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WORD AND SPIRIT IN FRANCIS TURRETIN  
AND JEAN CLAUDE

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A Dissertation  
Presented to  
the Faculty of  
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Philosophy

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by  
Alexandre Louis Marquis  
December 2021

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WORD AND SPIRIT IN FRANCIS TURRETIN

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In memory of Jan Gazdik (1926–2014),  
my first pastor,  
a model of piety and  
of profound love for Jesus Christ our Lord.

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## PREFACE

A long-term doctoral project like this one obviously involves many more persons than just the author. These persons deserve much gratitude for their support along the way. Before expressing my gratefulness to them, I want first and foremost to give praise to the Lord for guiding me into this project. The research and writing of this dissertation have been a real blessing for my soul and a means of growth in his knowledge and communion with him. Without his constant provision of care and strength by the Spirit, I would never have brought this project to term. Definitely, “his grace toward me was not in vain.”

Throughout all the years of this project, I have benefitted from the boundless patience and support of my wonderful wife Cynthia, and our four kids. This project brought them in many ways far from their comfort zone, and I will be forever thankful to the Lord for having them in my life. I also want to express my gratefulness to my parents. At a very young age, the Lord used them to introduce me to the precious good news of salvation in Jesus Christ. No words can express my gratitude. I want to thank them and my brother for their incalculable support and their prayers for me in this project.

The team of directors at SEMBEQ (Séminaire Baptiste Évangélique du Québec), François Turcotte and François Picard, have been very influential, encouraging me to pursue doctoral studies and to partner with them in training ministers of the gospel in Quebec. I want to offer special thanks to Dr. Patrick Murphy for his prayers and numerous counsels along the way of this project. I am also grateful to Pastor Yanick Éthier, the pastoral team, and members of my former local church, l'Église de l'Espoir of Longueuil. For more than twenty years we have journeyed together in our walk with the Lord. This period of my life will always be remembered and counted as an undeserved



grace. Recently, the Lord guided me to answer the call to pastor l'Église de l'Espoir de Saint-Hubert. The last eighteen months have marked the beginning of a blessed fellowship and ministry among this wonderful family. I want to thank the elders and members of our new church, who have been faithful to support us in prayer during the final phases of this project.

Finally, I am thankful to the faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary for the quality of the teaching and training I received from every professor with whom I had the privilege to study. My gratitude goes especially to my doctoral supervisor, Dr. Michael Haykin, for his guidance and support in this project, and especially for introducing me to the French and Genevan Reformed pastors and theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their teaching has made an indelible mark upon my soul, and they will surely be the subject of my study as long as the Lord gives me life.

May our God graciously use this work to strengthen the faith of many among his children. To him alone be the glory!

Alexandre Marquis

Saint-Hubert, Québec, Canada

December 2021

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In 1539, in the second Latin edition of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, John Calvin addressed a matter that he considered of primary importance for the church. He wrote against some men whom he called “the fanatics.” These men were teaching that in the age of the Church of the new covenant, the primary means by which God speaks to his people is not through the pages of Scripture, but by new revelations, by the immediate voice of the Spirit.<sup>1</sup> This led Calvin to warn his readers against the teachings of these men and to apply themselves to the reading and hearing of Scripture so that the Holy Spirit might apply his benefits to God’s people.<sup>2</sup> He said: “The Spirit, promised to us, has not the task of inventing new and unheard-of-revelations, or of forging a new kind of doctrine, to lead us away from the received doctrine of the gospel, but of sealing our minds with that very doctrine which is commended by the gospel.”<sup>3</sup> For Calvin, the Scriptures contain the words that the Holy Spirit judged necessary for him to work the salvation of God’s elect and for the good of the Church. By defending the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word in his time, Calvin paved the way for other Reformed theologians to uphold this important doctrine in the coming centuries.

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<sup>1</sup> See Allen Verhey’s introduction to John Calvin, “Calvin’s Treatise ‘Against the Libertines’,” *Calvin Theological Journal* 15, no. 2 (November 1980): 195.

<sup>2</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, I.9.1, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, Library of Christian Classics (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1960), 1:94. Citations from this work will list volume number, chapter, and sections, as well as volume number and pages in McNeill and Battles.

<sup>3</sup> Calvin, *Institutes*, I.91, 1:94.

Although Calvin's influence during the Reformation was perceptible throughout Europe, it was particularly significant in Geneva, where he ministered as an accomplished theologian, and in his country of origin, the kingdom of France during the persecutions of the sixteenth century. As a pastor and professor in Geneva, many of his works were published in Geneva and France. They largely contributed to the establishment of Reformed orthodoxy in those regions. He thus helped numerous Reformed pastors and theologians in their defense of the various tenets of Reformed theology, particularly in defending the supreme authority of Scripture against the view of authority of the Roman Catholic Church. The influence of Calvin's theology continued into the seventeenth century, especially in the period from the Edict of Nantes (1598) and its revocation in 1685.

Considering the great influence of Calvin in the period of the Reformation, it is not surprising that the impact of his thought is still plainly manifested in contemporary Reformed theology. His works have been and continue to be the object of countless research and studies. In recent years, there seems to have been a resurgence of interest for the study of his view of the relationship between the Spirit and the Word in the Christian life.<sup>4</sup> Truly, this is good news because what Jacques Pannier noted in the nineteenth century about the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Reformed churches still seems visible today in many evangelical circles. As Pannier said, "This topic is one of those on which we have *thought* the more in our Reformed Church of France, and what our ancient

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<sup>4</sup> See H. Jackson Forstman, *Word and Spirit: Calvin's Doctrine of Biblical Authority* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962); JohnDavid Michael Hascup, "The Doctrine of Word and Spirit in John Calvin" (ThD diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1992); Craig Collier Christina, "Calvin's Theology of Preaching: The Activity of the Holy Spirit in the Preaching Event" (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2001); Peter De Klerk, ed., *Calvin and the Holy Spirit: Papers and Responses Presented at the Sixth Colloquium on Calvin & Calvin Studies*. (Grand Rapids: Calvin Studies Society, 1989). Augustus Nicodemus Lopes and José Manoel Da Conceicao, "Calvin, Theologian of the Holy Spirit: The Holy Spirit and the Word of God," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 15, no. 1 (1997): 38–49; Ralph Cunnington, *Preaching with Spiritual Power: Calvin's Understanding of Word and Spirit in Preaching* (Ross-shire, UK: Christian Focus, 2015), 7–29.

doctors have *said* is too much forgotten in our days, as the whole of their work.”<sup>5</sup> Thus, this particular topic of the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word in Reformed theology still needs to be explored. With much confusion among churches of various traditions today concerning the work of the Holy Spirit, it is needed to allow past theologians to inform our understanding on this topic.<sup>6</sup> Also, the oft-neglected contribution of significant theologians of the past can enrich theological discussions among scholars and help in reducing theological confusion.

The intention behind this work is to explore the thought of Reformed theologians of the past in order to bring a contribution to this important topic. This study will engage in the examination of the views of two important but often neglected seventeenth-century Reformed theologians, who continued to defend and support Reformed orthodoxy in their time and who provided significant reflections on the relationship between the Spirit and the Word in the Christian life. They are the renowned Genevan theologian Francis Turretin (1623–1687), and the less-known French Reformed pastor Jean Claude (1619–1687).

Turretin is often known today among Christian scholars for his three-volume systematic theology entitled *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*.<sup>7</sup> Turretin was a professor in the Academy of Geneva as well as a pastor in the church from the late 1640s until his death in 1687. Before coming to Geneva, he had been trained in the Academy of Geneva

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<sup>5</sup> Jacques Pannier, *Le témoignage du Saint-Esprit: Essai sur l'histoire du dogme dans la théologie réformée* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1893), 1.

<sup>6</sup> This confusion takes place particularly among churches influenced by the neo-charismatic movement, where people seek to experience some kinds of special and external manifestations of the Spirit. See Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 275–78.

<sup>7</sup> Turretin’s massive work has been published in Latin toward the end of his life. It was translated from Latin to English in the nineteenth century and published in the 1990s. Francis Turretin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, 3 vols., ed. James T. Dennison Jr., trans. George Musgrave Giger (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 1992).

and in various Protestant academies of France, notably in Paris, Saumur, Montauban, and Nîmes, where he received the praise of his professors.<sup>8</sup> Following the Synod of Dort of 1619, the period of his ministry was one marked with strong theological debates in Geneva and France, especially regarding the theology of Moïse Amyraut on what has been called the doctrine of hypothetical redemption. In Geneva, Turretin strongly opposed this new theology that he considered with some French Reformed theologians in contradiction with the canons of Dort. Throughout his ministry, he defended the Reformed theology he received from his predecessors and provided significant contribution through his response to the teachings of the Roman Catholic, Anabaptist, and Lutheran theologians among others. Throughout his works, he developed his view on the doctrine of the Scripture, and especially on the relationship of the Holy Spirit and the Word in the application of salvation. For him, both are inseparable, especially in the Spirit's work of calling the elect to salvation and producing faith and perseverance in them. The examination of his thought will certainly provide valuable information for this study.

Although Jean Claude is not well known today in the English world, in his time he was considered among the greatest French Reformed theologians.<sup>9</sup> Claude mainly ministered during the period of the Edict of Nantes (1598–1685), a period of relative peace for the French Reformed churches after decades of wars of religion. However, the accession of King Louis XIV to the throne in 1647 marked the beginning of the loss of freedom for the Protestants of France. After receiving his philosophical and theological education in the Academy of Montauban, Claude pastored various churches from the

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<sup>8</sup> Eugène De Budé, *Vie de François Turretini: Théologien genevois, 1623–1687*. (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1871), 32–33.

<sup>9</sup> Abel Rodolphe de la Devèze, *Abrégé de la vie de Mr. Claude* (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1687), 2–3.

1640s until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, notably in Paris where he pastored the church of Charenton between 1666 and 1685. This position in the most influential Reformed church of the kingdom led him to minister in the midst of many controversies with the Roman Catholic Church. Through his works, he provided an important contribution on various subjects of Reformed theology in response to the various theological issues of his time. In his preaching, treatises, and polemical works, Claude taught a Calvinism very much in line with the view of Moïse Amyraut, which he himself considered in conformity with the canons of Dort. Many of his works are marked with solid exegesis and constitute a model of French Reformed doctrine. The development of his view on the relationship of the Spirit and Word in the Christian life deserves special attention.

### **Thesis**

The purpose of this dissertation is to answer the following question: how did Calvin's understanding of the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word develop in the seventeenth century, specifically in the theology of Francis Turretin and Jean Claude? Considering their specific contributions to this question will inevitably lead to answering other important secondary questions concerning their view of Scripture and of the role of the Holy Spirit in the life of God's elect. First, how did they articulate their understanding of the person of the Holy Spirit? Second, how did Turretin and Claude defend and articulate the doctrine of the authority and sufficiency of Scripture? Third, why are the Spirit and the Word both necessary to bring sinners to salvation in Christ? Fourth, how did they conceive the relationship between the Spirit and the Word to bring one to salvation in bringing the elect to salvation? And finally, fifth, what was their view on how the Spirit uses the Word to produce the fruit of sanctification, perseverance, and assurance in the life of believers?

This dissertation will argue that the specific contribution of these two influential Reformed theologians of the seventeenth century, namely Francis Turretin and Jean Claude, is a faithful representation of Calvin's view, but was adapted to their specific historical contexts, and is vital for our consideration today. Like Calvin, they both distinguished between the specific role of the Spirit and of the Word in the application of redemption, but argued for their inseparability in the application of the various aspects of salvation to the elect. Their understanding of this inseparability of the Spirit and the Word is of value for Christians today who seek to "work out" their own salvation by growing in the likeness of Christ and persevering in the faith.

### **Status of the Question**

Since its beginning, the period of the Reformation, and also the post-Reformation, in Europe has aroused a great interest among historians. Much has been written on these periods to provide a good understanding of key events, important figures, the context and situation of the Church, and the growth of the Protestant movement.<sup>10</sup> There has also been good research produced on the history and theology of the Reformed church in Geneva and France, with a particular interest on the expansion of Calvinism in Europe and the world.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> General historical treatments of this period include: H. G. Koenigsberger, *Early Modern Europe: 1500–1789* (London: Longman, 1987); Andrew Pettegree, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); D. H. Pennington, *Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Harlow: Longmans, 1970); Joseph Bergin, *The Seventeenth Century: Europe, 1598-1715*, The Short Oxford History of Europe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). For works on the history of the Reformation, see Émile G. Léonard, *A History of Protestantism*, ed. H. H. Rowley, trans. Joyce M. H. Reid, 2 vols. (London: Nelson, 1965); Andrew Pettegree, ed. *The Early Reformation in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); idem, *The Reformation World* (London: Routledge, 2000); Diarmaid MacCullough, *The Reformation: A History* (New York: Viking, 2004); Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Bard Thompson, *Humanists and Reformers: A History of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996); Anthony Levi, *Renaissance and Reformation: The Intellectual Genesis* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954); Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, and Gillian Lewis, *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*

There is obviously an incalculable amount of research that has been done on the life, ministry, and theology of John Calvin. The year 2009 was especially fruitful in published works commemorating the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of this important reformer. Among the notable works that cover the life and ministry of Calvin are Bruce Gordon's *John Calvin*, Herman J. Selderhuis' *John Calvin: A Pilgrim's Life*, and T. H. L. Parker's *John Calvin: A Biography*, just to mention a few.<sup>12</sup> The theology of Calvin has also been much researched and well-covered. *The Calvin Handbook* by Selderhuis provides an excellent summary of Calvin's theology arranged by topics, as well as Charles Partee *The Theology of Calvin*.<sup>13</sup> More specifically on the subject of this dissertation, the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word, fewer research can be found. Still, the work of H. Jackson Forstman, *Word and Spirit: Calvin's Doctrine of Biblical Authority* provides helpful reflections on the topic.<sup>14</sup>

With regard to the historical context of Francis Turretin and Jean Claude, the two main figures of this dissertation, helpful studies have been published on the history

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Menna Prestwich. *International Calvinism, 1541–1715* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); W. Stanford Reid, ed. *John Calvin: His Influence in the Western World* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982); Fred W. Graham, ed. *Later Calvinism: International Perspectives*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, vol. 22 (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994); Andrew Pettegree, "The Spread of Calvin's Thought," in *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 207–24; Brian G. Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

<sup>12</sup> Bruce Gordon, *Calvin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); Herman J. Selderhuis, *John Calvin: A Pilgrim's Life* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009); T. H. L. Parker, *John Calvin: A Biography*, Revised. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007). Other notable biographies of Calvin include, Theodore Beza, *The Life of John Calvin*, trans. Henri Beveridge (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1909); W. Robert Godfrey, *John Calvin: Pilgrim and Pastor* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> Herman J. Selderhuis, ed., *The Calvin Handbook* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009); Charles Partee, *The Theology of Calvin* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> H. Jackson Forstman, *Word and Spirit: Calvin's Doctrine of Biblical Authority* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962).



of Protestantism in Geneva and France during the period of the Edict of Nantes, between 1598 and 1685.<sup>15</sup> The works of Daniel Ligou's *Le protestantisme en France de 1598 à 1715* and of Samuel Mours *Le protestantisme en France au XVIIe siècle* cover that period more specifically in France.<sup>16</sup>

There have also been a great number of published works on the theology of the Reformed church of that time. Recently, Martin Klauber, affiliate professor of church history at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, has provided a significant contribution to this study. He edited an excellent monograph on the French Reformed churches from 1598 to 1685, providing both a significant historical account and also various essays on topics of the theology of the seventeenth-century French Reformed churches.<sup>17</sup> In this collected work, various aspects of the theology of major figures of the time are presented.

Academic study of the life and work of Turretin has not been a major preoccupation of scholars in the last century. Apart from the *Funeral Oration* by Benedict Pictet, there were only two important biographies published in France toward the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Before the recent decades, published academic work

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<sup>15</sup> There are numerous works on the history of the period of the Edict of Nantes including, Janine Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes et sa révocation: Histoire d'une intolérance* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1985); Jean Quéniart, *La révocation de l'Édit de Nantes: Protestants et catholiques français de 1598 à 1685* (Paris : Desclée de Brouwer, 1985); Élisabeth Labrousse, "*Une foi, une loi, un roi?*": *Essai sur la révocation de l'édit de Nantes, Histoire et société* 7 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1985); Roger Stauffenegger, *Église et société de Genève au XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1983); John B. Roney and Martin I. Klauber, eds. *The Identity of Geneva: The Christian Commonwealth, 1564–1864* (London: Greenwood Press, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> Daniel Ligou, *Le protestantisme en France de 1598 à 1715* (Paris: Société d'édition d'enseignement supérieur, 1968); Samuel Mours, *Le protestantisme français au XVIIe siècle (1598–1685)* (Paris: Librairie Protestante, 1967).

<sup>17</sup> Martin I. Klauber, ed., *The Theology of the French Reformed Churches: From Henri IV to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2014).

<sup>18</sup> Benedict Pictet, "Funeral Oration of Benedict Pictet Concerning the Life and Death of Francis Turretin, Delivered on the Third Day of November of the Year 1687," trans. David Lillegard, in Francis Turretin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, ed. James T. Dennison, Jr. (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 1997): 3:659–76. The two other important biographies are, Eugène De Budé, *Vie de François Turretini*:

on the theology of Turretin was almost non-existent. However, recently, there seems to have been a growing interest in Turretin's theology that has led to important research on his theology.<sup>19</sup> Some doctoral dissertations on some aspects of his theology have also been provided.<sup>20</sup> However, the specific understanding of Turretin on the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word has not yet been the subject of academic research. Thus, Turretin's thought deserves attention, because he is one who provided "a clear, useful, and comprehensive account of philosophy and theology up to the seventeenth century, from a Reformed point of view"<sup>21</sup> and was considered in his time as "a man of great merit, eloquent, judicious, hardworking, wise, and zealous for orthodoxy."<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, research and studies on the life and theology of Jean Claude are rare. Apart from a short monograph that was published by one of his friends in the years following his death, most published works on him are articles in historical dictionaries of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>23</sup> Among the works that can be found on his life,

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*Théologien Genevois, 1623–1687* (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1871); and Gerrit Keizer, *François Turretini: Sa vie et ses œuvres et le consensus* (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1900).

<sup>19</sup> There are only a few contemporary researches on Turretin's theology. The most important works published recently include: Mark J. Beach, *Christ and the Covenant: Francis Turretin's Federal Theology as a Defense of the Doctrine of Grace* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007) and James E. Bruce, *Rights in the Law: The Importance of God's Free Choices in the Thought of Francis Turretin* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013).

<sup>20</sup> Graduate theses and dissertations on Turretin's thought include: L. M. Allison, "The Doctrine of Scripture in the Theology of John Calvin and Francis Turretin" (ThM thesis, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1958); Paul Timothy Jensen, "Calvin and Turretin: A Comparison of Their Soteriologies" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1988); Timothy R. Phillips, "Francis Turretin's Idea of Theology and Its Impact upon His doctrine of Scripture." (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1986); and Benjamin T. Inman, "God Covenanted in Christ: The Unifying Role of Theology Proper in the Systematic Theology of Francis Turretin" (PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 2004).

<sup>21</sup> Bruce, *Rights in the Law*, 10.

<sup>22</sup> Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 5th ed., Michel Böhm (Amsterdam: Zacharias Chatelain & Jacobus Wetstein, 1740), 4:407 cited in Bruce, *Rights in the Law*, 11.

<sup>23</sup> Abel Rodolphe de la Devèze, *Abrégé de la vie de Mr. Claude* (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1687).

there are only two bachelor theses that were defended in France during the nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup> In the twentieth century, Claude was almost forgotten, although he was the subject of one thesis in the English language.<sup>25</sup> In recent years, Claude's homiletic has been the subject of a doctoral dissertation.<sup>26</sup> But apart from these works, only a few articles have been published on his theology. These include the work of Jacques Le Brun, J. Wesley White and Michael A. G. Haykin, which all provide notable information.<sup>27</sup> Yet, among the works that can be found on Claude, either published or unpublished, none focuses specifically on his thought on the inseparability of the Holy Spirit and the Word.

Therefore, the absence of academic research on the theology of the Spirit and the Word of Geneva and French Reformed theologians like Turretin and Claude is a proof that a study on this specific topic will offer a substantial contribution to the current discussions in various areas of theology like biblical spirituality, as well as historical and systematic theology; notably in pneumatology, bibliology, anthropology, and soteriology.

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<sup>24</sup> Romain Couchard, *La vie de Claude: Thèse présentée à la faculté de théologie de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: Silbermann, 1837); Jean-Léonce Coyne, *Thèse historique et critique sur Jean Claude, sa vie et ses écrits* (Montauban, France: Forestié Neveu et cie, 1856); Justin-Louis Bonal, *Jean Claude: Pasteur et prédicateur* (Toulouse: A. Chauvin, 1868); Édouard Gaujoux, *Jean Claude, prédicateur et controversiste: Sa vie et ses écrits* (Geneva: Rambox et Schuchardt, 1877).

<sup>25</sup> Charles F. Johnston, "The Life and Work of Jean Claude (1619–1687)" (ThM thesis, Union Theological Seminary, 1947).

<sup>26</sup> J. Denny Autry, "Factors Influencing the Sermonic Structure of Jean Claude and his Influence on Homiletics" (PhD diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2013).

<sup>27</sup> Le Brun, Jacques, "La spiritualité de Jean Claude (1619–1687)," in *La jouissance et le trouble: Recherches sur la littérature chrétienne de l'âge classique* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2004), 363–96; J. Wesley White, "Jean Claude (1619–1687): Huguenot Pastor and Theologian," *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 19, *The Heritage of Reformed Preaching* (2008): 195–205; Michael A. G. Haykin, "'This Glorious Seal of God': Jean Claude (1619–1687), Ephesians 4:30, and Huguenot Pneumatology," in *The Theology of the French Reformed Churches: From Henri IV to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, ed. Martin I. Klauber, *Reformed Historical-Theological Studies* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2014), 321–34.

## **Background**

I became particularly interested in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in my freshman year in college when I joined a local church, a Baptist church of the *Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches of Canada*. At that time, this church in Longueuil, Quebec, in the suburb of Montreal, was located close to the largest Pentecostal church in Quebec. The proximity of location between the two churches led some members of our church to attend special events of the Pentecostal church. One of the main theological divergences between the two churches was obviously the view on the continuity or discontinuity of the miraculous gifts of the Spirit. With respect to their emphasis on seeking some manifestations of the Spirit, the Pentecostal church had a different worship experience involving more outward expression such as speaking in tongues and prophecies. It was mainly when I visited that church (and other charismatic churches) that my interest in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit grew. I wanted to understand the biblical and theological foundations of their view and to develop my own conviction.

This hunger for understanding the Spirit's work grew even more when my wife Cynthia and I started to date each other. Cynthia grew up in a Pentecostal Christian home and, from childhood, she had been influenced by Pentecostal teachings. Cynthia told me about some of the things she had experienced in the Pentecostal church, things that I never had experienced myself in the Baptist churches. Thus, I wanted my own experience to be in line with what the Bible teaches about the work of the Holy Spirit in the Christian life.

For this reason, through my theological studies, especially at the doctoral level, I studied more specifically the various views on sanctification, on the (dis)continuity of the miraculous gifts of the Spirit, and especially what Reformed, Puritan, and Evangelical theologians had said about the work of the Holy Spirit in the Christian life. Studying the Puritans, I came to realize their emphasis on the Word of God as the primary means by which the Holy Spirit operates sanctification in our lives. The more I discovered this

relationship between the Spirit and the Word, the more I realized that my own theology of sanctification and the theology of many churches in Quebec was not grounded in a proper understanding of the relationship of the Word and Spirit. Being a minister in Quebec, I wanted to influence the churches with a biblical and theologically sound view.

During my doctoral studies, being educated in an American context, most of the readings were in the English language, from a British or American background where there is much material on the subject. Yet, coming from a French-speaking background in Quebec, I developed an interest in seeking to understand the theology of the French Reformed theologians who followed Calvin. That being suggested and supported by my supervisor, I decided to look at some of them, especially those who had lived in the seventeenth century, and found that Turretin and Claude offered a valuable contribution.

### **Methodology**

To properly evaluate the development of the doctrine of the Spirit and the Word in the theology of Turretin and Claude, this dissertation will first begin by providing a theological context for the Reformed view of their time. A presentation of the teachings of John Calvin on this topic will provide such a context. Among Calvin's works, his well-known *Institutes of Christian Religion* is obviously essential to get an articulated and specific version of his view. Some of his theological treatises written in response to Roman Catholic and other Protestant theologians are also useful. Furthermore, his numerous commentaries and sermons also provide a deeper understanding of various aspects of his view. Among them, his commentary on Psalm 119 is particularly helpful.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes; Calvin: Theological Treatises*, ed. and trans. J. K. S. Reid, Library of Christian Classics (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1954); *Tracts and Treatises*, trans. Henri Beveridge, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958); *Treatises Against the Anabaptists and Against the Libertines*, trans. Benjamin Wirt Farley (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1982); *Commentary on Book of Psalms*, trans. James Anderson, 5 vols. (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845); *Commentaries on the*

This study, then, will focus on Turretin's and Claude's theology of the Spirit and the Word by looking at their published works. Their contribution on this topic will be considered in light of the historical and theological context in which they ministered. For the study of their distinct context, general works noted above on the time of the Reformation in Europe as well as specific works on the history and theology of Calvinism of Geneva and France will be useful. Some specific studies of the lives and theology of Turretin and Claude published in the nineteenth century will also provide valuable information.

Essential in the study of Turretin's thought is his *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, a systematic presentation of his theology in which he addressed through questions his position on various theological issues of his time. This work, published in Latin and translated into English in the nineteenth century, contains important sections on the doctrines of Scripture, the Holy Spirit, and salvation that are essential for this study. During his lifetime, Turretin also published *Sermons sur divers passages de l'Écriture Sainte* in 1676 and *Recueil de sermons sur divers textes de l'Écriture Sainte pour l'état présent de l'Église* in 1686. These two volumes of sermons, each having ten sermons preached in the Reformed church of Geneva, contain specific portions that will also be worthy of consideration.<sup>29</sup>

Although during his life Claude published many polemical works in the debates engaged with some Roman Catholic theologians, his most substantial works were

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*Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon*, trans. William Pringle (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1855); John Calvin and Jacopo Sadoletto, *A Reformation Debate: Sadoletto's Letter to the Genevans and Calvin's Reply*, ed. John C. Olin (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).

<sup>29</sup> Francis Turretin, *Sermons sur divers passages de l'Écriture Sainte* (Geneva: Samuel de Tournes, 1676); Turretin, *Recueil de sermons sur divers textes de l'Écritures Sainte pour l'état présent de l'Église* (Geneva: Samuel de Tournes, 1686).

published posthumously.<sup>30</sup> Among them is the five-volume *Œuvres posthumes de Mr. Claude*, published by his son in 1688 and 1689.<sup>31</sup> It contains his massive *Traité de Jésus-Christ*, in which Claude developed his view on the person and work of Christ and made several references to the person and work of the Holy Spirit. It also includes a series of smaller treatises and letters that will be considered in this study. Another important work that deserves attention is his *Recueil de sermons sur divers textes de l'Écriture Sainte* also published posthumously.<sup>32</sup> Finally, since this study is being written in the English language, a few translations of Claude's work will be used for reference.<sup>33</sup>

### Summary of Contents

This first chapter introduces the topic of this study: the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word in the theology of Francis Turretin and Jean Claude. It presents the main question, the secondary questions related to this topic, and the thesis. It also gives a brief summary of the history of research done thus far on the topic, the methodology of this study and its background.

Chapter 2 will provide a brief overview of Calvin's life and ministry and the significance of his influence on the next generation of Reformed pastors and theologians in Geneva, France, and beyond. Then, Calvin's theology of the Spirit and the Word will

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<sup>30</sup> Jean Claude, *A Defence of the Reformation: In Answer to a Book, Entitled, Just Prejudices Against the Calvinists*, ed. John Townsend, trans. T. B., 2 vols. (London: J. Powell, 1815); Claude, *Les plaintes des protestans: Cruellement opprimés dans le royaume de France* (London: J. Delage, 1707).

<sup>31</sup> Jean Claude, *Les œuvres posthumes de Mr. Claude*, 5 vols. (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1688–89).

<sup>32</sup> Jean Claude, *Recueil de sermons sur divers textes de l'Écriture Sainte* (Geneva: Samuel de Tournes, 1693).

<sup>33</sup> Jean Claude, *Self-Examination, in Order to a Due Preparation for the Worthy Receiving of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* (Edinburgh: Gavin Hamilton, 1732); idem, *Claude's Essay on the Composition of a Sermon* (Cambridge: John Burges, 1796).

be explored by looking at his view of the Holy Spirit in relation to the inspiration and authority of Scripture, and with respect to his work in the life of believers.

Chapter 3 will give an overview of the life of Francis Turretin as one of the greatest theologians of seventeenth-century Geneva, and how, throughout the years of ministry, his teachings, and writings, he influenced the theology and spirituality of the Reformed Church. Then, his understanding of the relationship of the Word and Spirit and their necessity for the Christian life will be presented.

Chapter 4 will introduce Jean Claude to the readers through a short biographical sketch showing the importance of this figure in the theology and spirituality of the French Reformed churches. Then, Claude's understanding on the work of the Spirit and the Word in the believer's life and their relationship will be discussed by looking at specific series of sermons, his treatise on Jesus Christ, and a few correspondences.

In conclusion, chapter 5 will provide a summary of the answers to the main and the secondary questions of this study by giving a summary of the development of the understanding of the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word in the theology of Turretin and Claude. This summary will present the similarities and the distinction among the views of Calvin, Turretin, and Claude. It will conclude by offering some implications of their views for contemporary Evangelical spirituality.



CHAPTER 2  
THE SPIRIT AND THE WORD IN THE THEOLOGY OF  
JOHN CALVIN

John Calvin has been identified by many as one of the most influential theologians of the Reformation. In his recent biography of Calvin, Bruce Gordon describes him as “the greatest Protestant reformer of the sixteenth century, brilliant, visionary and iconic. The superior force of his mind was evident in all that he did.”<sup>1</sup> In his works, Calvin wrote extensively on many topics of theology, but he was especially prolific on the topic of Christian piety.

Calvin understood the Christian gospel as “a doctrine not of the tongue but of life.” For him, “It is not apprehended by the understanding and memory alone, as other disciplines are, but it is received only when it possesses the whole soul, and finds a seat and resting place in the inmost affection of the heart.”<sup>2</sup> But, where does this true faith come from? Calvin strongly believed that true faith is produced in the heart by the Holy Spirit and that it is only those who possess it who are able to experience this transformation promised in the gospel. Hence, for Calvin, this gospel transformation comes from God alone. More precisely, it takes place in the believer’s heart by the work of the Holy Spirit who acts inseparably with the Word to give faith to the elect, as well as to keep them in the faith.

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<sup>1</sup> Bruce Gordon, *Calvin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), vii.

<sup>2</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, III.6.4, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, Library of Christian Classics (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1960), 1:688. Citations from this work will list volume number, chapter and sections, as well as volume number and pages in McNeill and Battles.

In the nineteenth century, Jacques Pannier aptly noted that the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word in Calvin's theology. He explains that, according to Calvin, the Holy Spirit is the one who brings illumination to a person's mind through the various means of grace and primarily through the words of Scripture in order to produce faith and perseverance.<sup>3</sup> More recently, Robert Reymond also summarized Calvin's view of the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word thus: "The Spirit without the word is a delusion and the word without the Spirit is dead. Word and Spirit ever belong together and must never be separated."<sup>4</sup>

Yet, although many have noted that in Calvin's theology the Spirit works inseparably with the Word in the life of believers, there are some questions that need to be answered. How, according to Calvin, does the Spirit work precisely? How does the Holy Spirit use the Word as a means to bring the elect to faith? How does he work with the Word to transform the mind and the affections of the believers' life so that they live in obedience to God and persevere in the faith? Throughout his works, Calvin provided valuable answers to these important questions. His answers help one to understand that both the Spirit and the Word are inseparable and necessary to the life of faith. But, before looking more precisely at Calvin's view on this topic, a brief overview of his life and influence is necessary.

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<sup>3</sup> Jacques Pannier, *Le témoignage du Saint-Esprit: Essai sur l'histoire du dogme dans la théologie réformée* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1893), 74.

<sup>4</sup> Robert L. Reymond, "Calvin's Doctrine of Holy Scripture," in *Theological Guide to Calvin Institutes*, ed. David W. Hall and Peter Lillback (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2008), 55. I am indebted to Joseph A. Pipa for pointing me to Reymond's thought in his "Calvin and the Holy Spirit," in *Calvin for Today*, ed. Joel R. Beeke (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2009), 69.

