mumbled monotome in the Low Mass, even the listening fell away. As for high Mass, where the people could still attend, it was a drama played out between the officiant and clerical choirs. Mass therefore, presented the devout with an opportunity for private devotions consisting usually of the mental recitation of vernacular prayers and petitions which took place in an atmosphere calculated to add potency to any request. The occasional ringing of bells focused popular devotion on salient points in the service and, when the

1. Quoted by J.A. Jungmann: Missarium Solemnia, III, p.77.
 2. Chaunu: op.cit., p. 206.

climax of the elevation was reached, the people could 'behold their saviour'.

The people's communion took place at the great festivals of the Church, and particularly at Easter. The civil authorities forced the reformers to continue with this practice - with disastrous effect on the sacramental worship of the reformed Churches¹. Sometimes the people's communion took place during Mass itself, when it followed the priest's communion. Sometimes it formed an appendix to the Mass, separate from it but following immediately after. But mostly it seems to have formed an independent service during which the hosts, consecrated at some previous Mass, were distributed. Significantly, none of the Missals we have examined provide for the eventuality of the people's communion. This was an informal service, regulated by the 'Manuals' or priests' handbook.

The two 'Manuals' we have perused show certain divergences². Examination of Farel's liturgy³ indicates that he might well have based his services on yet another variant which could have been that of his home diocese of Gap, of Paris, Meaux or elsewhere still. What is important to remember is that unity of form did not exist and that individual sees, or even parishes, showed a considerable amount of independence.

The ceremony of the people's communion had no consecration. It was consequently not a part of the sacrifice and was reckoned of secondary importance. The priest was not bound by any specific form; he merely followed certain guidelines. Generally the service began with some sort of exhortation designed to 'excite the devotion' of the faithful. Then the people (sometimes the priest) recited the general confession in the vernacular. While the people continued with an Ave Maria and a Pater, the priest pronounced Miseratur vestri and Indulgentiam absolutionem over them. This absolution had no had no sacramental value because it did not meet the requirements of

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1. Some reformed Churches are only now beginning to overcome the consequences of this pattern for their worship.
 2. The Manual of J.U. Surgantz (1507) and a contemporary handbook from Constance.
 3. See p.112 ff. below.

penance Thomas Aquinas had defined¹. The proper sacramental form of absolution would have been Ego te absolvo. After the absolution, the priest said two or three Latin prayers then took a host, holding it up for the people to adore, said: 'Do you believe that this sacrament is the body and blood of Christ?' The people replied 'We believe'. Thrice the words of the centurion: Domine non sum dignus...² were said by the priest, then preceded by a thurifer he distributed the hosts to the people. Two acolytes held a white cloth under the vessel containing the hosts and two more another white cloth under a cup containing unconsecrated wine with which communicants rinsed their mouths³. The communion was accompanied by the words Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi concervet et custodiat te (or animam tuam) in vitam aeternam, Amen. When all had partaken, the priest returned to the altar, deposited the remaining hosts upon it and, after a few versicles and Latin prayers, gave a short exhortation to give thanks to God for all His gifts. The dismissal came with a benediction: Benedictio Dei Patri, et Filii, et Spiritu Sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. Amen.⁴

Dissatisfaction with the Mass and the desire for a restoration of communion did not start with the reformers in the sixteenth century. Even as the Church closed its doors on Augustinian views with the condemnation of Berengar and pronounced for the doctrine of transubstantiation at the Lateran Council in 1215, the search was beginning in certain quarters for a better way to express



1. According to St. Thomas, the three parts of penance essential to the sacrament were contrition, confession and satisfaction. The form of the sacrament he held to consist in the words of absolution: Ego te Absolvo. See Aquinas: De fidei articulis et septem sacramentes.
2. Matt. 8 : 8.
3. This ablution wine was to ensure that no particle of the host remained exposed to profanation in the mouth. The origin of this practice, however, was to make it easier for the people to accept the comparatively recent withholding of the second species in Communion.
4. The order described above is a compilation of the Basel 'Manual' of Surgantz with that of Constance.

popular piety. Some groups resolutely abandoned the problem of the Mass to pioneer a welter of 'popular devotions', some of which the Church later assimilated. Others were influenced by the devotio moderna and found their expression in the mystical movements, the development of which may be traced through the Priory of St. Victor, the Rhineland mystics, Ruysbroek as well as a number of communities of better or worse reputation,¹ among which we may mention the Brethren of the Free Spirit, the Beghards, the Lollards, the Friends of God and the Brethren of the Common Life. The withdrawal of the cup from the faithful created an additional focus for resentment².

The father of the 'sacramentarian' movement - the extreme spiritualisation of the eucharist - is generally taken to be Johan Wessel Gansfort (1420 - 1489) who in De Sacramento Eucharistae wrote that the Eucharist was no less necessary than Baptism for the redemption of man. To him, the Eucharist was the exclusive means of appropriating the grace of the redemptive action of Christ. These views were followed by Erasmus, himself a product of Groote's school at Deventer. Erasmus minimised the importance of the scholastic's 'real presence' and contrasted the pietas perfecta of commemoration with the pietas imperfecta of the liturgical representation of the body and the sacrifice³.

Gansfort's manuscripts came into the hands of Cornelius Hoen, a Dutch lawyer. Spurred by his reading, he formed yet more radical views. Following the mystical/sacramentarian line, he gave pre-eminence to the commemoratio and to the inward spiritual sacrament. He held the Lord's supper to be a meal which signified Christ's promise to be with his followers. Christ gave the bread as a pledge to the Church. The bread 'signified' his body⁴; there was a

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1. As a consequence of their 'spiritualist' views, some of these communities committed the same excesses which were later to bring the Anabaptists into disrepute.
2. Communion under both kinds was normal everywhere until the 7th to 9th centuries when numerous profanations and the growth of a sense of awe towards the eucharistic elements brought about attempts to protect particularly the contents of the cup by the use of a spoon, pipette, intinction, etc. From the 13th century onwards, it became the practice to receive communion from the reserved sacrament in the species of bread alone.
3. Erasmus: Enchiridion Militis Christiani.
4. This interpretation of Hoc est Corpus was followed by Zwingli.

distinction between the bread eaten and the Christ received by faith. All this was set out in the Epistola which Hinne Rode took, together with the works of Gansfort, to Luther for his approval in 1521.

Luther rejected Gansfort's and Hoen's works on the basis of their interpretation of the words of institution. Yet this did not mean a complete divorce between the reformers and the sacramentarian movements. Many of the reformers had roots in the mystic/sacramentarian movements: Luther was instructed by Staupitz to read the mystics, St. Augustine and the Bible; Zwingli was taught by Erasmus and his eucharistic thinking was shaped by Hoen's exegesis¹; Farel was taught by Lefèvre d'Étaples, a mystic from Picardy (close to the Flemish mystic centres) and editor of the works of cardinal Nicholas of Cusa. Farel met Hinne Rode in Basel, while staying with Oecolampadius, was impressed with his views and is thought even to have translated his Summa into French. As for Oecolampadius, in the course of 1521 he had moved from a Lutheran eucharistic theology to a position closer to Gansfort's. He it was who welcomed Rode to his house in Basel and persuaded him to go to Zurich to meet and talk with Zwingli.

2. Farel's 'Explanation of the Lord's Supper'.

True to his teachers, Farel started his 'explanation' by putting Baptism and the Lord's Supper side by side. Whereas Baptism was the sign of reception into the Church and a profession of faith, the Lord's Supper was the sign of communion and participation in Christ; commemoration only played a minor role after these two. Here Farel parted company with Rode, Hoen and Zwingli. For him, communion resulted from participation in Christ at the Lord's table and this communion was expressed in mutual love and aid.

'...(He) who does not do or exercise charity, he comes (to the table) to his condemnation. For what kind of faith working in charity and the love of God is it in he who sees his brother in necessity and does not help him...?'

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1. Letter to Bugenhagen (Pomeranus), October 1525. He found Hoen's Epistola to be a revelation.

These sentiments are echoed in the 1525 edition of Summaire:

'For we who eat one same bread and drink from the same cup are all one body. As against this, the Mass gives out that there is a big difference between the priests and the people ... When the holy people come to the table of our Lord, one previously reads some portion of Scripture in a language understood by all, making prayers followed by all and also great groaning whereas in the Mass, all is said in a language not understood by the people and in singing and laughing. Furthermore, those who come to the table are incited to help the poor ... whereas in the Mass, they are incited to give to those not of this world so as to bring them out of purgatory (according to the priests) ... At the table of our Lord, the faithful give thanks to God ... for that He has given us a perfect and consummated one (sacrifice) which cannot be repeated, by which made once, all the sanctified are perfectly redeemed. For this reason, in remembrance of our Lord Jesus who was offered once for us to cleanse us from sin, they take and eat all of one bread and drink from one cup, waiting for the triumphant and marvellous coming of Jesus ... At Mass, instead of giving thanks to God for our redemption, the priest, together with his assistants, offer bread and wine for their own redemption and their salvation, as though the sacrifice of Jesus was insufficient and lacking perfect efficacy like the sacrifices of Moses. The bread is not eaten by all but elevated and adored as God. This is not done in remembrance of Jesus but of others, as is stated in Communicantes'.¹

Lefèvre's influence over Farel seems to predominate at this time. We find these echoes of Lefèvre's statements throughout Farel's liturgy.

'Is it ever possible for the true believer not to do good works? No. The works which follow faith are signs of a living faith just as breath is the sign of our life... Faith lives, and living, it has living works for signs'.²

'The ablution in the material water at baptism does not justify; it is a sign of justification by faith in Christ. For the sensible symbols are the signs of the divine infusion'.³

'What is accomplished every day by the ministry of His priest is not so much the repeated sacrifice as the remembrance of the one and only victim which was offered once only. It is said that every time that you do this, you shall do it in remembrance of me, for He has satisfied once for all. And

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1. Summaire (1525). Chap. 9. De la Messe.
 2. Commentary on Romans IV. fol. 77 a.
 3. Ibid. Fol. 77 a.

there is no other mystery unless it be in the presence of His body and His blood...'¹.

'Most men when praying nowadays (I know not whether they pray in spirit), pray not with the understanding for they pray in a language they do not understand ...'².

'It is there (in the Bible) that the doctrine of Christ is to be found ... and those who study it will draw water at the fountain of the saviour joyfully...'³.

'... In these days, there are men who teach the people a mad piety instead of the doctrines of Christ. Why should I take refuge in forms of prayers whose authors are unknown while putting away the apostolic prescriptions? There is nothing of the sort ordained by the doctrine of Christ ... let us bind ourselves to the only Christ and to the apostolic doctrine, for it is sufficient and first and most important for salvation'⁴.

Shortly after the publication of Summaire in 1525 and possibly also of Maniere et Fasson or its predecessor, Farel was to come up against Luther's doctrine of the Lord's supper and the controversies it stirred up in Reformed groups. Two letters on this subject are particularly interesting for their presentation of Farel's position. He wrote to Johan Bugenhagen (Pomeranus), in answer to the latter's treatise Contra novum errorem de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, drawing his attention to the divisions caused by the Eucharistic debate:

'Is there no salvation without the bread? Where does Scripture teach that the risen Christ became bread? If we are saved by faith alone, why bring in the question of bread? There is no greater sin against the goodness of God and against his Word than to turn what should unite us in charity into the instrument of discord. Everyone agrees that the bread is an exterior thing; that while it is eaten, the spirit must be taken up in giving thanks to God and in meditating on that the Father so loved us that he gave his only Son whose death saves us and whose blood purifies us. Knowing that there is no greater love than to give one's life for one's friends, the communicant is ready to do so as Christ did. He therefore eats the bread purely and simply, without magic incantations or papist pomp, following the example of the Apostles who, in the Eucharist,

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1. Commentary on Hebrews VII. fol. 243.
 2. Commentary on I Corinthians XIV. fol. 128 a.
 3. Epistre à Briçonnet.
 4. Commentary on Romans XVI. fol. 104 b.

lifted their hearts up to the heavenly things where Christ is at the right hand of God ...'1.

Again in 1528, he wrote to Martin Hanoier:

'Taught by the Word of God, this is what we propose in celebrating the holy eucharist: dedication to our neighbour, spiritual union with Christ, the expiation of our sins by his blood and the assurance of possessing eternal life in him. We reject the Mass because in that ceremony, they claim to renew each day the sacrifice he consummated once only. We do not condemn the songs of the Church as long as they are drawn from Holy Scripture and in the common language. As for prayers for the dead, we reject them because they are contrary to the Word of God. We condemn the reprehensible traffic in indulgences and in Masses which the Roman priests celebrate for the dead. We also reject fixed fasts, images and all intercession other than that of Christ. It is Christ alone who we want to follow and in him, sacrifice if necessary all perishable goods and even that which we hold most dear. Therefore we demand of the Christian a sober and pure life, a great respect for holy Marriage and the giving up of all evil affections. You see therefore that this is not Luther's doctrine but God's truth ...'2.

In his 1542 edition of Summaire, Farel felt the need to discuss transubstantiation:

'... for it is against the Word of our Lord to seek his precious body, which ascended to heaven, down here on earth, nor to expect him to come bodily ... in any fashion nor before the judgement. For this reason, to reckon and to affirm that he is under the whiteness, as the papists so foolishly say, claiming that the bread is transubstantiated into the body of Jesus is contrary to the truth ... But as the voice signifies Jesus to us and by its signifying represents him to our understanding, and he who believes in what is said of Jesus truly receives Jesus, so also the bread and the wine in the Lord's supper represent to us the body and blood of Jesus. And those who believe in Jesus and in what he said at his holy supper, truly receive that which the bread and wine represent. And as the voice is not changed into Jesus nor Jesus enclosed in the voice, so also is the bread not changed into the body nor the body enclosed in the bread, but by the faith we have in Jesus, the soul and spirit of the believer receive the spiritual things just as the body receives the bodily things...'3.

Yet Farel refused to be drawn into a description of the mechanism of the sacrament. The elements have no virtue in themselves apart from

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1. Herminjard: op.cit., I. p.186, No. 161, Dated 8 Oct. 1525.
 2. Farel to Martin Hanoier. 1528. Herminjard: op.cit., II, p.78 ff.
 3. Summaire (1542): De la Messe. Chap. 24.

the celebration and are received by faith through the holy Spirit which alone makes it possible. Further than this, man cannot go: 'For no pure understanding, I speak not only of men but even of Angels, can understand all that there is in the Lord's supper. But it is sufficient to us to look at it by faith and draw only from Jesus our salvation and our life and in Him seek all that is good for us, heeding Him alone.'¹ The elements therefore are received by faith as being what they represent - the body and blood of Christ, but Farel was careful to defend against over-individualism such as is reflected by the Imitation: 'I must needs often draw near unto thee, and receive thee for the medicine of my salvation ... I have also holy books for my comfort and the glass of my life; and above all these I have thy most holy Body and Blood for a singular remedy and refuge ...'². Communion by the priest alone, or private celebrations for individuals or for guilds ran counter to Christ's institution for they failed to recognise participation in the eucharist as a bond, with Christ and with the Church.' ... the breaking of the bread of thanksgiving is a visible communion with the members of Jesus Christ... those who take and break one same bread are one same body which is the body of Jesus Christ and members one of each other, inserted and planted in him whom they promise and claim to persevere until the end and not to part from the faith in the Gospel and from the union which they all have in God through Jesus Christ ...'³.

In spite of his sympathy with the sacramentarians, Farel was very cautious in the question of the ban or excommunication on which the Anabaptists were to lay such emphasis:

'He who in his heart pretends or claims that which he does not believe ... as also he who comes to the table of Our Lord without having concern for his neighbour, despising the faithful who are the Church of our Lord, taking alone and not together with the holy congregation the bread of our Lord, eating and being drunk when his neighbour is dying of hunger, who does not do or exercise charity, he comes to his condemnation ... How also dares he presume he who lives in sin and iniquity, companion of the unfaithful in their idolatry, whoremongery, theft, hatred and abominations; how

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1. G. Farel: De la Sainte Cene de nostre seigneur ... (1553) p.61.
2. T. à Kempis: Of the imitation of Christ, Bk.4, Ch.4,2 and Ch.11,3.
3. Declaration briefue de la Sainte Cene.

dare he join with the faithful who are the body of Christ...?'1

'For we do not know the hearts as God alone does who knows the inner things and the hearts, but only that which is of the outside. judging and reckoning the inner things to be according to that which we see from the outside in spite of the fact that often we are misled. Many of those who partake in the sacraments are far from having that which is signified by them. For the sacraments are available to the good and to the evil, as is also every exterior and outside thing in which our salvation cannot be and which having, we cannot be saved or which being deprived of, we cannot be damned...'².

'On which let the minister be wise and prudent and let him faithfully dispense these so great and worthy things, taking good care not to reject anyone unless our Lord openly wills it that he should be rejected...'³.

As for frequency of communion, this is to be decided according to the needs and possibilities of the congregation, yet also in consultation with other congregations in the region so as to avoid misunderstanding. In other words, the eucharist should be celebrated more often than the usual once a year. Ordre et Maniere is more precise on this point, adding the words:

'... although it is certain that it was ordained by our Lord that it might be celebrated often among us ...'⁴

Finally it should be noted that the service provided, in Maniere et Fasson as well as in Ordre et Maniere, is incomplete. Our study of the structure of the 'preaching' service clearly indicates that it should normally precede the communion service. This surmise is supported by Farel's statement:

'But when I speak of the Lord's supper, I understand all that belongs together with it and cannot be separated from it, like the pure preaching of the Gospel. For there is no Lord's supper without the preaching of the Gospel...'⁵.

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1. Declaration briefue de la Sainte Cene.
 2. Summaire (1525) Des Sacrementz, Chap. 18.
 3. Summaire (1542) Des Sacrementz, Chap. 23.
 4. Declaracion briefue de la sainte Cene.
 5. Farel: De la Cene, p.147.

Proper celebration required proper preparation. Hence:

'He (the minister) shall announce in advance the day on which the Lord's supper shall be held, admonishing each to pray to our Lord and ask for His grace so that they might come in a holy and worthy manner...'¹.

Also in De la Cene, Farel speaks of pre-communion exhortations and preparations² which contribute to rounding off the actual celebration and to create a more solemn and worshipful atmosphere.

3. Farel's Order for the Lord's Supper

The Bernese order for the Lord's Supper was printed in March 1528, one month after the publication of the Touffbüchli. As this is later than Farel and Oecolampadius, a comparison with contemporary Zwinglian usage is possible by using Action oder brucht des Nachtmals of 1525. Farel's order presents us with certain difficulties in analysing because of the manner in which it is set out. Prayers, or indications of prayers are often incorporated into exhortations, facing us with the problem whether they must be considered as prayers in their own rights, in the same way as bidding prayers, or whether they constitute an injunction to the congregation to pray, at that moment or at some other time.

The first thing to be noted is that all the Reformed orders unite the eucharistic celebration with the service of the Word. The Zwinglian link between the sermon and the celebration of the eucharist is the weakest of the reformed orders studied here. This was because in addition to the customary Pauline Institution, Zwingli introduced a reading from St. John's Gospel. The sermon, which concluded the service of the Word or began the eucharistic celebration, was unconnected with the Johannine reading and consequently made it appear rather isolated, coming as it did after the Institution. A closer study of the structure of this order explains its apparent strangeness: Zwingli based his order on that of the Mass. The Pauline Institution and the Johannine pericope are in the place occupied respectively by the Gospel and the Epistle in the Mass. He then proceeded to adapt the eucharistic celebration to his views and finally provided the balance between Word and Sacrament by appending this service to a normal

1. Declaration briefue de la Sainte Cene.

2. Farel: De la Cene pp. 64-64 & 70-74.

| People's Communion | Form unnd Gestalt | Maniere et Fasson | Action oder Brucht | Canzel unnd Agendbuchlein |
|--|---|--|--|--|
| <p>During or after Mass or independantly with or without sermon</p> <p>Exhortation to devotion</p> <p>General Confession</p> <p>Absolution (while cong. says) <u>Pater</u> & <u>Ave</u></p> <p>Communion</p> <p>Versicles</p> <p>Latin Prayer</p> <p>Exhortation to thankfulness</p> <p>Blessing</p> | <p>In conjunction with service of Word</p> <p>Sermon</p> <p>Exhortation</p> <p>Self-examination witness to Christ</p> <p>Apostles' Creed</p> <p>Fencing of table</p> <p>Intercession</p> <p>Excommunication</p> <p>Our Father</p> <p>Confession of sins</p> <p>Psalm</p> <p>Kyries</p> <p>Absolution</p> <p>Is.53:1-7 and Matt.27: 35-50</p> <p>Exhortation</p> <p><u>Anamnesis</u></p> <p>Self-dedication</p> <p>Call to thanksgiving</p> <p>Inst.I Cor.11:24-26</p> <p>Our Father</p> <p>Call to self-exam.</p> <p>Communion</p> <p>Short Exhortation to mutual love & charity</p> <p>Peace</p> | <p>In conjunction with service of Word</p> <p>Sermon</p> <p>Exhortation</p> <p>Mem. God's provid.</p> <p>Mem. Christ's coming</p> <p>Thanksgiving</p> <p>Call to self-exam.</p> <p>Prayer humble access</p> <p><u>Anamnesis</u></p> <p>Confession of sins</p> <p>Our Father</p> <p>Prayer for faith</p> <p>Apostles' Creed</p> <p>Absolution</p> <p>Inst.I Cor.11:23-26</p> <p>Fraction</p> <p><u>Sursum Corda</u></p> <p>Invitation</p> <p>Communion</p> <p>Thanksgiving</p> <p>Intercessions</p> <p>Exhortation to Christian conduct</p> <p>Dismissal with peace</p> | <p>In conjunction with service of Word</p> <p>Sermon</p> <p>Confession of sins</p> <p>Prep. of table</p> <p>Invocation</p> <p>Prayer humble access</p> <p>Inst.I Cor.11:20-29</p> <p>Prose canticle with <u>Gloria in excelsis</u> and <u>Kyrie</u></p> <p>Salutation</p> <p>John 6: 46-63</p> <p>Apostles' Creed</p> <p>Exhortation</p> <p>Our Father</p> <p>Thanksgiving and intercession</p> <p>Communion</p> <p>Psalm 112</p> <p>Short Exhortation and thanksgiving</p> <p>Thanksgiving prayer</p> <p>Dismissal with peace</p> | <p>After normal service of Word</p> <p>Confession of sins</p> <p>Our Father</p> <p>Apostles' Creed</p> <p>Absolution</p> <p>Inst. From Gosps. or I Cor. 11</p> <p>Exhortation</p> <p>Invitation</p> <p>Communion</p> <p>Exhortation to faith and thankfulness</p> <p>Thanksgiving</p> <p>Benediction</p> |

service of the Word. Zwingli's order is therefore quite different in its conception from the other reformed orders studied here. Like Luther and the Strassburg reformers, he acted from a clerical viewpoint whereas Farel, Oecolampadius and Berne saw things from the point of view of the people. Zwingli was also very prudent and sought to maintain a sense of continuity to ensure the continued support of the city Council and of the people for his reforms.

The exhortation to devotion of the Roman people's communion was dropped in the Bernese order as in practice, its contents could very easily be included in the sermon, especially if the latter centred around eucharistic teaching. Such an arrangement was perfectly workable within the context of the Zurich and Berne where at the outset, it had been decided that communion should take place four times yearly on fixed feast days¹. Oecolampadius and Farel, on the other hand, made provision for more frequent communion and, at least with Farel, with no regard to specific times. Bearing in mind Farel's manner of preaching, it is obvious that the inclusion of extraneous eucharistic teaching within the framework of the sermon was rather difficult and would upset the order of exposition he followed. Consequently, the difficulty was removed by placing the introductory exhortation straight after the sermon. Oecolampadius remained closest to the Roman order in that the exhortation to devotion which was left to the priest's discretion he changed into a short introductory invitation to the participants to examine themselves followed by a reminder that Christ was the goal and the source of the Church's faith and that the eucharist represented the culmination of the Church's witness to Jesus Christ. As for Farel, his exhortation consisted of a summary of the history of redemption, an exposition of the purpose for which the eucharist was instituted, a thanksgiving for God's love and for Christ's sacrifice, a call to self-examination regarding faith and ungodly life, a warning of condemnation to unworthy communicants, a prayer of humble access, and a short anamnesis. The exhortation then turned into a confession of sins and a prayer for pardon. Both Oecolampadius and Berne

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1. In Zurich: Easter, Whitsunday, Mid-Autumn and Christmas.
In Berne: Easter, Whitsunday, First Sunday in Autumn and Christmas.

followed the Roman general confession: 'I, poor sinner ...'.

Farel's arrangement following the confession of sins is interesting because it is not followed straight away by the absolution. First comes the Lord's prayer with protocol and without doxology, then a prayer for faith. This is then followed by the Apostles' creed, and only after this the absolution. In their Farellian setting, these items flow smoothly from each other:

- Confession : 'Acknowledging our faults ... we ask for mercy and compassion ... that forgiving us our trespasses ... perfecting his holy will in us and giving us what the sweet saviour taught us to ask for saying:
- Lord's Pr. : Our father ... but deliver us from evil.
- Pr. for faith : We shall pray our father that he give us firm ... faith ... in which we want to live, and make confession of it saying:
- Creed : I believe in God ... the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, the life eternal. Amen.
- Absolution : My very dear brothers and sisters, you know that our very good father does not desire the death of sinners but that they be converted and live ... Believe therefore that in asking God for mercy, ... our Lord forgives us ... by the faith that we have in Jesus¹.

Faith being a prerequisite to pardon, that faith must be expressed before the assurance of absolution can be given. This same arrangement of Confession, Lord's Prayer, Creed and Absolution is also to be found in the Bernese order but the text of the Absolution and of the Confession of sins are entirely different and no effort has been made to tie these various elements together. Oecolampadius separated the Absolution from the Confession by a penitential psalm and Zwingli did not mention absolution at all.

The people's communion has no account of the Institution of the Lord's supper. This absence is easily explained by the fact that the people's communion was not regarded as a celebration of the eucharistic sacrifice, but a simple distribution of the elements². This is why the Absolution was held to have no sacramental value in this instance. In the Basel order, Scripture reading from Isaiah

1. La cene de nostre Seigneur.

2. See p.96ff.above for a description of the people's communion.

and from Matthew brought the congregation to meditate on the sufferings of Christ. A short exhortation took up this theme which the hearers were enjoined to keep in their minds and only after this was the Pauline account of institution read. The Bernese order provided the minister with a choice between the institution accounts of Matthew 26, Mark 14, Luke 22 and I Cor. 11. The exhortation followed to state that none but those who truly desired discipleship should communicate; that the eucharist was participation in the body and blood of Christ; that it resulted in the forgiveness of sins and the shaping of new bonds of grace and that it strengthened the souls and provided guidance to eternal life. The congregation was therefore enjoined to have faith and to praise and thank God. This was followed by a prayer of self-dedication and praise. Farel prescribed the Pauline account of institution to be followed by a commentary during which the fraction took place. The sursum corda in thanksgiving for Christ's sacrifice was followed by an invitation to come to the table of the Lord. The elements were then distributed and the communion followed by a long prayer of thanksgiving, of intercession for those in authority, for grace, for the gift of the Holy Spirit and unity¹. This prayer turned into an exhortation to live as true Christians in mutual love and charity.

Oecolampadius followed the Institution account with the Lord's prayer and a call to self-examination. The elements were then distributed and after the communion, the injunction: 'Let mutual love be among you and chiefly towards the poor.' In Berne, the communion was followed by an exhortation to keep in mind the faith in what Christ had done. A short prayer of thanks for Christ's action and for all good gifts then brought the service to the benediction. All three of these reformed services therefore follow the pattern of the Roman order where communion is followed by some versicles and concludes in a salutation; the prayer Deus qui nobis sub sacramento mirabili; an exhortation to give thanks to God for all His good gifts and to persevere in prayer.

 1. See the change in this prayer in *Ordre et Maniere*, p. 200 below, Note. 1.

Because Zwingli's rite is derived from the Mass and not from the communion like the others, the Zwinglian rite of Zurich has been left to one side. Zwingli did not spot the remaining traces of the service of the Word in the order for Mass and for this reason he found it necessary for the Institution account from the epistle to be paralleled by a Gospel reading on the same subject. This was followed by a brief exhortation concluding in a fencing of the table and the Lord's prayer without doxology. The celebrant then continued with a prayer of thanksgiving reminiscent of the preface which prayer ended on a note of self-dedication and concluded with the traditional trinitarian doxology. In other words, the canon had been turned back to front and severely pruned. The celebrant proceeded with the fraction while using the words of institution and after communion, Psalm 112. A note in Zwingli's own hand indicates that he used to insert a short exhortation here to have faith in the remembrance of what Christ had wrought and to live consequently in brotherly love and charity. A short prayer of thanksgiving then led to the conclusion of the service.

Turning back to the arrangement of confession, Lord's prayer, (Prayer for faith), creed and absolution which is common to both Farellian and Bernese orders and which, on superficial examination would indicate mutual dependence, we can easily determine whether this is so by a simple comparison of the confessions and absolutions.

Farel

... we will present and throw ourselves before the high majesty of our God in full trust and true faith through our saviour and redeemer Jesus, craving His mercy, confessing before Him that we have offended Him most grievously and greatly, transgressing His holy law, we have not adored him purely in spirit and in truth, have not served Him alone, have not loved Him above all in honouring His holy name without taking it in vain, have not lived saintly to His Honour and to help and succour our neighbour, we have

Canzel unnd Agendbuchlein

I poor sinner, acknowledge before God my heavenly Father,

that I have sinned very grievously and have transgressed His holy law

not put a true and holy end to evil speech, evil thought and deeds, have not honoured those who have power over us, not avoided all hate, whoremongering, theft, mendacity and all things which are contrary to the love of God and of our fellows, doing to others what we would that it be done to ourselves, in which we have transgressed the holy law of our good Father, we have all sinned greatly and deserved the anger and indignation of our God more than we can express or say, by such great ingratitude, acting against His holy will. However for all our faults and sins which we cannot number because of their multitude humbly and with downcast eyes we ask for mercy and compassion from our very good Father, praying that He look not to our faults, ignorance and iniquities ...

