THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LITURGY IN GENEVA UNDER CALVIN TO THE PRESENT DAY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE AND HOLY COMMUNION AND THEIR DOCTRINAL SIGNIFICANCE

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C O N T E N T S

S U M M A R Y

Chapter I

The first section of this chapter sets out the rise of civil government in Geneva and how the stage was set for the take-over of ecclesiastical authority by the civil powers. The second section outlines the growing discontent of the Genevans with episcopal authority since their bishop has become dangerously favourable to the house of Savoy. Farel's forceful preaching drew many sympathisers and these, added to those who sought political freedom, soon found themselves in a position to proclaim the Reformation of Geneva.

Chapter II

In this chapter, we examine the structure of the Church in the later middle ages. The examination of a sixteenth century Missal sets the norm by which Reformation liturgies may be judged.

Chapter III

An attempt to date Farel's Maniere et Fasson is made in the light of his reforming activities. The origin of his thought is traced to Lefèvre d'Etaples. This thought is brought out in the liturgy which must be considered as the first Genevan reformed liturgy.

Chapter IV

The origins of Calvin's liturgy are to be found in Strasburg. Diebold Schwartz was the first to translate the Mass into German, reforming its contents, and is found to have been the first to celebrate this German Mass in Strasburg. This Mass is examined for the tendencies which it represents of a break away from many of the more blatant distortions of late Medieval worship. Bucer's ascendency at Strasburg is outlined because of the changes which he brought about in the liturgy.

Chapter V

Calvin's Strasburg liturgy is examined in relation to Bucer's and its distinguishing tendencies are brought to light. The rise of the first French Psalter, and the origin of its tunes is taken into account. Calvin's return to Geneva resulted in the publication of another liturgy derived from that of Strasburg, but this liturgy did not fulfil Calvin's aspirations for it was limited by the prevailing religious opinion which Calvin was forced to take into account. As

against this, Calvin's ideal of worship is examined, as well as the place given by Geneva to the adherence to the Christian Year.

Chapter VI

The eighteenth century in Geneva witnessed the rise of rationalism and the rejection of the oversystematised Calvinism which followed the Reformer's death. But at the same time, the prevalent ecumenical concern brought about a new consciousness of the traditional forms of worship. The effect of these two currents of thought is traced in the 1724 Genevan liturgy.

Chapter VII

In the nineteenth century we are faced with a more thoroughgoing rationalism, with revivalist pietism and with a new spirit of liberalism which has sprung out of the changing political outlook. These elements are expressed in the liturgies of the time. When the 1875 liturgy was drawn up, liberal opinion had gained such a strong hold that a dual liturgy was deemed necessary, in which alternative forms were prescribed for those who disagreed with the orthodox doctrines. The separation of Church and State government resulted in a revision of the liturgy. But the only example of this thought is contained in the forms for the morning service published in 1921.

Chapter VIII

The liturgy of the twentieth century is a witness to the vitality of the movement towards liturgical renewal. But it appears to lack solid doctrinal foundation in the multitude of texts provided to cater for all ranges of opinion. Nevertheless, it contains many traditional elements as well as a number of reformation forms, though the latter are usually presented as they appeared in the seventeenth century revision. This liturgy, therefore, is a sign that a new consciousness of worship has entered the Genevan Church and bears, within it, the promise of possible further developments.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we take note of the movements which have influenced the liturgy throughout this study, finding that with the exception of Calvin, there has never been a proper theological approach to the liturgy. It is just such a theological approach that is necessary if the Genevan liturgy is to reap the benefits of the present air of liturgical renewal.

PREFACE

This study has been, for its author, an introduction to the worship of the Reformed Church. One cannot help but be conscious of the small scope of this study of a subject which would need volumes to do it justice.

I would just mention, in passing, my reason for classifying the forms of 1921 with the liturgies of the nineteenth century: they are the result of a movement which started before the turn of the century and have not experienced the influence of the twentieth century movement for liturgical renewal.

My final wish is that this study may convey to others, as it did to me, a recognition of some of the principles of worship for which the reformers fought, and the heritage of which we partake. I can only hope that we will see the day when this heritage will be acknowledged and all our worship will be SOLI DEO GLORIA.

C H A P T E R I

THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE CALVINIAN REFORMATION IN GENEVA

1. THE RISE OF THE URBAN AUTHORITIES

When, on 17 May 1536, Geneva definitely came to adopt the reformed faith, Zwingly had been dead for five years; in the German states affected and in the Swiss cantons alike, the reformation had entered its "governmental" stage. Thus the Genevan reformation was experiencing, with an appreciable time-lag and attenuated force, the social upheavals which had been shaking Europe. In the pre-reformation period, however, Geneva had experienced the same political and social evolution as the other merchant cities of Europe, and the episcopal cities in particular.

Swept by the widespread movement towards the emancipation of the urban middle classes, the Genevese had fought hard for their rights. The conclusion of their efforts was their final obtaining, from bishop Adhémar Fabri in 1387, the "Franchises" which gave constitutional sanction to their customs. They had thus been granted the right to meet in a general council, to elect their own magistrates (four syndics annually chosen and one treasurer elected for a period of office of three years). Soon these, together with the retired syndics of previous years and some other councillors of their choice, came to form the "little Council", a consultative and executive body charged with the administration of the interests of the burghers. In 1457, another council of fifty, later increased to sixty, was established to discuss matters which were too unwieldy to be handled by the general council; it is worth noticing that the little council elected the members of the larger council and thus a form of 'popular aristocracy' began to assert itself. It was this 'bourgeois aristocracy', consisting of the more influential members of the guilds and the wealthier merchants, which led the general opinion of the people, preparing the popular revolts against the feudal system and eventually favouring the reformation.

To understand the relationship between Church and State in the XVIth century, and particularly in the formative years of the reformation, one must first examine the way in which governmental functions were divided before this period. We find that three powers shared the spiritual and temporal authority in the city: the bishop who was also the imperial prince of Geneva, the count whose status was that of Vidome or vice-Lord (1), and the body of the burghers. So the bishop was theoretically the

supreme ruler of the city under the sovereignty of the Emperor who entrusted the imperial vicariat to the dukes of Savoy; his first duty, on induction, was to swear on the Missal in his cathedral church of Saint-Pierre that he would respect the rights of the city. Apart from that, he disposed of the commandment of the city in times of war, he had the right to mint coinage, hear appeals, and to grant mercy, not to mention his ecclesiastical duties. The count, who owned the castle in the centre of the city, also had to swear on his accession to respect the rights of the city and its franchises; it was his duty to defend the city, to guard and execute prisoners as well as to judge defaulters in the civil court. The councils were charged with the important civil cases, they were to see to the provisioning of the city and the maintenance of its fortification, the direction of its finances, the maintenance of law and order after nightfall by means of a system of police, and the safeguarding of the rights guaranteed by the "Franchises". In 1527 under Bernese influence it was decided that a new council of two hundred, elected by the little council, would replace that of the sixty. One can understand in the situation as described above (2) how, when the bishop was stripped of his responsibilities, the councils substituted themselves for him in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs. But instead of giving the councils a free hand to rule the Church, as did Luther and Zwingli, Calvin strove for years to establish a right balance between civil and ecclesiastical governments. One can only understand the intensity of this struggle if one understands how inextricably civil and ecclesiastical powers were intertwined before the Reformation.

2. THE COMING OF THE REFORMATION

The relatively quick success of the Reformed faith in Geneva owed as much to political factors as to religious convictions. The whole of the XVth century was occupied with the attempts of the dukes of Savoy to limit the freedom of the Genevese and eventually to bring the city within their orbit of power (3). Already the famous Genevan trade fairs had been forced to close and had been supplanted by those at Lyons. It was from their bishop that burghers and magistrates sought protection in the first half of the century but after Amedée VIII of Savoy had been proclaimed Pope Felix V(1447),the situation changed. For this pope after a short period of office retired, having managed to reserve for himself the see of Geneva, to be

succeded after his death in 1451 by his grandson (Pierre) of Savoy. The place of the shepherd had been taken by the wolf, and all hope of episcopal protection had gone since the house of Savoy had started to "stick its nose into the see of Geneva" (4). Faced with the fact that the enemy was already within their walls, the burghers turned for protection to the powerful confederate cities of Switzerland, and needed their help all the more since they were completely surrounded by lands under the suzerainty of Savoy.

But the duke was powerful and had a following among the wealthier elements of the population, whereas the Swiss were far away. The city was split up into two rival groups: the Mamelouks, partisans of Savoy, and the Eidgenots, partisans of the Swiss alliance, waged a bitter feud. And even this was not all, as in addition to political tension there was also an element of social revolt. Michel Roset (5) tells of how in 1520 the people rose against the bishop because he had reprieved one of his partisans, and against the timorous council who had let it happen. The hostility of the people against the privileged clergy was so great that these narrowly missed being thrown out of the city altogether. This hostility is not altogether to be dissociated from the spirit of reformation for Roset adds that, though the people were then still faithful to the ancient beliefs, the adversaries of the clergy had "learned from the Lutherans to despise Roman authority" (6). This was 1520, the year in which Charles V was elected to the Empire; the first writings of Luther, who had not yet completely broken with Rome, were spreading widely over France and Switzerland (7). But in Geneva, the attention of the burghers was still held exclusively by the threats of Charles III of Savoy which were becoming increasingly disquietening.

The first reforming wave to break over Geneva, that of the humanists, did not have much effect. A few humanists in this city, among whom we note the physician Cornelius Agrippa, followed with deep interest the theological disputes which were then shaking Europe. The four authors, whom the Dominican inquisitors called "the four antichrist doctors: Erasmus, Luther, Reuchelin, and Lefèvre D'Etaples" (8), and was friendly with the Franciscans of Rive who were circulating the new ideas (9). He also travelled extensively, corresponded with Haller, the Bernese reformer, and exchanged ideas with the humanists of Fribourg. But those of reforming inclinations were soon snuffed out in Fribourg, a city governed by a conservative military and commercial aristocracy

which was little inclined to reflection. And because of the friendship as well as the political ties which united Geneva to Fribourg, Fribourg's firm and expulsive attitude (10) increased the reluctance of the burghers, preoccupied as they were with the ducal threats, to be won over finally to the reforming movement.

But in Berne, on the other hand, the dominating influences were towards the new thought. In 1526, thanks to the energy of the middle classes, a popular revolt imposed the reformation against the wishes of the patriciat and the peasantry. The ordinance of 7 February 1528 marked the official triumph of the reformation and received the support of many patrician families which had been persuaded to accept the new faith. Then Geneva, solicited by its two allies, saw the Bernese influence growing rapidly to the detriment of Fribourg and from Berne the reformers received much precious encouragement.

In France also, the Reformation had progressed rapidly under the benevolent eye of François I. But his defeat at Pavia and his captivity, issuing in the regency of Louise de Savoy, changed the climate to one of active repression. There was thus an influx of merchants to Geneva; and both those trying to escape the persecutions in France and those deserting the Italian plains, where war still continued, sought refuge in the imperial city.

It is therefore not surprising that the Reformation should have gained its most important foothold in Geneva through the influence of these merchants. A small reformed community was formed which became actively occupied in printing clandestine pamphlets both against Savoy and against Roman clericalism. These pamphlets already contained at their core the typically reformed idea, found also in Lefèvre, Farel, and later in Calvin, that the partisans of these reforms were neither inventors nor innovators but simply Christians trying to re-establish the ancient and true Church which the papacy had disfigured (11).

But owing to pressure from all sides, the reforming movement was prevented from developing rapidly. In 1529, the Emperor himself addressed a stern warning to the Syndics: "We have learned that many preachers hold particular and public assemblies in your city and in its surroundings to propagate the ideas of Luther and that you tolerate this. His pontifical majesty and the imperial powers are gravely insulted by your behaviour. Accordingly we order you to seize the said ministers and have them punished according to the injunctions of the most severe edicts. In doing this you will uproot the impiety of your

country, do what is agreeable to God, and conform to our express will" (12).

To the renewal of the alliance between Geneva and the confederate cities in 1526 (13), Charles III of Savoy replied with a show of force. His gentlemen were sent out to raze the surrounding countryside so that between 1528 and 1530, the city's food supplies were practically cut off. A first unsuccessful escalade of the walls was repulsed on the night of 25 March 1529, but in October 1530 a second assault was nearly successful. The situation was now desperate for the Genevese so they solicited troops from their allies. The troops arrived in time to restore the confidence of the city, but the price demanded for them crippled its finances. The presence of the Bernese troops in the city, however, and of their chaplain who preached in the Cathedral, gave a new lease of life to the reforming group.

It was not until 1532 that the question of indulgences, which had been one of the great levers of the reformation in Europe, became acute in Geneva. That year had been proclaimed a year of jubilee by Clement VII and to help meet the expenses involved in such a festival a new set of indulgences had been issued to replenish the papal coffers. This "great pardon for cash" was advertised on all the Church doors, but on 9 June the placards issued by the grand vicar and posted on the Cathedral doors were torn down by a young man and replaced by a notice proclaiming the truths of the Evangelical faith (14). The ebullient canon Werli of Fribourg, however, was on the scene. He struck down the blasphemer, swords were drawn, and Werli was wounded in the arm. Fribourg lodged a complaint with the Syndics who heard the case but the young man, Jean Goulaz, was treated fairly leniently and was let off with a fine of 25 'écus' and required to kiss his victim (15). A number of the Syndics were sympathetic to the reformed cause and were corresponding with Farel who at this juncture wrote to Zwingli (16): "I hear that the Genevese take an interest in the Gospel. It is even said that if Fribourg would tolerate it, they would be ready to receive it. But the Bernese are not as zealous for the glory of Christ as the Fribourgers for the Papal briefs...." (17).

The majority of the Genevese had by no means been won over to the reformed cause by 1532. For when Farel, passing through Geneva on his return from the Synod of Chanforan in the Waldensian valleys at the end of September, was made a rallying point of evangelical opinion he was immediately summoned to participate in a debate at the house of the grand vicar. But

the summons turned out to be a trap into which Farel and his companions walked, only to be accused with seducing the people. Courageous as always, Farel replied with the fundamental argument of the Evangelicals: "It is not us but you, preservers of the present disorder, who are guilty. All we do is to return to the origins of the faith of the Church.... It is you and your people who have troubled not only this city but the whole world with your traditions, human inventions, and dissolute lives" (18). This caused an uproar among his enemies who sought to kill him and even the grand vicar who being in the plot tried to fire an arquebus at him, but unsuccessfully for the weapon exploded on firing and harmed no one. It was, however, only through the intervention of the Syndics that Farel was able to escape by night in a boat to Saint-Sulpice.

Nevertheless his visit had not been in vain, for it had remarkably strengthened the little reformed community in Geneva which had been led during his absence by a French bonnet-maker, Guerin Muète. Nor did the reformer waste time for he quickly persuaded a young coreligionist, twenty-three year old Antoine Fromment from Orbe, to renew attempts to reform Geneva. Under the guise of a teacher Fromment went to Geneva, advertising as a private tutor. His lessons, however, soon changed to sermons, and he was called on to preach before growing crowds. Nor did the Franciscans of Rive lag behind, for the evangelical element among them was increasingly heard. On 1 January 1533, Fromment preached in the open-air at the Mollard, where he had been carried by his hearers because they considered themselves too crowded in a house. The Roman party was not slow to retaliate; ugly mob scenes took place, and Fromment was forced to leave. His replacement, Pierre Viret, did not last long either for the mounting tension compelled him also to leave. But still the work progressed, and on Holy Thursday, 10 April Holy Communion was celebrated,according to an evangelical order drawn up by Farel, by Guerin Muète assisted by a passing French minister (19). The Romanists were not to be outdone, and, taking advantage of the absence of the majority of the merchants who were at the Lyons fairs, they raised a serious riot on 4 May designed to put an end to the reformed meeting. Many Evangelicals were caught in the trap but some, having got wind of the plot, covered the street with cannon. Once again, the impetuous Canon Werli was at the head of the mob, but in this mêlée he was killed. Fribourg lodged a protest to the council against the heretics, and persuaded bishop Pierre de Baume to return to his city to

restore order (20). But the Werli case did not turn out as expected, even though the bishop was supported by Fribourg, and on 14 July he abandoned his cathedral city never to return, seeking protection in Savoy (21). Once the bishop was gone, the Romanist party lost power quickly. To make matters worse for them, a letter was discovered bearing Pierre de Baume's seal and incriminating some of the burghers in a plot with Savoy against Geneva (22). This was the final blow which to many irreversibly linked the old religion with domination by the house of Savoy and drew crowds to the reformed camp. In view of this, Fribourg now withdrew from the alliance (23).

Even before the council could refuse the Bernese request for a church for the Genevese reformed community, Baudichon de la Maisonneuve had, on 1 March 1534, led the reformers to the convent church of the Franciscans of Rive where he had installed Farel in the pulpit. This monastery had long been a centre for the new ideas, and many of its monks had embraced the reformed cause. So Farel, who had returned with the help of the Bernese in December 1533, was able to conduct daily services. It seems, however, that the council was not altogether on the reformed side, as we read of occasional condemnations for belonging to the Lutherans (24); but Farel and his followers seem to have been considered as, we might almost say, more Christian than Lutheran. Farel was able to establish his liturgy, which was reprinted together with the Olivetan Bible at Neuchâtel in August 1533 under the title: La maniere et fasso quon tiẽt en baillant le sainct basptesme en la sainct congregation de dieu..., and in addition, he introduced the Summaire (25), a brief catechism expounding most of the essential reformed doctrines. The Genevese community was thus put in possession of a minimum of doctrine and discipline; and it had also the recently published Bible of Lefèvre d'Etaples. On Easter morning, 1534, four hundred young people received the sacrament of Holy Communion from Farel at Rive.

Outside the city the situation was growing yet more threatening, for the episcopal troops had joined the ducal armies in a concerted assault on Geneva. These threats served only to strengthen the reformed party and emboldened Farel to request the council to promote a public disputation (26) which, being granted, was held from 30 May to 24 June. The decision was gained for the reformed party on all five points. These five points are illustrative of the solid basis of evangelical faith already established in the city before the arrival of Calvin;

they are as follows:

1. There is but one Divine truth, that which is in Jesus Christ, which is revealed to us by Scripture. By it we know that man is totally corrupt, that he is saved solely by the grace of God through the unique sacrifice of His Son and faith in Him; works are consequent to salvation and not its condition.

2. The doctrine of Jesus is excellent and perfect; it is not lawful to take away or to add anything to it. Consequently the Church has no authority to define at its own convenience what is the word of God and what is not, but she herself is defined by that word.

3. One must adore God and serve Him only. Consequently it is not lawful to pray to saints.

4. The Church is not mediator between God and man, but Christ alone. (27)

It was quite natural in the XVIth century that the civil powers should be called on to carry out ecclesiastical reforms when the Church proved intractable. That was what Farel wanted, but the councils still shirked the responsibility of breaking with the old established order. Accordingly, the people took the initiative and installed Farel in the Church of Saint-Germain; then, finding Saint-Germain too small, the crowd carried him to Saint-Pierre where he preached on 8 August. That same evening, some of the Syndics led the crowd to pull down the images. When cited before the council to answer for their deed, they calmly replied that they had done no wrong since "the things were put up against the word of God" (28).

The reformation had now won through to all classes of the population; unanimity was almost reached, and the council could no longer avoid decision. On 10 August it decreed the suspension of Mass. The bishop retaliated with a letter, read out in all churches of the diocese on 30 August 1534, excommunicating Geneva, her inhabitants, and her Syndics "who have abolished all the holy sacraments of our holy mother the Church, married the priests and the religious, pulled down and buried the crosses, images of our Lady and of the saints of paradise, and the churches, wishing in all things to annihilate the memory of our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ" (29). The chapter retired to Annecy (30), as did also the nuns of Sainte-Claire (31) to whom the council granted an armed escort for protection. All ecclesiastics who wished to remain in Geneva were allowed to do so on condition that they "should go to sermon and hear the word of God,.... live as is commonly lived in this town, and put aside their habits and sacerdotal bonnets" (32).

The new faith had now obtained a signal victory, but the city was still in a very difficult position with the Duke of Savoy at its gates and Berne claiming that previous treaties prevented them from taking any armed action against Savoy. When the Genevese, however, began to take steps to seek the protection of the French monarch who, at the time was not on good terms with his uncle of Savoy, Berne finally decided to act. The prospect of having the French king at their doorstep was not an inviting one, so they immediately set out to annex the country of Vaud which until then had belonged to Savoy, and to liberate the Genevan districts (33). They were about to advance on the Fort de l'Ecluse when, avid for the spoils obtainable from defeated Savoy, the king of France made his appearance.

Liberation from Savoy did not necessarily mean freedom, as the Genevese soon discovered when, on 5 February 1536, the Bernese called together the Syndics, intimating that their government claimed for itself the office of the Vidome of Geneva, all the rights of the bishops, and the privileges of the house of Savoy. This was too much for the Genevese; having just got rid of an overbearing neighbour, they had no wish to fall under Bernese domination, so they refused point blank. Threats proved useless for was not the king of France near at hand? Meanwhile a general council was held to regularise the religious situation, and on Sunday, 26 May, the reformation was unanimously accepted by show of hands (34). Berne was gradually forced to give up her claims, and the Perpetual treaty was signed on 7 August. Its conditions were as follows:

1. Geneva was to remain open for the Bernese, and was not to contract any other alliance without their consent.

2. The overlordship of Gaillard was to be ceded to Berne together with all the property of those banished from Geneva.

3. Geneva was to keep all the rights and revenues of the see and the rights of the Vidome.

Unhappily there was another set of clauses concerning the dependencies of the priory of Saint-Victor and of the chapter which became the cause of much litigation; for, although willing to concede the sovereignty of these and their revenues to Geneva, Berne kept for itself the judicial power and the labour rights (35).

Though free and reformed, Geneva was not yet internally peaceful, for the struggles of the past had left their mark on its inhabitants. According to both Roman and Reformed authorities,

the city seethed with moral anarchy; ignorance was rife and immorality traditional; every citizen had acquired the habit of going about fully armed and ready to use his weapons at the slightest provocation. Although in the general council the reformation had been accepted unanimously, a considerable body of Romanists had either stayed away from the assembly or kept silent; these now formed an irreducible opposition with priests to celebrate Mass secretly. Still more to be feared was an opposition reformed body which held that the Church should submit to the State, for "was this not what had happened in Berne?"; these were the people for whom the reformation had meant emancipation, which they thought should free them from everything. Finally, the relationship with Berne was growing ever more delicate, for though the evangelicals tried to please Berne in all things, they could not give what Berne really wanted, sovereignty over Geneva.

In the midst of all these difficulties Farel worked tirelessly; he preached and trained preachers, and reorganised the schools and hospitals. But the very qualities which had made him such an ardent missionary were hindering him in administrative work. But when Calvin chanced to pass through the city, his problems were solved for immediately he recognised the person who should take over the work.

C H A P T E R II

THE ROMAN LITURGY AT THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION

It is significant that it is the opinion of a Roman Catholic author that: "the XIVth and XVth centuries may be described as the autumn of the liturgy" (1). This state of affairs, Roman Catholic authors claim, may be ascribed to a number of events of an ecclesiastical and political nature which, in turn, affected both clergy and laity profoundly.

The first of these, it appears, would be the war of the jurists and the emergence of nationalism (2). The struggle between Church and State was accentuated by civil reaction against the claims of ecclesiastical law which threatened to swallow kingdoms and empires. The Albigensian crusade, which had spilt heretical and Catholic blood indiscriminately and had degenerated into a purely territorial struggle, had taught even the most devout potentate that it could be folly to place one's full trust in the Holy See (3). Consequently kings encouraged their prelates to maintain a certain amount of independence from Rome, the more so since the higher clergy formed the backbone of the civil service (4). Also the deplorable condition of the papacy in the XIVth century could not but have some effect on the liturgy. Liturgical life could hardly have flourished in the exotic atmosphere of Avignon during the "Babylonish Captivity" (1305-78) nor could the conflicting popes of the great Schism following it (1379-1415) have had much authority. Then, the old feudal practice of chosing a village yokel to be the parish priest remained, resulting in a lack of proper discrimination in accepting ordinands and a widespread lack of education among the lower ranks of the clergy. The prevalence of ecclesiastical scandals such as those relating to benefices and immorality (5) has amply been commented on, but their chief consequence was that they shocked many faithful Christians. Worthy also of notice is that the decadence of so many of the Benedictine and Franciscan monastries deprived the Church of centres which in former centures had been powerhouses of the liturgical spirit.

But perhaps the greatest single factor in the decline of the Liturgy is that the majority of the common people were Christian only in so far (6) as they attended the services and paid ecclesiastical dues. The mass-conversion of the barbarians, following the example of their chiefs, had brought the burden of undeclared paganism within the fold of the Church. The majority of these people submitted themselves to the ceremonies of the

Church and subscribed to its teaching, keeping all the while many of their old beliefs. All efforts of the Church at educating them proved largely unavailing when faced with this huge task. And when the feudal system came into its own in later times, these old beliefs formed the core of the superstition which remained so rife among the common people and was even in evidence among the great of the land (7). These people were absorbed in a Church whose liturgy was conducted in a strange language, for though Latin might have been the language of the West in medieval times, it certainly was not understood by the great mass of the barbarians and of the uneducated. This situation was to become worse with the emergence of the vernaculars, and although the Church did make a concession in the introduction of the Prone, a short vernacular service (8) with sermon inserted in the Mass after the Gospel, the people became increasingly conscious of the "foreigness" of the liturgical language.

With the break-up of the Feudal system, the importance of the common people, and more specially of the merchant classes grew, and it has already been seen (9) that the merchant classes played a considerable part in the propagation of the Reformation, as their connections stretched across the whole of Europe. Finally, the growth of national consciousness also added its pressure on the old system; its roots are to be traced in the growth of cities, and more specially in Imperial cities of which Geneva may be taken as an example (10).

These external causes of decline were matched by a change of attitude towards the liturgy which had developed through the centuries. The people, few of whom had ever learned Latin, had only a small part in the liturgy of the earlier days, but now even this had fallen away so that the only participation expected from them was physical presence, though even that was not considered strictly necessary. The accent of worship had been shifted from communion to sacrifice, and the priest became the specialist who had the power to perform the sacrifice for the Church. So that even when the people attended, their function was limited to the adoration of the sacred Host at the elevation. It would even seem, according to contemporary records, that to "see their maker" was for many the equivalent to assisting at Mass (11). King (12), seems to deplore the habit of the people who said their private devotions during Mass, but when we consider the little scope for participation left to them, it would rather seem praise-worthy that they should follow directions for devotions which at least led their

thoughts along ways compatible with the spirit of the Mass (13). The people's communion had practically fallen away except at Easter, and was often treated as incidental when provision was made for it (14). But this had only come about gradually, since some efforts had been made to get the people to participate in communion. The direction of the fourth Lateran Council (1215) enjoining the faithful to receive Holy Communion at least once in the year had resulted in the majority of the people observing this miserable minimum, but in normal practice the only person to take communion was the officiant, and, at high Mass, his assisting ministers. Thus for the people, Mass was a service during which they could conduct their private devotions in their own language while the action was performed by the priest, and their devotions would be intensified and focused by the ringing of bells at the supreme moment when they would get the opportunity to "behold their saviour". There was, however, one way in which the Church did attempt to make its teaching understood by the people during the service, and this was effected in some places by the insertion of a short vernacular service called the Prone within the Mass after the Gospel. This service consisted of bidding prayers, the Epistle and Gospel, the Creed, sermon, exhortation, and the Lord's prayer or a paraphrase of it (15). For the most part, sermons were preached by friars, but many seem to have preached on subjects which had little connection with the life and worship of the flock (16).