## Calvin's Life and Influence

John Calvin was born on July 10, 1509 in the cathedral city of Noyon, Picardy, located about sixty miles northeast of Paris.<sup>5</sup> In Noyon, his father, Gerard Cauvin, the son of a cooper, had become a lawyer “highly esteemed by most of the nobility district.”<sup>6</sup> He occupied various important offices both in the church and the local administration. Most probably, he acquired his great reputation and these positions through his relationship with the Hangest, the bishop's family. Calvin's mother, Jeanne Le Franc, was a godly and devout woman, who instructed her children into piety. She died in the year of 1515 when Calvin was still a very young boy. Consequently, at an early age, Calvin and his siblings were “treated as undersized adults from whom was demanded early responsibility.”<sup>7</sup>

## Calvin's Education and Conversion

From childhood, Calvin's father wanted his son to study theology and become a priest. Through his father's relationships with prominent people in the city, Calvin received an excellent education. At age twelve, he was given a position in the chaplaincy of La Gésine which served to provide the finances for all of his education. At that time, as T. H. L. Parker notes, “to be in the employment of the Bishop was to have connections with a powerful family.”<sup>8</sup> Thus, after he learned the rudiments of French grammar in the local school, Calvin moved to Paris around 1521 to enter the Collège de La Marche where he learned Latin under the great linguist Mathurin Cordier. Cordier was a priest of

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<sup>5</sup> This biographical sketch is based on the following sources: Theodore Beza, *The Life of John Calvin*, trans. Henri Beveridge (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1909); Alexandre Ganoczy, *The Young Calvin*, trans. David Foxgrover and Wade Provo (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987); T. H. L. Parker, *John Calvin: A Biography* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007); Bruce Gordon, *Calvin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); and W. Robert Godfrey, *John Calvin: Pilgrim and Pastor* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2009).

<sup>6</sup> Beza, *Life of John Calvin*, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Parker, *John Calvin*, 18.

<sup>8</sup> Parker, *John Calvin*, 20.

honorable reputation who wanted his pupils to be, not only learners of grammar, but also serious students of piety.<sup>9</sup> About a year later, Cordier led young Calvin to enter the Collège de Montaigu to study the arts. At Montaigu, the spiritual life of the community was governed by the *devotio moderna* as practiced by Gérard de Groote and Thomas à Kempis.<sup>10</sup> There, Calvin received a solid training in philosophy through the writings of the most famous Greek philosophers and, most probably, was initiated to the works of the Church Fathers. He also became acquainted with the teachings of the Reformation through the influence of his good friend and relative Pierre Robert Olivétan. At that time, as Beza noted, Calvin began “to devote himself to the study of the Holy Scripture.”<sup>11</sup>

By 1526, Calvin completed his studies at Montaigu, but he did not pursue his studies in theology. Instead, Calvin followed his father’s change of mind concerning his education and entered the law school at Orleans.<sup>12</sup> In Orleans, he studied under Pierre De l’Étoile who was considered “by far the first French lawyer of that period.”<sup>13</sup> Although

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<sup>9</sup> Beza described Cordier as “a man of great worth and erudition, and in the highest repute in almost all the schools of France as a teacher of youth.” *Life of John Calvin*, 6. Cordier later became the principal of the College of Lausanne and Calvin developed a lasting friendship with his tutor to whom he dedicated his *Commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians*. See John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians*, trans. John Pringle (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1851), 234.

<sup>10</sup> The *devotio moderna* was a movement of Christian spirituality, which developed in Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, particularly characterized by various practices such as “meditation, examination of conscience, fraternal admonitions, confession, and bodily mortification.” À Kempis’ *Imitation of Christ*, a required reading at Montaigu, was particularly influential on these practices. See Ganoczy, *Young Calvin*, 58–59.

<sup>11</sup> Beza noted that it is at that time that Calvin discontinued attending “the public services of the church.” *Life of Calvin*, 8.

<sup>12</sup> In the preface of his *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, Calvin explained, “When I was as yet a very little boy, my father had destined me for the study of theology. But afterwards, when he considered that the legal profession commonly raised those who followed it to wealth, this prospect induced him suddenly to change his purpose. Thus it came to pass, that I was withdrawn from the study of philosophy, and was put to the study of law.” See John Calvin, *Commentary on Book of Psalms*, trans. James Anderson, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845), xl.

<sup>13</sup> Beza, *Life of Calvin*, 8.

his main focus was his studies in law, Calvin continued to make progress in Christian literature. Then, at the Academy of Bourges, Calvin studied under Melchior Wolmar, a pious man with whom he learned the Greek language and possibly deepened his study of Scripture.<sup>14</sup>

It was most probably during the summer of 1531 that Calvin converted to the teachings of the Reformation, not too long after the loss of his father.<sup>15</sup> On May 26, Gerard Cauvin died in Noyon. A few years earlier, he had been excommunicated by the Church. It was at that time, possibly, that Calvin distanced himself from the Roman Church.<sup>16</sup> Yet, Calvin described his own conversion most of all as a change of heart and liberation from the guilt of sin. In the preface of the *Commentaries on the Psalms*, Calvin explained how he viewed his former religious life and how he turned to evangelical faith. He said,

And first, since I was too obstinately devoted to the superstition of Popery to be easily extricated from so profound an abyss of mire, God by a sudden conversion subdued and brought my mind to a teachable frame, which was more hardened in such matters than might have been expected from one at my early period of life. Having thus received some taste and knowledge of true godliness, I was immediately inflamed with so intense a desire to make progress therein, that

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<sup>14</sup> According to Beza, Wolmar was a man whose “learning, piety, and other virtues, together with his admirable abilities as a teacher of youth, cannot be sufficiently praised.” *Life of Calvin*, 9. Also, Parker notes that in Orleans, Wolmar had already “moved beyond the Reformism of his master Jacques Lefèvre into a commitment to the Reformation. According to some writers, it was he who won Calvin for the evangelical faith. This also is not impossible.” See his *John Calvin*, 36.

<sup>15</sup> Beza explained: “Shortly after [his father’s death], in his twenty-fourth year, he went to Paris, and there wrote this excellent Commentary on Seneca’s Treatise, *De Clementia*...A few months’ residence here made him known to all who desired reformed religion.” *Life of Calvin*, 10. If Beza is right, Calvin was in Paris in the months following July 531. Furthermore, his commentary on *De Clementia* was published in Paris in early 1532. Beza noted: “About this time, Calvin renouncing all other studies, devoted himself to God, to the great delight of all the pious who were then holding secret meetings in Paris.” This seems to agree with Calvin’s own testimony who asserts that after his conversion he did abandoned his studies in law immediately but continued in them for about a year.

<sup>16</sup> Gerard Cauvin had been excommunicated on November 2, 1528. The reasons of his excommunication remain uncertain. Most probably, it was due to his failing to produce statements of accounts in the affairs of the church. See Parker, *John Calvin*, 36.

although I did not altogether leave off other studies, I yet pursued them with less ardour.<sup>17</sup>

Calvin's conversion led him to realize the various errors in which he had been raised and taught. Eventually, he came to recognize that the Roman Church had led people astray from the teachings of Scripture. He articulated this plainly in his *Reply to Cardinal Sadoletto*, when in a prayerful manner he said, "Thy word, which ought to have shone on all thy people like a lamp, was taken away, or at least suppressed as to us."<sup>18</sup>

In the months following his conversion, Calvin did not leave off his studies in law, but "pursued them with less ardour."<sup>19</sup> He remained in Paris and gained much respect from some supporters of the Reformation.<sup>20</sup> Most probably, during that time, he gave himself to further study of the Church Fathers and the teachings of the Reformation.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, after his conversion, he devoted himself to the study of Scripture and became one of the greatest teachers of Scripture in the history of the church.

### **Calvin's Ministry**

In 1533 and 1534, various persecutions arose in France against the followers of the Reformation.<sup>22</sup> At that time, Calvin was on the move between Basle, Noyon, and

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<sup>17</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 1:xI–xli.

<sup>18</sup> John Calvin, "Reply by John Calvin to Letter by Cardinal Sadolet to the Senate and People of Geneva," in *Tracts Relating to the Reformation*, trans. Henri Beveridge, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1844), 61.

<sup>19</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 1:xli.

<sup>20</sup> Beza, *Life of Calvin*, 11.

<sup>21</sup> Gordon, *Calvin*, 37.

<sup>22</sup> Calvin said that at that time, "many faithful and holy persons were burnt alive in France." *Commentary on the Psalms*, 1:xli.

Paris.<sup>23</sup> After a short stay in Paris, the Affair of the Placards occurred and Calvin had to flee.<sup>24</sup> He arrived in Basle in January 1535 and settled there with his friend Louis du Tillet for about a year. In Basle, Calvin met some friends of the Reformation. Among them were Erasmus, Heinrich Bullinger, Guillaume Farel, Pierre Robert, and Nicolas Cop.<sup>25</sup> At that time, Calvin worked on the first edition of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* that he published when he returned to Paris in the beginning of 1536.

His work completed, he developed a desire to settle in Strasbourg where he could finally find the tranquility necessary to devote himself to study. He left Paris in August and traveled to Strasbourg. Due to the war between the French and the English, he was unable to use the shortest way to Strasbourg, so he changed his course to enter Switzerland through Geneva.

When he arrived in Geneva, Calvin encountered the man who had the greatest influence on the course of his life. Guillaume Farel had met Calvin in Basle a few years earlier and had later established himself in Geneva to reform the church. Calvin explained to him his intention to go to Strasbourg, but Farel insisted that Calvin remains in Geneva in order to help him further the work of reforming the church. As many have noted, the convincing persistence of Farel was a turning point in Calvin's life. As Calvin said, "I had resolved to continue in the same privacy and obscurity, until at length William Farel detained me at Geneva, not so much by counsel and exhortation, as by a dreadful imprecation, which I felt to be as if God had from heaven laid his mighty hand upon me

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<sup>23</sup> It is most probably at that time that Calvin definitely broke his ties with the Roman church by renouncing the finances that provided for his education since the age of twelve. See Gordon, *Calvin*, 40.

<sup>24</sup> On the night of October 17, posters opposing the Roman Church and declaring the necessity of the Reformation appeared in great cities of France. One was posted at the door of the king's chamber and the sovereign ordered the arrest of all the people adhering to the Reformation. See Gordon, *Calvin*, 40; Godfrey, *John Calvin*, 30; and Parker, *John Calvin*, 51.

<sup>25</sup> Parker, *John Calvin*, 51.

to arrest me.”<sup>26</sup> Calvin understood Farel’s insistence as God’s call for him to be a minister in Geneva. He answered the call and began his ministry as a preacher and professor of Sacred Literature. He was officially elected pastor on November 10.

**Troubles in Geneva (1536–38).** Through the work of Guillaume Farel, in the spring of 1536, the general assembly of the citizens of Geneva voted to modify the constitution in order to embrace the Reformation. There was nevertheless plenty of work to do to organize the Reformed church.<sup>27</sup> In the fall of that year, Farel and Calvin worked on their *Articles on the Organizations of the Church and its Worship at Geneva*. They presented their work along with two other documents, the *Confession of Faith* and a short catechism, before the *Little Council* of Geneva on January 16, 1537.<sup>28</sup> The councils, both the *Little Council* and the *Council of the Two Hundred*, approved the Articles, but the citizens refused to subscribe to the *Confession of Faith*. Although elements of church discipline were endorsed by the people, they later became the cause of a dispute between the Reformers and some new syndics of the council. The syndics, who had been elected in 1538, desired an increased influence of Bern in the affairs of the church. But a conflict arose between Geneva and Bern concerning some of the practices in the church. Among the concerns was the fact that the church in Geneva did not use unleavened bread for the

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<sup>26</sup> Calvin gave further details on the man who wanted to keep him in Geneva: “Farel, who burned with an extraordinary zeal to advance the gospel, immediately strained every nerve to detain me...He proceeded to utter an imprecation that God would curse my retirement, and the tranquility of the studies which I sought, if I should withdraw and refuse to give assistance, when the necessity was so urgent. By this imprecation I was so stricken with terror, that I desisted from the journey which I had undertaken; but sensible of my natural bashfulness and timidity, I would bring myself under obligation to discharge any particular office.” See Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 1:xlii–xliii.

<sup>27</sup> Parker, *John Calvin*, 36.

<sup>28</sup> There was at that time in Geneva more than one council. The *Little Council*, that this author refers as “the council,” was composed of twenty-five members, among which were four elected syndics who formed the head of the government. There was also the *Council of the Two Hundred* that had lesser executive power. See Parker, *John Calvin*, 78–79.



Lord's Supper, that Genevans considered the baptisteries unnecessary for the practice of baptism, and that they desired to cease celebration of all feast days, except the Lord's Day. Ultimately, these issues were discussed at a synod in Zurich and, consequently, Calvin, along with Farel and Viret, was forced to leave the city.<sup>29</sup>

**Ministry in Strasbourg (1538–41).** Calvin journeyed to Strasbourg and arrived in September 1538. At that time, the city had been under the influence of German Reformers for several years. The leader of the church in Strasbourg was Martin Bucer. There Calvin founded the first Reformed church that would serve as a model for other churches in France.<sup>30</sup> The church had 400 to 500 members who were mainly French refugees who had fled the persecutions in France. Calvin's ministry in Strasbourg was marked by daily preaching or teaching.<sup>31</sup> He also worked on the policy of the French Church instituting his view of church discipline that he had failed to put in place earlier in Geneva.<sup>32</sup> His time in the leadership of the church in Strasbourg greatly influenced his view of the church and his ministry.

Around the beginning of 1540, Calvin met Idelette de Bure, “the widow of a one-time anabaptist with two children, a boy and a girl.”<sup>33</sup> At first, Calvin did not think of marrying her, yet over time, he became convinced that this was the will of God. He finally married her in August of that year. In 1542, she gave birth to Calvin's only child

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<sup>29</sup> Parker, *Calvin*, 90.

<sup>30</sup> Émile Doumergue, *Le caractère de Jean Calvin: L'homme, le système, l'Église, l'État*. (1921; repr., Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), 7.

<sup>31</sup> Parker, *Calvin*, 92.

<sup>32</sup> Beza, *Life of Calvin*, 23.

<sup>33</sup> Parker, *John Calvin*, 96–97.

who died just a few days later. Idelette died in 1549 after years of illness and Calvin took care of her two children “as his own.”<sup>34</sup>

During his time in Strasbourg, Calvin remained in contact with the church in Geneva.<sup>35</sup> Particularly, he helped the church by giving a response to Cardinal Sadoletto, bishop of Carpentras, who wanted to bring the Genevan church back to the Roman faith. Calvin’s work in helping the people of Geneva led them to call their pastor back to the city. He finally agreed to return after being convinced by Farel.<sup>36</sup>

**Return to Geneva: pastor and theologian.** Between 1538 and 1541, the situation had significantly changed in Geneva. Calvin was now in a position where he could organize the church as he had planned a few years before. The ministry of Calvin in Geneva can be described as one of a pastor-theologian who sought to teach sound doctrine, to defend it against false teachings, and to organize the church in a way that modeled his biblical view of the church. Parker notes that the ministry of Calvin as pastor of the church of Geneva is marked by three important elements: (1) The organization of church government (2) the reform of corporate worship, and, most importantly (3) a ministry based on the regular and expositional preaching of the Word.<sup>37</sup>

In the first months of his ministry Calvin actively worked on establishing a church government that would reflect his understanding of the Scripture’s teachings. His view is particularly described in his *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*, where Calvin explains the

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<sup>34</sup> Parker, *John Calvin*, 129.

<sup>35</sup> As Beza noted, “Calvin did not take long to testify the affection which, as a pastor, he still felt bound to cherish towards the Genevese, and towards his own friends, who were then enduring most grievous hardships in the common cause of piety.” *Life of John Calvin*, 25.

<sup>36</sup> Godfrey, *John Calvin*, 57–58.

<sup>37</sup> Parker, *John Calvin*, 108–23.

four biblical offices or functions necessary for proper church government: pastor, doctor, elder, and deacon.

Calvin also initiated the reform of corporate worship consisting in the establishment of a liturgy centered on the Scriptures, mainly by introducing the singing of Psalms.<sup>38</sup> Calvin believed that there is no better way of worshipping God corporately than by singing the Psalms because by singing them the Church sings words given by God himself for his glory.<sup>39</sup> He said,

Wherefore when we have look thoroughly everywhere and searched high and low, we shall find no better songs nor more appropriate to the purpose than the psalms of David which the Holy Spirit made and spoke through him. And furthermore, when we sing them, we are certain that God puts the words in our mouths, as if He Himself were singing in us to exalt His glory.<sup>40</sup>

Calvin's view of worship had been greatly influenced by Bucer when he was in Strasbourg and modeled the form of worship that took place there when he ministered in the French church.<sup>41</sup>

However, the most important part of the liturgy that Calvin restored in the Reformed church in Geneva was the regular expositional preaching of the Word. In the *Ordinances*, Calvin described that the main responsibility of the pastor is "to proclaim the Word of God, to instruct, admonish, exhort and censure, both in public and in private."<sup>42</sup> Calvin understood that, through the faithful preaching and teaching of the Word, the

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<sup>38</sup> See John Calvin, *La forme des prières ecclésiastiques, avec la manière d'administrer, les Sacremens, et célébrer le Mariage: et visitation des malades* (Geneva: Jacob Stoer, 1552).

<sup>39</sup> Parker, *John Calvin*, 114.

<sup>40</sup> John Calvin, "Calvin's Foreword to the Psalter," in *John Calvin: Writings on Pastoral Piety*, ed. and trans. Elsie Anne McKee (New York: Paulist Press, 2001), 96.

<sup>41</sup> Godfrey. *John Calvin*, 70; Randall C. Zachman, *John Calvin as Teacher, Pastor, and Theologian: The Shape of His Writings and Thought* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 22–23.

<sup>42</sup> John Calvin, "Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances (1541)," in *Calvin: Theological Treatises*, trans. J. K. S. Reid, Library of Christian Classics 22, (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1954), 58.

pastor becomes the instrument into God's hands to speak directly to his people.<sup>43</sup> For him, the corporate ministry of the Word was so important that it was part of his daily duty. During his ministry in Geneva, he preached a sermon daily with the exception of Sundays when there was one sermon preached in the morning and one in the afternoon. He preached through whole books of the Scripture, preaching from the Old Testament on weekdays and from the New Testament on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day. The preaching of the Word was of particular significance for Calvin, because through this means the gospel is proclaimed, the Spirit is given, and the hearts of God's people are transformed so that they may worship God in all of life.<sup>44</sup>

As a theologian, Calvin published many works and established the academy in Geneva in 1559 for the training of reformed pastors. Throughout his ministry, Calvin continued to work on expanding his most influential theological work, the *Institutes*, and published some revised editions. During his time in Basle in 1538, Calvin worked on an enlarged edition of his *Institutes*, which was then published in Strastbourg in 1539.<sup>45</sup> The second Latin edition of the *Institutes* was expanded to twenty-four chapters compared to seven in the first edition. In 1541, Calvin translated the 1539 Latin edition in French for the people in France. The French edition was the first theological work to be published in that language.<sup>46</sup> Finally, the *Institutes* culminated in the Latin edition of 1559 and the French edition of 1560. Through this work, Calvin explained the main teachings of the

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<sup>43</sup> Parker, *John Calvin*, 117.

<sup>44</sup> Parker, *John Calvin*, 123.

<sup>45</sup> Parker, *John Calvin*, 97; Herman J. Selderhuis, "The *Institutes*," trans. Gerrit W. Sheeres, in *The Calvin Handbook*, ed. Herman J. Selderhuis (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 202.

<sup>46</sup> Jean Cadier et Pierre Marcel, "Introduction," in Jean Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrétienne*, trans. Marie de Védrines and Paul Wells (Charols, France: Excelsis, 2009), xviii.

Reformation to help people in their study of Scripture as well as to understand the fundamental doctrines of Christianity.<sup>47</sup>

Furthermore, the ministry of teaching and of training pastors in Geneva led him to publish commentaries on almost every book of the Bible. From 1540 to 1557, he published at least one commentary every year. In the midst of the assaults that were coming from the Roman Church, Calvin also wrote numerous letters and published a large collection of theological treatises and tracts to defend the Reformed faith with the Scriptures. Although his ministry was marked by seeking the unity of Protestantism, he addressed a number of theological issues. Especially, he wrote treatises against the Anabaptists and against some Lutheran views, especially regarding the Lord's Supper.<sup>48</sup>

Throughout his lifetime as a minister of the gospel, Calvin worked intensely to teach the Scriptures and to defend its supreme authority. His days of work were very long and over time significantly affected his health. In 1559, his condition began to decline rapidly and finally led to his death in Geneva in 1564. Although Calvin did not have any natural children who survived him, he has left a great theologically reformed legacy.

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<sup>47</sup> In the epistle to the reader of the 1559 edition of his *Institutes*, Calvin said, "It has been my purpose in this labor to prepare and instruct candidates in sacred theology for the reading of the divine Word, in order that they may be able both to have easy access to it and to advance in it without stumbling. For I believe I have so embraced the sum of religion in all its part, and have arranged it in such an order, that if anyone rightly grasps it, it will not be difficult for him to determine what he ought especially to seek in Scripture, and to what end he ought to relate its content." "John Calvin to the Reader 1559," in *Institutes*, 1:4–5.

<sup>48</sup> Among these tracts and treatises figures *The Necessity of Reforming the Church* (1539), *Reply to Sadoleto* (1539), *The Clear Explanation of Sound Doctrine Concerning the True Partaking of the Flesh and Blood of Christ in the Holy Supper* (1561), *Canon and Decrees of the Council of Trent with the Antidote*, and many others. Some of these works have been collected into Calvin, *Calvin: Theological Treatises*, and in John Calvin, *Tracts and Treatises*, trans. Henry Beveridge, 3 vols. (1844–1851; repr., Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958). Also see John Calvin, *Treatises Against the Anabaptists and Against the Libertines*. trans. and ed. by Benjamin Wirt Farley (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1982).

## Calvin's Influence

It would be hard to deny the immeasurable influence of Calvin's theology on the churches from the time of the Reformation to this day.<sup>49</sup> His teachings are still well received today, not only among Reformed churches, but also throughout evangelical churches around the world. Although in the last century many Protestant churches have less regard for his theology, at the time of the Reformation and in the seventeenth century, many have followed his teaching and pursued the defense of the Reformed faith against Roman Catholicism. This becomes obvious when one considers Calvin's influence and the development of his theology in Geneva, into the French Reformed churches, and throughout Europe.

In Geneva, in addition to performing the duties of the pastor of the church, Calvin also trained ministers. He considered himself as a doctor of Scripture and that this function was essential for the life of the church. In his draft of his *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*, he described the office of doctor as "the instruction of the faithful in true doctrine, in order that the purity of the Gospel be not corrupted either by ignorance or by evil opinions."<sup>50</sup> A few years before his death, in 1559, Calvin officially established the Academy of Geneva. Theodore Beza, Calvin's closest apprentice and follower, took the leadership of the academy and pursued the work of his predecessor. According to Gillian Wellis, "In conscious imitation of Calvin, whose posthumous reputation he cultivated, Beza occupied the same house, and followed for many years a very similar daily routine. It was a deliberate and sustained strategy to perpetuate the tradition. Beza pursued this strategy without wavering throughout the rest of his long life."<sup>51</sup> Therefore, even after

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<sup>49</sup> Herman J. Selderhuis, "Calvin, 1509–2009," in *Calvin and His Influence, 1509–2009*, ed. Irena Backus and Philip Benedict (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 145.

<sup>50</sup> John Calvin, "Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances (1541)," 62.

<sup>51</sup> Gillian Wellis. "Calvinism in Geneva in the time of Calvin and of Beza (1541–1605)," in *International Calvinism, 1541–1715*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 52–53.

Calvin's death, the Academy of Geneva continued to train ministers that were sent to churches across Europe, especially in Switzerland and France. Between 1555 and 1562, Geneva sent more than a hundred men to France in order to organize various groups of Protestants into churches. Many of these ministers pursued the work of the Reformation and exercised their influence throughout France.<sup>52</sup>

Thus, as Menna Prestwich accurately notes, "The influence of Geneva upon France was very great." In France, the first French Reformed church was officially established in 1555 and adopted the Confession of La Rochelle which had been written based on the *Catechism of the Church of Geneva*. These two documents are similar, which points to the influence of the latter on the former. Furthermore, there had been "correspondence between Calvin, the pastors and the consistories."<sup>53</sup> Calvin's influence in France is also recognized by the fact that the Reformed academies established in France during that time used Calvin's *Institutes* as their primary manual of theology for training ministers.

Finally, the influence of Calvin's theology has been recognized throughout Europe. Andrew Pettegree properly notes three aspects of Calvin's European influence. First, there is the scope of Calvin's works. Pettegree denotes the *Institutes* as "one of the core texts of Protestantism."<sup>54</sup> By the seventeenth century, the text had been translated in several languages and published in many countries across Europe. Second, Calvin's influence was noted through his defense of the Reformed faith and by the continuation of his teaching regarding the separation of church and state. And, third, many churches of

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<sup>52</sup> Philippe Wolff, *Histoire des protestants en France: De la Réforme à la Révolution*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toulouse: Privat, 2001), 50–51.

<sup>53</sup> Menna Prestwich, "Calvinism in France, 1555–1629," in *International Calvinism, 1541–1715*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 84.

<sup>54</sup> Andrew Pettegree, "The Spread of Calvin's Thought," in *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 208.

the Reformation followed Calvin's model of church organization. Bucer's influence on Calvin in Strasbourg and his training in law helped him to organize the Reformed church in Geneva. His *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* were taught in Geneva to young French ministers who were sent to establish churches according to that model.

Calvin's life was shaped by devout people who helped him to pursue piety and by the teachings of the Reformation which led him to become one of the greatest teachers and defenders of Reformed theology. For him, as for almost all the Reformers, true Christianity was strongly tied to considering the Scriptures as the supreme authority for the Church. Thus, since through them the Lord speaks to his people and instructs them by the Holy Spirit in the way of salvation, they were regularly taught in the church through the expository preaching of the Word.

### **The Spirit and the Word in Calvin**

In his ministry, Calvin gave much attention to the preaching and teaching of the Word because he saw the Holy Spirit and the Word as inseparable, especially for their work in the life of the believer. He has often been described as "a theologian of the Holy Spirit."<sup>55</sup> Thus, central to his view of the Christian life is the idea that the Holy Spirit indwells all believers. For him, the Holy Spirit is a distinct person of the Trinity who acts in the elect as the Spirit of Christ to effectually call them to salvation and to keep them to the end.<sup>56</sup> Yet, the Holy Spirit does not only work internally to achieve the redeeming work of God, but he also accomplishes his works externally through the inspired Scriptures by bringing them to the knowledge of God and his will. Therefore, for Calvin,

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<sup>55</sup> I. John Hesselink notes that this title has been given to Calvin by many in the twentieth century, especially by Charles Lelièvre in 1901, B.B. Warfield in 1931 and Werner Krushe in 1957. "Pneumatology," in *The Calvin Handbook*, ed. Herman J. Selderhuis (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 299. See also Michael A. G. Haykin, "Cultivating the Spirit," in *Living for God's Glory: An Introduction to Calvinism*, ed. Joel R. Beeke (Lake Mary, FL: Reformation Trust, 2008), 163.

<sup>56</sup> Hesselink, "Pneumatology," 300.



the Holy Spirit and the Word are inseparable in the work of salvation, meaning that the Holy Spirit always uses his external work to perform his internal work in God's elect.<sup>57</sup> Before the internal work of the Spirit is described, it is proper to explain briefly Calvin's view of the person of the Holy Spirit and of his preeminent role in the inspiration of Scripture.

### **The Deity of the Holy Spirit**

Although in the controversy with Pierre Caroli, Calvin did not agree to subscribe to the Nicene Creed, Calvin affirmed the early church doctrine of the Trinity.<sup>58</sup> As Robert Letham suggests, "While Calvin insisted that all doctrine must be founded on the teaching of Scripture, he did not see himself as breaking with the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity."<sup>59</sup> In his *Institutes*, Calvin clearly taught that there is only one God who exists in three distinct persons. He affirmed, "When we profess to believe in one God, under the name of God is understood a single, simple, essence, in which we comprehend three persons, or hypostases."<sup>60</sup>

From Matthew 28:19, Calvin noted that the ordinance of baptism serves to teach about the both the oneness of God and the fact he exists in three persons. He says,

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<sup>57</sup> Hesselink, "Pneumatology," 300. Eifion Evans also notes that, for Calvin, introducing a dichotomy between the Word and the Spirit leads to "a spiritual suicide." See his "John Calvin, Theologian of the Spirit," *Reformation and Revival* 10, no. 4 (Fall 2001): 94.

<sup>58</sup> Hesselink, "Pneumatology," 300. Michael A. G. Haykin also notes that Calvin agreed with the theologians of the Early Church on the doctrine of the Trinity, although he was "critical of the Ancient Church's creeds," in "'Uttering the Praises of the Father, of the Son, and of the Spirit: John Calvin on the Divine Trinity,'" *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 21, no. 2 (Summer 2017): 55–58. Also see Beza, *Life of Calvin*, 19; and Thomas F. Torrance, "Calvin's Doctrine of the Trinity," *Calvin Theological Journal* 25, no. 2 (November 1990): 168–70.

<sup>59</sup> Robert Letham, *The Holy Trinity: In Scripture, History, Theology, and Worship* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2004), 265.

<sup>60</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.13.20, 1:144. Arie Baars, "The Trinity," in *The Calvin Handbook*, trans. Gerrit W. Sheeres (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 249.

“If through baptism we are initiated into the faith and religion of one God, we must consider him into whose name we are baptized to be the true God.” Furthermore, “From this means precisely to be baptized into the name of the one God who has shown himself with complete clarity in the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. Hence it is quite clear that in God’s essence reside three persons in whom one God is known.”<sup>61</sup> Then, he affirmed the deity of the Spirit: “Therefore, since there is one God, not more, is regarded as a settled principle, we conclude that Word and Spirit are nothing else than the very essence of God.”<sup>62</sup> Thus, Calvin understood that the Holy Spirit is a distinct person of the Trinity who is fully God.

For Calvin, the deity of the Holy Spirit is demonstrated through his work. First, it is shown by Moses in the account of creation. In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth, “the Spirit was spread over the deeps” (Gen 1:2). In other words, when the earth was still “formless matter”, by his power, the Spirit “was occupied with tending that confuse mass.” But, the Spirit shows his deity because he is the one who works in creation to bring order and to give life to creatures.<sup>63</sup> As Calvin noted: “It is the Spirit who, everywhere diffused, sustains all things, causes them to grow, and quickens them in heaven and in earth. Because he is circumscribed by no limits, he is excepted from the category of creatures; but in transfusing into all things his energy, and breathing into them essence, life, and movement, he is indeed plainly divine.”<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.13.16, 1:140.

<sup>62</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.13.16, 1:141.

<sup>63</sup> Hesselink, “Pneumatology,” 303.

<sup>64</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.13.13, 1:138.

Second, Calvin showed that the deity of the Spirit is proved through his work of regeneration of the elect.<sup>65</sup> He said, “Now, Scripture teaches in many places that he is the author of regeneration not by borrowing but by his very own energy; and not of this only but of future immortality as well. In short, upon him, as upon the Son, are conferred functions that especially belong to divinity.”<sup>66</sup> Through the Spirit, we are brought into communion with God and we are given all the benefits of salvation. He also distributes to every believer the spiritual gifts as he will (1 Cor 12:11). From this Calvin concluded, “For if the Spirit were not an entity subsisting in God, choice and will would by no means be conceded to him. Paul, therefore, very clearly attributes to the Spirit divine power, and shows that He resides hypostatically in God.”<sup>67</sup>

Calvin also underlined that the deity of the Spirit is mentioned explicitly in Scripture. For example, when believers are brought by him to a new life in Christ, they become the temple of God by the fact that they are indwelt by the Holy Spirit. As Calvin said, “For, while God indeed frequently promises that he will choose us as a temple for himself, this promise is not otherwise fulfilled than by his Spirit dwelling in us.”<sup>68</sup> Also, in Acts 5, when Peter rebuked Ananias, Calvin understood that this passage is another proof of the deity of the Spirit, because when Ananias lied to the Spirit, he lied to God.

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<sup>65</sup> For Calvin, Hesselink notes, “The new birth comes about by a response to the Word, normally the preached Word.” “Pneumatology,” 305.

<sup>66</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.13.14, 1:138–39.

<sup>67</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.13.15, 1:139

<sup>68</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.13.15, 1:139.

## The External Work of the Spirit

With respect to the application of salvation, it is possible to identify in Calvin's thought two aspects to the work of the Spirit; the external and the internal aspects. This means that, in order to lead the elect to salvation, the Spirit works both externally and internally. The external work of the Spirit consists in giving the knowledge of God to human beings through the inspiration of the Word. In his commentary on 2 Timothy 3:16, Calvin noted that God spoke through human authors to reveal himself by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Scriptures have authority because they are inspired by God.<sup>69</sup> He argued, "This is a principle which distinguishes our religion from all others, that we know that God hath spoken to us, and are fully convinced that the prophets did not speak at their own suggestion, but that, being organs of the Holy Spirit, they only uttered what they had been commissioned from heaven to declare."<sup>70</sup> In short, the human authors did not speak of themselves, but they received their words from God who gave them by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. For this reason, their words must be received as the Word of God. Therefore, in salvation, the Holy Spirit works externally through the inspiration of the Word so that people may know God: "It is a very high commendation of the Holy Scriptures, that we must not seek anywhere else the wisdom which is sufficient for salvation."<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> This idea is foundational to Calvin's theology. Richard A. Muller, "The Foundation of Calvin's Theology: Scripture as Revealing God's Word," *Duke Divinity School Review* 44, no. 1 (Winter 1979): 17–22. Also see René Pache, *L'inspiration et l'autorité de la Bible*, 3rd ed. (Suisse: Emmaüs, 1967); John D. Woodbridge, *Biblical Authority: Infallibility and Inerrancy in the Christian Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982), 56–57.

<sup>70</sup> John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon*, trans. William Pringle (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1855), 248–50.

<sup>71</sup> Calvin, *Commentaries on Timothy, Titus, and Philemon*, 248.