My very dear brothers and sisters, you know that our very good Father does not desire the death of sinners but that they be converted and live, for He being full of all good and compassion, with such great charity loved the world that He gave his only son to save the world, He who openly said that he had come to save that which was lost; for this is a very sure word that Jesus Christ came to save sinners. And this good saviour promised us that all that we should ask in his name we shall obtain, and that if we forgive others their sins, ours will be forgiven by the father. Believe therefore that in asking God for mercy in the name of our Lord Jesus, when each wholeheartedly forgives his neighbour, our Lord forgives us and our hearts are purged by the faith we have in Jesus Christ.

constantly with evil thoughts, words and actions,

constantly lacking brotherly love

in all my life for which O my God and Father, I know myself to be guilty

and desire mercy saying: Father I have sinned before heaven and before you and am no more worthy to be called your child. But be gracious to me through Jesus Christ our Lord.

For this is a true and trustworthy word writes Paul: Our Lord Jesus came into the world to save sinners.

By believing and trusting this,

you shall be made whole.

Clearly Farel was influenced by the general confession as it appeared in Berne and in Basel particularly since this same confession was extensively used in the Prone and in the People's communion. But Farel reworked this prayer. Keeping to the same general outline he changed it from a general confession to a confession of particular sins. He tried to enumerate the main temptations of his day so as to make the prayer more representative of those things which concerned the congregation. Nor did Farel rely on Berne or Basel. These differ slightly from each other¹ with variations that probably followed local usage in the Roman services. We may therefore surmise that he followed yet another usage with which he was familiar, possibly a French usage from Paris, Meaux or even from his home town of Gap.

As for the absolution, the only common element between Berne and Farel lies in the use of the widely used Pauline formula: 'Jesus Christ came to save sinners'. This constitutes only a very small portion of Farel's absolution and can therefore only be coincidental. In passing, we may also note that Farel has not followed Oecolampadius' declarative absolution with its sacerdotal implications which he refused.

We may therefore conclude that for holy Communion, Farel represents a movement which is quite independent of either Basel or Berne, but which like them, is an attempt to upgrade the People's communion into a full eucharistic celebration.

It may be felt that in choosing to base their eucharistic orders on the People's communion rather than on the Mass, the reformers deliberately turned their backs on the centre of Christian worship and showed their ignorance of liturgical principles. It should be remembered, however, that the Medieval Mass had ceased to be a true Eucharist and had become a propitiatory sacrifice. Any alteration

 1. Form unnd Gestalt has: 'O almighty and heavenly Father, we poor lost sinners confess that from our childhood and to this hour, we have sinned against your holy law in wicked thoughts, words, desires and deeds, which we do not like to recall, but especially in great unbelief. Therefore we are not worthy to be called your children or to lift our eyes up to heaven. O God and Father, if only we had not vexed you. We appeal to you that in your mercy and for the glory of your name, your might take away our sins with forgiveness by your grace.'

attempting to eliminate the deviations contained in the Mass would only appear to the people as the absence of certain ceremonies. The whole of the canon would have been redrafted (or abandoned) and the preaching of the Word and the communion of the people introduced¹. It was therefore much more practical to take the People's communion as a starting point, reintroduce into it the eucharistic prayers and stretch it to a service of the Word. This was particularly necessary as the early reformers did not wish to perpetuate the monopoly of the choirs in participating in the celebration. Although when Farel composed his liturgy, he was not able to introduce active participation of the congregation into the service, his order accords with primitive usage as may be seen from the following table.

Service of the Word:

Call to prayer

Prayer: Intercession, supplication, for enlightenment.

Scripture Reading and exposition

Eucharist:

Memorial of God's providence

Memorial of Christ's work of redemption

Thanksgiving for Christ's love

Call to self-examination

Fencing of table

Prayer of humble access

Anamnesis

Confession of sins

Prayer for faith

Creed and absolution

Institution

Communion

Thanksgiving

Intercession

Epiclesis

Prayer for holy lives and charity

The order of these elements is perhaps not quite to our taste and we may miss an explicit consecration. But the consecration is nevertheless there implicitly, in the outspoken declaration that the eucharist is celebrated on and according to the instructions of Christ Himself.

 1. See Zwingli's Action oder Brucht, Luther's Deutsche Messe and the early Strassburg orders.

VI. THE PREACHING SERVICE¹

Unlike the preceding orders, the form for the service of the Word or 'preaching service' is not introduced by an 'Explanation'. It did not require justification, even as far as the use of the vernacular was concerned, for such services were already familiar and accepted by all, Romanist and Reformed alike. Rabelais, listing the public services of the Roman church in Paris as the stage for the pranks of Panurge, set them out as Mass, Vespers and the Sermon.²

The preaching service or Prone³ first appeared in the 9th century. By that time, the public service of the Word had been abolished in favour of the monastic system of offices. This had resulted in a general drop in attendance at non-sacramental services which soon became the exclusive domain of clergy and choir. Some bishops continued to preach in the context of the eucharistic service but this became the exception. As early as the 9th century, the Carolingian reformation promoted the formation of a short office designed to bring about a revival of preaching. This office was inserted in the synaxis and centred on the sermon and intercessions. Significantly, this office also reintroduced into the synaxis the prayer of intercession which the Gelasian liturgical reforms had removed.⁴

Charlemagne's reform was only partly successful. Although the standard of preaching was raised for a short period, it very soon plummeted again. But the Prone or 'Sermon' survived. It was absorbed by popular culture and increasingly used the medium of the

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1. The name 'Sunday morning worship' should be avoided because the preaching service was also used on holy days and on weekdays.
 2. Rabelais: Pantagruel, (1533) Chap. 16.
 3. This is a word of doubtful etymology. Some would have it derive from 'pro naos', others would have it come from 'praeconium' - announcement. The latter has given rise to the French verb 'proner' - to praise or inflate.
 4. See W. Jardine Grisbrooke: Intercession at the Eucharist in Studia Liturgica, Vol.IV, No. 3.

vernacular¹. In the same process, it gained recognition as an independent service² quite apart from the Mass until it finally disappeared from the Synaxis. The sermon was associated with the Prone and only on special occasions did preaching appear during the Mass.

Separation from a sacramental context resulted in the Prone gaining a great deal of freedom in its form. Basically, it only required a sermon and prayers of intercession³. But very soon, other elements were grafted on, the most noteworthy being the 'diptych' of the ancient Church. After the general news or intimations concerning the life of the congregation, the priest recited the names of the donators or benefactors, the living and those who had died⁴. Brightman sets out this service as follows⁵:

Bidding prayers
 Lord's prayer
 Epistle and Gospel
 Angelic salutation
 Apostles' Creed
 Sermon
 Decalogue and Commandments of the Church
 General Confession and Absolution
 Intimations, Banns, etc.

It is interesting to note that Brightman's order has the intercessions at the beginning and in bidding form. This reflects exactly the crux of the Gelasian reform of the synaxis⁶. The Manual

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1. The vernaculars appeared far earlier than is generally recognised. The 'Oath of Strassburg' (14 February 842) is an example of early French and German. But without the unifying factor of a written culture, there was considerable dialectic variation between regions. The problem posed by these dialects is illustrated in Geneva by Vidomne Gautier de Confignon who, unable to understand Genevan dialect, started judging causes in Latin. The episcopal enquiry of 1288 established that by immemorial custom, causes before the vidomne should be debated without minutes, without clerks, taking advice from citizens and canons, and in the mother tongue. Reported by J. Julien: Histoire de Geneve, p.44 ff.
 2. O. Hardman: History of Christian Worship, p. 104-105. E. Underhill: Worship, p.314, note 3. H.G. Hageman: Pulpit and Table, p.17.
 3. F.E. Brightman: The English Rite, I, p. clvii, and II, pp.1020-1043.
 4. Ariès: op.cit., p. 156.
 5. In England, this service took its name from the intercessions rather than the sermon. It was known as the 'Bidding of the Bedes'.
 6. See p. 119 below.

of Surgantz¹ however, reflects the pre-Gelasian order where the intercessions came as part of the offertory:

Text

Lord's prayer and Ave Maria

Sermon

Bidding prayer concluding with a memorial of the dead

Lord's prayer and Ave Maria

Apostles' Creed

Decalogue

General Confession and Absolution

Conclusion

Another contemporary Manual, that of Constance, gives more detail especially as to the introduction and construction of the sermon².

Bearing in mind that the Mass was celebrated in Latin as were also the rare offices to which the people were able to gain access, it is not surprising that the preaching service or 'Sermon' should have come to represent the real expression of congregational worship. The theological stress upon the sacrifice of the Mass did not accord with the way the laity were largely excluded from participation in the Mass; and the people's communion was too infrequent to establish itself as the normal worship of the people. An idea of the position of the preaching service in medieval life may be obtained from Geneva where the school statutes³, reaffirmed by the Council on 8 April 1502, specifically stated that on Sundays, the whole school led by its rector should attend the noon Sermon⁴. Furthermore, it was customary for the convent of Rive to supply preachers of renown, sometimes brought at great cost, to preach during the greater ecclesiastical seasons of Lent and Advent. It may be noted that not much reliance was laid on local preachers. Ever since the revival of preaching of the 13th century under the impetus given by the Franciscans and Dominicans, preaching had become the preserve and speciality of these two orders. Thus Franciscan houses like Rive would supply preachers from its ranks, or send for the greater lights of their own order. In addition to this, the mendicant orders had

1. Johan Ulrich Surgantz, priest at St. Theodore's in Kleinbasel, published this manual in 1502.
2. See p. 117 ff. below.
3. This school was a lay foundation dated from 1428 and fiercely protected against Church interference.
4. Reg. Cons. VI 40, 41.

a number of itinerant preachers among their members, a practice copied from the Cathares. The mendicants' quasi-monopoly of preaching brought about the downfall of the attempted reformation at Meaux under Bishop Briçonnet¹.

Some Reformers were able to take advantage of the convenient platform and wide audience which popular acceptance of itinerant preachers and the preaching service provided. On the other hand, the preaching service also set the pattern according to which reformed worship was to develop and often prevented the institution of more balanced forms of worship. The City Councils, in their support for frequent sermons and their suspicion of frequent communion were doing no more than to force the reformation to follow old established practices.

The sermon, usually in the vernacular but sometimes still in Latin², was therefore the centre of lay religious life and the purpose of the preaching service. The Manual of Constance provides us with the following scheme according to which it was presented:

Invocation : In nomine Patris ...etc.

Thema : The text in Latin

Salutation : In German with Amen from the congregation

Thematis Resumptio: The Text repeated in German

Thematis Introductio or Prothema: Texts from the Bible, the Fathers or from other sources which were commented on in the introduction.

Invocatio Divini Auxilii with Ave or Salve Regina

Divisio : Setting out the main headings and subheadings of the sermon.

Sermon proper

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1. When Briçonnet tried to reform his see of Meaux by establishing educated preachers in every pulpit, the mendicant orders saw their livelihood threatened and appealed to the University, accusing some of the preachers of heresy. Briçonnet was forced to withdraw his preachers and his attempted reformation was defeated. See R-J. Lovy: op.cit., for a complete treatment of the attempt at Meaux.
 2. Archives Turin, Lettere part., L. mazzo 47. Letter from Lullin to Duke Charles III of Savoy dated 5 April 1530. A certain preacher, from near Payerne, who the Duke thought to be 'sectarian', is not; 'but he preaches the Gospel in the common language which is not the usual practice and other empty-headed vicars will want to do likewise. The Duke should write and order that he preach "according to custom"'. Does it mean that he preached in the vernacular or just that he read the Scriptures in the vernacular? The latter is more likely as preaching in Latin was rather rare, and would be rather pointless in rural areas.

Even though the service was nominally in the vernacular, the text, being the liturgical Gospel for the day, was first given in Latin before being translated for the benefit of the congregation. But good style, nurtured in the dialectic practice of the schools, required that the preacher begin the sermon with yet another text, the prothema, which bore no apparent relation to the main text. The Sermons of Pierre Viret¹ and of Meister Eckhart², even though they differ widely in time and origin, are constructed on this same pattern. Guillaume Pépin, the preaching friar who gained great popularity in Evreux and Paris, showed just how far the ingenuity of a master-preacher could go. Each of his Lenten sermons on the Gospel was introduced by some text of Roman law, drawn from the Digest or from the Code of Justinian, and only after a learned dissertation on this introduction did he proceed to the exposition of the Gospel.

Contemporary manuals for preachers set out the rules to be followed in Bible exposition. According to Gerson, the literal meaning of Scripture should be taken as the Church, inspired and governed by the holy Spirit, has determined it and not according to the judgement or interpretation of the individual. This was then developed according to the rules contained in the couplet:

Litera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia

or, as the saying went: 'The letter is the vase of the symbolic lamp, morality its oil, allegory is the wick and anagogy the flame'. Very often, therefore, the sermon consisted of a dissertation in which the Biblical text was submerged under interminable philosophical, dogmatic, casuistic, canonical or moral minutiae. Yet some preachers were able to rise above all this and bear a message which made the faithful eager to hear more from them. Others exercised considerable charisma and gained renown far and

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1. See Sermon of 5 May 1559 on Isaiah 65. The introductory text is from II Peter 3 :3-4 and is developed in over 1300 words. Viret was unique among French-speaking reformers for keeping on with this style of preaching.
2. See Sermon on the feast of Holy Trinity. Text is II Cor. 13 : 11 introduced by Luke 1 : 28.

wide over the borders of their native land. Such a preacher was Zwingli who was invited to Zurich because of his reputation and who, by his preaching, brought the reformation to the Church of that city.

The other pole about which the preaching service revolved was the general prayer. It has been noted above¹ that its origin lies in the synaxis, where it concluded the readings or lessons. The Gelasian reform had removed the general prayer of intercession from its original position and, turning it into a bidding prayer, had placed it at the beginning of the liturgy of the catechumens². In this position, it was swamped by the addition of prayers of preparation and gradually disappeared from the medieval synaxis³. In the two versions available to us, the Prone reflects the structure of the synaxis before and after the Gelasian liturgical reform. The survival of the general prayer of Intercession and its position in the two orders, is an indication of the early origin of the Prone. It probably arose at the time when the Gelasian rite was spreading through Europe. In the medieval preaching service, the general prayer contained petitions and intercessions, often but not necessarily couched in the form of biddings. The response of the people usually consisted of the Lord's prayer or the Angelic salutation.

The sermon and prayer of intercession were accompanied by a number of elements, some of which originated in the synaxis and came down together with the sermon and the general prayer while others came to be added later to round off the new independent service. The Apostles' creed probably came from the synaxis and perhaps also the decalogue, to which medieval practice sometimes attached some catechetical teaching. Other elements from unknown sources (though they may have sought to parallel elements of the Mass) were the general confession and a general Absolution which was held to have no sacramental character. The intimations and a prayer for the living and the dead concluded the preaching service⁴.

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1. See p.115 above.
 2. J.A. Jungmann: The Early Liturgy p. 291 & 295; A. Baumstark: Comparative Liturgy p.24 note 2.
 3. A form of the ancient prayer of intercession has remained in the Orationes Solemnnes of the Mass for Good Friday.
 4. See p.115 ff. above.

Congregational participation in these services was not very extensive. It consisted mainly in the recitation of the Pater, the Ave and sometimes the Salve Regina in Latin and the Lord's prayer in the vernacular. The Ave Maria continued to be used in Zurich, in Berne and its French-speaking possessions and even in Geneva for some time after the Reformation¹. The Instruction des enfans of Olivetan, printed in 1537, teaches the use of the 'angelic salutation also called Ave Maria' after the Lord's prayer, the Creed and the Decalogue.

The main distinction between the truncated liturgy of the Word in the medieval Mass and in the preaching service lay in the use of the Nicene Creed in the former whereas the Apostles' Creed was used in the popular service. Brightman thought this indicated that the preaching service was an excrescence and not the expression of the Church's non-sacramental worship². This view, which made the preaching service no more than a second rate derivative of the normative service, was received rather uncritically by a number of reformed liturgiologists who were thereby forced on the defensive³. Without entering here into the question of the intrinsic merit of the preaching service, we should note that this service was originally the liturgy of the Word as embodied in the synaxis before it was detached to form an independant whole. The Creeds used in the different orders have no bearing on the principle involved for the Nicene Creed was only introduced into the Roman Mass in 1014⁴, at a time when the preaching service was already in general use in the process of becoming separate from the Mass. The Apostles' Creed was already in use in the baptismal service and, together with the Lord's prayer, constituted one of the pillars of Charlemagne's educational programme⁵. It was therefore well established and known

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1. The Ave Maria continued in use in the Baptismal services of Zurich and Berne and appeared in both German and French versions of the Bernese mural catechism.
2. See Brightman: op.cit., p.1039 ff.
3. See the defence offered by Maxwell: op.cit., p.19-20 and Julius Schweitzer in Ways of Worship, pp.130-131.
4. Berno of Reichenau in De Quibusdam Rebus recounts that the Nicene Creed was introduced into the Mass by pope Benedict VII at the request of Emperor Henry II.
5. J.N.D. Kelly: Early Christian Creeds, p.420 ff.

by the faithful at a time when no consensus had yet been reached as to which creed should be used in the Mass. Being both simple and concise, as well as generally known, the Apostles' Creed was the obvious choice to become the expression of the people's faith.

The origin of the confession and absolution in the Prone would seem more difficult to ascertain. The medieval development of the theology of penance did not allow a general confession to be recognised as constituting a fully valid act of contrition¹. The general absolution consequently was an empty form with no sacramental validity. It would appear that the general confession and absolution found in the preaching service must have been introduced before the full development of the theology of penance.

Public penance had fallen into disuse in the early Merovingian period. But the Carolingian reformation was deliberately archaising. Among other things, it abandoned private confession² with its opportunity for individual cure of souls in favour of public penitence within the context of the community³. The Confiteor was introduced into the Mass where it is vouched for by Ordo Romanus II of the early 9th century: it appeared after the Introit and was followed by a precatory form of Absolution⁴. As this was the formative period of the preaching service, it was to be expected that the Prone should have been constituted on the pattern of the liturgy of the catechumens and have the same features. And though the theory and practice of penance changed in the 13th century, the old forms remained enshrined in the preaching service.

The community spirit fostered in Carolingian times could also have been the reason for the inclusion of the intimations in this

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1. See p.96 ff. above, particularly note 1, p.97.
2. Private confession had been developed in the monasteries and from there, spread through the Church. Not until the Tridentine reformation was it really accepted and practised by the people.
3. See A. Latreille, E. Dealruelle & J-R. Palanque: Histoire du Catholicisme en France, p. 188 ff.
4. As a consequence of the final development of the theology of penance in the 13th century, the Confiteor or its equivalents became one of the priest's private prayers of preparation and kept the precatory form of Absolution. The sacramental form of penance, however, needed the declaratory absolution Ego te absoluo.

service. They provided the means for giving parish news, publishing banns, announcing births and deaths as well as publicising any event which concerned congregational activities. To the intimations were attached the prayers for the living and the dead; the last traces of the ancient diptychs and the orationes post nomina which the Gregorian liturgical reform recast into the Memento of the canon.

Because of its general acceptance as the expression of congregational worship, as opposed to institutional worship, the preaching service did not need justification. For this reason also, it does not feature in the majority of liturgical manuals of the early reformation. The Basel Form unnd Gstalt makes no mention at all of preaching services. As for the Bernese Touffbüchli, it does no more than to provide a form for the prayer before the sermon 'according to the teaching of Paul in I Timothy 2', a form for the announcement of any death which may have occurred in the congregation in the course of the week, a short prayer of thanksgiving and a form of absolution to follow the general confession.

It would seem justifiable to assume that Touffbüchli proposes a preaching service which differed very little from the pre-reformation Prone used in the region. If we base ourselves on Zwinglian practice, we may also assume that the Latin lections were done away with and that the Lord's prayer and/or Ave Maria were attached to the prayer before the sermon and to the confession¹. The scope of the general prayer seems to have been reduced, unless there was also another prayer of intercessions which is not mentioned specifically and was therefore at the minister's discretion.

Farel's order is more complete. He took the prayer for illumination away from the position it occupied in the Prone between the Scripture reading and the sermon, and placed it at the beginning of the service together with the petitions. This is sounder practice as illumination does not concern the sermon only but the Word of God

1. This is mentioned by Passevent Parisien in a rather distorted account of reformed services as they were held at Lausanne between 1553 and 1554, i.e. after the Bernese liturgy became mandatory. Reported by Vuilleumier: op.cit., p. 323-324.

Though he obviously based his preaching service on current practice in the Church, Farel nevertheless attempted to restructure worship for the reformed communities. This is most clearly visible in the placing of the intercessions in the preaching service in a position which parallels that which they occupy in his version of the communion service. Comparing the two services from the sermon onwards: (his communion service does not indicate what precedes the sermon), one finds almost complete equivalence except for the specifically eucharistic elements. The only other differences are the absence of the Decalogue in the Communion service and of the Absolution in the preaching service. Here then is an obvious attempt to show that the normative service should include both Word and Sacrament while still making provision for services of worship when, for some reason or other, it was not possible to hold the full service and the sacramental aspect was omitted. Farel's attitude to the norm of worship is attested by the 'Articles' which he presented to the Genevan Council on about 13 January 1537. They begin with these words:

'To our much honoured Lords.
It is certain that a Church cannot be said to be well ordered and governed in which the Holy Supper of Our Lord is not often celebrated and frequented...'

THE ORDER AFTER THE SERMON IN PREACHING AND COMMUNION SERVICES

| <u>PREACHING SERVICE</u> | <u>COMMUNION</u> |
|--|---|
| | |
| Sermon: Exposition Exhortation according to text | Sermon: Exposition Exhortation (eucharistic) |
| | Prayer of humble access Anamensis |
| Decalogue Confession Our Father Apostles' Creed | Confession Our Father Apostles' Creed Absolution |
| | Institution Fraction <u>Sursum Corda</u> Invitation Communion Thanksgiving |
| Intercessions | Intercessions |
| | Exhortation to Christian life |
| Dismissal with peace | Dismissal with peace |

And in the exposition of his requests:

'It would be desirable that the communication of the holy Supper of Jesus Christ be made at least every Sunday...'¹

The omission of the Absolution from the preaching service seems strange. Was this because Farel considered the Eucharist as the supreme sign of the reconciliation effected by Christ and therefore the demonstration of absolution? The statement:

'... that through the death and passion of Jesus and the blood he shed, they have remission of their sins and are transplanted from the old Adam into Jesus Christ... For our sins are remitted in this only that we believe that our Lord Jesus Christ died for them and we have life believing in Him, and are assured of this through the instalment he has given ...'²

seems to indicate such a line of thought. On the other hand, it is also possible that the omission of the Absolution was no more than an oversight. In the preaching service, Farel refers the reader to the baptismal service for the text of the Decalogue and to the communion service for the text of the confession. The way Farel wrote his instructions, made it easy for him to pass over the absolution without mentioning it specifically. His practice of treating the Decalogue, Confession, prayer for grace, Creed and Absolution as one unit or as a suite of items making up one movement of approach to God could well be taken as implying that the Absolution should not be left out. Did he take it for granted that his readers would insert it where it belonged or did he simply overlook it?

The evidence is inconclusive. The practice of the Genevan Church only helps to confuse the issue. Calvin's departure from his Strassburg usage³ in omitting the absolution from La Forme des Prieres and his explanation for this implies that, previous to 1542, the reformed Church in Geneva did not use an absolution:

'There is none of us but must acknowledge it to be very useful that after the general confession, some striking promise of Scripture should follow, whereby sinners might be raised to

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1. Geneva Archives. Reg. Cons. 15 Jan. 1537
 2. Summaire (1525) Ch. 18. See also Farel: Traicte de la Sainte Cene. pp. 15 & 37-41.
 3. See La Maniere de Faire prieres aux Eglises Francoyses.

the hope of pardon and reconciliation. And I would have introduced this custom from the beginning, but some fearing the novelty of it would give offence, I was over-easy in yielding to them ...'¹

Until La Forme des Prieres came into use, the liturgy of the reformed Church in Geneva was Maniere et Fasson. Was is simply that communion services were so infrequent that the Genevans did not realise that they did have an absolution? The problem of the absolution cannot be solved on existing evidence.

The Decalogue however, poses a different problem altogether. In the preaching service, it came immediately after the sermon, as a transition between the exhortation and the confession. This cannot be done in the communion service for, as a consequence of the eucharistic tenor of the exhortation, it is more natural to continue with the prayer for humble access and the Anamnesis. In Farel's wording, the Decalogue would break the logical succession of thought from Anamnesis to confession. Also let us remember that Farel was no formalist and it is quite likely that he considered the presence of the major items of the Decalogue in the fencing of the table as obviating the need for a second affirmation of the law. In the fencing, he lists:

'... all who have not true faith ... all idolaters who adore and serve others beside the only God ... all perjurers ... all who disobey father and mother ... all quarrelsome people ... all whoremongers ... all thieves ... all false witnesses ... and all who live in evil and against the holy commandments of God ...'

In this enumeration, only the fourth and the tenth commandments are not mentioned specifically. Following this line of thought, a separate Decalogue would only constitute reduplication without adding anything new to the service.

Farel's views on the sermon are set out in his form for the preaching service. His intention was to change the contents of the sermon even while retaining its form. Already his motto in such matters appeared to be Sola Scriptura. The subject of the sermon is to be 'some text from Holy Scripture which he (the minister) reads fully ... and explains word for word without leaving out

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1. Calvin: Opera X, i, 213. Quoted by Maxwell: op.cit., p.98

anything'. He was strongly against the introduction of any but Biblical matter into the exposition of the Word. Even the illustrations were to be drawn from Scripture 'so as not to scramble the pure Word of God with the filth of men.' This fidelity to the Bible is echoed in Summaire of 1525:

'One must treat and deal with Scripture in fear and reverence of God of whom it speaks, studying it diligently, not in bits and pieces but in its entirety, considering that which precedes and that which follows and for what reason it was written and to what purpose it said that which Scripture contains, looking also to other passages where it is said more clearly and openly, confronting one passage of Scripture with another.'¹

Then:

'after having expounded his text as simply as possible ... he exhorts and admonishes the hearers accordingly as the text may bear.'²

There is a twofold purpose to this: to demystify Scripture by making it known and available to all, and to use Scripture as a guide to everyday life.

The Scripture had to be read in a comprehensible manner; thus only the vernacular could qualify as a suitable medium. Vernacular versions were already available at the time; the fruit of humanist philological research³. It is probable that Farel and his followers used the French Bible of Lefèvre d'Étaples, at least until 1535 when the new translation by Olivetan became the standard for the French-speaking cantons of Switzerland.

To ensure the proper hearing of the word, the text had to be read 'fully' - meaning a section which made a logical whole. The usual practice in early reformed circles was to take a whole chapter at a time. The reading was then explained 'word for word without skipping' so as to enable every member of the congregation to understand⁴. The preacher used 'such passages of Scripture as help to

1. Summaire (1525) Ch. 15.

2. La Maniere de prescher

3. The main French versions were: The Rely Bible (1487), reprinted 15 times until 1545.
The Lefèvre Bible of which the New Testament appeared in 1523.
The Olivetan Bible (1535).

4. See Calvin's Sermons for examples of this manner of exposition.

5. On 1 January 1519, at the Grossmünster in Zurich, Zwingli announced that he would begin a series on Matthew. See Vuilleumier: op.cit., I, p.326.

the explanation of the one he is expounding, without going out of holy Scripture' as illustrations. Then after having finished the exposition of the passage, he 'exhorted and admonished the hearers accordingly as the text might bear' to regulate their lives by God's Word.

Whether Farel followed Zwingli's practice of continuous reading is uncertain¹ although the principle involved would have had his fullest approval. Unfortunately the serie continua is not particularly suited to itinerant evangelisation and we have no record of his texts and sermons for those periods when he was regular minister to a congregation. Nevertheless his use of only one text, instead of the pericopes of the ecclesiastical calendar would tend to indicate that he tried to present his listeners with a wider knowledge of the Bible. Other reformers such as Calvin and Viret (his protegés in Geneva and Vaud) also used the system of continuous reading. Such series were usually interrupted only by the greater festivals of the Church which required the reading of the appropriate texts.

Because of its educational aspect, the serie continua acquired great popularity in the churches of the Reformation. It enabled the congregation to gain wide knowledge of the Bible both in general and in detail. It proved a source of great variety in that it made the preacher pass from one subject to the other, thus opening the way to numerous applications. Furthermore, many preachers procured even more variety by running two series concurrently, one during the week while on Sundays, he dealt with the Creed, the Lord's prayer and the Decalogue. Jean le Comte, at Grandson, preached on the Old Testament on week days while on Sundays, he tried to draw the Romanists by preaching on the Epistle and Gospel pericopes of the Missal¹.

Although the proportion of the population which had achieved literacy had passed the critical 10% barrier in the densely populated areas in which Farel worked, the medium for the propagation of culture was still mainly oral. For this reason, the

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1. Reported by Vuilleumier: op.cit., I, p. 328. He apparently ran a third series in twice weekly services at Giez where he dealt with the book of Acts.

'Sermon' or Prone was the one service to which people flocked eagerly. Farel's contribution to congregational worship was to recognise this; to take this well-liked form and from it, to develop a full service of Word and Sacrament. In changing the emphasis of the liturgy from 'action' and making it 'verbal', he enabled all people to participate in the worship of the Church. And although to him, the norm of worship lay in the conjunction of Word and Sacrament, he was realistic in recognising immediate needs; he made his liturgy sufficiently flexible so that on week days and those Sundays when no Eucharist was celebrated, the preaching service still constituted a complete entity by itself.