By the late Middle ages, the order of the Mass had achieved a certain rigidity reaching a point of fixity in the canon. This was owing to a general widespread feeling that it was a sacred inheritance dating unchanged from the times of the apostles or even perhaps written by Saint Peter himself (17). By this time also, we notice the ascendancy of the Roman Rite which had gradually ousted the Gallican rites and in the process had itself been subjected to adaptations and variations. Thus every great see could be said to have its own rite though we see that, apart from variations in local feasts and usages, they all, with few exceptions, belonged to the family of the Roman Rite and used the Roman canon. In this study, the Strasburg Missal of 1520 is taken to represent a typical use of the period, and in it we find few divergences from later Roman usage as directed in the Reformed Missal of Pius V (1570). Different are a few private prayers, some rubrics and, it is interesting to note in passing, an appeal to the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of Johannes Beleth, the standard authority of the XIIth century whose dictates seem to

have retained high esteem in XVIth century Strasburg, at least as far as rubrics are concerned. The outline of the early XVIth century Mass is as follows:

Introit, Gloria Patri and Gloria in excelsis (sung by the choir while the celebrant ministers recite private preparations. The Kyries and the Benedictus Domine are not mentioned.)
Collect of the day
Epistle
Gradual (sung by the choir)
Gospel
Creed (Nicean -sung by choir)
Offertory:
Psalm verses sung throughout while the celebrant proceeds secretly ending with an ecphonesis
Salutation and Sursum Corda
Prayer of Consecration:
Preface and proper Preface
Sanctus and Benedictus qui venit audibly and sung by choir while the celebrant continues silently with the
Canon:
Te igitur
Memento Domine (dyptich of the living)
Communicantes et memoriam
Hanc igitur
Quam oblationem
Qui pridie
Simili modo
Unde et memores
Supra quae
Supplices te rogamus
Memento etiam (dyptich of the dead)
Nobis quoque peccatoribus (ecphonesis of the first three words)
Per quem haec omnia (the concluding doxology of the canon)
Pater Noster (sung by celebrant with protocol and embolism)
Fraction:
Libera nos (the host is divided during its doxology)
Pax (followed by commixture with secret prayers)
Communion: (while communion Antiphon is sung)
Agnus Dei
Domine Jesu Christe qui dixisti
Pax mihi et ecclesiae Dei
Domine Jesu Filii Dei vivi
Perceptio corporis
Panem caelestem accipiam (communion of celebrant in bread)
Domine non sum dignus
Corpus Domini nostri
Quid retribuam Domino (communion of celebrant in wine)
Sanguis Domini
Corpus tuum Domine
Verbum caro factum est (John 1:14)
Quod ore sumpsimus
Lutum fecit ex sputo (John 9:6-7 paraphrased)
Post communion collect
Placeat tibi sancta Trinitas
Dismissal of the people
Last Gospel (John 1:1-14)
Antiphon
Canticle

Psalm 150
Nunc Dimittis
Antiphon (repeated)
Kyries
Pater Noster with embolism
Versicles
Collects:
Deus qui tribus pueris
Da Nobis quaesumus Domine
Actiones nostras

On the face of it, there is very little in this Mass which could be considered repugnant to the modern reformed mind if we except, perhaps, the oft-repeated mention of the saints; though even there it is well to remember that the cult of the various saints was introduced to a large extent to ratify popular devotion. For the people found much comfort in the remembrance and intercession of men and women who like them, had lived on earth and had struggled for their faith. Thus there were two forces at work: the elemental force of popular religion (and we must remember that many priests were as little informed as the people), and at the same time, theological thought which was constantly endeavouring to keep the Church's doctrine on an evangelical level.

The medieval idea of the sacrifice of the Mass appears as early as Gregory the great (590-604). For him, the Mass is actually a repetition of the sacrifice on Calvary; communion is overshadowed by this ever-renewed sacrificial act. Its effect is indeed the forgiveness of sins, but the doctrine of Purgatory shows how that effect can extend beyond the grave, let alone have a powerful effect in temporal affairs. This effect (commonly called the fruits of the Mass), is subdivided into categories of impetratory, propitiatory, and satisfactory, each of these categories being applied to the various persons (priest, Church, those who have asked that the Mass be celebrated and those for whom the Mass is celebrated) according to a fully worked-out scheme "lest any of the precious fruits of the Mass should remain ungarnered" (18). It is here that we have the starting point for the Masses for the dead and the votive Masses which together formed the greatest evil in medieval Church life. For although both the Masses for the dead and votive Masses may have a high religious value if the service be regarded as the supreme act of Christian prayer, the ritual act was, in the medieval mind, thought to have a value of its own and often confused with the practice of magic, white or black (19). Thus we find a specialisation of the intention for which the Mass is said

leading to both good and terrible practices. From this point on, it is but a step to the multiplication of celebrations which lead to the evolution of Low Mass.

In earlier days, we have commonly heard of Mass being celebrated with deacons and assistants and in the presence of people who cry out or sing their part. And still, in the middle ages, High Mass with deacon and subdeacon is the normative service retained in the great Churches except that with the development of music and the rise of the vernacular, the choir has replaced the people who are now purely passive. Before the middle ages, Mass was not said more than once a day; the bishop or senior priest officiated while the rest of the clergy assisted or even concelebrated. But with the growth of the sacrificial view of the Mass, when it was held to be a sacrifice with definite values ascribed to it, it was but a logical step to hold that two Masses must be worth twice as much as one. In addition, the pious wish to accomplish this great work as often as possible and the remuneration attached to each celebration must have influenced priests. This led to a multiplication of celebrations which provoked a number of official attempts to limit the number of Masses to be said by each priest daily. The final decision reached was that each priest was to be limited to one Mass per day except for certain extraordinary circumstances.

This multiplication of celebrations also necessarily led to the building of many altars. In monastic, collegiate, and cathedral churches if every priest was to say his daily Mass, he would have to do so while other Masses were being celebrated simultaneously at other altars. A development of this was the custom, on certain occasions, so to stagger the celebrations that, at any given moment, the oblation would be taking place at one of the altars, for this was held to have special efficacy.

Now obviously a choir, ministers, and assistants could not be provided for so many celebrations at once, so a compromise was allowed by which the celebrant himself took the parts of the deacon and subdeacon while an accolyte represented the other ministers and the choir's part was divided between the two of them. The ceremonies were simplified, some were left out altogether, and everything was said in a low speaking voice. This came to be recognised as Low Mass and received official sanction when its order was definitely arranged in the Missal of Pius V (1570) (20). The result of Low Mass was to centre the service of the Church exclusively in the clergy, though as

the people had long ago lost contact with the celebration, by reason of the difficulties of which we have already spoken, it came to be popular mainly because of the shorter time involved. We might also note in passing, that it was Low Mass which brought about the compilation of Missals, for in High Mass each minister had in his possession, only the parts in which he was concerned whereas in the shortened service, the celebrant had to do everything himself (21). This set the pattern for the Reformed service books which were later to appear.

Another result of the stress on the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist was the rise of a very materialistic view of the bread and wine. This trend is already apparent as early as 1059 in the confession forced from Berengarius of Tours at Rome: "the bread and wine..... after consecration are the real body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, not merely the sacrament thereof; and that body is sensibly, not merely sacramentally but in reality, handled by the hands of the priest and crushed by the teeth of the faithful". Of course the better kind of theological thought never gave up the attempt to recover a more spiritual view, but when the scholastic theology of substance and accidents triumphed in the acceptance of transubstantiation by the Lateran Council of 1215 it was taken by the materialists to be the authorisation of a formula which had long been in use. For the scholastic theology seems to have been very much misunderstood, and the later scholastics repeatedly tried to blunt the edge of this formula which had been imposed on theology by the materialism of popular piety. But their efforts were unavailing, as transubstantiation was popularly held to give sanction to the carnalism of the baser sort of popular religion, combining admirably with remnants of the old pagan ideas and superstitions; it tied down future thought and controversy on the eucharist to a wrong statement of the problem by making the localised presence in the elements the centre of its theology; it encouraged the worship of the Host as the abode of the divine presence, even outside the service, and facilitated the rehabilitation of old idolatrous practices in a new setting (22).

The liturgy was thus decaying in a morass of misunderstanding and corruption, and the XIVth and XVth centuries produced but few writers on the subject. How much the few who did write understood of the purpose of worship and of the liturgy is doubtful, for they did nothing but continue the symbolical and allegorical interpretations of their predecessors (23),

thus increasing rather than diminishing the gap of ignorance which stretched between the faithful and the expression of their worship.

This then was the situation at the time of the Reformation: a theology understood only by the few and debased by the ignorant majority; a service in a foreign tongue which few understood and was for the most part unhearable; missals which were only too often full of mistakes or even undecipherable (24); an ignorant priesthood which oppressed the people and a popular religion well on its way to re-establishing a semi-christianised pantheon. Little wonder then that the Reformers sought to break through all this to bring back to life the forms and the worship of early Christianity.

C H A P T E R III

THE LITURGY OF GUILLAUME FAREL - THE FIRST REFORMED LITURGY TO BE USED IN THE CITY OF GENEVA

We have already seen (1) how it came about that even before the Reformation was established in Geneva, the young congregation was in possession of a Liturgy in the vernacular. Whatever its date this liturgy, composed by Guillaume Farel and used in Geneva from 1533 to 1541 or 1542, must undoubtedly be considered as the earliest printed liturgy in the French language.

The exact date of its appearance is a mystery. There is one extant copy of a 1533 edition entitled La maniere et Fasson ...; this was edited and reprinted by Baum (2). But Doumergue, in speaking of the Summaire, first printed in 1524 or 1525, claims that this was the second work to be published by Farel, the first being La maniere et Fasson (3). If this is so, La maniere et Fasson must first have been published before 1522 or 1523 at the latest, making it the earliest Reformed liturgy, even preceding the liturgy of Schwarz which only appeared in 1524.

To relate its publication to Farel's ministry, Doumergue states that the Summaire was published about the time when he was called to Montbéliard. We know that Farel arrived in Montbéliard at the end of July 1524, and reformed it within two years (4). It is understandable that he should have composed the Summaire for this occasion, to instruct the people of the newly-reformed community in the new faith. But his Maniere et Fasson, we are told, had already been published and it is only reasonable to suppose that it should have been composed with a definite congregation in mind. Here, then, it is relevant to investigate Farel's ministry since his conversion.

We are told that he founded a clandestine congregation in Paris between 1521 and 1523 (5), after having been forced to leave Meaux where the reforming movement under the leadership of bishop Briçonnet had been forced to give way before parliamentary pressure (6). Farel then travelled to Basle where he stayed with his friend Eocolampadius, who ordained him to the ministry (7); and later he accepted the call to reform Montbéliard. After Montbéliard came Aigle, Neuchâtel, Lausanne, Geneva; in all these places, Farel evangelised and finally set up reformed congregations. Now we have already

seen how he had provided for his Montbéliard congregation by the publication of the Summaire; and when we come to consider his liturgy, we should bear in mind that such a publication was not done 'in vacuo' but was designed to meet a need; and that need we find in the young reformed congregations which, having broken with the ceremonies of Rome, needed some form of worship embodying the essential elements of the Reformed faith yet without the rigidity of the now discarded Roman rite. And if Farel published an exposition of the faith for the guidance of his second congregation, is it not then probable that he should have composed a liturgy for the use of his first congregation in Paris? It would be interesting to enquire into these early congregations to discover if possible what directions on faith and worship Farel could have provided them with.

Many authorities (among whom is Vuilleumier who bases his observations on Herminjard (8)) claim that Farel's Liturgy is probably a translation of the Bernese Liturgy which had been sent to him, as also to all other ministers working under Bernese authority, in April 1528. Of this liturgy I have no documentation except a rough outline in Vuilleumier (9). "This was a sixteen page octavo booklet named Toufbüchli because it began with the form for the baptism of children. It also contained the form for solemnizing and confirming marriage before the Church, indications of what the minister should pray for before the sermon, the form to be used after service in publishing the names of those who had died during the course of the past week, a short intercession to be used at the end of the service after the confession of sins which was left to the discretion of the minister, and finally, directions for keeping the baptismal and marriage registers".
This formulary appears to have been mainly the work of Gaspar Menander who, arriving at Berne from Zurich, had adapted for local usage the liturgy composed one or two years previously by Zwingli and Jude for the Church of Zurich. That was how it came about (and the parallel with Farel's practice may be noted) that a fortnight after the promulgation of the edict of Reformation at Berne, this liturgical directory could be distributed to some two hundred ministers (10).

But to take Vuilleumier's own summing up: "The order of the contents in Farel's is the same as that in the Bernese liturgy. First comes the order of Holy Baptism and of Holy Marriage, then of Holy Communion. For the Sunday service: a prayer before the sermon with intercessions for the authorities

and for those enduring persecution, and a confession of sins after the sermon. The orders for Baptism and Marriage are largely identical with their Bernese counterparts, whole sentences being found to correspond word for word. The liturgy of Holy Communion shows more differences, not so much in form as in wording. Farel's prayer before sermon contains the same elements but is more developed; he has left out the memorial for the dead; he has added a confession of sins which, in the Bernese liturgy, was left to the individual minister's discretion; further, the Lord's prayer, the Decalogue and the Creed were to be recited at every service. The final point of difference between the liturgies is the addition, in La Maniere et Fasson, of a section devoted to the visitation of the sick" (11). Vuilleumier explains this affinity with the Zwinglian forms by reminding his readers that LeFèvre d'Etaples' disciple was, in the beginning, very close to the Zurich reformer and that his first missionary endeavours in Switzerland were conducted under Bernese patronage.

But this similarity does not necessarily mean that Farel must have copied the Bernese order. And when we bear in mind that the Maniere et Fasson in our possession dates from 1533, long after Farel had received the Bernese liturgy in 1528. That the forms for Baptism and Marriage are similar only supports the fact that Farel worked at Aigle, in Bernese possessions and under Bernese patronage, since these two ceremonies involved civil consequences (12). The directions for the visitation of the sick can also be ignored, for even if it be considered an integral part of the directions Farel would have given to a young Church, we have no Bernese counterpart to compare it with. So the burden of the comparison falls on the Sunday morning service and, still more, on the Communion service. These are the two services we must, therefore, consider.

Before proceeding with Farel, it may be significant to note that in 1520 in France, there existed a generally known order for Holy Communion among the Reformed of France. A description of this service is to be found in the posthumous work of the Roman Catholic Florimond de Raemond: La naissance, progrez et décadence de l'heresie de ce siecle (1605) though it may be wise to remember that this author did not hesitate to distort or even falsify facts, when such practices might help to cast opprobium on the reformed faith. "This", he says, "is their procedure, as I have learned from those who have had part in its jugglings: A selected member of the company reads

a passage which seemed suitable to him from the four Gospels on the subject of the Sacrament of the Eucharist and, afterwards, he denounced the Mass as an invention of the devil, and pronounced curses against the Church. Then, he would say to them: 'My brothers, let us eat the bread of the Lord in remembrance of His death and Passion'. After which, they would sit down at the table and he would break the bread, giving to each a piece, and all would eat together in silence. The same thing would be done when he took the wine. Thereafter, the selected member would give thanks to God for that He had so favoured them that they could discern the abuses of Popery and had given them grace to hear the truth. Then, he and the others would say the Pater Noster and Credo in Latin, after which the assembly would be dismissed (13)." This description is meagre but it does furnish us with a rough pattern which we may set out as follows:

Reading (from one of the symbolic accounts of the institution of the sacrament)
Homily or Sermon
Invitation
Fraction, distribution, and communion (bread first, then wine)
Prayer of thanksgiving
Pater Noster
Credo
Dismissal

This outline shows no more than what could have been expected from a radical reaction against Roman Catholicism and specially against the Mass. We have not enough data to be sure that the service was as bare as reported, but one factor worthy of notice is the juxtaposition of the Pater Noster and the Creed, a juxtaposition which we shall also find in Farel's liturgy.

Now, let us analyse Farel's order according to the 1533 edition:

MORNING SERVICE

Call to Prayer
Prayer:
- For those in authority
- For those present
- For Pardon
- For enlightenment and understanding of the Word
- Our Father (with protocol and Matthean doxology)

Scripture Reading (plainly read)
Sermon:
- Exposition of every word
- Other relevant texts to be used for illustrations

(Morning Service)	HOLY COMMUNION
Exhortation: (according to text)	Exhortation to Communion:
	Memorial of God's providence
	Memorial of Christ's coming
	Thanksgiving for Christ's love
To leave sin and return to God	Call to self-examination
To love God and the neighbour	
To obey those in authority	
To seek liberty of spirit rather than that of the flesh	Warning of condemnation to sinners
To princes (if any present) to act in love	
For all to keep God's commandments	Prayer of humble access
	A short Anamnesis
Decalogue	
Confession of sins (as in Communion)	Confession of sins and prayer for pardon
Our Father (with Matthean doxology)	Our Father (with protocol and Matthean doxology)
Prayer for Faith	Prayer for Faith
Apostles' Creed	Apostles' Creed
	Words of Institution (1 Cor.11: 23-26)
	Fraction
	Sursum Corda and Invitation
	Communion (the people receive from the hand of the minister while he recites words from Scripture)
	Thanksgiving
Intercessions:	Intercessions:
For all who know not the Lord	For all peoples
For all in authority	For all in authority
For the sorrowful and mourning	
For them that are persecuted	
	For the Spirit of unity and faith
	For holy lives and charity
	Exhortation to Christian conduct
Dismissal with peace	Dismissal with peace and Benediction

This service shows a radical departure from the concepts embodied in the contemporary Roman Mass. Farel's abhorence of something connected with the invocation of the Saints has caused him to remove the major part of the canon; all that remains of it being the reading of the words of Institution which appears here first as consecratory and then, repeated in a paraphrased form, as the Scriptural warrant for Holy Communion, probably also accompanying the Fraction. If we consider the two services together, as set out in the table above, we are led to think that the Sunday morning service is an integral part of the celebration of Holy Communion; if it is so, Farel has blazed the path the later Reformers will follow. And as we

see, when we consider the Morning Service, the directive for the Confession of Sins and the Apostles' Creed refer us back to the Communion service, clearly indicating that it is this service which is the standard of worship. The only thing that appears in the Morning service but is absent in the Communion service is the Decalogue, but even that is replaced by an exhortation to the faithful to recognise their faults; otherwise we may well say that the Morning service is nothing else than the Eucharistic service, with all that has to do with the sacrament itself abstracted from it.

In its order, this service cannot be related to the Zwinglian or even the Strasburg rites, although we know that its author was in constant communication with both these movements and was very friendly with the Basle reformer Eocolampadius. Similarly, many of its ideas are different from those of Zurich or Strasburg. It is therefore in Farel's earlier background that these ideas are to be sought.

We know that Farel was a pupil and close friend of the philosopher and theologian Jaques Lefèvre d'Etaples, whose intellectual peregrinations he followed and who led him to conversion. Lefèvre's reforming career can be taken to begin in 1512 with the publication of his Latin commentary on the Epistles of Saint Paul, one of the basic works used by Luther in his own studies. This book can justifiably be called the first Reformed work, for its underlying principle was the sovereign authority of the Word of God, a doctrine to become central to the Reformers' thought. To use Lefèvre's own words: "It is there that the doctrine of Christ is to be found.....and those who study it will draw water at the fountain of the Saviour joyfully" (14). "Let us celebrate Christ our king by studying the holy oracles" (15). "Let us not follow the precepts and dogmas of men which have no foundation in the light that has shone from on high" (16). "In these days, there are men who teach the people a mad piety instead of the doctrine of Christ. What is the use of fasting new Lents and paying my dues? Why should I take refuge in forms of prayers whose author is unknown, while putting away the apostolic prescriptions? There is nothing of the sort ordained by the doctrine of Christ; ... the rest is perhaps more superstitious than religious; ... let us then bind ourselves to the only Christ and to the apostolic doctrine, for it is sufficient and it is first and most important for salvation"(17).

His second principle, that of justification through faith, is boldly and clearly set out: "It is almost profane to speak of the merit of works, specially before God. For merit does not seem to ask for grace but to demand that which is due; to attribute merit to works is almost to believe them who think that we can be justified by our works, an error for which the Jews are condemned. Therefore let us not speak of the merit of our works which is very little, or even non-existent, but let us celebrate the grace of God who is All. One can truly attribute merit only to Christ who has merited everything for us; but as for us, let us confess that we have no merit before God and hope only in His grace (18). But, you will ask, has anyone ever been justified without the works of the written natural law? Many. Can anyone forget that the thief was justified by faith alone?" In this, Lefèvre did not believe that works were vain; he endeavoured to reconcile Saint Paul and Saint James. To the question,"Is it ever possible for the true believer not to do good works?", he replies, "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" (19). But justification resides neither in faith nor in works, for the demons also believe. "God alone justifies...." and this conclusion remains that "By works, without faith, it is not possible to be justified; but by faith, without works, it is possible" (20).

Apart from laying down the bases of the Reformation, Lefèvre also attacked the foundations of the Roman Church. According to him, the Sacraments have no inherent virtue: "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" (21). There is therefore no opus operatum, nor is there any sacrifice in the Mass. Explaining, in the epistle to the Hebrews, how Christ has made satisfaction for all the sins of the world by one sacrifice, Lefèvre says: "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 there is no other mystery unless it be in the presence of His body and His blood; the memory of the divine oblation and satisfaction is salutary for all, a memory more agreeable

to God than all sacrifices and all oblation up to the end of the world" (22). So he denied both opus operatum and the sacrifice of the Mass. But he did stop there, for he also condemned the enforced celibacy of the priesthood even while declaring that virginity was superior to the married state (23). He condemned fasts and encouraged liberty of spirit, while still holding that people should observe the fasts if the law so ordained, for it is right to obey the law (24). He attacked the issue of Latin in the liturgy, saying: "Most men, when praying nowadays (I know not whether they pray in spirit), pray not with the understanding for they pray in a language which they do not understand" (25).

Although Lefèvre never did sever connections with the Roman Church, it is nevertheless incorrect to claim that he did not understand the full implication of his words, for it was in about 1512 that he said to his pupil, Farel, "My son, God will renew the world and you will be a witness to it." This then, is the protest of the seventy-two year old reformer at this early date, and Farel was never to forget these words. And the last of Lefèvre's theological works, from 1509 to 1534, makes impressive reading: A commentary and Latin translation of the Psalms (1509), a Latin commentary on the New Testament, of which the Commentary on the Pauline Epistle forms one of the three parts (1512), a French translation of the New Testament (1523), of the Psalms (1524), and of the Old Testament (1528), a re-edition of the whole Bible in French in 1530 and another in 1534, the latter with critical corrections in the margin (26). He died in 1536 aged one hundred and one (27).

Lefèvre had come a long way for, as Farel tells us, when he first followed Lefèvre, "he was in as great ignorance as we have all been under popery" (28). But as his ideas matured they were not to be affected by the other reforming movements for in his Commentary on the Gospels, published in 1522 (three years after the entrance of Luther's writings into France), his faith had not changed except that by that time he had rejected the cult of the saints, while Luther still accepted it. In addition, Lefèvre noted that the ideas coming from Germany were filled with a spirit "consonant with my own" (29). Even Farel's conversion must be dated before the advent of Lutheran writings into France, for Farel states that he struggled for three years in Paris before God finally "helped me to know the virtue and the efficacy of the passion of Jesus" (30). Farel also states that the writings of Luther have

rather hindered the Reformed cause, because of their doctrines of the Eucharist, Purgatory, and the invocation of the saints, which he wished had been expurged by Luther's translators (31).

This then is the teaching, including a conception of original sin (changed by the later reformers), a belief in the real presence which however does not admit of transubstantiation, and a belief in the ubiquity of the body of Christ, which forms the basis of Farel's doctrine and the foundation of Calvin's system. Many of these elements are plainly to be recognised in Farel's liturgy, and are sometimes even stated in Lefèvre's own words:

"Similarly this we do at the verily Holy Communion and table of our Lord: all is in a language common to all present, just as it is in the holy doctrine of God from which it is taken as any of the faithful can see and hear ... and other ways of doing things, not taken from the Holy Scripture, are rejected... That which is repugnant to the Word has been taken away" (32). "Holy Communion is a visible communion with the members of Jesus Christ; for those who take and break one same bread are one same body which is the body of Jesus Christ, and members one of the other, inserted and planted in Him" (33). "Christ died that we might be one body and one same thing as the Father and Himself are one same thing... He instituted His holy Communion, desiring that, in memorial of His very great love by which He has given His body for us on the cross and shed His blood for the remission of our sins, we should make a memorial of our Saviour who died for our sins and is raised up for our justification.... For He died for us, giving His body signified by the bread, and He shed His blood signified by the chalice... Therefore lift up your hearts on high, seeking the celestial things in heaven where Jesus Christ is seated at the right hand of the Father, without dwelling in your minds on things visible which suffer corruption... Have ye the death of this good Saviour written in your hearts as an eternal memorial so that you might be inflamed... having participated in the table of our Lord as members of Jesus Christ" (34). The insistance on works as the fruit of faith is rendered clearly in Farel's exhortation: "Where is the faith which works not through charity? And where is the love of God in him who sees his brother in necessity and does not help?" (35). But it is perhaps in Farel's instructions to the preacher that Lefèvre is the most clearly heard: "The preacher takes a passage from the Holy Scripture from which he reads clearly, and after

reading, he expounds it word by word without leaving out anything and without departing from the Holy Scripture, that the pure Word of the Lord may not be sullied" (36).

But Farel does not limit himself to repeating Lefèvre's teaching; his thought goes beyond that of his master for his whole liturgy, including the preface and general directions, is designed to be entirely Biblical. Quotation follows quotation and text follows text, all being annotated in the margin. This is why, even though Farel does break completely with the Roman liturgy, his form of service is as biblical as that which he has left behind. The Bible is for him the supreme rule of faith.

Examining the liturgy in the details of its structure, one cannot fail to be impressed by its bareness: gone is all the pomp of ceremony and multiplication of ritual. For the primary purpose of this liturgy was to bring worship to the people in a medium which they could understand. The liturgy is in French, the coarse common French of the day, and the people are given a part to perform in the recitation of the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed. Contributing to the bareness of this liturgy is the absence of all choral parts. Hymns have not yet appeared at this early date, nor have the metrical versions of the Psalms been composed. But Farel himself has felt the need for a congregational response to be expressed by song; he and some friends have endeavoured to fill this lacuna with a collection of hymns which they composed and published in 1533 (37), and which we would have expected his liturgy to refer to had they been composed contemporaneously. But there is no mention of any congregational singing of any sort, so introit, gradual, offertory, and communion hymns or psalms are absent.