The Reformer believed that the Scripture is the Word of God through which he reveals himself to humanity.<sup>72</sup> It is through the Word that one can come to know the Creator. Thus, without the Word, it is impossible for people to know him, not only as Creator, but also as Redeemer.<sup>73</sup> He said, “First in order came that kind of knowledge by which one is permitted to grasp who God is who founded and governs the universe. Then that other inner knowledge was added, which alone quickens dead souls, whereby God is known not only as the Founder of the universe and the sole Author and Ruler of all that is made, but also in the person of the Mediator as the Redeemer.”<sup>74</sup> Calvin explained that the Scriptures are clear on the fact that the knowledge that leads one to turn to God cannot be obtained merely by considering his creation. This knowledge can only be found in God’s inspired Word. He noted, “Now, in order that true religion may shine upon us, we ought to hold that it must take its beginning from heavenly doctrine and that no one can get even the slightest taste of right and sound doctrine unless he be a pupil of Scripture.”<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, Calvin argued that, because of the fall, human beings are prone to forget God and to fall into error. For this reason, they must seek to know him from his Word: “It is therefore clear that God provided the assistance of the Word....For errors can never be uprooted from human hearts until true knowledge of God is planted therein.”<sup>76</sup> It should now be clear that, according to Calvin, in order to know God the Word is indispensable.

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<sup>72</sup> Joel R. Beeke, *Living for God’s Glory: An Introduction to Calvinism* (Lake Mary, FL: Reformation Trust, 2008), 133.

<sup>73</sup> John T. McNeill notes that, for Calvin, God “is known as Redeemer through the Scripture alone.” *The History and Character of Calvinism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 209.

<sup>74</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.6.1, 1:70–71.

<sup>75</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.6.2, 1:72.

<sup>76</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.6.3, 1:72–73.

In summary, Calvin argued that God revealed himself in his Word through the work of the Holy Spirit who inspired the words of Scriptures. The inspiration of Scriptures constitutes the external work of the Spirit that provides objective knowledge of God. Having said this, it is now proper to explain how Calvin understood the necessity of the Word for the Holy Spirit to accomplish his internal work in the hearts of human beings.

### **The Internal Work of the Holy Spirit**

In addition to his external work, Calvin also considered the Holy Spirit as the agent of God who works internally in the elect bringing them into union with Christ.<sup>77</sup> For him, outside of Christ there is no salvation, because “all that he [Christ] possesses is nothing to us until we grow into one body with him.”<sup>78</sup> Since people do not accept Christ only through reason, Calvin argued that it is by the work of the Holy Spirit that the elect are brought into union with Christ: “the Holy Spirit is the bond by which Christ effectually unites us to himself.”<sup>79</sup> As it will be discussed in further detail, for Calvin, the Spirit is the person of the Godhead who produces faith that leads to union with Christ.<sup>80</sup> This faith is not only necessary for one to receive justification in Christ, but also essential to receive all the benefits of salvation.<sup>81</sup> Thus, faith is also necessary for one’s

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<sup>77</sup> Evans, “John Calvin,” 96–97.

<sup>78</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* III.1.1, 1:537.

<sup>79</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* III.1.1, 1:538. Patrick Lyons, “Word and Spirit: Calvin’s Theology and the Issues of Today,” *Centro Pro Unione*, no. 78 (Fall 2010): 23.

<sup>80</sup> Hesselink, “Pneumatology,” 306. Also, H. Jackson Forstman affirms that, according to Calvin, “We cannot on the basis of our own strength come to enjoy this salvation through faith, God creates this faith in us through the secret operation of his Spirit in our hearts.” *Word and Spirit: Calvin’s Doctrine of Biblical Authority* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962), 68.

<sup>81</sup> Hesselink, “Pneumatology,” 306–07.

sanctification, which means to be transformed into the image of Christ, and to persevere until the end.<sup>82</sup>

According to William Balke, “the inseparability of the Word and Spirit was one of Calvin’s cardinal teachings.”<sup>83</sup> In order to produce the internal work of faith, sanctification, and perseverance in the elect, the Spirit works through the means of his external work. He considered the Spirit and the Word as inseparable to lead the elect to salvation and to keep them holy and obedient until the end.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, one cannot come to faith in the person and redemptive work of Christ and persevere in a walk with him merely by the work of the Holy Spirit without the revelation that comes from the Word, nor simply by the Word without the Spirit’s internal work. In other words, no one can come to salvation and experience union with Christ without the knowledge of God and of ourselves given by the Word and the internal work of the Holy Spirit.

Here, Calvin’s view of the inseparability of Holy Spirit and Word in the internal work of salvation will be presented. However, since Calvin taught that the Spirit is at work in the various aspects of human beings, it is necessary to give some consideration to his understanding of them.

### **The Nature and Aspects of Human Beings**

In his *Institutes*, Calvin developed his view of human beings and did so in the opening of this imposing work. For him, a proper knowledge of God and of oneself is necessary for a person to understand God’s redemptive plan and find salvation in Christ. He asserted, “We cannot have a clear and complete knowledge of God unless it is

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<sup>82</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.1.4, 1:541–42.

<sup>83</sup> William Balke, *Calvin and the Anabaptist Radicals* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1999), 46. Cited in Evans, “John Calvin,” 94.

<sup>84</sup> Evans, “John Calvin,” 96–97.

accompanied by a corresponding knowledge of ourselves.”<sup>85</sup> For Calvin, the knowledge of God and the knowledge of ourselves are closely tied together.<sup>86</sup> When human beings know themselves as they are known by God, they come to recognize their need to know God and to approach him with reverence and adoration. The internal work of the Holy Spirit with the Word is indispensable in achieving this end. However, in order to understand Calvin’s view of how the Holy Spirit works to bring one to a proper understanding of God and of oneself, it is necessary to consider his view of human beings. In his *Institutes*, Calvin described two important aspects of human beings: the constitution of human beings and the image of God that is found in every individual.

In today’s categories of Christian theology, with respect to his anthropology, it is fair to affirm that Calvin was a dichotomist. He understood that human beings are made of two essential aspects, the body, which refers to the material aspect, and the soul, the “nobler part,” which refers to the immaterial aspect.<sup>87</sup> He declared, “That man consists of a soul and a body ought to be beyond controversy.”<sup>88</sup> In order to defend his view, Calvin offered much evidence for the presence of the soul in human beings.

The first evidence is that human beings possess a conscience, which enables them to discern between good and evil, and also to fear punishment. As Calvin said, “Surely the conscience, which, discerning between good and evil, responds to God’s judgment, is an undoubted sign of the immortal spirit.” Without the soul, human beings

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<sup>85</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.1, 1:183.

<sup>86</sup> Thomas F. Torrance comments on this idea saying that according to Calvin, “There is no true knowledge of man except within our knowledge of God.” *Calvin’s Doctrine of Man* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1957), 14. See also Eberhard Busch, “God and Humanity,” in *The Calvin Handbook*, trans. Judith J. Guder (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 224–25.

<sup>87</sup> Anthony N. S. Lane, “Anthropology,” in *The Calvin Handbook*, ed. Herman J. Selderhuis (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 275–76.

<sup>88</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.2, 1:184.



would not experience the sense of guilt when they do wrong. As Calvin argued, “For the body is not affected by the fear of spiritual punishment, which falls upon the soul only; from this it follows that the soul is endowed with essence.” Thus, this fear of spiritual punishment proves the fact that the human beings have some knowledge about God.

Calvin connected this awareness of God to the presence of a soul in human beings: “Now the very knowledge of God sufficiently proves that souls, which transcend the world, are immortal, for no transient energy could penetrate to the fountain of life.”<sup>89</sup> In other words, according to Calvin, since God is a spiritual being, the awareness of God in human beings is captured by a spiritual aspect which is the soul. Furthermore, he said, “With our intelligence we conceive the invisible God and the angels, something the body can by no means do. We grasp things that are right, just, and honorable, which are hidden to the bodily senses.”<sup>90</sup> Thus, because the human soul perceives things that are invisible, things that cannot be grasped by the bodily senses, this is a proof that human beings are not only material in nature, but they also possess an immaterial part. Although Calvin did not adopt a dualist view that sees the body as evil, he considered the soul as the most important aspect of humanity because it is the part that allows human beings to know God and enjoy union with him.

Calvin’s second evidence for the presence of the soul in human beings is found in the biblical account of creation. Calvin’s interpretation of Genesis 1 and 2 led him to assert that human beings, both man and woman, have been created by God, in his own image and likeness.<sup>91</sup> Unlike many before him, especially the Patristic Fathers, Calvin considers the image and the likeness to be the same thing, the second explaining what is

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<sup>89</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.2, 1:184.

<sup>90</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.2, 1:185.

<sup>91</sup> Lane, “Anthropology,” 275; Gregg R. Allison, *Historical Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011), 332.

meant by the first. He defended this view thus: “Also, there is no slight quarrel over ‘image’ and ‘likeness’ when interpreters seek a nonexistent difference between these two words, except that ‘likeness’ has been added by way of explanation.”<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, “For, when God determined to create man in his image, which was a rather obscure expression, he for explanation repeats it in this phrase, ‘According to his likeness,’ as if he were saying that he was going to make man, in whom he would represent himself as in an image, by means of engraved marks of likeness.”<sup>93</sup>

Therefore, Calvin’s emphasis on the reality and nobility of the soul in human beings also resides in the fact that he saw the soul as the seat of the image of God. He asserted, “For although God’s glory shines forth in the outer man, yet there is no doubt that the proper seat of his image is in the soul.”<sup>94</sup> But what does it mean for Calvin that man is created in the image and the likeness of God?

It is clear that it does not mean what the Manicheans affirmed. For they affirmed the soul is “derivative of God’s substance, as if some portion of immeasurable divinity had flowed into man.” Human beings as creatures of God do not derive their nature from God’s nature. As Calvin says, “We must take it to be a fact that souls, although the image of God be engraved upon them, are just as much created as angels are. But creation is not inpouring, but the beginning of essence out of nothing.”<sup>95</sup>

To answer the question concerning the image of God in humanity, Calvin turned to the doctrine of salvation, especially to the idea of regeneration. In fact, the Scriptures, especially the New Testament, emphasize the necessity of the new birth in

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<sup>92</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.3, 1:187.

<sup>93</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.3, 1:188.

<sup>94</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.3, 1:186.

<sup>95</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.5, 1:191.

order to see the kingdom of God. Consequently, it is with the concept of regeneration that it becomes possible to come to a proper understanding of the image of God in human beings.<sup>96</sup>

Calvin conveyed that the goal of regeneration is “that Christ should reform us to God’s image.”<sup>97</sup> This reform is necessary because, through the fall, the image of God in human beings has been corrupted.<sup>98</sup> Thus, Calvin explained, “Even though we grant that God’s image was not annihilated and destroyed in him, yet it was so corrupted that whatever remains is frightful deformity.”<sup>99</sup> The corruption of the entire human being has brought condemnation upon mankind. In order to be restored in its relationship with the triune God, a person has to be renewed in the image of God in Jesus Christ. This image involves three elements: proper knowledge, pure righteousness, and holiness. These elements, which have been lost through the fall, are found perfectly in Christ, and, therefore, need to be renewed in him. Calvin said, “Now we see how Christ is the most perfect image of God; if we are conformed to it, we are so restored that with true piety, righteousness, purity, and intelligence we bear God’s image.”<sup>100</sup> Hence, there is this necessity for human beings to be wholly renewed in the image of God in order to enjoy fellowship with God. How does this renewal take place in man? This question leads to the consideration of the importance of the internal work of the Spirit. Yet, to understand this particular work, it is necessary to discuss one more element of Calvin’s view of human beings.

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<sup>96</sup> Torrance, *Calvin’s Doctrine of Man*, 35–36; Allison, *Historical Theology*, 332.

<sup>97</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.4, 1:189.

<sup>98</sup> Lane, “Anthropology,” 278.

<sup>99</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.4, 1:189.

<sup>100</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.4, 1:190.

As many philosophers and theologians before him, Calvin taught that the human soul possesses a number of faculties.<sup>101</sup> Yet, Calvin reduced these faculties to two, mainly, the understanding and the will.<sup>102</sup> For him, understanding is that faculty of the soul that allows people to analyze and to determine if something is right or wrong. On the other hand, the faculty of the will, sometimes referred as the appetite, gives the ability, depending on the understanding, to choose something is to be pursued or rejected.<sup>103</sup> Thus, Calvin says, “The understanding is, as it were, the leader and governor of the soul; and that the will is always mindful of the bidding of the understanding, and in its own desires awaits the judgment of the understanding.”<sup>104</sup> Elsewhere, Calvin also referred to the will as the affections of the heart. He said, “The understanding and affections, as is well known, are the two principal faculties of the human soul, both of which he clearly shows to be depraved and perverse, when he requests that his understanding may be illuminated, and, at the same time, that his heart may be framed to the obedience of the law.”<sup>105</sup> Thus, at times, Calvin seems to use the words “affections” and “heart” to refer to the faculty of the will.

Calvin explained that the original state, the faculty of understanding had power over the will, so that the will would follow what the mind judged appropriate.<sup>106</sup> At that time, “he [Adam] had full possession of right understanding, he had his affections kept within the bounds of reason, all his senses tempered in right order, and he truly referred

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<sup>101</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.6, 1:192–94.

<sup>102</sup> Lane, “Anthropology,” 276.

<sup>103</sup> Lane, “Anthropology,” 276.

<sup>104</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.7, 1:194.

<sup>105</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:460.

<sup>106</sup> Lane, “Anthropology,” 276.

his excellence to exceptional gifts bestowed upon him by his Maker.”<sup>107</sup> After the fall, the soul became affected by sin and depraved, so that the will was not subjected to the mind anymore, but rather the mind subjected to the will, leading man to sin.<sup>108</sup> Through this alteration of order, human beings have lost, though not completely, the image of God in the soul. Therefore, it is only through the Spirit’s work of regeneration that people can be redeemed and transformed progressively into the image of God. For, as Calvin explained, “the end of regeneration is that Christ should reform us to God’s image.”<sup>109</sup>

To this end, the Holy Spirit acts internally on both faculties of the human soul, the understanding and the will, to perform his work of salvation. Therefore, the Holy Spirit works inseparably with the Word so that the mind may receive the knowledge of God and then he applies this knowledge to the heart so that the will may also be transformed. These aspects of the internal work of the Spirit are particularly seen in what Calvin calls the works of illumination and sanctification.

### **The Spirit and the Word in Illumination**

Two particular sources are important to consider in order to understand Calvin’s view of the work of the Holy Spirit in illumination; his *Institutes* and his *Commentary on the Psalms*. As mentioned, for Calvin, God reveals who he is and who human beings are in relation to himself in the words of Scripture, which is the result of the external work of the Spirit. Thus, the Word is considered as a special revelation from God through which he makes himself known to human beings that also brings them to the true knowledge about themselves. Yet, for human beings to accept this knowledge as

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<sup>107</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.3, 1:188.

<sup>108</sup> Lane, “Anthropology,” 281–82

<sup>109</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.15.4, 1:189.

true, they need the internal work of the Spirit. One aspect of the Spirit's internal work is what Calvin described as illumination.<sup>110</sup>

In the *Institutes*, Calvin mentioned many aspects to the work of illumination. First, it consists in leading human beings to recognize the Word as the true revelation from God that bears authority. He explained, "Hence the Scriptures obtain full authority among believers only when men regard them as having sprung from heaven, as if there the living words of God were heard."<sup>111</sup> Thus, to recognize the Word as true, one must discern that it comes from God and that it bears authority. This authority is confirmed in one's mind when the Holy Spirit convinces that God is the author. Without this work, it is impossible to receive the Scriptures as the authoritative Word of God because "credibility of doctrine is not established until we are persuaded beyond doubt that God is its Author." This persuasion comes only by the Spirit who acts as a witness to the heart: "If we desire to provide in the best way for our consciences—that they may not be perpetually beset by the instability of doubt or vacillation, and that they may not also boggle at the smallest quibbles—we ought to seek our conviction in a higher place than human reasons, judgments, or conjectures, that is, in the secret testimony of the Spirit."<sup>112</sup>

Calvin argued that human reason and judgment are affected by the corruption of the whole nature of man.<sup>113</sup> As mentioned earlier, this means that naturally, in the state of sin, a person is unable to consider the Word as true and authoritative. Therefore, this conviction must come by "the secret testimony of the Spirit," wherein the Spirit confirms

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<sup>110</sup> Lyons, "Word and Spirit," 23.

<sup>111</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.7.1, 1:74.

<sup>112</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.7.4, 1:78. Also see Hesselink, "Pneumatology," 302; Allison, *Historical Theology*, 89–90; Muller, "The Foundation of Calvin's Theology," 22. Woodbridge, *Biblical Authority*, 56–57.

<sup>113</sup> Allison, *Historical Theology*, 354–55.

to the soul that God is the author of Scripture. One cannot achieve this merely through reason. The testimony of the Spirit is superior to reason and his work is necessary to convince reason. As Calvin said, “the testimony of the Spirit is more excellent than all reason. For God alone is a fit witness of himself in his Word, so also the Word will not find acceptance in men’s heart before it is sealed by the inward testimony of the Spirit. The same Spirit, therefore, who has spoken through the mouths of the prophets must penetrate into our hearts to persuade us that they faithfully proclaimed what had been divinely commanded.”<sup>114</sup> Thus, the Holy Spirit operates on reason so that people may see Scriptures as the Word of God.

Second, the Spirit not only works in leading one to recognize that God is the author of Scripture, but he also works by his illuminative power to lead one to *trust* the Word of God.<sup>115</sup> By faith one receives Scripture as the Word of God and believes all it says. As Calvin asserted, “Therefore, illumined by his power, we *believe* neither by our own nor by anyone else’s judgment that Scripture is from God; but above human judgement we affirm with utter certainty (just as if we were gazing upon the majesty of God himself) that it has flowed to us from the very mouth of God by the ministry of men.”<sup>116</sup> In other words, through illumination, the Spirit brings one to faith, which Calvin considered as “the principal work of the Holy Spirit,” and to assess the Scripture as the true and authoritative Word of God.<sup>117</sup> Again, to accomplish this, the Holy Spirit works inseparably with the Word:

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<sup>114</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.8.4, 1:79.

<sup>115</sup> Barbara Pitkin, “Faith and Justification,” in *The Calvin Handbook* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 293.

<sup>116</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.8.5, 1:80. Emphasis added.

<sup>117</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* III.1.4, 1:541. Pitkin, “Faith and Justification,” 290.

For by a kind of mutual bond the Lord has joined together the certainty of his Word and of his Spirit so that the perfect religion of the Word may abide in our minds when the Spirit, who causes us to contemplate God's face, shines; and that we in turn may embrace the Spirit with no fear of being deceived when we recognize him in his own image, namely, in the Word. So indeed it is. God did not bring forth his Word among men for the sake of a momentary display, intending at the coming of his Spirit to abolish it. Rather, he sent down the same Spirit by whose power he had dispensed the Word, to complete his work by the efficacious confirmation of the Word.<sup>118</sup>

Third, through the power of the Holy Spirit, the mind is *enlightened* to see Christ as the only way to salvation and to believe in him.<sup>119</sup> But this work of faith begins with a mind that sees and understands the salvation that is promised in the Word. Commenting on Ephesians 1:13, Calvin said, "Paul shows the Spirit to be the inner teacher by whose effort the promise of salvation penetrates into our minds, a promise that would otherwise only strike the air or beat upon our ears."<sup>120</sup> Thus, without the work of illumination of the Holy Spirit, the mind cannot receive the words of the gospel that leads to salvation. In other words, unbelief must first be rooted out of the heart. In Calvin's words, the Holy Spirit "wishes to cure the disease...so that among us God may obtain full faith in his promises... Surely, as often as God commands his Word to us, he indirectly rebukes us for our unbelief, for he has no other intention than to uproot perverse doubts from our hearts."<sup>121</sup> This led Calvin to conclude that "without the illumination of the Holy Spirit, the Word can do nothing."<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* I.9.3, 1:95.

<sup>119</sup> Pitkin, "Faith and Justification," 293.

<sup>120</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* III.1.4, 1:541.

<sup>121</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* III.2.15, 1:560–61.

<sup>122</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* III.2.33, 1:580.



Through the work of illumination, the Spirit operates upon the mind of the elect to bring them to faith in Christ.<sup>123</sup> But his internal work does not only consist in bringing them to faith. Calvin understood that the believers are still in the flesh and they experience the influence of sin that seeks to lead them astray. Therefore, they also need to be guided by the Holy Spirit that Christ gives to them as the teacher of their soul.<sup>124</sup> The Spirit continues to work in them to receive and understand the Word for holy living. In other words, for Calvin, the Holy Spirit work of illumination also consist in *continually* working the sanctification of the mind with the Word.

In his *Commentary on the Psalms*, published in 1559, it is possible to discern how Calvin saw the Spirit and the Word as inseparable for believers to constantly receive and understand God's will. Particularly, in his commentary on Psalm 119, Calvin gives much attention to the various aspects of continual illumination. In this psalm, the author addresses petitions in order that God may give him understanding and the ability to obey his Word. It is the prayer of a believer who desires to grow in his understanding and obedience to the Word. Calvin commented that illumination is essential in order to bring one to see the Word as indispensable in order to love and obey it. In other words, one always needs the guidance of the Spirit. He said, "Although God's plainly instructing us in his law, the obtuseness of our understanding, and the perversity of our hearts, constantly need the direction of his Spirit." Therefore, the goal of this direction is for the understanding to be guided by the Word of God and that the heart may be obedient to God's will. As Calvin said, "Our main desire...ought to be for an understanding wisely regulated by the law of God, and also for a docile and obedient heart."<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Hesselink is right when he associates this work of the Spirit to Calvin's idea of regeneration. "Pneumatology," 305.

<sup>124</sup> Hesselink, "Pneumatology," 307.

<sup>125</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:405.

For Calvin, the Spirit works in many ways through illumination in order to lead one to desire and obey the Word. First, the Spirit works to remove that spiritual blindness that affects all human beings.<sup>126</sup> In other words, illumination is the work of the Spirit that gives eyes to see. As the author of the psalm prays, “Open my eyes, and I shall see the marvelous things of thy law” (v. 18). Commenting on this verse, Calvin described the fact that “every man is blind, until he [God] also enlighten the eyes of his understanding.” Here Calvin observed a parallel between this verse and what Paul says in the first epistle to the Corinthians. He added, “Admitting that God gives light to us by his word, the prophet here means that we are blind amid the clearest light, until he removes the veil from our eyes. When he confesses that his eyes are veiled and shut, rendering him unable to discern the light of the heavenly doctrine, until God, by the invisible grace of his Spirit, open them, he speaks as if he were deploring his own blindness, and that of the whole human race.”<sup>127</sup> Similarly, Calvin explained that, in verse 34, when the psalmist asks God to give him wisdom, he is admitting his natural blindness. He said, “In asking God to confer this wisdom upon him, he owns that men, in consequence of their natural blindness, aim at anything rather than this.”<sup>128</sup> Therefore, according to Calvin, this wisdom and understanding cannot be obtained until the grace of the Spirit is given for one to be relieved from his blindness and see the light of God’s law.

This leads to the second aspect of the internal work of illumination, which is to produce in the heart of the believer a desire to obtain that knowledge and understanding

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<sup>126</sup> Thabiti Anyabwile comments on a few passages of the *Institutes* that convey the same idea saying, “God the Holy Spirit turns a person’s mind from the darkness and foolishness of the world to the light of the kingdom of God by the preaching of the gospel”. See his “The Transforming Work of the Spirit,” in *John Calvin: A Heart for Devotion, Doctrine, and Doxology*, ed. Burk Parsons (Lake Mary, FL: Reformation Trust, 2008), 120–21.

<sup>127</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:413.

<sup>128</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:425.

that are contained in the Word. In verse 33, the psalmist says, “Teach me, O Jehovah! the way of thy statutes; and I will keep it unto the end.” Calvin saw in this prayer the psalmist’s desire to learn from God’s law. This longing for learning from the law is the result of the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart because man is naturally unable to desire anything good. He said, “The Holy Spirit, therefore, often inculcates this desire, and we ought always to keep it in mind, that not only the unexperienced and unlearned, but those who have made great progress, may not cease to aspire after farther advancement. And as the Spirit of understanding comes from above, they should seek to be guided by his invisible agency to the proper knowledge of the law.”<sup>129</sup> Here, Calvin admitted that it is not only those who are spiritually blind who need the work of illumination, but even those who have already made some progress in understanding. In other words, even those who are regenerated need the constant work of the Holy Spirit to have this desire and longing for the Word.

Calvin also carefully noted that the psalmist is not asking for a new revelation, but for illumination. Hence, he exhorted believers not to seek to receive new revelations, but to seek the illumination of the Spirit. He said:

Let us learn, too, that we do not receive the illumination of the Spirit of God to make us contemn the external word, and take pleasure only in secret inspirations, like many fanatics, who do not regard themselves spiritual, except they reject the word of God, and substitute in its place their own wild speculations. Very different is the prophet’s aim, which is to inform us that our illumination is to enable us to discern the light of life, that God manifests by his word. He designates the doctrine of the law, *marvellous things*, to humble us, to contemplate with admiration its height; and to convince us the more of our need of the grace of God, to comprehend the mysteries, which surpass our limited capacity.<sup>130</sup>

The law of God contains wonderful truths that believers need to understand. It is not necessary to seek any other revelation than what is already contained in the Word.

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<sup>129</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:424.

<sup>130</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:413. Emphasis added.

In a similar way elsewhere, with reference to John 14:26, Calvin warned believers not to seek any other revelation explaining the reason why Jesus promised to send his Spirit to his disciples. He said, “Now he did not promise the Spirit for the purpose of forsaking Scripture... but in order to gain its true meaning and thus be satisfied.”<sup>131</sup> Thus, for Calvin, God’s Word is entirely sufficient and what the believers need is not a new revelation from God, but illumination to see the “marvellous things” already revealed in the Word.

Third, not only through illumination the Holy Spirit removes spiritual blindness and produces a desire to learn and understand God’s Word, but also he provides that very knowledge and understanding that comes from the Word. Commenting on verse 12, where the psalmist asks God to teach him his statutes, Calvin said,

Nevertheless, acknowledging himself and all the upright to be only on their journey till they arrive at the close of life, he fails not to ask for *the spirit of understanding*. This passage informs us generally, that if God do not *enlighten* us with the spirit of discernment, we are not competent to behold the light which shines forth from his law, though it be constantly before us. And thus it happens, that not a few are blind even when surrounded with the clear revelation of this doctrine, because, confident in their own perspicacity, they condemn the internal illumination of the Holy Spirit.<sup>132</sup>

Here Calvin noted that it is impossible to be confident in our own ability to obtain a proper understanding of his Word. Understanding only comes through illumination and, thus, everyone needs it.

Finally, through illumination, the Holy Spirit brings *growth* in knowledge. Calvin noted, “Unless God teach us by the Spirit of wisdom, we will presently be hurried away into various errors.”<sup>133</sup> In other words, believers can be led astray, so they need to

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<sup>131</sup> John Calvin, “Against the Fantastic and Furious Sect of the Libertines Who Are Called ‘Spirituals,’” in *Treatises Against the Anabaptists and Against the Libertines*, ed. and trans. Benjamin Wirt Farley (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1982), 224.

<sup>132</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:410. Emphasis added.

<sup>133</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:422.

be taught by the Spirit. As Calvin argued, “If the prophet, upon whom God had conferred so honourable an office as a teacher of the Church, confesses himself to be only a disciple or scholar, what madness is it for those who are greatly behind him in point of attainments not to strain every nerve to rise to higher excellence?”<sup>134</sup> When one receives the Word, he receives by illumination some knowledge and understanding, but according to Calvin, this is not sufficient. One also needs to make progress in knowledge, which is a grace of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, Calvin explained the psalmist’s prayer in verse 52: “He beseeches God to exercise his goodness towards him, not by causing him to increase in riches and honours, or to abound in pleasures, but by enabling him to make progress in the knowledge of the law.”<sup>135</sup> Consequently, it is not surprising that Calvin referred to the Holy Spirit as the “internal” and “constant” teacher.

Summarizing the prayer of the psalmist in verse 33, Calvin said, “Lord, I have need of *constant teaching*, that I may not fall short of, but keep my eye continually upon my mark; for thou commandest me to run in thy course, on condition that death alone should be the goal. Unless thou teach me daily, this perseverance will not be found in me. But if thou guide me, I will be constantly upon the watch, and will never turn away my eyes from my end, or aim.”<sup>136</sup> This last remark helps to see that constant illumination is not only necessary for knowledge and understanding, but also for wisdom in order to make progress in the knowledge of God.

Through all these aspects of the illumination of the Spirit, Calvin clearly asserted that the Holy Spirit works inseparably with the Word of God. Without the Spirit, one cannot receive and understand the Word and, because the Spirit does not offer new

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<sup>134</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:410.

<sup>135</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:452.

<sup>136</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:425. Emphasis added.

revelation, the revelation of God in his Word is always necessary. This idea is well summarized in his comment on verse 144, where Calvin emphasizes the necessity of receiving instruction from the Word as well as the work of the Spirit that enlightens one to grow in knowledge. He said, “Although David desires to have his mind enlightened by God, yet he does not conceive of any other way by which he was to obtain an enlightened understanding than by his profiting aright in the study of the law.”<sup>137</sup>

Therefore, Calvin’s teachings point to various aspects of the Spirit’s work of illumination. Through illumination, he works inseparably with the Word to remove spiritual blindness, to bring the mind into submission to the authority of the Word, to develop a love for the Word, to acquire proper knowledge and understanding, and to make progress in the knowledge of God.

### **The Spirit and the Word in Sanctification**

It is difficult to see how in Calvin’s view the work of the Holy Spirit of illumination can be separated from his work of sanctification, because through illumination the Spirit begins the work of sanctification. It is through illumination the Spirit sanctifies one’s mind. In a sense, the illumination of the Spirit precedes his work of sanctification. It is only through illumination that one can be transformed. As Calvin said, “We will have no relish for the law of God until he sanctify our minds, and render them susceptible of tasting heavenly wisdom.”<sup>138</sup> Therefore, once the believer’s mind is enlightened by the Spirit to understand the Word, the Spirit also uses the Word to sanctify the mind.

Furthermore, Calvin explained that the Spirit not only works with the Word to enlighten the mind of the elect in order to receive the knowledge of God and his will, but

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<sup>137</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 5:23.

<sup>138</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:420.

he also accomplishes the whole work of sanctification with the Word. The “Spirit of sanctification,” as Calvin referred to him, works to sanctify the whole human being, restoring all faculties into the image of Christ.<sup>139</sup> Accordingly, the Spirit sanctifies faculties of the mind and the will in order to lead the believer into a life of obedience to God’s Word. As his work in the sanctification of the mind has already presented, it is proper now to focus especially on his work of sanctification of the will, and then on his work of guiding the believer into obedience.

According to Calvin, through his work of sanctification, the Spirit inclines the heart to obey the Word in all aspects of life. In verse 40, the psalmist says, “Lo! I have a desire to thy commandments: quicken me in thy righteousness.” Through this prayer, Calvin noted that the psalmist relies on the work of God in his heart, not only to have the desire to keep his Word, but also to truly obey it and walk in righteousness. Here, Calvin expressed the prayer in his own words: “Lord, this is now a remarkable kindness thou hast done me, in having inspired me with a holy desire to keep thy law; one thing is still necessary, that this same virtue pervade my whole life.”<sup>140</sup>

It is important to note here that, according to Calvin, the ability to walk in obedience to the Word is a grace of God. As one cannot understand God’s law without illumination, one cannot obey it without the grace of sanctification given by the Spirit of God. With reference to the psalmist where he says, “I have sworn, and will perform, to keep thy righteous judgments” (v. 106), Calvin argued that the grace of God given by the Holy Spirit is necessary for obedience. He said,

Whenever the faithful vow to Him, they do not look to what they are able to do of themselves, but they depend upon the grace of God, to whom it belongs to perform what he requires from them, in the way of supplying them with strength by his Holy Spirit. When the question is in reference to service to be rendered to God, they

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<sup>139</sup> Calvin, *Institutes* III.1.2, 1:538–39.

<sup>140</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:430.

cannot vow anything without the Holy Spirit; for, as Paul says in 2 Cor. iii. 5, ‘Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves.’<sup>141</sup>

Thus, for Calvin, in holy living, the believer depends on both the Word and the grace of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit manifests this grace in many aspects.

First, the Spirit works in order that the will may receive the Word. It is not sufficient that the mind receives and understand it, the will must also receive it. As Calvin noted, “In vain does divine truth sound in our ears, if the Spirit of God does not effectually *pierce* into our hearts. The Prophet confesses that it is to no purpose for him to read or hear the law of God, unless his life is regulated by the secret influence of the Holy Spirit, that he may thus be enabled to walk in that righteousness which the law enjoins.”<sup>142</sup> Thus, before being able to obey God’s commands, one must have not only his mind, but also his will ruled by the Word. For this to happen, the Spirit works internally to make a way for the Word into the heart.

Second, when the Spirit makes a way for the Word into the heart, he also works to make room for it in the heart. In verse 32, the psalmist says, “I will run the way of thy commandments, when thou shalt enlarged my heart.” Calvin commented on this verse saying, “This passage tells us, when God has once enlarged our hearts, there will be no lack of power, because, along with proper affection, he will furnish ability, so that our feet will be ready to run.”<sup>143</sup> In other words, he gives the believer a heart that receives the Word with love and desire to walk in God’s statutes. Again, Calvin reminded the believer that this enlargement of the heart that leads to obedience is not the fruit of his own ability, but it comes from God’s grace through the Spirit: “His words contain an implied admission of the supineness and inability of men to make any advancement in well-doing

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<sup>141</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:480.