VII. THE VISITING OF THE SICK

The visiting of the sick, as an expression of the caring community of the Church, was practised from very early times. The Epistle of James¹ describes what was probably common usage in the main Christian centres. Sick people would send for the elders of the congregation to come and pray with them and anoint them with oil. Physical and spiritual comfort thus came together. To this visit was later added the distribution of the eucharistic elements and aid in the form of food². A christian who died was mourned, but his friends also rejoiced because he had gone to be with Christ. The Church prayed over his body, accompanied him to his grave and remembered him on the anniversary of his death.

From the fourth century onwards, these practices changed gradually. Although sick-room communion continued in much the same way as before, greater emphasis was placed on the unction used in comforting the sick. Certain oils were credited with greater powers than others; those associated with the cultus particularly acquired sanctity through this association³. Along with the use of such 'sanctified' oils came a change in the tenor of the prayers which moved away from intercession to exorcism. When systematic study of the unction as a sacrament was undertaken at the end of the 12th century, the forms and prayers used were found to vary so greatly that some theologians could find no essential form⁴. Any prayer, whether explicit and indicative such as 'I anoint thee ...', or even deprecatative such as 'May the Lord forgive thee ...', was held sufficient for the validity of the sacrament. But the material of the sacrament was gradually standardised; oil blessed by the bishop came to be used exclusively. Hence where the bishop did not live nearby, or in sees occupied by absentee bishops, the practice declined.

1. James 5: 14-15.

2. Justin: Apology, I, lxvii.

3. Particularly prized was the oil from Church lamps.

4. B. Leeming: Principles of Sacramental theology, p. 421-422.

Funeral practices were very early influenced by pagan custom. St. John Chrysostom condemned those christians who 'hired pagan women as weepers so as to deepen mourning and to revive the fires of anguish, without hearkening to St. Paul'¹. Other practices of pagan origin were also discouraged, such as the offerings St. Monica used to make on graves until she was told that St. Ambrose had forbidden this custom². For the pagan funeral feasts, the Church substituted the celebration of the Eucharist on altars in the cemeteries where christians had been buried ad sanctos - in proximity to the grave of a recognised saint or martyr. In the mind of the stricter bishops, these celebrations were thanksgivings for the lives and death of holy martyrs and for christians who had died in the communion of the faith and had been buried at the martyrs' side. In his book L'Homme devant la mort, Ariès shows that the majority of people did not have the same understanding; they tended to confuse thanksgiving for the saints with intercession for the salvation of less distinguished dead.

Between the 5th and the 8th century, the burial of the dead lost the note of eschatological joy in the resurrection; as judgement and condemnation were increasingly emphasised, the mood of funerals turned to gloom. Prayers and Masses for the dead came to play a larger role in popular religious practice. The establishment of St. Gregory's reformed liturgy instituted the use of the gregorian: a series of thirty Masses which was held to free the soul of the dead from heavenly condemnation³. These changes also affected sick communion. Just as the anointing of the sick had drifted away from its association with healing and comfort to become extreme unction reserved for the dying, so also sick communion became separated from the community it represented to become a viaticum, an elixir to sustain life in the journey through death.

By the 11th century, it had become customary for the dying

1. Migne: Patrologia Graeca, LVII, 374.

2. Reported by Ariès: op.cit., p.147.

3. This was the popularisation of a practice which had begun in the monasteries. See p.95 above.

to receive first the unction for the forgiveness of sins, and then the viaticum which was followed at the hour of death by an office for the commendation of the soul. After death, a second absolution was pronounced over the death-bed. The corpse was taken to the cemetery by friends and buried. A third absolution, pronounced over the grave then completed the proceedings¹. When Masses were said, they were ordered according to bequests in the deceased person's will; some were to be said immediately after death and others some months later or even on the anniversary of the death².

At the time of the Reformation, funerals were in the process of becoming more 'churchy'. Wills were beginning to specify that the body should be taken to the church for the first of the Masses. The procession had also been taken over by the clergy; it consisted of representatives from the four mendicant orders accompanied by a number of poor from the almshouse. The participation of family and friends was reduced to simple attendance.

Because these changes had not yet gained universal observation, the Roman manuals of the time of the Reformation only gave instructions for the procedure before death. These were divided into three sections:

1. Clergy funerals were of course much more elaborate and 'churchified'.
2. Erasmus: Book of Colloquies I, describes the scene at the death-bed: 'When at last, their last hour strikes, there are still more ceremonies for the circumstances. The dying man makes his general confession; he is given extreme unction and the viaticum; there are the candles, and the holy water; and the indulgences are never forgotten. A papal bull is held before the eyes of the dying man and may even be sold to him. Then the sumptuous dispositions of the funeral are arranged. A last solemn promise is drawn from him. Then someone shouts in his ear, hastening the end, as it often happens, either by excessive clamours or by a stinking wine-laden breath'. Quoted by Ariès: op. cit., p.299.

a) The Visit to the sick:

This gave general instructions to exhort the sick to place their trust in God and to see their illness as an expression of God's paternal care. They were to be encouraged to confess their sins and then exhorted to penitence. Should they be thought to be near death, they could be granted absolution¹.

b) An order for sick communion by means of pre-consecrated hosts:

Peace, sprinkling with holy water accompanied by Asperges me Domine..., versicles and responses², a prayer, questions to draw out a confession followed by an absolution (if this was not possible, Confiteor Deo omnipotenti... followed by Indulgentiam absolutionem ..., a prayer, elevation of the host for the purpose of adoration, exhortation to excite faith, Dominus non sum dignus ..., communion of the patient (with steps to be taken should he have difficulty in swallowing the host), versicles, prayer and benediction.

c) General provisions:

Make the patient see all his faults and instruct him in the way to salvation. For this purpose, the priest must question the patient as to the articles of the faith and determine whether he wishes to die in the bosom of the Church. The priest should inculcate the fear of God. Finally the patient should be encouraged to make provision for his wife and children and also to leave part for the poor.

Whereas the Bernese order made no provision for the visiting of the sick, both Farel and Oecolampadius followed the pattern of the Roman priest's manuals, each taking a different aspect of sick visiting. Oecolampadius, probably because of his background as a priest, concentrated on the form to be used in celebrating the sacraments according to a reformed point of view. He therefore made no mention of sick visiting as such. His Brauch in der heimsuchung der kranken offered a form for sick communion as follows:

Salutation, an exhortation to take illness as from the hand of God, the confession of sins from the communion service followed by the same absolution, Psalms 86, 51 and 130 with the antiphon: 'Remember not O Lord our sins, nor the sins of our fathers; and do not count

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1. The unction (which is not mentioned in the Manual available) would probably be fitted here.
2. The Book of Common Prayer has kept these verbatim.

our sins against us', a longish litany concluding with the Lord's prayer, readings from II Kings 20: 1-11 and Luke 23: 33-46, questions to the patient as to whether he is ready to face death, to forgive all who have offended him, to ask forgiveness for what he has done, should he regain health to live as a good christian with his neighbours and to join with all christians in the receiving of the most worthy sacraments. Then, after the Lord's prayer, the Pauline account of institution, the communion accompanied by words reminiscent of the Roman formula

'Der ungezweiffelt glaub so du has in den todt des leybs Christi, sei dir dienlich zu dem ewigen leben. Der glaub den du hast in das vegossen blut Christi, des widergedechtnuss du haltest, sey dir nutz zum abnemung der pein und schuld deiner sünd'.

This was followed by an exhortation 'as a member of the body of Christ to be assured in the belief in the resurrection ...', and a suitable blessing.

Farel made no mention of sick communion, although his instruction that the minister's words and deed should be 'according to what is expedient for the patient' might be taken to imply that this was not automatically ruled out. No trace of a tradition of sick communion can be found at Neuchâtel or Geneva. In the latter city, his friend and successor, Calvin, reflected both the situation and his own concern for the needs of the sick when he wrote:

'That communion is not distributed to the sick distresses me; and it is not on my account that this consolation had not been accorded to those who are leaving this life. But because a different custom has prevailed and because change could not be brought about without great upheavals, I have preferred peace ... I should have wished, however, to witness to those who will come after us what I should have desired'.¹

Owing to the complete lack of information, Farel's reasons for not mentioning sick communion must remain pure conjecture. But it could well be that he did not see how the notion of communion within the body of the Church could be reintroduced into a ceremony that had

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1. Calvin: Opera, XVII. p.311-312: Letter to Zulger (4 September 1558).

become a rite of passage.

Farel confined himself to issuing general instructions for the conduct of visits to the sick. Whereas the Roman manuals saw sickness as an opportunity to bring people back to the Church and to turn their thoughts towards salvation¹, Farel saw the sick rather as having a special need for comfort and consolation. His recommendation that the minister bring along some little present 'to console him bodily also, such as bread, wine, jam ...' illustrates his concern for the patient as a person. As James had shown centuries before, consolation needs to be both spiritual and physical. To keep his own sufferings in perspective, the sick person was to be urged to reflect on the incomparably greater sufferings of Christ; the miseries and pain of sickness were to be shown as part of God's chastisement of those he loves and for whom he cares.

Farel followed the Roman manuals² in urging the patient to make provision for his family if he had not done so already, but he added the mention that this is a logical consequence of our being managers of God's bounty on earth, for which we shall be held responsible³. Whether he lived or died, the patient should be prompted to awareness of his own failings and to reliance on God's mercy through Jesus Christ. The patient should therefore ask for pardon, confessing his sins and short-comings, in the assurance

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1. The 'good death' (hora mortis) which until then had been considered most important, was losing much of its importance at the time of the Reformation. The new emphasis was to live with death in mind. See Ariès: op.cit., p. 294 ff.
 2. From the 12th century on, it became the practice for even the common people to draw up wills. The function of drawing up wills and conserving them was performed by priests as well as lawyers. The medieval Church imposed the drawing up of wills under pain of excommunication. In principle, a person who died intestate could not be buried in the Church or the cemetery. See Ariès: op.cit., p. 188.
 3. See Summaire (1525) Chap. 40. De la preparation a la mort: 'And to deal with that which God has entrusted him, he shall distribute it among his family, inciting them to peace, friendship and mutual charity'.

that God would hear and forgive. Farel did not follow the Roman manuals when they pointed out that through confession God's grace would convert much suffering in 'Gehenna' to brief pain in death.

No mention was made of funerals but Farel broke new ground in insisting on the continuation of a ministry of consolation after the death of the patient. The bereaved family was to be exhorted to praise God. Was this a conscious attempt on Farel's part to reintroduce the note of eschatological hope and joy which characterised early christian funerals? Did it imply a public or private ceremony at the time of burial or after? Jean Le Comte, one of Farel's colleagues during his ministry in the north of the canton of Vaud did use a liturgy for funerals but this was never printed nor could it have been any more than a local usage. It seems to have been the general practice, both in the canton of Vaud and Geneva, for the school teacher, as leader of the community, to conduct funerals. Calvin himself was not opposed to a brief exhortation by the minister at the graveside¹. And the Synod of 4 March 1551 at Neuchâtel where Farel was minister dealt with the matter of funerals but unfortunately without giving any detail as to what was actually done:

'should they (the bells) be rung, at least let it be done soberly and without pomp. Let this not be as if it were to profit to the souls of the departed but rather to inform the living of the funeral. If the minister be required, let him give a brief exhortation in the manner he deems most expedient'².

The Genevan 'Ecclesiastical Ordinances' of 1541 show that age old custom was respected:

'Let the dead be buried decently at the prescribed place. Concerning the procession and company, this is left to individual discretion...'³

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1. Letters to Class of Montbéliard (7 Oct. 1543) and to Viret (9 Nov. 1543). Herminjard: *op.cit.*, IX, pp. 65 and 104.
 2. Les points qui ont été traités au Synode tenu à Neuchâtel le 4 Mars 1551, Bibl. de Pasteurs (Neuchâtel) file A, No. 79.
 3. Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques de l'Eglise de Genève, 1541: De la sépulture.

A protest by the reformed community of Bordeaux, in 1598, at being excluded from the newly resited public cemeteries and the reply by Bishop Henri de Sponde¹ implies that there was very little difference between the burial procedures of the two groups.

Attitudes towards death and burials have changed so considerably that it is difficult for us today to see 16th century practice without being influenced by present day custom². What we should remember, however, is that apart from the absolutions and the requiem and other Masses, the Church had only very slight involvement in funerals. Furthermore the Church participation was still of recent date. Reformed suspicion was directed at these same absolutions and at the notion of buying freedom from purgatory³ through a number of Masses. Farel went a step further in protesting against the recent practice of hiring a funeral procession and the exorbitant cost of funeral feasts which, too often, used up the greater part of the estate and left the survivors in difficulties. Only as a result of the general change of attitude towards the whole question of death⁴ did instructions for the conduct of funerals begin to appear in the liturgical books of the French-speaking Churches of the reformation at the dawn of the nineteenth century.

But even if no funeral or Christian burial was mentioned, Farel's instructions are more than a simple exhortation or encouragement. The community of faith 'adopted' the bereaved family, for which the

1. H. de Sponde: Les Cimetières sacrez (Bordeaux) 1598, written as a reply to the pamphlet Plaintes des Eglises réformées.
2. For example: Up to the 18th century, there was only very rarely a spatial link between the place where the body was buried and the tombstone or tombstones (there could be a number of stones put up as memorials in different places). The actual graves were, in the main, anonymous.
3. The idea of the Purgatory took a long time to triumph over that of the refrigerium. Purgatory began to penetrate religion from about 1450 onward. As soon as it was regularly preached, it was received enthusiastically by popular piety. Its recent introduction explains the Reformers' violent reaction against this 'innovation'.
4. In his book L'Homme devant la mort, Philippe Ariès traces the changes of attitude towards death from early times to the present.

congregation was held responsible and was expected to provide with advice or material goods as the need might be. Care was to be taken of the children, their education seen to, that they might grow up in the faith and also be equipped to take their place as self-supporting and useful members of society.

Farel's directions for the visiting of the sick are of particular interest for their role in shaping reformed usage, both on the continent and in Britain. Although Maxwell¹ would see the origin of Calvin's form as it is represented by La Forme des Prieres in the Strassburg orders, a simple comparison will show Calvin's to be but a summary of Farel's, and the Strassburg forms to be reformed versions of the old Roman directions. A comparison of Calvin's last paragraph with Farel's concluding comments on visiting the sick decides the matter beyond doubt, for apart from clauses omitted and stylistic corrections, Farel's text is rendered verbatim:

'Et mesmes si le ministre a quelque chose de quoi il (le) puisse consoler (aussi) et aider corporellement les paoures affligez, (comme de pain, vin, confitures ou aultre chose) il (nespargnera) n'y esparnera rien, monstrant a tous vray exemple de charité.'²

A comparison of the subject matters contained in the two forms also confirms the relationship between them.

In summarising Farel's instructions, Calvin has reduced them from some 900 words to about 390. He has omitted all that refers to the duties of the minister and the congregation towards the bereaved and makes no mention of exhorting the patient to set his affairs in order to ensure trouble-free succession. The exhortation to the sick person's servants to participate in the work of consolation is also left out. But he has added two sub-headings: One showing the special needs of the sick for spiritual guidance and the second dealing with the fear of death, both of which could very well have arisen from his own pastoral experience.

1. W.D. Maxwell: op.cit., p.55
2. Words and phrases from Farel omitted by Calvin are shown in brackets; words and phrases added by Calvin are shown underlined.

| Farel: Maniere et Fasson Ordre et Maniere | Calvin: La Forme des Prieres etc. |
|---|--|
| <p>1.a) Duty of minister not only to preach publicly but also in private.</p> <p>b) Especially to console the sick.</p> <p>2.a) All suffering comes from God in love for our good.</p> <p>b) Examples from Scripture given.</p> <p>3. Make provision for the family.</p> <p>4.a) - - - - -</p> <p>b) If he trusts in his good works, bring him to humility and repentance.</p> <p>c) If afraid of judgment, point to forgiveness in Jesus.</p> <p>5.a) Good minister to consider best means for each case.</p> <p>b) Admonish servants to console and exhort patient in Christ.</p> <p>6.a) Little gifts for bodily comfort.</p> <p>b) Visit often.</p> <p>7. After death:</p> <p>a) Encourage and exhort the bereaved.</p> <p>b) No funeral feasts etc. to burden the bereaved.</p> <p>c) Aid of all kinds.</p> <p>d) See to education and training of children.</p> | <p>1.a) Idem.</p> <p>b) Idem.</p> <p>c) Sick and dying more vulnerable to attacks of the devil.</p> <p>2.a) Idem.</p> <p>b) Take whatever examples from Scripture applicable.</p> <p>3. Not mentioned.</p> <p>4.a) If afraid of death, point to Jesus Christ who leads to life,</p> <p>b) If not sufficiently downcast with consciousness of sin, bring him to humility and look to Christ for salvation.</p> <p>c) If overcome by guilt and sinfulness point to forgiveness in Jesus.</p> <p>5.a) Idem.</p> <p>b) Not mentioned.</p> <p>6.a) Idem.</p> <p>b) Not mentioned.</p> |

VIII. CONGREGATIONAL SONG

'How did I weep in thy hymns and canticles, touched in the quick by the voices of thy sweet-attuned Church. The voices flowed into mine ears; and the truth distilled into my heart whence the affections of my devotion overflowed and tears ran down, and happy was I therein. Not long had the Church of Milan begun to use this kind of consolation and exhortation, the brethren zealously joining with harmony of voice and hearts ... Then it was first instituted that after the manner of the Eastern Churches, Hymns and Psalms should be sung..*1

Congregational singing in worship, as it is depicted here by St. Augustine, did not long remain the norm in the Church of the West. The growth of the sacrificial concept of the Mass, together with the ascendancy of the monastic world view, demoted congregational participation in the liturgy. Responses and singing came to be designed as integral parts of the celebration for the day and, being part of a priestly act carried out on behalf of the people, were taken over by clerical or semi-clerical choirs. And with public worship superseded by the monastic daily offices, all vocal participation by the people in worship disappeared. Yet, on the fringes of the liturgy, in the less formal atmosphere of the preaching service, some sort of congregational hymnody seems to have occurred. German priest's 'Manuals' made mention of short hymns (leisen) which, in some places, were sung by the congregation before and after the sermon. Again it was the popularity of religious songs in the French court which started off Clement Marot setting the Psalter in verse. Was it this usage which inspired Luther to begin publishing German psalms in verse in 1523?

It was in that same year 1523 that the Reformation was introduced at Strassburg. Among other questions facing the reformers in their attempts to revise the liturgy was that of the place of music in worship. Should they maintain the practice of clerical singing or should they abolish music completely? Perhaps the most outstanding contribution of Strassburg to the Reformation

1. Augustine: Confessions IX, 14 & 15 (VI and VII).

was the pioneering of a third way — congregational praise. All those parts of the Mass which previously had been sung by the clergy were now given to the congregation. The Introit, Kyries, Gloria, Halleluya, Creed, Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei, the ancient Scriptural canticles were retained, translated into the vernacular and sung to the old melodies or to new, specially commissioned tunes. And to these were soon added newly versified Psalms and Hymns of praise set to newly composed tunes. The first of these collections was published in 1524 and the second, the famous Kirchenampt in May 1525. The third appeared in 1526 and development continued until 1538 when the first complete psalter in Europe was thus made available.

This development was made possible thanks to the established musical tradition at Strassburg. It was in this city that the first printed music had appeared. At the time of the Reformation, it counted among its citizens such musicians as Othmar Nachtigall, Hans Rudolfinger, Thomas Spörer and Hans Kotter. In the van of the movement for the renewal of Church music were Symphorianus Pollio the preacher, Wolfgang Dachstein the organist and Matthias Greiter¹ the cantor who was the composer of many of the now famous tunes.

After his Montbéliard ministry, Farel spent some seventeen months at Strassburg² where he was appointed minister to the French-speaking congregation. It is known that he took an active part in the affairs of the city and participated in the debate on the Eucharist. It is likely therefore, that he was not untouched by the hymnological ferment there. But some time elapsed before he took any action. Not until 1532, when he was settled as Ecclesiastes at Morat, did any hymns appear in the French language. That year, a booklet entitled Cinq chansons nouvelles came off the presses of Farel's printer Pierre de Vingle. The same year, Antoine Saunier, Farel's colleague at Payerne, composed a musical version of the Decalogue; this was printed in 1533 by de Vingle

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1. Dachstein and Greiter were two monks who left their orders in 1524 to devote their energies to the service of the reformed cause.
2. From April 1525 to about September 1526.

under the title Chanson spirituelle des dix commandements de Dieu. 1533 saw the appearance of a second edition of the first hymn book, augmented to contain nineteen items. This was followed, the same year, by a third collection of 24 hymns entitled Noëls Nouveaux. This has been attributed to the pen of Farel and the only extant copy was found bound in at the beginning of Farel's Maniere et Fasson of 1553. No mention of the singing of hymns is made in Maniere et Fasson yet it is striking that as soon as a collection of hymns became available, it was brought together with the liturgy in one volume.

The existence of such early hymnology in the French language helps perhaps to explain certain puzzles hitherto glossed over by hymnologists. First and foremost among these is the text of the 'Articles' presented by the Reformers to the Council of Geneva and discussed on 16 January 1537.

'It is expedient, for the edification of the Church, to sing a few Psalms in the form of public oration, by which prayer may be offered to God or his praise be sung, so that the hearts of all may be moved and incited to form such prayer and render such praise and thanks to God...

Another part concerns the psalms which we would like sung in Church as we have example in the ancient Church and also the testimony of Saint Paul who says it is good to sing with heart and mouth in the congregation. None can conceive the advancement and edification which will proceed from this unless he has tried it out. As we have it at present, the prayers of the faithful are so cold that they turn us to shame and confusion ... This procedure has seemed good to us that some children, to whom a modest and churchly hymn has previously been taught, should sing aloud and distinctly, the people listening attentively and following in their hearts what is sung by mouth until, little by little, one and all get used to singing together'.¹

Although presented by Farel, it is generally recognised that Calvin took a leading part in the drafting of these 'Articles'. Following the lead given by Herminjard, scholars have even gone so far as to ascribe Calvin exclusive authorship. The reference to hymnology is generally explained by the assumption that while supervising the printing of his Christianae Religionis Institutio at Basel², Calvin visited Strassburg and while there, was won over

1. Les ministres de Genève au Conseil de Genève (Articles baillés par les prescheurs. 16 January 1537) Herminjard: op.cit., IV. p. 154 ff. No.602.

2. Late 1535 to about May 1536.

by congregational singing. The assumption of such a journey is unnecessary if we bear in mind that by that time, congregational singing was well established at Basel. Furthermore it is unlikely that even had he visited Strassburg, Calvin would really have been so influenced by a usage of which he could have gained but a fleeting impression. It may well be that the singing at Basel, which he was able to study for a period of months, may have disposed him favourably towards the practice¹. But here we should perhaps lend greater weight to the experience of Farel, both at Strassburg and in northern canton of Vaud. The statement: 'None can conceive ... unless he has tried it out', seems to indicate previous experience and experimentation.

There is no definite evidence that the Council's acceptance of the 'Articles' meant that all the recommendations were put into practice. Yet a letter from Calvin and Farel to the Synod of Zurich² would almost allow us to infer that some steps towards implementation were taken. Describing the tasks they faced, they wrote:

'To reinstitute the former and more frequent use of Holy Communion ... also to associate the singing of psalms to public prayers ...'³

What hymns or psalms could the reformers have had in mind? Both Calvin and Farel could compose expeditiously when they felt the need, yet no hymnary appeared at Geneva in the fifteen months between the drafting of the 'Articles' and the expulsion of the

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1. The French congregation at Basel could not sing, no hymn book having as yet been provided in that language, unless they had received copies of the books from northern canton of Vaud (see p.141). Not knowing any German, one wonders whether Calvin would have been able to form any accurate impression of the benefits of congregational singing at Basel.
2. 29 April to 4 May 1538.
3. May 1538. Herminjard: op.cit., V, p.6 No. 708.

Reformers in May 1538. It is probable that a slow start perhaps had been made using the available Vaudois hymn books¹.

Even after their ways had separated, Farel and Calvin continued to collaborate in promoting congregational singing². This is why John Zwick was able to write to Bullinger only a few months after Calvin had taken charge of the French-speaking congregation at Strassburg:

'Gallis Argentorati ecclesia data est in qua a Calvino quater in septimana conciones audiunt, sed et coenam agunt et psalmos sua lingua canunt'.³

In 1539, having received the first batch of Marot's versified psalms and building on his experience, Calvin was able to publish a booklet containing nineteen psalms and three canticles: Aulcuns pseumes et cantiques mys en chant⁴ which was to be the cornerstone of the later Genevan Psalter. This booklet was expanded in 1542, to contain thirty-five psalms and four canticles.

Whatever start had been made in congregational singing in Geneva, very little could have been left when Calvin returned in 1541.

'It shall be good to introduce churchly hymns the better to incite people to pray and praise God. For the beginning, little children shall be taught, then, in time, the whole church will be able to follow suite'.⁵

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1. It seems that versified psalms in French may well have existed before those published by Marot in 1541. Bulaeus: Histoire Universelle VI, p.234: 'Ann. 1531. Die 17 Decembris, in Rectorem electus est M. Landericus Maciot ... et eo die vetitum legere Psalmos Davidicos gallice versos a Maroto. Sic enim Acta Germanicae Nationis: Quum autem certi suppullarent haereseos libri, carminibus Davidicos Psalmos complectentes, 17 Kal. Jan., apud Mathurinorum aedem habita Comitia, ne post hae divenderentur hujus modi libri'. Had some of these reached Geneva?
2. See letters from Calvin to Farel dated 29 December 1538, 8 October 1539 and 27 October 1539. These may be found in Herminjard: Correspondance ... Vol.V, p.446 and Vol VI, pp. 58 and 118 respectively.
3. Constance 9 November 1538. Calvin: Opera X, 2, col. 288.
4. This contained thirteen Psalms by Marot, four by Calvin and two the authorship of which is not ascertained. The Creed is attributed to Calvin but the text of the Nunc Dimmitis and of the Decalogue has not been ascribed to any author.
5. Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques de Genève 20 November 1541.

Did the Ecclesiastical Ordinances imply that training in congregational singing would have to start again from scratch, or that a new start had to be made with a new book?

At Neuchâtel, Farel was able to conduct a more sustained effort. Although almost an exact copy of those of Geneva, the Articles of Neuchâtel show congregational singing to be well established there.

'And on Sundays, the children shall continue to sing spiritual psalms and other divine and churchly hymns, the better to incite the people to pray and praise God'.¹

And in Farel's old 'diocese' of northern Vaud, the practice he had started continued and developed, elicited this acid comment in 1540:

'It should be noted that unable to contain themselves, the Lutherans at Orbe have invented new activities and have started a practice of singing the Psalms of David ... at the beginning of the Sermon'.²

The seed sown by Farel and his colleagues in 1532 had taken root. Versifiers and composers sprang up in Neuchâtel, Vaud and Geneva. Pierre Pidoux, in Le Psautier Huguenot, Vol.2 (3), has collected numerous references to authors, composers and publications of the times. Suffice it here to refer to a letter from Antoine Bonnet (also known as Thomassin), dated from Geneva 31 July 1538:

'I hereby send you a hymn I have composed according to the measure of grace God has granted me, in which, speaking of Christ in particular I understand you all also. This I make clear at the end because Christ counts as done to him, all that is done to his people'.⁴

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1. Articles concernant la reformation de l'eglise de Neufchastel ... October/November 1541.
 2. Pierrefleur: op.cit., 1540.
 3. Pidoux: Le Psautier Huguenot
 4. Eight confiscated letters sent by various reformed persons of Geneva and found in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris occupying folios 5 to 22 of Vol. 502 of the Dupuy collection. Thomassin was minister in a number of parishes in the vicinity of Neuchâtel and Bienne.

IX. CONCLUSION

Our brief survey of Farel's life¹ has shown him to be much more important in the French-speaking reformation than is generally thought. Only through consideration of his role and his relationship with other reformers, particularly in the period 1523 to 1542 can certain developments in the reformation generally be understood. Even after 1542, his influence and actions at critical times swayed the course of the Swiss Reformation.

In this study, however, we have been chiefly concerned with his liturgical efforts and their influence on the continuing development of reformed thinking and practice in worship. We shall therefore sum up here the main features of what has appeared in the preceding pages.

1. The dating and place of Maniere et Fasson in the Scheme of reformation liturgies.

The evidence brought to light by this study² is overwhelming proof that Maniere et Fasson did not appear as a new departure in liturgies in 1533. There is clear indication that it was no more than the reprint of an earlier publication by Farel which was composed at Montbéliard and which probably incorporated forms developed when he was a preacher to the French-speaking reformed community at Basel. Further proof is that Farel's liturgy continued in use at Montbéliard until Toussain went there in 1535³. We should therefore accept the fact that Maniere et Fasson first came

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1. See Chapter I.
2. The external evidence is presented mainly in page 42 ff above, while the internal evidence is mainly derived from the study of the individual services.
3. Toussain's own liturgy: L'Ordre qu'on tient en l'église de Montbéliard en instruisant les enfans, et administrant les saints sacremens, avec la forme du Mariage et des prières, printed in 1559 at Basel follows Maniere et Fasson closely for Baptismal and Marriage services. Only in the order for the Lord's Supper does Toussain innovate by steering half-way between reformed and Lutheran forms. The reason for Toussain's attempt was the pressure exerted by Count Christopher to Lutheranise Montbéliard. See J. Viénot: Histoire de la Réforme dans le pays de Montbéliard...

off the press late in 1524 or early in 1525 and thus constitutes the first reformed liturgy in the French language.

Farel's liturgies must now be placed in relation to other reformed service books. The dating of Maniere et Fasson automatically invalidates most of the attempts to make it dependent on Bernese or even Strassburg forms. The resemblance noted between Maniere et Fasson and the Strassburg orders for the solemnisation of Marriage (1526 - 1533) would now indicate that the Strassburg reformers were inspired by Farel's liturgy for the celebration of Marriage, which they translated and adapted freely, and in so doing, they tidied it up considerably¹.