Here, it might be profitable to consider Brightman's suggestion that the Morning Service is derived from the Prone, a vernacular insertion in the Mass. According to Brightman (38), the Prone was inserted in the Mass after the Gospel, consisting of:

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

The order of these varied from place to place but the elements of the service remained more or less the same. Now comparing this with the order of the morning service, Brightman quite rightly notes many similarities. We may say, with a certain amount of truth, that Farel must have decided on the use of the Apostles' Creed partly because it was easier for the people to learn than the Nicene Creed, but what was probably an even more important factor was that many people were already used to reciting it during the Prone. But to return to Brightman's suggestion, we should remember that the Prone by itself is meaningless; it belongs in the Mass for it is essentially a vernacular repetition of that part of the Mass not directly concerned with the sacrament. And looking at the table above in which Farel's morning and Communion services are set in parallel columns, we cannot fail to see that the morning service is composed of that part which is not directly concerned with the sacrament, the two services really forming one whole Communion service. It is to be expected then, that there should be strong parallels between the Prone and the morning service, but their similar origin in the full service of the Word and Sacrament should never be forgotten.

Farel's standard form of worship thus begins with the call to worship and a prayer corresponding to the old collect. But Farel does not set out his prayers in full; he limits himself to giving instructions about what the minister should mention in his prayers and exhortations. This prayer, however, is more than the invocation of Excita quaesumus for it consists of intercessions divided into two categories, for those in authority and for those present; and two supplications, for pardon and for enlightenment; and the whole prayer is concluded with the Lord's prayer in the full Matthean form, introduced by a protocol. This is an unusual position for the Lord's Prayer, when we consider this service in relation to the liturgies that have gone before but the operative words, which give us a clue for the understanding of this, are "..., as He taught us...". For Farel the Reformation is a return to the Bible, so it is natural to follow the prescriptions for prayer handed down to the disciples by our Lord Himself. The reading of the Scriptures now follow. Farel seems to prescribe one lection only, so it is reasonable to assume that he used the same system as that favoured by the later reformers, which consisted in continuous reading; the minister would read as much as was convenient to expound in one day, and at the next

service, he would continue where he had left off. The reason for this is that, the Reformation being considered as a return to the Bible, it was generally felt that the people should be taught to know their Bible more thoroughly than they could possibly know it had they heard only the short portions allocated by the Lectionaries to the seasons of the Christian Church. And, as we have mentioned before, the sermon forms an integral part of the proclamation of the Word, following directly on the reading of the Scriptures and limiting itself to their exposition. Great stress is laid on strict adherence to the text of the Scriptures, for this was the only way of getting the people to understand the Biblical message; all applications, all implications and consequences of the message for the Christian life, were dealt with in the exhortation which followed the sermon. And it is to this exhortation that the sacramental teaching is added.

It is difficult to see where this exhortation ends or in which way it was delivered for Farel gives directions of content rather than of form. It might, of course, have been one long exhortation comprising all the elements of sacramental teaching and preparation. But it might also be analysed as follows:

Prologue:
- A summary of the history of redemption
- Purpose of the institution of the Sacrament

Thanksgiving:
- For God's love
- To Christ for His sacrifice and charity

Call to self examination in faith and life
Warning of condemnation to unworthy communicants
Anamnesis
Confession of sins and prayer for pardon
- Lord's Prayer (with protocol and Matthean doxology)
- Prayer for Faith

Apostles' Creed
Declaration of Absolution
Pauline account of Institution
Exposition of institution with Fraction
Sursum Corda and invitation

This is a radical departure, from all that has gone before. But on the other hand, the celebrant's private preparation has been made part of the congregational prayer. After the teaching comes the thanksgiving which separates it from the exhortation to search one's conscience. The Confiteor has been put into the first person plural, and it is here that we notice for the first time the juxtaposition of the Lord's prayer and the Apostles' Creed. It is interesting to note that true to his principle, Farel joins the Lord's prayer to the

Confession of sins, another prayer, instead of keeping to the old tradition which uses it at the end of the canon. What is unusual however, is that the absolution is altogether detached from the Confession, unless Farel might have thought that it was more proper that people should confess their Faith in the Creed before receiving absolution. The Pauline account (1.Cor.11:23b-26) is the same as that used in the Mass, but Farel does not want it to be simply a formula of consecration; it must be understood, so the minister is to explain the words of Institution as he proceeds with the Fraction, and to show it to be a warrant, or, more correctly, a commandment of the Lord. So the canon has been almost completely rejected, but a few of its main ideas re-organised. All references to a sacrifice other than that of Christ are gone, as are also all references to the dead and the saints. The living have been dealt with in the first prayer in the intercessions, so that these are replaced by thanksgiving. But Farel's greatest emphasis in his version of the canon is on the effect of the sacrament on the life of the Church; in this respect he is intensely practical. All believers are united in the body of Christ by participation in His table, so they must also be one in their daily lives, living in concord and brotherly love. This is the primary implication of Communion: one with Christ and one with one's neighbour. To complete this discussion of the canon, we might notice that the Anamnesis, reduced to a single sentence, is made the reason for which believers should confess their sins.

The Sursum Corda, though it may seem out of place, is aptly used to open the invitation, "seeking the celestial things in the heavens... without stopping at the visible things corrupted by use...". The rubric on communion (which follows the invitation), illuminates the current beliefs and the practices against which the Reformers had to guard: "While distributing the bread, which must bear no image on it, none must be allowed to adore it but placing it in the hand of each person so that it might be taken and eaten, the minister may say..."

An indication of Farel's beliefs in the real presence may be found in the words said during communion: "Jesus is the true Saviour of the world, who died for us; sitting at the right hand of the Father, may He dwell in your hearts through His Holy Spirit, that you may all be quickened in Him

by a living faith and perfect charity". We have here the continuation of Lefèvre's teaching that Christ who intercedes for us also enters into the believer's heart through the Holy Spirit as a direct consequence of participation in Holy Communion. There is therefore a strong sense of the sacramental presence of Christ, although pains are taken to prevent a localisation of His presence in the elements which, it is stressed, signify His presence.

Thanksgiving naturally follows Communion, although Farel gives no details of the content of this prayer, which turns to intercession for all peoples, and then for those wielding temporal powers, that God may give them grace and be merciful to them. This in turn moves into supplication that God may fill those present with a true and living faith (the effect of Communion) and unite them in true love, that persevering in the holy doctrine, they may help each other heartily by word and deed. The service ends with a hortatory dismissal, reminding the people that, being participants in the table of the Lord, they can no more conform to the world but must go forth in holiness, that their whole life and demeanour may be to the edification of all according as the Lord has commanded. The Pax follows, preceding the apostolic benediction.

This, then, is the Eucharist according to the teachings of Lefèvre. All that is not consonant with Biblical rules, or rather, all that is not specifically prescribed in the Bible, is ruthlessly rooted out. One cannot truthfully say that the overall result is particularly happy as far as the traditional forms and practices are concerned, but the service is redeemed by the overlying emphasis on the majesty, greatness, and goodness of God and the redeeming work of Jesus Christ, which gives it a peculiarly solemn and worshipful majesty. One does, however, feel the lack of an oblation, left out here because of its popular association with the sacrifice of the Mass; one is also surprised not to find any reference to the offerings of the people. We notice too that Farel does not escape the Western tendency to tie up the consecration with the formula of institution. But perhaps the greatest virtue of this liturgy is that it takes a momentous step forward in bringing back to light the idea of communion which is worked out here to great lengths: Through the Eucharist, the people are in communion with Christ as His members and must therefore treat each other as such. But owing to the strong denial of the cult of the

saints, communion with the departed is obliterated.

This is the service which, first celebrated in Geneva on Holy Thursday 10 April 1533, remained in constant use until late 1541 or even 1542, a period of eight to nine years. It might even have remained in use for a longer period had Berne not attempted to force uniformity on the Geneval Reformers through the civil arm. It was therefore the Reformers' rebellion against the enforcement of an ecclesiastical matter by the civil arm which caused their exile and led to Calvin's coming into contact with the richer services of Strasburg.

C H A P T E R IV

THE ORIGINS OF CALVIN'S LITURGY

It can probably be taken for granted that, except for some minor changes in ceremonial owing to Bernese influence, the Liturgy introduced by Farel was retained in Geneva during the exile of the reformers. That is not to say, however, that Calvin and Farel had not attempted to improve public worship during their two-year period of collaboration in Geneva. Significant in this direction was the Articuli de regimine ecclesiae which they produced on 10 November 1536 and which the council studied in January 1537. One of the main points raised in these "Articles" is the exhortation that "it would be desirable to celebrate the Holy Communion of Jesus Christ AT LEAST every Sunday when the Church is assembled .... but it has seemed good to us that, until the people have been strengthened, Holy Communion should be used once every month...." In this, Calvin's influence is clearly seen, repeating the emphasis on frequent communion found in the "Institutes" of 1536 (1). Also noteworthy is the request for the introduction of song in the Church: "We can not conceive of the advancement and edification which will proceed from this unless we put it to the test. For surely, in the manner which we follow, the prayers of the faithful are so cold that it must turn us to shame and confusion".

But when the exiled Calvin was called to serve the French congregation at Strasburg, he was placed in contact with a considerably fuller liturgy than that of Farel. It was this liturgy which was to inspire and guide his own efforts during his stay in that city (1538 to 1541) and which was to change the liturgy of Geneva.

1. THE ORIGIN OF THE GERMAN MASS OF STRASBURG

It was in the early days of 1524, that the Constance reformer, Kreil, in a letter from Ambrosius Blaurers to Wolfgang Capito, the leader of the Strasburg reforms, wrote praising the fact that now Strasburg also had entered into the community of the Gospel and had become an example to all the free cities; from that time on, people could pray and sing under the influence of the new forms in 'common German speech', and each could say Amen with understanding and from the heart to what the "Spirit of God taught him". (2)

The people of Strasburg had long been used to have Christian standards applied to all homely activities by the brilliant cathedral preacher, Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg, who did not hesitate to criticise the rites and customs of the Church. A decade later, he was followed by his countryman Mattheaus Zell, who under Lutheran influence promoted evangelical preaching and spread the spirit of the reformation in the city. After and under him, many others were given the opportunity to preach from his pulpit the magnitude of God's gift to men; among these was much travelled Capito who, after his removal to St. Thomas Church, became the leader of the Strasburg reformation.

Luther, in his treatise, The Babylonish Captivity of the Church (1520), had declared that a German Mass was necessary if all were to understand and participate intelligently in the public worship of God, but had hesitated himself to take the step which involved such a drastic uprooting of the old tradition. Three years later, however, he went a step further when he published his Formula Missae; in it he sought to distinguish between the essentials and non-essentials of a true Eucharist, between what was Scriptural and primitive and what was later added, and to devise a rite purged of abuses and superstitions, in accordance with early Christian usage. It is interesting, in view of later developments, to glance at his suggestions:

After an attack on the Offertory and the Canon, votive and requiem Masses, and the ceremonial of the Mass, Luther treats of four subjects:

(a) He prescribes a reformed Latin order of the Mass in which the traditional form is retained as far as the creed and the sermon (if this is not preached before Mass); after which, the offertory is reduced to the preparation of the elements of the sacrament without prayers, all that suggests oblation being repudiated; Dominus vobiscum follows, with Sursum corda and the rest, until the per Christum dominum nostrum of the preface, and after a short pause qui pridie followed by the Sanctus and Benedictus qui venit, during which the elevation is made; Pater noster with its protocol; Pax domini, and communion with Agnus Dei and the Communio; Quod ore sumpsimus, Benedicamus, and the Aaronic blessing.

(b) Concerning the communion of the people, intending communicants should submit their names beforehand so that they can be examined at least once a year on faith, knowledge,

and life; communion is to be given in both kinds.

(c) Luther expressed a desire for German metrical hymns to be used by people at the Gradual, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei.

(d) He would have liked canonical hours and the de tempore variant prayers, readings, etc. to be retained (3)

But Luther was loth to put his suggestions into practice, with the result that he was anticipated by many of his more impatient followers, who, in varying degrees, had begun to celebrate Mass in German. Among these was Diebold Schwarz (Theobaldus Niger, or Nigri) who, on 16 February 1524, celebrated the first German Mass at Strasburg in the St.Laurence chapel, below the high altar in the Cathedral.

Diebold Schwarz was born at Strasburg in 1484 (4), his father being an ironmonger there. Taking holy orders, he became a Dominican and later a Brother of the Order of the Holy Spirit. When he accepted reformed ideas, he became assistant to Zell at the St. Laurence chapel of the cathedral and, in 1524, was made pastor of the church of Old St. Peter's. He seems to have had fairly strong ideas, for it is reported that a complaint was made against him to the city council for his outspoken views against the adoration of Images (5). It is in the Kleinen Münster Chronik of Ludwig Schneegans, that we find the momentous entry: "A.D. 1524, Tuesday after Invocabit, Diebold Schwarz, an assistant at St. Laurence in the Cathedral, celebrated the German Mass before the altar of St. Laurence" (6). Echoing this, is the testimony of Canon Straub in his Münster Kalender, dated at 15 February 1524: "In the Cathedral a German Mass was read for the first time by the escaped monk Diebold Schwarz". Smend however holds that the Tuesday after Invocabit Sunday must have been 16 February (7). Schwarz's example was soon followed up by Anton Firn, another eager young priest. The Chapter records of St. Thomas Church state that: "On the 19th day of this month (February 1524), the priest Antonius celebrated Mass in the German language in St. Thomas's, and Friedrich Ingolt, burgher of Strasburg, and others received Communion under both kinds ... Such a thing is unheard of in this our Church; now it has begun. Woe to us all"(8). Eight days later, it was Capito's turn to celebrate in German and then Zell imitated the practice at the Cathedral. In 1525, the title was changed from "German Mass" to "The Lord's Supper" (Nachtmal des Herren). A number of revisions followed each other with minor adjustments, and showing a

tendency to be more biblical and certainly more verbose. But the honour of having formulated the first German Mass to be issued in Strasburg must fall to Schwarz, whose manuscript, discovered by Erichson, is housed in the St. Thomas archives (9). Its order was as follows:

Preparation (at altar steps)
- Invocation (In the name of the Father and of the Son...)
- Confession of Sins
- Absolution (from 1.Tim.1:5)

Scripture Sentences (Our help is in the name of the Lord...)
Introit (said), with Gloria Patri
Kyries and Gloria in excelsis
Salutation and collect (followed by another collect or a prayer)
Epistle
Gospel
Nicene Creed (said)
Offertory:
- Preparation of the elements (silently)
- Exhortation to pray for the Holy Spirit (Derived from Orate Fratres)

Salutation and Sursum Corda
Preface and proper preface
Sanctus and Benedictus qui venit
Lavabo (silent)
Canon (said standing with upraised hands)
- Intercessions:
  - For those in authority
  - For the propagation of the Faith
  - For the congregation
- Prayer for quickened life
- Institution: (with elevation)
  - Qui Pridie
  - Simili modo
- Anamnesis
- Our Father (with protocol and Matthean doxology)
- Prayer for deliverance from evil, (derived from Libera Nos quaesumus)

Pax
Agnus Dei
Short Exhortation (based on the epistle or Gospel)
Domine Jesu Christe filii Dei vivi
Celebrant's Communion
Delivery and people's communion
Quod ore sumpsimus (or any other - "vel aliam aliquam...")
Salutation
Benediction (The blessing of God the Father and of the Son...")

This order stands between the ritual and ceremonial of the medieval Church and the more severe worship of the later Reformed Church. Definite Lutheran influence is seen in the description of the elements in the anamnesis: "The body and blood of our Lord under the bread and wine". In many ways, he seems to have followed Luther's suggestions, though it is thought unlikely that Schwarz should have seen

his Formula Missae (10), for Schwarz did retain almost the whole of the first part of the Mass. We notice, however, that there is no mention of a sermon in this order. Luther's suggestion is followed that the preparation of the elements should take place without a prayer of consecration, but Schwarz did not abandon all thoughtof oblation, for in the short exhortation deriving from the Orate Fratres, he stresses the self-oblation of the worshippers (11); This exhortation may well be called the first Reformed Epiclesis. Schwarz strikes an independent line for, not only keeping the Sanctus and Benedictus qui venit in their normal position after the preface, he keeps closely to the main lines of the canon omitting or altering only those prayers which are too closely related to the idea of the sacrifice of the Mass and memorial of the saints, which, we have already seen, he strongly opposed. Omissions worthy of note after the canon are only that of the collect for peace, Domine Jesu Christe qui dixisti, and a number of the celebrant's private prayers at his communion. Also noteworthy is the introduction of the short exhortation before communion which, though supposedly based on the epistle or Gospel, is probably there in the didactic role so often found in early liturgies (12) and designed to instruct communicants. A final difference from Luther is the apostolic blessing, used rather than that of Numbers.

Schwarz's liturgy is in German throughout; except for one or two rubrics, all traces of Latin have been obliterated. But that does not mean that Schwarz broke away from the traditional forms; on the contrary, he preserved what was best and most noble in the common practice of his day, and though his translation does not contain much biblical language, the thought that underlies his prayers is thoroughly Biblical in tone. Into this worship he sought to draw the common people. All the prayers were said clearly and audibly so that the congregation could add its hearty Amens. There was as yet a lack of common praise, but that was to come shortly afterwards. As suitable hymns had not yet been produced, their place was temporarily taken by the recitation of Psalms and Biblical verses of praise. The whole service culminated in the highest form of Christian worship, participation in the Holy Table of our Lord. Unfortunately Schwarz's liturgy does not provide us with any details, but we know from contemporary evidence that Communion was given under both kinds or under

one, according to the preference of the individual communicant. We must also assume, seeing that Schwarz follows the Strasburg Missal so closely, that the order of communion must have been retained, the celebrant receiving first, and then the congregation.

It was this service which was to become the worthy prototype of a whole family of rites which, in time, were to influence the greatest part of Europe. It is therefore truly fitting that the ancestor of such an illustrious line should have been so sane and well balanced in its emphasis on the truths of the Gospel, while keeping most of what was best in the past.

2. THE REFORMED SERVICE AT STRASBURG IN THE YEARS (1538 - 1541)

From 1525 onwards, Bucer gradually became the leading ecclesiastical figure in Strasburg, and his influence was increasingly felt. It was he who persuaded Calvin to leave his place of retirement in Basle, clearly seeing that self-condemnatory reflection would do no good to that promising reformer. Bucer's theological position, as is well known, was a 'via media' between Lutheranism and Zwinglianism; therefore his influence upon the worship at Strasburg was in the direction of simplification and greater stress was laid on the Sermon. The sacerdotal terms and ceremonial gradually disappeared, and the congregation was given a larger place by means of psalms and hymns set to tunes within the compass of their capabilities.

Martin Bucer had arrived in Strasburg very soon after Capito, near the end of May 1523. He came of modest stock, his father being a cooper and his mother a midwife in Schlestadt. Bucer was born there, in the town renowned for the humanist Wimpheling, on 11 November 1491. The Dominican order, whose ranks he entered in 1507, seemed to him the best to enable him to further his appetite for learning, but he was soon disillusioned. He began lecturing at Heidelberg in 1517 first on Erasmus, and then on the Bible in 1518, and was thrilled with joy when Luther visited his cell. In 1521, with the pope's permission, he put away his monk's robes. In 1522, he was appointed curate at Landstuhl where he married Elisabeth Silbereissen, who, like himself, had come out of a convent she had entered against her will. Finally, after some trouble at Wissenburg, where he had been called a vicar, he fled with his curate by night and accompanied by an escort of soldiers to

protect them and their pregnant wives. The next day, in May 1523, they arrived in Strasburg at Zell's house (13).

Like Zell and Capito, Bucer had lost everything to keep his religious convictions. He began giving free lessons in his host's house, explaining the Gospel according to St. John in German to the burghers and the Epistles of St. Paul in latin to students. These lessons were not viewed favourably in all quarters, but the prudent magistrate, though he forbade them, refused to deliver the teacher to the bishop. A short while later, Bucer preached alternately with Zell in St. Laurence's Chapel. The chapel was as crowded for him as for Zell; and as Geiler's pulpit was refused to him as it had been to Zell, he also preached from the portable pulpit erected each time in front of the multitude (14).

1523 was a great year for Strasburg, for it was in that year that the magistrate decided that ministers should henceforth preach the Gospel and nothing but the Gospel, the year during which seven priests were married, and the year during which it was decided that the priests should become burghers of the city. In 1524, Bucer was called by the Gardeners' Guild to become minister at St. Aurelia's, where he worked diligently for seven years. Then in 1531, he was called to minister at St. Thomas's, in the centre of the city, and given the old deanery for lodging.

From that time onward his eloquence drew the population to the foot of his pulpit, which he ascended almost daily. He reformed the forms of worship and reorganised the parish; in 1531 he was named superintendent, "the bishop of Strasburg", as Calvin called him. Of the liturgies published under Bucer's influence, we shall consider those issued during Calvin's stay at Strasburg, taking into account that the differences in the liturgies published during this period are mainly orthographic.

Call to confession, and confession
Absolution (from 1.Tim.1:15)
Scripture sentences of remission (e.g. John 3:16)
Psalm (Miserere or metrical Psalm or Hymn, in place of Introit)
Kyries and Gloria in excelsis
Salutation and collect for illumination
Metrical Psalm (while the minister goes to the pulpit)
The Epistle sometimes replaced by a Prophecy (with exposition)
Gospel (read from successive portions)
Sermon (based on the Gospel)
Exhortation
Creed (sung) sometimes may be replaced by a psalm or hymn
Short Exhortation (Based on Schwarz's short 'Epiclesis' exhortation) from table

Salutation
Prayer:
Prologue
For those in authority
For ministers
For the Church
For all men
For the Congregation
Anamnesis
For good effect at Communion
Self-dedication
Our Father (with protocol and Matthean doxology)
Words of institution (Cor.11:23-25) with additional sentence
Delivery (accompanied by words of confirmation)
Luther's Hymn Gott sey gelobet or another psalm
Salutation
Post communion
Benediction (Numbers)
Dismissal

This service, though a direct descendant from Schwarz's German Mass, has nevertheless progressed quite far in eliminating elements not considered as direct Dominical ordinances. It is simpler in structure throughout, and the prayers are carefully expurgated according to Bucer's ideas. The congregation has now come into its own, taking over all that was previously performed by the choir, but the words are set to simpler tunes and are almost always in metrical form. It is, however, interesting to note that even at that late date the Nicene creed was still used; but we should remember that Bucer was not an ardent supporter of Luther. According to the text in Hubert (15), the liturgies of this series gave a choice between the Apostolic Creed and the Nicene Symbol, or even a Psalm or Hymn. The alternative given by Herrenschneider: "Wir glauben all an einem Gott" is undoubtedly a metrical form of the Nicene Creed (16). It is even possible though improbable that neither Creed was used at the particular time of Calvin's stay in Strasburg.

Dealing with the service step by step, we note that the invocation 'in the name of the Father....etc.' has been abandoned with a call to confession, 'Acknowledge God the Lord and confess with me your every sin and misdeed', in its stead. The confiteor has been dropped, but three forms of confession are given, two in the first person plural and the third, based on the Decalogue, in the first person singular; but the Absolution, except for some extension and rewording, is essentially unchanged. What is new, however, is the introduction of a choice of scripture sentences of remission. The introit remains basically unchanged except that it is now sung

by the congregation; it remains a psalm and is often followed by Kyries and Gloria in excelsis, but these latter have a tendency to drop out, as already the Gloria Patri has done. As with Schwarz, the salutation precedes a collect for illumination which has, however, been changed appreciably. After a congregational psalm, sung to cover the movement of the minister to the pulpit, come the Epistle and the Gospel. The Gospel forms the subject of the sermon, which is expository; but the Epistle, which may be omitted in favour of a prophecy, receives its own exposition directly after it has been read; in later times, the Epistle tends to drop out, leaving only one reading which is the subject of the sermon. The exhortation, as in Farel's liturgy (17), is clearly separate from the expository sermon; here it is expressly concerned with sacramental teaching, given in full under four heads. The earlier liturgies placed this just before the words of institution, but Bucer has put it in its logical place following the sermon (both the sermon and the exhortation were absent in Schwarz's liturgy). A creed or Psalm is now sung and is followed by a development of Schwarz's short "Offertory" Exhortation to pray for the Holy Spirit (18). The salutation precedes a prayer of consecration, consisting of a prologue remembering Christ's injunction to pray, followed by intercessions for rulers and authorities, for the ministers of Christ's flock, for the Church, for all men, more specially for the particular congregation, in which last the prayer becomes one of supplication; an anamnesis breaks into the current of the prayer, but it afterwards returns to supplication for the people, petitioning for a quickened spiritual life that their participation in the Sacrament may be of good effect in their lives. The Lord's Prayer follows in its Matthean form. This prayer, in its content, is very closely related to the Canon of Schwarz's Mass, though in a longer form, taking up the same points but treating them at greater length. One may therefore say that the canon has remained in use throughout all these changes. After consecration, the liturgy turns to communion. As mentioned previously, an exhortation containing the main points of sacramental teaching is inserted here, if it has not already been given after the sermon. Normally, however, the Pauline account of the institution followed directly after the canon; we may note that the institution is called the 'evangelion

of the Holy Communion' although in fact the Pauline version is used and not one of the Gospel versions. It seems, indeed, that sometimes both a Gospel and the Pauline versions may have been read consecutively. The Institution ends with an ascription of praise: "Believe the Lord and give Him everlasting praise and thanks". Luther's hymn, "Gott sey gelobet", seems to have won acceptance as the communion hymn faily soon; it became the hymn commonly sung during the distribution of the elements, while, as he gave communion to each person, the minister recited the words; "Meditate, believe, and proclaim that Christ the Lord died for you, and gives you meat and drink unto life everlasting". After communion a salutation and prayer of thanksgiving follow comprising two collects, the second being a development of Schwarz's thanksgiving based on Corpus tuum. The service then closed with a benediction, that from Numbers having by then gained the ascendancy, followed by a dismissal which seems to be a reflection of the Ite Missa est.

Many elements of the Mass have been removed. Apart from the Gloria Patri which we have already noted, the Sursum Corda and the preface have disappeared, as have also the sanctus and benedictus qui venit. The Lavabo has been omitted as a needless ceremony; the Pax and the Agnus Dei have gone, while the Domine Jesu Christe Filii Dei vivi have been incorporated in the final section of the canon though in an altered form. But Bucer does not follow Luther's directives for all that. For he clings to the canon, abhorred by Luther, and to the Nicene creed; all Lutheran references to the Body and blood of our Lord 'under' the elements has been left out, replaced by an emphasis on Christ's presence truly in the elements: "the Lord presents and distributes His holy and sanctifying flesh and blood in Holy Communion with the visible elements".

Another notable trend is the more evangelical tone of the whole service; simplicity is sought, though it does not necessarily mean brevity. Even the name of the service changes from Mass (which although still used as an alternative designation, is on the way out) to the Lord's Supper; the altar becomes a table (19) or altar-table; and vestments, which had been retained in previous services out of respect for ancient custom, are no longer mentioned; the celebrant is no longer the priest but the pastor or minister (20); and when Scripture is quoted, a strict word-for-word quotation is used instead of a paraphrase.

This then is the service which Calvin was to find in use at Strasburg when he arrived.

CHAPTER V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CALVIN'S LITURGY

I. THE 1542 STRASBURG LITURGY

It was through the insistence of Bucer, who pressed him to assume the leadership of the French-speaking community, that Calvin arrived at Strasburg in 1538. Although this congregation had been in existence since 1533, the magistrates had not allowed the French to celebrate the sacraments, but had permitted them only to hold services consisting of reading, preaching, singing, and prayer. With Calvin's arrival, the situation changed. Permission was granted, as a special privilege, to celebrate the Lord's Supper once a month (1). It was necessary also to minister baptism; in his farewell discourse to the Genevan ministers Calvin explains: "... I was also forced to draw up the form for Baptism when I was in Strasburg as the children of the anabaptists were brought to me from the surrounding countryside. I then composed this rough form, but there is much which I would advise you to change" (2). Here we see how it became necessary to compile a book of forms embodying the services to be used by this congregation.