<sup>142</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 5:14. Emphasis added.

<sup>143</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:423.



until God enlarge their hearts. No sooner does God expand their hearts, than they are fitted not only for walking, but also for running in the way of his commandments.”<sup>144</sup> Calvin was totally aware that the affections of the heart come from the Spirit, but he also asserted that these affections come from the Word. He said, “If a man, by his mien and gait, pretend any such affection for the law of God, and yet pay no regard to it in the affairs of life, he would be justly chargeable with the basest hypocrisy. Again, he affirmed, that that affection, so earnest and so ardent, springs from the sweetness of the law of God having knit our hearts to it.”<sup>145</sup> So, affection for the Word comes from the Word itself. Furthermore, “When the prophet says of himself that he inclined his heart, he does not separate his own endeavour from the grace of the Holy Spirit, by whose inspiration he has previously declared that the whole was done.”<sup>146</sup> In the end, inclination of the heart to God’s will come inseparably from the Spirit and the Word.

A third aspect of the internal work of the Spirit that is seen in this psalm is the producing of uprightness of heart. This uprightness of heart comes through proper affections. As mentioned above, Calvin sometimes seems to refer to the will and the affections interchangeably. Calvin commented on verse 80 saying, “Having, a little before, desired to be endued with a sound understanding, he now prays, in a similar manner, for sincere affection of heart.”<sup>147</sup> Thus, a proper understanding is necessary as well as a reformed will. This reformation of the will leads to proper affections for God’s Word and will produce uprightness of heart. He pursued his comments on the verse saying, “The prophet not only here prays that God would help him, because his will was

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<sup>144</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:423.

<sup>145</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:435–36.

<sup>146</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:486.

<sup>147</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:460.

weak; but he testifies, without qualification, that uprightness of heart is the gift of the Holy Spirit.” As Calvin explained, it is not sufficient only to serve God through “outward obedience.” Proper obedience and service to God must come from a heart that has been transformed and that is regulated by the Holy Spirit: “But the Holy Spirit here declares that no service is acceptable to God, except that which proceeds from integrity of heart.”<sup>148</sup>

Therefore, once the Spirit pierces, enlarges, and gives uprightness to the heart according to the Word, then he works so that the believer may keep the law of God and obey it outwardly. With reference to the psalmist, Calvin noted that proper observance of the Word comes from the Spirit: “He declares it to be owing to the peculiar grace of the Holy Spirit, that any person keeps the law of God.”<sup>149</sup> By grace, the Spirit guides the believers and helps them in keeping the law.

This guidance is necessary to keep believers from evil. In verse 35, the psalmist calls upon God to come to his help saying, “Direct me in the way of thy statutes; for in it does my heart take pleasure.” Calvin perceived in this prayer the reason why the psalmist calls upon God to direct him in his statutes. He said, “Seeing that the end of man’s existence ought to consist in profiting in God’s school, we nevertheless perceive how the world distracts him by its allurements, and how he also forms for himself a thousand avocations calculated to withdraw his thoughts from the main business of his life.”<sup>150</sup> As the psalmist says, he takes pleasure in God’s law. Yet, as Calvin noted, because the world and the flesh continue to influence the believers, they need God’s grace not to be seduced by them, but to keep God’s law. “Therefore,” Calvin said, “that

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<sup>148</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:460.

<sup>149</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:413.

<sup>150</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:426.

his desire may be fully accomplished, he solicits fresh assistance from God, according to the saying of Paul, ‘It is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good pleasure.’” Put differently, one not only needs God’s grace of the Spirit to desire to obey his Word, but he also needs his grace for obeying and keeping the Word.

Again, Calvin noted that believers need to fight constantly against the pleasures of the world and of the flesh. In his comments on verse 103, he said, “What I have previously said must be remembered, that the Law of God will be unsavoury to us, or, at least, that it will never be so sweet to us, as to withdraw us from the pleasures of the flesh, until we have struggled manfully against our own nature, in order to subdue the carnal affections which prevail within us.”<sup>151</sup> Due to the fact that believers have not been completely freed from the infection of sin in their lives, they are in need for God’s grace in order to keep them from evil and to obey God’s Word.

Finally, Calvin showed that perseverance in keeping the law unto the end is also the work of the Holy Spirit. Commenting on verse 101, he summarized the psalmist’s prayer saying, “I have been brought...into the way of salvation, and preserved in it by the secret influence of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>152</sup> Throughout this psalm, Calvin noted that the author seeks a constant work of the Lord in his heart in order to persevere in faith. At one point, the psalmist says, “Sustain me by thy word, and I shall live; and make me not ashamed of my expectation” (v. 116). Calvin showed here that the prophet asks for God to grant him “constancy of faith” so that he may persevere in obedience to the Word. He commented, “We are said to fall from God’s word when we fall from the faith of it; and in like manner, so long as we repose upon the truth and certainty of it, he is our

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<sup>151</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:478.

<sup>152</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:477.

sustainer.”<sup>153</sup> Then, from his last comments on the verse, Calvin argued that it is by the Holy Spirit that God works as the sustainer of faith and that he works with the Word. He noted:

He asks from God ability to persevere as the singular gift of the Holy Spirit. It follows, then, that true stability is to be found no where else but in the word of God; and that no man can steadfastly lean upon it but he who is strengthened by the power of the Holy Spirit. We must therefore always beseech God, who alone is the author and finisher of faith, to maintain in us this grace.<sup>154</sup>

Therefore, to persevere in faith, the believer must rely on both the Holy Spirit and the Word to sustain him.

Through Calvin’s commentary on Psalm 119, one can clearly see his understanding of the various aspects of the work of the Holy Spirit in sanctification. First, the Spirit sanctifies the mind and the will to receive the Word. Then, he enlarges the hearts by giving a love for the Word. He also provides uprightness of heart in order to obey God’s will, he provides ability to keep the law, and finally, he gives perseverance to obey God’s Word until the end.

### **Conclusion**

It is clear that, for Calvin, the Holy Spirit works inseparably with the Word on the faculties of the soul to produce the fruit of salvation. By the Spirit and the Word, one is brought into union with Christ and receives the knowledge of God that the Spirit uses to produce regeneration, submission and obedience to the Word. His theology of the inseparability of the Word and the Spirit helps to understand how he understood conversion and the Christian life and why he gave much attention to the teaching of Scriptures in his ministry. In short, they are essential for the Holy Spirit to accomplish the

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<sup>153</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:490.

<sup>154</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 4:491.

work of salvation which includes illumination, regeneration, sanctification, and perseverance.

Calvin's view of the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word shaped the theology of Geneva and of the French Reformed churches for decades after his death. The next chapters will show that his influence can be clearly perceived in the theology of some of the greatest theologians and pastors who followed him. His view of the inseparability of the Word and Spirit developed especially in the theology of Francis Turretin and Jean Claude.

CHAPTER 3  
THE SPIRIT AND THE WORD IN THE THEOLOGY OF  
FRANCIS TURRETIN

On a sad day in November 1683, in the city of Geneva, many people were assembled to mourn the death of one of their theological giants. In his *Funeral Oration* pronounced on that day, Benedict Pictet, the well-known professor of theology in the Academy of Geneva, paid homage to his uncle, a man of tremendous sensibility and a devoted lover of the church, who had just passed away. This man was Francis Turretin. On that day, Pictet declared to the congregation, “Weep, church! You will not hear that voice, which disclosed to you the whole counsel of God, healed feeble souls, comforted the afflicted, led the wayward back into the way, strengthened those who were staggering, taught the ignorant, confirmed the learned; that mouth whence flowed out the marrow of golden diction poured forth oracles not of this world!”<sup>1</sup> Turretin was one of the most respected pastors and theologians of his time, and he is still, in our days, highly commended by many contemporary Reformed theologians.<sup>2</sup>

Like most theologians in the history of the church, in the face of various theological debates, Turretin worked vigorously to defend the tenets that he considered in conformity with the Scriptures, especially those of Reformed orthodoxy defined in the

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<sup>1</sup> Benedict Pictet, “Funeral Oration of Benedict Pictet Concerning the Life and Death of Francis Turretin, Delivered on the Third Day of November of the Year 1687,” trans. David Lillegard, in Francis Turretin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, ed. James T. Dennison, Jr. (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 1997): 3:676.

<sup>2</sup> A number of contemporary Reformed theologians offer praiseful comments in the cover endorsement of Dennison’s edition of Turretin’s *Institutes*. Paul D. Feinberg thus affirms, “One never errs in reading the giants. Francis Turretin is a giant.” For other commendations of Turretin, see Turretin, *Institutes*.

Canons of Dort (1619). As a pastor and theologian, he also defended the inseparability of the Holy Spirit and the Word of God in the salvation of God's elect. He believed that the Scriptures are inspired by the Holy Spirit and that the Holy Spirit uses the words of Scripture to effectually bring the elect to salvation and to guide them in Christian living. For him, they are inseparable because both play an essential role in the life of the believer. In this chapter, a brief overview of Turretin's life and ministry will be presented. It will be followed by an explanation of his understanding of the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word, especially how both work together in bringing the benefits of salvation to the elect.

### **The Life of Francis Turretin**

Francis Turretin, also known as Francisco or François Turretini, was born in Geneva on October 17, 1623.<sup>3</sup> He was a descendant of a flourishing Italian Protestant family, who found refuge in Geneva during the Roman Inquisition against the Protestants in Italy in the 1570s.<sup>4</sup> It is mainly through the influence of his grandfather, his father, and the excellent education he received, that he became one of the greatest Reformed theologians of his time.

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<sup>3</sup> This biographical sketch is based on the following sources: James T. Dennison, Jr., "The Life and Career of Francis Turretin," in Turretin, *Institutes*, 3:639–58; Pictet. "Funeral Oration," in Turretin, *Institutes*, 3:659–76; Eugène de Budé, *Vie de François Turretini: Théologien genevois (1623–1687)* (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1871); Gerrit Keizer, *François Turretini: Sa vie et ses œuvres et le consensus* (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1900); R. J. VaderMolen, "Turretin, Francis (1623–1687)," in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, 2nd ed., ed. Walter A. Elwell (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001), 1221; Louis Moréri, "Turretin (François)," in *Le grand dictionnaire historique* (Amsterdam: Brunel, 1740), 18:262–63; Louis Moréri, "Turretin, (François)," in *Supplément au grand dictionnaire historique, généalogique, géographique, etc.* (Paris: Lemercier, Jacques Vincent, Jean-Baptiste Coignard, et Antoine Boudet, 1735), 2:415; Monod, "Turretini (François)," in *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, ed. Louis-Gabriel Michaud (Paris: Desplaces, 1870), 42:305; Pierre Bayle, "Turretin (François)," in *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Paris: Desoer, 1820), 14:284–85. Francis Turretin is the English equivalent to Francisco Turretini, in Italian, or François Turretini, in French. This author will use the name Turretini to refer to Francis' family, but will follow the most recent English literature and refer to him as Francis Turretin.

<sup>4</sup> Dennison, "Life and Career of Francis Turretin," 3:640.

## Italian Refugees in Geneva

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Turretin's ancestors were established in the city of Lucca, in the republic bearing the same name, located in west-central Italy, about fifteen miles from the border of the Ligurian Sea. Lucca was a distinguished center of silk manufacture, and the Turretinis became particularly prosperous in that commerce. It led Regelo Turretini, Francis' great-grandfather, a man of excellent reputation, to become chief magistrate of the city of Lucca toward the end of his life.<sup>5</sup>

A few years before Luther's publication of his ninety-five theses in 1517, religious reforms began to take place in the Roman Catholic Church in various regions of Europe.<sup>6</sup> These reforms did not bypass Italy. As Giovanni Gonnet notes, already around 1515, there were in Rome some religious and lay people seeking to spiritually reform the church, who became contributors to what has been called later "the Catholic Reform."<sup>7</sup> They were Catholic humanists who were students of the writings of the apostle Paul and the teachings of Augustine. Furthermore, Philip McNair notes that there was also "a movement known as the Oratory of Divine Love that began before Luther's public protest of 1517," and "groups of spiritually-minded monks and laymen who were concerned about the state of the church."<sup>8</sup> At that time, these reforms were not associated with the Protestant Reformation.

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<sup>5</sup> Dennison, "Life and Career of Francis Turretin," 3:639.

<sup>6</sup> Philip M. J. McNair, "The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Renaissance Italy," in *Religion and Humanism: Papers Read at the Eighteenth Summer Meeting and the Nineteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Keith Robbins (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 150.

<sup>7</sup> Giovanni Gonnet, "Les débuts de la Réforme en Italie," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 199, no. 1 (1982): 38.

<sup>8</sup> McNair, "The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Renaissance Italy," 150.



It was around 1519 that the Reformed teachings began to circulate in Italy.<sup>9</sup> Soon, they reached Lucca and began to take roots in the republic, to the point that, for the Roman Catholic Church, it became “regarded as being a centre of radiating heresy abroad.”<sup>10</sup> In that part of Italy, the Reformation was mainly influenced by the ministry of Peter Martyr Vermigli.

Vermigli was of Italian origin, born in Florence in 1499. At the age of fourteen, he entered the Lateran Congregation, a religious group devoted “to recapturing the Augustinian ideal.”<sup>11</sup> From 1518 to 1526, he pursued his philosophical and theological studies at the Padua University, where he learned the great philosophers and theologians, especially Aristotle, Plato, Aquinas, and Lombard.<sup>12</sup> Around 1526, Vermigli, now a doctor of divinity, entered the priesthood. It was most probably during the first years of his ministry that he became acquainted with the teachings of the Reformation. At that time, the writings of the reformers began to enter Italy from Germany and Switzerland.<sup>13</sup> It was during his ministry as prior San Pietro ad Ara in Naples that the doctrines of the reformation changed Vermigli. As McNair notes, between 1537 and 1540, “the doctrine of Justification by Faith alone in a crucified yet living Christ” broke Vermigli’s heart. Therefore, the “acceptance of this vital doctrine entailed so drastic a reorientation of his heart and mind that it amounted to conversion.”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Gonnet, “Les débuts de la Réforme en Italie,” 40.

<sup>10</sup> G.K. Brown, *Italy and the Reformation to 1550* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1933), 165.

<sup>11</sup> Philip M. J. McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 74.

<sup>12</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 19.

<sup>13</sup> Gonnet, “Les débuts de la Réforme en Italie,” 40.

<sup>14</sup> McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 179.

A few months later, in May 1541, Vermigli became Prior of San Frediano at Lucca. McNair adds, “He came to Lucca as a reformer, knowing that the times were evil and the days were short, convinced that Man is justified by faith, and confident in the power of the Word of God.”<sup>15</sup> Hence, his ministry in Lucca was marked by the preaching of the Word. James Dennison notes, “Each day of the week, Martyr expounded Paul’s letters to large crowds. Focusing on the doctrine of justification by grace alone through faith alone in Christ alone, he brought a revolution in understanding to the minds and hearts of his eager listeners.”<sup>16</sup> The fruitfulness of Vermigli’s ministry in Lucca has been compared to the success of the Reformation in Geneva.<sup>17</sup> However, his ministry did not last very long. On July 21, 1542, Pope Paul III reordered the Roman Inquisition of which the first efforts were directed “to suppressing the heresy in Lucca.”<sup>18</sup> Vermigli was forced to flee Lucca and Italy, leaving behind him many converts to the Reformed faith.

Turretin’s grandfather, Francesco, was born in Lucca in May 1547. He was the first of his family to embrace the teachings of the Reformation. Francesco was a devout and generous man, who was described as “a lover of sincere piety.”<sup>19</sup> In his lifetime, the Reformed community of Lucca was established and prospered. Nevertheless, life was not easy for the protestants of Lucca. As Gerrit Keizer notes, “It was the time of the cruelest persecutions.”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 216.

<sup>16</sup> Dennison, “Life and Career of Francis Turretin,” 3:639.

<sup>17</sup> McNair, “Reformation in Italy,” 165.

<sup>18</sup> Brown, *Italy and the Reformation to 1550*, 162.

<sup>19</sup> Pictet. “Funeral Oration,” 3:661.

<sup>20</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 23.

Francesco was eight years old when Giovanni Pietro Caraffa became Pope Paul IV and reinforced the Roman Inquisition. The pope sent his commissioner to sanction the followers of the Reformation in Lucca who fled the country to find refuge in Lyons, Geneva, and other parts of Europe. Soon the Senate of Lucca gave the order to forbid the people of Lucca to exile. In 1562, an order was delivered that all the exiled of Lucca had to conform to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, the reformation continued its progress in Lucca. It was not before October 1574 that Francesco definitely fled Lucca and established himself temporarily with his family in Geneva.<sup>22</sup> He then moved to the Netherlands, before moving again to Zurich in 1587 to pursue his career in the silk business. He married Michele Burlamachi Camille in July 1587, and they had two children.<sup>23</sup>

Francis's father, Benedict, was born in Zurich in 1588 and came to Geneva with his family in 1592. At the age of fourteen, Benedict completed his humanities and then studied philosophy and theology at the Academy of Geneva from 1602 to 1609, at the time when Theodore Beza, Antoine de la Faye, John Diodati, and Theodore Tronchin were professors. During his studies, Benedict showed a brilliant mind, which led in 1611 to his appointment as adjunct professor of theology. About a year later, he took the pastorate of the Italian church in Geneva and became Professor of Theology at the Academy. Benedict married Louise Micheli on May 26, 1616.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 25.

<sup>22</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 25–26.

<sup>23</sup> Dennison, "Life and Career of Francis Turretin," 3:640.

<sup>24</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 45.

During his ministry, Benedict was a great defender of the Reformed doctrine. Benedict Pictet describes him as “a great trumpet and the ardent protector of the truth.”<sup>25</sup> In 1618, he was chosen by the Venerable Company to respond to the Jesuit Pierre Cotton. In his *Geneve plagiaire ou verification des depravations de la Parole de Dieu*, Cotton had attacked Geneva for its translation of the Bible in the vernacular pointing to what seemed to be errors of translation favoring the teachings of the Reformation. Furthermore, following the Synod of Dort, Benedict was chosen to represent Geneva at the synod of the French Reformed churches in Ales in 1620, where the Canons of Dort were adopted.<sup>26</sup> There, “the great Turretin earned the love and admiration of all.”<sup>27</sup> His devotion to the good of the Academy and for the city of Geneva was also evidence in 1621 by his engagement to make deputation in Holland for reinforcement of the walls of the city in the face of a military threat by the Duke of Savoy.<sup>28</sup> After all, Benedict’s love for the Word of truth and his fruitful ministry prepared a way for his son Francis to become one of the greatest theologians of seventeenth-century Geneva.

### **Early Life and Education**

Francis Turretin was born the fourth of seven children. Early in his childhood, his parents exercised a strong religious influence on him. In addition to regularly

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<sup>25</sup> Pictet, “Funeral Oration,” 3:661. William A. McComish argues that among the three epigones of the Academy of Geneva at that time—John Diodati, Theodore Tronchin, and Benedict Turretin—Benedict “was probably the best systematic theologian of the epigones, and it may not be too much to claim that his relatively early death robbed the Genevan Academy of the most promising Reformed theologian of the first half of the seventeenth century.” See William A. McComish, *The Epigones: A Study of the Theology of the Genevan Academy at the Time of the Synod of Dort, with Special Reference to Giovanni Diodati*, Princeton Theological Monograph Series 13 (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick, 1989), 37.

<sup>26</sup> Dennison, “Life and Career of Francis Turretin,” 3:641.

<sup>27</sup> Pictet, “Funeral Oration,” 3:661.

<sup>28</sup> Dennison, “Life and Career of Francis Turretin,” 3:642.

attending the Italian church in Geneva, most certainly his parents, particularly his father, taught him in the great doctrines of the reformation. Furthermore, throughout Turretin's life, his loving and honoring relationship with his mother shows that she also played an essential role in helping their son to devote himself to God.<sup>29</sup> Still a young man, Turretin already showed a warm heart for God that would characterize him for the rest of his life. When Benedict died in 1631, Francis was only eight years of age. On his death bed, his father affirmed, "This child is sealed with the seal of the living God."<sup>30</sup>

As a young boy, Francis developed a deep love for learning. With a high interest in philosophy and theology, he read numerous books which led him to advance rapidly in his studies. In his *Funeral Oration*, delivered at Turretin's memorial, Benedict Pictet, Turretin's nephew, said, "This adolescent read books with the hands of a veteran. Thus with fervid ambition he rose toward the supreme heights of praise (the power of his mind surpassing by far the prayers of his family), demonstrating by his achievements that the ways of the mind are swifter than the day, which revolves at a rapid pace."<sup>31</sup>

Turretin completed his studies in philosophy and theology at the Academy of Geneva, at the time when John Diodati, Frederic Spanheim, Alexander Morus, and Theodore Tronchin were professors. Diodati, the well-known professor of theology who had a particular interest in the evangelization of Italy, had translated the Bible in the vernacular.<sup>32</sup> At the Synod of Dort, where many witnessed "his erudition and discipline

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<sup>29</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 56.

<sup>30</sup> Dennison, "Life and Career of Francis Turretin," 3:642. For more information on the life of Benedict Turretini, see François Turretini, *Notice biographique sur Bénédict Turretini, théologien genevois du XVIIe siècle* (Geneva: Soullier & Wirth, 1871); McComish, *The Epigones*, 35–37; Louis Moréri, "Turretin (Bénédict)," in *Le grand dictionnaire historique* (Amsterdam: P. Brunel, et al., 1740), 18:262–63; Monod, "Turretini (Bénédict)," in *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, ed. Louis-Gabriel Michaud (Paris: Delagrave et cie, 1870), 42:305.

<sup>31</sup> Pictet, "Funeral Oration," 3:663.

<sup>32</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 58.

of mind,” his defense of Calvinism, against the supporters of the teachings of Jacob Arminius, were particularly influential.<sup>33</sup> Spanheim and Tronchin were both professors of theology, and Morus was a professor of Greek. With Diodati, Tronchin had been a Genevan delegate at the Synod of Dort. Turretin completed his studies at Geneva in 1644, but this was not the end of his course of studies. Warmly recommended by his teachers, he traveled to the Netherlands and to France to visit the prodigious Reformed schools. It was common for students at that time to visit other universities to complete their studies.<sup>34</sup>

He first went to Leiden, where Spanheim had joined the faculty there in 1642.<sup>35</sup> Leiden was at that time recognized as the most excellent Reformed school, “an important university, a city considered as the homeland of advanced studies, a kind of nursery-garden of good fruits.”<sup>36</sup> Spanheim was a great opponent to the teachings of Moïse Amyraut, the well-known professor of the Academy of Saumur who defended the doctrine of universal grace in his *Brief Traitté de la predestination* (1634). Spanheim most probably played a crucial role in shaping Turretin to become later a significant opponent to the Amyraldian doctrine. In Leiden, Turretin was also influenced by other professors like Johan Polyander, André Rivet, Jacob Triglan, Claude Saumaise, and Daniel Heinsus.<sup>37</sup> There, under Spanheim’s supervision, he defended a thesis entitled *De verbo Dei scripto in specie et ejus origine*.

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<sup>33</sup> Pictet, “Funeral Oration,” 3:663.

<sup>34</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 65.

<sup>35</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 59.

<sup>36</sup> Budé, *Vie de François Turretini*, 65.

<sup>37</sup> Dennison, “Life and Career of Francis Turretin,” 3:642.

Turretin subsequently traveled to Utrecht, where he met Gisbert Voetius and his follower Johannes Hoornbeek. As Spanheim, Voetius had been a delegate at the Synod of Dort. He was also a staunch defender of Calvinistic predestinarianism.<sup>38</sup> In 1645, Turretin moved to Paris for nine months, at the time when the teachings of Amyraut began to circulate. At that time, Dennison notes, “The controversy over Amyraldianism and the Saumur Academy had created division within the French Reformed church.”<sup>39</sup> Most probably, Turretin heard the arguments of the Parisian Reformed side on the Amyraldian controversy, which contribute to reinforce his opposition to these teachings. Many great theologians were teaching in Paris at that time. Among them were David Blondel, Jean Daille, Charles Drelincourt, Jean Mestrezat, and Pierre Gassendi. Gassendi was particularly opposed to the philosophy of René Descartes.

Leaving Paris, Turretin headed to Saumur, where he had the opportunity to learn directly from the “Triumvirate” involved in the Amyraldian controversy, Moïse Amyraut, Louis Cappel, and Josué de la Place.<sup>40</sup> It is proper to summarize briefly here the major tenets of Amyraut’s doctrine of universal grace.<sup>41</sup> In his *Brief Traitté de la predestination*, Amyraut argued for the doctrine of hypothetical redemption, affirming that through his death Christ purchased the redemption of all human beings. This view was considered by many in opposition to the Calvinism of the Synod of Dort. In essence, Amyraut defended his view affirming the existence of two wills in God, the hidden and the revealed will of God. According to his revealed will, God desires that all human

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<sup>38</sup> *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed., s.v. “Voetius, Gisbert (1589–1676).”

<sup>39</sup> Dennison, “Life and Career of Francis Turretin,” 3:642.

<sup>40</sup> Dennison, “Life and Career of Francis Turretin,” 3:643.

<sup>41</sup> This short summary of Amyraut’s doctrine is largely based on Brian G. Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 266–68.

beings may be saved. It is according to this will that the Father sent the Son to die for the sins of all men. According to God's hidden will, God makes the sacrifice of Christ only effective for the elect. With this position, Brian Armstrong notes, Amyraut wanted to maintain the tension he found in some passages of Scripture:

On the basis of his understanding of such texts as John 3:16, II Peter 3:9, and Ezekiel 18:23, Amyraut taught a universal design in God's will to save. At the same time, he found in texts such as Romans 9:12ff. the teaching that God was merciful only to a select few. He therefore, not willing as he says to "twist" Scripture, maintained that both were true, that God willed to save all men in Christ but that he willed that Christ's benefit would be efficaciously applied only to the elect.<sup>42</sup>

Although Amyraut considered his teachings conformed to Calvinism, they nonetheless provoked much disagreement in the Reformed Church. Later, Geneva rejected them as not being in line with the teachings of the Synod of Dort. Turretin's time in Saumur did not exercise a notable influence on his Calvinistic theology. On the contrary, as it will be explained, he became a great defender of Calvinistic orthodoxy in Geneva.<sup>43</sup>

After visiting Saumur, Turretin headed to the Academy of Montauban where he met professors Paul Charles and Antoine Garissoles who occupied the chair of theology when "it was adorned with the highest praise of Reformed Europe."<sup>44</sup> From there, Turretin went to Nîmes where his father had left an indelible mark in the hearts of the people by his much-appreciated service there a few decades earlier.

Turretin finished his course of studies toward the end of 1647. It is difficult to evaluate precisely the degree of influence that each of these distinguished schools and theologians had on the development of the young Turretin's thought. Nevertheless, as it became evident later in his writings, the professors at the time of his studies in Geneva

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<sup>42</sup> Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy*, 266.

<sup>43</sup> Dennison, "Life and Career of Francis Turretin," 3:648.

<sup>44</sup> Pictet, "Funeral Oration," 3:665.



exercised the most significant influence on his theology. As a pastor and theologian, he vigorously worked to safeguard the theology he received from them and, as his predecessors, he transmitted the doctrines of Calvinistic orthodoxy to the next generation of pastors and professors.<sup>45</sup> The force of his great mind would lead him to become one of the greatest ministers and theologians of the history of Geneva.

### **A Careful and Faithful Pastor**

At the end of 1647, Turretin traveled back to Geneva, where he ministered for the rest of his life, except for a short period in 1652. It did not take very long after he came back that the Italian church called him to the pastoral ministry. Although the company of pastors was willing to ordain him, he took time to examine himself and finally decided to wait for better dispositions. Even at a young age, Turretin had a humble spirit that would characterize his ministry. As Pictet mentioned, “He did not seek the limelight, nor applause; he did not scorn an honest reputation with others, but by no means did he grasp at it; nor did he ever desire a monument erected for himself out of a belittling of others.”<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, Turretin agreed to serve the church and to preach from time to time. It did not take long for him to become respected by the church. Pictet noted, “As soon as his voice was first heard in the temples, all recognized his father revived in him and greatly admired Benedict in Francis.”<sup>47</sup> The Venerable Company continued to express the desire to ordain him in the pastoral ministry. The ceremony to confirm his ordination finally took place in December 1648, a little more than a year after he began to minister in the church.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> VaderMolen, “Turretin, Francis (1623–1687),” 1221.

<sup>46</sup> Pictet, “Funeral Oration,” 3:668.

<sup>47</sup> Pictet, “Funeral Oration,” 3:665.

<sup>48</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 73.

With as brilliant a mind as that of Turretin in its midst, it was not enough for the church for his ministry to be limited to the pastorate. The Venerable Company also wanted to have him as a professor in the Academy. In 1650, the company offered him the chair of Philosophy in the Academy, which he refused, “pleading his commitment to the Italian congregation.”<sup>49</sup> This did not prevent him to begin to teach as an adjunct professor of philosophy.

Around that time, the Reformed church of Lyons also had its eyes on him and asked the council and the Venerable Company if the son of Benedict, whose ministry had been much appreciated among them, could come and help them in a difficult transition. The request from Lyons first came in 1649 and was refused, but in 1652, the church who had just lost its pastor sent another request to which the church in Geneva responded with compassion. They allowed Turretin to minister there for three months.

It was a time of turmoil for the Reformed church of Lyons, which a few years earlier had lost its pastor Aaron Morus. One of the ministers there, Samuel Routh, who had succeeded to his father Alexandre in July 1650, was the cause of this turmoil. Budé explains, “He had displeased the members of the consistory by a defect of character, and perhaps by imprudence, if not by real misconduct, and they, together with the principal heads of the family, had given him leave.”<sup>50</sup> When Turretin arrived, he had to be careful in its dealings with Routh and his supporters. However, as Budé adds, “his prudence, his tact, and his firmness gained him the affection of the flock and provoked great regrets when he had to leave.”<sup>51</sup> The maturity he had for his age was expressed through his deep

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<sup>49</sup> Dennison, “Life and Career of Francis Turretin,” 3:665.

<sup>50</sup> Budé, *Vie de François Turrettini*, 49.

<sup>51</sup> Budé, *Vie de François Turrettini*, 50.

love for the congregation, the careful watching of the flock and the unreserved preaching of Scripture.

Needless to say, the church of Lyons fell in love with this young pastor. Thus, the church made the request to the counsel of Geneva for Turretin to stay longer in his ministry with them, which he did for a few more months. Geneva refused their request to call him as pastor of the church. Consequently, in December, as Pictet explains, “He whom the citizens of Lyons had received with joyful applause, they sent away with tears.”<sup>52</sup> Therefore, Turretin traveled back to Geneva and took back his pastoral responsibilities in the church.

Turretin was tenderhearted for the church in Geneva. From his two published volumes of sermons, one can discern that Turretin understood his role as an under-shepherd of the souls, guiding them in their walk with the Lord through exhortations and encouragements coming from the Scriptures. As Budé notes, in his preaching, he demonstrated a secure attachment “to the edification of the souls and to morality while remaining very strict on dogmatic ground.”<sup>53</sup> Thus, he also saw that it was his responsibility as a pastor to guard the church against false teachings or harmful interpretation of Scripture. Budé adds, “Pastors and professors were amazed [by his preaching], and far from being jealous, they recognized in him a great teacher.”<sup>54</sup>

Continuing in the tradition of the Reformation, he made the expository preaching of the Word a priority in the church, having the profound conviction that the Holy Spirit works through the means of the Word to call people, both unbelievers and believers, to faith and repentance. For him, through the preaching of the Word, the

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<sup>52</sup> Pictet, “Funeral Oration,” 3:666.

<sup>53</sup> Budé, *Vie de François Turrettini*, 185.

<sup>54</sup> Budé, *Vie de François Turrettini*, 186.

unbelievers were called to faith and repentance to receive justification in Christ and become children of God, and the believers were called to perseverance in the faith and to make progress in sanctification. The opening words of one of his sermons testify of this view. He said,

We do not get tired of asking you again, my brothers, your religious attention to benefit of these salutary truths; chiefly the help of your prayers, to implore with us the grace of the Holy Spirit, so that this great Doctor of the truth may really address the thoughts of our hearts and the words of our mouth, so that we advance nothing on a much important matter that is not for the glory of God and for your edification.<sup>55</sup>

Furthermore, his preaching was marked by rigorous Calvinism, not only in its theology but also the authority with which the words of Scripture were preached. He preached with an emphasis on the majesty and holiness of God, the great spiritual blessings that believers have in Jesus Christ, and the necessity to live lives worthy of their calling. His sermons, generally based on the exposition of a short passage of Scripture, always had the same structure. They began with a statement of some spiritual issues addressed by the passage and was followed by a thorough word-by-word explanation of the text. In his explanation, he took care to inform the people with sound doctrine and to protect them against some misleading interpretations. Turretin usually concluded his sermons with appeals to God's people, calling them not only to be hearers of the Word but also to have their hearts and minds transformed to obey its teaching in every aspect of their lives. Pictet described Turretin's preaching thus:

not with the mere enticements of words did he feed the souls of his listeners, but with solid doctrine, now historical and full, now unpolished and despised, shunning the noble kind of speaking, and anxiously on his guard lest his speech bring forth only leaves through and excessive arrangement of words, as Jerome says, or rather that he should weigh foaming words, and for all that, not find the earth.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Francis Turretin, "Le bonheur du peuple de Dieu," in *Sermons sur divers passages de l'Écriture Sainte* (Geneva: Samuel de Tournes, 1676), 5–6.