Maniere et Fasson cannot, therefore, continue to be considered as unimportant. Maxwell's fivefold scheme of reformed liturgical schools must be amended accordingly². A sixfold scheme would probably be the most suitable:

1. Luther in Germany, (beginning with Carlstadt in 1521)
2. Zwingli at Zurich, (beginning in 1523)
3. Bucer at Strassburg (beginning with Schwartz in early 1524)
4. Farel in French-speaking areas (beginning in late 1524)
5. Calvin at Strassburg and Geneva (beginning in 1539)
6. Cranmer in England (beginning in 1543)

Of these, it should be noted that only the first four can truly be called pioneering schools. The last two are noteworthy more for their selection and adaptation from the work of their predecessors. Among the pioneers, Farel is unique in that he alone began by deriving his orders from the congregation's experience of worship. His was a lay approach; he did not try to produce a vernacular revised Mass. His orders were derived from the congregation's experience of worship. In this, he was followed by the later Zwingli when he took to collaborating with Leo Jude.

2. The influence of Farel's liturgies on reformed worship

The generally received view is that Farel pioneered the French-speaking reformation, handed over the reins to the people he had chosen to assume leadership and then faded gracefully from

1. See pp.92 ff.

2. Maxwell: An outline of Christian Worship, p.73

the scene. Even the narrow scope of this study is sufficient to show that this view is far from correct. Apart from continuing in use for a long time at Neuchâtel, the liturgical forms Farel pioneered had considerable influence on the development of the Genevan orders which, in turn, were to become the standard and inspiration for the majority of reformed Churches.

At Neuchâtel, faithfulness to Farel is no more than one could have expected considering that he brought the reformation to city and countryside and then ministered in the city for some twenty-seven years until his death. Montbéliard, where his liturgical activities began, was also faithful to Farellian tradition. We have noted that the Interim and then state-enforced lutheranisation had caused considerable difficulty there. Toussain's L'Ordre qu'on tient ..., of which a manuscript copy dating from 1545 exists, was a masterpiece of diplomacy, conserving (and improving) as much as possible within the new state-imposed framework. A comparison of Farel's and Toussain's baptismal prayers shows clearly how closely the latter followed the former even while softening the statement of the doctrine of predestination and improving the style:

Maniere et Fasson

Dieu tout puissant pere eternel
plain de
toute misericorde, qui de ta bonté
nous a promis d'estre nostre
Dieu & de noz enfãs ainsi que
de Abraham & des siës, nous te
prions et humblemēt requérons
 que tu donnes a cest enfant ton
 saint esperit, le receuāt en
laliãce de ta misericorde
 selon lordonnãce de ton ppos
 immuable: affin que au tēps
 que tu as ordonne, il te
congnoisse cōme son dieu, te
 adorant & seruāt toy seul, uiuāt
 & mourāt en toy, tellemēt q̄ nostre
baptisme & reception en ta sainte

L'Ordre qu'on tient...

Seigneur Dieu tout puissant, nostre
 pere celeste et createur, plein de
toute misericorde, qui de ta grace et
bonté nous a promis d'estre nostre
Dieu et de noz enfans ainsi que
d'Abraham et des siens: nous te
prions et humblement requérons
 qu'il te plaise par ta grace
recevoir cest enfant en
l'alliance eternelle de ta sainte
misericorde le lavant et nettoyant
 de toute souillure et ordure, de
 tout vices et péchez: et luy
 communiquer d'en haut la grace de ton
 Saint-Esprit: afin que ce baptisme
et réception que nous faisons aujourd'hui, recevans cest enfant en

assemblée que nous faisons ne soit en uain, mais q'il soit urayement baptise en la mort de ton filz en renouvellement de uie te plaisant & estant agreable par iceluy Jesuchrist ton filz nostre sauueur.
Amen.

l'assemblée et compagnie de tes fideles ne soit fait en vain: ains qu'il soit par toy vrayement receu, et escrit au livre de tes saints esleus, vrayement baptisé et régénéré de ton Saint-Esprit. Tellement qu'il te congnoisse seul urai Dieu, loue, honnore et glorifie seul: ayant pour son seul Sauueur, patron et Advocat auprès de toy, celui que tu as ordonné, assavoir Jesuchrist, ton cher Filz, nostre Siegneur. Et que suyvant nostre regle et profession, l'exemple et doctrine de nostre Sauueur, cest enfant, vive tout le temps de sa vie en
perpetuelle mortification et délaissement de tous vices et péchez et en perpetuelle renouation et accroissement de bonne et sainte vie, qui te soit plaisante et agréable, par iceluy Iesuchrist ton cher filz nostre Seigneur.
Ainsi soit-il.

As mentioned above, Toussain's order for the Eucharist had to conform to Lutheran ideas. The general arrangement remained similar to Farel's even though the content was changed considerably. But in spite of the changes, some of Farel's chief emphases were reproduced and even amplified: the unity, fraternity and mutual love of christians as a fruit of the Eucharist; the memorial of our Lord's life, death and ascension.

Toussain's marriage service remained strongly Farellian, even though a number of stylistic improvements were made. For the

preaching service, no indications are given except for a prayer which appears under the title: Prayer for Wednesday.

Montbéliard can perhaps be looked on as a backwater of the reformation. But Farel's influence went further than this. Although Calvin returned to Geneva in 1542 with an adaptation of his Strassburg usage, yet his dependence on Farel can be traced in some of his orders. We have already noted¹ that Farel's order for celebrating marriage was incorporated almost verbatim in Calvin's La Forme des prieres...². Calvin was followed by Pullain and by Huycke and in turn again by The Forme of Prayers... (1556) which later became the Book of Common Order³. In Geneva, the Farellian form, amended and augmented, has remained in use to this day.

Farel's Baptismal service can also claim a considerable influence on the development of reformed usage. Although Calvin, in his Letter of farewell⁴, stated that he composed his baptismal service while at Strassburg and under the pressure of necessity, he also said that it was the form he had found on arrival at Geneva⁵, i.e. the Farellian form. The former of these statements has generally been heeded by scholars who have found little similarity between Calvin's and contemporary German orders⁶, while the latter has been neglected. The two statements are not as irreconcilable as they may appear. It may well be that, not having Farel's order at hand when he arrived at Strassburg in 1538, Calvin was forced to improvise. But his improvisation rested on his recollection of Genevan usage. This is born out by close comparison of Calvin's Strassburg form La Maniere de faire prieres ... and Farel's orders. There is considerable superficial difference between the two yet, on closer examination, a number of themes reappear, often in similar language. The short post-baptismal prayer in La Maniere de faire prieres, which has been omitted

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1. See p. 88 above.
 2. It might be noted, in passing, that the marriage service in La Forme des prieres differs considerably from that in La Maniere de faire prieres ..., his Strassburg order. Returning to Geneva, Calvin reverted to Farellian usage.
 3. The mutual dependence of these forms has been studied and is set out by Maxwell: The Liturgical portions of the Genevan service Book, pp. 53-54 and 144 ff.
 4. Calvin: Opera, X. p.894. 'Je fus constrict... de faire le formulaire du baptesme estant a Strassbourg, et qu'on m'apportoit les enfans des Anabaptistes... Je fis alors ce formulaire rude...'
 5. Ibid, IV. p.538. Letter to the Magistrates at Berne.
 6. Maxwell: op.cit., p.48.

in La Forme des prieres, is identical with Farel's Nostre Seigneur Dieu, par sa grace et bonté, face que cest enfant... Calvin's prayer, Seigneur Dieu, pere eternal et tout puissant¹ is no more than a paraphrase of Farel's Dieu tout puissant pere eternal ... and deals with the same points. The reading of the Gospel pericope on Jesus blessing the childred is followed by the same conclusions in both, notably the denial of the contemporary Roman doctrine that unbaptised children are not saved. The points of similarity are too marked for us to pass them off as simple coincidence; these are definite signs of dependence, showing that Calvin's Strassburg service attempted to reconstitute a familiar form which was not immediately available to him and that on his return to Geneva, he further amended his forms to make them more fully conform with those to which the Genevan Church was accustomed. In this manner, through Calvin's liturgies, Farel's influence has persisted to the present day.

Farel's instructions for visiting the sick, which show so much of his humanity, compassion and pastoral concern, did not achieve such distinguished service. Although they were abridged by Calvin², whom Huycke and Pullain followed³ and in turn influenced the formulation of the BCO, these instructions were soon condensed

1. Seigneur Dieu, Pere eternal & tout puissant, puis qu'il ta pleu, par ta clemence infinie, nous promettre que tu seras Dieu de nous & de noz enfans: nous te prions qu'il te plaise de confermer ceste grace en l'enfant present, engendre de pere & mere, lesquelz tu as appelle en ton Eglise, & comme il t'est offert & condacre de par nous, que tu le veuilles recevoir en ta sainte protection, te declarant estre son Dieu et sauveur en luy remettant le peche originel duquel est coupable toute la lignée d'Adam: puis apres le sanctifiant par ton Esprit: afin que quand il viendra en eage de congnoissance, il te recongnoisse & adore, cōme son seul Dieu, te glorifiant en toute sa vie, pour obtenir tousiours remission de ses pechez. Et afin qu'il puisse obtenir telles, qu'il te plaise l'incorporer en la communion de nostre Seigneur Iesus, pour estre participant de tous ses biens, comme l'un des membres de son corps. Exaulce nous Pere de misericorde: afin que le Baptesme que nous luy communicquons selon ton ordonnance, produise son fruict & sa vertu, telle qu'elle nous est declarés par ton Evangile...'

2. See p. 138 f.

3. Maxwell: op.cit., p. 55-57 and 160 ff.

to a few sentences before being omitted entirely from the service books. By 1724, no trace of a form or of instructions for visiting the sick remained in the Genevan service book¹.

Other signs of Farel's liturgical influence may also be detected in the absence of an absolution after the confession of sins in the preaching service². But more important still, was that left by Farel's high regard for the eucharist. This led him to react against the contemporary practice of fixed quarterly communion³ and is reflected in the Genevan 'Articles' of 1537:

'It is certain that a Church cannot be said to be well-ordered and run except that in which the holy Supper of our Lord is often celebrated and frequented ... It would be desirable that the Lord's Supper be communicated at least every Sunday in practice ... It was not instituted by Jesus to be commemorated twice or thrice a year but as a frequent exercise of our faith ... Taking this into account, it has seemed good to us that in the meantime ... this holy Supper be celebrated once a month...'

In his desire for frequent communion, Farel received strong support from Calvin who, in the 1536 edition of the Institutes, had already expressed his views as to its desirability. Farel was also able to influence his colleagues at Neuchâtel and to obtain their support for a similar plea in the Neuchâtel 'Articles' of 1541 and 1542. But the force of habit and Bernese authority prevailed. Neither he, nor Calvin, were to see their wishes become reality and, with the passing of the centuries, infrequent communion became normative practice in the reformed churches.

Farel was, however, more successful in his efforts to introduce congregational song. We have already mentioned the 1532/33 experiments and the implication that some sort of a start was being made in Geneva in 1538⁴. Toussain, who had assisted Farel in the Grandson region in 1531, seemed to be aware of the experiments

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1. By that time, the visiting of the sick was dealt with in Pastoral Theology, during the training of ministers.
2. See p.125 f.
3. See p.104 f.
4. See p.141 ff. above.

made in the canton of Vaud and to have been impressed by the results for he is recorded as having written to Calvin at Strassburg asking for copies of the Psalms in French shortly after the latter had published his Aulcuns pseumes...¹. This was more than simple curiosity; Toussain's L'Ordre qu'on tient... made express provision for the singing of Psalms and Hymns. From such small beginnings, from the first 'spiritual songs' and the early rhymed psalms, the Genevan Psalter emerged, soon to be considered the hallmark and glory of reformed worship.

3. Farel as a liturgist

In attempting to evaluate Farel's liturgies, one should take care to do so as much as possible within the context in which they arose. Manner of speech, mode of presentation, emphases, all these have changed with time. The form of worship usually is an expression of faith. Furthermore it should be remembered that many of the liturgical texts of the early church were discovered only recently. One should therefore, in all fairness, endeavour to look at these liturgies through the eyes of the sixteenth century before pronouncing any judgement.

When seen in this manner, Farel's liturgical work appears typical of the times in which he lived. It was aimed deliberately at the needs of the young reformed communities. Modern liturgists would consider Maniere et Fasson to be excessively didactic. In spite of reformation claims to have rediscovered the involvement of the congregation in worship, Farel's liturgies show the minister as practically the only person who speaks and acts. Modern minds do not take readily to long winded exhortations before or during every liturgical action. But the members of the churches of the reformation saw things in a different light. Until then, they had had no place in the worship of the Church. They had been excluded from participation both physically, when the laity was separated from the centre of worship by screens, and intellectually, through the use of a ritual language which very often was spoken in such

1. Herminjard: op.cit., V. p. 452. On 28 June 1539.

a low tone as to be unintelligible. The laity had had to be satisfied with access to a sacred place for the hallowing of their private devotions. The Farellian service changed this utterly. Not only was everything said in the common language and audibly, but every action was explained. Exhortations, with their emphasis on why things were done, brought the people into the action and enabled them to take an intelligent part. The Biblical justification for the various aspects of worship enabled the growing number of new literates to correlate their faith with the Biblical account and thus to increase their understanding of Scripture and its meaning.

Farel was resolutely Biblical in the compilation of his liturgy. The titles of both Maniere et Fasson and Ordre et Maniere stated that the services should be celebrated 'faisant que selon sa sainte parole, ce quil a deffendu en son eglise soit reiecte et ce quil a commandé soit tenu'¹. The thrust of the reformation came from a return to the referent of Scripture. This referent therefore had to be shown to constitute the final authority for the actions of the Church as proof that the reformers were indeed motivated and guided by Scripture in all things. Hence the emphasis on the Word of God in preaching, in prayer and in all that was done as a Church.

In our study of the various services, we have seen how Farel abolished a number of ceremonies for lack of Scriptural warrant. In doing so, he followed the practice of the early reformed communities. The study of Scripture had made it easy to see that many of the practices of the medieval Church were not supported by Biblical authority and that some were even contrary to it. For this reason, some early reformed congregations had reduced the expression of their worship to very bare and austere services². But Farel felt it insufficient to reject the inventions of the

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1. 'In such a manner that according to his (God's) holy Word, that which he has forbidden in his Church be rejected and that which he has commanded be done'.
 2. There is very little information as to the shape and contents of reformed services in French before the publication of Farel's liturgy. Farel's witness as to his own development as set out in Epistre a tous seigneurs clearly shows the tendency there was to eliminate all that was considered contrary to Scriptural teaching. This trend is also visible in the liturgical development of both Luther and Zwingli. Lovy: op.cit., p.112 pictures early reformed worship as reduced to a kind of Bible study meeting.

'moderns'. There were other aspects of worship which had been abandoned by the Church and which needed to be reintroduced. With Scriptural authority, Farel emphasised the corporate aspect of worship, its spiritual aspect and worship as the expression of Christian witness. And when faced with the task of designing a baptismal service specifically for infants, he sought the appropriate authority in Mark 10 : 13-16 and in the assurance of Genesis 17 : 8.

Every point advanced in the explanations was supported by Scripture. Similarly Farel founded the exhortations on the Bible and developed them with the appropriate texts. Scripture also formed the basis of all prayers and even the instructions as to subjects for prayer were supported by biblical texts. All in all, Maniere et Fassion contains 336 quotations from Scripture, of which 100 came from the Gospels and 272 from the New Testament¹. The references for all these was given in the margin so that the reader or worshipper could seek for himself further guidance as to God's will.

Farel's style also contributed to make his liturgies acceptable. He wrote as he spoke, using the language of the people and the expressions they used. This is plainly visible in Maniere et Fassion: clause follows clause in endless sentences. This style resulted in many of his books being difficult to read. But a liturgy is not a literary exercise; its purpose is to be spoken and prayed. Farel's composition here, represented the thoughts and aspirations of the congregations and thus presented them with forms of worship in which they could participate.

In form, Farel's liturgies are surprisingly complete. Liturgies of the early reformation, as also many that were composed later, are usually noteworthy for what they did not contain. In the

1. The breakdown of Scripture references in Maniere et Fassion is as follows:

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|-------|----|-------|---|-------|----|-------|----|--------|----|------|---|
| Gen. | 12 | Ezra | 2 | Ezek. | 5 | John | 34 | Col. | 9 | Rev. | 3 |
| Ex. | 4 | Job | 1 | Dan. | 1 | Acts | 22 | Thes. | 5 | | |
| Lev. | 3 | Psal. | 7 | Hos. | 1 | Rom. | 25 | Tim. | 13 | | |
| Num. | 1 | Prov. | 2 | Joel | 1 | Cor. | 33 | Tit. | 2 | | |
| Deut. | 7 | Eccl. | 1 | Matt. | 44 | Gal. | 5 | Heb. | 12 | | |
| Jos. | 2 | Is. | 6 | Mark | 8 | Eph. | 16 | Pet. | 14 | | |
| Judg. | 1 | Jer. | 7 | Luke | 24 | Phil. | 2 | Jo.Ep. | 11 | | |

general movement towards abolition of the superficial, there was a serious danger of rejecting more than one thought. The discovery of the heritage of worship of the early Church has made us cautious, but until fairly recently, liturgists had very little in the way of guidelines. It was perhaps because of the very excesses he had seen, and in which he might have participated, that Farel was so prudent. While he was in Paris, he had moved about in humanistic circles and shared in their rediscovery of antiquity. He must have taken note of occasional references to worship and its structure in authors such as Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, Cyprian and Tertullian with whom he seems to have had more than a passing acquaintance¹. Whatever his authorities apart from Scripture itself, Farel showed exceptional perspicacity in identifying the essentials of Christian worship and winnowing them out from the chaff of medieval practice. Farel's rediscovery of the epiclesis in the communion service² illustrates this point. Our study of the individual services show that he was able to recognise and maintain nearly all the emphases of the early Church. At the same time, it is also obvious that Farel could not have had any circumstantial descriptions of early Church worship; he was forced to reconstitute to the best of his ability. The order of some of his services is a little unusual but his rationale for the placing of most elements in worship is clearly expressed.

Farel's boldness in rediscovering congregational worship also served him in good stead when drawing up completely new forms such as that for the baptism of infants and the reformulation of the marriage service. The latter was a relatively simple task which consisted mainly in removing a number of accretions. But in the baptismal service, Farel was forced to develop both a rationale for infant baptism and a modus operandi. It is significant, therefore, that these are the two forms which

1. See particularly Farel: Du uray usage de la Croix.

2. The epiclesis appears in the thanksgiving after communion.

have gained acceptance throughout the reformed community and, with minimal adaptations, survived to this day¹.

It is perhaps unfortunate that Farel's suite of Preaching service - Communion was displaced by Calvin's rendering of Strassburg usage. The Strassburg rite was a 'reformed Mass'; that is a Mass from which a number of elements had been removed². It therefore suffered from the same structural weaknesses as the Mass and was further impoverished by the process of elimination to which it had been subjected. It had taken the genius of Bucer and Calvin to infuse a sense of grandeur and solemnity into such a bare outline. In lesser hands, reformed worship soon came to be distinguished by barren coldness. The Farellian rite, on the other hand, with its greater richness could possibly have given more scope to later revisers.

The main weakness of Farel's liturgies lay in their style which, though easily understood by the worshipping congregations, was not always clear for the minister. Some of the prayers could be understood as being deprecatory; on the other hand they might also be understood as instructions for prayer. Some of the exhortations turn into prayer without the reader being immediately aware of the change. There is no doubt that a person using these liturgies would have studied them in advance and planned his course of action. But the fact remains that they give the impression of being unwieldy.

Making up for structural weaknesses is the wealth of material presented in the Farellian liturgies; a wealth unequalled in contemporary reformed liturgical attempts. This was perhaps due to the fact that Farel had engaged in the humanistic cycle of study and not in the theological cycle. He was, consequently, more critical of scholasticism and had a greater awareness of the Church's heritage from the early Church and from the fathers. He was able, therefore, to preserve much that his contemporaries tended to discard unthinkingly. He was also able to rethink

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1. It is commonly accepted that the Farellian form for marriage has remained the standard in reformed Churches. But it is striking to note that modern reformed baptismal services also mirror Farel's baptismal service. Typical of this is the form for the baptism of infants proposed by the Presbyterian/Congregational Joint Committee (1978).
2. See Maxwell: op.cit., p. 23-32, for the origins and development of the Strassburg rite.

worship for his times.

Finally, Farel was convinced of the necessity of the Church as the body of Christ of whom all Christians are members. Conventicles, with their emphasis on individual salvation, were unacceptable to him. He could only conceive of Christians as forming one body under the Lordship of Christ. They were called as a community to bear witness to their Lord in worship and in everyday life. This persuasion lifted his liturgies out of the pietistic mould, gave them objectivity and made them a source of inspiration and courage for the reformed Churches.

X. APPENDIX - THE TEXTS

1. The Text followed is that of Maniere et Fasson.
2. The title pages of both Maniere et Fasson and Ordre et Maniere are given in full so as to show the difference in emphasis.
3. The 'Epistle' is identical in both manuals.
4. The Order followed is that in which Maniere et Fasson is presented.
5. Variations or corrections found in Ordre et Maniere are given in footnotes.
6. Ordre et Maniere has a table of contents which will enable the reader to see in which order it presents the services.

THE TITLE

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>La maniere & fassõ quon tiēt en baillant le saint baptesmē en la saincte cõgregation de dieu: & en espousant ceulx qui viennent au saint mariage / & a la saĩcte Cene de nostre seignr/ es liēux lesq̄lz dieu de sa grãce a visite / faisāt q̄ selõ sa saincte parolle ce quil a deffēdu en sõ eglise soit reiecte / & ce quil a cõmande soit tenu. Aussi la maniere cõmēt la predication cõmēce / moyēne & finit / auec les prieres & exhortatiõs quon faict a tous & pour tous / & de la visitation des malades.</p> | <p>The manner and fashion which one uses in giving holy baptism in the holy congregation of God; and in marrying those who comē to holy marriage; and to the holy Supper of our lord, in those places which God in his mercy has visited; sothat according to his holy Word, that which he has forbidden in his church be rejected, and that which he has commanded be done. Also the manner in which preaching begins, continues, and ends; together with the prayers and exhortations made to all and for all; and of the visiting of the sick.</p> |
|---|---|

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>Lordre et maniere quon tiēt en administrant les saintz sacremens: assauoir / le Baptesme / et la Cene de nostre Seigneur. Item / en la celebration du Mariage / & en la Visitation des malades. Auec la forme quon obserue es predications / principallemēt quant aux exhortations & prieres quon y faict. Es lieux lesquelz Dieu de sa grace a uisite / faisant que selõ sa saincte parolle ce quil a deffendu en son Eglise soit reiete: & ce quil a cõmande / soit tenu.</p> | <p>The order and manner which one follows in administering the holy sacraments: that is to say Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Similarly: in the celebration of Marriage, and in the visiting of the sick. With the form one uses in preaching, mainly as far as the exhortations and prayers made are concerned. In those places which God in his mercy has visited, so that according to his holy Word, that which he has forbidden in his Church be rejected, and that which he has commanded be done.</p> |
|--|---|

'EPISTLE'

Chrestiens pour lhonneur de dieu
 nostre tresbon peré / ne regardez
 les coustumes ne le temps &
 annees / ne les hōmes / ne la
 multitude / ne l'apparēce q̃ tout
 peult auoir / soit en sciēce /
 uertu / doctrine / saīctete / ou
 autorite: mesmes quant ce seroit
 ung ange du ciel / mais seulemēt
 pensez / regardez / & diligēment
 examinez ce que le bon sauueur Jesus
 a ordonne et commande / duquel le
 pere dit.

Cestuy est mon filz bien ayme
 ouyez le. Matth. 17. A.

Nomini tuo da gloriam Domine.
 Psal. 113. B.

Esprouuez les esperitz silz sont
 de dieu. 1. Joã. 4. A.

Christians, for the honour of God
 our very good father, do not look
 to customs nor times and
 years, nor to men, nor to the
 numbers or appearance that anything
 can have, be it in knowledge,
 virtue, doctrine, holiness
 or authority, even should it be
 an angel from heaven; but only think
 and look and examine dilligently
 that which the good saviour Jesus
 has ordained and commanded, of whom
 the father said:

This is my well beloved son,
 hear ye him. (Matt. 17 : 5)

Glory be to your name o Lord.
 (Psalm 113 : 2)

Test the spirits to see whether they
 are from God. (1 John 4 : 1)

PREFACE

Quant nostre sauueur et
redempteur cōuersoit uisiblement
en ce monde / au tēps
de sō humilité / pour parfaire
loeuure de son pere comme¹ luy
auoit este cōmande / secourāt aux
poures / guerissant les malādes /
preschant lannee de grace & de
remission / & cōmēt le pere de sa
tresgrāde charite esmeu² / auoit
donne son seul filz pour sauuer le
monde / affin que tous ceulx qui
croyoyent en luy eussent la uie
eternelle. Lhomicide / le mēteur /
laduersaire / le diable³ / a fort
resiste par les siēs / sur lesquelz
il auoit la puissance & le regne /
blasmant & uituperāt ce bon sauueur
disāt quil estoit ung gourmād &
yurogne / amy des publicains & des
pecheurs / samaritain / hereticq̃ /
ayant le diable au corps / faisant
ce q̃l faisoit par la uertu de
Beelzebub / ung pecheur qui trāsgres-
soit la loy de dieu. Sur quoy le
sauueur admonnestant le siens des
choses aduenir dit. Cōme il a
este persecute / ainsi ilz serōt
psecutez / & quon mētira sur eulx
comme sur luy⁴. Auiourdhuuy nous

PREFACE

When our saviour and redeemer
conversed visibly in this world,
in the days of his humility,
to complete the work of his father
as he had been
commanded to do, succouring the
poor, healing the sick,
preaching the year of grace and of
remission, and thus the father,
moved by his great mercy, had
given his only son to save the
world, so that all who should
believe in him might have life
eternal. The mankiller, the liar
the adversary, the devil, did strongly
resist through his own over whom he
had the power and the rule, blaming
and slandering this good saviour,
saying that he was a glutton and a
drunkard, a friend of publicans and of
sinners, a samaritan, a heretic,
possessed by the devil, doing
what he did by the virtue of Beelzebub,
a sinner who transgressed
God's law. On which the
saviour teaching his own about
the things to come said: As he
was persecuted, so also they will be
persecuted, and that they would be lied
about as he had been. Today we

-
1. Ordre et Maniere adds 'il' - improving the style.
 2. O & M inverts the phrase thus: 'emeu de sa tresgrāde charite'.
 3. O & M rephrases this thus: 'Le diable qui tousiours est aduersaire de la uerite / & ennemy de nostre salut / comme ils est menteur et homicide des le commencement' - The devil who is always an adversary of the truth and an enemy of our salvation, as also from the beginning he is a liar and mankiller.
 4. O & M has this stylistic improvement: 'cōtre eulx cōme alencōtre de luy.'

uoyons cecy est accōply / ainsi
 comme par auāt il a este faict es
 apostres & aütres seruiteurs de
 dieu: lon uoit les tormentz
 les mortz / les grosses persecutions/
 sur ceulx qui ueulēt suyure puremēt
 leuāgile / la ou les successe^zs des
 scribes & pharisiēs / destituez
 de uerite / de la sapiēce de dieu
 ont puissance / & peuuēt selon leur
 desir¹ cōduyre la puissance ordonnee
 de dieu / le glaiue / a qui appartient
 de deffendre les bons / & punir les
 mauuais /² cōment ils enraigent
 apres le sang des iustes / ne
 desirant que la mort diceulx /
 uoyre aucuns mesmes dētre eulx font
 loffice des bourreaux en tormentant
 horriblemēt les poures q̄lz peuuent
 tenir en leurs mains / cōme si par
 force & tormentz lon debuoit tirer
 les gens a Jesus & a la foy /
 cōbien que nostre sauueur cōmāde
 douceur & benignite / & que par
 lenite & toute benignite³ luy &
 ses apostres ayēt uoulu tirer les
 pecheurs sans tirer autre glaiue
 que la parolle / qui est le glaiue
 de lesperit⁴ / & la ou ilz ne peuuēt/
 executer leur volunte meurriere⁵ / &

see this accomplished: just
 as in the past it was done to the
 apostles and other servants of
 God, we see the torments,
 the deaths, the great persecutions
 on them who wish to follow the Gospel
 purely, there where the successors
 of the scribes and pharisees, destitute
 of truth and of the wisdom of God,
 have power and can direct according
 to their will the power ordained
 of God - the sword, to which it
 belongs to defend the good and to
 punish the bad. How they rage
 after the blood of the just,
 desiring nought but their death,
 and some of them even go so far as to
 take over the office of the executioners,
 horribly tormenting the poor souls
 they have laid hands on, as though
 by force and torments one could
 bring people to Jesus and to faith;
 and this although our saviour commands
 gentleness and benignity and that
 through lenience and all kindness he
 and his apostles did draw
 sinners without drawing other sword
 than that of the Word, which is the
 sword of the spirit; and where they
 cannot execute their deadly will

-
1. O & M: 'gaigne ce point de conduire selon le^z desir' - manage to direct the way they want.
 2. O & M: 'cest chose merueilleuse' - it is amazing.
 3. O & M: 'recommande tant clemēce & benignite & que par douceur & toute māsueteude' - recommends clemency and benignity, and that through gentleness and all forgivingness...
 4. O & M: '... pecheurs monstrant que cest le premier & principal remede dōt nous debuons user:' - ... sinners thus showing this to be the first and main remedy one should use.
 5. O & M: '... meurriere sur les personnes:' - ... deadly will on people.