Whereas Luther did not wish to banish Latin from the liturgy and even went so far as to say that he would have no objection to the Church singing and reading in German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew on successive Sundays, Calvin insisted on using the language of the people(3);"to claim that we could perform our devotions, either in prayer or in ceremony, without any understanding is a great mockery;... we have the express commandment of the Holy Spirit that our prayers should be said in a language common to and understood by the people" (4). And for this reason, Calvin set about collecting vernacular hymns and translating prayers to such good effect that French Psalms were being sung in Strasburg within a month of his arrival there (5). Their publication took a longer time, however, and the Psalms only appeared in spring a year later under the title: Aulcuns pseaulmes et cantiques mys en chant (1539). This book contained eighteen metrical psalms and three paraphrases; of these, eight of the psalms were versified by Marot, seven by Calvin, and the three paraphrases (the Apostles' Creed, Decalogue, and Nunc Dimittis) are probably also from his pen. The melodies to which they were

sung were provided by Strasburg composers among whom we note Matthäus Greiter, who is still remembered today for the magnificant tune later linked with the "Psalm of Battles" (6).

The liturgy to accompany this Psalter was published in late 1539 or early 1540. Little is known directly about it for it has disappeared; Pierre Brully, however, does refer to it in his explanation of the origin of the 1542 edition of the Strasburg French liturgy, saying: "I have caused to be put in print again the French Hymns, Psalms, common prayers, and forms for the sacraments of this Church, from a booklet which was handed over to me" (7). It would therefore appear that the result of this reprint, La manyere de faire prieres aux Eglises Francoyses, was no more than the new issue of the liturgical formulary already used by that Church, and which, as we have seen above, was composed by Calvin two years earlier. It is therefore this 1542 book of order which we must study in order to know the forms used by Calvin in Strasburg. Its outline is as follows:

MORNING SERVICE

Invocation (Our help is in the name...)
Call to Confession
Confession of Sins
Comfortable words (from Scripture)
Absolution
Congregational song (probably the first table of the Law)
Salutation and call to prayer
Collect for grace
Congregational song (probably the second table of the Law)
(During this, the minister goes to pulpit)
Prayer for enlightenment
Lord's Prayer (with protocol and Matthean doxology)
Sermon (presumably after a reading)
Exhortation
Intercessions:
Prologue
For those in authority
For ministers and the increase of the Church
For all men:
that heathen might come to Christ
that Christians might grow in grace
that the afflicted might be comforted
Collect of self-dedication (the phrase "et de sa Sainte Cène" is added during Communion services)

HOLY COMMUNION

Paraphrase of Lord's Prayer

Lord's prayer

Preparation of the elements while the Creed is sung by the congregation
Prayer:
Lord's prayer
Anamnesis
Consecration
Humble access
Pauline Words of Institution

Pronouncement of exoommunication on the unrepentant and invitation to the faithful believer
Communion (while the Psalm: "Louange et grace" is sung)
Prayer of thanksgiving
Congregational Psalm — Nunc Dimittis (sung in French)
Aaronic Blessing — Aaronic blessing

Now we know, from correspondence between Calvin and Farel, that the service used by the French congregation was to conform to local practice (8). And further, Calvin clearly acknowledged his sources in his deathbed speech of farewell to the Genevan ministers: "As for the Sunday prayers, I took the form of Strasburg and borrowed the greater part of it. I could not borrow for the other services as nothing was to be found, so I took the whole from Scripture...." (9). But there was one major obstacle to Calvin translating the German service; he did not know German. If we wish to draw parallels with his methods on other occasions when there were German documents to study, we must assume that someone translated the Strasburg liturgy into Latin, or perhaps even French, and that it was from that translation, that Calvin worked. The result of Calvin's translation can be seen by comparing his version of the Confession of Sins with its model, that composed by Bucer:

BUCER	CALVIN
Let every one acknowledge God the Lord and confess, with me, his sin and misdeed.	My brothers, let each one of us present himself before the face of the Lord, with confession of his sins and misdeeds, following my words in his heart.
Almighty, eternal God and Father, we confess and acknowledge that we are miserably conceived and born in sin, and because of that, inclined to everything evil, sluggish to all good, we transgress Thy Holy Commandments without ceasing and lose ourselves evermore.	Lord God, eternal and almighty Father, we confess without simulation before Thy holy majesty that we are poor sinners, conceived and born in iniquity and corruption, inclined to evil works, incapable of any good, and that by our vice we unceasingly and endlessly transgress Thy holy commandments, for which we incur ruin and perdition by Thy just judgment.
But this grieves us and we desire Thy grace and Thy aid.	However Lord, we are displeased with ourselves for having offended Thee and condemn ourselves and our vices with true repentance, desiring Thy grace and Thy aid to subvene to our calamity.

Therefore have pity on us all, most good and most merciful God and Father, through Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ. Grant and increase in us Thy Holy Spirit that we may recognise our sin and unrighteousness in the depth of our hearts, that we may feel truly repentant and distressed by it, that we may die to it completely and that we may please Thee in a new life altogether according to God.	Therefore do Thou have pity on us most gracious and <u>most</u> merciful God and Father, in the name of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. <u>Therefore</u>, <u>removing our vice and stain</u>, grant and increase in us <u>from day to day the grace</u> of Thy Holy Spirit, that wholeheartedly recognising our unrighteousness, we may feel that displeasure <u>which brings</u> forth true penitence, that deadening us to all sin, <u>He may produce in us fruits of righteousness and innocence</u> acceptable to Thee.

Calvin's additions having been underlined, we can clearly see how the Strasburg prayer has been used as a frame in which Calvin has inserted the richer thought of the awestruck sinner who must veil his eyes before the majesty of God. In Calvin's Confession of sins, we find an echo of the doctrine developed in the <u>Institutes</u>: "The whole human race having been undone in the person of Adam, the excellence and dignity of our origin is so far from availing us that it rather turns to our greater disgrace, until God, who does not acknowledge man when defiled and corrupted by sin as his own work, appears as a redeemer in the person of His only begotten Son. For although God is still pleased in many ways to manifest His paternal favour towards us, we cannot, from a mere survey of the world, infer that He is a Father. Conscience urging us within, and showing that sin is a just ground for our being forsaken, will not allow us to think that God accounts or treats us as sons" (10). "In short, since our mind cannot lay hold of life through the mercy of God with sufficient eagerness, or receive it with becoming gratitude, unless previously impressed with fear of the divine anger, and dismayed at the thought of eternal death, we are so instructed, by divine truth, as to perceive that without Christ, God is in a manner hostile to us, and has his arm raised for our destruction" (11). "By regeneration, the children of God are delivered from the bondage of sin, but not as if they had already obtained full possession of freedom, and no longer felt any annoyance from the flesh. Sin, though it ceases to reign, ceases not to dwell in believers."(12). It is this sin which prevents us from serving God in all things, and which is confessed. And yet God is not only the object for man's awe, for, like Bucer, Calvin portrays Him as the Father who is merciful and quick to forgive. Confession

becomes a spiritual exercise through which the believer honours God and avails himself of the grace bestowed by Christ. To recognise God as the giver of all good things, man must recognise his own meanness and unworthiness; and it is by his recognition of this that Calvin has set the seal of his Christian piety, not to mention his literary genius, on the Strasburg prayer.

Apart from changes in the wording of prayers, we also find a number of alterations in the order of service. The old Strasburg invocation: "Our help is in the name of the Lord...", has been brought back into usage and the Comfortable words have moved up, to be pronounced before the Absolution. Calvin has, however, discarded the Kyries and the Gloria in excelsis which used to come after the first Psalm, but we do not know the reasons for this, unless by this time they had fallen into disuse at Strasburg. We had already noticed the trend in Bucer's liturgy by which the full cycle of Scripture readings (Prophecy, Epistle, Gospel) was being reduced to a single reading; this trend reaches its conclusion in Calvin's order. The readings have been replaced by a collect for grace, followed, after the Psalm, by a collect for illumination concluded by the Lord's prayer. There remains, however, a single reading which is expounded. It is likely that this tendency towards simplification of the Scripture readings was considered to be of greater benefit to young reformed congregations. The Apostles' Creed has now won general acceptance in the reformed service; and Calvin has placed it after the prayer of intercession which now immediately follows the exhortation. The short exhortation of Strasburg, derived from the Orate Fratres (13), has been made the frame of Calvin's consecratory prayer; it now contains the Anamnesis (which Bucer had placed in the great prayer of intercession), the consecratory prayer proper, and a prayer of humble access, the whole being placed after the Lord's prayer with which Bucer had closed the prayer of consecration. The rearrangement that we see in this section, between Sermon and Words of Institution, has resulted in the abolition of Bucer's salutation before the intercessions. The canon has therefore disappeared, though its constitutive elements can be recognised within the new form. Calvin pronounces the sentence of excommunication against unrepentant sinners instead of before the Words of Institution, and gives

explicit directions on the order (minister, deacon, people) in which the congregation is to receive the bread and wine. Communion takes place during the singing of an appropriate Psalm (Louange et Grace is prescribed in the liturgy), and no words are said by the minister during the distribution. Finally, Calvin has added another congregational song between the prayer of thanksgiving and the Aaronic blessing. Apart from these alterations, ten sections appear in the same position in both liturgies.

It is enlightening, in this study of Calvin's liturgy, to listen to Calvin's own explanation of his communion service. This is found in La manyere de faire prieres, introducing the order for Holy Communion: "We quite rightly begin the mystery of the Lord's Supper with the Confession of our sins, adding to it the lessons of the Law and of the Gospel with Psalms; that through the confession of our sins and the exposition of the divine Law (which ordains present and eternal sanctions for sins, and promises all good things, as much present as future, to the righteous alone), we should be drawn into a greater consciousness and knowledge of them, and the more so because through them we have earned eternal damnation. For when we consider carefully that our whole life is contrary to the Law of God ... and that sin still has such great damnation in our flesh that we do not the good which we would but the evil which we hate; in this we know how much it is necessary that the communion of the body and of the blood of the Lord should be increased within us, which body and blood of Christ alone have justice and life in them. Seeing that there is nothing good in our body and blood, for which reason we cannot possess the kingdom of God, it is therefore right that in Holy Communion, apart from the confession of ours sins, we should pray to have pardon from them, read and explain the divine Law, sing Psalms magnifying the majesty of God, and ask God for forgiveness. Now because, by the preaching of the Gospel, we know that Jesus Christ our Lord, true God and true man, has made satisfaction to God for our sins on the cross by the oblation of His body and blood, we do well to add, with psalms and laudatory hymns, the reading of the Gospel, the confession of faith, and the holy oblation and offerings; which things declare what is given us in Christ, and what and how great are the benefits we receive through the communion of His body and blood. And we have not added the

oblation for nothing, for when (excited and moved by the reading and exposition of the Gospel and the Confession of faith) we bring back to memory that Jesus Christ was given us from the infinite goodness of our heavenly Father, and all things with Him, that is to say, the remission of sins, the covenant of eternal salvation, the life and justice of God, and finally all things desirable which are added unto the children of God; it is for good and just reasons that we offer ourselves and submit in all things to God the Father and to our Lord Jesus Christ, in thankfulness for so many and such great benefits. We testify to this by holy gifts and offerings (as Christian charity requires) which are administered to Jesus Christ in His littlest ones, that is to say, he who is hungry, thirsty, naked, stranger, ill, and in prison. It also follows that we should pray for the salvation of all men ... for the life of Christ consists in seeking and saving that which is lost. Now because we truly receive Jesus Christ in this sacrament, it is for good reasons that we should adore Him in spirit and in truth in this Holy Communion, receive the Eucharist with great reverence, and finish the mystery with praises and thanksgivings".

This exposition provides us with insights into the conduct of the service not provided in the liturgy itself. First, we must note that the Eucharistic service is the norm of Calvinistic worship. The description given by Calvin clearly shows that the Sunday morning service can be nothing else than the Eucharistic service, shorn of all matters pertaining to the sacrament. The recognition of this alone is sufficient to refute all arguments advancing the theory that the Calvinistic morning service is derived from the Prone (14).

Secondly, we meet with recurring references to the reading and exposition of the Law. But there is no mention of the Law in the liturgy itself, except for the appended psalter where we find a metrical version of it. Both Doumergue and Maxwell join in suggesting that the two tables of the Law were divided, the first being sung before the collect for grace and the second after it (15). This suggestion results from a comparison of our liturgy with Calvin's 1545 Strasburg liturgy, entitled La Forme des Prieres...., which shows this usage. This 1545 liturgy is not extant today, the last known copy having disappeared in the Strasburg library fire of 1870, but its text is still available in an edition by Garnier. Not

having the text of this liturgy in our possession, we can do no more than note this suggestion. If the Law was sung in this fashion, however, it would explain the opening sentence of the collect for grace:

> "Heavenly Father, full of goodness and of grace, since it pleaseth Thee to declare THY HOLY WILL to Thy poor servants and to INSTRUCT THEM IN THE JUSTICE OF THY LAW, grant..."

Such sentiments as are expressed in these lines gain in meaning if they are held to have appeared in conjunction with the singing of the Decalogue. It is possible, however, that the whole of the Decalogue may have been sung in one piece in the early days, for Calvin mentions "psalms and laudatory hymns" before the Gospel.

Similarly with the Scripture readings; we have already assumed that the lessons, though not mentioned, preceded the sermon. We know that it was Calvin's habit to read consecutive passages of a Scriptural book at each service. As an example of this, we are told that on his return from exile, the passage forming the subject of Calvin's first sermon was the one immediately following that during the last service he conducted three years before (16). But his insistence in the passage quoted above would almost lead us to believe that this practice did not include Communion services, during which he seems to have limited himself strictly to the Gospels. This suggestion can not, however, be made certainly withour prior examination of a complete collection of Calvin's eucharistic sermons.

In spite of the silence on this subject, it also appears that the gifts of the people were collected and offered apart from the oblation included at the end of the prayer of intercession. But Calvin is always insistent on the need for Christian offerings which, springing forth from charity and gratitude, are to be used to succour the needy according to Christ's own injunctions. Christian charity was held in high esteem by the Reformers who saw it in the expression of unity in the body of Christ. If one were to hazard a guess, it seems that the most likely place for the consecration of the offerings to take place would have been during the preparation of the elements.

Finally, a Psalter containing forty-two compositions is embedded in this service-book. Unfortunately I did not receive the pages bearing the Psalter but from the table of contents, three of these compositions can be identified with

certainty as metrical versions of the Apostles' Creed, Nunc Dimittis, and Decalogue, and the Beatitudes (O Bienheureux) might be among the rest; it is impossible to identify any of the psalms for the table gives only the first two words of the first line of the metrical version. Psalm singing had become very popular in those days, specially at the French court, but most of the tunes to which they were sung had rather unfortunate connotations. In the German speaking Churches, singing was proving very successful as a congregational response and Calvin felt the need for just such a response in French-speaking Churches. In singing, says Calvin, "the thought of God is kept alive in our minds ... which are otherwise soon distracted by various objects unless certain means be used to support them. Besides, since the glory of God ought to be displayed in some manner by each part of our body, the special service to which the tongue should be devoted is that of singing; inasmuch as it has been expressly created to declare and proclaim the praise of God" (17). Well written metrical versions of the psalms were available from the poet Marot; these were taken by Calvin, together with some of his own versions designed to supplement the small numbers available, and formed the core of the new Psalter. Calvin, however, did not wish to limit worship to the sanctuary; man's whole life and every effort should tend to the glory of God. "Let not only your serious conversations have some use but also your joy and recreation. Where others sing uncomely or lewd songs, or to say the least, songs which are hardly modest and honourable, it is seemly that you should sing psalms and hymns to the praise of God"(18).

The choice of Psalms as the vehicle of congregational worship imposed itself in the absence of suitable hymns. "What is it that we need? We need songs not only honourable but also holy which may be as spurs to incite us to praise and prayer to God, and to meditate over His works so as to love, fear, honour, and glorify Him. What Augustine has said is true, that none can sing things worthy of God unless he has received them of Him. For this reason, when we shall have cast about everywhere, we shall not find any better or more appropriate than the Psalms of David which the Holy Spirit has inspired in him" (19). Calvin's choice of the Psalms did not necessarily preclude the use of hymns; but his guiding principle was that "songs composed merely to tickle and delight the ear are unbecoming to the majesty of the Church, and cannot

be other than displeasing to God" (20). We also notice that, though Beza was well aware of Calvin's thought, he nevertheless was the first to press for the inclusion of hymns in the worship of the Church. In spite of this, opinion crystalised, and it was not until many years later that the Genevan Church was prepared to accept non-Biblical songs in its services.

2. CALVIN'S 1542 GENEVAN LITURGY

It was on 13 September 1541 that Calvin re-entered Geneva. Disorder and strife had filled the city during his absence, to such an extent that he who had been driven out in ignominous exile was now welcomed back as saviour by the faithful believers. But it was not without protest that Calvin came; for the third time, he had to be cajoled and threatened into taking a responsibility he feared. Farel alone had thundered to persuade Calvin to settle in Geneva the first time, but he was now joined by Viret whose language was no less unrestrained (21). And though Calvin re-entered the city amidst the rejoicing of the pious, the people were not yet ready to accept his plans for the re-ordering of the Church there. An example of the city's reluctance to change established practice is seen in Calvin's plea for frequent communion. In the Articles of 1537, he asks for the celebration of the Eucharist "at least every Sunday"; in 1541, knowing that assent to his earlier plea is out of the question, he suggests "once a month". And though even in the last edition of the Institutes, he still proclaims: "this custom of communicating once a year is most certainly an invention of the devil. One should offer the Supper of our Lord to the congregation at least once a week" (22), yet all the council granted was the quarterly celebration of the sacrament.

It was in face of such conservative opinion that Calvin set about revising the liturgy, publishing it under the title: La Forme des prieres et chantz ecclesiastiques...(1542). Let us then begin by studying it in outline:

SUNDAY MORNING	HOLY COMMUNION
Invocation	
Call to Confession	
Confession of sins	
Psalm sung	
Prayer for enlightenment (its text is left to minister's discretion)	
Scripture reading	

(Sunday Morning)	(Holy Communion)
Sermon	
Exhortation	
Prayer of intercession:	
Prologue	
for those in authority	
for ministers	
for the Church	
for the heathen	
for growth in grace among Christians	
for the afflicted	
Prayer of self-dedication	(phrase added: "et de sa saincte Cene")
Long paraphrase of Lord's Prayer	
	Anamnesis
	Prayer of consecration
	Creed
	Words of Institution
	Pronouncement of excommunication, Eucharistic teaching, invitation (embodying Sursum Corda) and humble access
	Communion (while psalms are sung)
	Thanksgiving prayer
Aaronic Blessing	Aaronic Blessing

There are two differences between the Strasburg and Genevan liturgies: first, the Genevan liturgy embodies a revision of style; this is of little importance for our study. Secondly, the Genevan liturgy is much shortened and simplified; this is of importance to us for the supressions are characteristic of the spirit which then animated Geneva.

We note that both the formula of Absolution, and the comfortable words preceding it, have been abolished. "There is none among us who does not see that it is most useful to join to the public confession (of sins) a solemn promise that sinners may be lifted to the hope of pardon and reconciliation. I tried to introduce this usage in Geneva at the beginning but, some having feared the scandal which could proceed from such an innovation, I gave way too easily; so the matter has been left" (23). Thus it was that, no matter how much importance Calvin may have attached to the absolution, Genevan conservatism triumphed over his every effort to improve public worship. This conservatism was not lessened by the passage of time: "It would not be opportune now to change anything here, because before one can come to the end of the Confession a large number of people begin to rise"(24). For the same reason the singing of the tables of the Law and the collect for grace have been dropped. It is, however, difficult to account for the disappearance of the Decalogue, as the Genevans must have

become used to its recitation in Farel's liturgy (unless it was to the sung version that they objected). Whatever the reason for its neglect the Decalogue seems to have disappeared from the service, though a metrical form of it was still to be found in the Psalter. The paraphrase of the Lord's prayer has now been made an integral part of the great prayer, following the collect of self-dedication. The Creed, though it remains in its previous place after the great prayer on Sundays when holy Communion was not celebrated (25) is now mentioned in the Eucharistic service as coming between the prayer of consecration and the Words of institution. Finally, the Nunc Dimittis has been removed, with no replacement. Thus it is that, even though Calvin did manage to introduce congregational singing, the liturgy limits this to two occasions during the celebration of Holy Communion and only one occasion on ordinary Sundays. In the whole development of the service above, we must note that in the main, Calvin's liturgy has been forced into the lines of the previous usage, as it had been set forth by Farel, and consequently suffers a considerable loss in worship.

One thing, however, is made explicit in the Genevan liturgy. As can be seen in the outline above, the norm of worship is undoubtedly the eucharistic service. Although the first service in the book is the Sunday morning service, there are references, within its prayers, to what should be added during communion services. The addition to be made in the prayer of self-dedication has been shown, but what cannot be shown in the outline is that the Anamnesis and the prayer of consecration are included in the form for Sunday morning service with the note: "On the day of celebration of holy Communion, the following must be added to what has come before". The prayer of thanksgiving is also in this same order, with the note: "After holy Communion, one should use this thanksgiving or some other similar form..." The very way in which it is set out, therefore, shows that the Sunday morning service is nothing more than a truncated version of the eucharistic service.

Also of interest are the directions given for procedure at admission to Holy Communion. The abuses at Mass and at confession in the Roman Church had led to an abhorrance of the confessional which, however, had to be compensated for by some system of examination and spiritual guidance. This point is raised here: "It should be noted that before holy

Communion may be celebrated, it should be intimated to the people. Firstly, so that each may prepare himself, and be so disposed as to receive it worthily and with due reverence. Secondly, that children be not presented unless they be well instructed and have made confession of their faith before the Church. Thirdly, so that if there be strangers still uncouth and untaught, they may present themselves for private instruction." From this it would appear that all communicants had some test to pass before being admitted. Vergerio, a refugee in Geneva, describes the procedure in 1556: "During the week before the celebration every house in the town was visited by a minister accompanied by an elder. All members of the household were carefully examined on their spiritual state and religious knowledge. If any were found ill-prepared to partake worthily, these were warned in a fatherly way to absent themselves. The timid and sin-burdened were comforted and encouraged, and all were pointed to the plenteousness of the divine mercy and the conditions on which it might be received" (26). This was not yet the situation in 1542, for then the people were supposed to present themselves before the minister of their own free will. Calvin's advocacy of some such reformed confessional may be seen in the Institutes: "... by disclosing our infirmities to each other, we are to obtain the aid of mutual counsel and consolation. James leaves us the free choice of confessing to any member of the Church who may seem fittest; yet, as for the most part, pastors are supposed to be better qualified than others, our choice ought to fall chiefly on them. And the ground of preference is that the Lord, by calling them to the ministry, points them out as the persons by whose lips we are taught to subdue and correct our sins, and from whom to derive consolation by the hope of pardon. Hence it follows, firstly, that confession of this nature ought to be free and recommended only to those who feel that they have need of it; and secondly, even those who use it according to their necessity, must not be compelled or artfully induced to enumerate all their sins but only insofar as they shall deem it for their own interest". Then Calvin proceeds to deal with the commandment to leave one's gift at the altar and first make reparation if one has offended against one's brother. "How much greater reason is there that he, who by some evil example has caused offence to the Church, should be reconciled to it by the acknowledgment of his fault? ... That the flock present themselves

before the pastor whenever they would partake of the holy Supper I am far from disapproving, for I am most desirous that it should be everywhere observed. For both he whose conscience is hindered may hence obtain singular benefit, and those who require admonition be thus afforded an opportunity for it; provided always that no countenance is given to tyranny and superstition" (27). Thus we see that no sense of the insoluble mystery surrounding it lessened Calvin's estimate of the incomparable spiritual value of the Sacrament. It was a rite so holy that the utmost vigilance, both on the part of the minister and the communicant, was necessary to protect it from desecration by unworthy would-be partakers. By these directions, Calvin though he had found the way to defend both the sacrament and the believers from abuses.

Calvin leaves us in no doubt about his exact intention in the reform of worship. Though he has devoted a Humble letter on the necessity for Reforming the Church (28) to this subject, it is more aptly explained on the title page of every edition of La Forme des Prieres. His service book is framed, he claims, "according to the custom of the ancient Church". For Calvin was not only an outstanding patristic scholar; he was also deeply conscious of the weight and wealth of the Christian tradition of the early Church which he always endeavoured to preserve. All this is reflected in his oft-repeated claim that the Reformation was no schism or new creation, but a restoration of the ancient practices which had become corrupt in the Church.

The conditions in which he worked, however, militated against his ideal of worship being realized. In Strasburg he was compelled to conform to the local usage; again in Geneva the interference of the magistrates and the fear of scandalising the weaker brethren had forced him to conform to the familiar pattern of Farel's liturgy and to local iconoclastic opinion. The outcome of this was that accommodation became Calvin's liturgical principle (accommodation to form allowing for freedom for edification). "Concerning ceremonies, the churches may have freedom for diversity, for those are unimportant things. It would also sometimes be well not to have too much conformity, to show that faith and Christianity do not consist of this" (29). As we see, Calvin did not attach much importance to ceremonial conformity, but edification was viewed in a greatly

different light: "It is unworthy of us to introduce an unedifying servile conformity where the Lord has given us freedom for edification... Edification is the goal towards which all our solicitude, vigilance, efforts, and application should tend" (30). This same thought is repeated in the Institutes where he writes: "But as in external ceremonies and discipline God has not been pleased to prescribe every particular that we ought to observe (He foresaw that this depended on the nature of the times and that one form would not suit all ages), in them we must have recourse to the general rules which He has given, employing them to test whatever the necessity of the Church may require to be enjoined for order and decency. Lastly, as He has not delivered any express commandment because things of this nature are not necessary for salvation and the edification of the Church, and should be accommodated to the varying circumstances of each age and nation, it will be proper to change and abrogate the old as well as to introduce new forms as the interest of the Church may require. I confess, indeed, that we are not to innovate rashly or incessantly or for trivial causes. Charity is the best judge of what tends to hurt or to edity: if we allow her to be our guide, all things will be safe. Things which have been appointed according to this rule must be observed by Christians with a free conscience and without superstition, but also with a pious and ready inclination to obey. They are not to hold them in contempt or pass them by with careless indifference, far less must they violate them openly in pride and contumacy. Lastly, instead of laying down any perpetual laws for ourselves, let us refer to the whole end and use of observations to the edification of the Church, at whose request let us not only allow something to be changed without offence, but even let observations that were formerly in use be inverted. For such was the ignorance and blindness of former times, and with such erroneous ideas and pertinacious zeal did Churches formerly cling to ceremonies, that they can scarcely be purified from monstrous superstitions without the removal of many ceremonies formerly not established without cause, and which in themselves are not chargeable with an impiety" (31). And Calvin's own stand over liturgical matters is understood still better when we come to see that he held that all ceremonies - even those that are neither good nor useful, even those that result in scandal or evil consequences, as long as

they contain nothing which is against the Word of God - are a matter for majority decisions and must be accepted (32). As we have seen, Calvin was the first to take his own advice. So far had he accommodated himself to Genevan practices and prejudices that the liturgy deserves the name of Genevan rather than Calvinistic. He bowed down to public opinion on frequency of Communion, absolution, the Decalogue, and even the distribution of the sacrament to the sick; he submitted, but nevertheless recorded his dissent.