<sup>56</sup> Pictet, "Funeral Oration," 3:667.

From these words and from the people who knew him, it is not difficult to recognize that a desire for the Word of God to take root in the heart of the people for the glory of God marked his pastoral ministry.

### **A Diligent Theologian**

Turretin's desire to be faithful to the Scriptures marked not only his pastoral ministry but also his ministry as professor of theology in the Academy. In January 1653, the Venerable Company made its request for him to take the chair of Theology to succeed to Theodore Tronchin who had to retire because of health issues. Again, following his father's footsteps, Turretin accepted the position he would occupy for the rest of his life. His ministry as a theologian in Geneva brought new challenges to his ministry and would lead him to be the great defender of the Calvinism associated with the Synod of Dort.

As mentioned above, following the Synod of Dort, the Academy of Saumur in France, where Moïse Amyraut was teaching, continued to influence many theologians and ministers with the doctrine of the universal grace. In face of the new theologies, the Genevan church opposed continuously.<sup>57</sup> Over the years, between 1640 and 1670, some ministers who had been trained at Saumur came to teach at the Academy of Geneva. Among them was Alexandre Morus, who came in 1641 to occupy the chair of Theology left behind by Spanheim. Although it is difficult, even today, to identify his convictions on the doctrine of universal grace, the Venerable Company accused him of teaching the new theories of Saumur.<sup>58</sup> The controversy with Morus led the Venerable Company to write the formulas of 1647 and 1649 and to force all new ministers not to teach the new doctrines.<sup>59</sup> As Dennison says, "The Morus affair was the beginning of sorrows for the

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<sup>57</sup> Budé, *Vie de François Turretini*, 144–45.

<sup>58</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 130.

<sup>59</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 133. See also Budé, *Vie de François Turretini*, 149.

highly orthodox party in Geneva. Turretin himself would be the last of the great Reformed epigones of Calvin's city."<sup>60</sup> In other words, as a member of the Venerable Company, Turretin would work hard to protect orthodoxy by demanding everyone to conform to these formulas, but the fruit of his efforts would not last very long after him.

Nevertheless, his defense of Calvinism, especially during his years as rector of the Academy between 1668 and 1670, led to his contribution to the Helvetic Consensus in 1675. In 1669, Turretin had to deal mainly with two professors of the Academy, Louis Tronchin and Philippe Mestrezat, who influenced others in their opposition to the obligation of French ministers coming to Geneva to sign the formulas of 1647 and 1649. Turretin strongly opposed these two professors.

During the years of struggle, impatience toward the new doctrines also grew among theologians in Switzerland who wanted to maintain the tenets of Dort. As Keizer explains, "The ideal of most of the Reformed theologians was to maintain the resolutions adopted at Dort, the conservation and the triumph of the doctrine expressed in the canons; as soon they were perceiving the smallest heterodoxy, they were running on the enemy by sounding an alarm call."<sup>61</sup> Thus, the *Consensus* was held primarily by the churches of four cities in Switzerland, Berne, Zurich, Basle, and Schaffhouse. At Basle, Zwinger and Buxtorf, considered the "most zealous champions of orthodoxy in the mid-seventeenth century," wanted to address various theological issues. Theologians of the other cities wanted to focus on the Salmurian doctrines. In the end, the *Consensus* was directed against these issues and was meant to uphold the Canons of Dort.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Dennison, "Life and Career of Francis Turretin," 3:645.

<sup>61</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 123.

<sup>62</sup> Budé, *Vie de François Turretini*, 156. For more details on the historical context of the *Consensus* and an English translation of it, see Martin I. Klauber, "The Helvetic Formula Consensus (1675): An Introduction and Translation," *Trinity Journal* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 103–23.

In addition to these theological issues, Turretin was also involved in helping Geneva through political issues. During the 1650s, the Duke of Savoy threatened to attack Geneva.<sup>63</sup> At the beginning of the 1660s, the council of the city felt and feared the threat. It was time for Geneva to reinforce the walls of the city. The Venerable Company turned to Turretin and asked him to travel to Holland to make deputation and to raise money for that purpose. Again, Turretin was called to walk in the steps of his father. He left Geneva for Holland in May 1661 for about a year. The deputation, as well as his strong reputation, brought Turretin to visit and preach in many churches. Pictet summarized the attitude of the people of Holland toward him. He said, “They marveled at his pure soul and total devotion to heaven, at his teaching untouched by any ostentation, at his rare integrity, at his varied and recondite erudition, at his strictness for severity of judgment, at his vigilant and dauntless spirit in watching over and laying claim to the truth, ‘on the one hand, a champion of orthodoxy; on the other, an enemy of novelty.’”<sup>64</sup> During this trip, he received many propositions from churches to become their pastor and two great universities of Holland extended requests for him to become one of their professors. Turretin refused these propositions and returned to Geneva bringing back 75,000 florins that would serve to repair the walls of the city.

During his life, in addition to the two volumes of sermons, Turretin defended and published a number of theses. Pierre Bayle described Turretin and his works thus: “It was a man with a lot of merit, eloquent, judicious, laborious, learned, and zealous for orthodoxy. All this is seen in the works that he gave to the public.”<sup>65</sup> Doubtlessly, Turretin’s most significant work is his *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*. This three-volume

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<sup>63</sup> Dennison, “Life and Career of Francis Turretin,” 3:645.

<sup>64</sup> Pictet, “Funeral Oration,” 3:670.

<sup>65</sup> Pierre Bayle, “TURRETIN, (François),” in *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, vol. 14, 1820.

work published in Latin toward the end of his life, from 1679 to 1685, is the best representation of his theology.<sup>66</sup> As the title shows, the work consists mainly in defending Reformed orthodoxy in light of the various theological influences of his time, primarily the Roman Catholic theology of Robert Bellarmine, Lutheran theology, the theology of the Anabaptists, and also some disputations among the Calvinists. The work is arranged to address the essential doctrines of theology by giving answers to questions at issues between Calvinist orthodoxy and the other groups. Generally, for each question addressed Turretin answered in four parts. He began by clarifying the issue, then he answered the question, which was followed by a response to specific objections, and finally he provided the biblical interpretation of the passages at the heart of the issue. In the *Institutes*, Turretin notably defended the doctrine of particular grace in response to the teachings of the Academy of Saumur. It is still considered today the most excellent defense of Calvinist orthodoxy in the seventeenth century, and it has been influential through this day. As Dennison argues, throughout this work, Turretin proved to be “an advocate of the Calvinism of the Synod of Dort, Calvinism which he regarded as traceable *ad fontes*—to John Calvin himself.”<sup>67</sup>

### **The Influence of the Theology of Turretin**

Turretin’s influential *Institutes* was published throughout Europe and became one of the most used manuals theology in the Reformed schools. In Switzerland, the work was well-received, and a second edition of the work soon became necessary. As Keizer

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<sup>66</sup> For discussions on Turretin’s *Institutes*, see James Waddel Alexander, “Institutio Theologiae Elencticae,” *The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review* 20, no. 3 (July 1848): 452–63; and J. Mark Beach, “Reading Turretin: Some Observations on Francis Turretin’s Institutes of Elenctic Theology,” *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 27 (2016): 67–84.

<sup>67</sup> Dennison, “Life and Career of Francis Turretin,” 3:648.



notes, when the work was published in Holland in 1698, “The success was resounding.”<sup>68</sup> There, the French refugees, as well as the Dutch theologians, commended his work, which needed to be reprinted in 1701, and an abridged version was published three times until 1731. Soon after he published his three-volume *Institutes*, the academic journal *La République des Lettres* commended his work in these words: “We were hoping for it with great impatience, because we agreed that there is nothing more necessary than a good course of theology and we believed that Mr. Turretin perfectly succeeded in giving it to us.”<sup>69</sup> Keizer explains that the work was also influential in many other parts of Europe, notably in Germany, the United Kingdom, and in Scotland.

In the nineteenth century, Turretin’s *Institutes* were republished in Latin in the four-volume *Francisci Turretini Opera* (1847). From then on, Turretini’s influence grew. Sections of the work began to be translated into English and published, but the whole work was translated by George Musgrave Giger, a professor of classics at Princeton Seminary from 1847 to 1865, at the request of Charles Hodge, professor of theology.<sup>70</sup> The manuscript of this translation was kept in the library for reference but was never published.<sup>71</sup> Hodge used Turretin’s *Institutes* in his systematic theology classes giving portions for students to read. Before him, Archibald Alexander used the Latin version for recitation in systematic theology.<sup>72</sup> In addition to Princeton, Dennison also

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<sup>68</sup> Keizer, *François Turretini*, 260.

<sup>69</sup> Cited in Budé, *Vie de François Turretini*, 170.

<sup>70</sup> James T. Dennison, Jr., “Editor’s Preface,” in Francis *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, 1:xxvii. James R. Willson also translated and published a section of the *Institutes*. See Francis Turretin, *Turretin on the Atonement of Christ*, New ed., trans. James R. Willson (New York: Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, 1859).

<sup>71</sup> It is only in 1994 that Giger’s nineteenth-century translation of Turretin’s *Institutes* were finally published.

<sup>72</sup> Dennison, “Life and Career of Francis Turretin,” 3:648.

mentions that many other teachers in the schools of theology of nineteenth-century America and Britain used Turretin's work as a reference for theology.

With the publication of Giger's translation of the *Institutes* by Dennison in 1992, Turretin is being discovered by a new generation of ministers and continues to speak and to influence Reformed churches. In the last decades, Turretin's works have increasingly become the object of further academic studies.<sup>73</sup> As one of the highest representatives of Calvinist theology, most certainly Turretin's life and theology will continue to arise the interest of many pastors and theologians of the Evangelical movement in the next decades.

Turretin died on September 20, 1687, leaving behind him a son, Jean-Alphonse, who also became a famous theologian in Geneva in the eighteenth century. In his theology, Jean-Alphonse did not walk in steps with his father. Influenced by the growing rationalistic thought of his time, he gradually departed from his father's Calvinism to adopt new ways to approach and to interpret the Scriptures. Progressively, he influenced the Academy of Geneva to depart from the Calvinism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Among the works published in recent years, see J. Mark Beach, *Christ and the Covenant: Francis Turretin's Federal Theology as a Defense of the Doctrine of Grace* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), James E. Bruce, *Rights in the Law: The Importance of God's Free Choices in the Thought of Francis Turretin* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), J.V. Fesko, and Gyeongcheol Gwon, *Christ and the Old Covenant: Francis Turretin (1623-1687) on Christ's Suretyship Under the Old Testament*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018).

<sup>74</sup> For further information on Jean-Alphonse's life and theology and the theological shift in Geneva, see Eugène de Budé, *Vie de J.-A. Turrettini, théologien genevois, 1671-1737* (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1880); Martin I. Klauber, *Between Reformed Scholasticism and Pan-Protestantism: Jean-Alphonse Turretin (1671-1737) and Enlightened Orthodoxy at the Academy of Geneva* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1994); John B. Roney and Martin I. Klauber, eds., *The Identity of Geneva: the Christian Commonwealth, 1564-1864* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998).

## **The Spirit and the Word in Turretin**

Although there has been in recent years a resurgence of interest in Turretin's theology, an essential aspect of his teaching regarding salvation and the Christian Life has not been discussed in detail. As Calvin believed in the inseparability of the Holy Spirit and the Word to bring salvation and all his benefits to man, Turretin also defended this teaching. In this section, after having briefly exposed Turretin's understanding of the person of the Holy Spirit and his view of the Scriptures as the Word of God, his view of the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word in salvation, particularly in conversion, sanctification, perseverance, and assurance, will be presented.

### **God the Holy Spirit**

In his *Institutes*, Turretin addressed some theological issues of his time concerning the doctrine of God. Under this topic, he also develops his view of the nature of God, which was in line with the doctrine of the Western church defined in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed (381). A brief look at his view of God will help to understand more specifically his view of the Holy Spirit as a divine person.

**God is one.** In the third topic of his *Institutes*, Turretin began his argument by defending the existence of God against atheism. With reference to Gregory of Nazianzus, he explained that there are usually three ways to talk about God. It is possible to speak of God as anarchy, a polyarchy, and a monarchy. Since atheists deny the existence of a sovereign God who governs all things, they can be identified as anarchists. Then, speaking of the divinity or divinities as a polyarchy is characteristic of the heathen and the tritheists. For Turretin, it is better to speak of God as a monarchy, which he identified as the Christian view. Consequently, Turretin was concerned to prove that "God is one numerically as to essence."<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:181.

Turretin offered two lines of argument to prove the essential unity of God; from Scripture and from reason. He said, “That there is but one God both the Scriptures frequently assert and reason proves.”<sup>76</sup> First, from Scripture, Turretin insisted on the fact that there is only one God, and beside him, there is no other. He showed that the Old Testament, as well as the New Testament, repeatedly declare that “God is one” (Deut 6:4; 1 Cor 8:6; Gal 3.20; 1 Tim 2:5). Other passages declare the unity of God in affirming that there are no other gods beside him (Deut 32:39; Isa 43:11).

Second, Turretin explained that the essential unity of God could also be proved by reason. He points to the irrationality of affirming the existence of many gods: “It is a contradiction to suppose more infinite, eternal, omnipotent and most perfect beings (such as God should be) and also more rulers of the world.”<sup>77</sup> He borrowed this argument from various ancient philosophers and theologians. Notably, he referred to the words of Homer in the *Iliad* who said, “The government of the many is not good; let one be the ruler.”<sup>78</sup> He also referred to Tertullian, who noted that “if God is not one, he is not at all.”<sup>79</sup> From this, he explained, “For if there are more, they would either be equal (and so neither would be the first and most perfect); or unequal (and so the inferior would not be God); or one would be the cause of all the rest (and so alone would be the true God); or not (and so no one of them would be God because he would not be the cause of all).”<sup>80</sup> For him, introducing essential plurality in God would bring inequality, because it is affirming a supposed uncaused being to be caused by another uncaused. Turretin also referred to the

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<sup>76</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:181.

<sup>77</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:181.

<sup>78</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 2.204, cited in Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:181.

<sup>79</sup> Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, 1.3, cited in Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:181.

<sup>80</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:181–82.

Greek polytheists who “assigned to one supreme God (called ‘the Father of men and of the gods’) the government of the universe.”<sup>81</sup> Turretin concluded that the unity of God was defended against the heathen by many church fathers like Justin, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Augustine.

**God is three persons.** As Turretin affirmed the essential unity of God, he also argued that this unity subsists as a plurality of persons. He asserted, “In the one divine essence there are three distinct persons: the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.”<sup>82</sup> Through this affirmation, he responded to those he called the heathen, the polyarchists, as well as to the Socinians, who denied the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. The polytheists affirmed that divine essence could be divided into many gods, while Socinus affirmed that “the unity of the divine essence also implies a unity of the person.”<sup>83</sup> Turretin responded to both heresies by pointing to the fact that the divine essence, while remaining one, is communicated to each person of the Trinity.<sup>84</sup> He said, “Although there are more persons than one in God, yet there are not more natures. All persons partake of one and the same infinite nature, not by division, but by communication.”<sup>85</sup> Therefore, Turretin summarizes what he considers an orthodox formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity saying,

Take notice that the orthodox faith is this: in the only one and most simple essence of God there are three distinct persons so distinguished from each other by incommunicable properties or modes of subsisting that one cannot be the other—although by an inexpressible circum-insession (*emperichōrēsin*) they always remain and exist in each other mutually. Thus the singular numerical essence is

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<sup>81</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:182.

<sup>82</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:182.

<sup>83</sup> Here, Turretin does not quote, but makes reference to Socinus. *Institutes*, 1:182.

<sup>84</sup> Turretin’s distinction between God’s essence and persons is discussed further in James E. Dolezal, “Trinity, Simplicity and the Status of God’s Personal Relations,” *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 16, no. 1 (2014): 94–96.

<sup>85</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:182.

communicated to the three persons not as a species to individuals or a second substance to the first (because it is singular and undivided), nor as a whole to its parts (since it is infinite and impartible); but as a singular nature to its own act of being (*suppositis*) in which it takes on various modes of subsisting.<sup>86</sup>

Turretin acknowledged that the reality of the Trinity is difficult to understand for the human mind. However, he noted that this reality is not made of multiple essences, but only one that is communicated to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. This essence takes different modes of subsisting, by which it is possible to talk about the distinction among the persons.

The doctrine of the Trinity was fundamental for Turretin because “the Trinity itself serves a positive role as one of the fundamentals from which doctrines are erected.”<sup>87</sup> For instance, it had a significant influence on his understanding of salvation. However, Turretin’s defense of the doctrine of the Trinity eventually led him to respond to the question: Is the Holy Spirit a divine person, not divided, but distinct from the Father and the Son? His affirmative answer will now be examined.

**The distinct divine personality of the Holy Spirit.** There are three aspects to Turretin’s response directed against those who deny that the Holy Spirit is a divine person. First, he explained that the Holy Spirit is a *person*; then he argued that this person is *divine*; and, finally, that this divine person is *distinct* among other divine persons of the Trinity.

Turretin began by proving that the Holy Spirit is a person by stating six personal aspects of his subsistence. First, there are various actions attributed to the Holy Spirit that can only be achieved by a person.<sup>88</sup> Turretin referred to Scripture to show that

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<sup>86</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:265.

<sup>87</sup> Benjamin T. Inman, “God Covenanted in Christ: The Unifying Role of Theology Proper in the Systematic Theology of Francis Turretin” (PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 2004), 205.

<sup>88</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:303.

the Holy Spirit is a teacher (John 14:26), he reveals future things (1 Tim 4:1), he searches the deep things of God (1 Cor 2:10), he consecrates some to God's ministry and gives the command to send them (Isa 61:1; Acts 13:2; 20:28), he creates (Gen 1:2), he makes pregnant Mary, a virgin (Luke 1:35), and he gives gifts to men gifts for the edification of the church (1 Cor 12:6, 11). Turretin noted, "Those things however which are ascribed to the Holy Spirit, so belong to persons and living beings that in Scripture they cannot be transferred to inanimate things."<sup>89</sup> Second, he affirmed that the Holy Spirit "is set forth not only as distinct from the Father and the Son, but also as another one and sent from both." He is sent to exercise his "personal office in Christ," because he is "the Paraclete of the Father and the Son for us (i.e., their interpreter) by performing towards us the duty of counselor and consoler." Third, the Holy Spirit "concurs with the Father and the Son (who are undoubtedly distinct persons) with equal power, authority and virtue in sealing believers and conferring benefits upon the church." Fourth, "he appeared in a visible form." Turretin refers to the fact that Holy Spirit appeared in the form of a dove at Jesus' baptism (Matt 3:16) and as tongues of fire on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:3). For Turretin, "It belongs to persons (not to attributes or accidents) to assume a visible form and to appear in or with or under such forms." The fifth element that proves the Holy Spirit is a person is the fact that it is possible to lie against the Holy Spirit. Thus, Turretin affirmed, "Now he against whom we sin must be a divine person."<sup>90</sup> Sixth, although the Spirit is also talked about as a gift, there is also in Scripture, "the distinction between the Holy Spirit and his gifts," which proves that he is a person.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:303.

<sup>90</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:304.

<sup>91</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:305.

After he proved the personality of the Spirit, Turretin then argued for the deity of the Holy Spirit. He evidenced it from the names given to the Holy Spirit, his attributes, works, and worship. First, the Scriptures give names to the Holy Spirit that usually refer to God. Turretin showed that what is said referring to Jehovah in Isaiah 6:9, when the Lord sends Isaiah to speak to his people, is attributed to the Holy Spirit in Acts 28:25, 26. He also gave the example of Ananias and Saphira in Acts 5. He commented, “Here pertains that Ananias is said to have lied to God because he lied to the Holy Spirit.” Turretin added that the divinity of the Spirit in 1 Corinthians 3:16 and 6:19, when the believer is described as being the temple of the Holy Spirit, meaning that he is the temple of God: “Since the temple and the divinity are related, he cannot but be God whose temple we are said to be.”<sup>92</sup>

Second, the Holy Spirit possesses divine attributes. Turretin saw the eternity of the Spirit from the fact that he was before creation (Gen 1:2). He also referred to the omnipresence and immensity of the Spirit (Ps 139:7, 8; 1 Cor 3:16). For him, the Spirit is omniscient because “he searches the deep things of God.” On 1 Corinthians 3:16, Turretin observed, “The design of the apostle leads us to this, which is to prove that God’s Spirit (omniscient and searching all things) can alone certainly reveal to use those things which God has prepared for them that love him (which otherwise neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, neither has entered into the heart of man, 1 Cor. 2:9).” The Spirit is also omniscient because he knows and announces future things, “which belongs to God alone” (John 16:13). The omnipotence of the Spirit is shown in the fact that “he is called the ‘power of the Highest’ (Luke 1:35).” The Holy Spirit, as a vivifying Spirit, is also life and able to quicken “mortal bodies” (1 Cor 15:45; Rom 8:11).<sup>93</sup> All these attributes—

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<sup>92</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:306.

<sup>93</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:306.



eternity, omnipresence, immensity, omniscience, omnipotence, and life-giver—are attributes that the Scriptures ascribe only to God.

Third, the divinity of the Spirit can be seen from his works. Turretin presented numerous examples that show that the Holy Spirit accomplishes divine works. For instance, he creates (Gen 1:2; Ps 33:6), he is active in the conception of Christ (Luke 1:35), in the remission of sins and regeneration (1 Cor 6:11; John 3:5), in distributing gifts (1 Cor 12:7), he works the sanctification of believers (2 Thess 2:13; 1 Pet 1:2), etc. Again, these are works ascribed to God in the Scriptures.

Fourth, Turretin noted from Matthew 28:19 that “divine worship is given to him because we are baptized in his name as well as in that of the Father and the Son.” He also refers to the Apostle’s Creed to show that the church has always considered that the Spirit is worthy of worship. He said, “In the Apostle’s Creed, we are commanded to believe in him as well as in the Father and the Son.”<sup>94</sup> There is also the fact that believers seek from him, as well as from the Father and the Son, the benefits of grace (2 Cor 13:14). In conclusion, Turretin acknowledged that the command to worship the Spirit is not often mentioned in Scripture. Nevertheless, this should not lead people to believe that the Spirit is not worthy of worship. He explained:

If Scripture less frequently makes mention of the adoration and worship of the Holy Spirit, it is not because he is not to be adored equally with the Father and the Son (for there are not wanting precepts and examples of this adoration); but because in the economy of salvation (which answers to the order of the persons) as the Father works through the Son and the Son through the Holy Spirit, so the glory of the deity arising from adoration is carried from the Holy Spirit who excites prayers to the hearts of believers through the Son as Mediator to the Father. For this reason he is more often set forth as the author and principle of prayers than as the object towards which they may be directed (as the one who rather invokes [i.e., causes to invoke] than the one who may be invoked).<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:307.

<sup>95</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:307.

Finally, Turretin maintained the distinction of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son and, following the creed of the Western church, he explained his distinction by his procession from the Father and the Son. He observed, “As generation is ascribed to the Son, so procession is ascribed to the Holy Spirit.” For Turretin, procession is distinct from generation because the Holy Spirit and the Son “are different persons who stand related to each other in origin.”<sup>96</sup> In other words, there is a distinction in the nature of the eternal relationship between the Son and the Holy Spirit. However, with reference to John of Damascus and Augustine, Turretin affirmed that it is not possible to explain more precisely the difference between generation and procession. He did not endorse the difference that the Scholastics sought to derive from these actions because “this is unsupported by Scripture.” For him, it is wiser to speak of the distinction in the principle, the mode, and the order: “In the principle, because the Son emanates from the Father alone, but the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son together.” Then, “In the mode, because the Son emanates by way of generation . . . but the Spirit by way of spiration.” Finally, “In the order, because as the Son is the second person and the Spirit the third, generation in our mode of conceiving precedes spiration (although they are really coeternal).”<sup>97</sup>

By affirming the oneness of God, the divine personality of the Holy Spirit, and his distinction from the Father and the Son, Turretin followed the ancient doctrine of the church and proved himself to be in line with the teachings of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Reformed Church.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:308.

<sup>97</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:309.

<sup>98</sup> The Reformed view of the Trinity is summarized in the third chapter of “The Second Helvetic Confession, 1566,” in Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes*, Sixth ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2007), 397.

## The External Work of the Spirit

As Henk Van Den Belt aptly notes, Turretin identified the Word of God contained in the pages of Scripture as the *principium externum* of theology and the Holy Spirit as the *principium internum*: “The Word teaches the things that have to be believed (the gospel) and the Spirit likewise is the Spirit of truth and of sanctification.”<sup>99</sup> Thus, theology is both theoretical and practical. Turretin considered the Word as the source of theology, the truth that the Holy Spirit uses to call the elect to faith and for their growth in sanctification.<sup>100</sup> As the Holy Spirit is at work in the believer, he was also at work as the author of Scripture through human writers. The supremacy of Scripture in Turretin’s thought necessarily flows from his belief that it is the Word of God, by which he reveals himself to humankind. Therefore, in his *Institutes*, Turretin defended Scripture as the supreme revelation of God against the Roman Catholic Church stressing four crucial aspects of Scripture: (1) its necessity, (2) its authority, (3) its perfection, and (4) its clarity.

**The necessity of Scripture.** Turretin began his discussion on the topic of Scripture by answering the question of the necessity of verbal revelation. For him, this question is given priority because “the word of God is the sole principle of theology.” His answer mainly addressed the inadequacy of human reason to get the knowledge necessary “to live well and happily.” He noted, some “give their opinion that reason (or the light of nature) is abundantly sufficient for the direction of life and the obtainment of happiness.” However, this was not the belief of the Reformed Church which maintained “the

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<sup>99</sup> Henk Van Den Bel, *The Authority of Scripture in Reformed Theology: Truth and Trust* (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2008), 154.

<sup>100</sup> John W. Beardslee discusses the importance of the Word and of the doctrine of Scripture in Reformed tradition and especially in Turretin’s thought in the introduction of his edition of a section of Turretin’s *Institutes*. See “Introduction,” in Francis Turretin, *The Doctrine of Scripture: Locus 2 of Institutio Theologiae Elencticae*, ed. and trans. John W. Beardslee III (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1981), 11–16.

revelation of the word of God to man to be absolutely and simply necessary for salvation.”<sup>101</sup> He gave three main arguments for the necessity of verbal revelation.

First, Turretin proved the necessity of verbal revelation from the qualities of Scripture. The Word is “the ‘seed’ of which we are born again (1 Pet 1:23) . . . the ‘light’ by which we are directed (Ps 119:105) . . . the ‘food’ upon which we feed (Heb 5:13, 14) . . . and the ‘foundation’ upon which we are built (Eph 2:20).”<sup>102</sup> Without the Scriptures, it is impossible to receive the life-giving principle of the new birth, the knowledge necessary for a life pleasing to God, the spiritual nourishment for the believer’s walk with God and the foundation of faith.

Then, Turretin proved the necessity of verbal revelation by the goodness of God, who wants man to be saved from sin. Differently put, God desires that man may know that he was made to glorify him. He did not want to leave man ignorant on the way to be happy. Therefore, because of the corruption of sin, this knowledge is even more necessary. Turretin noted, “Although after sin, man may still have some remaining light to direct him in earthly and worldly things, yet in divine and heavenly things which have a relation to happiness, he is so blind and depraved that he can neither become acquainted with any truth, nor perform any good thing unless God leads the way (1 Cor 2:14; Eph 5:8).” Only when man receives the light from God does he get the knowledge of truths necessary for salvation; the only way to be happy. Thus, “God can be savingly known and worshipped only by his light, just as the sun makes itself known to use only by its own light (Ps 36:9).”<sup>103</sup> When God reveals himself through verbal revelation, he manifests his goodness toward man.

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<sup>101</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:55.

<sup>102</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:55.

<sup>103</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:55.

Finally, Turretin proved the necessity of verbal revelation by what he called “the twofold appetite of man.” This twofold appetite that is found naturally in man is an appetite for knowing the truth and an appetite for immortality. He described the appetite for immortality as an appetite “for enjoying the highest good that the intellect may be completed by the contemplation of truth and the will by the fruition of good in which a happy life consists.”<sup>104</sup> For Turretin, people can know God through creation and providence, but this knowledge is not sufficient to lead one to eternal life because “the power of the Spirit did not accompany it by which the blindness and wickedness of man might be corrected.” Only the verbal revelation of God can fulfill this appetite because

the school of nature was not able either to lead us to a knowledge of the true God and to his lawful worship or to discover the plan of salvation by which men might escape from the misery of sin to a state of perfect happiness growing out of union with God. The higher school of grace was necessary in which God might teach us by word the true religion, by instructing us in his knowledge and worship and by raising us in communion with himself to the enjoyment of eternal salvation—where neither philosophy, nor reason, could ever rise.<sup>105</sup>

Thus, through nature, man can know that God is the Creator, but he cannot know that he is the Redeemer, the only one who can satisfy the natural appetite of man.<sup>106</sup> It is only through his verbal revelation that one can know him as Redeemer. Therefore, Turretin explained, “It was necessary that the defect of the former revelation (made useless and insufficient by sin) should be supplied by another clearer (not only as to degree, but also as to species), not only that God should use mute teachers, but that his sacred voice should also not only declare the excellence of his attributes, but open to us also the

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<sup>104</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:56.

<sup>105</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:56.

<sup>106</sup> Stephen J. Grabill also notes this idea in Turretin that natural revelation gives true knowledge about God, but that this knowledge is insufficient to lead people to salvation. *Rediscovering the Natural Law in Reformed Theological Ethics*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 154–163.

mystery of his will in order to our salvation.”<sup>107</sup> In conclusion, Turretin noted, “[Natural revelation] displays the works of creation and providence (Ps 19:1-3; Acts 14:15-17; 17:23-28; Rom 1:19, 20), but does not rise up to the works of redemption and grace which can become known to us by the word alone (Rom 10:17; 16:25, 26).”<sup>108</sup>

His argument on God’s verbal revelation led Turretin to give a response to a second question that concerns more specifically the necessity of Scripture, his verbal revelation committed in writing. He began by making a helpful distinction between the two senses of the word “Scripture.” Scripture can be spoken of materially and formally. The former refers to the “doctrine delivered,” while the latter refers to “the writing and the mode of delivery.”<sup>109</sup> Turretin claimed that in the former sense, Scripture is necessary, while in the latter sense, it is not necessary. In other words, God could have continued to speak to humanity the way he did in the times of the verbal revelation, as in the times of the prophets and the apostles. In this sense, Scripture is unnecessary. However, since in these days he has decided to speak otherwise, the written word is now necessary. It led Turretin to mention three elements to prove the necessity of the written Scripture: (1) its preservation, (2) its vindication, and (3) its propagation. He said,

It was necessary for the written word to be given to the church that the canon of true religious faith might be constant and unmoved; that it might easily be preserved by pure and entire against the weakness of memory, the depravity of men and the shortness of life; that it might be more certainly defended from the frauds and corruptions of Satan; that it might more conveniently not only sent to the absent and widely separated, but also be transmitted to prosperity.<sup>110</sup>

Turretin was also aware of some Christian groups of his time who disregarded the necessity of Scripture, arguing that by the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit,

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<sup>107</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:56.

<sup>108</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:56–57.

<sup>109</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:57.

<sup>110</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:58.

believers are ready for new revelations. He responded to those groups by giving one of his most explicit declarations on the inseparability of the Word and Spirit:

The Holy Spirit (the supplier [*epichoregia*] by whom believers should be God-taught [*theodidaktoi*], Jer 31:34; John 6:45\*; 1 John 2:27) does not render the Scripture less necessary. He is not given to us in order to introduce a new revelation, but to impress the written word on our hearts; so that here the word must never be separated from the Spirit (Isa 59:21). The former works objectively, the latter efficiently; the former strikes the ears from without, the latter opens the heart within. *The Spirit is the teacher; Scripture is the doctrine which he teaches us.*<sup>111</sup>

Thus, for Turretin, the Scriptures are necessary because God has chosen to speak through them now and to teach us through them by his Holy Spirit. They are necessary for one to know God and the way to be happy in him.

**The authority of Scripture.** In his discussion on the authority of Scripture in the *Institutes*, Turretin began by addressing an essential question against some affirmations of the Roman Catholics. With reference to Robert Bellarmine, the well-known Roman Catholic theologian of the sixteenth century, Turretin remarks, “They teach not only that it [Scripture] is not so very necessary and that the church could do without it, but also that it was not delivered to the church by the express command of God, but only in peculiar circumstances; that Christ neither commanded the apostles to write nor did the apostles think of writing the gospel with a primary intention, but only with a secondary and occasional intention.”<sup>112</sup> In other words, for the Roman Catholics, the Scriptures have not been written because God commanded to be written, but because of the circumstances in which they have been transmitted. However, for Turretin, the Scriptures clearly show in themselves that they have been written by a general command of God. He affirmed,

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<sup>111</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:59. Emphasis added.

<sup>112</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:60.

For the command to teach (Matt 28:19) also includes the command to write, since persons at a distance and posterity can be taught only by writing. Hence preaching is sometimes said to be ‘in writing,’ at others ‘in deed’ and again ‘in word.’ Further, immediate inspiration and the internal impulse of the Holy Spirit, by which the writers were influenced, were to them in the place of command.<sup>113</sup>

Turretin then referred to 2 Timothy 3:16 and 2 Peter 1:21, where Paul describes the Scriptures as God-inspired (*theopneuston*) and where Peter says that the human authors of Scripture were moved by the Holy Spirit (*hypo pneumastos hagiou pferomenous*). Therefore, Turretin concludes that the fact they were inspired and moved by the Holy Spirit proves the fact that they have been written by the express command of God.