faire tuer : par mēsonges toutes
 patētes tachent & procurēt diffamer
 la sainte doctrine de nre seigneur /
 & ceulx qui la tiēnent. Ne crient ilz
 point / que ces maulditz chiens
 hereticques qui ueulēt tenir ceste
 nouvelle loy / uiuent cōme bestes /
 renōceans¹ tout / ne tenāt ne foy ne
 loy / renōceans tous les sacremens / &
 quilz ueulent point baptiser / & ne
 tiēnent rien de la sainte table de
 nostre seigneur / quilz mesprisent
 la uierge marie / & les saintz &
 saintes / et qlz nont point de
 mariage? Qui uouldroit et pourroit
 racompter tout ce que ces poures² gēs
 disēt? ausquelz nostre seignr face
 mercy & leur donne intelligence³/
 principalement a ceulx qui pechēt
 par ignorāce. Affin donc q̄ tous
 puissent ueoir la uerite / & auoir
 pleine intelligence des choses
 commēt elles passent / & par ainsi
 cōgnoistre ceulx qui mentēt si
 hardimēt / disans & parlans cōtre ce
 que ouuertemēt on faict & dit es
 eglises / lesquelles dieu par sa grace
 a uisite / & faict uenir a la refor-
 mation du saint euāgile / les blasmans
 & uituperās sans cause & a tort ōtre
 dieu & raisōn. Et affin quon se dōne
 garde quilz ne decoiuet & ne donnent
 entendre leurs mensonges pour
 uerite / icy a tous fideles
 and cause to be put to death, by patent
 lies they try and they manage to defame
 the holy doctrine of our Lord and those
 who hold to it. Do they not shout
 that these damned heretic dogs who
 wish to keep this new law live like
 animals, give up everything keeping
 neither faith nor law, reject all
 the sacraments, and that they do
 not want to baptise, and have no esteem
 for the holy table of our Lord,
 that they despise the virgin Mary
 and the saints male and female, and
 that they hold no marriage?
 Who would and could recount all
 that these poor people
 say? towards whom may our Lord show
 mercy and give them understanding,
 mainly to them who sin
 through ignorance. So that therefore
 all might see the truth, and have full
 understanding as to how things are
 done and thus know
 them who lie so outrageously,
 saying and speaking against that which
 we openly do and say in the churches
 which God, through his grace, has
 visited and brought to the reformation
 of the holy Gospel, blaming and
 slandering them wrongly and without
 cause against God and reason. And so
 that we might guard against them
 deceiving and that they might not give
 out their lies as truth, here, to all

1. O & M: 'abolissās' - a stronger accusation.

2. O & M: changes the adjective to 'malheureuses' - unfortunate.

3. O & M: recasts the phrase: 'leur donnant meilleure intelligence' - giving them better understanding.

est presētée la forme & maniere
 quon tiēt en baptisant / les exhor-
 tatiōs & prieres / qui sont faictes
 au batesme¹. Semblablemēt au saint
 mariage & a la tressainte Cene
 & table de nostre seigneur² / tout
 en langaige cōmun a ceulx qui sont
 presens / cōme porte la sainte
 doctrine de dieu / en laquelle
 cecy est prins / cōme chascun fidele
 peult ueoir & entēdre / sans regarder
 cōment ont faict les anciēs / les-
 quels plus tost lon doibt appeller
 nouueaulx / q̄ ont presume changer &
 muer les saintes ordonnāces de Jesus
 / meslant leur farine auēc la sainte
 doctrine & institution de nostre
 sauueur. Car le seign̄r dieu nous
 cōmande de ne cheminer es cōmandemens
 de noz peres / ne garder leurs
 iustices / ne estre pollutz en le^zs
 ydoles / pour tāt quil est nostre
 dieu. Parquoy nous debuōs cheminer
 en ses cōmādemens / les garder / &
 les faire. Dōc³ personne ne cherche
 icy les adiurēmens & cōiuratiōs des
 prestres desquelz ilz adiurent le
 diable: cōme sil possedoit les
 enfans / & quilz fussēt demoniacles /
 veu que le filz de diēu ne les a
 receu en telle maniere. Ainsi fault
 entēdre de leaue adiuree & enchātee /
 sur laquelle les prestres soufflent /
 disans que le saint esprit descēde
 en la fōtaine dicelle eaue.

the faithful, is presented the form and
 manner we follow in baptising, the
 exhortations and prayers made
 at baptism. Similarly at holy
 marriage and at the very holy Supper
 and table of our Lord, all in a
 language common to those present,
 as is taught by the holy teaching
 of God in which this
 is taken, as every believer can see
 and hear, without looking
 as to how the ancients did who
 we should rather call the
 moderns, who have presumed to change and
 alter the holy ordinances of Jesus,
 mixing their flour with the holy
 teaching and institution of our
 saviour. For the Lord God commands us
 not to walk in the commandments of our
 fathers nor to keep their laws nor to
 be polluted by their
 idols because he is our
 God. For this reason we must walk
 in his commandments, keep them and
 and do them. Therefore let no one seek
 here the adjurations and conjurations of
 the priests with which they adjure the
 devil as though he possessed the
 children and they were demoniacs,
 seeing that the son of God did
 not receive them in such manner. Thus
 also we must understand concerning the
 adjured and enchanted water on which the
 priests blow saying 'May the holy Spirit
 descend in this water stoup'.

-
1. O & M adds: '/ & a la tressainte Cene & table de nostre seigneur' - and at the very holy supper and table of our Lord.
 2. This clause having been transferred to the previous sentence, it is omitted here by O & M.
 3. O & M replaces the conjunction 'donc' by 'pourtant que' - for this reason.

Car le saĩct esprit na son lieu ne
 habitation es eaues: mais au
 cuer du fidele. Lẽ sel / crachatz
 & huyle ne sont icy; mais apres
 la sainte priere & enseignemẽt /
 lon baptise deaue pure & nette /
 cõme le sauueur a este baptise / &
 lès apostres ont faict. Ainsi est
 faict et garde au saint mariage /
 ou toutes ces barbouilleries de
 chappes & autres fassons de faire /
 qui ne sont prinses en la sainte
 escripture sont reiectees / comme en
 la sainte table de nostre seigñr /
 ce qui est repugnant a la parolle a
 este oste. Tachant neãtmoins le
 plus quil est possible soy conformer
 a la petitesse des infirmes / affin
 quilz ne soyent offensez en rien.
 Et croy quil nya personne q̄ ayne &
 craigne nostre seigñr qui ne prẽne
 plaisir de veoir et ouyr cecy cõment
 il sert a la gloire de nostre seigñr
 / & a ledification de son eglise:
 laquelle nostre seigñr¹ de sa grace
 repurge de toute la farine Degypte /
 & du leuain des pharisiẽs / la
 reduisant a la purete & simplicitẽ
 euãgelicque / affin que tout soit
 faict & dit en icelle selon la pure
 parolle de dieu.

For the Holy Spirit is neither located
 nor dwells he in waters, but in the
 hearts of believers. The salt, spittle
 and oil are not here; but after the
 holy prayer and teaching,
 one baptises with pure and simple water
 just as the saviour was baptised and
 the apostles also did. So also is
 done and kept at holy marriage, where
 all these crude elaborations of
 copes and other manners of doing
 which are not taken from holy Scripture
 are rejected. So also at the
 holy table of our Lord,
 that which is repugnant to the Word
 has been taken away. Trying nevertheless
 to conform as much as possible to the
 smallness of the infirm so that they
 be not offended in anything.
 And I believe that there is none who
 loves and fears our Lord but who will
 take pleasure in seeing and hearing
 how this serves to the glory of our
 Lord and to the edification of his
 church; which our Lord in his grace
 purges again of all the flour of Egypt
 and of the leaven of the pharisees,
 reducing it to the purity and the
 simplicity of the Gospel, so that
 all might be done and said in it
 according to the pure Word of God.

1. O & M deletes this repetition of 'nostre seigñr'.

¶ Declaration du saint baptesme

Le baptesme duquel on baptise / est
celuy duquel nostre seigneur a uoulu
estre baptise pour accōplir toute
iustice / cōme aussi il a uoulu
estre circoncis / & duquel il a
cōmande que ses disciples & apostres
baptisassent. Et cestuy baptesme est
uisible & materiel q̄ ne faict¹ la
persōne bōne ou mauuaise. Car les
bons & les mauuais le peuuēt
recepuoir / cōme il appert en
lescripture de Symō magus & de
saint Paul². Et ne fault attribuer
a ce baptesme cōme ont faict les
docteurs des uniuersitez en leurs
sentēces / quil dōne grace:
uirtute operis operati / cōme ilz
disent & songēt. Car le seul baptesme
q̄ iesus donne / sauue / purge / &
nettoye³ / estant de leaue de uie du
saint esperit & de feu / cōe saint
Jehā disoit / q̄l baptisoit deaue en
renouuellemēt de uie: mais celuy q̄
venoit aṽs baptiseroit du saint
esperit & de feu. Cōe aussi saīct
Pierre dit de ceulx qui auoyēt
este baptisez du saīct esperit.
Peult aucun deffendre q̄ ceulx
icy qui ont receu le saīct
esperit cōme nous / ne soyēt

Explanation of Holy Baptism

The baptism with which we baptise is
that by which our Lord willed it to be
baptised so as to accomplish all
justice, as also he willed it that he
should be circumcised, and with which
he commanded that his disciples and
apostles should baptise. And this
baptism is visible and material and it
does not make the person good or evil.
For both the good and the evil can
receive it as it appears in the
scriptures of Simon Magus and saint
Paul. And one should not, as the
doctors of the universities have done
in their 'sentences', attribute to this
baptism that it confers grace uirtute
operis operati as they say and imagine.
For alone the baptism that Jesus gives
saves, purges and cleanses, being
of the water of life of the holy Spirit
and of fire; as saint John said that
he baptised with water to the renewal
of life, but that he who would
come after would baptise with the
holy Spirit and with fire. Likewise
saint Peter said of them who had been
baptised of the holy Spirit: 'Can
any forbid that they here who like us
have received the holy Spirit be
baptised with water?

-
1. O & M adds 'de soy' - of itself.
 2. Rephrased to read: 'que Symō magus la aussi biē receu que Cornille ou saint Paul' - that Simon magus received it as did Cornelius or saint Paul.
 3. Recast to read: 'Car le seul baptesme que Jesus donne particulièrement au siēs a la uertu en soy de sauuer purger & nettoyer...' - For alone the baptism that Jesus gives to his own has the virtue in itself to save, purge and cleanse ...

baptisez deaue? Le saĩct baptesme
 de Jesus qui est inuisible /
 interieur / en lame¹/ quant le
 saint esprit est dōne / nest lie a
 ceremonies / personnes / ne temps:
 mais au seul plaisir de dieu / qui
 dōne grace / foy & salut². Mais le
 baptesme par lequel uisiblement
 on est receu en leglise entre les
 chrestiens est uisible & ne doit
 estre prins sans demāder linuisible
 qui est desperit³/ & que ainsi cōme
 uisiblement lon est receu entre les
 chrestiens; ainsi par grace on soit
 des vrays enfans de dieu / le temps
 nest cōstitue / ne lieu aussi / a
 ceulx q̄ doibuēt estre baptisez /
 la charite & edificacion de leglise
 & cōgregation doit estre rigle en
 cecy. Cest quen plaine cōgregation
 des fideles lon donne le baptesme:
 affin que celuy qui est baptise soit
 receu & repute de tous pour frere /
 & chrestien / & que tous prient
 que de cueur il soit chrestien /
 comme exterieuremēt il est estime.
 Car⁴ nest cōuenable que ce qui se

The holy baptism
 of Jesus which is invisible, interior,
 within the soul, when the holy
 Spirit is given, is not bound by
 ceremonies, persons or times,
 but by the sole will of God who
 grants mercy, faith and salvation.
 But the baptism by which one is
 visibly received into the Church among
 the christians is visible and it must not
 be undergone without asking for the
 invisible which is of the spirit; so
 that as one is visibly received among
 the christians, so also by grace,
 one might be true child of God.
 The times are not set nor the place to
 those who must be baptised; let
 charity and the edificacion of the
 church and congregation be the rule
 here. It is only in the full congregacion
 of the faithful that one
 baptises so that he who is baptised
 might be received and held by all as
 a brother and a christian and that all
 might pray that in his heart he become
 christian just as he is outwardly held
 to be. For it is not seemly that that

-
1. 'Le baptesme donne propre aux esleuz qui est inuisible / interieur / faict en lame ...' - the baptism given personally to the elect which is invisible, interior, performed in the soul ...
 2. O & M adds: 'a qui & quāt bon luy semble' - to whom and when it appears good to him.
 3. 'Mais le baptesme exterieur par lequel uisiblement on est receu en leglise entre les chrestiens / cōme il depēd du precedēt / est uisible & ne doit estre prins sans le demāder ...' - But the exterior baptism by which we are visibly received into the church among the christians, seeing it depends on the former, is visible and must not be taken without asking for it (the invisible) ...
 4. Stylistic addition of 'il'.

faict au nom de tous / soit faict
quasi par nully / cōme le plus
souuent aduient / qu'il n'ya que
fort petit nōbre en baptisāt. Et
ne fault estimer estre chose a
mespriser dassister au saīct
baptisme. Car la ung chascun est
admōneste & peult entendre
a quoy est tenu celuy qui est
baptise / & cōment il doit
viure: affin qu'on demāde la grace
a dieu de faire & tenir ce a quoy
on est oblige. Poutāt on viēt
p̃sēter les enfans / ce que doibūēt
faire ceulx a qui plus pres touchent
les enfans¹; & a qui nostre seigneur
plus en a baille la charge².
Donc quāt les plus prochains en
bonne affection les viennent
presenter au seruiteur³ du peuple
en la parolle / il commence en
ceste maniere.

which is done in the name of all be done
by hardly anybody as most often happens
that there are but few people at
baptism. And one should not
hold it to be of little account
to be present at holy baptism.
For there, each and everyone is
admonished and can hear
to what is bound he who is
baptised and how he should
live, so that we might call on God's
grace to do and to hold that to which
we have bound ourselves. For this
reason we come and present children,
which those closest to the children
must do, they to whom our Lord has
given them in charge.
Therefore when their nearest come
and present them in love to the servant
of the people in the Word, he shall
begin in this
manner.

-
1. 'ceulx a qui plus pres ilz atouchent' - stylistic improvement.
 2. O & M adds: 'Et ce en confirmation des p̃messes que Dieu leur a faict cest destre le^z Dieu & de leur semēce / de leur donner remission de leurs pechez par le lauement du sang precieulx de Jesus sō filz / les regenerer par sō saīct esprit affin quilz soyent son peuple & heritiers du royaume de uie.'
- And this in confirmation of the promises God made them to be their God and of their seed, to give them remission of their sins by the cleansing of the precious blood of Jesus his sons, to regenerate them by his holy Spirit so that they might become of his people and heirs of the kingdom of life.
 3. O & M replaces the "servant" by 'pasteur et ministre' - pastor and minister.

Nostre ayde soit au nom de dieu
qui a faict le ciel & la terre.

Amen

¶ Puis dit.

Presētez vo⁹ cest enfāt a dieu / &
a sa Sainte eglise & congregation /
demādans ql soit baptise?

¶ Respondent Ouy

¶ Le serviteur¹

Le saint esperit par la bouche
de saint Paul nous admoneste &
cōmāde de prier po² tous / car cela
plait a dieu / qui veult q̄ tous
soyent saueuz / et que tous viennēt
a la cōgnoissance de verite a
quoy il a dōne son filz en
redemptiō de noz ames / pourquoy²
sommes tous tenus de prier
lung pour lautre. Nous prierons
donc pour cest enfant / q̄ dieu
luy doint vraye & viue foy:
& que le baptesme visible
et exterieur luy soit vray signe
du baptesme inuisible & interieur /
lequel de sa grace luy plaise donner
par son saint esperit / Nous dirons
donc de cueur humblement.

Nostre pere qui es es cieulx /
sanctifie soit tō nom / ton royaulme
adviēgne / ta volunte soit faicte en
la terre cōme au ciel / donne no⁹
au iourdhuynostre pain cottidien /
& nous pardonne noz offenses: ainsi

Our help be in the name of God who
made heaven and earth.

Amen

Then he says:

Do you present this child to God and to
his Holy Church and congregation, asking
that he be baptised?

Answer: Yes

The servant

~~The~~ Holy Spirit, by the mouth of Saint
Paul, admonishes and commands us to pray
for all, for this is pleasing to God
who desires that all be saved, and
that all come to the knowledge of
the truth, for which he gave his
son for the
redemption of our souls, for which
reason we are all bound to pray
for one another. We shall therefore
pray for this child, that God
grant him true and living faith,
and that the visible and outward
baptism be for him a true sign
of the interior and invisible baptism
which by his grace, it may please
him to give by his Holy Spirit. We
shall therefore humbly say together:

Our father who is in the heavens,
sanctified be your name, may your king-
dom come about, may your will be done in
the earth as in heaven, give us
today our daily bread,
and forgive us our offences as

1. O & M uses 'le ministre'.

2. O & M reads 'parquoy'.

que nous pardonnons a ceulx qui nous
offensent / & ne nous induitz point
en tentation: mais nous deliure du
mal. Amē.

Dieu tout puissant pere eternal /
plain de toute misericorde / qui de
ta bonte nous a promis destre nostre
dieu & de noz enfās / ainsi que de
Abraham & des siēs / nous te prions
& humblemēt requerons / que tu donnes
a cest enfant ton saint esperit /
le recauāt en laliāce de ta miseri-
corde selon lordonnāce de ton p̄pos
immuable¹: affin que au tēps que tu
as ordonne / il te congnoisse cōme
son dieu / te adorant & seruāt toy
seul / viuāt & mourāt en toy / tellemēt
q̄ nostre baptesme & reception en ta
sainte assemblee que nous faisons ne
soit en vain: mais q̄l soit vrayement
baptise en la mort de ton filz en
renouvellement de vie te plaisant
& estant agreable par iceluy
Jesuchrist ton filz nostre
sauueur. Amen.

¶ Oyez le saint euangile cōme
lon doibt p̄senter les enfās
a nostre seigneur.
Lors luy furēt p̄sentez² des enfans
affin q̄l mist ses mains sur iceulx /
& q̄l priast: mais les disciples les
reṗnoient. Et Jesus dit / laissez
les enfans: & ne les defendez poīt

we forgive them who offend
us, and do not induce us
into temptation; but deliver us from
evil. Amen.

God almighty eternal father,
full of all mercy, who in your
kindness have promised to be our
God and of our children, as you are of
Abraham and his kin, we pray and
humbly request that you give
this child your Holy Spirit,
receiving him in the covenant of your
mercy according to the ordinance of
your unchanging purpose: that in
the time ordained by you, he may know you
as his God, adoring and serving you
alone, living and dying in you, so
that this baptism and reception into
your holy assembly which we perform
be not in vain, but that he be truly
baptised in the death of your Son in
renewal of life, pleasing you and
being agreeable to you through the same
Jesus Christ your son our
saviour. Amen.

Hear the Holy Gospel as to how
we must present children to
our Lord.
Then were presented to him children
so that he might lay hands on
them and pray, but the disciples
reproved them. And Jesus said: leave
the children and do not forbid them to

-
1. O & M adds: 'et participation de ta grace' - and the participation of your grace.
 2. O & M adds: 'par aucuns' - by some (people).

de venir a moy / car a telz est le
royaulme des cieulx / & mist les mains
sur eulx & les benist..

Vous avez ouy cōme nostre
seign̄r veult que les enfans luy soyent
p̄sentez¹: car il est aussi bien
pere & sauueur des enfans /
cōme des gr̄adz / pource tant
qu'il est en nous / nous luy presenter-
ons cest enfant / en le recepuant
par le baptesme en son eglise &
cōmunion auq̄l par sa grace il doint
sā sainte benediction. Amen

Apportez vous dōc cest enfant
pour estre baptise?

☞ Respondent Ouy

☞ Le seruiteur

Il est certain que nostre dieu
est le vray dieu / q̄ veult estre
serui en esperit & verite. Pourtāt
vous promettez devāt dieu & sa
congregation / que vous tacherez
prendrez peine dinstruire & enseigner
cest enfant en la sainte doctrine de
nostre seign̄r en sa sainte loy & foy
/ luy enseignāt les cōmandemens quon
garde quāt il a dit / Je suis ton
seign̄r dieu qui tay tire de la terre

come to me, for to such is the kingdom
of the heavens, and he laid his hands
on them and blessed them.

You have heard how our Lord wants
children to be
presented: for he is as much father
and saviour of children
as he is of adults. Because
he is in us, we shall present to him
this child / receiving him by
baptism into his Church and
communion, to whom by his grace he grant
his holy benediction. Amen.

Do you therefore bring this child
to be baptised?

Answer: Yes

The servant

It is certain that our God is the
true God who wants to be served
in spirit and in truth. For this reason,
do you promise before God and his
congregation that you shall endeavour
and take pains to instruct and teach
this child in the holy teaching of our
Lord, in his holy law and faith,
teaching him the commandments we keep
when he said: 'I am your
Lord God who took you out of the land

-
1. O & M adds: ' & q̄ on leur cōmuniq̄ toutes les choses qui conviēnent au baptesme. Car par sa priere & imposition des mains il ne les aduoue pas moins estre des siēs que en les baptisāt pourtāt ql est...' - and that we impart to them all things pertaining to baptism. For by his prayer and imposition of hands, he acknowledges them no less his than by baptising them. For he is ...
 2. 'Le ministre'.

Degipte de la maisõ de seruitude.
 Tu nauras poĩt dautres dieux deuãt
 moy. Tu ne feras aucun ymage ne
 semblance des choses qui sõt au ciel
 la sus / nen la terre ca bas / ne es
 eaues dessoubs la terre. Tu ne leur
 feras inclinatiõ / & ne leur seruiras:
 car ie suis ton seigñr dieu fort /
 ialoux visitant linqiute des peres
 sur les enfans en la tierce &
 quatriesme generatiõ de ceulx q̄ me
 haissēt. Et faisãt misericorde en
 mille generatiõs / a ceulx q̄ maymēt
 & gardent mes cõmãdemēs. Tu ne
 prendras point le nom de ton seigneur
 en vain / car dieu ne tiendra point
 innocent celuy qui prēt son nom en
 vain. Ayes souuenancē du iour du
 repos pour le sanctifier. Six iours
 tu trauailleras & feras toute ton
 oeuvre / le septiesme cest le repos
 de ton seigneur dieu. Tu ne feras
 aucune oeuvre ne toy / ne ton filz /
 ne ta fille / ne tõ seruiteur / ne
 ta chãberiere / ne tõ bestail / ne
 lestrãgier qui est dedens tes portes:
 car en six iours dieu a faict le ciel
 & la terre / la mer / & tout ceq̄ est
 en iceulx: et se reposa au septiesme
 iour. Po^z tant il a beneist le iour
 du repos & la sanctifie. Hõnore ton
 pere & ta mere affin que tes iours
 soyent prolongez sur la terre laquelle
 ton seigñr dieu te dõne. Tu ne tueras
 point. Tu ne paillarderas point, Tu
 ne desroberas point. Tu ne diras
 point faulx tesmoignage cõtre ton

of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.
 You shall have no other Gods before me.
 You shall make no image nor semblance
 of the things which are in heaven
 above, nor on the earth here below,
 nor in the waters under the earth.
 You shall not bow to them nor serve
 them, for I am your Lord God, strong,
 jealous, visiting the iniquity of the
 fathers on the children to the third
 and fourth generation of them that
 hate me, and being merciful to a
 thousand generations of them who love
 me and keep my commandments. You shall
 not take the name of your Lord God in
 vain, for God shall not hold him
 blameless who takes his name in vain.
 Remember the day of rest and
 sanctify it. Six days you shall work
 and do all your work, the seventh
 is the rest of your Lord
 God. You shall do no work,
 neither you, nor your son, nor your
 daughter, nor your servant, nor your
 chambermaid, nor your cattle, nor
 the stranger who is within your gates;
 for in six days God made the heavens
 and the earth, the sea and all that
 is in them, and he rested on the
 seventh day. For this reason he blessed
 the day of rest and made it holy.
 Honour your father and mother that
 your days may be extended on the earth
 which your Lord God has given you. You
 shall not kill. You shall not live in
 debauch. You shall not steal. You
 shall not give false witness against

ŕchain. Tu ne cōuoiteras point la
maison de ton ŕchain. Tu ne
quoiteras point la femme de ton
prochain / ne son seruiteur / ne sa
chāberiere / ne son boeuf / ne son
asne / ne aultre chose q̄ soit a luy.
Et aussi luy apprēdrez la foy & creāce
des vrays chrestiens & la cōfession
dicelle cōme les fideles font quant
ilz disent /

Je croy en dieu le pere tout
puissant / createur du ciel & de la
terre. Et en Jesuschrist son seul
filz nostre seigneur / qui a este
conceu du saīct esperit / nay de la
vierge marie. A souffert soubz ponce
Pilate / crucifie / mort / & ensepuely /
est descēdu aux enfers / le tiers iour
est resuscite des mortz / est mōte es
cieulx / se sied a la dextre de dieu
le pere tout puissant / & de la viēdra
iuger les vifz & les mortz.

Je croy au saīct esperit / la
sainte eglise uniuerselle / la
communion des saintz / la remissiō
des pechez / la resurrectiō de la
chair / la vie eternelle. Amen.

Lēseignerez aussi dauoir toute
sa fiance en dieu¹ / ladorer & seruir
luy seul / laymer de tout sō cueur /
sens / puissance / & entēdemēt / &

your fellow. You shall not desire
your fellow's house. You shall not
desire your fellow's wife, nor his
servant, nor his chambermaid, nor his
ox, nor his donkey,
nor any other thing of his.

And also you shall teach him the faith
and belief of true christians and the
confession thereof as the faithful do
when they say:

I believè in God the father almighty,
creator of heaven and of the
earth. And in Jesus Christ his only
son our Lord, who was conceived by
the Holy Spirit, born of the
virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius
Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried,
descended to the hells, the third day
he was resurrected from the dead, went
up into the heavens, is seated at
the right of God the father almighty,
and from there he shall come to judge
the living and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Spirit, the
holy church universal, the communion
of the saints, the remission of sins,
the resurrection of the flesh, the
the life eternal. Amen.

You shall also teach him to have all
his trust in God, adore him and serve
him alone, love him with all his heart,
mind, strength and understanding

1. O & M adds '& pource linuocquer en toutes ses necessitez / & luy dōner
louēge de tout bien de recongnostre toute sa iustice estre en Jesuschrist /
toute sa puissance en la sanctification de son Esprit / adorer ung seul
Die & seruir a luy seul' - and consequently to call on him in every need,
give him praise for all good, recognise all his justice to be in Jesus Christ,
all his strength in the sanctification of His Spirit, adore one God only and
serve Him alone.

son prochain cōme soymesme / & cōme
 vray chrestien q̄l renonce soymesme /
 abādonnāt tout pour suyure Jesus /
 portant sa croix: cest adire / les
 tribulatiōs & afflictiōs que nōstre
 seign̄r luy enuoye¹ / tellemēt que toute
 sa vie soit a lhōneur de dieu &
 edificatiō de to⁹. Et po^ztāt le²
 exhorterez & admōnesterez / le
 corrigeāt ou il faillira ainsi que
 ung chascun est tenu a son frere
 chrestiē / en sorte q̄l soit nourry
 et ensiēgne en la sainte doctrine
 de dieu³. Et ainsi vous le pmettez.

☞ Respondent / Ouy

☞ Le seruiteur

Demandez vous donc que cest enfant
 soit baptise?

☞ Respondent / Ouy

☞ Le seruiteur⁵

Nommez le. N.

Je te baptise au nom du pere / &
 du filz / & du saint esperit. Amē.

☞ Puis luy auoir mis sur la
 teste avec la main / deaue
 pure et nette / sans sel ne
 huyle ne crachats - dit en
 ceste maniere.

and his fellow as himself; and as
 true Christian that he may renounce
 himself, abandoning all to follow Jesus,
 bearing his cross, which is to say the
 tribulations and afflictions our Lord
 sends him, in such manner that his
 whole life may be to the honour of God
 and the edification of all. And to
 this end you shall exhort and admonish
 him, correct him where he fails as each
 one is bound to do to his brother
 christian, so that he may be nourished
 and taught in the holy doctrine of God.
 And so do you promise.

Answer: Yes.

The servant

Do you therefore request that this child
 be baptised?

Answer: Yes

The servant

Name him. N.

I baptise you in the name of the
 father and of the Son and of the Holy
 Spirit. Amen.

Then after having put pure and
 clear water on his head with the
 hand, - without salt or oil or
 spittle - he says in this fashion:

-
1. O & M changes to the future tense: 'envoyera'.
 2. O & M changes to the plural 'les' which accords better with the following two verbs but not with the general sense which is singular.
 3. O & M has reworded this to read: ' - et enseigne en la crainte de Dieu & sa sainte doctrine.' - and taught in the fear of God and His holy doctrine.
 4. O & M reads: 'Le ministre'.
 5. Idem.

Nostre seigneur Dieu par sa grace
& bonte faice¹ que cest enfant q̄l
a cree & forme a son image &
semblãce soit vray mēbre de
Jesuchrist son filz / portant
fruict digne cōe² enfant de dieu.

Amē.

Allez en paix. Nostrē seign̄r
soit avec vous. Faictes bonne
garde de lenfant.

May our Lord God, by his grace and
goodness, make this child, whom he
created and formed in his image and
semblance, to be true member of Jesus
Christ his son, bearing fruit worthy
as a child of God.

Amen.

Go in peace. Our Lord be with
you. Take good care of the child.