To finish this study, let us examine Calvin's distinctive ideal of worship:

Calvin would have liked few ceremonies. "To secure due moderation, it is necessary to retain the fewness of numbers, facility of observance, and significance of meaning which consists of clearness" (33). But Calvin is no iconoclast; to the question: "Are then no ceremonies to be given to the more ignorant, as a help to their ignorance?", he replies: "I do not say so, for I think that help of this description is very useful for them. All I insist on is the employment of such measures as may disclose and not obscure Christ" (34). The criterion for ceremonies must be "decorum" in its more precise connotation of "seemliness". "We call decorum that which, suited to the reverence of sacred mysteries, forms a fit exercise for piety, or at least gives congruent adornment to the action and is not without fruit, but reminds believers of the great modesty, seriousness, and reverence with which sacred things should be treated" (35). Calvin considered that an ecclesiastical ceremony should have a character of majesty and clarity.

But there was one ceremony which the reformer held particularly close to his heart: this was kneeling at prayer. "Is this a human tradition anyone can freely repudiate or neglect? I say that it is both human and divine. It is of God insomuch as it is part of that decorum, the care and observance of which is recommended by the apostle, and it is of men inasmuch as it specially determines what was indicated in general rather than expounded in particular" (36).

One factor which has often led to mistaken opinions on Calvin's ideas was the place given to the sermon by the Reformers. It is undisputable fact that they placed it in the centre of the service. Farel's title for the Sunday

morning service is "The manner that one follows in preaching when the people are assembled to hear the Word of God" (37). Calvin also calls it "the sermon": "The principle means of living in unity ... is to be diligent to attend the sermons with goodwill". The baptismal liturgy adds: "Children must be brought either on Sundays at Catechism time or to the sermon on other days" (38). But in explanation, we should add that for these Reformers the sermon was the exposition of the living Word of God. This manner of thinking is expounded in Calvin's letter to the Duke of Somerset: "What I have said about the manner of teaching is only to insure that the people should be so instructed as to be deeply touched, and that one might feel what the apostle has said: that the Word of God is a two-edged sword which pierces thoughts and affections to the marrow ... This preaching must not be dead but must live, to teach, exhort, and reprove ... It is not without reason that it is said that Jesus Christ shall strike the earth with the sceptre of His mouth and slay the wicked with the spirit from His lips" (39).

And after the acts of adoration, prayers said humbly in a kneeling position, and the quickening breath of instruction, worship concluded with the supreme ceremony, the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The complete service of worship, according to Calvin, was the service during which Holy Communion was celebrated. Before going to Strasburg, it was "at least every Sunday" in the articles of 1537; "at least once a week", is his repeated plea in the last edition of the Institutes (40). And those who attended Calvin's services of worship tell us that they were by no means cold or poor; more often, they say that they could hardly hold back their tears for emotion and joy. For though Calvin's liturgy may seem formal and didactic to us, there is no doubt that it filled a deeply felt need in its days, bringing together hymns, prayers, adoration, edification, confession of sins, absolution, ritual, and spontaneous acts in such a manner as to bring hometo all participants, the mystical awe and piercing joy of the soul before its Creator and Redeemer.

Calvin's attitude to the Christian year remains something of a mystery. All Sundays were identical to him, or so we would be led to think as La Forme des Prieres makes no provision for special forms to be used at Christmas or other

days of commemoration. It is true, however, that in the preamble to the Genevan liturgy, Calvin says: "On working days, the minister makes such exhortation to prayer as seems good to him, accommodating it to the time and matter of which he is treating in his preaching". But the time to which Calvin alludes is not that of the Christian year, but a time of plague or epidemic or war or public calamity generally. "For this cause", he says, "if sometimes we see that God threatens us,it is good to have some day on which one may make prayers of supplication according to the exigencies of the time." In refusing to make any distinction between one Sunday and another, the Reformer thought to remain faithful to the words of Saint Paul, where he reproves the Galatians for returning to bondage after having been called to freedom. These words, Calvin took literally: "When we, in the present age, make a distinction between days, we do not represent them as necessary, thus laying a snare for the conscience... We do not make days to be the same thing as religion and the worship of God" (41). From this, Benoit concludes that Calvinist Geneva had abandoned all thought of the Christian year.

Against this, we might argue that the very provision made for times of calamity in the preamble to the liturgy would also have held good for the main Christian festivals. We might also have invoked the fact that the times for Holy Communion coincided with some of the great Christian festivals as supporting some recognition of the Christian year if it had not been the Council which prescribed these dates in 1541, in its answer to Calvin's projected Ordinances: "For the present, we have taken advice and ordained that Holy Communion should be administered four times a year, that is to say, at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the first Sunday of September in Autumn". What may be significant, however, is an ordinance designed to focus attention on Church festivals, preserved in the Old registers of the Magistracy, reminding pastors that it is their duty, during the week preceding the festival of Easter, to explain to the people the narratives of the Passion (42). Not only does such an ordinance show us that the observance of Holy week was neglected, but also that some observance of the main festivals was expected. Another piece of evidence is brought by the Second Helvetic Confession (1564). In

Chapter 24, it states: "If churches in right of their Christian liberty commemorate religiously our Lord's nativity, circumcision, passion, and resurrection, with his ascension into heaven, and the sending of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples, we highly approve thereof. But feasts instituted in honour of men or angels, we approve not; although we acknowledge that the remembrance of the saints is profitable and should in its own place and time be commended to the people from the pulpit and the holy example of the saints set before all for imitation". Beza may very well have been favourably disposed to such a view, but only the examination of the records of Council and Venerable (43) Company could indicate whether this was observed in Geneva. Our last piece of evidence is found in the address of James VI to the Scottish General Assembly in 1590. There, he claims that Geneva keeps "Pasch and Yuille" (44). This seems to indicate that there was, after all, some recognition of the Christian year in Geneva, but the two days mentioned clash with those observed in the eighteenth century (45). All this evidence and counter-evidence leaves us rather confused. But through it all, it seems that we can trace some subscription to the Christian year, though what this subscription consisted of and how much attention was paid to it, is impossible for us to decide in the present juncture. Let us state, nevertheless, that the observance of the Ecclesiastical Calendar diminished soon after the Reformation, and may almost be considered to have disappeared.

C H A P T E R VI

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In spite of numerous reprints, La Forme des Prieres remained practically unaltered for more than one hundred and fifty years. The only noticeable effect of the seventeenth century revision is found in a rejuvenation of style and orthography. Even the 1712 edition differs only by the addition of prayers for weekdays and collects for some of the festivals, though the book bears the new title: Les Prières qu'on lit dans l'Eglise de Genève, avec les Psaumes... (1). But the beginning of the XVIIIth century was remarkable for a spate of new ideas.

The Swiss Reformed Churches experienced the rise of a movement closely akin in fundamental principles to the Latudinarianism of the contemporary Church of England, and which Vuilleumier (2) has called 'Liberal orthodoxy'. The leaders of this movement were a Triumvirate from western Switzerland: Samuel Werenfels (1657-1740), professor first of Rhetoric and then of Theology at Basle; Jean-Frederic Osterwald (1663-1747), minister at the Collegiate church at Neuchâtel and superintendent of the pastorate; and Jean-Alphonse Turrettini (1671-1737), professor first of Ecclesiastical History (a new chair established for him) and later of Theology at Geneva. Of the three, Turrettini perhaps enjoyed the widest influence and reputation, owing to his travels in Holland, France, and England. There, he had enjoyed the company of the most distinguished society in the several capitals, and after his return, he carried on a sustained ecumenical correspondence with many of those whom he had met. These three men formed the bridge between the old ultra-Calvinistic orthodoxy and the new rationalism; they distinguished between fundamental and non-essential doctrines in theology, and on this basis, were champions of Protestant union both in writing and by personal example. They also entered into correspondence with the leaders of the Anglican Church including William Wake, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Turrettini played an important part in securing at Geneva, the abolition of subscription, by ministerial candidates, to the Formula consensus... (3). Under his patronage Benoit Pictet introduced a new version of the metrical Psalter (1698) soon to be followed by a collection of about fifty

Christian hymns for use in worship (4). But these actions gave rise to a good deal of alarm at Berne as the abolition of the Formula seemed to open the way to heresy, and the Hymnal was banned from Bernese territories since it seemed too much of an innovation and encouraged Pietism. The triumvirate, however, was not sympathetic to the ultra-Calvinistic doctrines represented by the Formula, and boldly led the younger generation to a new liberalism which, rejecting predestination and the total corruption of man, was labelled Arminian by its adversaries. At Neuchâtel Osterwald issued a new translation of the Bible (5) and introduced a new liturgy representing the culmination of a decade of liturgical collaboration with Turrettini. This showed marked tendencies to depart from the canons of Calvin and to imitate the Book of Common Prayer. A letter to Turrettini dated 13 January 1706 illustrates the trend of the discussion: "As we wish to place all our set prayers including those of the usual liturgy in the same book, do tell me what you think of these words from the confession of sins: 'inclined to evil works, incapable of any good', or 'useless for all good'. Frankly, I think these words should be removed as they confuse the regenerate with the impious; but their abrogation would cause scandal. Could we not perhaps tone them down by adding that 'we are, of our own selves inclined.... etc.', or in some other way?" (6). An earlier letter (1702) indicates in outline the service which existed before the advent of the new liturgy: "We did not think it enough to do what is usually done in our Assemblies; to read the confession of sins, sing a Psalm, preach a Sermon, and to add a prayer..." (7). That the old forms were now uncongenial is evident in another letter to Turrettini dated 17 September 1712: "I think that you will agree that the liturgy of Holy Communion which we use is not at all good; it is not even a liturgy. It has nothing in common with the manner of celebrating the Eucharist in the early Church. It is a dry and unctuousless discourse in which Calvin has set down his ideas on participation of the substance and flesh of Jesus Christ, and these are as absurd as those held by the Papists. There are even parts useful only to maintain security and false propositions contrary to the doctrine of the Gospel, as when he makes everyone without distinction say that there is nothing good in us, that we continually incur God's curse by our unhappy and disordered lives, that

the vices in us do not prevent God from receiving us, etc.... Most of our ministers think as I do; we even have a large number of people who complain about this liturgy saying that, instead of firing their zeal, it only cools it when it is a matter of going to Holy Communion. We think it therefore necessary to change this liturgy, ... but we fear that the change may cause scandal and that we may even be accused of cutting ourselves off from all the Churches of our language and confession" (8).

This was the judgment passed on Calvin's work by the pelagian rationalism of the eighteenth century - a century during which men's minds attempted to free themselves from all superstition, and during which rationalism cast away revelation in favour of human reason. One can understand how Rousseau was able to gain the victory in his polemic with the Archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont, and with the Geneva of the younger Turrettini. The Archbishop with his Thomist formula, "Reason as well as revelation" and the Genevans with their "reasonable orthodoxy", had laid down the lines which Rousseau followed logically and honestly to the inevitable conclusion they dared not accept (9).

Looking at what the leading lights of this age considered as seemly and spiritual worship, we see that Osterwald did not lack ideas: "There is nothing easier than to make an excellent liturgy. One needs only to cut out all that superstition has added to the early manner of celebrating the Sacrament and to take in what all the liturgies in the world agree upon, since the essentials have remained in all... Here then is the plan of our projected liturgy: After the sermon, we should like to have a general prayer for all men, for the Church, for kings ...etc, but keeping it short and in the same vein as that in the Anglican liturgy (p.364) which is excellent (10); only the last paragraph should perhaps be cut out so as not to scandalise the weak. After this we should read the Words of Institution (1.Cor.XI -) and add a short exhortation similar to that of the English liturgy (p.373, 374, 375) (11). We should then exhort all those who wish to communicate to 'lift up their hearts on high', and read the formulary with proper prefaces for the seasons as they are to be found in our manuscript liturgy among the hymns for feast days. Next, we should read a short prayer for communicants similar to that of the Anglican

liturgy (p.383)(12); after which, the minister being at the table, he would perform the consecration using the Anglican prayer (p.384) (13). You know that it has always been the practice of the universal Church to recite the Words of Institution at the table and when about to communicate, and also to accompany the Words of Institution with the minister's actions. That is how it is done in Zurich. This then, is the outline of our projected liturgy; to us, it seems to be short, simple, and edifying, and some people whom we have consulted have intimated that this manner of celebrating Holy Communion will excite much more devotion than our ordinary liturgy which is rather dry..." (14).

Another letter, dated 14 January 1713, illustrates the guiding principles: "I am sending you a draft of the liturgy we wish to introduce. It is vastly different from our ordinary liturgy, but to do good work we have had to draw away from it. We have included that which has always been essential and most edifying in the ancient liturgies: the Sursum Corda, praises to the Eternal Father through Jesus Christ, prayer for all men and for the Church, and the form of consecration through the very words of Jesus Christ. Various elements are drawn from the Anglican liturgy, other from the liturgy of Zurich, i.e. the Gloria in excelsis, and the exhortation after Communion. The consecration at the table is also used at Zurich, and you know that this has been a most ancient and general practice" (15).

Having had a consultative part in the drawing up of the Neuchâtel liturgy, Turrettini was bound to play a major part in the revision of the Genevan liturgy issued in 1724. But no hint is given of whom the motive power behind this revision was; the superscription says no more than that it was "revised by the ministers and professors of the Church and Academy of Geneva".

The book itself consists of prayers for the morning service, a series of complete orders of service for weekdays (morning and evening), and finally forms for the administration of the sacraments. This liturgy marks a turning point, in that it is separated from the Psalter and appears under the new title: "Les prières ecclésiastiques et les liturgies du baptême, de la sainte Cène, et du mariage. No orders are provided for the Sunday morning service and Holy Communion; the authors probably thought that anyone using the book would

already be familiar with the local practice which apparently must have remained unchanged. What does make this revision important, however, is the content of the prayers prescribed. In addition, there is a complete set of services for weekdays from Monday to Saturday; these services were held every morning and evening. Wednesday and Saturday were distinguished by the absence of sermons at both the services. The construction of these services is interesting for the light it sheds on the Sunday morning service which was probably their prototype.

Invocation
Prayer:
- Confession
- Adoration
- Thanksgiving
- Self-dedication
- For grace

Psalm sung)
Chapter of Scripture) Except Wednesdays and Saturdays
Sermon)
Prayer:
- For good effect of the word
- For State and Church
- For magistrates
- For ministers
- For the whole Church
- For all men
- For the afflicted
- For protection during the day (or night)
- Conclusion and doxology

Lord's Prayer
Apostles' Creed
Psalm
Aaronic blessing

From the outline above, we may assume that Calvin's order of service has not been tampered with. But in the morning service the first prayer has been cut down drastically as compared with that of the weekday service: it consists of the confession alone. It is probable that a prayer for enlightenment is still said before the Scripture reading, but Calvin's practice, which left its wording to the minister's discretion, seems to have been retained. The prayer following the sermon is prescribed; its outline is:

- Prologue
- for those in authority
- for allied powers
- for ministers
- for the Church's peace and persecuted brethren
- for the afflicted
- for those who know not Christ
- for the congregation

This is followed by the Lord's Prayer without protocol but with

the customary Matthean doxology. The blessing is still from Numbers.

We have noted the absence of the Decalogue in Calvin's Geneva liturgy (16). In fact it was long after Calvin's day, in 1639 to be exact, that the Ten Commandments were introduced into worship in Geneva. In the registers of the Venerable Company of Ministers, against the date of Friday 9 August 1639, we read that it had been resolved in consistory the previous day, that on Sundays the Commandments of God should be read from the pulpit. This was done for two reasons: firstly, to engage the attention of the congregation, and secondly, because it was more convenient for the minister. The old register goes on to give these precise instructions: "This reading will be done by the usual readers, and this as the last stroke of the bell is sounded". There was thus no trace of the normative use of the Decalogue which Calvin had instituted at Strasburg by placing it after the Absolution. At Geneva it acted as a sort of preface or introduction to the service proper and was read by a theological student before the service had really begun in order to cover up the noise of late arrivals (17). This use of the Decalogue, however, is not mentioned (perhaps because it was not considered part of the service) until the 1861 liturgy.

An interesting innovation, probably owing to Osterwald's suggestion above, is the introduction of a series of proper prefaces covering the main seasons of the Christian year: Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, September Communion (18), and New Year's Day. But these prefaces are not for use on Sundays; they were designed to give the tone of the season to the weekday services in which they were inserted "after the first paragraph of the second prayer, except on Wednesdays and Saturdays when the prayers are joined together and the preface is inserted before the last paragraph". The Osterwald liturgy had been the first to adopt special prayers for the great festivals, but a letter of sympathy from Osterwald gives us an inkling of the opinions of Turrettini's Geneva on this subject: "What you tell me about Christmas is the result of these prejudices which are so difficult to overcome. If the ministers agreed among themselves, it would be passed, and many things with it. As for us, we have had no difficulty in re-establishing the solemnities of Christmas and Ascension Day, and all sorts of people have thanked us

for doing so; but the thing is that we all think alike. I can never get over the fact that there are some people who take offence at the celebration of Christmas and Ascension Day and yet are not scandalised by that of Easter or Pentecost. Is there perhaps more superstition in celebrating the one rather than the other? In this matter, I think that those who reformed the Anglican Church have been very wise. They conserved all that could be conserved and did not think themselves wiser than the universal Church" (19). This letter, written while the revision of the Genevan liturgy was in process, explains why no proper forms were given for festivals. But more important still, it seems to advance the information that the festivals of Easter and of Pentecost were both already kept at that date, the only traces of the ecclesiastical year at Geneva.

The liturgy of Holy Communion begins with the Words of Institution. It is likely that the old order was followed, and, if the Sunday morning service did follow the pattern of reciting the Creed after the Lord's Prayer, as examplified by the weekday services, it is after the Creed that the Words of Institution must be placed. The outline of the Eucharistic service is then as follows:

Decalogue (read by student)
Invocation
Call to confession and Confession of sins
Psalm sung
Prayer for illumination (at minister's discretion)
Scripture reading
Sermon
Prayer of intercession (analysed above)
Lord's Prayer
Creed
Words of Institution (1.Cor.XI:23-29)
Exhortation:
- Excommunication
- Call to self-examination
- Need for Penitence
- Meaning of Sacrament

Prayer:
- Consecration
- Anamnesis
- Adoration
- For true participation in the unity of Christ
- Self-consecration

Invitation, Humble Access and Sursum Corda
Communion
Thanksgiving
Aaronic blessing
Dismissal with peace

Owing to the new place of the Creed, there has been a re-

arrangement of the elements of the Communion prayer, but the only difference of importance is the suppression of Calvin's long paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. The most important change is in the doctrinal teaching of the service, and this is most apparent in the confession of sins and in the sacramental teaching, where this service breaks away from Calvinistic orthodoxy. This can be seen by comparing the Confession of sins of the 1724 liturgy with that of Calvin's Genevan service.

CALVIN	LIBERAL ORTHODOXY (1724)
My brothers, let each one of you present himself before the face of the Lord with confession of his sins and misdeeds, following my words in his heart:	My brothers, let each one of you present himself before the Lord to make humble confession of his sins, following these words in his heart:
Lord God, eternal and almighty Father, we confess and recognise without simulation before Thy holy Majesty that we are poor sinners, conceived and born in iniquity and corruption, inclined to evil works, useless to all good, and that by our vice, we unceasingly and endlessly transgress Thy holy Commandments, for which we incur ruin and perdition by Thy just judgment.	Lord God, eternal and almighty, we recognise and confess before Thy holy Majesty that we are poor sinners, born in corruption, inclined to evil works, incapable of ourselves, of any good, and who transgress every day and in numerous ways Thy holy Commandments, which results in our calling down upon ourselves, condemnation and death by Thy just judgment.
However, Lord, we are displeased with ourselves at having offended Thee, and condemn ourselves and our vices with true repentance, desiring that Thy grace should subvene to our calamity.	However, Lord, we are greatly displeased at having offended Thee, and condemn ourselves and our vices with sober repentance, humbly having recourse to Thy grace, and we plead that Thou shouldst subvene to our misery.
Therefore do Thou have pity on us, most gracious and most merciful God and Father, in the name of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord.	Therefore do Thou have pity on us, most kindly God, Father of mercy, and forgive us our sins because of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord.
And renoving our vice and stain, grant and increase in us from day to day the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, that wholeheartedly recognising our unrighteousness, we may feel the displeasure which brings forth true penitence in us, that deadening us to all sin, He may produce in us fruits of righteousness and innocence acceptable to Thee, through the same Jesus Christ...	Also grant and increase in us continually the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, that recognising the more our faults and being deeply touched, we may renounce them wholeheartedly and bring forth fruits of righteousness agreeable to Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The chief differences in wording have been underlined, but it is the tone of the whole prayer that most clearly shows the new emphases. The doctrine of the total depravity of man has found disfavour with the spirit of an essentially humanistic and totalitarian age. The idea that only non-believers are corrupt in nature makes its appearance. The prevalent idea is one of development; knowledge and Science make huge steps forward as man emancipates himself; similarly, man is only an occasional sinner. Essentially man is not bad; his sin is one of ignorance more than of nature. Sober consideration and a better knowledge of God and of himself should enable man to rise above the pettiness of sin and to conquer it through enlightenment given by the Holy Spirit.

The rite of Holy Communion shows in its tone many differences of a similar nature. It is interesting to compare those sections of the Eucharistic exhortation which deal with teaching:

CALVIN	LIBERAL ORTHODOXY
And even though we feel in ourselves much fragility and misery: such as not having perfect faith but being induced to incredulity and defiance, or not being given to serve God as fully and with as much zeal as we should,	And even though we may feel much weakness in ourselves, though our faith and piety be not such as they should be,
but have to fight daily with the concupiscence of our flesh; nevertheless because our Lord has given us this grace to have His Gospel printed within our heart to resist all unbelief, and has given us this desire and affection which is to renounce our own desires and to follow His righteousness and His holy Commandments, let us all be certain that the vices and imperfections which are within will not prevent Him from receiving us and making us worthy of having part in this spiritual table.	but have to fight everyday against the desires of our flesh; nevertheless, if we recognise these weaknesses, if we bemoan them before God, and if we direct all our efforts to overcome them, let us be sure that they will not prevent us from having part in the grace of God which He presents us at His holy Table.
For we do not come to protest that we are perfect or righteous in ourselves, but on the contrary, seeking our life in Jesus Christ, we confess that we are dead.	For we do not come to make profession of perfection, but on the contrary, we find here, in the Communion of our Lord and in the meditation of His death,

Let us then understand that this sacrament is a medicine for the poor sick ones, and that all that the dignity of our Lord requires of us is to know ourselves well so as to be displeased in our vices and have all our pleasure, joy, and contentment in Him alone. Firstly then, let us believe in these promises which Jesus Christ, who is infallible truth, has given with His own mouth; these being that He truly wishes to make us participants in His body and blood, that we may possess Him entirely, that He may live in us and we in Him. And in spite of our seeing only bread and wine, let us nevertheless not doubt that He accomplishes spiritually in our souls all that He outwardly demonstrates by these visible signs: that He is the heavenly bread to pasture and nourish us to eternal life. Therefore let us not be ungrateful for the infinite kindness of our Lord who spreads out all His riches and goods on this table that we may share in them. For in giving Himself to us, He testifies that all His is ours. But let us receive this sacrament as a token that the virtue of His passion is imputed to us for righteousness, as though we had suffered it in our very persons. Let us not then be so perverse as to step back from where Jesus so graciously invites us by His Word. But holding the dignity of this, His precious gift in high esteem, let us present ourselves to Him with ardent zeal that He may make us capable of receiving Him. For this reason, let us lift up our spirits and hearts on high where Jesus is in the glory of His Father, and whence we await Him for our redemption. And let us not toy with these earthly and corruptible elements seen by our eyes and touched by our hands, seeking Him there as if He was enclosed in the

some very efficacious helps to combat sin and the world, and to advance in the way of sanctification and salvation.

Let us not then consider Holy Communion as a vain ceremony without effect, but let us remember that it contains all that is most sacred and most consoling in Religion.

In it, Jesus Christ gives Himself to us

as the true heavenly bread to feed our souls, to fill us with consolation and joy, and to make us live eternally. The bread is the communion of His body which was broken for us. The cup is the communion of His blood, the blood of the New Covenant, which was shed for the remission of sins;

So that if we participate in this holy Sacrament in a seemly manner, we will receive the assurance of the love of God, the seals of His covenant, and the tokens of His promises. Let us not therefore neglect to take hold of these precious advantages; but esteeming them as is right, let us offer up our praises and thanksgivings. (PRAYER)

My brothers, let us now draw near to the table of the Lord, but come with all the humility, repentance, faith, piety, and charity which this holy act demands from us. Let us also come with order and seemliness, remembering that we present ourselves before God to carry out one of the most solemn duties of Religion. And

bread or wine. For then, when our souls will be so raised above all earthly things to reach unto heaven and enter into the kingdom of God where He dwells, they will be disposed to be nourished and quickened by His substance.	without stopping at these external symbols, seen by our eyes and touched by our hands, as if Jesus Christ were enclosed in them in some coarse and fleshly manner, let us lift up our spirits and our hearts on high where Jesus Christ is now in the glory of God His Father, and whence we await Him at the last day when He shall come to judge the world and to place in our possession, the great salvation He gained for us.

The underlined portions indicate clearly the differences in emphasis contained in the exhortation and this is particularly important since the exhortation is specially designed to convey Eucharistic teaching to the congregation. We see therefore, that the emphasis has moved from the acknowledgment of God as the source of every good thing, in whom we live and move and have our being, to man's potentiality for perfection. Whereas Calvin had taught that it is the Lord's grace which enables man to resist the onslaughts of sin and to cleave to Him, the eighteenth century teaches that the recognition of our sins and our wholehearted efforts to overcome them justifies us. Whereas the Reformer claimed that God graciously overlooks our sin and makes us worthy to partake of the sacramental food of life, the new rational humanism claims that man can become worthy through his own endeavours, and has, within himself, the possibility of approaching God. This is probably one of the reasons why, in later times, people piously examined themselves before Communion and so often found themselves unworthy.

There is a similar change of outlook concerning the Sacrament itself. To Calvin, Holy Communion was considered as one of the most effective aspects of God's grace. In the sacrament, Christ gave Himself to the communicant, to live in Him; and in return, the communicant was taken into Christ, participating in His life, passion, and glorious resurrection. Man without Christ was as good as dead; man with Christ lived in the newness of life. Holy communion, therefore, in giving sinful'dead' man the opportunity to participate in his Lord, was the great 'medicine' of everlasting life and of reconciliation. But this outlook had been lost to Turrettini's Geneva. Holy Communion was still a bearer of grace but this grace tended more to be concentrated in the

re-affirmations of God's promises. The "Communion of our Lord and the meditation of His death", are considered together as the source of helpful inspiration. To eat and drink, fills the believer with consolation and joy and brings him to eternal life through the re-assurance that God's covenant still applies. But the note of true participation is absent and all thought of sacrifice is gone.