In his sermons, Turretin also confirmed his belief that God, more specifically the Holy Spirit, is the author of Scripture. Frequently, when he cited or referred to Scripture, rather than referring to the human author, like Moses, David, Isaiah or Paul, he referred to the Holy Spirit by using the expression, “The Holy Spirit says.” For him, the Scriptures are not merely the words and writings of human authors, but the words of God speaking to humankind. Therefore, since God is the source of the Scriptures, they are authoritative. Turretin declared, “Just because they are from God, they must be authentic and divine.”<sup>114</sup>

However, there are two ways that the supreme authority of Scriptures can be disputed; it can be denied or subjected to another authority. Turretin first responded the atheists who refused to believe that the Bible has higher authority than any other book, and, then, to other Christians, especially the Roman Catholics, who wanted “to make it depend upon . . . the testimony of the church.”<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:60.

<sup>114</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:62.

<sup>115</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:62.



To the atheists, Turretin essentially responded by explaining that the Scripture is authoritative because God is the author. He said,

The authority of Scripture . . . is nothing else than the right and dignity of the sacred books, on account of which they are most worthy of faith with regard to those things which they propose to be believed and of our obedience in those things which they command us to omit or to do. The divine and infallible truth of these books (which have God for their author) is the foundation because he has the highest right to bind men to faith and duty.<sup>116</sup>

Then, he showed that the Scriptures, being the work of God through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, are the means through which he wanted to reveal himself to us authoritatively. He said,

For as the works of God exhibit visibly to our eyes by certain marks the incomparable excellence of the artificer himself and as the sun makes himself known by his own light, so he wished in the Bible (which is the emanation from the Father of lights and the Sun of righteousness) to send forth different rays of divinity by which he might make himself known.<sup>117</sup>

Turretin then explained that the marks of their inspiration and their divinity are both external and internal. The external marks are their origin, their duration through providential preservation, the instruments and amanuenses, and their adjuncts. Nevertheless, for Turretin, “the most powerful marks” of the divinity and authority of the Scriptures are internal. They were defined by Turretin as the matter, the style, the form, and the effects. Concerning the matter, Turretin noted that the Scriptures contain “the wonderful sublimity of the mysteries” that human reason could not have conceived.<sup>118</sup> He referred particularly to “The Trinity, incarnation, satisfaction of Christ, the resurrection of the dead and the like; the holiness and purity of the precepts regulating even the thoughts and the internal affections of the heart and adapted to render man perfect in every kind of virtue and worthy of his maker; the certainty of prophecies concerning things even the

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<sup>116</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:62.

<sup>117</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:63.

<sup>118</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:63.

most remote and hidden.”<sup>119</sup> Regarding the style, Turretin saw in it “the divine majesty, shining forth no less from the simplicity than the weight of expression and that consummate boldness in commanding all without distinction, both the highest and the lowest.” With respect to the form, though they have been written by a multiplicity of human authors across hundreds of years, Turretin saw that all Scriptures divinely agree to show “the entire harmony of doctrine.” Concerning the end, the Bible shows that it is like no other book by the fact that “the direction of all things to the glory of God alone and the holiness and salvation of men.” The effects that the Word of God produces are wonderful. Like a two-edged sword, “It pierces to the soul itself, generates faith and piety in the minds of its hearers, as well as invincible firmness in its professors, and always victoriously triumphs over the kingdom of Satan and false religion.” Concerning the internal marks, he concluded, “These criteria are such as cannot be found in any human writing (which always display proof of human weakness) and prove the Scriptures truly divine especially when, not each by itself, but all collectively are considered.”<sup>120</sup> Turretin concluded his answers to the atheists by arguing that “the conversion of the world and the success of the gospel is a very clear proof of its divinity. For unless the apostles were men of God and delivered heavenly truth, it cannot be conceived how it happened that their doctrines . . . by persuasion alone . . . in the shortest time, in almost every place, were so propagated as to break through all opposition and come for the victorious.”<sup>121</sup>

Then, Turretin responded to the Roman Catholics. The question of the authority of Scripture was one of the greatest issues at the center of Protestant Reformation: Do the Scriptures possess its authority from the church or from itself?

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<sup>119</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:63–64.

<sup>120</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:64.

<sup>121</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:68.

Turretin affirmed, “Although we do not deny that the testimony of the church has its own weight . . . yet we maintain that primarily and principally the Bible is believed by us to be divine on account of itself (or the marks impressed upon it), not on account of the church.”<sup>122</sup> This was not the view of Turretin and other Reformed theologians who taught, as it will be discussed, that no one can receive the supreme authority of Scripture apart from the internal work of the Holy Spirit.

**The perfection of Scripture.** When Turretin spoke of the perfection of Scripture, he referred to the sufficiency of Scripture. More specifically, in this section of the *Institutes*, he addressed the question of the full sufficiency for “all things necessary for salvation.” Again, he responded to the Roman Catholics who denied the sufficiency of Scripture because of their belief in the authority of their tradition. Speaking of the Scriptures, Turretin argued, “The papists endeavor not only to overthrow their authenticity (*authentian*) and integrity but also to impeach their perfection and perspicuity.” Thus, Turretin affirmed the Reformed orthodox position: “We give to the Scriptures such a sufficiency and perfection as is immediate and explicit. There is no need to have recourse to any tradition independent of them.”<sup>123</sup> Therefore, he offered some arguments to support this view.

First, faithful to the Reformed tradition, Turretin’s proof came from Scripture itself. Turretin referred to 2 Timothy 3:15–17, where Paul says to Timothy, “From childhood you have been acquainted with the sacred writings, which are able to make you wise for salvation through faith in Christ Jesus. All Scriptures is breathed out by God and

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<sup>122</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:87.

<sup>123</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:135. On the perfection of Scripture, “The Second Helvetic Confession, 1566” affirmed, “From the Scriptures must be derived all true wisdom and piety, and also the reformation and government of the Churches, the proof of doctrines and the refutation of errors.” In Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, 396.

profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, equipped for every good work.” Turretin identified in this passage three arguments for the perfection of the Scriptures. First, they are able to make believers wise unto salvation. Second, they are useful “for theoretical and practical purposes, for teaching the faith and forming the manners.” And third, they can make the man of God “perfect in every good work.”<sup>124</sup>

He also referred to other passages that speak of their sufficiency for salvation. Turretin referred to Psalms 19:7, which affirms that the law of God is “perfect, converting the soul and making wise the simple.” Consequently, he believed that Scripture is sufficient because they can lead man to salvation and find life (John 20:31; 1 John 5:13; Rom 15:4). Thus, he asked, “How could that end be answered unless they were perfect and contained all things necessary to salvation? They were designed to be the canon and the rule of faith.”<sup>125</sup>

In order to counter the argument of the Roman Catholics on the necessity for tradition, Turretin also referred to some passages that affirm that nothing else, but the Word of God is necessary for everything pertaining unto faith and salvation. He referred particularly to Deuteronomy 4:2, Galatians 1:8, and Revelation 22:18, 19. Hence, he concluded, “Every addition in matters of faith is a corruption (because added to the foundation which must be the only one) and anything added overthrows it, just as a circle is destroyed if you make the slightest addition, and a weight to be just must not be tampered with.”<sup>126</sup> Moreover, “All doctrines taught by men and not contained in the

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<sup>124</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:138.

<sup>125</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:138.

<sup>126</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:138.

Scriptures are rejected and the assumption is gratuitous that there are any apostolic traditions out of the Scriptures.”<sup>127</sup>

Finally, he referred to the church fathers who affirmed the full sufficiency of Scripture. More specifically, besides Jerome and Basil, he also borrowed from Tertullian who, speaking of the fullness of Scripture in relation to faith, argued, “We have no need of curiosity after Christ, nor of inquisition, after the gospel. When we believe, we first believe this, that there is nothing beyond which we ought to believe.”<sup>128</sup> He also mentioned Augustine who said, “In the things openly declared in the Scriptures, we can find whatever is necessary for faith and practice.”<sup>129</sup> He concluded with Irenaeus, who defended the sufficiency of Scripture thus: “We knew not the provision for our salvation through others than those through whom the gospel came to us, which indeed they preached, but afterward through the will of God delivered to us in the Scriptures, to be the pillar and foundation of our faith.”<sup>130</sup> Thus, for Turretin, the church fathers agreed with the teachings of the Reformation on the matter of the perfection and sufficiency of Scripture.

**The perspicuity of Scripture.** Another issue between Turretin and the Roman Catholics is the question of the perspicuity, or the clarity, of Scripture. Turretin judged that having failed to prove the imperfection of Scripture, the papists have sought to conceal “the candle under a bushel” in order to “reign in darkness more easily.”<sup>131</sup> To this

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<sup>127</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:139.

<sup>128</sup> Tertullian, *Prescription Against Heretics*, 7, cited in Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:139.

<sup>129</sup> Augustine, *Christian Instruction*, trans. John J. Gavigan (New York: Cima, 1947), 2.9, cited in Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:139.

<sup>130</sup> Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 3.1, cited in Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:139–40.

<sup>131</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:143.

end, they have questioned the perspicuity or the clarity of the Scriptures. For Reformed orthodox, the perspicuity of Scripture concerns the question of “whether the Scriptures are so plain in things essential to salvation (not as to the things delivered, but as to the mode of delivery; not as to the subject, but the object) that without the external aid of tradition or the infallible judgment of the church, they may be read and understood profitably by believers.”<sup>132</sup> It is important to note here that following Calvin, Turretin affirmed that only believers, who are illumined by the Holy Spirit could understand the things pertaining to salvation in the Scriptures. This internal work of illumination by the Holy Spirit will be discussed later. For now, suffice it to show the arguments Turretin offers in response to the Roman Catholicism on the clarity of Scripture.

Turretin did not deny that there are some parts of Scripture, like unfulfilled prophecy or other mysteries that are difficult to understand. However, it “does not prove the whole Scripture to be so obscure that they cannot be understood by believers in things necessary to salvation.”<sup>133</sup> Nor did he denied that the knowledge one can have now is comparable to the knowledge one will have in glory when one will see God “face to face” (1 Cor 13:12). Again, this does not prevent the knowledge necessary to salvation to be understood in the present life. The Scriptures are clear to the one who searches them.

There is also the distinction to be made between what Turretin called the literal or theoretical knowledge and the spiritual or practical knowledge of Scripture. For him, the literal and theoretical knowledge is perspicuous and could be known by natural men. It is the spiritual and practical knowledge that can only be known by those who are illumined by the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 2:14, 15; 2 Cor 4:3).

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<sup>132</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:144.

<sup>133</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:146.

In conclusion, all these aspects of Scripture described by Turretin show that he had a high view of Scripture, that he considered it as the authoritative Word of God. For him, by the work of the Holy Spirit in the biblical authors, God revealed his plan of salvation to man. Therefore, the written Word is necessary for the salvation of every man, and through illuminative work of the same Spirit, one can receive the knowledge and faith that leads to union with God. The internal work of the Spirit in the soul of man through the instrument of God's Word will be discussed in the next section.

### **The Internal Work of the Spirit in the Believer**

As Turretin's theology concerning the doctrine of Scripture reflected Reformed orthodoxy, his theology of the work of the Holy Spirit in salvation was also in line with the Calvinism of the Synod of Dort. In order to better understand his view on the internal work of the Spirit and the Word in salvation, it is necessary to look briefly at his understanding of the effects of sin in man. His doctrine of man and sin will be presented by considering his understanding of the original state of man at creation, the fallen state of man after his disobedience in the garden, and man's need for conversion.

**The need for redemption.** Turretin's anthropology is grounded in a literal interpretation of the first chapters of Genesis.<sup>134</sup> In his *Institutes*, he taught that the first human beings, Adam and Eve, were created in the image of God in the state of innocence. By the state of innocence, he meant, "the first condition of man created after the image of God in internal goodness and external happiness." So, there was a twofold aspect to this state; man was happy and under the government of God. Turretin explained, "His happiness arose from the image of God in which he was created. It consisted

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<sup>134</sup> Andrew Hay, "Brief Sketch of Francis Turretin's Doctrine of Creation," *Puritan Reformed Journal* 8, no. 1 (January 2016): 133–39.

especially in original righteousness and the immortality and dominion consequent upon it.”<sup>135</sup>

Seventeenth-century Reformed theologians like Turretin followed Calvin in this idea that the moral aspect of the image of God in man consisted of original righteousness. This original righteousness refers to the “rectitude and integrity . . . which was created with man and bestowed upon him at his origin, embracing wisdom in the mind, holiness in the will, and rectitude and good order (*eutaxian*) in the affections.” Thus, in the state of integrity, this wisdom, holiness, and right disposition of the heart led man to live for the glory of God. Turretin explained that for man in the state of integrity there was “a harmony among all his faculties that the members obey the affections, the affections the will, the will reason, reason the divine law, and thus the man exists upright and innocent and without sin.”<sup>136</sup>

However, Turretin also believed that there was for man in this state the possibility for change. He affirmed, “Original righteousness was neither an absolute impotence of sinning, nor simply sinlessness, but the power not to sin from mutable righteousness (which indeed took away the will to sin, as long as he stood, but not the ability).”<sup>137</sup> In other words, in the state of integrity, there was the possibility for man to act contrary to what God had commanded. Turretin was convinced that sin was not an impossibility for man in the original state, and that partly explains why he experienced the fall.

Turretin then proceeded to explain the effect of the fall in man. If in the state of integrity, man was holy and righteous before God, Turretin explained, man “(by his

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<sup>135</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:569.

<sup>136</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:466.

<sup>137</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:468.



voluntary defection of the highest good) precipitated himself and became, at the same time, wicked and miserable.”<sup>138</sup> He defined sin as a “‘deflection’ from a design.” He noted, “It is applied to slingers and archers who do not hit the mark. This best explains the nature of sin—a true deflection and wandering from the end proposed to us both in creation and in the law of God.”<sup>139</sup> In other words, by sinning, man, who had been created to glorify God and to find happiness in him, changed the course of his life and destiny.

However, Turretin also noted that sin might be viewed in two aspects: the concrete and material aspect, and the abstract and formal aspect. The concrete aspect consists in “an inclination, action or omission at variance with the law of God; or lacking the legal rectitude which ought to be in it.”<sup>140</sup> From 1 John 3:4 and Romans 4:15, Turretin defined the formal aspect as “nothing other than *anomia* or ‘discrepancy from the law.’” Manifestly, Turretin here referred to the law of God which is “natural and implanted (impressed upon the consciences of man) or revealed and inwritten (committed to writing in the Word of God).”<sup>141</sup>

Also central to Turretin’s definition of sin is the formal aspect, which he defined as corruption. For him, sin is not only passive but also active in man: “But this privation [of goodness] is not pure and simple, but corrupting; not idle, but energetic; not of pure negation, but of depraved disposition, by which not only is the due rectitude taken away, but also an undue unrectitude and a depraved quality laid down, infecting all the faculties.” Therefore, Turretin understood sin as active, like a disease that affects the

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<sup>138</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:591.

<sup>139</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:591.

<sup>140</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:591.

<sup>141</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:592.

whole human nature. It led him to define it more correctly, not as “the negation of good,” but “the position of a corrupt disposition.”<sup>142</sup>

Turretin thus developed the idea that the first sin, which he identified as unbelief, introduced guilt and pollution in man. By introducing guilt, “he incurred the curse and the wrath of God with his descendants.” By introducing spiritual pollution, the moral effects of sin resulted in the loss of the image of God. By this loss of the divine image, Turretin did not mean a total loss. He acknowledged that some gifts remain in man. What he meant is that man lost “the principal part of that image which consisted of holiness and wisdom (usually termed original righteousness).”<sup>143</sup> By introducing spiritual pollution, man “contracted universal corruption and impurity for himself and his.”<sup>144</sup>

The corruption and the loss of the moral aspect of God’s image in man introduced significant consequences, to the extent that it leads man to the incapacity of living for the glory of God and find happiness in him. To explain this truth, Turretin referred to Augustine. If in the state of integrity, man had possessed the liberty “to be able not to sin (*posse non peccare*),” now in the state of sin and corruption, the liberty that man possesses is “not to be able not to sin (*non posse non peccare*).”<sup>145</sup> Turretin argued that there are two aspects to the corruption of sin. He said, “Two things are here necessarily included: first, the privation of original righteousness; second, the position of the contrary habit of unrighteousness.”<sup>146</sup> Therefore, the corruption of man introduced a

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<sup>142</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:592.

<sup>143</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:612.

<sup>144</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:611–12.

<sup>145</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:571. Here Turretin makes reference to Augustine, *Admonition and Grace*, 12.

<sup>146</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:637.

disposition of the heart to do what is contrary to God's law and now man is "not able not to sin."

Again, to argue for the Reformed orthodox position against the Pelagians and Socinians, Turretin referred to Scripture. He affirmed, "Scripture describes that sin not only privatively and by way of negation (Rom 3:23; 7:18; 1 Cor 2:14; Eph 4:18), but also positively and by way of affirmation, when it calls it "flesh," "concupiscence," "the law of the members," "indwelling sin," "body of death," "old man," etc. (John 3:6; Rom 7:18, 20, 23, 24; Eph 4:22)." In other words, for Turretin, these terms refer to the reality that corruption is active in man's heart. Consequently, Turretin said, "In act and subjectively, it inheres in man and continually excites evil desires in him." Therefore, Turretin concluded that "Men are not only destitute of righteousness, but also full of unrighteousness; incapable of good, but also inclined to evil; turned away from God, as the immutable and eternal goods, but also toward the creature and inclined to every vice."<sup>147</sup>

In short, sin affects the whole being. It affects the mind, will, and affections of man, making him pursuing happiness in what is contrary to God's will. As Turretin summarized, "it introduces a universal disorder into nature and all its faculties and is usually described by folly, blindness and ignorance in the mind; wickedness and contumacy or rebellion in the will; and disorder or hardness in the affections, by which man is not only averse from good, but also prone to every evil."<sup>148</sup>

**The need for conversion.** Turretin's description of the state of sin, in which man is now found polluted by sin and incapable of any spiritual good, served to prove that man is in need of conversion. Only through the grace of regeneration can man be

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<sup>147</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:637.

<sup>148</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:638.

restored in his relationship with God to live for his glory. Turretin explained, “The work of our conversion is a creation, resurrection, regeneration and the production of a new heart by which God not only gently persuades but powerfully effects in us to will and to do.”<sup>149</sup> Furthermore, man’s need of God’s grace is reflected in the fact that man is unable to recreate himself or to bring himself out of spiritual death. Turretin said, “As, however, man can contribute nothing to his creation, resurrection, and regeneration, so neither can the sinner contribute anything to his conversion. He ought rather to ascribe it wholly to the grace of God.”<sup>150</sup>

However, where is this grace of God found? Turretin argued that the grace of God that leads to regeneration is found in the words of the gospel, the living Word of God, and rendered effective by the Holy Spirit. In the words of Turretin, “The gospel commands are not only imperative, but also operative (which, with the prescription of duty, have the power of the Spirit working within what it commands without).”<sup>151</sup> From this, one can see that for Turretin both the Word and the Spirit are necessary for conversion. Now that Turretin’s view of sin and of the necessity of man’s conversion have been made clear, it is proper to proceed to explain more specifically Turretin’s view of the inseparability of the work of the Holy Spirit and the Word in the salvation of man.

**The Spirit and the Word in conversion.** In his *Institutes*, Turretin developed his theological understanding of conversion under the topic of effectual calling. For him, the believer experiences conversion based on the internal work of the Holy Spirit that causes the new birth to happen. Again, in his work of conversion, or effectual calling, the

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<sup>149</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:676.

<sup>150</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:676.

<sup>151</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 1:677.

Spirit works inseparably with the Scriptures, and thus both are necessary. Turretin summarized his view of the inseparability of the Word and Spirit in conversion saying,

There is always need for a twofold grace in the conversion of man: the one objective and extrinsic, consisting in the proposition of the object; the other subjective, acting immediately upon the faculty to render it capable of receiving the object, not only that it may be able rightly to elicit its own acts in reference to it, but also to elicit them actually. Each depends upon the Holy Spirit working in two ways—both in the word and the heart; in the word as the objective cause; in the heart as the efficient cause of faith.<sup>152</sup>

Here, Turretin’s understanding of this twofold grace will be developed looking at the nature of the Spirit’s objective work, as well as to the nature and the function of his subjective work.

In the words of Turretin cited above, he defined the objective work of the Spirit as the extrinsic proposition of the object. As mentioned, this object is Scripture itself, the Word of God, containing the words of the gospel of salvation. Therefore, for conversion to take place in the heart of the elect, the Holy Spirit works externally by proposing the object of faith, the gospel of grace in Christ.

For Turretin, the Christian faith is reasonable. God created human beings with soul possessing various faculties: the mind, the will, and the affections. As Calvin defined the mind as the door of the soul, Turretin believed that, for the will and affections to be renewed or transformed, the mind first needs to be convinced of the veracity of Scripture. His understanding is based on passages like Romans 10:17 and Isaiah 59:21. He explained, “For since . . . God wills here to act in a manner suitable to rational nature and, according to the apostle, ‘faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God’ (Rom 10:17), it is evident that the word ought necessarily to concur with the Spirit for our conversion from the order of God and the constitution of the covenant of grace (Isa

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<sup>152</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:527.

59:21) and without it the Spirit does not work faith in adults.”<sup>153</sup> In other words, God inspired the Scriptures through the Spirit to convince the mind of man of the truth. Therefore, in the Holy Spirit’s work of effectually calling the elect, the Word is necessary to convince the mind and penetrate the hearts with the gospel.

Turretin explained that this view of effectual calling significantly differs from enthusiasm or fanaticism, which makes the great mistake of neglecting the objective proposition of the Word by seeking new revelations. To defend his view, Turretin referred to his view of immediate grace, namely that the internal work of the Spirit that works conjointly with the Word to convince the heart of the truth of the gospel and to transform it. He noted: “Enthusiasm seeks new revelations outside the word; but immediate grace seeks none because it always attends the word (nor does it do anything else than impress it upon the mind).”<sup>154</sup> Furthermore, the enthusiasts did not seek the objective revelation of the Spirit provided in the Word, but they looked for a “secret inspiration” given internally by the Spirit. Turretin thus rejected the view of the enthusiasts since, by seeking new revelation, they neglected the Word inspired by the Spirit, which is the necessary object proposed to the heart in effectual calling. For him, they also neglected the way God works to convince the mind of man in order to transform his will and affections: “Enthusiasm takes place by sudden movements which precede and often exclude meditation and reasoning themselves. But the operation of the Spirit does not exclude, but draws with itself reasoning and the grateful consent of the will.”<sup>155</sup>

Explaining his understanding of effectual calling, Turretin then developed on the subjective work of the Holy Spirit. As the Holy Spirit works with the Word through

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<sup>153</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:526.

<sup>154</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:541.

<sup>155</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:541.

objective proposition, he also works subjectively with the Word through what he calls immediate or efficacious grace. He summarized his view thus: “Although the Spirit in effectual calling does not act without the word, still he does not act only mediately through the word; but he also acts immediately with the word on the soul, so that the calling necessarily produces its effect.”<sup>156</sup> By this, Turretin meant that the word is not sufficient to bring about conversion in man; there is a need for the “immediate” grace of the Spirit in the heart. In other words, if the Word by itself was sufficient, everyone would be converted. Therefore, this raises a question: What is the difference between a man who rejects the words of the gospel and the one who embraces it? In his response, Turretin clearly sought to avoid the errors of the Arminians and of the Roman Catholics, who believed that the difference lies in the free will of man.<sup>157</sup> For him, the difference lies in the internal and efficacious work of the Spirit.

Turretin made a series of propositions that helps to explain his view of how effectual calling is worked in the heart of man. In the first proposition, he affirmed that it is impossible for man to understand all the ways of God’s works. He said, “The ways of the Lord in grace as well as in nature are inscrutable (*anexichniastoi*).” Therefore, it is necessary to admit that God has not revealed everything to human beings concerning the works of grace in the heart of man. With reference to John 3:8, Turretin added, the Spirit “operates in us in wonderful and ineffable ways; although its force is felt most powerfully, still its way cannot be known or explained.” However, this should not lead one to neglect the things he has revealed in the Word, so that one can understand some of

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<sup>156</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:526.

<sup>157</sup> Carl F. Gobelman provides a helpful and detailed analysis of Turretin’s doctrine of free will in “To Be Free, or Not to Be Free?: An Analysis and Assessment of Francis Turretin’s Doctrine of Free Will,” *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 22 (2011), 129–144. Also see HyunKwan Kim, “Francis Turretin on Human Free Choice: Walking the Fine Line Between Synchronic Contingency and Compatibilistic Determinism,” *The Westminster Theological Journal* 79, no. 1 (2017): 25–44.

his works. As Turretin explained, “If we cannot understand the reason and the how (*to pōs*) of those things which God has willed to conceal from us, the thing itself and the fact (*to hoti*), which has been plainly revealed to us, is not on that account to be denied by us.”<sup>158</sup>

Then, in his second proposition, Turretin affirmed against the Pelagians that there is a work in efficacious grace that is due only to God who predetermines to save the elect. He affirmed, “The movement of efficacious grace in man is not after the manner of an act or only simultaneous concurrence, but also after the manner of a principal and previous concurrence or predetermination.”<sup>159</sup> Turretin did not totally reject the idea of simultaneous concurrence between the free will of man and the work of grace. However, there is, for him, a particular aspect of conversion where the will of man is not involved. Since the will of man has been weakened by sin, there is the necessity for God to intervene in the heart of man. Turretin further explained the nature of this work of God by the Holy Spirit. He said, “By way of principle, he would flow into the will itself for its renewal and vivification in order that (itself being renewed and acted upon by God) it might act as a cause not allied and coordinate, but subordinate, drawing all its power and efficacy from the influx of grace (which the Scriptures usually designate by creation, regeneration, resurrection and similar phrases).”<sup>160</sup> On this point, Turretin referred to Augustine who asserted, “God, not by the law or doctrine sounding without, but by an internal and hidden wonderful and ineffable power, operates in the hearts of men, not

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<sup>158</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:521.

<sup>159</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:522.

<sup>160</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:522.



only true revelations but also good will.”<sup>161</sup> Thus, Turretin affirmed that there is a need for God to work in the will of man, so that it may turn to God for salvation.

In his third proposition, Turretin explained further his understanding of conversion by considering the twofold aspect of conversion, what he calls *habitual* conversion and *actual* conversion. The third proposition goes this way, “As conversion can be considered under a twofold relation (*schesei*), either as habitual or as actual, so both God and man certainly concur, but in such a way that in both the glory of the whole action ought to be ascribed entirely to God alone.”<sup>162</sup> For Turretin, habitual conversion refers to the passive aspect of conversion where the will of man is not involved but transformed by the will of God. It is what is often referred to by Turretin and other Reformed theologians as regeneration. Turretin called it habitual conversion because “habitual or passive conversion takes place by the infusion of supernatural habits by the Holy Spirit.” Through this “infusion of supernatural habits,” Turretin explained, “man is renovated and converted by God.”<sup>163</sup>

By actual conversion, Turretin referred to the active part of conversion where the will of man is involved, where he shows that he turns to God by faith and repentance. He said, “Actual or active conversion takes place by the exercise of these good habits by which the acts of faith and repentance are both given by God and elicited from man.” Thus, through the active aspect of conversion, “Man, renovated and converted by God, turns himself to God and performs acts.”<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Augustine, *On the Grace of Christ*, 25 cited in Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:522.

<sup>162</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:522.

<sup>163</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:522.

<sup>164</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:522.

From this, one can see that there was, in Turretin's understanding, an order in these two aspects of conversion. For him, habitual conversion must take place in order for actual conversion to happen, although it is difficult to distinguish the moment they take place in man: "A thing ought to exist before it can work, and as the soul cannot elicit acts of the understanding and will (unless furnished with the natural power of intellect and will in the sphere of being), so it cannot properly understand and will in the sphere of morals unless renewed by supernatural dispositions and habits."<sup>165</sup>

Again, in order to avoid the errors of the enthusiasts, Turretin affirmed that this work of the Spirit in conversion does not take place without the Word, although he makes a clear distinction in their functions. First, he explained how the Spirit works: "For the Spirit indeed is the principal efficient cause which acts in each conversion, both by infusing strength (*rhopas*) and inclination of the will and affections—so that what in the gospel seemed repulsive and absurd to the natural man is now judged by the spiritual man to be most pleasant and wise and so most worthy of our love and admiration." Then, concerning the function of the Word, he said, "But as to the word, although it also efficiently concurs both in the acts preceding regeneration and consequently in the actual conversion (which we hold is brought about by the Spirit through the infusion of habits), it properly obtains no efficiency; nor yet does it belong to the class of those instruments which reach to the effect itself than of those at whose presence the principal cause operates." Thus, for Turretin, the Word is at work *prior to* habitual conversion and *in* actual conversion, but not *in* habitual conversion, which is the work of regeneration. Yet, its presence is necessary for the Spirit to work regeneration. Therefore, Turretin

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<sup>165</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:522–23.

concluded, “And thus the Spirit is indeed rightly said not to work without the word, but not by the word only, but immediately and distinctly from the word.”<sup>166</sup>

In the fourth proposition, Turretin developed further his understanding of efficacious grace as supernatural and divine. Through this work,

we are said to be drawn, but also at the same time taught (John 6:44, 45); to be persuaded by the power of the Holy Spirit, but also by the demonstration (1 Cor 2:4); to be converted by the exceeding great power of God, but with an illumination full of joy (Eph 1:18, 19); to be bound, but also to be enticed (Jer 20:7); to be constrained, but with the cords of a man (*philanthrōpias*) and with bands of love (Hos 11:4; 2 Cor 5:14).<sup>167</sup>

This grace is efficacious because the will of man cannot resist the will of God to convert him and make a new creation. Even more, this grace has the power to overcome “any resistance of the will.” Thus, efficacious grace is irresistible grace.

However, it is in the fifth proposition that Turretin came to argue with greater force the inseparability of the Word and Spirit in the conversion of man. In this proposition, he said, “Although the Spirit in effectual calling does not act without the word, still he does not act only mediately through the word; but he also acts immediately with the word on the soul, so that the calling necessarily produces its effect. I say the Spirit does not act without the word.” For him, two things are necessary for conversion. First, the proposition of the object of faith, and, second, “the faculty which receives it within.”<sup>168</sup> Since the faculty is corrupted by sin, it needs to be renovated.

In his sermon “L’affermissement de la vocation et de l’élection du fidèle,” Turretin explained the role of the Holy Spirit in confirming the calling of the elect. He reminded Christians that, through their calling, they have been separated from the world and set apart for God by the Holy Spirit. He said, “By calling, he effectually separates us,

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<sup>166</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:524.

<sup>167</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:525.

<sup>168</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:526.

when he takes us from the corrupted world and makes us enter in his blissful communion by the voice of the Gospel, and by the power of his Spirit.”<sup>169</sup> Again, it is through the preaching of the Word, more specifically the good news of Jesus Christ, that the Holy Spirit works the believer’s sanctification. Turretin calls this a double vocation or two aspects of the same vocation, one external and the other internal. He said, “one [vocation] is made externally only by the Word, and the other is made internally by the Word and the Spirit.”<sup>170</sup>

In the end, Turretin’s argument for the inseparability of the Word and Spirit served to defend what he considered an orthodox view of salvation through effectual calling. For him, Reformed orthodoxy is rooted in the biblical understanding of conversion, historically rooted in the theology of Augustine and Calvin, and defended at the Synod of Dort.<sup>171</sup>

**The Spirit and the Word in sanctification.** Closely related to the effectual calling of the elect to conversion is their call to be holy and to make progress in their resemblance to Christ. In his development of the doctrine of salvation in the *Institutes*, Turretin noted that the effectual calling of the elect to conversion leads to the benefits of justification and sanctification. For him, the two can be distinguished but not separated. He said, “As Christ was made to us of God righteousness and sanctification (1 Cor 1:30)—not dividedly, but conjointly; not confusedly, but distinctly—so the benefit of

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<sup>169</sup> Turretin, “L’affermissement de la vocation et de l’élection des fidèles,” in *Sermons*, 454.

<sup>170</sup> Turretin, “L’affermissement de la vocation et de l’élection,” in *Sermons*, 454.

<sup>171</sup> Turretin develop his argument from Augustine, the Synod of Dort, and Calvin in details in *Institutes*, 2:527–30.

sanctification immediately follows justification as inseparably connected with it, but yet really distinct from it.”<sup>172</sup>

To be sure, Turretin made a distinction between two biblical meanings of sanctification, that he referred to as the broad and the narrow meanings. The former refers to the separation of the believer from the world and his consecration to God. Turretin defined the latter as “a real and internal renovation of man by which God delivers the man planted in Christ by faith and justified (by the ministry of the word and the efficacy of the Spirit) more and more from his native depravity and transforms him into his own image.”<sup>173</sup> As the believer is sanctified by Christ to be separated from the world and sin and consecrated to God (broad meaning), this also implies “a renovation of his nature” (narrow meaning). In this section, a particular focus on Turretin’s understanding of sanctification the renovation of man’s nature and of the role of the Holy Spirit and the Word will be explored.

Turretin began by making a clear connection between effectual calling and sanctification. He explained that sanctification happens through effectual calling, regeneration, and infusion and practice of holiness. When the believer is set apart for God in effectual calling, he experiences sanctification. Turretin said, “Sanctification is now extended widely to the whole state of the believer and embraces also calling itself.” So, more specifically, the believer experiences a “renovation after the image of God.”<sup>174</sup> The image of God that was lost through the fall is now being renewed in the elect. Thus, Turretin explained that sanctification is a work of God that follows one’s justification by faith. This is a work of God through the Holy Spirit. With respect to sanctification, he

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<sup>172</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:689.