1. O & M corrects the spelling to 'face'.
2. O & M 'dung' - of a.

Ⓒ Declaration du Sainct Mariage

Le sainct mariage des le
commēcement a este institue et ordonne
de dieu / estant chose bonne / saincte
/ & hōnorable quant est deuement garde
en toute purete: & que le mary qui est
le¹ chief de la femme / ayne / garde²
/ & entretiēt icelle hōnestement /
luy gardant foy & loyaulte / & la
femme quest³ faicte pour ayde a lhōme
luy est subiecte & obeissante en tout
bien ainsi que dieu cōmande /
hōnorāt son mary⁴ ayant soing du
mésnage / en soy⁵ gardāt non seulemēt
de mal: mais aussi de toute espece de
mal / tenāt uraye fidelite & loyaulte /
tous deux aussi perseuerāt en bien
selon la doctrine de dieu / prenans
peine de uiure hōnestemēt sans faire
tort a nully / en enseignant les
enfants que dieu leur donne en la
crainte & doctrine de nostre seigneur /
& de⁶ uiure cōme dieu⁷ a cōmande. Le
mariage ne se doibt faire es degrez que
dieu deffend⁸: mais de ceulx du Pape
ne fault faire cōscience combien quon
ne luy ayt baillē de lor ou de largent

Explanation of holy Marriage

Right from the beginning, holy
marriage was instituted and ordained
of God, being a good, holy
and honourable thing when it is duly
kept in all purity; and that the
husband who is the head of the wife,
loves, keeps and maintains her duly,
keeping faith and loyalty towards her;
and the wife, who is made to be a
helper to the husband, is subject to him
and obedient in all that is good as God
commanded, honouring her husband, having
care of the household, keeping herself
not only from evil but also from all
kind of evil, maintaining true fidelity
and loyalty; both of them also
persevering in good according to God's
doctrine, taking care to live honestly
without causing harm to anyone, teaching
the children which God gives them in the
fear and doctrine of our Lord, and to
live as God has commanded. Marriage
must not be undertaken within the degrees
that God forbids; but one should not
take account of those of the Pope even
though one has not given him gold or

-
1. O & M deletes 'le'.
 2. O & M deletes 'garde'.
 3. O & M: 'qui est' for 'quest'.
 4. O & M: 'Lhonorant &'.
 5. O & M: 'se' for 'soy'.
 6. O & M: stylistic change: 'pour les preparer a uiure' - to prepare them to live...
 7. O & M uses the pronoun 'il' for 'dieu'.
 8. O & M corrects the spelling to 'deffendu'.

pour auoir dispense / car sans luy
peult on faire ce que dieu na deffendu.

Laliãce charitable & promesse
du saint mariage ne se doit faire
sans le cõsentement des parens des
deux parties: car le filz appartient
au pere & mere¹ / & a eulx appartiẽt
le donner: ainsi est il de la fille /
po^z aller deuemẽt silz ne sont
emancipez². Pourtant affin quen ce
saint estat il ny ait fraulde / &
quon ne trõpe & deceioiue meschãment
q̃lq̃ bon filz / & de gens de bien le
circõuenãt / luy faisant prẽdre quelque
meschãte / auecques laquelle iamais
nauroit bien / sãs le sceu des parẽs.
Et aussi que quelque bõne fille
de gẽs de bien ne soit
surprinse par aucun garnemẽt /
luy dõnãt quelque enfant perdu sans
le cõsentemẽt des parẽs. Po^z obuier
a toutes telles fraudes / par deux ou
troys dimẽches lon denõce le mariage
aduenir / deuãt et ouyãt³ toute
leglise / cõgregation / & parroisse:
affin q̃ to⁹ empeschemens (sil en y a)
soyent notifiez / & q̃ ce beau &
saint mariage ne soit faict que
deuement / et auoir faict la
proclamation en toute la sainte

silver so as to have dispensation,
for without him one can do what God has
not forbidden. The alliance in love and
the promise of holy marriage must not be
done without the consent of the parents
of the two parties: for the son belongs
to father and mother and it belongs to
them to give him away: so also is it of
the daughter, to proceed rightly if they
be not emancipated. Therefore so that
in this holy estate there be no fraud
and that one not mislead and badly
deceive some good son of decent people,
leading him astray making him take some
unsuitable girl with whom he would never
be well matched, without the knowledge
of his parents. And also so that some
good girl of decent parents be not
taken in by some ruffian
giving her an undesired child without
the consent of her parents. To obviate
all such frauds, on two or three
Sundays one announces the proposed
marriage before and in the hearing of
the whole church, congregation and
parish; so that all obstacles (if
there be any) be notified and that this
beautiful and holy marriage be conferred
rightly only. And having made
proclamation in the whole holy assembly,

-
1. 'car dautant que le filz est en la dñation du Pere & de la Mere /...' -
for inasmuch as the son is in the granting of the father and mother ...
 2. O & M: 'si dauenture ilz nestoyent emancipez.' - should they perchance
not be emancipated.
 3. O & M leaves out 'et ouyãt' - and in the hearing.

assēblee / & q̄ nul empeschemēt nest
trouue ne cōtradiction / au iō^z des
nopces en l'assemblée. Ainsi sont
espousez cōme sensuyt.

¶ Nostre ayde soit au nom de dieu
qui a faict le ciel & la terre.

Amen.

Dieu nre pere aṽs auoir cree la
ciel & la terre / & tout ce qui est en
iceulx / il crea & forma lhōme a sō
image & sēblāce / q̄ eut la domination
& seigneurie sur lès bestes
de la terre / les poissōs de la mer /
les oyseaux du ciel / disant aṽs
auoir cree lhōme. Il nest pas
bō q̄ lhōme soit seul / faisōs luy
une ayde semblable a luy. Et nostre
seignr fist tōber ung gros sōmeil
sur Adam: & ainsi que Adam dormoit /
dieu print une des costes diceluy / &
en forma Eue / dōnant entēdre que
lhōme & la femme ne sont qung corps /
une chair / et ung sang. Parquoy
lhomme laisse pere et mere / &
est adherāt a sa fēme. Laquelle il
doibt aymer ainsi q̄ Jesus ayme son
eglise: cestadire / les urays
fideles & chrestiens / pour lesquelz
il est mort / & de son sang quil a
espandu les a lauez / purgez / &
nettoyez pour les rendre a soy sans
macule / ride ne souillure. Et aussi
la femme doibt seruir & obeir a son
mary en toute saintete & hōnestete /
car elle est subiecte en la puissance
du mary tant quelle uit avec luy.

without any obstacle being found
nor contradiction, to the day of the
wedding in the assembly. So they
are married as follows.

Our help be in the name of God
who made heaven and earth.

Amen.

God our Father, after having
created heaven and earth and all that
is in them, he created and formed man
in his image and resemblance, who
obtained domination and rule over the
beasts of the earth, the fish of the
of the sea, the birds of the air,
saying after having created man: 'It
is not good that man should be alone.
Let us make him a helper similar to
himself.' And our Lord caused a heavy
sleep to fall on Adam; and as Adam
slept, God took one of his ribs and
of it formed Eve, thus showing that
man and woman are but one body,
one flesh and one blood. For which
the man leaves father and mother and
adheres to his wife. Whom he must
love as Jesus loves his Church:
that is to say the true faithful and
christians for whom he died and,
with his blood outpoured, washed,
purged and cleansed to
render them to himself without
spot, blemish nor stain. And also
the wife must serve and obey her
husband in all holiness and honesty,
for she is subject to the power
of her husband for as long as she lives

Et ce saint mariage honorable
 institue de dieu est de telle
 uertu / que par iceluy le mary
 na point la puissance de son corps:
 mais la femme / aussi la femme na
 point la puissance de son corps:
 mais le mary. Parquoy conioinctz
 de dieu ne peuuēt estre separez
 fors que par aucū tēps du
 cōsentemēt le lung et de laultre
 pō^z uacquē a ieusne & oraison /
 gardāt biē q̄lz ne soyēt tentez
 de sathan par incōtinēce / Et
 poutāt doibuēt retourner ensēble /
 car pour euitier fornication ung
 chascun doibt auoir sa femme / et une
 chascune femme son mary / tellement
 que tous ceulx qui ne se peuuent
 contenir / & qui nont le don de
 continence / sont obligez par le
 cōmandement de dieu de soy¹ marier:
 affin que le saint temple de dieu:
 cest adire / noz corps ne soyent
 violez & corrompus. Car puis q̄ noz
 corps sont membres de Jesuchrist /
 grādement nous est deffendu / den
 faire membres de la paillarde /
 parquoy on les doibt garder en
 toute sainttete: car si aucun uiole
 le tēple de dieu / dieu le
 destruira / & singulieremēt au
 saint estat de mariage / cōme
 nostre seign^r² bien demonstre /

with him. And this holy, honourable
 marriage, instituted by God, is of
 such virtue that through it, the
 husband has no longer power over his
 own body, but the wife has;
 similarly the wife no longer has power
 over her body, but the husband. For
 this reason those conjoined by God
 cannot be separated unless it be at
 any time by mutual consent in order
 to conduct fasts or prayers, taking
 care that they be not tempted by
 Satan through incontinence. And for
 this reason they must return to each
 other for to avoid fornication, each
 man must have his wife and each
 woman her husband. In such manner
 all those who cannot contain
 themselves and who lack the gift of
 continence are forced by the
 commandment of God to marry;
 so that the holy temple of God, that
 is to say our bodies, be not
 violated and corrupted. For seeing
 that our bodies are members of Jesus
 Christ, we are greatly forbidden to
 turn them into members of the whore.
 For which reason we must maintain
 them in all holiness; for if one
 violates the temple of God, God will
 destroy him; and especially so in
 the holy state of marriage as our
 Lord clearly showed,

1. O & M: 'se' for 'soy'.

2. O & M introduces the auxillary verb 'a' which was probably left out by a printer's error.

cõmandant que la femme qui rompt son mariage quelle meurt de mort / elle & le paillard.

Uous donc (nommant lespoux & lespouse) N. N. ayans congnoissance que dieu ainsi la ordonne / uoulez uous uiure en ce saint estat de mariage / que dieu a si grãdemēt hõnore / auez uous ung tel propos cõme uous tesmoingnez icy deuant la saint assemblee / demandans quil soit approuue?

☞ Respondent / Ouy

☞ Le seruiteur¹

Je uous prens tous qui estes icy presens en tesmoings / uous priãt en auoir souuenãce / toutesfois sil y a aucun q̄ saiche qlque empeschemēt selon q̄ dieu a deffẽdu / on que aucun de eulx soit lie par mariage avec autre / quil le die par bonne charite.

Si personne ne contredit le ministre dira ainsi.

Puis quil ny a persõne qui cõtredise / & ql ny a point dẽpeschement / nostre seigneur dieu cõferme uostre saint propos ql uous a donne / & uostre cõmencement soit au nom de dieu qui a faict le ciel & la terre. Amen

☞ Le ministre parlant a lespoux / dit ainsi.

Uous N. confessez icy deuant dieu & sa sainte cõgregatiõ / q̄ uous auez

commanding that the woman who breaks her marriage should die death, she and the whoremonger.

You therefore (naming the groom and the bride) N. N. in the knowledge that God has ordained it so, do you wish to live in this holy estate of wedlock which God has so greatly honoured. Do you have such a purpose as you signify here before the holy assembly, asking that it be approved?

Reply : Yes

The servant

I take you all who are here present as witnesses, asking that you remember it. Nevertheless should any know of some impediment according to as God has forbidden, or should either of them be bound by marriage to another, let them say in all charity.

Should no one contradict, the minister shall speak thus:

seeing that no one contradicts and that there is no impediment, may our Lord God confirm your holy purpose which he has given you. And my your beginnings be in the name of God who made heaven and earth. Amen

The minister speaking to the groom speaks thus:

You N. do you confess here before God and his holy congregation that

1. O & M uses the title 'Le ministre'. This title is already present in Maniere et Fasson as can be seen when he addresses the groom.

prins & prenez pour uostre femme & espouse / N. icy presente / laquelle promettez garder en laymant & entretenãt fidelemẽt ainsi que ung uray et fidele mary doit faire sa femme¹ / uiuant saintement avec elle / luy gardãt foy & loyaulte en toutes choses selon la saĩcte parolle de dieu & son saint euãgile.

¶ Respond / Ouy

Puis parlant a lespouse dit.
Uous N. cõfessez icy deuãt dieu & sa sainte assemblee / quẽ uous auez prins & p̃nez. N. po^z uostre legitime mary / auq̃l promettez obeyr / luy seruãt & estant subiecte / uiuant saintemẽt / luy gardant foy & loyaulte en toutes choses aĩsi q̃ une fidele & loyalle espouse doit a son mary selon la parolle de dieu & le saint euãgile.

¶ Respond / Ouy

Puis le ministre dit.
Le pere de toute misericorde q̃ de sa grace uous a appelez a ce saĩct estat de mariage / pour lamour de Jesuchrist sõ filz qui par sa sainte presence a sanctifie le mariage / faisant la le premier signe deuant ses apostres / uous doint son saĩct esperit / pour parfaire en ce noble estat sa sainte uolunte. Amen.

Escoutez² comme nostre

you have taken and do take, as your wife and spouse, N. here present, who you promise to keep in love and maintain faithfully, as a true and faithful husband must do to his wife, living in holiness with her, keeping faith and loyalty in all things according to the holy word of God and his holy Gospel.

Answer : Yes

Then speaking to the bride he says:
Do you N. confess here before God and his holy assembly, that you have taken and do take N. for your legitimate husband, who you promise to obey, serving him and being subject to him, living saintly, keeping faith and loyalty to him in all things as a faithful and loyal wife is bound towards her husband according to the Word of God and the holy Gospel.

Answer : Yes

Then the minister says:
May the father of all mercy who of his grace has called you to this holy estate of marriage, for the love of Jesus Christ his son who by his holy presence did sanctify marriage, there performing the first sign in front of his apostles, give you his holy Spirit so as to perfect his holy will in this noble estate. Amen.

Listen how our Lord

-
1. 'ainsi q̃ le debuoir dung uray et fidele mary est a sa femme' - as is the duty of a true and faithful husband to his wife.
 2. O & M adds: 'Leuãgile' - to the Gospel.

seigneur ueult que le saint mariage
soit garde / & cōme il est ferme &
indissoluble / selon q̄l est escript en
saint Matth. au xix chaḡ.

Les pharisiens s'approcherēt de luy
le tentant & disans. Est il lōysible a
lhōme de laisser sa femme pour q̄lcōque
occasion? Et respondant leur
dist. Nauez uous point leu / que
celuy qui fist l'homme des le
cōmencemēt / il feist le masle &
femelle: & dist. Pource lhōme
delaissera pere & mere / & se
adioindra a sa fēme: & serōt deux
en une chaire: et par ainsi ils ne
sont plus deux: mais une chair /
dōcques ce que dieu a cōioinct /
l'homme ne separe point.

Croyez a ces saintes parolles
que nostre seigñr Jesus a proferees /
cōme le saint Euāgeliste les a
récitees / & soyez certains q̄ nostre
seigneur dieu uous a conioninctz en
ce saīct estat de Mariage: parquoy
uiuiez saintement ensēble en bōne¹
paix & union / gardās uraye charite
/ foy / & loyaulte lung a laultre /
selon la saīcte parolle de dieu.
De quoy nostre seigneur uous en
doint la grace.

¶ Prions donc tous dung cuer
nostre pere.

Dieu tout puissant / tout bon / &
tout sage / qui des le cōmēcemēt
as preueu / quil nestoit point bon

desires that holy marriage
be kept and how it is firm and
indissoluble, as is written in
Saint Matthew chapter 19.

The Pharisees approached him,
tempting him and saying: 'Is it
permissible for a man to leave his
wife for any pretext? And replying
he said: 'Have you not read that he
who made man in the beginning, he
made them male and female and said:
"For this reason the man shall leave
father and mother and shall join
himself to his wife, and they shall
be two in one flesh," and in this
manner they are no longer two, but one
flesh. Therefore that which God has
joined, man shall not separate.'

Believe these holy words which
our Lord Jesus pronounced
as the holy evangelist has recounted
them, and be certain that our
Lord God has joined you in
this holy estate of marriage. For
which reason live together in holiness
and good peace and unity, keeping true
charity, faith and loyalty one towards
the other according to the holy Word of
God. For which may our Lord grant you
the necessary grace.

Let us all pray with one heart
to our father.

Almighty God, all good and
all wise, who from the beginning did
foresee that it would not be good that

1. O & M adds 'dilection' - pleasure.

que l'homme fust seul / a cause de quoy
 tu luy as cree une ayde semblable a
 luy / & as ordonne q̃ deux fussēt ung.
 Nous te priōs & humblement requérons
 puis quil t'a pleu appeller ceulx icy
 au saint estat de mariage que de ta
 grace & bonte leur vueilles dōner &
 enuoyer ton saīct esperit:
 affin quen uraye & ferme foy selon
 ta bonne uolunte ilz uiuēt au saint
 estat de mariage¹ surmontans
 toutes mauuaises affectiōs:
 & uiuāt puremēt / edifiās les aultres
 en toute honnētete & chāstete / leur
 donnant ta benediction: ainsi que a
 tes fideles seruiteurs Abrahā / Isaac /
 & Jacob / que ayās sainte lignee ilz
 te louēt & seruēt / apprenans icelle
 & la nourrissant en ta louenge &
 gloire / et a l'utilite du prochain /
 en lauancemēt & exaltation de
 ton saint Euangile. Exausse
 nous pere de misericorde par nostre
 seigneur Jesuchrist ton treschier filz.

Amen.

Nostre seigneur uous rēplisse de
 toutes graces / & en tout bien uous
 doint uiure ensemble longuement &
 saintement. Allez en paix. Dieu
 soit tousiours avec uous. Amen.

Pour plusieurs causes & raisons
 que peuuent aduenir / il seroit bon
 escrire le nom de ceulx qu'on
 baptise / et le iour quilz sont
 baptisez. Et aussi le nom de ceulx
 qu'on espouse & pareillement le iour
 en ung petit liuret.

man should be alone, for which reason
 you created him an helper similar to
 himself, and did command that two
 should be one. We pray and humbly
 request that as it pleased you to
 call these here to the holy estate of
 marriage, from your grace and kindness
 you might grant them and send them your
 holy Spirit, so that in true and firm
 faith according to your good will they
 might live in the holy estate of marriage,
 overcoming all evil affections and
 living in purity, edifying all in all
 honesty and chastity. And grant
 them your blessing as you did to
 your faithful servants Abraham, Isaac
 and Jacob, that having holy descendants,
 they might praise and serve you,
 teaching them and nourishing them in
 your praise and glory, and to the
 service of their fellows, to the advance-
 ment and exaltation of your holy Gospel.
 Hear us father of mercy through our Lord
 Jesus Christ your most dear son.

Amen.

May our Lord fill you with
 all grace, and may he grant you
 in all good to live together long
 and in holiness. Go in peace. May God
 be with you always. Amen.

For many reasons and causes which
 may occur, it would be good
 to write the names of those whom one
 baptises and also the date on which they
 are baptised. And also the name of those
 one marries and similarly the date in a
 little booklet.

1. O & M prefers: 'saintement' - in holiness.

¶ Declaration briefue de la sainte Cene de nostre seigneur Jesuchrist.

Tout ainsi que le baptesme qu'on prent uisiblement est une reception uisible / et comme un enrolemēt entre les fideles & chrestiens / qui porte en en soy protestation & profession de suyure Jesuchrist / & tenir ses saintes ordōnāces & uiure selon le saint euāgile. Semblablement la sainte Cene / la sainte table¹ de nostre seigneur / le rōpement du pain de action de graces / est une communiō uisible avec les membres de Jesuchrist² que ceulx qui prēnent & rōpent un mesme pain / sont un mesme corps / cest le³ corps de Jesuchrist & membres lung de laultre / inserez & plantez en luy / auquel ilz protestēt & promettent de perseuerer iusques a la fin / et ne se separer de la foy de leuangile & de lunion quilz ont tous en dieu par Jesuchrist. Et pource cōe to⁹ les membres sont nourris dune mesme viande: ainsi tous les fideles prēnent dung mesme calice uisiblement sans aucune distintiō / cōme inuisiblement tous doibuēt estre nourris dung mesme pain spirituel⁴ de la sainte parolle

Brief explanation of the holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Just as baptism which one undergoes visibly is a visible reception and like an enrolment among the faithful and christians, and bears in itself a promise and profession to follow Jesus Christ and to keep his holy commandments and to live according to the holy Gospel, so also the holy Supper, the holy table of our Lord, the breaking of the bread of thanksgiving, is a visible communion with the members of Jesus Christ. That those who take and break one same bread are one same body, which is the body of Jesus Christ, and members one of each other, inserted and planted in him, to whom they promise and claim to persevere until the end and not to part from the faith in the Gospel and from the union which they all have in God through Jesus Christ. And for this reason, as all the members are fed with one same flesh, and as all the faithful take one same bread and drink from one same cup visibly without distinction, so also invisibly all must be nourished with one same spiritual bread of the holy Word of

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1. O & M prefers: 'ou table' - or table, to 'la sainte table'.
 2. O & M begins a new sentence with 'Cest' - It is ...
 3. 'assauoir' - that is to say, replaces 'cest le'.
 4. O & M inserts 'cest' - being of the holy Word ...

de uie / de leuãgile de salut /
 uiuans tous dung mesme esperit dune
 mesme foy¹. Et qui bien regarderoit
 les choses baillees aux peres attendans
 la uenue de Jesuchrist / on trouueroit
 grosse cõuenãce. Car la circõcision
 ne signifie elle poĩt / quon estoit
 de lalliãce que nostre seigñr a faict
 avec son peuple: et cõme ung
 chascun estant circõcis estoit du
 nõbre du peuple de dieu? Et ainsi
 estoit receue la circõcisiõ². Aussi
 les autres fassons de faire estans
 umbres & figures des choses aduenir qui
 sõt parfaites & euacuees par
 Jesuchrist qui a tout
 consume: cõme primices /
 offrãdes & sacrifice de louenge /
 estoiẽt ordonnez pour rendre
 graces a Dieu en protestation
 quon uouloit perseuerer en

life, of the Gospel of salvation,
 living all in one Spirit and one faith.
 And he who looks carefully at those
 things given to our fathers as they
 waited the coming of Jesus Christ, will
 find great similarity. For does not
 circumcision signify that one is member
 of the covenant of our Lord with his
 people? And that each one that was
 circumcised was member of the people
 of God? In this wise
 was circumcision received. Thus all
 other manners of doing being
 shadows and figures of the things to come
 which have been perfected and emptied
 by Jesus Christ who has brought
 all to completion, like first fruits,
 offerings and sacrifices of praise
 which were ordained for the giving
 of thanks to God and as a pledge
 that one wishes to persevere in

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1. Instead of 'uiuans tous dung mesme esperit dune mesme foy',
O & M reads: 'auquel la cõmunicatiõ mesme de Jesuchrist nous est
 presentee affin quil soit tout nostre avec toutes ses benedictions
 & richesses spirituelles habitant en nous pour nous faire uiure en
 foy par son Esprit par le lyẽ duq̃l il nous enioinct tous ensemble' -
 in which the very communication of Jesus Christ is presented us so
 that he might be ours entirely together with all his blessings and
 spiritual bounty, living in us to make us live in faith by his
 spirit by whose bond he joins us all together.
 2. O & M adds: 'comme la premiere entree en l'Eglise de Dieu.' - as
 the first entry into the Church of God.

la loy de dieu¹ / & estre de son
 peuple. Quon régarde biẽ le baptesme
 & la saĩcte table a quoy sont
 ordõnez² / & lon uerra la cõuenãce.
 Mais lignorãce de cecy a faict
 faillir plusieurs / & encores de
 present / beaucoup y errẽt / & sur
 tout en la table de nostre seigñr.
 Car tout y est maintenant faict
 & dit selon la tradition / ordonnãce
 & plaisir des hõmes: & ce q̄ est
 dit par le parolle de dieu /
 & ce que Jesus a institue
 est soubz les piedz.
 Qui sont ceulx qui pẽsent &
 cõsiderent q̄ signifie le pain de
 action de graces quon doubt rompre:
 & le calice dequoy on boit?
 Ou sont ceulx qui se espreuẽt silz
 sõt en Jesus / si lesperit de
 dieu est en eulx? Assez en ya

the law of God and be his people.
 Let us look carefully to what purpose
 baptism and the holy table have been
 ordained and one shall see the
 similarity. But ignorance of this has
 caused many to fail and still
 today many err on this point and more
 specially where the Lord's table is
 concerned. For at the present juncture,
 it is general practice at the Lord's
 supper to do and to say according to the
 traditions, ordinance, and pleasure of
 men whereas that which is said by the
 Word of God and that instituted by Jesus
 is cast underfoot. Who are they who
 weigh up and consider what is meant by
 the bread of thanksgiving which we must
 break, and the cup of which we drink?
 Who are they who try themselves as to
 whether they are in Jesus and whether
 the spirit of God is within them? Too

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1. The whole passage 'Aussi les autres fassons de faire ... perseuerer en la loy de dieu ...' has been rewritten as follows: 'Aussi les autres obseruations & ceremonies qui la suyoient lesq̄lles sont euacuees en Jesuchrist comme elles estoient umbres & figures des choses aduenir en luy qui tout a consumme / parfaictes accomplies estoient ordonnees pour représenter les graces & benefices que nostre seigneur ueult cõmunicquer a son peuple depuis quil la une fois receu en son alliance & pareillemẽt po^z inciter les cueurs fideles a recõgnoissãce de la bõte de Dieu / & actiõ de grace / et po^z seruir cõe de protestation / quilz uoloient perseuerer en la loy de Dieu' - So also the other observations and ceremonies which accompanied it, which have been abandoned in Jesus Christ for they were shadows and figures of the things to come in him who has summed up, perfected and accomplished all things, these were ordained to represent the graces and benefits which our Lord wishes to communicate to his people since he first received it into his alliance, and also to incite faithful hearts to acknowledge the goodness of God and to give thanks, and to serve as an affirmation that they wanted to persevere in the law of God ...'
 2. O & M inverts the word order: 'Quon regarde biẽ a quoy le baptesme & la saincte table sont ordonnez...'

qui courēt aux p̄stres & nō a leur
 cueur / en soy regardāt & esprouuāt
 silz ont uraye & uifué foy / par
 laq̄lle ilz soyent urays filz de
 dieu inserez en Jesuehrist cōe
 ses mēbres. Le cueur de plusi^zs ne
 passe point le pain / & le calice:
 qui leur sont presētez / ausquelz
 toute leur pēsee sarreste les adorāt /
 & lō a¹ este ainsi aprins. Et la
 memoire diceluy qui pour no⁹ est
 mort & maintenāt est assis a la
 dextre du pere / est oubliee: cōe
 le pchain aussi: po^z quoy principale-
 ment est ordōne la saīcte table / en
 laq̄lle lon doit cōuenir ensemble
 estant une chose avec le prochain:
 cōme est facile a cōgnoistre.
 Car pour aller a Jesus ie nay q̄
 faire dattendre personne: & nay
 mestier de cōpaignie / ne de sortir
 hors de moy / ueu q̄ le royaulme de
 dieu est dedēs moy: & ne peulx
 auoir Jesus avec moy / ne receuoir
 q̄ dignement / & en salut & uie. Car
 la ou il uient des indignes il en
 faict dignes / des mortz uiuans / des
 iniustes & pecheurs iustes & saīctz.
 Mais il nest ainsi du baptesme / ne de
 la sainte table de nostre seignr.
 Celuy q̄ de cueur faint & dōnant
 aultrement entēdre quil ne croit /
 prent le baptesme cōme hypocrite /

many are they who run to the priests
 instead of to their hearts, examining
 themselves and testing whether they have
 true and living faith by which they be
 true sons of God, inserted into Jesus
 Christ as his members. Too many people
 do not look beyond the bread and the cup
 presented to them, at which all their
 thoughts remain fixed and which they
 adore, and thus we have been taught.
 And the remembrance of he who died for
 us and now is seated at the right hand
 of the father is forgotten, as is also
 the neighbour; for which reason mainly
 was ordained the holy table in which
 we should come together
 and be one with the neighbour,
 as it is easy to see.
 For to go to Jesus I have no business
 waiting on anybody, and have no truck
 with guilds, nor with ecstacy,
 seeing that the kingdom of God
 is within me; and I cannot have Jesus
 with me, nor receive him but that it be
 worthily and to salvation and life. For
 where they come unworthy, he makes them
 worthy, dead he makes them alive, unjust
 and sinners he makes just and holy.
 But this is not so with baptism nor with
 the holy table of our Lord.
 He who in his heart pretends or claims
 that which he does not believe, and
 takes baptism as a hypocrite, he takes

1. O & M changes 'lō a' to 'son' - they have ...

il prēt sa condēnation / cōme celuy
 qui uiēt a la table de nostre seign̄r
 nayāt esgard a son prochain /
 mesprisāt les fideles / q̄ sōt leglise
 de nostre seign̄r / p̄uenāt les aultres /
 p̄nāt a par soy & nō avec
 la saincte cōgregation le pain de n̄re
 seign̄r / mēgeāt & estāt soul /
 ou sō prochain meurt de fain /
 ne faisant & exerçant
 charite / il uiēt a sa cōdēnatiō.
 Car cōmēt est la foy qui oeuvre par
 charite / et la charite de dieu en
 celuy q̄ uoit son frere auoir
 necessite & ne luy ayde? Comment
 aussi ose & p̄sume celuy qui uit en
 peche & iniq̄te / cōpaignō des
 infideles en leurs idolatries /
 paillardises / larrecīs / haynes /
 & aultres abominatiōs / soy mesler
 & approcher avec les fideles qui
 sont le corps de Christ / ne faisāt
 differēce du corps de Christ &
 Dantechrist / des chrestiens & des
 fideles / de la lumiere et de
 tenebres? Qui biē regardera depuis
 le .8. de la premiere aux
 Corinthiēs iusques au .13. uoire
 et le .14. Semblablement ce que
 Saint Jehan recite / que le
 sauueur a dit apres quil eust faict
 sa cene / parlāt a ses apostres / au
 13. 14. 15. 16 & ce q̄ est dit au .17.
 il auras de ce qui a este dit plus
 pleine intelligēce / cōme celuy qui
 vient a la table de nostre seign̄r
 dieu: et en nostre sauueur Jesus:

his condemnation, as also he who comes
 to the table of our Lord without
 having concern for his neighbour,
 despising the faithful, who are the
 Church of our Lord, putting himself
 before others, taking by himself and
 not together with the holy congregation
 the bread of our Lord, eating and being
 drunk there where his neighbour is dying
 with hunger, who does not do nor
 exercise charity, he comes to his
 condemnation. For what kind of faith
 working in charity and the love of God
 is it in he who sees his brother in
 necessity and does not help him? How
 also dares he presume he who lives in
 sin and iniquity, companion of the
 unfaithful in their idolatry, whore-
 mongery, theft, hatred
 and other abominations, how dare he
 join with the faithful who are the
 body of Christ, approaching and making
 no distinction between the body of Christ
 and that of antichrist, between christians
 and the unfaithful, between light and
 and darkness? He who should look well
 from the 8th of the first to the
 Corinthians up to the 13th and even
 the 14th. Similarly what saint
 John recounts, that which the Saviour
 said after that he had held his
 supper, speaking to his apostles in the
 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th and that which is
 said in the 17th, he shall have fuller
 understanding of what was said, as he
 also who comes to the table of our Lord
 God, and in our Saviour Jesus, and what

& q̃le charite uers le pchain / se separāt des infideles & de leurs uices: & commēt & pourquoy il doibt rōpre le pain de nostre seigñr. Le t̃ps / le nōbre ou quātesfois nous debuōs faire la cene & prendre le pain / ne nous est point escript / car cela est frāc a leglise de nostre seigneur: cōme le temps de baptiser aussi: mais bien est monstre cōme lon y doibt uenir¹ / ainsi q̃ les exhortations qui sensuyent nous monstrent. Pourtāt le seruiteur² de la saint cōgregation qui presche & porte la parolle³ aura regard a ledificatiō du peuple & de tous / uoie tāt quil pourra des ignorās et infideles / faisant tout en bon ordre: & par le cōsentement de la cōgregation regardera le t̃ps plus apte & cōuenable / soy cōformant aussi aux autres eglises / sans superstition pour garder la paix et union auec to⁹ / & pour attirer les ignorās / qui encores nont congnoissāce de uerite / tāt q̃l est possible / sās uenir cōtre la doctrine de uerite. Il denōcera le

charity towards the fellowman, separating himself from the unfaithful and from their vice, and how and why he should break the bread of our Lord. The time, the number or how often we must hold the supper and take the bread is not written for us, for this is free to the church of our Lord, as also the time of baptising; but it is thoroughly shown how one should come as also the following exhortations show us.