The contrast is repeated in the words of the invitation. Instead of presenting ourselves to Christ Who will make us capable of receiving Him in the sacrament, we carry out a relgious duty of great awefulness. We must come with humility, repentance, faith, piety, and charity. In other words, we are invited to test ourselves before coming to Communion, and to be worthy, we must be perfect. It is this pre-condition of perfection which has set off the decline in sacramental worship for to anyone not a theologian of this school, it seems to imply that very few can ever become worthy to participate. And this is born out by the average attendance at later Communion service, when the only attendance became a small number of old women and an even smaller number of old men.

And finally, the explanation of the Sursum Corda in the two liturgies shows a great difference of outlook. Calvin uses the Sursum corda in his service "for when our souls will be so raised above all earthly things to reach unto heaven where Christ dwells, they will be disposed to be nourished and quickened by His substance". There is, then, a mystical participation in the very sacrifice of Christ which is eternally presented to God the Father. In liberal thought, the Sursum Corda is used as an ancient element of the liturgy and rather inconsequentially. We are to lift up our hearts on high where Jesus is in the glory of God or rather, our souls should reach out to Christ.

In all this, a prevailing thought is that of man's own power to raise himself out of his sinful environment. God's grace is recognised, but from the first cause of our redemption, it becomes an aid to perfection. The celebration of Holy Communion is solidly on earth; in this sacramental meal, Christ comes to us to confirm our faith and to help us in our daily battles until that day when He shall come down in glory to fulfil the promise that we should possess His great salvation. But in it, we miss the sense of the other-worldiness and accessibility of the sacrament; we miss

the note of participation which rings out in Calvin's liturgy echoing the triumphant note of Paul in Colossians 1:24; we miss the note of timelessness and eschatology. The doctrine of the Sacrament has been impoverished so that in this rationalistic expression the conception of the Eucharist as the climax of Christian worship has been lost, and both Christ's sacramental presence and the believer's participation in Christ's life, passion, and resurrection to glory have been done away with.

In conclusion, we may note that in the main, the form for Communion was inspired by Osterwald's liturgical composition. But as always, the Genevese were conservative (20), so that many of the elements Osterwald considered worth salvaging from the Roman rite, such as the gloria in excelsis, have been left out. We see too, that Osterwald strove for a new conception of Catholicity which is reflected in the Genevan liturgy, but this does not always go beyond the revival of forms so that it is often empty of meaning. And still more important, it was the theology of the day, with its incipient Deism and remnants of misunderstood extreme Calvinism, which reduced the content of worship and emptied it of much Biblical teaching.

C H A P T E R VII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

1. THE 1861 LITURGY

French philosophy of the eighteenth century had contributed to an increasingly rationalistic outlook in the Reformed Church at Geneva. Its ministers, in their anxiety to avoid the excesses of a dogmatic theology, had failed to avoid the opposite excesses engendered by a belief in the universal supremacy of human reason. But in spite of this, or perhaps because of it, the conventicle pietism of Madame Krüdener had won, in 1814, an ardent supporter in the young theologian Empaytaz. In the following year more inroads were made among the Genevan clergy by the wealthy Englishman, Haldane, who as the apostle of Methodistic piety inspired a young minister, Ceasar Malan, with revivalist enthusiasm. It was mainly through the influence of Malan, together with his friends Gaussen and Merle d'Aubigné, that a current of evangelism swept through the younger generation of theological students. A separatist Church was established in Geneva, gaining two congregations, but a more important result was their influence on theology. For the renewal of evangelical piety and religious individualism created a new orthodoxy which included a tendency to return to the forms of the Reformation.

Another factor to be taken into account as formative for the thought of the period is the entrance of Geneva into the Swiss Confederation in 1815. A number of surrounding districts of predominantly Romanist sympathies, which had been alienated since the declaration of the Reformation, were now restores to the new canton; accordingly, Geneva ceased to be a republic whose citizenship was equated with membership of the Reformed Church. Further, the liberal constitution of 1847 transformed what had become a clergy-church into a people's church by removing ecclesiastical authority from the hands of La venerable companie des Pasteurs (1) and entrusting it to a consistory composed of twenty-five parish councillors and six clergymen. Along with the change in polity a new set of regulations and a new liturgy were issued.

The liturgy of 1724 was the prototype of a family of liturgies which had been in use for one hundred and forty years. Although, in 1743, the title of this liturgy was

changed to La Liturgie, ou la Manière de célébrer le service Divin dans l'Eglise de Genève, its contents were little altered throughout its numerous reprints. 1861 however was to see a great change for, under the new title: La Liturgie de l'Eglise de Genève, a new departure was made in the arrangement of the contents. There were also many stylistic corrections as well as a number of new prayers and ceremonies which gave greater importance to the ecclesiastical and civil calendars. Distinctive services were composed for Christmas, Good-Friday, Easter, and Ascension Day, as well as for New-Year's Day, the Genevan Fast, and the Federal Fast. The orders under study may be outlined as follows:

SUNDAY MORNING

Some chapters of Scripture)
Decalogue and Summary of the Law) both read by a theological student

Invocation (Our help is in the name...)
Call to Confession
Confession of Sins
Psalm or Hymn
Prayer for enlightenment
Reading of the Text
Sermon
Prayer:
- Thanksgiving for the Word
- For those in authority
- For ministers
- For the Church
- For the afflicted
- For the congregation
- Lord's Prayer

Apostles' Creed (with protocol)

HOLY COMMUNION

Words of Institution
Exhortation:
- Warning to unrepentant sinners
- Need for penitence
- Call to self-examination
- Meaning of the Sacrament

Prayer:
- Preface
- Adoration
- Anamnesis
- Self-oblation
- For increase in grace

Invitation, with Humble access and Sursum Corda
Formulae of Consecration
Communion
Exhortation to Christian life and Pax
Prayer:
- Thanksgiving
- For sanctification

Psalm or Hymn
Aaronic blessing
Dismissal with Peace

Nunc Dimittis
Aaronic blessing
Dismissal with Peace

It is interesting to note that, although the Decalogue was officially ordered to be read at the beginning of the service, as far back as 1639, this is the first time (apart from Farel's liturgy) that it is mentioned in the Genevan liturgy (2). This practice is now considered a time-honoured institution whereby a student or elder conducts the "reader's office" (3). The service proper begins with the usual invocation, followed by a confession of sins which has only been altered in style. The hymns that were earlier accepted for public worship (4) are now publicly acknowledged for the first time. It is, however, interesting to note that the main Scripture reading is considered as the prologue to the service. Nevertheless, provision is made whereby "the preacher may join the reading of a longer portion of the Holy Scriptures to that of the text". The prayer of intercession has undergone a certain amount of simplification and abbreviation: the prologue to the intercessions has been abandoned in favour of thanksgiving for the hearing of the Word and a plea that it may bring forth good fruit in the hearers; now that Geneva is a member of the Swiss Confederation, the prayer for those in authority is made to cover both Federal and Cantonal government and obviates the need to pray for allied powers; this is followed by the prayer for ecclesiastical authorities and ministers, and then for the whole Church, without any mention of persecuted brethren, the persecutions having ceased with the French revolution; the prayer for the afflicted is practically unchanged; but it is surprising, in view of the rising missionary spirit of the day, that the prayer for those who have not yet heard the Gospel should be deleted; a prayer for the growth in grace of the congregation follows, and the whole is concluded by the Lord's Prayer in its traditional Matthean form but without protocol. A new element is introduced in conjunction with the Creed; it is now preceded by an ejaculatory plea for the strengthening of the Faith about to be confessed.

A decline in the authority of the words of excommunication was already noticeable in the 1724 liturgy. In 1861, this is further weakened. Where Calvin pronounces the excommunication on unrepentant sinners, the eighteenth century declares that they are unworthy of participation, and the

nineteenth solemnly enjoins them not to partake for fear of receiving their own condemnation. Apart from this, the text of the exhortation is very much the same except for a re-arrangement of the order of its elements and a healthy tendency towards conciseness. The prayer has also been shortened considerably and made to deal with different subjects. Instead of consecration, we find an approximation to a Preface, followed by adoration (reflecting the last part of the Sanctus: "heaven and earth are full of Thy glory....") which lead straight into the Anamnesis, self-oblation, and a prayer for confirmation in the faith. After the Invitation, call to humble access, and the Sursum Corda, the minister comes down from the pulpit, where he has conducted the whole service until now, to the Table where he is joined by a colleague. There is an innovation in the consecration in that a formula of consecration is introduced. According to the rubric: "The ministers consecrate the species pronouncing the following words:

- The bread that we break is the communion in the body of Jesus Christ our Lord.
- The cup of blessing that we bless is the communion in the blood of Jesus Christ our Lord."

It is difficult to see where the consistory could have found a precedent for this use of the words of 1 Cor.10:16 as a consecratory formula, but consecration by formula is quite conceivable in a rationalistic context. After having communicated, the ministers distribute the elements to the faithful as they file past, and this done, the minister returns to the pulpit from which he exhorts the brethren to live a Christian life and pronounces the Peace. A prayer of thanksgiving and a prayer for a new life follows; the Nunc Dimittis is sung, and the congregation receives the Aaronic blessing before being dismissed in peace.

One striking difference between the tone of this liturgy and the preceding one is in the conception of the presence of Christ. In the 1724 liturgy, the tendency is for the elements to be on earth and Christ in heaven, with a clear distinction between the local presence of each. But in 1861 this was not considered satisfactory and was amended as follows: "Let us unite ourselves with Jesus Christ who is ever present among us, and without stopping at the exterior symbols ... let us lift up our hearts on high

where Christ is in the glory of His Father..." There is obviously an attempt to make the presence of Christ real to the communicants, even though it introduces a concept which differentiates between the earthly and the heavenly presence of Christ and still does not do justice to His sacramental presence.

2. THE DUAL LITURGY OF 1875

Ever since 1869, the Genevan Church had suffered from the bitter contention in which the 'evanglical' faction opposed the 'orthodox' or 'liberals'. The result of the Consistory's having refused the pulpit of Saint-Pierre to foreign ministers whose opinions seemed dangerous, and having refused to authorise a cathechism which seemed too rationalistic, was the formation of a 'liberal' party within the Church. This party, whose aim was to foster complete freedom of teaching in the Church, a freedom which was to be restrained "neither by confessions of faith, nor by liturgical formularies" (1874), united itself with the radical party in politics so as to have a voice in the government of the Church. Their influence is to be seen in the 1875 liturgy in the extracts from the general ordinances on public worship prefacing that book. Articles V and VIII read as follows: "Prayers are either liturgical or left to the discretion of the officiating minister; the Consistory has published a prayer-book but the use of this book is not compulsory", and "the Consistory has published texts relative to the diverse ceremonies but the use of these texts is not compulsory". Not only did the liberals stop short at obtaining freedom from liturgical formularies, they were also able to have alternative forms included in the Liturgy. The uniqueness of this Liturgy consists of this: where forms were regarded as being too orthodox, alternatives were included which reflected the liberal Protestant theology.

For the first time since the Calvinist liturgies, the Genevan liturgy can boast of a table of contents, by means of which users may find their way through the tangle of duplicated rituals. Also notable, is an introductory section listing every service then commonly held in Geneva, together with its order. Three services were held on

Sundays: one at eight or nine in the morning, the main service at ten, and an evening service, as well as a cathechism or service for the youth; daily meditations (a simplified service) were held throughout the week; there were also preparatory services before Holy Communion, both with and without sermon; and the celebration of the Eucharist was followed by a series of thanksgiving services. By this time, two new special days had won recognition: the Restoration (5) and Reformation Sunday.

The outlines of the main Sunday morning service and Holy Communion are as follows:

SUNDAY MORNING 10.00	HOLY COMMUNION
Reading of the Decalogue	Decalogue
Summary of the Law	Summary of the Law
Prayer	Prayer
Hymn or Psalm	Hymn or Psalm
Preacher's prayer	Preacher's prayer
Reading of the text	Reading of the text
Sermon	Sermon
Hymn or Psalm	
Prayer	Prayer
	Benediction for non-communicants
	Exhortation
	Prayer
	Invitation
	Consecration
	Communion
	Homily
	Prayer of thanksgiving
	Nunc Dimittis
Benediction	Benediction
Dismissal with Peace	Dismissal with Peace

The Decalogue is by now a recognised element of the service, and is always read together with the Summary of the Law (Mk.12:30-31). But although this liturgy is mainly a re-edition of that of 1861, we are struck by the absence of the Scripture reading which used to prologue the service proper. The Law of God is then followed by a prayer, by which is meant the Invocation, the call to confession and the Confession of sins in the orthodox service; in the liberal form, this is simply a prayer of adoration couched in verbose humanistic language. After the congregational praise, the preacher's prayer is left to the minister's discretion. The text on which the sermon is based is obviously the most important part of the Scripture reading, though a note intimates that "the preacher is invited to join the reading of a more extensive portion of the Holy Scriptures to that of the text". The general trend has

been to shorten the prayer following the sermon; it is now only about a quarter of the length it was in Calvin's days. Nominally, it is a prayer of intercession but, specially in the liberal version, the intercessory part is hurried over in favour of thanksgiving and a plea that the hearing of the Word may infuse the congregation with strength to withstand sin; this prayer is concluded with the Lord's Prayer. The benediction for non-communicants is evidence of the spirit of critical examination prevalent in that period: the study of early forms has prompted them to break away from Calvin's unifying tendency and to re-establish the distinction between the liturgy of the catechumens and that of the faithful.

It is in the liturgy for Holy Communion that the most marked differences are found between the two theological attitudes, as can be seen from the following excerpts from the exhortation:

Orthodox	Liberal
You have just heard, brethren, how our Lord Jesus Christ instituted Holy Communion; you understand with what devotion, veneration, and purity, it should be celebrated in His Church until the end of times...	You have just heard, brethren, how Jesus Christ instituted Holy Communion which is designed to perpetuate, in His Church, the remembrance of His death. This ceremony is the symbol of the spiritual union which should be formed between the Christian and his Saviour and of the fraternity which should exist between all members of the Church. You understand therefore, with what devotion, veneration, and purity it should be celebrated...
These holy dispositions, brethren, are absolutely necessary to participate worthily in the Communion of the Lord. Let us take care not to consider this ceremony to be vain and without effect, for it contains all that is most sacred and consoling in religion. Jesus Christ is there present for us as the true pascal lamb Who was sacrificed for us. The bread is the communion in His body which was broken for us. The cup is the communion of His blood which was shed for the remission of our sins. This august sacrament, therefore, offers us the assurance of the love of God, the seals of His	These holy dispositions, brethren, are absolutely necessary to participate worthily in the communion of the Lord. Take care not to consider this ceremony as vain and without effect, for it contains all that is most sacred and consoling in the religion of Jesus Christ. The bread is the symbol of His body which was given for us; the cup is the symbol of the new covenant in His blood which was shed for us, so that this ceremony places again in our sight all that we owe to Jesus, the assurance of the love of God, the seals of His covenant and the tokens of His promises. Sensible to such great benefits...

to

covenant and the tokens of
His promises. Being sensible
to such great benefits, let
us offer our thanks to God.

First of all, we notice the complete absence, in the liberal text, of anything approximating to the excommunication. Paul's words, "whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord", is quoted only to encourage order and decency in the conduct of the service.

We also notice the influence of liberal idealism with its tendency to differentiate between the spiritual and the bodily (6), in the emphasis on the symbolic character of the Eucharist (Symbolic being interpreted in its barest sense). The sacrament is, so to speak, the image of the relationship between man and God and representative of their communion. But the idea of participation in Christ, or of any sort of sacramental unity in Him is absent from the liberal liturgy, and is replaced by the reminder of some sort of non-sacramental spiritual unity. The bread and wine are only the symbols (i.e. no more than bare signs) and not the means of communion in Christ; and the whole celebration takes a Zwinglian twist in becoming a way of bringing back to mind (i.e. a means not of grace but of recollection) the sufferings of Christ, and therefore, the debt in which humanity stands to its Saviour.

This thought is repeated in the prayer which follows; in the words "... and in calling us to celebrate Holy Communion in memory of Him...". This prayer, in its liberal version (the orthodox version is identical with that of the 1861 liturgy throughout), is composed of a thanksgiving and a prayer of self-oblation. But even in the self-oblation, there seems to be some confusion as to the meaning of communion for it says; "Hear us, Father of mercy, for we all together call upon Thee in the communion of Jesus...".

The rationalism of the orthodox 1861 liturgy had called believers to "unite in spirit with Jesus Christ who is always present amongst us", thus confusing Christ's sacramental presence with his continual presence in the hearts of the faithful. The liberalist liturgy goes one step further in calling believers to "unite spiritually with Jesus Christ", making it a condition of participation in Holy Communion and intending to exclude any power to actualise Christ from the sacrament. The Eucharist becomes a representation of

Christ's saving acts, and this only to the believer who is already spiritually united with Christ; it loses any objective function. It is, therefore, not surprising that communicants should continually have to be reminded that "this ceremony is not vain and without effect".

Finally, the consecration is now effected by formula. The minister (or ministers) pronounces the words over the species (see above page 79). We have therefore come a long way since Calvin's protest against the consecrating function of priests, for with these words, the officiant cannot even claim that he is calling on God to consecrate. But on the other hand, such a conception of consecration effected by the officiant did not have the same meaning as in the sixteenth century, since the whole conception of the Eucharist had now been changed. If the bread is no longer the body of Christ, and the blood no longer His blood, if they are thought of as mere reminders of the history of salvation, then there is no real need for a consecration. This was seen by the liberal theologians, for in the liberal version, no mention is made of consecration. Instead, we are told that "the minister pronounces the following words, or any other similar words". The liberals can be commended for consistency here, for at least they saw that such formulae could not be consecratory, that is, not within their system.

Among the changes which came over the Church with the change in ecclesiastical polity is that in the designation of the clergy. The word <u>ministre</u> has disappeared from the liturgy and is replaced by <u>pasteur</u>. Thus the liberal policy of independance of Church and State finds its first expression in the liturgy in a break from the old designation which, in the popular mind, carried with it a position of privilege for the clergy and by which they enjoyed the same status as that of state officials. In using the word pastor, they sought to designate the clergy by its functions. This is the logical outcome of constitutional measures, taken in 1873, to create an independant Catholic Church. Impassioned talks on separation from the State were the order of the day, and, though the motion proposed in 1880 was rejected by the great council, it was only a matter of time before the watchword: "The Protestant Church for Protestants" would win the day.

3. THE DAWN OF THE LITURGICAL REVIVAL

Together with the movement away from State domination, there came into being a new concern for liturgical forms. This is well illustrated by the fact that the last complete liturgy before 1945 appeared in 1892, and it is almost identical with that of 1875. But the outcome of the new liturgical concern became evident even before freedom from the state was achieved. Whereas the law which brought forth the reconstitution of the Genevan Church came into effect only on 1 January 1909, the first results of the liturgical movements had already appeared as forms for funeral services in 1899, and as orders for the reader's office in 1905.

The constitutional changes brought with them a new spirit of conciliation. Reciprocal concessions allowed the differing schools to remain united, and a declaration of principles was adopted as the touchstone of the Church. "All who consider themselves to be part of the Church" are now members. Religious teaching by the clergy in the local schools was maintained. The Protestant faculty of theology at the University was not abolished, but access to the ministry was opened to graduates from other universities.

This new outlook also made possible projects for the revision of the liturgical formularies: Baptism and Holy Communion in 1914, and confirmation of catechumens shortly afterwards. But the only new publication was a formulary for Sunday morning service, in 1921, made necessary by the changes that had been made in the order of service. This was to be followed by a second part, devoted to sacraments, ceremonies, and festivals, but this only appeared as a roneoed booklet in 1931, and did not go to press.

Let us, therefore, look at the changes which occasioned the revision of the morning service, as they appear in outline in the 1921 formulary.

I. Invocation
II. Words of Adoration
III. Song of Adoration
IV. Reading of the Law
V. Confession of Sins
VI. Words of Pardon and Grace
VII. Song of Rejoicing
VIII. Scripture Reading
IX. Prayer
X. Song
XI. Sermon
XII. Organ Interlude

A.		B.	
XIII.	Prayer of Intercession	XIII.	Prayer of Intercession
XIV.	Lord's Prayer	XIV.	Song
XV.	Song	XV.	Lord's Prayer
XVI.	Benediction	XVI.	Benediction
XVII.	Dismissal	XVII.	Song of Benediction
		XVIII.	Dismissal

The first great change is to bring back the Reading of the Law into the service proper, after its having been so long used as a prologue. Once again, the service begins with the invocation, of which we are given a choice of five, including the traditional "Our help is in the name...". The Words of Adoration and the Hymn or Psalm are new additions, witnessing to a new sense of the need for Adoration. The Words of Adoration are excerpts from Biblical texts, of which this is an example:

> "Come let us sing with joy to the Lord. Let us go before Him with praise, let us sing hymns in his honour. For the Lord is God, in His hands are the depths of the earth and the tops of the mountains are His. Come, let us bow down and humiliate ourselves, let us bend the knee before the Lord our creator. For He is our God and we are His people, the flock led by His hand. Oh that today ye could hear His voice" (Ps.95)

Eight such texts are given, each accompanied by a suitable psalm or hymn for the congregational response. This is followed by the Decalogue and the Summary of the Law. A choice is given between the Commandments from Exodus and Deuteronomic accounts, as well as two short paraphrases; there are also two versions of the law of Christ taken from the sermon on the Mount. All these are concluded by the Summary of the Law. A hymn or psalm of humiliation may be introduced here instead of the song of joy (VII), and a choice of three hymns and two psalms is provided for this purpose. Then come Scriptural words of pardon and grace, which may be followed by the song of joy mentioned above. No directions are given for the content of the Scripture reading, but, judging from previous practice, it can safely be assumed that there would be a single reading approximating a chapter in length. This is followed by the sermon, and an organ interlude for meditation. The policy of abbreviating the prayer of intercession has been followed; it now consists of a thanksgiving for the word, very short intercessions, and a prayer for increased faith. But even

this pattern is variable and three examples given consist mainly of a prayer of self-dedication, three of adoration, and one a pietistic prayer expressing the believer's confidence in Christ. The jarring note in all these prayers is that, despite their criticism of the didactic element in the Calvinistic rite, they still seem unable to avoid praying at the congregation and extending the sermon into the prayers. Two possibilities are given for the concluding part of the service, both using the same elements but in different orders. The most interesting part of it, however, is the introduction of a recessional hymn between the benediction and dismissal. We may also note that the Aaronic blessing has become just one of the possible forms for the benediction, there being included the apostolic blessing and a number of other forms as well.

One cannot say that this particular revision of Morning service has provided any great contribution to the spirit of the Genevan Church's worship. It seems to have been largely inspired by the growing movement towards ecumenism as far as the forms are concerned, but unaccompanied by any real change in the Genevan attitude to worship. The pervading spirit is still the rationalistic-liberal theology, with occasional touches of pietism throughout the prayers and the prescribed hymns. The idea of adoration has been given fresh importance, but in spite of that, the whole tone and feeling of these forms of worship remains shallow, and is saturated with individualistic mawkishness.

It is when we compare these later forms with the original liturgies of the Reformation period that we recognise how much strength and virility has been lost and how much the spirit of true prayer and adoration has been quenched by sickly sentimentality.

C H A P T E R VIII

THE LITURGICAL REVIVAL OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The real father of the modern liturgical revival in French-speaking circles was undoubtedly Eugène Bersier (1831-1889), pastor of the Etoile church in Paris. "Throughout his life, Bersier spent every spare moment pouring over liturgies of every century" (1). Of Swiss origin, he had English blood in his veins through his mother, at whose knee he familiarised himself with the Book of Common Prayer. It was as a result of his study of the early forms of worship, and of the second century in particular, that he became conscious of the poverty of the forms of prayer and passivity of the people in the Reformed churches. To remedy this he drew up a liturgy for his congregation (2) which constituted a considerable advance. The people were encouraged to take a more active part in the service through the numerous responses required from them; different prayers were provided for every Sunday of the month, with special forms for the festivals; the Eucharistic liturgy specially, though still didactic in tone, came back into the main ecumenical tradition by re-introducing the Preface and Sanctus (3). In 1887, Bersier was appointed by the General Synod's commission to prepare a project for the revision of the liturgy, but even though he had refrained from introducing too many new elements so as not to offend the general public, he found little support for it. Shortly afterwards he died, and his project was not even discussed when the Synod met in 1890 (4).

Meantime, an analogous movement was beginning in French-speaking Switzerland. Jules Amiguet made his chapel of Saint-Jean at Lausanne a veritable liturgical laboratory, as he liked to call it. With stained glass, liturgical colours, a "way of the beatitudes" taking the place of the stations of the Cross, a choir, and candles on the altar, he opened a breach into the wall of puritanism which had been built around reformed worship. But it was one of his followers, Richard Paquier of Saint-Saphorin (5), who gave the chief impetus to the movement in Switzerland, and by influence in France also. His greatest contribution to the spreading of liturgical consciousness was perhaps his founding of the "Church and Liturgy" group which advocates a return to the

ancient forms of worship and, specially, the reform of the Eucharistic liturgy.

The liturgical movement in the Reformed Churches is not an autonomous one; it is related to other movements and linked with other revivals, of which it is a consequence and which it amplifies. No attempt to revive the liturgy could have been successful in the theological atmosphere of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Thus the liturgical revival is first of all the sign of a new consciousness of the Church as such. There is a new spirit of community transcending the individualism of the nineteenth century. This is a paramount trend in the theology of recent decades; increasing numbers of books have been published, studying and defining the doctrine of the body of Christ. This new awareness of the Church has shown itself in a revival of participation in the Eucharist, and it is understandable, indeed inevitable, that this should issue in a call for a revision of the liturgy.

A second determining factor of the liturgical revival is the dogmatic revival which has been taking place in our time. The end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century was marked by pietism on the one hand and, counterbalancing it on the other, a rigid orthodoxy which was more often repeated like a slogan and covered a rationalist tendency rather than having been carefully thought of. Now the accent is put on doctrine which is seen to be a source of the Church's life. Even preaching has become doctrinal. It is possible to see the influence of Karl Barth in this dogmatic revival, but he is not its sole initiator; there has been a concurrent development of a new Calvinism which seeks to reassert and re-interpret the great doctrinal affirmations of the reformer.

It is in the light of these two factors that we should read the introduction to the Liturgie de l'Eglise de Genève (1945), where the compilers set out their guiding principles:

> "The first care of the commission has been to produce a work which should bear the mark of Genevan tradition. This is the reason why it has not been content to revise the texts of 1892, 1921, and 1931, but has also made a study of all previous editions from the XVIth century to the present day, seeking to preserve as much as possible from the work of our fathers so as to associate us with their prayers and to maintain a living sense of the continuity of the

> Church. We do not fear to be accused of compilation, for nothing ages quicker than that which bears too clearly the stamp of its period.
>
> In agreement with the 'Company of Pastors', we have broken with the system of the parallel orthodox and liberal texts introduced in 1875, since the theological atmos. here is now vastly different from that of seventy years ago.
>
> The second concern of the commission has been to enrich the Genevan liturgy by practising a large ecumenism. Following in the path so masterfully blazed by Eugène Bersier, we have spread our investigations beyond national or confessional frontiers; we have drawn abundantly from the reformed liturgies of France, Neuchâtel, and Vaud, and have even borrowed from the tradition of the early Church.
>
> Our third concern, however, has been not to fall into archaism. Even though it is true that the liturgy should bind us to the universal Church both in time and space, it is also true that the faithful must possess a minimum of religious experience biblical knowledge, and cultual education to assimilate it, not to mention the uninitiate who come to Church only for a wedding or baptismal service. That is why this volume proposes an alternate text of easier understanding for these two ceremonies,and adds to the traditional prayers a few deliberately modern texts which reflect the preoccupations of the day.
>
> This is the place to remember also that liturgical liberty is guaranteed to ministers by the constitution of our Church; therefore all the texts, with the exception of the declarations and promises printed in small capitals, can be considered as so many paradigms. A style which suits a cathedral will not necessarily suit a country chapel; it is the minister's task to adapt accordingly. We should consider our work to be wasted if it became a pillow of idleness, and should particularly regret it if the reformed tradition were lost, according to which each service contains at least one prayer which is not read (though this does not necessarily mean that it should be improvised on the spot) (6).