<sup>173</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:689.

<sup>174</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:689.

said, “This follows justification and is begun here in this life by regeneration and promoted by the exercise of holiness and of good works, until it shall be consummated in the other by glory. In this sense, it is now taken passively, inasmuch as it is wrought by God in us; then actively, inasmuch as it ought to be done by us, God performing this work in us and by us.”<sup>175</sup>

In the *Institutes*, in his defense of the Reformed view of sanctification, Turretin mainly addresses problems with the Socinian view. The Socinians believed that sanctification was merely a change only in morals, instead of a renovation of the whole nature of man who is totally depraved by the pollution of sin. He explained further his understanding of sanctification saying, “It consists in a change and renovation of nature itself (corrupted by original sin) by which depraved qualities and habits are cast out and good ones infused so that the man desists from evil acts and strives and good.”<sup>176</sup>

Therefore, Turretin argued for this renovation of nature from Scripture which expresses sanctification in various ways (1 Thess 5:23; Eph 4:22–24; Titus 3:5; Gal 5:24). He said, “It is expressed . . . by ‘the giving of a heart,’ ‘creation,’ ‘generation,’ ‘resurrection,’ ‘putting on the new man.’ These phrases demand not only the correction of life and of acts, but a renovation of the whole nature.”<sup>177</sup> Again, Turretin distinguished between the habitual and the actual aspect of sanctification to express that the change operated in sanctification is not merely moral. He said, “An habitual change in qualities (by which we are made new creatures) differs from an actual change in life and morals (by which we are demonstrated to be such). God makes us first new creatures by regeneration; then we show that we are regenerated by our new obedience (as these acts

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<sup>175</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:689.

<sup>176</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:690.

<sup>177</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:690.

are distinguished in Eph 2:10; Ezek 36:26; Jer 32:39). In the former manner, we are said to be new creatures *a priori*; in the latter *a posteriori*.”<sup>178</sup>

Of course, a renovation of nature will lead to a change in moral values of the elect, but it is not merely a change in morals. Turretin concluded: “The actual laying aside of vices and correction of life and morals follow regeneration, as its proper effects (Gal 5:22, 23; Col 3:5). But regeneration itself is not properly such a disposition, but its cause (which consists in a renovation of the corrupt nature and restoration to the image of God).”<sup>179</sup>

In his sermon “La nécessité de la sanctification,” Turretin added some pastoral thoughts to the work of sanctification that leads him to exhort every believer to live in harmony with his call. For Turretin, holiness is the most beautiful thing in man, because it displays the image of God. He explained, “As holiness is the most beautiful thing in the world, and the most admirable, the chief ray of the image of God, and of his delights, and the highest perfection of our nature; it is also necessary that it may be the unique object of man’s study.”<sup>180</sup> Therefore, Turretin understood sanctification or growth in holiness as the goal of the redemption of the elect, which necessarily leads to the mortification of sin. He affirmed,

For if we are called to be children of God, should it not be in order that we may live as children and that we render to God a perfect obedience as to our Father? If we are called to be members of the mystical body of the Lord, should it not be in order that we may be energized by his life and that we may bear his image in all our conduct? And if God consecrates us to be temples of his Spirit, is it not in order that we may be purified by his presence, and that we may possess our bodies in holiness and honor?<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:690.

<sup>179</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:690.

<sup>180</sup> Francis Turretin, “La nécessité de la sanctification,” in *Sermons*, 388.

<sup>181</sup> Turretin, “Nécessité de la sanctification,” in *Sermons*, 401.

In other words, now the believer belongs to God, for the purpose of living for his glory. Yet, Turretin noted that holy living requires renovation of the whole nature of man, that includes his mind, will, and affections. He explained,

Our conversion should be of another nature. It is necessary that the one who works on it may be resolved not only to adjust his external behavior, but to renounce absolutely to himself, and to become a new creature, who has a new mind, a new will, new affections, and a whole new life, who instead of attaching himself to the earth and the world and find his happiness in it as he was doing before, has now attachment only for God whom he regards as his sovereign good, who should be the unique object of his love, as he is the only cause of his life.<sup>182</sup>

Now, that the nature of sanctification in Turretin's thought has been exposed, it is necessary to look at how the Holy Spirit and the Word are at work in the process of sanctification. First, Turretin identified the Holy Spirit as the person of the Godhead who works as the agent of sanctification. He said,

The Spirit, who is given to us, has a twofold name: the "Spirit of adoption" who seals our justification; and the "Spirit of sanctification" who begins and carries it forward. Hence his operation is twofold: the first by consolation, when he testifies that we are the sons of God (Rom 8:16); the other by sanctification, when he makes us cry out, Abba, Father (v. 15). On the part of God, he descends into us and confirms his promises, while on our part he makes us ascend to God to the execution of duty.<sup>183</sup>

Thus, the Spirit is sent from God (the Father), to make his indwelling in the believer in order that he may glorify God by obeying his commands.

In his sermon "La résurrection du pécheur," preached on Ephesians 5:14, Turretin develops further his understanding of the work of the Spirit in the believer's life. There are mainly three things that the Holy Spirit operates: conversion, progress in sanctification, and resurrection. Following conversion, the Holy Spirit demands through the Word the sanctification of the elect. He said,

As soon as our Lord gave us his grace, he wants us to use it so that we may be workers with him. If we live by the Spirit, he wants us to walk according to the

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<sup>182</sup> Turretin, "La nécessité de la sanctification," in *Sermons*, 411–12.

<sup>183</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:692.



Spirit; if he illuminated the eyes of our mind, he wants us to attach them to the contemplation of his wonders; if he opened our heart and pierced our ears, he wants us to apply them to the hearing of his voice and to benefit from his mysteries. In one word, he resurrected us together with him, he wants us not to think of the things of the earth, but to those that are in heaven.<sup>184</sup>

In short, the one who has experienced conversion should live according to it. It means to grow in obedience to the Word by the power of the Holy Spirit.

However, sanctification is not only demanded by the Spirit in the Word but also worked in the believer by the Holy Spirit. Turretin explained that the faith and the repentance manifested in the active aspect of conversion continues to be manifested in sanctification. He said,

Repentance . . . by the power of the Holy Spirit raises us from death and brings us back to life. You can see it in the first acts of the conversion of the sinner when God gives him the grace to come out from the tomb and to begin to live. You can also see it in the course of piety and the progress of sanctification, when he is already on the road of salvation and that he must walk every day toward the goal of his calling.<sup>185</sup>

In other words, the same power that raised the believer from the dead in conversion continues to work in him in sanctification, as he is transformed progressively to the image of Christ.

This sanctification, which is the mark of the spiritual life in the believer, is the work of Christ himself. In this work, Christ illuminates man externally by his Word and works in him by the power of the Spirit. Turretin said, “Now, Jesus Christ illuminates us mainly in two ways, externally and internally. Externally by his Word, which is ‘a lamp onto our feet, and a light onto our path’ (Ps 119:105); and internally by his Spirit, like a Doctor of truth, who leads us into all truth.”<sup>186</sup> Thus, in Turretin’s understanding, both are

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<sup>184</sup> Turretin, “La résurrection du pécheur,” in *Sermons*, 186.

<sup>185</sup> Turretin, “La résurrection du pécheur,” in *Sermons*, 196.

<sup>186</sup> Turretin, “La résurrection du pécheur,” in *Sermons*, 207.

always involved. The doctrine needs to illuminate the mind with the truth, and the Holy Spirit needs to work sanctification powerfully.<sup>187</sup>

In the end, it is the Holy Spirit himself who makes the Word penetrate in the heart and who helps the believer to live according to the Scriptures. Without the power of the Holy Spirit producing the desires and the actions necessary for obedience to Word, the believer is incapable of living according to his calling. In another sermon, Turretin explained, “I know well that we are incapable by ourselves to have these salutary movements. It is necessary that God produces them in us by his grace. And that is what he does through the ministry of his Word and by the virtue of his Spirit. It is this Word animated by the Spirit that is the hammer that breaks the hardness of our hearts, and the fire that heats up our coldness.”<sup>188</sup> Turretin also expressed clearly this idea in the form of a prayer at the end of his sermon. He said, “Come to my rescue, O my dear Savior, and do not be pleased simply to make your voice heard to the ears of my body. But make it penetrate in my heart by the power of your Spirit, in order that he might produce the duties it demands. Produce in me what you command; command what you want, and you will not command it in vain.”<sup>189</sup>

**The Spirit and the Word in perseverance.** In the sixteenth question of the section on effectual calling in the *Institutes*, Turretin addressed the subject of the perseverance of saints. Can a true believer, who has been effectually called by God to salvation, rebel against God to the point of cutting himself out of his right “to the kingdom of heaven and from the state of adoption and be eternally condemned”? Against

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<sup>187</sup> Turretin, “La résurrection du pécheur,” in *Sermons*, 208.

<sup>188</sup> Turretin, “Le sacrifice du cœur froissé,” in *Sermons*, 586.

<sup>189</sup> Turretin, “La résurrection du pécheur,” in *Sermons*, 220. Here Turretin’s prayer reflects Augustine’s: “Give me the grace to do as you command, and command me to do what you will!” *Confessions* 10.29.

the Roman Catholics, the Socinians, and the Arminians, Turretin affirmed that the Reformed orthodox tradition of exegesis “constantly denied it.”<sup>190</sup> In his defense of the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints, he offers seven reasons among which are: the nature of the election of the Father, the nature of the covenant of grace, the merit and efficacy of Christ, the guardianship of the Holy Spirit, and the nature of the gifts offered in salvation.<sup>191</sup> Here, Turretin’s understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit in the perseverance of the saints will be mainly described and explained.

From Scripture, Turretin proved that the Spirit is the one who guards and seals the elect. With reference to John 14.16, he affirmed that the Spirit is the one “who is given to us, ought to remain with us forever.” This is what he called a “perpetual indwelling.” Thus, Turretin asked, “How can this perpetual presence and indwelling of the Spirit consist with the total and final apostasy of the saints?” For him, both cannot be together in the elect. He further proves this fact by the reality of the sealing of the Holy Spirit, that seals the believers “unto the day of redemption” (Eph 1:13; 4:30). Turretin commented:

For since this seal (*sphragis*) pertains to nothing else than confirming in the hearts of believers the certainty of God’s promises concerning grace and salvation (as the seals applied to instruments denote their immutability), who does not gather from this the certainty of salvation and perseverance; unless we wish the testimony of the Holy Spirit to be fallacious and the sealing useless, even thought of which is impious?<sup>192</sup>

Although Turretin’s reference to the Word is implicit, it is essential to understand that for him, in perseverance, the Spirit and the Word are inseparable.

Turretin understood the sealing of the Holy Spirit as a confirmation of the certainty of the promises of God in the heart of the believer. Where are these promises

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<sup>190</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:595.

<sup>191</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:595–616.

<sup>192</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:602.

found? In the Word. Therefore, put differently, from the Word, the believer learns the promises of God to his elect, that God will keep his elect in the faith until the end, and that by the seal of the Spirit these promises are applied to his heart as a confirmation.<sup>193</sup>

Furthermore, Turretin explained that not only the nature of the sealing but also the mode of the sealing serves to prove the perseverance of the saints. The mode of the sealing he described as an internal work of the Spirit who operates “by consolation and sanctification (which are as it were so many parts of this seal and which on the one hand confirm the eternity of God’s love in us, on the other hand persuade us to the constancy of our faith and obedience from the grace of God).”<sup>194</sup> In other words, the believer receives the consolation of the Spirit and also the sanctification that proves to him that he will be guarded until the end. Through his obedience to the Word, given and sustained by the Spirit, he thus receives from the Spirit himself the consolation that he is truly a child of God and one who will persevere until the end.

**The Spirit and the Word in assurance.** Although it is possible to distinguish the various benefits of salvation, such as justification, sanctification, perseverance, and assurance, it is impossible to separate these benefits from each other. For Turretin, the internal work of the Spirit using the Word to confirm the promises of God has not only an effect on the perseverance of the saints, but it also has a profound effect on the assurance of his salvation, or as Turretin referred to it, on the certainty of faith.

In fact, Turretin understood the perseverance of faith as an aspect of the certainty of faith, especially in view of the fact that one perseveres in good works and sanctification. In one of his sermons, he mentioned, “Again, we say, brothers, that if the streams lead to the source, if the rays display the sun where they come from, we must

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<sup>193</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:602.

<sup>194</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:602.

believe also that the good works, which are the streams of this source of living water, that the Holy Spirit produces in us, and the agreeable rays that the Sun of Justice spreads in our souls, bring us to their principle, and *assures us of the possession that we have, meaning that the one who has given himself to the study of piety and to sanctification is infallibly chosen and called by God.*<sup>195</sup> The internal work of the Spirit that leads the believer to obey God in good works flows from God himself, the source of every good. As a matter of fact, if God is at work in the believer by the Spirit to produce sanctification, this is a proof that he is among the elect, that he will persevere, and it thus gives assurance or certainty of faith.

However, in the section of the *Institutes* specific to the question about the certainty of faith, Turretin defined it as the certainty “of the grace of God in the remission of sins inasmuch as in serious contrition for their sins by true faith, they apprehend the promise of gratuitous mercy in Christ, rest in him fiducially and thus render their hearts secure.”<sup>196</sup> This certainty comes from the Holy Spirit, by his testimony and his seal, as well as from the fruits he produces in the believer.

Turretin understood the assurance of faith through the testimony of the Holy Spirit as one of the multiple benefits of salvation. Thus, he described the intention of God in giving the Spirit to the elect:

It was not sufficient for God to preserve us to his glory, unless he would assure us that preservation that we might give thanks for it. Nor would it suffice for our consolation that we are in the grace of God unless we should feel the sense of it, since for happiness not only the possession of the good is required, but also the knowledge of possession. Therefore he willed to give us the certainty of both: first in his word, which furnishes testimony to the truth of the promises; second in the heart, by the Spirit testifying of the truth of the application of them.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Turretin, *Sermons*, 475–76. Emphasis added.

<sup>196</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:616.

<sup>197</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:620.

Here again, the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word is clearly shown. The certainty of faith depends on the certainty of the promises of God contained in the Word, as well as the internal testimony of the Spirit that confirms to the believers' hearts the certainty of God's promises.

To explain the internal work of the Spirit in giving certainty of faith, Turretin described the various roles that the Spirit has for us. He is the "'Spirit of truth' who like a 'teacher' leads us into all truth and makes us 'God-taught' (*theodidaktous*, John 6:45; 14:17; 16:13)." The Spirit is also "'a witness' who gives us infallible testimony of the grace of God and of Christ (John 15:26; 16:14)." He is the one who "'witnesses with our spirit that we are the sons of God' (Rom 8:16)." Turretin pursued and explained that the Spirit also acts like "'a scribe' who writes the law and the covenant of God in our hearts (Jer 31:33; 2 Cor 3:3)," and as "'a seal' by which believers are sealed unto the day of redemption (Eph 1:13; 4:30)." Finally, the Spirit is also spoken of as "'an earnest' (2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; Eph 1:14) by which God . . . gives us a certain pledge of his constant and eternal love."<sup>198</sup>

The Spirit also produces fruits in the hearts of the believer, which leads to certainty in the Faith. By the Spirit, the believer has love, joy, peace (Gal 5:22). This joy is "unspeakable and full of glory" (1 Pet 1:8). Thus, Turretin commented and asked:

Now what peace, what joy can be conceived in those who do not know whether they have God as an angry and hostile Judge, or appeased as a merciful Father; whether they are in a state of salvation or of eternal damnation; and who are agonized with perpetual doubt and distrust? Hence can that unspeakable joy arise except from an intimate and vivid sense of the divine love toward him and a certain trust in eternal blessedness and glory?<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:622–23.

<sup>199</sup> Turretin, *Institutes*, 2:626.

The love, joy, and peace that is produced by the Holy Spirit in the heart of believers is thus a fruit that they have genuinely believed, and, by the Word and the Spirit, they are assured of their salvation.

### **Conclusion**

Turretin firmly believed in the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word in every aspect of the salvation of God's elect. In summary, he argued that the Holy Spirit is the one who was at work in the human authors of the Scriptures to lead them in writing the Word of God. He saw the Word as the Spirit's external proposition of truth to the elect and the object of faith. He also argued that the Holy Spirit uses the Word to work subjectively in the hearts of the elect, in the first place through effectual calling, in order to produce faith in them. Then, the Spirit, who works also as the seal that confirms to the elect that God's promises are given to them, continues to lead them in sanctification, to perseverance in the faith, and to assure them of their salvation. His understanding of this essential doctrine of the Christian faith allowed him to avoid the errors of the Roman Catholics and of the enthusiasts by keeping a necessary balance between the role of the Holy Spirit and the Word in the Christian life.

CHAPTER 4  
THE SPIRIT AND THE WORD IN THE THEOLOGY OF  
JEAN CLAUDE

In the summer of 1675, as Francis Turretin was in the midst of theological debates with some professors at the Academy of Geneva concerning, among others, the doctrines of Moïse Amyraut, he received a letter from a dear friend in France.<sup>1</sup> In this letter, Turretin’s friend reminded him of the great affection they shared for one another. With great respect, he also encouraged him to avoid divisions among the Reformed on what he deemed to be secondary points of doctrine. Turretin had met this friend for the first time in Paris on his way back from a trip to the Netherlands in 1661. From this first meeting began a spiritual friendship that would result in a sustained correspondence.<sup>2</sup> Turretin’s friend was Jean Claude, the highly esteemed pastor of the Reformed church of Charenton.

Indeed, although the memory of Jean Claude—or “Mr. Claude,” as the people of his time would call him—has almost been forgotten in our day, he nevertheless was remembered by an eminent intellectual of the nineteenth century as “the most illustrious defender [of Protestantism], a writer versed in the theological sciences, a dialectician of the first order, . . . a preacher of the most distinguished, and a pastor always devoted to

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<sup>1</sup> Jean Claude, “Lettre XI” in *Les œuvres posthumes de Mr. Claude*, vol. 5 (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1689), 37–51.

<sup>2</sup> Gerrit Keizer, *François Turretini: Sa vie et ses œuvres et le consensus* (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1900), 91.



his duties.”<sup>3</sup> As a Reformed pastor-theologian, Claude was mainly devoted to the teachings of Scripture in the churches where he ministered. Throughout his sermons and other writings, Claude showed a brilliant mind and a theology characterized by the Calvinism of his time. In this chapter, after having presented a brief overview of Claude’s life and ministry, special attention will be given to his understanding of the inseparability of the Holy Spirit and the Word in the application of the benefits of salvation to God’s elect.

### **The Life of Jean Claude**

Claude was a man who had been significantly influenced, through his family and education, by the pastoral and theological rigor that characterized the seventeenth-century French Reformed churches. Here, a brief biographical sketch of his life will serve to introduce a brilliant man who became one of the greatest defenders of the Reformed faith in France. However, first, a survey of the beginnings of the French Reformed churches will provide an understanding of the context of Claude’s life and ministry.

### **The French Reformed churches in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries**

Shortly after Luther’s publication of the ninety-five theses in 1517, the polemical writings of the reformer began to circulate in Europe. It was mainly through the teachings of Lefrèvre d’Étaples, Guillaume Farel, and Martin Bucer that the Protestant Reformation began in France. Although their influence started slowly, the number of conversions increased considerably throughout the years. As Robin Briggs notes, “The success of the Protestants during the 1540s and 1550s was remarkable.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Pierre Larousse, “Claude (Jean),” in *Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Larousse et Boyer, 1869), 4:405.

<sup>4</sup> Robin Briggs, *Early Modern France 1560–1715* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 11.

Many Protestant congregations began to form in the major cities of the kingdom. Therefore, during the 1550s, many French ministers were trained in Geneva and were sent to France. It was in 1555 that the first Reformed church was officially organized.<sup>5</sup>

As in other parts of Europe, the beginning of the Protestant movement in sixteenth-century France was not without troubles. The converts to the new doctrine were widely oppressed by persecutions that were sometimes influenced or even led by political leaders. The decades following the 1550s were characterized by various civil wars between the Roman Catholics and the Reformed Protestants, which have come to be referred to as “The French Wars of Religion.”

**The French wars of religion.** When Henry II died in 1559, the crown was given to his son Francis II who died shortly after in 1560. At that time, Francis’ younger brothers, who would later become kings Charles IX and Henry III, were too young to rule over France. Therefore, the queen-mother Catherine de Medici took the regency of the kingdom.<sup>6</sup> Like many other French regents, Catherine’s attitude *vis-à-vis* the conflict between Roman Catholics and Protestants was more influenced by her interest in her policy than by her convictions. Due to her previous conflicts with the Catholic nobility, especially the House of Guise, among whom were advisors to her late husband Henry II, she sought to give some freedom to the Protestants.

At the beginning of her regency, she tried to work with the Catholics and the Protestants to find agreement by bringing the two parties together at the Colloquy of Poissy in September 1561. This attempt failed, and she issued in 1562 the Edict of St.

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<sup>5</sup> Menna Prestwich, “Calvinism in France, 1555–1629,” in *International Calvinism, 1541–1715*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 71. Also see Pierre Courthial, “The Golden Age of Calvinism in France,” in *John Calvin: His Influence in the Western World*, ed. W. Stanford Reid (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982), 77.

<sup>6</sup> R. J. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion 1559–1598*, 3rd ed. (Harlow, England: Longman, 2010), 29.

Germain that provided Protestants with limited freedom of worship.<sup>7</sup> However, refusing to obey the edict, the Duke of Guise organized a slaughter of a group of Protestants gathered in Vassy, which led to many wars between the Catholics and the Protestants. Among these wars was the brutal one that followed the well-known persecution that took place on August 24, 1572, called the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.<sup>8</sup>

The wars lasted over three decades and were ended by the Edict of Nantes issued by Henry IV in April 1598. Henry of Navarre also sought to manage the dispute between Catholics and Protestants by giving priority to political stability. Nevertheless, having been raised with Reformed influence, he was sensitive to the freedom of Protestants. The Edict of Nantes thus granted freedom to the Protestant churches to gather for worship and to hold synods. Between 1598 and 1685, the French Reformed churches enjoyed relative religious freedom, which allowed for further flourishing after having sustained significant losses during the wars of the preceding years.

**Organization of the Church.** The first national synod of the French Reformed churches took place secretly in Paris in 1559. At this synod, the delegates adopted two foundational documents: the *Confession of Faith* and the *Discipline*. The *Confession of Faith*, containing forty articles, was based on the confession of faith of the church of Paris of 1557 and a confession written for the official inauguration of the Academy of Geneva in June 1559.<sup>9</sup> The *Discipline*, written by Antoine de Chandieu (1534–1591), at

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<sup>7</sup> Knecht, *French Wars of Religion 1559–1598*, 29–33.

<sup>8</sup> Jeannine Olson, “The Cradle of Reformed Theology: The Reformed Churches from Calvin’s Geneva through Henri IV and the Edict of Nantes,” in *The Theology of the French Reformed Churches: From Henri IV to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, ed. Martin I. Klauber, Reformed Historical-Theological Studies (Grand Rapids, Reformation Heritage Books, 2016), 16–17.

<sup>9</sup> “La confession de foi des Églises réformées de France, dite la Confession de la Rochelle, 1559,” in *Confessions et catéchismes de la foi réformée*, ed. Olivier Fatio et al., Publications de la Faculté de théologie de l’Université de Genève, vol. 11 (Geneva: Labor et fides, 1986), 111–12. Concerning the Academy of Geneva, although Calvin’s *Ordinances*, published in 1541, prepared for the training of

that time minister in Paris, contained the church's polity that was to be applied, with minor revisions at other synods, for the next decades until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.<sup>10</sup>

The *Discipline* describes the various functions and responsibilities in the government of the church, such as the roles of the pastor, elders, and deacons, and how the people in these functions were to be nominated and voted in by the congregations. The primary responsibility of the pastors was preaching and teaching the Scriptures, while the elders were mainly responsible for the pastoral care of the church and the application of discipline. The deacons were in charge of the administrative aspects of the church and to provide for the physical needs of the poor. The church was led by the consistory composed of the pastors and elders. In order to help the collaboration between Reformed churches, provincial and national synods were organized. However, although the synods could exercise a particular influence over the individual churches, they did not hold authority over them.

As the number of churches increased, the necessity of training ministers was real. In the beginning, the churches had to train their ministers through a kind of church-based training. At that time, as Daniel Bourchenin has noted, "It was possible . . . to train very good pastors, but poor theologians and doctors."<sup>11</sup> In order to counter this lack of training, some churches of the kingdom established academies after the model of the Academy of Geneva. By the end of the sixteenth century, there was one academy at

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ministers, it is only in 1559 that the Academy was officially established. In the meantime, Calvin trained ministers in the church. See Bruce Gordon, *Calvin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 128, 298–301.

<sup>10</sup> Theodore G. Van Raalte, "The French Reformed Synods of the Seventeenth Century," in Klauber, *Theology of the French Reformed Churches*, 58.

<sup>11</sup> Daniel Bourchenin, *Étude sur les académies protestantes en France au XVIe siècle et au XVIIe siècle* (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), 87.

Nîmes and others on the borders of France's territory in Orthez, Orange, and Sedan. Later, other academies were established in Montpellier, Montauban, Saumur, and Die. The establishment of academies in France not only helped the training of pastors and theologians but also contributed to the definition of the Reformed Church's position on various doctrines at the center of the theological debates of the time.

**Major theological debates.** If the relation between Catholics and Protestants in the sixteenth century was marked by civil wars, toward the middle of the seventeenth century the matter mainly took the form of theological debates.<sup>12</sup> The main theological issues with the Catholic Church concerned the relation between the authority of Scripture and the authority of the Church, and the doctrine of the transubstantiation concerning the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

Nevertheless, other significant debates erupted within Reformed circles. The most important was the debate initiated by the teaching of Jacob Arminius, who opposed the doctrines of John Calvin, and which led to the Synod of Dort. Another critical issue that mainly affected the French Reformed churches concerned the teachings of Moïse Amyraut, professor of theology at the Academy of Saumur. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Amyraut taught the doctrine of hypothetical redemption, which Francis Turretin and other Reformed theologians opposed. However, Amyraut's doctrine did not encounter as much opposition among French Reformed theologians. If some did not consider Amyraut's teachings in line with the Canons of Dort of 1619, many French Reformed theologians agreed with them.<sup>13</sup> The theological debates between Catholics

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<sup>12</sup> The civil wars officially ended with the Peace of Ales in 1629. Therefore, the Reformed Church could enjoy a period of relative calm from 1630 until the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI in 1661. See Samuel Mours, *Le protestantisme en France au XVIIe siècle (1598–1685)* (Paris: Librairie Protestante, 1967), 43.

<sup>13</sup> In his article on John Cameron (ca. 1579–1625), a theologian who had a major influence on Amyraut's doctrine of hypothetical redemption, Albert Gootjes notes that Jean Daillé, Jean Claude, and

and Protestants and within the Reformed Church continued and greatly influenced the ministry of Jean Claude, who played an essential role in those debates.

### **Early Life and Education**

Jean Claude was born in 1619 in the city of La Sauvetat, in the region of Agénois, France.<sup>14</sup> His father, François Claude, a man of great piety, fruitfully pastored the French Reformed churches of Monbazillac and La Sauvetat until his death at age 74. Claude received his first years of education at home by his father, who had a particular interest in the humanities.<sup>15</sup> Given the context of his early education, it is safe to assume that Claude also learned at a young age the elements of the Reformed faith through the teachings of his father. It was common at that time for children to learn in the home the rudiments of the Christian faith, and, as a pastor, François Claude most certainly led his dear son into piety. Although the time and circumstances of Claude's conversion remain unknown, it happened most probably at a young age before he left home to pursue his studies around the age of sixteen.

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Claude Pajon were also followers of Cameron. Also, he notes that André Rivet, Pierre du Moulin, and Pierre Jurieu opposed Cameron's teaching. "John Cameron (ca. 1579–1675) and the French Universalist Tradition," in Klauber, *Theology of the French Reformed Churches*, 169.

<sup>14</sup> This biographical sketch is based on the following works: Abel-Rodolphe de La Devèze, *Abrégé de la vie de Monsieur Claude* (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1687); Pierre Bayle, "Claude (Jean)," in *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Paris: Desoer, 1820), 5:223–30; Eugène Haag and Émile Haag, "Claude (Jean)," in *La France protestante, ou Vie des protestants français* (Paris: Joël Cherbuliez, 1852), 3:473–81; Villenave, "Claude (Jean)," in *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, ed. Louis-Gabriel Michaud (Paris: C. Desplaces, 1854), 8:358–59; Jean-Pierre Nicéron, "Claude (Jean)," in *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres*. (Paris: Briasson, 1728), 4:381–92; Louis Moréri, "Claude (Jean)," in *Le grand dictionnaire historique, ou Le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane*, (Paris: Libraires Associés, 1759), 3:719–20. Jean-Chrétien-Ferdinand Hoefér, "Claude (Jean)," in *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1854), 10:693–95; J. Wesley White, "Jean Claude (1619-1687): Huguenot Pastor and Theologian," *Mid-America Journal of Theology*, The Heritage of Reformed Preaching, 19 (2008): 195–205; and Michael A. G. Haykin, "'This Glorious Seal of God': Jean Claude (1619–1687), Ephesians 4:30, and Huguenot Pneumatology," in Klauber, *Theology of the French Reformed Churches*, 321–34.

<sup>15</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 8.

From this education at home, Claude went to the Academy of Montauban to pursue studies in philosophy and theology. According to Abel-Rudolphe de la Devèze, a dear friend of Claude, early in his studies at Montauban, Claude showed a brilliant mind: “His spirit, which was then beginning to work, soon distinguished him of all other students of philosophy, and while he was not more applied than them to study, the fire of his imagination brought him so far that he made more progress in this science in six months than the others in one year.”<sup>16</sup> When he finished his studies in philosophy, Claude continued his training in theology under two of the most excellent professors of theology at that time, Antoine Garrisoles and Paul Charles. He was particularly attached to Charles, whom he honored for the rest of his life. At that time, Charles spoke of Claude as a promising young man.<sup>17</sup>

Unlike many other students in these times, Claude did not get the opportunity to pursue his studies in other Reformed academies of France. Nevertheless, the excellent education he received from his father and the Academy of Montauban prepared him for the pastoral ministry to which he was called.

## **Ministry**

At the age of twenty-six, Claude was ordained by the Synod of La Haute Guyenne in the northern part of Languedoc, where his father had the privilege to lay hands on him. He began his ministry as pastor of the church in Treyne and served there for one year before he accepted the pastoral ministry offered by the synod of Haut Languedoc in the church of Saint-Affrique in Rouergue.<sup>18</sup> This small church, Devèze

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<sup>16</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 8–9.

<sup>17</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 9.

<sup>18</sup> For more information on the history of the church of Saint-Affrique in the time of Claude, see Edouard Rabaud, “L’ancienne Église de Saint-Affrique du Rouergue (Aveyron) 1629–1789,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du protestantisme français* 68, no. 2 (1919): 97–137.

explained, “had the joy to be served by ministers of great merit, Mr. Gaches, who died as pastor in Paris, and Mr. Martel, professor of theology.”<sup>19</sup> Claude went into Saint-Affrique to replace Martel in the pastoral ministry.

In Saint-Affrique, Claude continued to devote himself to study and to grow, not only as a pastor but also as a theologian, which led him to make significant progress in his preaching. As Devèze notes, “He was preaching with a great facility, he had a spirit which conceived things easily, a judgment that did not fail to put all the pieces in their place, and an expression so fluent, so just and so strong, that it was difficult to distinguish what he said by mediation from what he had written.”<sup>20</sup> His progress in preaching became evident to many, and Claude began to prepare future leaders of the church for their ministry of preaching. Later, his desire to teach young men for the ministry led him to publish a manual on the art of preaching, which was translated and published into English later on as *An Essay on the Composition of a Sermon*. This work became famous among English churches in the nineteenth century, primarily through the influence of Robert Robinson and Charles Simeon.<sup>21</sup>

While he was ministering in Saint-Affrique, it happened that Claude went to preach on a Sunday at the church in Castres. The church of Castres was famous by “the honor it had to have in its midst the gentlemen officers of the chamber of the Edict of Nantes, and a very great number of people of quality and knowledge.”<sup>22</sup> The people of the church had their eyes on Claude, and they offered him a pastoral position that he refused. Nevertheless, Claude did not return to Saint-Affrique without bringing with him

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<sup>19</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 11.

<sup>20</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 11–12.

<sup>21</sup> J. Denny Autrey, “Factors Influencing the Sermonic Structure of Jean Claude and His Influence on Homiletics” (PhD diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2013), 191–95.

<sup>22</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 12.



the woman with whom he would share his life. In Castres, Claude met Elisabeth de Malecare, the daughter of a respected lawyer in the parliament. According to Claude she possessed all the qualities of an ideal wife. He married her on November 8, 1648.<sup>23</sup> In March 1653, Elisabeth gave birth to Claude's only son, Isaac, who would later walk in his father's footsteps and also become a pastor among the French Reformed churches.<sup>24</sup>

Claude stayed eight years in Saint-Affrique, and his ministry there was significantly appreciated: "Mr. Claude was . . . loved from his flock, known and wished from many churches, esteemed and honored in the Synod of Languedoc, where he participated every year."<sup>25</sup> The growing reputation of Claude among the French Reformed churches led some other churches to extend to him the call to become their pastor. Among them was the church of Nîmes, the church that Benedict Turretini, Francis Turretin's father, pastored a few decades earlier.