For this reason the servant of the holy congregation who preaches and bears the Word will have regard to the edification of the people and of all, even as much as possible to the ignorant and unfaithful, doing all in good order and with the consent of the congregation will look to the most apt and convenient time, conforming himself also to the other churches, without superstition, to keep the peace and union with all, and to attract the ignorant who have as yet no knowledge of the truth, as much as possible, without going counter to the doctrine of truth. He shall announce in

- - - - -
1. O & M has the significant addition: 'combien quil est certain quelle a este ordonnee de nostre seigneur pour estre souuent celebree entre nous / mais singulierement et a monstrez cōme lon y doibt uenir' - Although it is certain that it was ordained by our Lord that it might be celebrated often amongst us, but particularly he showed how one should come ...
 2. O & M has 'pasteur' here for 'serviteur'.
 3. O & M adds the proviso: 'ne declinant point de linstitution du Seigneur' - without deviating from the Lord's institution ...

iour quõ doibt faire la sainte cene
par auant / les admonnestant¹ de prier
nostre seigneur: et demander sa grace
/ pour saintement & dignement y uenir:
& le iour quon faict la cene exhortera
le peuple / ainsi quil sensuyt.

advance, the day on which the Holy
supper shall be held, admonishing them
to pray to our Lord and ask for his
grace, so that they might come in holy
and worthy manner, and on the day of
the Lord's supper, he shall exhort the
people as follows.

¶ La cene de nostre seigñr

Nostre dieu & pere tresmisericordieux
pensant les p̃sees non point dafflic-
tion / cest adire / de punition²:
mais de paix / de grace / et remission
pour lamour de soyemesmes / non point
pour noz bienfaictz ne iustices /
voulãt effacer noz pechez / nous estre
propice / et accõplir ses saintes
p̃messes de no⁹ dõner leaue nette &
son saint esperit / po² nous
nettoyer de toutes noz ordures &
souilleures / et nous dõner ung
nouueau cueur / en escripuãt sa
sainte loy en noz cueurs / quãt la
plenitude du tẽps est uenue / il a
enuoye son filz treschier / monstrãt
sa tresgrãde charite & dilection quil

The Lord's Supper

Our God and most merciful father,
bearing thoughts not of affliction,
that is to say of punishment, but of
peace, grace and remission for the
love of himself not for the sake
of our good deeds nor our justice,
wishing to erase our sins, to be
propitious towards us and to accomplish
his Holy promises to give us the clear
water and his Holy Spirit so as to
cleanse us of all our filth and
uncleanliness and give us a
new heart, by writing his holy
law in our hearts, when the
fulness of time had come, he sent
his very dear son, showing
his verz great charity and affection

1. O & M reads: 'admonnestant ung chascũ' - admonishing every person
2. O & M adds: 'et rigueur' - and harshness.

a eu enuers nous / nespargnāt point
 son seul et tresayme filz nostre
 seigneur Jesuchrist: mais pour nous
 le dōnant / ainsi que ce bon sauueur
 selon le bõ uouloir de son pere pour
 nous reconcilier a iceluy sest une
 foy offert a son pere pour nostre
 redēptiõ / mourāt pour no⁹ assembler
 tous qui estiõs espars. Affin que
 tous fussiõs ung corps & une mesme
 chose: ainsi que le pere et luy sõt
 une mesme chose. En quoy plus que lon
 ne pourroit dire nostre pere a
 demonstre les grandz thresors de sa
 bõte & misericorde / uoulant que pour
 nous q̄ estions mortz par peche / &
 ses ennemis / son filz mourrut po^z
 no⁹ uiuifier / & nous faire enfans
 agreables a ce bon pere.

Semblablemēt nostre bon sauueur /
 grādemēt a monstre sa tresgrande
 charite mettāt sa uie pour nous / en
 nous lauant & purgeāt par son sang.
 Et pourtant en ce dernier repas q̄l a
 faict en ceste uie mortelle / lequel
 il disoit grandement¹ desire auant
 quil souffrit / il institua sa
 sainte cene / uoulāt quen memoire
 sa tresgrande charite / par laquelle
 il a dōne son corps pour nous en la
 croix / et espandu son sang en
 remission de noz pechez: nous

he has towards us, not sparing
 his only and well beloved son our
 Lord Jesus Christ, but giving him
 for us; and so this good saviour,
 according to the desire of his father,
 to reconcile us to him, offered himself
 once to his father for our redemption,
 dying to assemble us all who were
 scattered. So that we all might
 become one body and one same thing,
 as the father and he are one same
 thing. In which, more than one can
 say, our father did demonstrate
 the great treasures of his goodnesse
 and mercy, willing that for us
 who were dead by sin, and his enemies,
 his son should die to bring us to life,
 and to make us well-pleasing children
 of this good father.

Similarly our good saviour has
 greatly shown his very great charity
 giving his life for us,
 washing us and purging us through his
 blood. For these reasons, in this last
 meal he took in this mortal life, which
 he said he so much desired before
 he suffered, he instituted his
 holy supper, willing that in memory of
 his great charity through which he
 gave his body for us on the
 cross and shed his blood in
 remission of our sins, we might

1. O & M adds the auxiliary 'auoir'

prinssiōs mēgeans dung mesme pain / &
 beussions dung mesme calice sans aucune
 difference / cōme indifferāmēt il est
 mort pour to⁹ / & a tous il a dit¹ de
 prendre / manger / & boire en sa
 cene. Tous dōc urays chrestieēs &
 fideles qui fermement croyent en
 nostre seigñr Jesuchrist par uraye
 foy qui soit mort pour nous / uiennent
 a ceste sainte table / remerciāt tous
 ensemble dieu / de sa grande bonte
 quil nous a monstre. Rendans
 tesmoingnage de leur foy / comme
 ilz croyent que par la mort de
 laigneau sans macule sommes deliurez
 de lennemy. Et ainsi rendans graces
 a ce bon sauueur Jesus qui de son
 bon plaisir est mort pour nous par
 sa tresgrande charite quil a eu
 enuers nous / laquelle tous imitās
 & ensuyuās de parfaicte charite
 aymāt lung laultre / cōme nostre
 doux et bening sauueur Jesus nous a
 ayez / mettant & dōnant sa uie pour
 nous. Ung chascū regarde & esproue
 soyemesmes sil a uraye foy en nostre
 seigñr Jesuchrist / sil croyt
 parfaictemēt que par la mort &
 passion de Jesus / la paix soit faicte
 entre dieu & nous & que dieu nous est
 ppice / et q̃ son ire est appaisee par
 le benoist sauueur Jesus / par lequel
 nous sommes faictz filz et heritiers

take, eating from one same bread,
 and drink from one same cup without
 any difference, just as without
 distinction he died for all, and all
 he told to take, eat and drink of his
 supper. All therefore true christians
 and faithful who firmly believe in
 our Lord Jesus Christ in true
 faith, that he died for us, let them
 come to this holy table, all together
 thanking God for his great goodness
 he showed us. Bearing witness
 to their faith, in that they
 believe that by the death of the
 spotless lamb we are delivered from
 the enemy. And so giving thanks to
 this good saviour Jesus who of his own
 free will died for us by the very
 great charity he had towards us, which
 we all imitating and consequently
 loving each other in
 perfect charity, as our sweet
 and gentle saviour Jesus loved us,
 putting down and giving his life for
 us. Let each one examine and test
 himself as to whether he has true faith
 in our Lord Jesus Christ, believes
 perfectly that through the death and
 passion of Jesus, peace has been made
 between God and us and that God is well
 disposed towards us and that his anger
 is appeased by the blessed saviour Jesus,
 through whom we are made sons and heirs

1. O & M reads 'ordonne' for 'dit'

de dieu / heritiers avec Jesuchrist /
 p le sang duquel nous sōmes purgez &
 nettoyez tous / & noz pēchez effacez
 & plainement pardōnez: & que du tout
 Jesus nostre sauueur a satisfaict.¹
 Aultremēt to⁹ ceulx q̄ nōt uraye foy²
 ne p̄sumēt point de uenir a la sainte
 table / faisāt semblāt & faulsemēt
 tesmoignās estre du corps de
 Jesuchrist duq̄l ilz ne sont pas:
 cōme tous idolatres / adorans & seruās
 aitre que le seul dieu / tous
 pariureurs / gēs oysifz qui ne seruēt
 & ne proffitēt a rien / cōbien quilz
 le puissent faire / tous ceulx q̄ sont
 desobeissās a pere & mere & a ceulx
 que dieu a cōstitue sur nous en bien /
 sās cōtreuenir au cōmandemēt de dieu.
 Tous batteurs / noyseux qui iniustement
 battent & frappēt leur pchain / & les
 ont en hayne. To⁹ paillardz /
 yurōgnes uiuās dissolumēt en boyre &
 mēger. Tous larrons qui font tort &
 iniure au prochain / tous faulx
 tesmoingz & imposeurs de crimes / &
 to⁹ ceulx qui uiuent meschāment &
 contre les saintz cōmandemēts de
 dieu / qui ne ueulent suyure la
 sainte loy de dieu & uiure selon sa

of God together with Jesus Christ, by
 the blood of whom we are all purged and
 cleansed, and our sins erased and fully
 pardoned. And that in all things,
 Jesus our saviour has satisfied.
 Conversely, all who do not have true
 faith, let them not presume to come to
 the holy table, making pretence and
 falsely claiming to be of the body of
 Jesus Christ of which they are not;
 also all idolaters who adore and serve
 others beside the only God, all
 perjurers, idlers who serve and are
 good for nothing no matter what they
 might do, all those who disobey
 father and mother and them whom God
 has constituted over us for good
 who do not transgress the commandment
 of God. All who bully, quarrelsome
 people who unjustly beat and hit their
 fellows and hate them. All whoremongers,
 drunkards who live dissolutely in drink-
 ing and eating. All robbers who do harm
 and injury to their fellows, all false
 witnesses and attributors of crimes, and
 all those who live in evil and against
 the holy commandments of God,
 who do not want to follow the
 holy law of God or live according to

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1. O & M adds ' & tellement sest donne a nous q̄ nous sommes participans de son corps / et de son sang / sentant en nous la uertu & efficace de tout ce q̄l a faict & souffert'. - and so has given himself to us that we are participants of his body and of his blood, feeling within us the virtue and effect of all that he did and suffered.
2. For 'foy', O & M has 'confiance de toutes ces choses' - belief in all these things.

parolle / ensuyuant le saint euangile / cōme urays enfans de dieu / ne presumēt point uenir a ceste sainte table / en laquelle doibuent uenir seulemēt ceulx qui sōt ueritablemēt du corps de Christ / unis & enracinez en luy p uraye & uifue foy laquelle soit ouurāte par charite. Car silz y uiennēt ce sera a leur iugemēt & condēnation: & cōme traistres & successeurs de Judas seront reiectet. Mais pourtant que ce pendant q̄ nous conseruons en ce monde enuironnez de ce corps de mort & de peche / nous sommes tous pouurēs pecheurs: & ne pouuōs dire q̄ soyōs sans peche / auāt que nous uenōs a ceste sainte table / faisāt memoire de nostre sauueur¹ qui est mort pour noz pechez / & est resuscite po^z nostre iustification / en cueur humilie & abbatu / cōgnoissans² noz faultes / nous nous presenterōs & nous iecterons deuant la haulte maieste de nostre dieu en pleine cōfiance & uraye foy par n̄re sauueur & redēpteur Jesus / luy demādant grace / cōffessant deuant luy / q̄ tresgriefuemēt & grandemēt lauons offense / cōtreuenāt a sa sainte loy / ne lādorant purement en esperit & uerite / ne seruant a a luy seul / ne laymāt sur tout / en honorāt son saint nom sans le

his word, following the holy Gospel like true children of God; let them not presume to come to this holy table to which must come only those who are truly of the body of Christ, united and rooted in him by true and living faith which works in charity. For should they come, it would be to their judgement and condemnation and as traitors and successors of Judas will they be rejected. In spite of all this, for as long as we remain in this world, enveloped in this body of death and of sin, we are all poor sinners, and cannot claim that we are without sin. Before coming to this holy table, making remembrance of our saviour who died for our sins and was raised up for our justification, with humble and contrite hearts, acknowledging our faults, we will present ourselves and throw ourselves before the high majesty of our God in full trust and true faith through our redeemer Jesus, craving his mercy, confessing before him that we have offended him most grievously and greatly, transgressing his holy law; we have not adored him purely in spirit and in truth, have not served him alone, have not loved him above all in honouring his holy name without

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1. O & M reads: 'nostre Benoist sauueur Jesus' - our blessed saviour Jesus.
 2. 'recongnoissans'.

prēdre en uain / ne uiuāt saintement
 a son hōneur / & a laide & secours de
 nostre pchain / ne faisant le uray &
 saint repos de mal dire / mal faire
 & penser / ne hōnorant ceulx qui sur
 nous ont puissāce / ne euitant
 toute hayne / paillardise / larrecin /
 mēsonge: & toute chose q̄ cōtreviēt
 a lamour de dieu & de nostre pchain
 / faisant a aultruy ce que nous
 uouldriōs estre faict a no⁹ mesmes /
 en quoy trāsgressant la sainte loy
 de nostre bon pere / auōs tous
 grādemēt peche: & deseruy lire &
 indignation de nostre dieu plus que
 ne pouōs exprimer ne dire / par si
 grāde ingratitude / faisant cōtre
 sa sainte uulunte. Poutāt de toutes
 noz faultes & pechez que ne scauriōs
 nōbrer / a cause de leur multitude /
 humblemēt & de cueur abbatu en
 demandōs mercy & misericorde a
 nostre tresbon pere / le priant quil
 ne regarde point noz faultes /
 ignorāces / & iniquitez: mais quil
 regarde la iustice / saintete /
 purete / & innocēce de son treschier
 filz nostre seignr Jesus / qui pour
 nous est mort / nous pardōnāt pour
 lamour de luy toutes noz offenses &
 mesfaicts nous gardāt de plus tomber
 en peche / magnifiant en nous son
 saint nom / regnant en nous /
 parfaisāt sa sainte uulunte en nous:
 & nous dōnant ce q̄ le doulx sauueur

taking it in vain, have not lived
 saintly to his honour and to help and
 succour our neighbour, we have not put
 a true and holy end to evil speech,
 thoughts and deeds, have not honoured
 those who have power over us, not
 avoided all hate, whoremongering, theft,
 mendacity and all things which are
 opposed to the love of God and of our
 fellow, doing to others what we would
 that be done to ourselves,
 in which we have transgressed the holy
 law of our good father, we have all
 sinned greatly and deserved the anger
 and indignation of our God more than we
 can express or say, by such great
 ingratitude acting against his
 holy will. However, for all our
 faults and sins which we cannot number
 because of their multitude,
 humbly and with downcast hearts
 we ask mercy and compassion from our
 very good father, praying that he
 look not to our faults, ignorance and
 iniquities, but that he look
 to the justice, holiness,
 purity and innocence of his very dear
 son our Lord Jesus, who died for us,
 forgiving us our trespasses & evil
 deeds for the love of himself,
 keeping us from falling again
 into sin, magnifying in us his holy
 name, reigning in us,
 perfecting his holy will in us,
 and giving us what the sweet saviour

nous a appris de demander / en disant.

Nostre pere qui est est cieulx /
sanctifie soit ton nom / &c.

Nous priérons a nostre pere quil
nous donne ferme / uifue / et
parfaicte foy / laccroissant &
augmentât en nous; affin q̃ par icelle
puissiõs uaincre toute la malice de
nostre enemy / en laq̃lle foy desirons
uiure en faisant confession dicelle:

Je croy en dieu le pere tout
puissant createur du ciel &c.

Mes treschiers freres & seurs
vous scauez cõme nostre tresbon pere
ne desire point la mort des pecheurs:
mail quilz se cõuertissent & uiuent:
car luy estant plain de toute bonte
& misericorde / de si grande charite
a ayme le monde quil a dõne son seul
filz pour scaouer le monde / lequel
ouuertemēt a dit / quil estoit uenu
po^z sauuer ce q̃ estoit perdu: car
cest la parolle trescertaine que
Jesuchrist est uenu pour sauuer les
pecheurs. Et no⁹ a promis ce bon
sauueur / q̃ tout ce que nous
demanderõs en son nom nous
lobtiendrons / & que si nous
pardonnons aux aultres leurs pechez /
les nostres nous seront pardonnez du
pere. Croyez donc quen demandant
mercy a dieu au nom de nostre
seigneur Jesus / en pardõnât de bon
cœur ung chascun a son p̃chain / q̃
nostre seigñr nous pardõne: & q̃

taught us to ask for, saying:

Our father who is in heaven, holy
be your name, etc.

We shall pray our father that he
give us firm, living and perfect
faith, increase and adding to it
in us, that by that same faith
we might be able to overcome all the
malice of our enemy, in which faith we
wish to live, making confession of it
saying:

I believe in God the father
almighty maker of heaven etc.

My very dear brothers and sisters,
you know that our very good father
does not desire the death of sinners
but that they be converted and live.
For he being full of all good and
compassion, with such great charity
loved the world that he gave his only
son to save the world: he who openly
said that he had come to save
that which was lost. For this is a
very sure word, that Jesus Christ
came to save sinners.
And this good saviour promised us
that all that we should ask
in his name we shall obtain,
and that if we
forgive unto others their sins,
ours will be forgiven by
the father, Believe therefore that
in asking God for mercy in the name of
our Lord Jesus, when each wholeheartedly
forgives his neighbour, that
our Lord forgives us, and that

par la foy que nous auõs en Jesuchrist
noz cueurs sont purgez.

Escoutez cõme nostre seigñr Jesu-
christ a institue sa sainte cene en
la premiere des Corinthiens / en
lunziesme chaõ.

Le seigñr Jesus en la nuict q̄l
fust trahy il print le pain & rēdāt
graces le rōpit / disāt: prenez
mangez / ceçy est mon corps lequel
est liure pour uous / faictes cecy
en ma cõmemoration. Sēblablemēt &
le calice apres quil eut souppē:
disant / Ce calice est le nouveau
testamēt en mō sang / faictes cecy
toutesfois q̄ uo⁹ le beuerez en
memoire de moy / car toutes les fois
q̄ uo⁹ mengerez ce pain & beuerez ce
calice / uo⁹ annōcerez la mort du
seigneur iusq̄s a ce q̄l uiēgne.

Uoyez icy tous l'institution de la
sainte table de nostre seigñr cõme
elle est ordonnee par le seul sauueur
/ lequel ne fault reprendre / ne
presumer sur luy / uoulant aultremēt
enseigner ou faire q̄l na cõmāde. Il
rōpt le pain a ses disciples / & leur
dōne / nous monstrant / q̄ tous ceulx
qui uiēnēt a la table doibuēt estre
de ses disciples renōceans eulx
mesmes / et suyuās Jēsuchrist en
uraye charite. Il cõmāde quē
mengeāt en sa table cela soit faict
en sa memoire / cest q̄ toutesfoys q̄
lon prent le pain & lon boit du
calice / quon annonce la mort de

our hearts are purged by the faith
we have in Jesus Christ.

Hear how our saviour Jesus Christ
has instituted his holy Supper in
the first to the Corinthians in the
eleventh chapter.

The Lord Jesus on the night that
he was betrayed, he took bread and
giving thanks, broke it saying: take,
eat, this is my body which is
delivered for you. Do this in
in remembrance of me. Similarly also
the cup after he had supped
saying: this cup is the new
testament in my blood. Do this
every time that you drink it in
memory of me. For every time that
you shall eat this bread and drink this
cup, you shall announce the death of the
Lord until he come.

See here all of you the institution
of the holy table of our Lord as it is
ordained by the saviour only, he who
is not to be corrected nor presumed
on, in wishing to teach or do otherwise
than that he has commanded. He breaks
the bread to his disciples and gives to
them, showing us that all who
come to the table must be his
disciples, renouncing themselves
and following Jesus Christ in true
charity. He commands that in
eating and drinking at his table, this
should be done in memory of him. That is
that every time one takes the bread and
drinks from the cup, one should announce

nostre seigneur Jesuchrist / comme
 il est mort pour nous / en donnant
 son corps comme signifie le pain / &
 espãdu son sang pour nous / cõme
 signifie le calice. Poutant leuez
 voz cueurs en hault / cherchãs les
 choses celestielles es cieulx ou
 Jesuchrist est assis en la dextre du
 pere / sans uous arrester aux choses
 uisibles qui se corropẽt par lusaige.
 En ioye de cueur en union fraternelle
 uenez tous prẽdre de la table de nostre
 seigneur luy rendãt graces de la
 tresgrande charite quil nous a
 monstre / ayez la mort de ce bõ sauuez
 escripte en uoz cueurs / en souuenãce
 eternelle pour estre enflamez / &
 pour esmouoir aussi les aultres a
 lamour de dieu / a suiure sa sainte
 parole.

¶ En dõnãt le pain lequel soit
 sans image / ne permettãt quon
 ladore / le baillant a tous en
 la main: affin qlz le prennent
 & mangeussent. Le ministre
 peult dire¹

Jesus le uray sauueur du mõde /
 qui est mort pour nous / estant assis
 en gloire a la dextre du pere / habite
 en uos cueurs par sõ saĩct esperit²
 faisant que du tout soyez uiuans en

the death of our Lord Jesus Christ, how
 he died for us, giving
 his body as is signified by the bread, and
 did shed his blood for us, as is
 signified by the cup. For these reasons,
 lift up your hearts, seeking the
 heavenly things in the heavens where
 Jesus Christ is seated at the right hand
 of the father, not stopping at
 visible things which are corrupted by use.
 With joyful hearts and brotherly union,
 come all and take from the table of our
 Lord giving thanks to him for the very
 great charity he showed us,
 keep the death of this good saviour
 written in your hearts in eternal
 remembrance that you might be set alight,
 and to move others also to the
 love of God and to follow his holy
 word.

In giving the bread which should
 be without any image on it, not
 allowing any to adore it, giving
 it to each person in the hand that
 he might take it and eat, the
 minister may say

Jesus the true saviour of the
 world who died for us and is seated in
 glory on the right hand of the father,
 may he dwell in your hearts by his holy
 spirit causing you to become alive in

1. O & M adds: 'en le rompant' - while breaking it.

2. O & M inserts here: 'par la uertu dicelluy / ce donnant & communicquãt
 a uous' - by the power of which he gives and communicates himself to you.

luy par uifue foy et parfaicte
charite. Amen.

¶ Apres q̄ tous ont cōmunicque.

Treschiers freres & seurs en
nostre seign̄r. Jesus / q̄ estes uenus
a la sainté table de nostre seign̄r /
luy rendās graces de ses tresgrands
biēs quil nous a faict / nous prierōs
le pere plein de toute misericorde /
po^z to⁹ ceulx qui sont sur la terre /
pour tous roys / princes / seigneurs /
et tous q̄ sont cōstituez en autorite /
aqueiz il a dōné le glaiue &
gouuernemēt du peuple pour deffendre
les bōs / & punir les mauuais q̄ le
bon dieu dōne a tous sa grace: &
face misericorde a tous. Luy
suppliāt q̄ de sa tresgrande bōte
& benignite il nous rēplisse de son
saict esperit¹ / faisant que tous
soyons unis urayement en ung corps

him by ardent faith and perfect
charity. Amen.

After all have partaken.

Very dear brothers and sisters in
our Lord Jesus, who have come to the
holy table of our Lord, giving
thanks to him for the very great
benefits he worked for us, we shall pray
the most merciful father, for all those
living on earth, for all kings,
princes, lords, and
all who have been constituted in
authority, to whom he gave the sword and
the government of the people to defend
the good and to punish the wicked,
that the good God grant to all his grace
and be merciful to all. We
beseech him that of his very great
goodness and gentleness, he may fill
us with his holy Spirit, so that all
be truly united in one body by

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1. The whole tenor of this prayer is changed in O & M: '... nous prierōs le pere plein de misericorde quil luy plaise imprimer fermement en noz cueurs la memoire de ce saint mystere / auquel nous auōs cōmunicqz: & des singulieres graces qui nous y sont testifiees & represētees affin que en les reconnoissans nous accroissions iournallemēt en seure cōfiance de sa bōte / laquelle il a largement expandue sur nous / & que luy en rendant la louenge qui luy appartient semblablement que par sa grande benignite il se ueuille aussi manifester a to⁹ ceulx qui sont sur la terre / & les appelle a la participation de ce biē inenarrable: nous rēplissant tous ensemble de son saict esperit ...' - we shall pray the most merciful father, that it may please him firmly to print in our hearts the remembrance of this holy mystery in which we have partaken and of the particular graces in it testified and represented; that acknowledging them, we might increase daily in sure trust in his kindness which he shed generously on us, and that we might ascribe to him due praise; also that he manifest himself in his great goodness to all people on earth and call them to participation in this unaccountable benefit, filling us all together with his holy Spirit...

par uifue & uraye foy / laq̃lle il luy
 plaise augmenter en no⁹: & ainsi
 que exterieurement & par dehors en la
 saincte table auons rendu tesmõgnaige
 destre des disciples de Jesus / il
 nous doint la grace de urayement le
 estre / en p̃seurāt en sa saincte
 doctrine / separez de toute infidelite
 & du monde / uiuās tous en uraye
 charite / secourant lung a laultre
 en tout bien de cuer / de parole /
 & de faict. A quoy pour lamour
 diceluy qui tāt nous a ayme tachez
 et prenez peine. Et estans
 participās de la table de nostre
 seigñr cõme mēbres de Jesus / ne
 soyez participās avec les infideles
 en leur infidelite: ne soyez
 conformes au mōde / mais cheminerez
 en toute purete / saintete / &
 innocence / uiuans sobremēt &
 dignement cõme enfans de dieu /
 estans misericordieux & charitables
 a tous / principalement aux fideles.
 Ne p̃mettant point que persõne aye
 indigēce: mais secourez a tous /
 tellement q̃ toute uostre uie &
 cõuersat̃io soit selon dieu & sa
 saincte parole / a ledificat̃io de
 tous en laduencemēt du saint euāgile /
 selon lequel nostre seigñr nous doint
 a tous uiure. Amen.

Allez en paix. La grace / paix
 & benediction de dieu soit sur uous
 tous. Amen.

living and true faith which may it
 please him to increase in us, and as
 outwardly and from the outside at the
 holy table we have witnessed that we
 are disciples of Jesus, may he give
 us the grace truly so to be,
 persevering in his holy teaching,
 set apart from all unfaithfulness
 and from the world, all living in
 true charity, helping one another
 in all good in heart, word and
 deed. To which for the love of he
 who so loved us, endeavour
 and labour. And being participants
 in the table of our Lord
 as members of Jesus, do not be
 participants with the unfaithful
 in their infidelity nor conform
 to the world, but go forth in
 all purity, sanctity and innocence,
 living soberly and worthily as
 children of God, being
 merciful and charitable
 to all particularly to the faithful.
 Do not let anyone be in
 want but give aid to all so that all
 your life and conversation
 be according to God and his
 holy word, to the edification of
 all in the promotion of the holy Gospel
 according to which our Lord has given
 us all to live. Amen.

Go in peace. May the grace, peace
 and blessing of God be on you
 all. Amen.

¶ La maniere que lon obserue en la predication quāt le peuple est assemble pour ouyr la parolle de Dieu.