The liturgy of 1945 is therefore a new departure for the Genevan Church, by which it seeks to re-unite past and present in a worshipful whole. It is a large work by any liturgical standard, providing an outline of morning service, one typical morning service, a number of variant texts (eleven for each item) allowing a large number of permutations, a children's service, and a service for youth. Under the heading of sacraments, two formularies for baptism are given, a third for the baptism of a catechumen or adult, and one order for confirmation; four orders are provided

for Holy Communion: two to come after ordinary Sunday morning services, and two complete in themselves. The Christian year has been divided into four parts: An order is given for the Sundays in Advent, one with Holy Communion for Christmas day, and one for the Sunday following Christmas. The second season is called Passion-tide in preference to Lent: an order is provided for the Sundays in Lent, one for Palm Sunday, one for Holy week services, one for the reading of the Passion account, and one for Good-Friday with Holy Communion. The third season is that of Easter, for which are provided one Easter day order with Holy Communion, one Easter evening service, an order for the five Sundays after Easter, one for Ascension day, and one for Sunday after Ascension. Pentecost comes under the fourth heading, providing an order for the morning service with Holy Communion on the day of Pentecost, and also an evening service for that day.

Orders of service are also provided for secular anniversaries and special days. These are New Year's day, Mission Sunday, the Swiss national day, Thanksgiving (and harvest festival), the Genevan fast, the Federal fast (which is a day of praise, humiliation, and intercession, with Holy Communion), Reformation Sunday, and Old Year's eve. In addition to this, a table of three lessons for each Sunday is given to cover three years; the readings are selected to suit the seasons of the Christian year, and an endeavour is made to include all the great representative passages of the Bible.

There are also orders for the ordination of a minister, induction to a charge, induction of the parish council, dedication of a Church, reception of a convert, two formularies for the blessing of marriages, and two funeral services, one for use in Church and the other to be used at the graveside.

In order that we may study the Sunday morning and Communion services, let us consider the outlines of these two services, leaving for the moment the independant Communion service.

Morning Service

Call by the bells
Organ prelude
Invocation or salutation)
Words of Adoration or Invitation) Standing
Unannounced Hymn of Adoration)

Law of God and Summary of the Law		
Confession of sins	)	
Unannounced Hymn of Humiliation	)	
Words of Grace	)	Standing
(The Creed may be said here)	)	
Unannounced Hymn of Joy	)	
Scripture Reading		
Prayer		
Hymn or Psalm	)	Standing
Text and Sermon		
Organ interlude (meditation)		
Prayer		
Hymn and offerings	)	HOLY COMMUNION
Lord's Prayer	) Standing	
Benediction	)	Benediction of non-communicants
Organ postlude		Institution
		Teaching
		Prayer
		Hymn or Psalm
		Invitation and Consecration
		Communion
		Exhortation (facultative)
		Prayer
		Hymn or Psalm
		Benediction

It will be seen that the division between the liturgy of the catechumens and the liturgy of the faithful has been continued, so as to allow of two separate services. We shall therefore begin with a study of the morning service as a separate act. But before proceeding to a detailed examination of its constitutive elements, let us listen to the reasons given for this form of service. "In 1937, after many years of experimentation, our Church settled on the present order (to which the optional use of the Creed was added in 1943), thus restoring a liturgical motion and architecture to the reformed service which it had in Strasburg in 1539 but never in Geneva, owing to amputations concerning which Calvin has blamed himself for 'giving way too easily'. This restoration is a consequence of the work of Osterwald and Bersier".

Because practically every Swiss church has at least one bell, the ringing of the bells is made an integral part of the service; it takes the place of the call to worship. The rubric covering this says: "The ringing of the bells stops at the exact time fixed for the beginning of the service, and the organ prelude begins". So now the shuffling of latecomers is covered by the organ and not, as previously by the reading of the Scriptures or the Decalogue. In parishes where the traditional reader's office is kept, the reader, usually a theological student,

goes up into the pulpit to lead the first part of the service. There are three possible places for the Intimations (which we see here for the first time: "To many people, the intimations appear as a foreign element in the service. All depends upon their nature and the spirit in which they are made: if they witness to the fraternal life of the parish or the Church, they can edify. When placed before the Invocation, they break the tie which should unite it to the organ prelude and are not heard by latecomers. If placed between the unannounced hymn of joy and the Scripture readings, they mark the cesura between the two parts of the service. Placed between the prayer of intercession and the offerings, they can be combined with the announcement of the collection"(7).

The Invocation itself is preceded by an invitation to stand. A number of formulae are given for the Invocation, but most are based on the old Strasburg "Our help is in the name of the Lord....". This has no Amen, for it leads directly to the words of Adoration. The words of Adoration, introduced in 1921, are designed to elevate the soul and to give objectivity to the service. De tempore texts are indicated for use in the festival seasons. These lead into the unannounced hymn of adoration first introduced in 1905 as a consequence of Bersier's demand for congregational response. Such hymns are indicated on the hymn-board, and intoned without announcement. The reader's office ends with the reading of the Law and the Summary of the Law, which in Geneva are still considered in its usus paedagogicus instead of Calvin's usus normativus. This is followed by the rubric: "In parishes where the reader's office has been retained, a brief organ interlude is interposed here, during which the reader leaves the pulpit and the minister takes his place".

The principal confessions of sins are all based on Calvin's text as it was revised in later times, and appear in all French Reformed liturgies. "Whereas its prologue was individualist ('let each one...') perhaps to react against Roman collectivism, ours is communitarian ('together') to react against too individualistic a protestantism. One could also say: 'Let us confess our sin to God'"(8). The prayer itself was radically changed in 1724 and has, since then, only received minor and stylistic alterations. But two new changes are brought in here: "born of a corrupt race" replaces the older "born in corruption" which seems,

to the authors, "to condemn the conjugal act itself". The phrase "humbly having recourse to Thy grace", introduced in 1724, has been found awkward to pronounce and has been altered to "we beg Thee, by Thy grace, to help our misery". "So let it be" replaces the Amen, which "is taken by many of the faithful to mean sit down" (9).

The Words of grace, introduced by Calvin at Strasburg, where they were followed by a trinitarian Absolution, have made their re-appearance in Geneva in 1921. In this formulary, a wider variety is given, though still without Absolution. They are preceded by an unannounced hymn of humiliation which acts, as it were, as an appendix to the confession. The Creed may then follow. "The practice of reading the Creed as a confession of faith after the Lord's Prayer saying: 'Strengthen our faith O God, that it may be shown forth by good works and that we may always be able to make this public confession of it:' is attested from Geneva 1828 to 1892. But in agreement with the French liturgy, we believe that this is more appropriately placed here. It would even be preferable should the congregation sing a confession of faith. For this purpose, the reformed XVIth century has printed the Creed in verse and with music". Six confessions of faith are proposed for congregational use; the Apostles' Creed is given as first choice, together with an English confession of faith and three Genevan compositions, all consisting of Biblical verses arranged in Credal form. An unannounced hymn of joy closes this section.

All three Scripture readings are grouped together and end with a commendation, of which we are given three examples; apart from the well-known "The Lord bless to our souls...", a particularly happy form is "Thus saith the Lord: Blessed are they who hear the Word of God and keep it". But to return to the Scripture readings, it is here that we have the clearest evidence of the new concern for the liturgical year and the ancient liturgical forms. The table of pericopae prescribes three lessons for the service: the Old Testament or Prophecy, the Epistle and the Gospel. There is, as yet, no hint of a gradual and the psalms are included among the Old Testament readings. The Scriptures are followed by a prayer for illumination of which some examples are given, though the rubric makes it clear that "this prayer is usually improvised by the minister and

inspired by the preceding Scripture readings". Then comes a hymn, announced by the words: "Let us now lift up our hearts on high with the singing of hymn...". This is a deliberate echo of the ancient Sursum Corda, now made to usher in the exposition of the Word. Its use, both before the sermon and before the preface of the eucharistic prayer, quite clearly proclaims the Genevan emphasis that the Word of God is realised both in word and in sacrament. The need for Biblical preaching is also emphasised by the announcement of the text before the sermon. The sermon is followed by a short period of quiet for devotion, and then the organ interlude is intended to accompany the people's thoughts as they meditate on that which has been proclaimed to them. The prayer begins with a short plea that the word may become efficacious in the hearers; it then turns to intercession, and ends with a prayer for faith. A Hymn or Psalm is now announced, during the singing of which the collection is taken. With the congregation still standing, the minister dedicates the offerings with the words: "May God be merciful to accept our humble offerings and make them to bear fruit to His service and glory. Let us pray..." followed by the Lord's Prayer and the Aaronic blessing (though other forms of benediction have also been provided).

In services to be followed by the Eucharist, the minister announces the celebration after the Lord's Prayer and then pronounces a benediction with the Pax on non-communicants who do not intend to remain. A short organ voluntary accompanies their departure, and the possible regrouping of communicants in the front benches. The Words of Institution are now read followed by a fairly long section of teaching concerning the sacrament. The excommunication, as such, has completely disappeared but there is still the conclusion drawn from the Apostle's words, that "unless resolved to change their lives, impious, unbelieving, and obstinate sinners must not communicate". There is a call to self-examination, a reminder that all men are sinners and that what is required for worthy participation is not perfection but repentance and faith in the redemption achieved by Jesus Christ to whom we must come like prodigal sons returning home, and a short exposition of what the sacrament means to the believer. This is followed by the Eucharistic prayer. In the first form (A), the prayer is of the same type as the traditional

one dating from 1743; but in the second form (B), we find more borrowing from outside sources. The teaching is replaced by comfortable words from Scripture with a conclusion derived from St. Thomas Aquinas, and the prayer offers two variants; the first is derived from the great Eucharistic prayer of the ancient Church, introduced by the Sursum Corda and continuing with the preface Vere Dignum, Sanctus, Benedictus qui venit, silence, and concluding with a reformed Epiclesis: "Heavenly Father, grant, we beseech Thee, Thy Holy Spirit that in receiving the bread and the wine, we may truly participate in the communion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ"; the second is a thanksgiving for God's gift of Christ, continuing with the prayer from the Didache, "As this broken bread was scattered...", and concluding with another reformed type of Epiclesis, "Father of mercies, grant Thyself, we beseech Thee, to our souls by the action of Thy Holy Spirit, the living bread which comes down from heaven to quicken the world". This section then ends with a hymn or psalm, during which the minister comes down from the pulpit to take his place behind the Table where his assistant joins him. (A) pronounces an invitation incorporating the Sursum Corda, very similar to the traditional form; (B)'s invitation is very much shorter. The minister uncovers the table and breaking the bread, he pronounces a consecration over it in the same style as in the liturgies of 1861 and 1875, and partakes, giving also to his assistant. He then fills the cup and the procedure is repeated. The people are invited to partake by the call: "Thus saith the Lord: Come, for it is ready". According to the rubric, "The faithful come forward to file past the table where they receive the bread, then the wine. In giving the bread, the minister may address, in a low tone, a verse from Scripture to each communicant. The faithful can also form a semi-circle of about twenty before the table; in this case, the minister and assistant shall pass from the one to the other to distribute the bread and the wine. [illegible] Returning behind the table, the minister shall address a Scriptural verse in a normal tone to the group of communicants and dismiss it saying: 'Go in peace'. The next group can then come forward. When the people have finished, the minister covers the bread, tidies the cups and returns to the pulpit". This may be followed by an

exhortation to live in Christ and then a prayer of thanksgiving and commitment is said. The congregation is then to sing the Nunc Dimittis, or any other hymn of thanksgiving, before the benediction.

One thing about the dismissal may seem puzzling to us here, for it always contains some reminder of the poor. But this is explained by the presence of a collecting box for parish charity which is at the door in most Swiss churches. The gifts for the poor are thus considered apart from the offerings for the Church. We may also note, in passing, that the form used for Communion on Festival days is (B), the more ecumenical one.

Two other forms, (C) and (D), are provided for Communion services as they are celebrated apart from the normal morning service. But before we consider their outlines, we may just note that form (D) claims to be: "According to the order of the Early Church".

FORM (C)	FORM (D)
Invocation	Invocation
Words of introduction and unannounced song	Introduction or invitation
Summary of the Law and unannounced song	Hymn or Psalm
Confession of sins and unannounced song	Prayer
Words of grace and unannounced song	Scripture Readings
Confession of faith and unannounced song	Brief Sermon
Institution	Hymn or Psalm
Teaching and exhortation	Eucharistic Prayer
Prayer and Lord's Prayer	Silence, Institution, and prayer
Hymn or Psalm	Consecration and invitation
Consecration and invitation	Communion of the people
Communion of the people	Prayer of thanksgiving
Prayer	Hymn or Psalm and offerings
Hymn or Psalm and offerings	Benediction
Benediction	

Form (C)

A rubric, heading the order of service says that: "According to the time at one's disposal, one may leave out the unannounced hymns. These have been indicated here to give the character of a dialogue between officiant and congregation to the first part of the service. The first three are to be sung sitting". The service therefore begins with an invocation followed by Scriptural words of introduction and a suitable invocational hymn. Then the

Summary of the Law is read, answered by a suitable congregational response. This arouses penitence in the hearts of the believers so that the confession of sins (of Anglican inspiration)(1D) can now be said, again followed by a hymn of humiliation. And so the dialogue continues, with Scriptural words of Grace, a joyful response from the congregation, the Creed and the Gloria Patri sung.

Now, although it is not mentioned in the outline, a rubric suggests that, "According to the time at one's disposal and the character one wishes to impose on the service, a Scripture reading, an address, and a hymn may be inserted at this point". The beginning of the service up to this point, may also be combined with other services; "From this point on, one may continue according to order (D), continuing with the Eucharistic prayer, or according to order (A), continuing with the Institution, or one may keep to this order." But should one continue with this order as it is set out, the Institution follows, with a certain amount of Eucharistic teaching, in which we notice an emphasis on the unity of the Church visible and invisible in the sacrament, derived from Bersier's Etoile liturgy (11). The prayer begins with the gloria in excelsis, moving on to praise, to intercession, to the memento of the living and the dead, and concludes with the Lord's Prayer. This is followed by a hymn during which the minister takes his place, with the assistant, behind the table. An Invitation is pronounced and the consecration and communion take place in the same way as in the first two liturgies, except that there has been no mention of the Sursum Corda. The thanksgiving is derived from that of Geneva 1542 and 1724 but arranged according to the version of Geneva 1743. A Hymn is then sung, to cover the collection, and the benediction closes the service.

Form (D)

According to this form, Invocation and words of introduction are very much the same as in the previous form. But the unannounced congregational responses are replaced by an announced hymn or psalm before the prayer. This prayer begins with confession of sins concluding with Kyrie, moves on to intercessions concluding with "Lord hear us", and continues with a thanksgiving in communion

with all the saints and for their life and example, the prayer concluding with the aforementioned fragment from the Didache. A choice out of seven threefold readings, specially selected for Communion services, is provided and a brief address encouraged by the rubric: "It is good that the Word should not only be read but also preached". A Eucharistic hymn precedes the great prayer, which consists of Sursum Corda, Preface, thanksgiving for creation and redemption, and praise in the unity of the communion of saints, with whom the congregation breaks out in the singing of the Sanctus; the words "Let all creatures keep still before the Lord", herald a period of silence preceding the Institution, Anamnesis, Epiclesis and self-oblation. The minister then descends from the pulpit, takes his place, with his assistant, behind the communion table, and proceeds with the fraction accompanied by the words of consecration described above, to which the minister may add the ancient ejaculations of humble access: "Holy things for the holy! There is but one Holy, Jesus Christ our Lord, to the glory of God the Father. Lord, I am not worthy to pick up the crumbs that fall from thy table. Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter my dwelling but say one word and my soul shall be saved"(12). The minister and assistant communicate and the invitation, "Taste and see that the Lord is good; come, for all is ready", is given. After communion, the prayer of thanksgiving may be one of two provided; the first is a combination of the thanksgiving of Geneva 1542 as presented in 1724 and of Neuchâtel 1713, while the second is taken from the project "Eglise et Liturgie", published at Lausanne in 1938 by Paquier and his group. This last prayer may also have its doxology replaced by the Gloria Patri "according to Anglican usage". The service then concludes with the usual hymn during the collection and the benediction. Finally, a footnote at the end of the service suggests that it may be adapted to fit after a normal morning service by pronouncing the words of Introduction after the benediction of the Catechumens, and then continuing directly with the Eucharistic prayer.

The Genevan liturgy has thus, in the space of some thirty years, improved out of all recognition. There are

still old texts, dating from the orthodox and liberal days, and still impregnated with those theologies, but there is a wealth of new material to witness to much that is best in the liturgical revival. This awakening has revived many of the old elements of original Calvinism, such as the eschatological aspect and the offertory, but in addition, there is a wholesome new emphasis on the Christian year, the communion of the saints in every age, and the traditional liturgical forms of the early church. The words on the title-page of Calvin's La Forme...selon l'usage de l'Eglise ancienne are now beginning to be fulfilled. It may well be that too wide a variety is allowed, and basic liturgical principles thereby blurred, but the advance is evident.

But the theology underlying the worship seems to have remained rather shaky, and the constitutive elements appear often to have been chosen more for their liturgical value than for doctrinal reasons. This is examplified by the confusion over the consecration: An Epiclesis prays: "Grant, we beseech Thee, Thy Holy Spirit that by participating in this bread and this wine, we may communicate, by faith, in the body and blood of Thy Son", and in addition, there seems to be a tendency to consider the words of consecration of the 1875 liturgy as effecting the consecration. Throughout this, there is a lack of liturgical purpose summed up by Paquier in the declaration of Rev. H.W. Newell: "Problems of doctrine and order do not seem to interest the Swiss Church very much" (13). In short, though the liturgy of the Genevan Church has been considerably enriched, the order is often confused; thus a theology explicating these forms must also be confused and various. It represents in the full sense, neither a return to the theology and practice of the early Church nor a return to the theology and practice of Calvin himself. It would appear rather to embody an amalgam of post-Calvinian and liberal theology, and it cannot be said yet to have achieved a constructive centrality and certainty of theological purpose and understanding. In practice and theology, it remains too eclectic, and its freedom can sometimes slip over into licence. The new liturgy, however, does present the possibility of a new evolution in thought towards a less one-sided view of the great realities of the life of the universal Church. This is already evident in recent theological writing (14).

C O N C L U S I O N

1. A GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE GROUND COVERED

In this study, we have traced the rise and development of the Genevan liturgy from the time of its period of ascendancy, through its period of stagnation and deterioration under the influences of rational humanism and pietism, to its present day revival and return to the traditional forms of the Church.

We have considered the worship of the medieval Church before the Reformation, and the forms and practices associated with it. The reasons for the decline of the Roman liturgy have been indicated and may be summed up shortly as the alienation of the worshipping people through the emergence of the vernaculars, the ignorance of the lower clergy, and the establishment of a theological system which had long since lost its vitality to become an arid set of forms.

In its origins, the Reformation was a reaction against the intellectual trends of the day, and specially against the barrenness of much contemporary theology. But the revival of learning and intensified religious fervour soon brought about a new interest in the Bible and this, in turn, opened the eyes of the Reformers to the widespread corruption in the Church. In Farel, for instance, this recognition caused a violent reaction tending to the extreme of iconoclasm; in others of more conservative disposition, it brought about a reconsideration of the structure and function of the Church and an attempt at reform based on the new theological conceptions. Among these conservatives we find Calvin, who began his reforming activities with the publication of what became in Switzerland, France, and Holland the movement's manifesto, the Institutes of the Christian relgion; the Strasburg reformers also conservative in their approach endeavoured to remove the more blatant errors (such as the over-sacrificial emphasis of the canon and the cult of the saints) from the worship of the Church, seeking to re-establish an active and living relationship between the Christian and the Church.

But the Reformers did not have their own way in all things for as we have seen, the city authorities thought

it their right to take over ecclesiastical as well as civil government. And where this hampered the reformers most was in the popular misunderstanding, expressed in municipal ordinances, of the difference between the Mass and reformed Eucharistic worship, for owing to old custom, there was a marked preference for non-communicating worship. Even before the Reformation, vernacular services within the Mass and outside it had gained widespread popularity, perhaps mainly because they were easily comprehensible. After the Reformation, the local authorities continued in their preference for these simpler services and for non-communicating attendances, and although forced to come to a compromise with the reformers, they considered themselves generous in allowing quarterly celebration of Holy Communion. Graf claims that there was also a rationalistic tendency in this rejection of sacramental worship (1). This could well have been so in Geneva and in other places where Farel had evangelised, as Farel was well-known for the scorn and abuse he heaped on the so-called 'magical operations' of priests celebrating Mass, once even going so far as to snatch the paten out of a priest's hands to show the people that, instead of the body of Christ as the people commonly believed, it contained nothing but a wafer. Such an outlook could not but be suspicious of the mystical element which is an essential part of Holy Communion.

This line of thought is expressed in La Maniere et Fasson, in the emphasis that "each can see and hear without having to refer to the ancients for explanations". For this reason, he claimed, the liturgy had to be "reduced to evangelic purity and simplicity, so that all may be done according to the pure Word of God". Purity of worship was equated with the understanding of the congregation and a rejection of the old 'foreign' forms, "for the Lord God has commanded that we should not walk in the ways of our fathers, or keep their righteousness, or be polluted by their idols, as long as He is our God". But understanding was not to be limited to language alone; according to Farel, the Christian should also understand the 'mystery' of the Eucharist. It was for this reason that the mystery itself came to be rejected. "Just as Baptism, administered visibly, is a visible reception and enrolment among Christians and bears within it a profession

to follow Jesus Christ...; similarly Holy Communion... is a visible communion with the members of Jesus Christ. And as all the members are fed of the same flesh and drink visibly from the same cup, so also they are invisibly fed of the same spiritual bread, the holy Word of life, the Gospel of salvation, and they all live in the same Spirit and faith". The tendency to separate the earthly action from the heavenly implied in the above passage finds clear expression in the eucharistic teaching embedded in the liturgy itself: "Christ broke the bread to His disciples and gave it, showing that all who come to the Table must also be His disciples, denying themselves and following Him in true charity. He ordained that when we eat and drink from His Table, we should do this in memory of Him; that is to say, that every time we take the bread and drink from the cup, we should announce His death. For He died for us, giving His body, signified by the bread, and His blood, signified by the cup". In his eagerness to correct Roman overemphasis on the elements, Farel went to the other extreme. The sacrament was considered as Verbum visibile, and in consequence not regarded has having value in itself but only as a concretization of that set forth in abstract speech, namely here, the death of Christ. After some eight years of such teaching, it is not surprising that these ideas should have become so deeply embedded in the minds of the Genevans that all Calvin's efforts could not dislodge them. This is underlined by the fact that, less than a century after the Reformation, even the Bible had been relegated to a position outside the service proper, the preacher only announcing the text on which his sermon was based.

Though Calvin began his Genevan ministry under Farel's leadership, he soon broke away from this reactionary outlook; his main concern was to present a balanced faith capable of holding its own against both Roman and Lutheran systems. So the chief and basic Calvinistic affirmation became the Sovereignty of God, as proclaimed for example in the text: "If God be for us, who can be against us?" Such confidence in God's favour towards His elect eliminated worry. The early Calvinist did not consume his energies in concern about his salvation. This frame of mind clearly comes to light in the Sadoleto episode. When

Cardinal Sadoleto, bishop of Geneva, addressed to his lost parishioners a plea to abandon Calvinism on the ground that Romanism offered a surer way of salvation, Calvin retorted that man should not be so preoccupied with his salvation. The chief end of man is not to save himself, or to be assured that he is saved, but to honour God (2). "It is not possible to serve God without a tranquil mind, for those who labour in inquietude, who dispute within themselves whether God is propitious or offended, whether He will accept or reject their prayers; those who in consequence waver between hope and fear and serve God anxiously, can never submit themselves to Him sincerely and wholeheartedly. Trembling and anxiety cause them to hate God and wish, if it were possible, that His very existence might be wiped out". For Calvin, therefore, the doctrine of election was an unspeakable comfort because it eliminated all such worries and freed man from concern about himself in order that he might devote every energy to unflagging service of the sovereign Lord.

Word and sacrament were considered essential to establish the believer in the faith and to strengthen him for service. Calvin's doctrine of holy Communion emphasised the power and efficacy of the Sacrament to fulfil this purpose. To the question, "to what end and for what reason did the Lord institute this holy Sacrament?", Calvin answers: "God, like a good Father, wishes to nourish us and provide us with everything necessary for our life". To this end, He supplies us with corporal nourishment, "but as the life in which He has begotten us again is spiritual, so must the food, in order to preserve and strengthen us, be spiritual also. "This spiritual food" is the same Word by which the Lord has regenerated us, because Jesus Christ, our only life, is given and administered in it. Jesus Christ is the only food by which our souls are nourished; but as it is distributed to us by the Word of the Lord which He has appointed an instrument for that purpose. Now what is said of the Word also applies to the Sacrament of the Supper, by means of which the Lord leads us to communion with Jesus Christ" (3).

To the question, "how is the Lord's Supper profitable to us?", he continues: "Not one of us can find even a

particle of righteousness in himself, but on the contrary, we are all full of sins and iniquities. It follows that the wrath of God is kindled against us and that none can escape eternal death. Now our Heavenly Father, to succour us in this, gives the Supper as a mirror in which we may contemplate our Lord Jesus Christ, crucified to take away our faults and offences, and raised again to deliver us from corruption and death, restoring us to a celestial immortality. It is indeed true that this same grace is offered us by the Gospel, but in the Supper, we have more ample certainty and fuller enjoyment of it. But as the blessings of Jesus Christ do not belong to us at all unless He be ours previously, it is necessary that He be given us in the Supper. For this reason I am wont to say that the substance of the Sacraments is Jesus Christ, and the efficacy of them, the graces and blessings that we have by His means. It is necessary then, that this substance should be conjoined with the sacraments, otherwise nothing would be firm or certain. Hence we conclude that two things are presented to us in the Supper, viz., Jesus Christ as the source and substance of all good, and the fruit and efficacy of His death and passion" (4); or as he states in La manyere de faire Prieres: "...the first is terrestrial, being the bread and the wine; the second is celestial, being the communion of Christ, that is His Body and Blood. These two things are given for two reasons: for the remission of sins, and to increase the life of Christ is us...". And Calvin continues: "If the reason for communicating with Jesus Christ is to have part and portion in all the graces which He purchased for us by His death, we are required not only to be partakers of His Spirit, but also to participate in His humanity, in which He rendered all obedience to God His Father" (5).

Calvin speaks very soberly of the manner of this communication. "It is a spiritual mystery which can neither be seen with the eye nor comprehended by human understanding. It is therefore figured to us by visible signs, ... in such manner that it is not a bare figure but is combined with the reality and substance. It is with good reason then that the bread is called the Body since it not only represents but also presents it to us" (6). There are three

advantages to be derived from Holy Communion: "We may say that Jesus is there offered to us in order that we may possess Him, and in Him, all the fullness of grace..., and that herein we have a good aid to confirm our consciences in the faith which we ought to have in Him. The second benefit is that it admonishes and incites us more strongly to recognise the blessings which we have received and receive daily from the Lord Jesus, in order that we may ascribe to Him the praise which is due. The third advantage consists in that it furnishes a most powerful incitement to live holily. The principal point in all this is that the Lord operates in us inwardly by His Holy Spirit in order to give efficacy to His ordinance which He has destined... as an instrument by which He wishes to do His work in us. Wherefore inasmuch as the virtue of the Holy Spirit is conjoined with the Sacraments, when we receive them, we have reason to hope that they will prove a good mean and aid to make us grow and advance in holiness of life" (7).

In all this, Calvin is strangely modern. His doctrine is moderate and balanced, amazingly so for a man living in a day of reaction and reformation, and so much so that it might well be considered by present day liturgical reformers. With his combination of rationalism and mysticism, pietism and strongly objective worship, he often reaches a level towards which modern theology and practice still strives. In the turmoil of the time it needed a rare breadth of vision and understanding to keep a sane balance, and it is therefore not surprising that his successors should have stumbled in the narrow path traced by him. The lack of these qualities in succeeding generations resulted in Calvinism undergoing similar vicissitudes to Thomism; the same rigidity set in, with the same attempt at wholly rational systematisation. In both, this resulted in a reductio ad absurdum of doctrines, with a consequent loss of much living content. It was from this frigid 'Calvinism' that the promoters of liberal orthodoxy turned away, and, looking at Calvin's labours in the light of later developments, condemned them as harsh and lifeless.

But rationalism could not provide a satisfactory alternative to the great doctrines of the faith. In fact, it brought about a return to some of the more extreme forms

of the early Reformation. There is a great deal of similarity between the rejection of mystery, specially in the Lord's Supper, by Farel and by the rationalists. But unlike Farel, they discovered some of the differences between their worship and that of the rest of the Church, and recognising their own poverty, they tried to remedy it by a stricter adherence to received forms. Thus we saw Osterwald re-introducing prefaces for the Christian year, and other traditional liturgical elements. Even the new emphasis on adoration came through the study of other forms. But in the circumstances all these could be no more than palliatives, since the rationalists at the same time promoted a Deism which sapped the Christological centre of worship. Thus even the explicit adoration of a reduced Deity could not match the implicit adoration which pervaded the whole of Calvin's liturgy.

Nor did Pietism improve matters. It brought little more than a renewal of the self-centred and introspective worship recurrently evident in the western Church throughout the centuries. Even Vinet, the champion of the pietist revival in Vaud, could never allow himself to be completely carried away by the fresh rediscovery of the atoning acts of Christ as presented by this movement. At first, he had accepted the religious discoveries of the Genevan partisans of revival and had felt the good effect of even the attenuated Calvinism which at least insisted upon salvation by grace. But as he advanced in deeper theological and devotional understanding, he began, with increasing clarity, to detect defects in a system whose simplicity had at first seduced him. He was affronted by the intellectual and logical character of the revivalist doctrines and their highly individualistic application. And even Pietism was to split into two groups, the one insisting on the moral contagion of Christ's holiness, and the other giving supreme authority to conscience and making justification oonsist of the regenerative power which emanates from Christ. So that this revival did not furnish much that was new or even living. Apart from a highly individualised conception of faith, it continued in the methods of rationalism.

In our century, a corrective has been brought by Barth's doctrine of the Word of God; he has sought to return to the

original doctrine of the Reformers, to restate the Word of God as a Word for today. According to Barth, the chief error of the liberal theoligians has been to remove sin as a barrier between God and man and to posit that man is potentially able to reach unto God. His attitude to the present-day worship of the Churches is expressed in no uncertain terms: "What is the use of all the preaching, baptising, confirming, bell-ringing, and organ-playing, of all the religious moods and modes, the counsels of 'applied religion' 'for the guidance of parents', the community halls with or without motion-picture equipment, the efforts to enliven church singing, the unspeakably tame and stupid church papers, and whatever else may belong to the equipment of modern ecclesiasticism? Are we not rather hoping by our very activity to conceal the fact that the critical event which ought to happen has not yet done so and probably never will? We are fixed firmly, very firmly, in human righteousness. We are alarmed by the cry of conscience, but we have gone no further than to play sleepily with shadow pictures of the divine rightcousness" (8). In other words, the churches have missed the objectifying centre of their worship, and no amount of pandering to ease men's minds can remedy the situation.

All the elements of liberal rationalism and pietism are present in the liturgies of the XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth centuries. We may even say that they are still present, if not so aggressively, in the latest Genevan liturgy. The growing sense of ecumenicity has brought no decisive improvement. Thus though the theology of Karl Barth has not exercised in the French-speaking Churches the considerable and even dominant influence which it has in German Switzerland, it has nevertheless had a certain correcting influence counteracting some of the insipidity which liberalism had inflicted on faith and has brought a salutary recovery of theocentric preaching. This is marked by the avoidance of the word 'symbol' in the eucharistic liturgy and the rediscovery of the Epiclesis. But in general, the older doctrines prevail. "Indeed it cannot be otherwise until the whole problem has been reconsidered theologically. As long as we are content to be influenced by trends, and to borrow eclectically from them without a guiding principle except what we judge to be

attractive or useful, we shall not succeed in overcoming what is at the moment a mere hesitation" (9).

2. AN OUTLINE OF THE GROUND TO BE COVERED

The first point to be considered is the relationship between man and God. The Bible proclaims that the initiative in our salvation is God's alone. It is He who elects whosoever He wishes, who calls, who justifies and sanctifies His elect. Natural and sinful man cannot lift himself to God so as to know, honour, and serve Him as he should. He cannot even offer anything that belongs to him for "the earth is the Lord's and all that is therein...". So man can only know God through what God has revealed of Himself in His Word, and can offer unto God only what God has first given him. When we come to apply this to worship, it is evident that man cannot render worthy praise to God unless God Himself permits it and shows the way. Man's unaided efforts cannot but go astray and fall short of his aim which is to provoke an encounter with God, for God alone may bring about the encounter and grant His grace when and where He so wishes. God is the object of worship only insofar as He first is the subject, and we can only offer Him our service when He ordains it. It is well, therefore, to remember that our service cannot consist of the expression of our innermost feelings and emotional stirrings; in other words, it cannot be centered on self; it is ordained by God for His service. Further, Christ came as the living and visible incarnation of the Word, that through Him all men might be called and assembled in one body. This is how the Church came into being, and as there is only one Christ, so also there can only be one Church. Through Christ, the new-covenant people of God can present itself before God with confidence, having the assurance of being heard and accepted.

As we have seen, then, all things in the service come from God, from His prevenient grace which leads mankind from the darkness of perdition. The Lord Himself assembles His people and conducts the worship of His Church. Without this primacy of God who is gracious to whom He wills, without the sovereign guidance of the Holy Spirit, worship would only be a human endeavour without value or efficacy. Thus God calls His people to serve Him, and God's people respond

by approaching to render praises unto Him. The service becomes a dialogue begun by God and continued by man, but the meeting only takes place, and the dialogue is only possible in God's presence; the worship of God is only possible when the presence of God, given by grace and received in faith, is recognised and grasped in its reality and power. God's presence may be manifested in various ways. In the Bible, we are shown that God communicates with men both by hearing and by sight, and, in the New Testament in particular, Jesus Christ is represented as the Word of God incarnate, the visible Word. But in the Reformed Church, there has been a one-sided emphasis on the spoken Word which has ignored the Biblical emphasis on sight. This has resulted in the tendency to devaluate all manifestations of the unspoken Word including the Sacrament. The Reformed Church abandoned Calvin's reminder that the visible Word is there to support the spoken Word, that it is an auxiliary sign of Christ's presence. For without the spoken Word, the visible would lose its communicative power; and without the visible manifestation, the spoken Word can be no more than abstract theory. And as we have seen, this was exactly what happened in the rationalist devaluation of the Sacrament.

Now the Biblical records give the assurance that Christ will be present "where two or three are gathered together" in His name (10), and this, "even unto the end of the world" (11). It is therefore in the fraternal group of believers, and in the body they form to call on His name, that the Lord manifests His presence. But this does not mean that the Lord's presence is commanded by the Church; for Christ dwells within the Church through the Holy Spirit. But the Holy Spirit is not only the Lord in the midst of His people, He is also God working in our hearts. And this recognition helps us to understand that Word and sight, which are dynamically united in Christ, have no effective value except through the action of the Holy Spirit. The presence of the Lord, therefore, is given to those whom the Spirit empowers to confess that Jesus is Lord.

In addition, we should note that worship is the particular location of the presence of Christ in His Church. It is through its worship, that the Church recognises itself as the people of God and the body of Christ. In its worship, the Church reflects the incarnation of the Lord

through actualising His presence, His words,and His saving acts. Jesus Christ, by the hypostatic union of human and divine natures in the mystery of the incarnation, is the right and proper centre of the encounter between God and man. He forms the living link, in the centre of the worship which He has founded and alone renders possible. As the only begotten Son of God come down to earth, He establishes a contact between man and God such as would be inconceivable for man to do; as the resurrected and glorified Son of man, He bears us up in His humanity to the throne of God. Thus the Incarnation and the Ascension gives its existence and justification to the worship of the Church. This point is of considerable importance in eucharistic practice, and it is implied in the Sursum Corda of the liturgy - the invitation by which the Church is called to be conjoined, as the mystical body of Christ, to the everlasting sacrifice presented by the Son to the Father in the heavenlies.

If the Church is to actualise the incarnation of its Lord, it must also manifest His functions. As Jesus Christ by His words and actions was Prophet, so must the Church manifest His prophetic function by the preaching and exposition; as Jesus Christ took on the function of great high Priest in performing the one sacrifice acceptable in God's sight, so must the Church associate itself in the sacrificial offering of its Priest; as Jesus Christ is King, so must the Church proclaim His kingship and realise His eschatological kingdom proleptically in her midst. The liturgy should reflect these three functions; it should recognise that it is Jesus Christ the Prophet who speaks in the spoken Word of Scripture and exposition. In this context, we may well mourn the disappearance of the Reformed distinction between exposition or sermon, and exhortation, as it was based on the distinction between the Word of God and its present day application. In the second function, it is Jesus Christ who exercises His special priesthood in the Eucharistic sacrifice, and who conjoins His mystical body with Himself in the holy oblation. In the third function, it is He who proleptically achieves His kingly reign over the people of God, the company of His saints throughout the ages.

These general considerations are but a few of the main points which should be held in mind in any revision of the liturgy. Much of this is lacking in the latest Genevan liturgy. But the liturgical movement is still gaining ground in French-speaking Switzerland, and there is hope of further progress to a form of worship which may one day do justice to the aspirations of Calvin and manifest the Word made flesh not only in a wealth of quotations but also in spirit and in truth.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. At the time of our study, the house of Geneva had disappeared from the scene. The count had for a long time been involved in a struggle for supremacy with the bishop; but the bishop, allied to the house of Savoy, finally managed to oust him from the city. The counts of Geneva disappear shortly before 1290 when the position of Vidome was given by bishop Guillaume de Conflans to Amedée V count of Savoy by treaty. From then and until the Reformation, the Vidome was appointed by the house of Savoy. Fragmens Historiques sur Genève avant la Réformation p.27. note 9
2. André Biéler: La pensée Economique et Sociale de Calvin. p.46 ff.
3. Fragmens: op.cit. p.40, note 12, Art.I
4. Biéler: op.cit. p.48. quoting François Bonivard: Les Chroniques de Genève. Bk.II. Ch.1.
5. Michel Roset: Les Chroniques de Genève. Genève 1894.p.115
6. Ibid. p.115
7. Manifesto to the nobility, Of the Babylonish Captivity, Of Christian Freedom
8. Henri Naef: Les Origines de la Réforme à Genève. p.333.
9. Ibid. p.340
10. Reformed thought was wiped out within two years (1522-24) by drastic action.
11. Naef: op.cit. p.429
12. Letter published in Guillaume Farel, 1489-1565: Biographie nouvelle écrite d'après les documents origineaux par un groupe d'historiens, professeurs et pasteurs de Suisse, de France et d'Italie. Neuchâtel 1930. p.300
13. Fragmens: op.cit. p.127-134, 138-140. See also p.199, note 71 about Charles III
14. Daniel Buscarlet: La Cathédrale de Genève. p.52. The notice carried the following inscription:

    "Dieu nostre pere promet
    a chascun pardon de ses pechez
    sous la seule condition de la
    repentance et dune foy sincere
    aux promesses de Jesuchrist."
15. Buscarlet: op.cit. p.53
16. This letter was written a month before Zwingli's death at Kappel.
17. G. Farel: Biographie Nouvelle. op.cit. p.300
18. Antoine Fromment: Les Actes et gestes merveilleux de la cité de Genève, mis en lumière par Gustave Revilliod. Genève 1854. p.6
19. La Maniere et Fasso.., see Ch.3, P.33

20. Fragmens: op.cit. p.180 and note 60 to p.183 (May 19 - July 1). The Werli case is discussed p.184-186 (July 9 - August 12).
21. Ibid. p.185-186 and note 61.
22. Ibid. p.188 (February 6 1534)
23. Ibid. p.191 ff. (May 15 and 16) and note 68, p.194
24. Ibid. p.190-191, note 64. Heretics were still condemned to death but they were not sought out specially.
25. Emile Doumergue: Jean Calvin. vol.2, p.153 note 6. He claims that the 1534 edition of the Summaire was a 2nd edition. The Princeps edition of 1524 or 1525 is no longer extant and there are only two known copies of the 1534 edition.
26. Fragmens: op.cit. p.191 (March 20)
27. Guillaume Farel: Le résumé des Actes de la dispute de Rive (1535) Posthumously published by Théophile Dufour. Genève 1888. p.20 ff.
28. Farel: Biographie Nouvelle... op.cit. p.326
29. Ibid. p.325. see also Fragmens: op.cit. p.195, note 69.
30. Fragmens: op.cit. p.197 (December 5).
31. Ibid. p.206-208 and note 76, quoting Le Levain du Calvinisme ou Commencement de l'heresie de Genève, faict par Reverende Soeur Jeanne de Jussie lors Religieuse a Saincte Claire de Genève et après sa sortie, Abesse au couvent d'Anyssi. Chambery 1611. Reprinted by Gustave Revilliod. Genève 1865
32. Farel: Biographie Nouvelle... op.cit.p.327
33. Fragmens: op.cit. p.224-226
34. Registres du Conseil. vol.29.fol.112. quoted by Doumergue: op.cit. vol.2. p.147
35. Doumergue: op.cit. vol.2. p.146.

CHAPTER II.

1. Archdale A.King: Liturgy of the Roman Church. p.39
2. H.B. Workman: The Church of the West in the Middle Ages. p.126 ff.
3. Zoé Oldenbourg: Le bûcher de Montségur. passim
4. F.M. Powicke: King Henry III and Lord Edward. Vol.1. p.259 ff. passim
5. Powicke: op.cit. Vol.1.p.274 ff. and Oldenbourg: op.cit. p.57 ff and p.70
6. Dom Gregory Dix: The Shape of the Liturgy. p.595 ff.
7. M. Gorce.Ed.: Histoire Générale des Religions. Vol.1. pp.17-20 give example how even Charles V and Henry III were involved in this.
8. W.D. Maxwell: An Outline of Christian Worship. p.66.
9. See above. p.4
10. See above. p.1 and 2

11. King: op.cit. p.40.
12. Idem. p.40. also Dix: op.cit. p.168
13. Brilioth: Eucharistic Faith and practice Evangelical and Catholic. p.79. also Dix: op.cit. p.618
14. Missale Diocesis Argentinensis. Hagnoe.1520. This Missal contains no provision for the communion of the people.
15. Maxwell: op.cit. p.66 see also Brightman: The English Rite. vol.2. p.1020-1042.
16. R.H. Fife: The Revolt of Martin Luther. p.185 and footnote, 28.
17. Adrian Fortescue: The Mass. A study of the Roman Liturgy. p.184. Also Durandus: Rationale Divinorum Officiorum. Bk.4.Chap.1:1-10
18. J.B. O'Connell: The Celebration of Mass. pp.43-47
19. Maxwell: op.cit. p.68. Masses have even said to procure the death of people.
20. This was a result of the Tridentine Reform. The work was started under Pius IV but the resultant Missal was only published by his successor Pius V in 1570.
21. Fortescue: op.cit. p.189.
22. Wycliff: De Eucharistia. passim
23. Durandus: op.cit. Bk.4. Chap.1:44
24. Missale Diocesis Argentinensis. op.cit. Preface. (The merits of this missal are that it is: "..grandisat que legibilis, scitossimae pessim adiectae imagines, imbecillis memoria non modicum adminiculum...").

CHAPTER III.

1. See chap.I, p.7
2. J.G. Baum: La manière et fasson quon ticnt es lieux que Dieu de sa grace à visités. Première liturgie des Eglises Réformées de France de l'an 1533. Strasburg 1859
3. E. Doumergue: Jean Calvin. vol.2, p.153, notes 5 and 6
4. Ibid, p.153
5. Doumergue: op.cit., vol.1, pp.91 and 289
6. J.H. Merle D'Aubigné: History of the Reformation. vol.3, pp.382-385
7. Doumergue: op.cit. vol.2, p.409.
8. Henri Vuilleumier: Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée du pays de Vaud vol.1, p.310
9. Vuilleumier: op.cit., vol.1, p.309
10. Ibid, p.310
11. Ibid, p.312
12. The baptismal certificate then was equivalent to the modern birth certificate, and the Marriage service involved a change in civil status.

13. Doumergue: op.cit. vol.1, p.460
14. Ibid, p.81, quoting from Epitre (preface) à Briçonnet'
15. Ibid, p.81, quoting from 1 Tim.IV,fol.,213a
16. Ibid, p.81, quoting from Col.III. fol., 185b
17. Ibid, p.81, 97-98, quoting from Rom.XVI. fol.104b
18. Ibid, p.82, quoting from 1 Cor. VIII. fol.,118b
19. Ibid, p.82, quoting from Rom.IV. fol.,77a
20. Ibid, p.83, quoting from Rom.III. fol.,75a
21. Ibid, p.83, quoting from Rom.IV. fol.,77a
22. Ibid, p.83, quoting from Hebr.VII, fol., 243
23. Ibid, p.84, quoting from 1 Tim.III. p.205a
24. Ibid, p.84, quoting from Rom.XIV. fol., 101a
25. Ibid, p.84, quoting from 1 Cor. XIV. fol., 128a
26. Ibid, p.98
27. Ibid, p.403
28. Ibid, p.542
29. Ibid, p.545
30. Ibid, p.546 (1516)
31. Ibid, p.549
32. Farel: La maniere et Fasson, Preface
33. Ibid, Declaration briefve de la Sainct Cene
34. Ibid. Declaration de la Cene
35. Ibid. Declaration de la Cene
36. Ibid. La maniere que lon observe en la predication
37. Doumergue: op.cit. vol.2. p.506. note 3
38. F.E. Brightman: The English Rite. vol.1.p.clvi-ff
    vol.2 p.1023-1042

CHAPTER IV

1. Calvin: Opera I.p.130
2. Friedrich Hubert: Die Strassburger Liturgischen Ordnung im Zeitalter der Reformation. p.LXII
3. Brightman: The English Rite. vol.1. p.xxxi
4. J. Smend: Die eerste Evangelische Gottedienst in Strassburg. p.11. Doumergue postulates the year 1485
5. Ibid, p.11
6. Ibid, p.14
7. Ibid, p.14
8. Hubert: op.cit. p.LXIV
9. Emile Doumergue: Jean Calvin. vol.2. pp.492 and 493

10. Maxwell: John Knox's Genevan Service Book. p.42.n.27
11. The wording of this exhortation makes its relationship to the offertory secret obvious. Haec sacra nos becomes a bidding to pray for the Holy Spirit "to make our bodies a living, holy, and acceptable sacrifice which is our reasonable service".
12. Farel's liturgy (see p.30) has a long exhortation consisting mostly of Eucharistic teaching to which is added the fencing of the table and the invitation to Communion.
13. Doumergue: op.cit. vol.2. p.334
14. Ibid, p.334
15. Hubert: op.cit. p.99 and note i)
16. Smend: Die Evangelischen Deutschen Messen. p.130 and note i)
17. see p.30
18. see p.38
19. Tisch and Altartisch
20. Pfarrher and Diener

CHAPTER V

1. Maxwell: John Knox's Genevan Service Book: p.40.n.9 quotes from Arch, de Saint-Thomas:
   "Anno 1538. Domin.post omnium sanctorum, haben die walen, so hie studierten sambt anderen so welsch kunnend das nachtmal zu Rewern in welsch geben."
2. Doumergue: Jean Calvin, vol.2.p.491. quotes Calvin: Opera.IX.p.894
3. Ibid, vol.2.p.507.n.5
4. Ibid, vol.2.p.508. quotes Calvin: Opera.VI.pp.165 ff.
5. Ibid, vol.2.p.507.n.1
6. Psalm 68. It was versified by Beza and found to be naturally suited to Greiter's tune. The tune appears under No.217 in the Presbyterian Church Hymnary with supplement and is called "Psalm 36(68)
7. Quoted by Maxwell: op.cit. p.21
8. Maxwell: op.cit.p.40.n.9. quotes Calvin: Opera.X.p.279
   "Nos primam in ecclesiola nostra coenam secundum loci ritum celebravimus, quam singulis mensibus instituimus repetere".
9. Doumergue: op.cit.vol.2.p.491. quotes Calvin: Opera.IX p.894.
10. Calvin: Institutes.II.vi.1
11. Calvin: op.cit.II.xvi.2
12. Ibid. III.iii.10,11

13. See Ch.VI,p.38 and note 11

14. Brightman: The English rite. p.clvi ff. See also Ch.III,p.28 for a discussion of that view

15. Doumergue: op.cit. vol.2.p.489.n. 2 and 3. And Maxwell: op.cit.p.23

16. Buscarlet: La Cathédrale de Genève. p.69

17. Calvin: Institutes.III.xx.31

18. Calvin: Commentaires sur le Nouveau Testament.Col.3:16

19. Doumergue: op.cit.vol.2.p.507.quotes Calvin: Opera X. pp.170,171

20. Calvin: Institutes.III.xx.32

21. Doumergue: op.cit.vol.2.pp.702 ff

22. Calvin: Institutes.IV.xvii.46

23. Doumergue: op.cit.vol.2.p.502.quotes Calvin: Opera X. p.213

24. Ibid, vol.2.p.502.n.2. quotes Calvin: Opera.X.p.214

25. Doumergue: op.cit.vol.2.p.746. quotes: Rudimenta fidei Christianae vel rudis et elementaria quaedam institutio quam Catechismus veteres appellarunt - Huic addita est Ecclesiasticarum priam formula graece et latine. Anno.MDLXIII. Exudebat.H.Steph.

26. Quoted by A.M. Hunter: The teaching of Calvin.p.212.n.148

27. Calvin: Institutes.III.iv.12 and 13

28. Presented to the imperial Diet at Spires in 1544

29. Doumergue: op.cit.vol.2.p.499.quotes. Calvin: French Catechism

30. Ibid, vol.2.p.499.quotes Calvin: Latin Cathechism (Preface)

31. Calvin: Institutes.IV.x.30,31,32

32. See Doumergue: op.cit.vol.2.p.500.n.2.quotes Calvin: Opera.X.p.209

33. Calvin: Institutes.IV.x.14

34. Ibid, IV.x.14

35. Ibid, IV.x.29

36. Ibid, IV.x.31

37. Maniere et Fasson

38. La Forme des Prieres

39. Doumergue: op.cit.vol.2.p.503.quotes Calvin: Opera. XIII.p.70-72

40. Calvin: Institutes.IV.xvii.43

41. Calvin: Commentaires sur le Nouveau Testament.Gal.4:10

42. J-D. Benoit: Liturgical Renewal. p.46

43. The Venerable Companie des Pasteurs, was founded by Calvin as a ministers' conference. All ministers sat as equals every three months. The purpose of this conference was to prevent deviations of doctrine and morals in the pastoral body

44. Scott: Narration. p.57
45. See ch.VI.p.68

CHAPTER VI

1. Liturgie de l'Eglise de Genève. 1945.p.440
2. Vuilleumier: Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée du Pays de Vaud. passim
3. A Summary of the contents of the Formula, in the composition of which Turrettini's Father collaborated, is given in Norman Sykes: William Wake.vol.2.p.25
4. Ed. E. de Budé: Lettres inédites à J-A. Turrettini. vol.2.p.384 and note
5. Ibid, vol.3.pp.122-3 and 140
6. Ibid, vol.3,p.36
7. Ibid, vol.3.p.9. The service drawn up by Osterwald for the dedication of a Church is given in outline on pp.10 ff
8. Ibid, vol.3.p.92 and 93
9. Karl Barth: Images du XVIII^{e} Siecle.pp.120 ff
10. Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here on earth: Almighty and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men...etc.
11. The exhortation at Communion: Dearly beloved in the Lord; ye that mind to come to the Holy Communion of the Body and the Blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider...etc.
12. We do not presume to come to Thy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness...etc.
13. Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of Thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ...etc.
14. de Budé: op.cit. vol.3.pp.94-96
15. Ibid, vol.3.p.96
16. See ch.V.p.54
17. J-D. Benoit: Liturgical Renewal.p.51
18. This is not to be confused with harvest thanksgiving which was introduced, at Geneva, in 1945 for the first time.
19. de Budé: op.cit.vol.3.pp.153 and 154
20. Sykes: op.cit. vol.2.p.84

CHAPTER VII

1. See ch.V.p.62 and note 43
2. See ch.VI.p.68

3. Liturgie de l'Eglise de Genève 1945.p.443
4. See ch.VI.p.63
5. The Restoration commemorated the return to Geneva, on its entry into the Swiss Confederation, of the district alienated at the Reformation. see p.76 above
6. Commission on Faith and Order: Ways of Worship.p.242

CHAPTER VIII

1. Mdme. Bersier: Biography of Eugène Bersier
2. La liturgie à l'usage des Eglises Réformées
3. J-D. Benoit: Liturgical Renewal. p.31
4. Cahiers Foi et Vie: Eugène Bersier. p.49
5. Richard Paquier is the author of the manifesto of the liturgical movement: Traité de Liturgique. Delachaux et Niestlé 1954
6. Liturgie de l'Eglise de Genève. p.441
7. Ibid, p.443
8. Ibid, p.443
9. Ibid, p.443
10. See General Confession in B.C.P.
11. See p.88 note 2 above
12. This is a composition of Scriptural words, drawn from several liturgies, East and West
13. Commission on Faith and Order: Ways of Worship. p.245
14. F.J. Leenhardt: This is my body in Essays on the Lord's Supper

CONCLUSION

1. A. Graf in Ways of Worship. Commission on Faith and Order. p.232
2. Epistle to Sadoleto
3. Calvin: Short Treatise on the Lord's Supper
4. Ibid
5. Ibid
6. Ibid
7. Ibid
8. K. Barth: The Word of God and the Word of Man. p.20-21
9. R. Paquier in Ways of Worship. op.cit. p.245
10. Matt.18:20
11. Matt.28:20

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