Le seruiteur¹ du peuple en la parolle / admoneste tous de recourir a dieu nostre tresmisericordieux pere / luy priant quil enuoye son saint esperit sur tous: & quil luy plaise auoir pitie de tous roys / princes / seigneurs: & tous ceulx qui a cōstitue en dignite & autorite / en leur dōnant le glaue pour punir les mauuais & deffendre les bōs / qui de sa bōte il leur face misericorde / leur dōnant son saint esperit: affin que saintemēt ilz lexicent leur office en lhōneur & gloire de nostre seigneur / & au prouffit & bien de leurs subiectz. Priant pour tous qui sont assēblez pour ouyr la parolle de uerite / q̄ nostre seigneur pardōne toutes fautes & pechez donnant sa grace & son esperit / par lequel on aye pleine intelligence de toute uerite: affin que purement & saintement lon puisse traicter / exposer / & declarer / ouyr / entendre / recepuoir / et garder sa sainte parolle / accomplissant la uolunte de ce bō pere / en luy demandāt tout au nōm de son seul filz Jesus / ainsi q̄l nous a aprins: disans /

Nostre père qui es es cieulx/ etc.

The manner that one follows in preaching when the people are assembled to hear the Word of God.

The servant of the people in the word, admonishes all to have recourse to God our very merciful father, praying that he send his holy Spirit on all, and that it may please him to have pity on all kings, princes, lords, and all whom he has constituted in rank and authority by giving them the sword to punish the wicked and to defend the good, that in his goodness he may be merciful to them, giving them his Holy spirit to that they might exercise their office saintly to the honour and glory of our Lord and to the profit and good of their subjects. Praying for all who are assembled to hear the the word of truth, that our Lord forgive all faults and sins, giving his grace and Spirit through whom one has full understanding of all truth, so that purely and saintly, we might treat, expound, explain, hear, understand, receive and keep his holy Word, doing the will . . . of this good father, asking everything from Him in the name of his only son Jesus, as he taught us to de saying:

Our father

1. O & M: 'Le pasteur'.

Après l'oraison le prescheur¹
 cōmence de prēdre quelque texte de la
 saincte escripture / lequel il lit
 plainement / cōme nōstre seigneur
 fist en Nazareth / & apres la lecture
 il declaire mot a mot sans saulter /
 amenās les passaiges qui sōt en
 l'escripture seruās a la déclaration
 diceluy quil expose / sans sortir
 hors de la saincte escripture / affin
 quō ne brouille point la pure parolle
 de dieu avec lordure des hōmes /
 portant fidelement la parolle² et ne
 parlant que la parolle de dieu. Et
 apres auoir expose sō texte le plus
 simplemēt quil est possible sans soy
 iecter hors de l'escripture: ainsi q̃
 dieu dōne la grace / il exhorte et
 admoneste les auditeurs selon q̃ le
 texte porte / de sortir de tout
 peche / de toute erreur / superstitiō
 / & uanite: et soy retourner
 plainement a dieu / ayant plaine &
 parfaicte foy & cōfiance en luy /
 mettant tout son cueur en dieu /
 laimant sur toute choses: & pour
 lamour de luy son prochain cōme nous
 mesmes / uiuāt hōnestement sans faire
 tort a personne / nēpescher aucun le
 scandalisant / tachās edifier & tirer

After the prayer, the preacher
 begins by taking some text from holy
 Scripture which he reads fully
 as our Lord did in
 Nazareth, and after the reading
 he explains word for word, without
 skipping, bringing such passages of
 Scripture as help to the explanation
 of the one he is expounding, without
 going out of holy Scripture, so as
 not to scramble the pure Word of God
 with the filth of men,
 faithfully bearing the Word and
 speaking only the Word of God. And
 after having expounded his text as
 simply as possible without stepping
 out of scripture as God may
 give him grace to do, he exhorts and
 admonishes the hearers accordingly as
 the text may bear, to leave all
 sin, all error, superstition and
 vanity, and return
 fully to God, having full and
 perfect faith and confidence in him,
 putting all of one's heart in God,
 loving him above all things, and for
 the love of him, love one's neighbour as
 oneself, living honestly without
 prejudice to anyone, prevent none by
 scandalising them, endeavouring to edify

1. O & M uses the pronoun: 'il' - he

2. 'portant saine & fièle doctrine' - bearing clear and faithful teaching.

tous a nostre seigneur / obeyssans
 aux seigneurs & princes / soyēt bons
 ou mauuais / en tout ce qui nēst
 contre dieu / leur rendant et payant
 tout ce qui est ordonne / & quil
 appartient. Non seulement pour la
 crainte du glaiue quilz ont de dieu
 / & destre punis et travaillez de
 eulx / mais aussi pour la consciēce.
 Car celui qui resiste a la puissance /
 il resiste a lordonnāce de dieu /
 ueu quil ny a point de puissance
 qui ne soit par lordonnance &
 disposition de dieu / ou en faisant
 misericorde dōnant bōs prīces / qui
 ont la crainte de dieu deuant les
 yeulx / suyans la parolle de dieu /
 ayans a cueur laduancement de
 lhonneur de dieu et le prouffit des
 subiectz¹. Ou en ire pour les
 pechez du peuple dōnant² des
 tyrās iniques / qui nōt cure
 que de faire leur volunte & ce qui
 leur plait.^{3 & 4} De quelque sorte
 quilz soyent⁵ y leur fault obeyr / et
 desyrer leur bien &
 paix tant⁶ que nostre

and to draw all to our Lord, obeying
 to lords and princes whether they be
 good or bad in all that is not
 contrary to God, giving and paying
 them all that is ordained and which
 is their due. Not only for fear
 of the sword thy have received from
 God, or of being punished and tortured
 by them but also for the sake of
 conscience. For he who resists
 authority, he resists the ordinance
 of God seeing that there is no
 authority but by the ordinance and
 disposition of God, either in his
 mercy giving good princes who
 have the fear of God before their
 eyes, following the Word of God,
 having in their hearts the promotion
 of the honour of God and the
 advantage of the subjects. Or in
 anger for the sins of the people
 giving iniquitous tyrants who care
 for nought but their own will and
 that which pleases them. No matter
 how they may be, they must be obeyed
 and their good and
 peace desired as our Lord

-
1. O & M reads: '... laduancement de son honneur & le salut / bien / & proffit des subiectz q̄ leur sont cōmis.' - ... the promotion of his honour and the salvation, good and advantage of the subjects committed them.
 2. O & M: 'esleuant' - raising up.
 3. 'plaisir desordonne' - reckless pleasure.
 4. O & M begins a new sentence with 'pourtant' - however.
 5. O & M: 'que soyēt les superieurs' - the superiors may be.
 6. 'tant' is replaced by 'puis', giving stronger emphasis that it is a consequence of the Lord's commandment.

seigneur¹ commande / lequel esleue les
 princes et les abbat / et trāsferē les
 royaulmes selon son bō plaisir. Et
 ainsi fault exhorter le peuple chrestiē
 / ne chercher point la liberte &
 franchise charnelle: mais de lesperit
 & de lame.

Car ci nostre Roy Jesus a este
 subiect & a paye a Cesar ce quil
 receuoit des aultres / semblablement
 doibuent faire tous urays chrestiens
 & fideles. Et ainsi doibt enseigner
 tout prescheur de uerite / admōnestāt
 aussi (sil est en lieu) les princes /
 ayās la puissāce / de faire leur
 debuoir / & traicter les subiectz
 comme leurs freres & enfans / sachās
 que dieu est sur tous les princes /
 & quil iugera tous ainsi qlz aurōt
 deseruy. Sēblablemēt admōnestant
 tous de garder les saintz
 cōmandemēs de dieu / priant nostre
 seignr quil donne la grace de les
 obseruer / il propose la loi de dieu
 & les saintz cōmandemēs cōment ilz
 sont escriptz en Exode au XX. chap.
 & mis la sus au baptesme. Et apres
 il incite tous a demander mercy a
 dieu en cōfessāt leurs pechez / cōment
 il est cōtenu en la forme de la cene:
 & ainsi disant loraison de nostre
 seigneur exhorte de demāder grace a

has commanded, he who raises up
 princes and brings them down, and
 transfers kingdoms according to his whim.
 And so one must exhort the christian
 people, not to seek freedom and
 licence of the flesh, but of the
 spirit and of the soul.

For if our King Jesus has been a
 subject and has paid to Caesar what he
 received from others, all true and
 faithful Christians should do
 likewise. In this manner should every
 true preacher of the truth teach,
 admonishing princes (if it be in his
 powers) who are in authority to do their
 duty and to treat theit subjects
 as their brethren and children, knowing
 that God is above all princes, and that
 he will judge accordingly as they will
 have deserved. Similarly admonishing
 all to keep the holy commandments
 of God, praying our Lord that he give
 grace to follow them, he proposes the
 law of God and the holy commandments
 as they are written
 in Exodus chapter 20 and
 laid out above at baptism. And after
 this, he enjoins all to ask for
 God's mercy by confessing their sins
 as is set out in the form for the Lord's
 supper, and so saying the Lord's
 prayer, he exhorts them to ask for grace

1. O & M adds: 'le' - object pronoun.

nostre seigneur destre ferme en la foy
laquelle tous confessent disans le Symbole.

Je croy en dieu le pere etc.

Et ainsi recommandant tous / faisant
prier pour tous ignorans / que dieu de
sa grace les inspire / & mayne a la
a la cognoissance de verite / quil
donne a tous qui ont le glaive / grace
& pouuoir de le saintement exercer /
quil console tous desolez: & sur tout
quil ayde & fortifie ceulx qui
souffrent pour la foy de nostre seigneur
Jesus par son saint euangile / que dieu
de sa grace les face perseverer en la
confession de son nom: & que pour rien
ilz ne fassent de dieu chose qui ne
soit selon la parole de nostre seigneur.

Ainsi en paix lon enuoye le peuple¹.

from our Lord to be firm in the faith
which all confess saying the creed.

I believe in God the Father, etc.

And so recommending them all, making
them pray for all the ignorant that God
might inspire them in his grace and lead
them to knowledge of the truth, that he
give all who hold the sword the grace
and power to use it saintly, that
he comfort all who grieve, and above
all that he help and strengthen those
who suffer for the faith of our Lord
Jesus, for his holy Gospel, that God
gracefully might make them persevere
in the confession of his name, and
that for nothing they might do nor say
anything not in accord with the Word
of our Lord.

So in peace one sends off the people.

1. This being the last service in O & M, it is followed by:

Mar. I.B.

Retournez vous & croyez a Levangile.

Matth. II.D.

Venez a moy to⁹ qui estes chargez /
& ie vous soulageray.

Roma. I.B.

Je nay point honte de leuangile /
car il est puissance de Dieu pour
salut a tout croyant.

Mark 1 : 14

Repent and believe the Gospel.

Matt. 11 : 28

Come to me all who are laden; and
I will give you relief.

Rom. 1 : 16

I am not ashamed of the Gospel for
it is the power of God to save all
who believe.

¶ De la uisitation des malades

Il fault que celuy qui porte la
parolle de nostre seigneur en toute
diligēce trauaille / de tyrer tous a
nostre seigneur estāt exēple de bōne
uie & de doctrine au peuple / il¹ nest
pas assez quil enseigne a lassēblee /
mais aussi doibt enseigner par les
maisons & par tout² / comme Jesus a
faict & ses apostres / consolant les
affligez / & sur tout ceulx qui sont
malades / auquelz il³ fault adnoncer
la tresgrande bonte & misericorde de
dieu / monstrant que de celuy qui est
fontaine de tout bien / ne peult sortir
que du biē: et que luy qui est tout
puissant est nostre pere tresmisericor-
dieux plus soigneux de nous / que
iamais pere ne mere ne fut de son filz:
disāt / Que combiē que la mere
oublieroit son enfant / et la mere
nourrice celuy quelle allaicte quelle
a porte en son uentre / neātmoins
nostre pere ne nous oubliera poīt /
faisant tout pour nostre prouffit /
enuoyant tout pour nostre bien / et
que sil estoit meilleur quil fust
aultremēt / deuons croyre fermement
que dieu lenuoyeroit et le feroit.
Donc nous deuons soubmettre nostre

Concerning the visiting of the sick

He who carries the Word of our
Lord should, in all diligence,
strive to draw all people to our
Lord, being an example of good life
and doctrine. It is not
sufficient that he should teach in the
the meeting, but he should also
teach in the houses and everywhere as
Jesus and his apostles did, comforting
the desolate and especially those who
are sick, to whom the very great good-
ness and mercy of God must be announced,
showing them that from him who is the
source of all good, nothing but good can
come, and that he who is almighty is
our very merciful Father, taking greater
care of us than father and mother do of
their son saying: that even though
a mother may forget
her child and a nursing mother
the one to whom she gives suck
who she has carried in her womb, never-
theless our Father shall not forget us,
doing all things to our p̄ffit,
sending all things for our good, and that
should there be better otherwise than
that there is, we must firmly believe
that God would send it and do it.
Therefore we must submit our spirit

-
1. 'Parquoi ce nest...' - For this reason it is not...
 2. O & M replaces 'par tout' with 'et en particulier tant que loccasion si adonne' - and particularly whenever there is a chance.
 3. Instead of 'fault', O & M reads: 'il est singulierement besoing / adnoncer'.
- it is particularly necessary to announce ...

esperit a luy / & croyre fermement
 quil nous yme / & en nous ayment
 il nous chastie / & ne devons auoir
 egard a la douleur & pourete q̃ nous
 endurons / ne penser que pource dieu
 nous haysse ou nous reiecte / mais
 plus tost penser destre plus en sa
 grace / regardāt non point ceulx
 qui flourissent en ce monde / ayans
 leur consolations: mais Jesus / le¹
 plus ayne du pere que tout uray filz
 de dieu / leq̃l a este plus afflige
 que tous / plus tormente q̃ tous / &
 plus pourement traicte en sa fin.
 Car non seulement la passion
 tresamere luy a este grandement dure /
 quant² en ses tormens ou tous crioyēt
 cōtre luy / comme chien enragez / luy
 disans grosses iniures / faisās du
 pis quilz pouoyent / contrainct par
 les durs tormens cryoit /
 Mon dieu / Mon dieu pourquoy mas tu
 delaisse: mais sentant lheure de la
 passion estre prochaine / estoit
 triste iusques a la mort: & en priant
 le pere q̃ la mort passast / il sua sang
 & eaue de detresse & angoisse. Quō
 regarde en quel lit ce saīct corps de
 Jesus estoit / Nestoit il point pendu
 en une dure croix? La saincte tete

to him and firmly believe that he
 loves us, and that in loving us, he
 punishes us, and we should not
 look to the pain and misery we
 endure, nor think because of it that
 God hates us or rejects us, but
 rather we should think that we are all
 the more in his grace, looking not at
 those who flourish in this world and
 have their consolation, but to Jesus,
 the best loved of the Father, true son
 of God, who was more afflicted than
 any, more tormented than any, and
 more miserably treated in his end.
 For not only was his very bitter passion
 greatly hard when in his torments all
 cried against him like
 mad dogs, telling him
 great insults, doing
 the worst they could; he, constrained by
 these hard torments cried:
 'My God, My God, why have you forsaken
 me;' but feeling the hour of his
 passion to be near, he was sad
 even to death, and in praying to the
 Father that death might pass aside he
 sweated blood and water from distress
 and anguish. Look and see in what kind
 of bed this holy body of Jesus was: was it
 not hung on a hard cross? The holy head,

1. O & M omits the article 'le'.

2. O & M omits 'quant'.

q̄l cheuet elle auoit po^z reposer?
 il ny a que despines¹ dequoy elle est
 corōnee / les bras / maĩs / iābes &
 pieds / cōment seuent pour soulaiger
 le corps plain de tormēt: affin q̄
 lasse destre en ung lieu soit tourne
 en lautre? tout nest il pas attache
 et de gros clous cruellemēt? Quel
 apprestemēt faict on a ce tresbon &
 tresgrand sauueur pour manger ou pour
 boyre / la ou du gros tourmēt il est
 tant trauaille / & des douleurs la
 bouche seiche & il meurt de soif?
 Il ny a q̄ du fiel / du vin aigre /
 & de la myrhe. Quelle cōsolation /
 quel cōfort a ce bon sauueur? Rien
 que toute peine / douleur / gros
 tormēt & angoisse. A quoy doibt
 regarde le malade q̄ nest ainsi
 traicte / ne si ameremēt cōme ce bon
 sauueur a este pour nous / dequoy il
 en doibt rendre graces a dieu / de ce
 q̄l luy a pleu de liurer ce bon
 sauueur a la mort pour nous / luy
 demādāt misericorde / & grace au
 nom de ce bon Jesus: & auoir
 parfaicte cōfiance & assurance / q̄
 nostre pere de sa bōte luy pardonne:
 car il est tout plain de toute
 benignite / tardif a ire / prōpt a

what kind of pillow did it rest on?
 There were only thorns with which it
 was crowned. The arms, hands, legs and
 feet, how did they help to relieve
 the tormented body, that tired
 from being in one place it be turned
 in another? Were they not all tied
 and that cruelly by large nails? What
 did they serve to this very good and
 very great saviour to eat or to
 drink when he was so worked by
 great torments and his mouth was
 dried out by pain so that he was dying
 of thirst? There was only gall, vinegar
 and myrrh. What consolation, what
 comfort for this good saviour? Nothing
 but all sadness, pain, torment and fear.
 All this the sick person should look
 at, seeing that he is not treated in
 such manner nor as bitterly as this
 good saviour was for us; for which
 he should give thanks to God for that
 it pleased him to deliver this good
 saviour to death for us, asking
 for his mercy and grace in the name of
 this good Jesus, and have
 perfect confidence and assurance that
 our father mercifully forgives him,
 for he is full of all kindness,
 slow to anger, quick to have

1. O & M omits the double ablative and reads 'espines'.

misericorde / soy recōmandāt &
 cōmettāt du tout en la main du seigñr
 / qui selon sa bōne volunte / face son
 bon plaisir du corps & de lame. Et
 aussi admonestant le malade / quil
 face a son pchain cōme il uouldroit
 quō luy fist / sās auoir tort de
 persōne. Regardant aussi de donner
 tel ordre aux siens / q̄l les laisse
 en paix / & q̄lz nayent point de plaint
 & debat apres sa mort / si dieu
 lappelle de ce monde / ordonnant du
 tout cōme ung uray fidele doint faire.
 Et q̄ iamais il ne oublie nostre seigñr
 & q̄l ne se desfie de sa grāde
 misericorde: mais en toutes ses
 afflictions & angoisses / cōtinuellement
 recoure a la grād mer de tout biē a
 nostre pere / auq̄l seul il aye toute
 sa fiance. Telles & semblables
 admonitions fera le uray seruiteur de
 dieu / regardāt cōme il est expediēt
 au malade. Sil a sa fiance a ses
 bōne oeuvres q̄l a faict / luy
 monstrāt que par icelles il ne peult
 euiter le iugemēt q̄l ne soit condēne
 deuāt dieu: & q̄ tout ne luy seruiroit
 de riē / si dieu ne luy faisoit
 misericorde & grace / par laq̄lle il
 doibt esperer salut en Jesuchrist /
 & nō en aultre / ne par aultre chose /
 & q̄l demāde mercy a dieu soy
 recongnissant poure pecheur / &
 coupable de la mort eternelle.

Sil a peur du iugement de dieu /

mercy, recommending and
 committing himself for all into the
 hands of the Lord who may it
 please to do his will with body and soul.
 And also admonishing the patient, that
 he do to his neighbour as he would like
 it to be done to him, without detriment
 to anyone. Taking pains also to give
 such directions to his family that
 they be left in peace and have no
 complaint or dispute after his death
 should God call him from this world,
 disposing of everything as a true
 believer should. And let him never for-
 get our Lord nor suspect his great
 mercy, but in all his afflictions and
 fears, let him constantly have
 recourse to the great sea of all good,
 to our Father, in whom alone let him
 put all his trust. Such and similar
 admonitions will God's true servant give,
 seeing what is expedient to the
 patient. Should he have confidence in
 his good works which he did, show
 him that by them, he cannot avoid
 the judgment and being condemned
 before God; and that all would serve
 him for nought unless God dealt with
 him in mercy and grace, through which he
 should hope for salvation in Jesus Christ
 and in no other or through nothing else.
 And let him ask God's mercy, recognising
 himself to be a poor sinner and
 deserving of eternal death.

If he be afraid of God's judgment

de lire & fureur diceluy / luy fault
 annōcer les saīctes p̄messes q̄ nostre
 seign̄r a faict a tous ceulx q̄ uiēnet
 a luy & linuocquēt de cueur: & cōme
 par n̄re sauueur Jesus / le pere nous
 promet pardō en luy demandant. Et en
 ce doibt fidelemēt trauailler le uray
 euangelisateur pour attirer / & amener
 le poure malade a nostre seign̄r /
 admōnestāt les domestiques qui sont
 aupres du malade de le cōsoler &
 exhorter en nostre seigneur. Et si
 le ministre a q̄lque chose de quoy il
 le puisse cōsoler aussi corporellemēt
 cōe de pain / uin / cōfitures ou aultre
 chose / il nespargnera rien / monstrāt
 a tous uray exēple de charite /
 uisitant souuētefoys le malade pour le
 cōsoler & fortifier tant q̄ sera
 possible par la parole de nostre
 seigneur: & de tout ce quil pourra /
 aydāt au poure corps afflige.

Après le deces / par saintes
 exhortations fault dōner courage au
 suruiuās de louer dieu / et soy
 conformer a sa sainte uolunte: & au
 lieu que parauant a la poure uesue
 desolee / qui auoit perdu son mary /
 on luy faisoit despēdre tout plain
 dargent¹ pour chāter / & manger ce
 pendant quelle plouroit et ieusnoit /
 & aussi aux orphelins: affin quon
 adiouste point dommaige sur dommaige /

and of his anger and fury, he should
 be told the holy promises made by
 our Lord to all those who come to him
 from their hearts, and how, through
 our saviour Jesus, the father promises
 us pardon on request. And in this,
 the true evangeliser must work to
 draw and bring the poor
 patient to our Lord,
 admonishing the servants who are about
 the patient to console him and
 exhort him in the Lord. And if the
 minister should have something with
 which to console him bodily also,
 like bread, wine, jam or other thing,
 he shall not reckon costs, giving
 to all a true example of charity,
 often visiting the patient to console
 and fortify him as much as possible
 by the Word of our Lord;
 and do his utmost to help the poor
 afflicted body.

After the death, the survivors
 must be given courage by holy
 exhortations to praise God and
 conform themselves to his holy will,
 and unlike formerly when the poor
 desolate widow who had lost her husband
 was made to spend much money
 for singing and eating while
 she wept and fasted, and
 similarly the orphans, so as not
 to add injury to injury,

1. O & M rewrites this as follows: 'on faisoit despandre a la poure uesue
 desolee / q̄ auoit perdu son mary / tout plain dargent.' - There is,
 however, no change in meaning.

ayat pitie deulx leur fault ayder de
cõseil & de biēs / ainsi que nostre
seigneur en donne le pouuoir.

Tachāt que les enfans soyent bien
instruictz en la doctrine de dieu /
affin quilz uiuent chrestienmēt
suyuans les commandemens de dieu /
trauailans pour leur uie comme dieu
la ordonne.

¶ Le pere de toute misericorde
ameine tous a la parfaicte
cõgnoissance de uerite /
donnant a tous ung mesme
cueur & esperit / faisant q̃
ung chascun serue a luy seul
en esperit & uerite / laymant
sur tout / & po^z lamour de luy
ung chascun son pchain / cõe
le seigñr dieu le ueult &
cõmande.

Mar. I.B.

Retournez uous & croyez a Levangile.

Matth. II.D.

Uenez a moy to⁹ quiestes chargez /
& ie uous soulageray.

Roma. I.B.

Je nay point hõte de leuangile /
car il est puissance de Dieu pour
salut a tout croyant.

having pity on them, one should help
them with advice and goods as our Lord
has given us the means.

Taking care that the children be well
taught in the doctrine of God
so that they might live as christians
and follow the commandments of God,
working for their living as God has
ordained.

May the Father of all mercy
bring all to the perfect
knowledge of truth,
giving to all one same
spirit, so that each and
every one should serve him
alone in spirit and in truth,
loving him above all, and for
the love of him, each one his
neighbour, as the Lord God
wills and commands.

Mark 1 : 14

Repent and believe the Gospel.

Matt. 11 : 28

Come to me all who are laden; and
I will give you relief.

Rom. 1 : 16

I am not ashamed of the Gospel for
it is the power of God to save all
who believe.

¶ Imprime par Pierre Uingle

a Neufchastel / le xxix iour

Daoust. Lan. 1553.

Ordre & Maniere further has this table at the end.

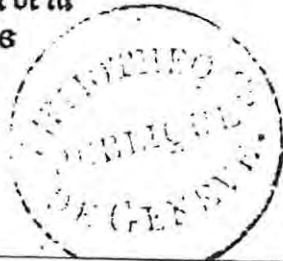
| | |
|---|---|
| ☞ Registre des principales matieres de ce p̃sent traicte: selon le Caier / le feuillet / & la page. | Table of the main subjects of this present treatise, according to the booklet, the sheet and the page. |
| Bresue exhortatiõ a suyure seulement le commandement & uouloir de Dieu / sans auoir esgard a autre chose. A.1.p.2. | Brief exhortation to follow only the commandment and will of God and not look to anything else. |
| Preface du liure ou est r̃du raison de la foy & creãce des fideles. A.2.pa.1. | Preface of the book where the faith and belief of the faithful is set out. |
| Des Sacrem̃s / & premierem̃t du Baptisme. A.4.pa.2. La est recitee loraison de Jesus Christ A.7.pa.1. | Of the Sacraments & firstly of Baptism. There the prayer of Jesus Christ is recounted. |
| Item / Ies dix cõmandem̃s de Dieu. A.8.pa.1.2. Item les articles de la foy. B.1.pa.1. | Also the ten commandments of God. Also the articles of the faith. |
| De la Sainte Cene & Table de nostre Seig̃nr Jesus Christ. B.2.pa.1. | Of the holy Supper and Table of our Lord Jesus Christ. |
| Du Mariage. C.4.pa.1. | Of Marriage. |
| De la Uisitacion des Malades. D.1.pa.1. | Of the visiting of the sick. |
| De lordre & maniere quon lon observe es predicacions. D.4.pa.2. | Of the order and manner followed in preaching. |
| A ung seul Dieu honneur & gloyre. | To one God only be honour and glory. |

Imprime par Jehan Michei
demourant en la place
Saint Pierre deuãt
la grãd Eglise.
1538.

La maniere & faiso
qu'on tiét en baillant le sainte bap-
tesme en la sainte cōgregation
de dieu: & en espousant ceulx qui
viennent au sainte mariage/ & a
la sainte Cene de nostre seigneur/
es lieux lesqz dieu de sa grace a
visite/ faisât q̄ selō sa sainte pa-
rolle ce quil a deffendu en sō eglise
soit reiecte/ & ce quil a cōman-
de soit tenu. Aussi la ma-
niere cōmēt la predica-
tion cōmēce/moyēne
& finit / avec les
prieres & exhor-
tatiōs qu'on

faict a
tous & pour tous/ & de la
visitation des
malades.

*



Lordre et maniere
qu'on tiét en administrant les saintz
sacremens: assauoir/ le Baptesme/ et
la Cene de nostre Seigneur.

Item/ en la celebration du Maria-
ge/ & en la Visitation des malades.

Avec la forme qu'on obserue es pres-
dications/ principallemēt quant aux
exhortations & prieres qu'on y faict.

Es lieux lesquelz Dieu de sa grace a
visite/ faisant que selō sa sainte
parolle ce quil a deffendu
en son Eglise soit reiect
te: & ce quil a cō-
mande/ soit
tenu.

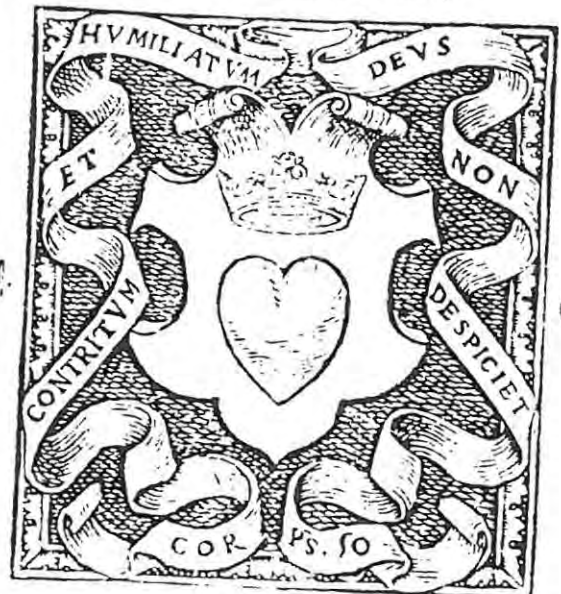


Chrestiens pour lhōneur de
dieu nostre tresbon pere/ ne regard
dez les coustumes ne le temps &
annees/ ne les hōmes/ ne la mul-
titude/ ne sapparce q̄ tout peult
auoir/ soit en sciēce/ Vertu/ doctri-
ne/ saintete/ ou autorite: mesmes
quant ce seroit vng ange du ciel/
mais seulemēt pensez/ regardez/
& diligēment examinez ce que le
bon sauueur Jesus a ordonne et
commande/ duquel le pere dit.
Cesuy est mon filz bien aime
ouyez le. Matth. 17. A.

Domini tuo da gloriam Do-
mine. Psal. 113. V.

Espronnez les esperitz filz sont
de dieu. 1. Joā. 4. A.

Jerem. 31.
Ma loy dens euy ie donneray/
& en leur cueur ie le scriray.



Psal 51.
Le Seigneur Dieu point ne mesprisera
le cueur contrict & qui humble sera.

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