At that time, the church of Nîmes was considered "one of the most beautiful churches of France."<sup>26</sup> The congregation was seeking "a minister who was skilled in preaching, in disputation, and in leading a great flock."<sup>27</sup> They delegated the greatest men in their midst to entreat Claude to become their pastor. He responded favorably to their request, and the synod of Haut Languedoc approved his calling. The pastoral ministry in a church as large as that of Nîmes was demanding. The minister had to preach every day and care for the sick, in addition to all other ecclesiastical matters. However, Devèze

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<sup>23</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 14.

<sup>24</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 15. Concerning Isaac Claude, also see Haag and Haag, "Claude (Isaac)," *France protestante*, 480–81, and Hoefler, "Claude (Isaac)," *Nouvelle biographie générale*, 695.

<sup>25</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 15.

<sup>26</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 15. On the Reformed church of Nîmes, see Abraham Borrel, *Histoire de l'église réformée de Nîmes, depuis son origine en 1533 jusqu'à la loi organique du 18 germinal an X (7 avril 1802)*, 2nd ed. (Toulouse: Société des livres religieux, 1856).

<sup>27</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 16.

noted, “Mr. Claude was not surprised by this new task, being able to find enough time to fulfill all the duties; the beauty of his genius and his work was responding to all the needs of his flock.”<sup>28</sup>

Furthermore, Claude began to give particular lessons of theology in the church, and the students “were progressing in the knowledge of theology as much as in the greatest Academies.”<sup>29</sup> Again, his work in Nîmes proved fruitful, which did not please the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church. Around 1661, their influence on the royal council led to Claude being forbidden to minister in the whole province of Languedoc. Therefore, he moved to Paris for six months in order to defend the cause of the Reformed church before the court. But, as Devèze noted, Claude did not let the oppression to discourage him: “He walked with sufficient tranquility, and although he was not entirely indifferent to the sorrows that were given to him, he was overcoming them with entire submission to the providence of God.”<sup>30</sup>

His efforts to convince the Court to give him the right to return to minister at Nîmes was to no avail. The church in Montauban, aware of the situation, wasted no time in asking for Claude’s help. Arriving on a Saturday, he preached the following Sunday, and the church immediately called him to minister among them. Claude was allowed to serve in that church for four years, and the time of his ministry in Montauban was the sweetest and happiest of his life. Devèze mentioned, “He lived there in a perfect union with his colleagues, loved and esteemed of his church, and charmed by the beauties of this climate.”<sup>31</sup> A conflict between Claude and a Roman Catholic teacher led, yet again,

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<sup>28</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 17.

<sup>29</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 18.

<sup>30</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 30–31.

<sup>31</sup> Devèze, *Vie de Mr. Claude*, 32.

to a ban on his preaching in Montauban. As before, he went to Paris and stayed there for nine months.

The church of Charenton, located in a suburb of Paris, was one of the most influential among the French Reformed churches. Being just outside the capital of the kingdom, this church was often at the center of controversies between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and where influential Reformed theologians had served. Among them was Pierre du Moulin, professor at the Academy of Paris, who had been invited to the Synod of Dort, but who had not been able to attend because of a royal prohibition. During Claude's time in Paris in 1666, he was called to serve in the pastoral ministry of the church.

The ministry in Charenton was exceptionally busy. In addition to the regular preaching of the Word, Claude was involved in leading various synods and consistories of the French Reformed churches. In this task, Pierre Bayle judged that "never there has been a man better fitted than him to be the head of a consistory or a synod."<sup>32</sup> As a minister in Charenton, Claude had an essential role in defending particular doctrines of the Reformation against Roman Catholic theologians. It led him to be involved in various controversies and to publish many works. Claude also labored to preserve the freedom of the Protestants of France, by defending the rights that had been granted by the Edict of Nantes of 1598.<sup>33</sup> It was during his ministry in Charenton that Claude distinguished himself to the point of being considered by some "one of the most influential pastors of his time" and "for many years the soul of his party."<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Bayle, "Claude (Jean)," in *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 424.

<sup>33</sup> Haag and Haag, "Claude (Jean)," in *France protestante*, 474.

<sup>34</sup> Haag and Haag, "Claude (Jean)," in *France protestante*, 477.

## Theologian and Controversialist

As a decree of limited toleration, the Edict of Nantes certainly did not put an end to the various theological debates between Reformed and Catholic theologians in France. As a pastor occupying a vital ministry in Paris, these debates did not spare Claude. On the contrary, without expecting it, he was involved in what has been judged as “one of the most famous struggles that ever took place between the Roman controversialists and the Reformed.”<sup>35</sup> The most significant debates that took place during Claude’s pastoral ministry will now be summarized.

In 1662, some Catholics of Port-Royal, enflamed against the Reformation, tried to influence the nobility toward their cause. One of their leaders, Antoine Arnauld, also known as *le Grand Arnauld*, wrote a private treatise, which was later published as *La perpétuité de la foi de l’Église Catholique touchant l’eucharistie*, in order to convince the Marshal General of France, Mr. de la Turenne, of the Catholic view of transubstantiation. Turenne was a Protestant who was particularly opposed to this doctrine, but Arnauld argued that it was the Protestants who had changed the doctrine on the eucharist and that the doctrine of transubstantiation had always been the teaching of the church since the Church Fathers. When Turenne’s wife learned that Arnauld’s treatise had an influence on her husband’s convictions, she feared that he would recant the Protestant faith and return to the Roman Church. Claude, who was in Paris at that time, was called to write a response to Arnauld.<sup>36</sup>

Soon after he completed his response, Claude moved to Montauban. But, his response to Arnauld was so well-received that numerous copies were printed and distributed in Paris and other provinces of France. What was supposed to be a private

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<sup>35</sup> See the editor’s “Notice sur Claude” in Jean Claude, *Défense de la Réformation contre le livre intitulé “Préjugés légitimes contre les Calvinistes.”* 4th ed. (Paris: L.-R. Delay, 1844), ij.

<sup>36</sup> “Notice sur Claude,” in Claude, *Défense de la Réformation*, ij.

response initiated a public debate that would continue for more than a decade. With the help of his colleague Pierre Nicole, Arnauld wrote a response to Claude, who provided in his turn another response. At some point, another player introduced himself in the debate, the Jesuit Père Noüet, who also wrote against Claude. Claude did not keep silence and gave his answer in 1668. Claude's various responses were put together and finally published in 1671 as a two-volume work intitled *Réponse aux deux traités intitulés la Perpétuité de la foi de l'Église Catholique touchant l'Eucharistie*. The debate then subsided for a few years.<sup>37</sup>

Nicole, who had been involved in the debate on the eucharist, later published his *Préjugés légitimes contre le calvinisme* in order to convince Protestants of the errors he found in the doctrine of the Reformed church. In his work, Nicole "collected the . . . objections that had been made up to that time on what he calls *the form* of the Reformation."<sup>38</sup> For him, there was a defect in the way the doctrine of the Reformation was presented, which affected the doctrine itself. Again, Claude's response to Nicole published in France in 1673 was well-received. This work was translated and published in English in 1683 as *A Historical Defence of the Reformation: An Answer to a Book Intituled, Just Prejudices against the Calvinists*. The translation was republished as a two-volume work in 1815 and was still considered at that time one of the most excellent defenses of the Reformed faith against the Roman Catholic Church.

Another critical controversy in which Claude was involved, which is worthy of mention, is the debate that took place with Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. As Arnauld and Nicole, Bossuet was a Jansenist, particularly renowned for his eloquence in preaching: "By common consent, Bossuet is among the greatest preachers of all

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<sup>37</sup> "Notice sur Claude," in Claude, *Défense de la Réformation*, ij.

<sup>38</sup> "Notice sur Claude" in Claude, *Défense de la Réformation*, iv.

time.”<sup>39</sup> Some have also identified him as the one who influenced Turenne to abjure. As a forceful defender of the Catholic faith, Bossuet was involved in various controversies with Protestants. Claude’s controversy with Bossuet began in 1678, when Mademoiselle Duras, the sister of two officers of Louis XIV who had converted to the Roman Catholic faith, asked for a conference between Bossuet and Claude. Apparently, she wanted to follow the example of her brothers, but wanted to make an informed decision. The conference took place on March 1 in the home of the countess of Roie, the sister of Duras. There, Bossuet and Claude mainly debated on the authority of the Roman Church and of the councils. As expected, following the debate, Mademoiselle Duras converted to the Roman Catholic Church. However, a few years after the debate, in 1682, Bossuet published his *Conférence avec M. Claude, ministre de Charenton*, in which he gave an account of the debate he had with Claude. Perhaps he wanted to convert other Protestants. Claude did not remain indifferent to Bossuet’s intention. A year later, he published his *Réponse au livre de Monsieur de Meaux, intitulé, Conférence avec Monsieur Claude*. In his response, Claude defended the Protestant view of the Church by examining and criticizing Bossuet’s arguments. He also provided the Protestants with strong arguments for belief in the supreme authority of Scripture and the reasons why the Church must submit to it.

### **The Influence of Jean Claude**

Not only was Claude influential in his time by defending the Reformed faith against the Roman Catholics, but he also had an impact through the various sermons and treatises that were published posthumously. In 1688-89, his son Isaac Claude published *Les oeuvres posthumes de Mr. Claude* in five volumes containing various theological treatises, sermons, and letters in French and Latin.

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<sup>39</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd. ed., s.v. Bossuet, Jean-Bénigne.

Claude's *Traité de la composition d'un sermon* that appeared at the end of the first volume is probably the most famous of his works among contemporary English-speaking evangelicals. The first English translation by Robert Robinson, *An Essay on the Composition of a Sermon*, appeared in 1778. It was translated and republished again in the nineteenth century by Charles Simeon, who had a significant influence on the study of homiletics down to our days. In this work, Claude proposed that a sermon should contain five essential parts. Starting with the exegesis of the biblical text, he offered various steps and instructions to compose each of these parts. He also gave some advice to help in the delivery of the sermon.

In a recent doctoral dissertation on the homiletic of Claude, Denny Autrey argued that the influence of Claude's treatise could be traced from the seventeenth century to our days.<sup>40</sup> In the nineteenth century, besides the influence that Claude's work had on the homiletics of Charles Simeon, John Albert Broadus, a professor of homiletics at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, made a commendatory reference to it in his *On the Preparation of a Sermon* that was first published in 1885. He said, "Claude's *Essay on the Composition of a Sermon* is quite valuable and has exerted a wide influence."<sup>41</sup> As Autrey also notes, other explicit references to Claude's work have appeared in the twentieth century in the works of Edwin Charles Dargan and, more recently, in the works of David Larsen, Hughes Oliphant Old, and O.C. Edwards. He even argues that Claude's influence may be seen in

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<sup>40</sup> Autrey, "Factors Influencing the Sermonic Structure of Jean Claude and His Influence on Homiletics."

<sup>41</sup> John A Broadus, *On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1943): 380, quoted in Autrey, "Factors Influencing the Sermonic Structure of Jean Claude and His Influence on Homiletics," 200.

the homiletical concept of “The Big Idea,” rendered famous by Haddon Robinson in his *Biblical Preaching*.<sup>42</sup>

### **The Death of Jean Claude**

All the efforts of the French Reformed churches to protect and defend the rights that had been granted by the Edict of Nantes did not prevent King Louis XIV, a significant supporter of the Roman Catholics, to publish the Edict of Fontainebleau on October 22, 1685. This edict ordered the revocation of the edict of Nantes. All Protestant ministers were either forced to leave France within two weeks or to cease to exercise their ministry. Claude was not spared. On the contrary, he was the object of a specific order from the Court to leave the kingdom within twenty-four hours. After being escorted by the agents of the king, Claude decided to travel to La Haye in Holland, where his son Isaac was pastoring the French church. When he arrived in Holland, he was cordially welcomed by the Prince of Orange, who granted Claude a generous pension.

However, this financial provision did not benefit Claude for a long time. On Christmas Day 1686, he preached his last sermon in the church of La Haye. After the sermon, he returned home and became ill to the point of death. He breathed his final breath on January 24, 1687.

In his *Grand Dictionnaire du XIXe siècle*, the famous French intellectual Pierre Larousse wrote, “The death of Claude was grievous for the Protestant churches. They lost in him the most illustrious defender, a writer versed in the theological sciences, a dialectician of the first order, able to stand up to Nicole and Bossuet, a preacher among the most distinguished, and a pastor always devoted to his duties.”<sup>43</sup> Larousse’s

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<sup>42</sup> Autrey, “Factors Influencing the Sermonic Structure of Jean Claude and His Influence on Homiletics,” 208–9.

<sup>43</sup> Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire du XIXe siècle*, 405.



comments show that the influence of Claude's ministry among the Protestants of France was still recognized many years after his death. Moreover, through his polemical writings and other works that have been published posthumously, Claude left a significant legacy and a testimony of profound piety to the Reformed Church.

### **The Spirit and the Word in Jean Claude**

Claude's defense of the Reformed faith against the Catholic Church was characterized by his trust in the supreme authority of Scripture. He believed that the Scriptures are inspired by God, and form in themselves the Word of God, which is necessary and sufficient for Christian living. He, therefore, taught that the Holy Spirit works inseparably with the inspired Word in every aspect of the salvation of the elect. Although Claude did not write a volume of systematic theology, his understanding of the inseparability of the Word and Spirit in the life of the believers has been addressed sufficiently in many of his works. This particular topic will thus be examined by focusing on two of his sermons, parts of his posthumous work on Jesus Christ, and two letters that have been published.

#### **Sermons on the Parable of the Wedding Feast (Matthew 22:1–14)**

In 1675, Claude preached in the church of Charenton a series of five sermons on the parable of the wedding feast found in Matthew 22:1–14. In these sermons, he taught the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven, making a detailed exposition of the passage. The series was divided into two parts with a final sermon on the last verse. In the first part, composed of the first two sermons, Claude emphasized God's call of Israel to salvation and their rejection of his call. In the second part, which he addressed in the third and fourth sermons, he explained God's call of the Gentiles after Israel's rejection of the call to enter the kingdom. Finally, in the last sermon, the French Reformed pastor focused on the doctrines of election and vocation through Jesus' last words in the parable,

“For many are called, but few are chosen.” In the last sermon, it is possible to discern Claude’s view of the inseparability of the Word and the Holy Spirit, especially in the vocation and election of the elect. A particular focus of his understanding of this topic will be given in this section. But first, a brief explanation of his view of Scripture will be presented.

**The Scriptures as the Word of God.** In this series of sermons, Claude did not develop a thorough explanation of his theology of Scripture. However, there are, in a few passages of these sermons, essential comments useful to understand how he viewed the Scriptures as the authoritative Word of God.

At the beginning of the first sermon, Claude introduced the parable by noting the superiority of Scripture compared to any other books. Evidently, as a Reformed pastor, Claude believed the Scriptures to be the very Word of God, whose excellence cannot be surpassed. He considered this excellence mainly in two aspects. There is in the Scriptures, on the one hand, “a great gentleness (*douceur*)” and “a simple and easy appearance,” and, on the other hand, “a great majesty” and “an extraordinary nobleness (*élévation*).”<sup>44</sup> In other words, for Claude, the Scriptures display both greatness and kindness. Thus, he believed that when the Scriptures are read, it is as if “new heavens open,” and they shine so brightly that they not only illuminate but also dazzle the eyes. This effect of the Scriptures on the soul was one of the reasons why Claude understood them to be divine.

Then, he explained that the excellence and the divinity of the Scriptures are due to their inspiration by the Holy Spirit. He said, “It is a book that the Holy Spirit dictated and which contains the highest mysteries of God, it was therefore necessary that

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<sup>44</sup> Jean Claude, “Sermon premier sur la parabole des noces. Matt. XXII,” in *Recueil de sermons sur divers textes de l’Écriture Sainte* (Geneva: Samuel de Tournes, 1693), 3.

an appearance of majesty spreads in its main parts, which relates to the dignity of its author, and the excellence of its matter.”<sup>45</sup> Therefore, Claude understood the Scriptures as being given by God so that people may perceive his majesty and authority.

He also believed in the truthfulness and perfection of Scripture. In the introduction of the second sermon of this series, he made a remarkable comment in this regard. He said, “Scripture is a work that does not contradict itself, and never was there such a perfect and uniform book.”<sup>46</sup> His belief in the perfection and sufficiency of Scripture gave him confidence that he needed to preach and teach it with authority as the Word of God for God’s people.

**The Spirit and the Word in election.** In the last sermon of the series, Claude developed further his view of the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word in the effectual calling of the elect. From Matthew 22:14, which says, “For many are called, but few are chosen,” Claude explained the nature and the distinction between vocation and election and how they are worked out to bring the elect to salvation.

Claude began the sermon by considering the grace of God manifested toward mankind in the sending of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and in the preaching of the gospel. Since they know the majesty of the gospel of grace, there are reasons for believers to be surprised that many reject the Word of God. However, it is possible to understand this fact by reflecting on the nature of human beings. Thus, Claude asked, “How is it possible that so few people that give interest to it? Have we become so much enemies of ourselves, and since when do we have an aversion for the greatest of all goods?” He explained this reality by the fact that all human beings are totally depraved.

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<sup>45</sup> Claude, “Sermon premier sur la parabole des nocces,” 4–5.

<sup>46</sup> Jean Claude, “Sermon second sur la parabole des nocces,” in *Recueil de sermons sur divers textes de l’Écriture Sainte* (Geneva: Samuel de Tournes, 1693), 53.

Since everyone is corrupted by sin, therefore, should not believers instead be surprised if even one person could have been able to turn to God on his own, believe in Jesus Christ, and destroy the power of his depravity? Indeed, for Claude, considering the depth of the corruption that affects every human being, it is difficult to understand that even one conversion to Christ could have been possible. He explained,

Although this perversity is, in fact, the greatest enemy of our true interests, and the most opposed to the dignity of our nature and of our most inviolable inclinations, nevertheless it became natural, and it possesses it so absolutely that we do not have one sentiment, nor one movement that does not depend on and that is not subjected to it.<sup>47</sup>

Therefore, Claude asked the question: “What is the origin of the fact that there are yet persons who believe in Jesus Christ and who embrace with all their heart the grace of his gospel?” Also, how is it possible that “they do not all follow the same path, that some are faithful and some unfaithful?”<sup>48</sup> In fact, they are all made of the same matter and in the same way. In other words, they are all sinful and depraved. So how can it be possible for some to choose good? For Claude, Jesus’ words “few are chosen” give an answer to these questions: “He [Jesus Christ] teaches us that it is to election that we must attribute the conversion of the faithful. . . . those who believe are elected, and the election is so strong that it produces their conversion.”<sup>49</sup> This reality led Claude to explain in the remainder of his sermon his view on the doctrine of election by pointing first to the nature and necessity of vocation, and then to how this vocation by the Word and the Spirit leads one to repentance and faith.

First, from the text, “For many are called,” Claude developed his understanding of the exact nature of this vocation. For him, it is through the Word that

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<sup>47</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” in *Recueil de sermons sur divers textes de l’Écriture Sainte* (Geneva: Samuel de Tournes, 1693), 222–23.

<sup>48</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 223.

<sup>49</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 224–25.

the Lord calls his people to faith. He noted, “You understand easily, I assure myself, that this vocation spoken in this text is nothing else than the ministry of the Word of grace, the external preaching that God causes us to do by his gospel.”<sup>50</sup> As he explained, there are in the New Testament two ways of speaking of vocation. Consequently, the call of the gospel in this text cannot be compared to the internal calling that is the subject of other passages (Rom 8:30; 1 Cor 1:1). He said, “In these passages, and in others similar, the vocation refers to the actual conversion of the believers, to the obedience of Jesus Christ, and it refers to the effect of the internal grace, the action of the Holy Spirit who deploys all his efficacy in us.”<sup>51</sup> For him, this is not the meaning of “vocation” in this passage, which must simply be understood as the external call made by the preaching of the gospel.

Claude noted that the call of the gospel is more than just an instruction because it also contains a command. He explained that the call that says, “Come to the wedding feast,” is the same that says, “Awake, O sleeper, and arise from the dead, and Christ will shine on you” (Eph 5:14), and “Come to me, all who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest” (Matt 11:28).<sup>52</sup> And this command is elsewhere given with a promise of salvation (John 3:36). Claude underlined four aspects to this vocation. The call of the gospel brings (1) an explanation of the work of Christ, (2) a command to accept him as Mediator, (3) a promise of remission of sins and salvation for those who accept him, and (4) a threatening of judgment for those who reject him. Claude added:

These four elements . . . form the essence of the gospel as it is preached to us, and this is why, it seems to me, one ought not to create a difficulty by calling it by the

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<sup>50</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 226.

<sup>51</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 227.

<sup>52</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 228.

name of Law, since it does of a real Law. Saint Paul himself gave this name in the Epistle to the Romans, where he calls it ‘The Law of the spirit of life’ (Rom 8:2).<sup>53</sup>

So, the gospel is a Law, obviously different from the Law of Moses. But, it can “justify and condemn,” and, in this sense, it is genuinely a Law.<sup>54</sup>

Accordingly, in the teachings of the parable, Claude understood the vocation mentioned, not as the internal call of the Spirit, but as the external call of the gospel preached from the words of Scripture, a call that commands a response to Christ. Through this vocation, the Word is proposed as the object of faith: “In fact, vocation is the external proposition of the remedy that alone is able to deliver us from the evils that sin has caused us. It puts before our eyes the mercy of the Eternal Father, the satisfaction and the merit of Jesus Christ his Son for our justification.”<sup>55</sup>

Then, Claude developed further his understanding of the doctrine of election. He defined election as “an eternal decree of God . . . which is a firm and immutable resolution that God made by his pure good pleasure, to deploy his mercy on a certain number of persons which he marked distinctly in himself, by separating them from others.”<sup>56</sup> This election of some for eternal life is rendered effectual by God himself. Claude understood that the salvation of the elect happens because of God’s gift of faith. He affirmed, “His good pleasure has been to give them faith in Jesus Christ, and faith with all other graces which depend on it, and to guide infallibly through that means to the life eternal and blessed of his Kingdom.”<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 229.

<sup>54</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 229–30.

<sup>55</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 245.

<sup>56</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 230. In his definition of election, Claude clearly reflected the twelfth article of the French Reformed Confession of Faith. See “La confession de foi des Églises réformées de France dite ‘Confession de La Rochelle,’ 1559,” in Olivier Fatio, ed., *Confessions et catéchismes de la foi réformée* (Geneva : Labor et Fides, 1986), 119.

<sup>57</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 230.

For Claude, this election to eternal life is different from the election of Israel in the Old Testament, of which Jesus had spoken at the beginning of the parable (Deut 7:6; Matt 22:2-4). The election of the new covenant involves a work of God in those who believe that did not take place in the election of the old covenant. The election of the new covenant is one through which God regenerates and sanctifies. Claude explained that this new covenant is able to override the total depravity that is natural in people. Thus, Claude explained that Christ wanted believers

to understand that God, seeing men under the bondage of their sin, seeing them as wicked, blind, proud, and rebel to the vocation of his gospel, incapable of believing in his Son themselves, or to come to this wedding, looked down with the eyes of his love on some of them. By doing this, he distinguished them from others, and this love consisted in the plan he has made to become the master of their hearts and spirits, to make them embrace the gospel of his Son, and to lead them by this means of salvation.<sup>58</sup>

Claude knew that this doctrine of election, which includes the effectual calling of the elect, is a mystery that has its difficulties. However, he was convinced that this is the teaching of Scripture on election.

In his time, Claude was definitely aware of the various debates regarding the doctrine of election between the Calvinists and the Arminians. In fact, in this sermon, Claude defended the Reformed view against the views of Arminius and Molina.<sup>59</sup> One of the difficulties that Claude sought to address concerns the extent of the election, whether it is general or particular. From Romans 9, he asserted that Paul clearly teaches that God's decree of election makes a division among men, "it leaves some in the hatred of God, while it makes others the object of his love" (v. 13). These fact leads to see that election is not general, but particular. It is not given to everyone, but only to some. Claude explained, "If you ask who are those involved by this decree, the Apostle will

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<sup>58</sup> Claude, "Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces," 232–33.

<sup>59</sup> Claude, "Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces," 238. Claude mentioned them by their names in his sermon and clearly affirmed the Reformed view of this doctrine.

teach you that they are persons that God has particularly marked distinctly in himself, Jacob, for example, considered in opposition to Esau” (v. 11).<sup>60</sup> Thus, for Claude, the elect are persons that God has known from eternity past, persons that he chose to be his own. From many passages of Scripture, Claude explained that the elect are predestined to receive all the benefits of salvation, which include conversion, adoption, justification, sanctification, and glorification.<sup>61</sup>

Having distinguished between vocation and election and affirmed that God’s decree of election is not general but particular, Claude addressed the question of order in which the decrees of vocation and election happened. Here, Claude described an order that follows the teachings of Moïse Amyraut, which considers God’s decree of saving the world before his decree of election. He believed that God decided to provide through Jesus Christ a way for the world to be saved, but that only those who have been chosen by God will accept him. In other words, Claude saw in this text that God’s compassion, leading him to make possible a general call addressed to all people to believe, preceded his particular election of some to salvation. To this question of order, he answered, “We must put vocation and election in the order that Jesus Christ put them, vocation first, and election second. ‘Many,’ he says, ‘are called, and few are chosen,’ which means a few among the called.”<sup>62</sup> So, in his understanding of God’s order of decree, God first viewed the sinfulness and the condemnation of people under his justice, he then wanted to give them the possibility to be saved by faith in Jesus Christ the Mediator by calling them to his wedding feast.

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<sup>60</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 234.

<sup>61</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 235.

<sup>62</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 242.



Claude also referred to John 3:16 to explain his view of God’s decree of election. He affirmed that God, seeing all men people in condemnation and providing for them a way to be saved, decided to express his mercy toward some among humans. Claude noted, “He [God the Father] was moved by another kind of compassion toward some of them [men] that he has chosen by a decree of his eternal counsel, to give them his Holy Spirit, and by the illumination of his Spirit to convert them actually to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and to elevate them to the felicity of his kingdom.”<sup>63</sup> In this passage of the sermon, Claude also described how the Spirit works to bring the elect to salvation. For now, suffice it to note that Claude saw that the decree of vocation preceded the decree of election by the order that Jesus described them and how that happened in a person’s life: “By vocation God commands us, and by election, he does in us what he commands.”<sup>64</sup>

Consequently, having described the difference between vocation and election and their order in God’s decree of salvation, Claude addressed the apparent contradiction that some may find in them. In short, some may ask that if through vocation, on the one hand, God commands to believe, does that not suppose that a person is able to believe, and that election is not necessary? And if, on the other hand, God elects some and gives them faith, why is vocation needed? Through his answer to these two questions, Claude

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<sup>63</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 243.

<sup>64</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces,” 244. At this point, it should be clear that Claude’s view of the order of God’s decree was not in agreement with the view of Turretin, who did not follow the teachings of Amyraut. As mentioned in the previous chapter, along with Amyraut, Claude was a follower of John Cameron regarding the doctrine that has been identified as hypothetical redemption. See Albert Gootjes, “John Cameron (ca. 1579–1675) and the French Universalist Tradition,” in Klauber, *Theology of the French Reformed Churches*, 169. Although, many have considered this doctrine a departure from Reformed orthodoxy that has led to other major theological disagreements, recently, Richard A. Muller has convincingly argued that Amyraldian theology, including the doctrine of the Trinity, of the covenants, and of regeneration, was very similar to the Calvinism of Dort. See his “Beyond Hypothetical Universalism. Moïse Amyraut (1596–1664) on Faith, Reason, and Ethics,” in Klauber, *Theology of the French Reformed Churches*, 205–08.

demonstrated how vocation and election work together, and thus further explained how the Spirit works with the Word to lead a person to repentance and faith.<sup>65</sup>

First, Claude answered by rejecting the belief that the ability of a person to believe is presupposed in the act of vocation. Rather, vocation

supposes that we have offended God and that we must repent of it and to convert to him, but it does not suppose that we could be good enough for it. It supposes that it is our duty to call upon Jesus Christ and to the mercy of his Father to obtain the forgiveness of our sins, but it does not suppose that we do indeed our duty or that we are in a state or willingness to do so.<sup>66</sup>

If that would be so, Claude admitted that there would no need for election. But, since everyone is totally unable to believe by oneself, election is thus necessary.

Second, Claude noted that vocation is also necessary because it is through vocation that God applies salvation to his elect. It is thus in the application of salvation that the Spirit works inseparably with the Word. Here, it may be helpful to note that in his understanding of election, Claude included not only God's decree of choosing some for salvation but also what other theologians, like Francis Turretin, for instance, called efficacious or effectual calling. Thus, if vocation, as it has been mentioned, is the proposition of the remedy to the evils of sin through the satisfaction of Jesus Christ, election is "the plan that God made to make us actually embrace all these great objects, and to really apply this remedy, so that we may draw the salutary fruits contained in it."<sup>67</sup> It is the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart that gives faith and repentance to the elect. This work is necessary because of the sinfulness of mankind and his inability to turn to God.

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<sup>65</sup> Claude, "Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces," 248.

<sup>66</sup> Claude, "Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces," 249.

<sup>67</sup> Claude, "Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces," 245.

However, for Claude, the Spirit does not give faith to the elect apart from the ministry of the Word. The sinner, as a human being, needs to have his heart touched by an object external to himself. He is not a rock or a piece of wood without knowledge and feelings. Instead, Claude explained, “He [man] has an understanding and a will, and his understanding judges and deliberates, his will chooses, it is thus necessary to propose to him externally the objects, and that is what vocation does.”<sup>68</sup> Therefore, he concluded that instead of being in contradiction with each other, vocation and election work perfectly together.

Furthermore, Claude explained that the extent of vocation and election is limited. From the text, he argued that “many,” but not “everyone” will be called, through the preaching of the Word. He said, “God makes his Word preached to those as it sees fit, and while he does not universally call everyone, he nevertheless gives this grace to a great number, and, among them, he chooses some to illuminate them internally with his heavenly light, and to lead them to the possession of his salvation.”<sup>69</sup>

In summary, in this sermon, it is possible to see Claude’s understanding of the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word in God’s work of bringing the elect to salvation. God calls many to receive Christ as their only Savior through the preaching of his Word. Then, the Holy Spirit works in the heart of those God has chosen to give to them the illumination they need to understand the Word. He works in them to transform their will so that they may repent from their sins and trust Christ through the faith he gives to them. Apart from the preaching of the Word, one cannot receive the heavenly light, but it is also impossible without the efficacious work of the Holy Spirit in the heart.

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<sup>68</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces, ” 250.

<sup>69</sup> Claude, “Sermon cinquième sur la parabole des nocces, ” 251.

### *Traité de Jésus-Christ*

One of the most important works of Jean Claude that have been published posthumously is his *Traité de Jésus-Christ*. This work spans almost twelve hundred pages and is divided into five parts that examine various aspects of the person and the work of Christ. In this particular treatise, he developed some aspects of the work of the Spirit and the Word in the life of the elect, specifically in the application of salvation. According to Claude, the Holy Spirit works in every aspect of this application. He explained, “The third [act of our salvation], is that it [salvation] may be applied to us, and this is what the Holy Spirit does by producing faith inside us with sanctification, by pouring out in our hearts the sense of God’s peace through justification, by making us persevere unto the end, and by raising us as he will do one day, and by elevating us to heaven.”<sup>70</sup> In this section, Claude’s understanding of the ministry of the Holy Spirit and the Word in vocation, conversion, sanctification, assurance, and perseverance of the elect, as explained in this specific treatise, will be presented.

**The Holy Spirit and the Word in vocation.** In the previous section, it has been observed that Claude understood that the Scriptures teach two kinds of vocation: the external vocation, which refers to the calling that is made by the gospel to all people, and the internal vocation, which is the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart to bring the elect to salvation.

According to Claude, the external vocation of God is universal and addressed to all people. In the order of salvation (*ordo salutis*), more specifically in the application of salvation to the elect, this vocation is the first necessary step in the process. In this treatise, Claude developed the idea of external vocation by presenting God’s various kinds of love that were manifested in Jesus Christ so that his chosen people might be

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<sup>70</sup> Jean Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” in *Les œuvres posthumes de Mr. Claude*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1688), 42.

saved. He described three kinds of love: (1) the love of benevolence by which God expressed compassion for mankind and provided a way for them to be saved, (2) the love of beneficence by which he determined to give faith to some, and (3) the love of complaisance by which he takes pleasure in those in whom he finds faith and sanctification.<sup>71</sup> The external calling of people to salvation depends on the first love, the love of benevolence, which Claude saw expressed in many passages of Scripture (John 3:16; Rom 1:16; Joel 2:32; 2 Tim 2:4). It is the call of the gospel made through the preaching of the Word.

However, although this vocation is addressed to all people, it is not effectually given to all people because God's wisdom guides the preaching of the Word. In other words, the Word calls everyone to believe in Christ and to receive salvation, but ultimately it will not reach every one of them during their lifetime. As Claude explained, "The external vocation depends not only on that first love [the love of benevolence] that we conceive in God but also on an economy of wisdom that rules itself, as much on this first love, as on his decree of election and reprobation."<sup>72</sup> Therefore, the external vocation depends on the preaching of the Word and on the wisdom of God that guides this preaching into the world. This preaching is guided by God's wisdom that operates through his Holy Spirit. Claude gave the example of Paul: "Paul having some desires to go to a certain country to preach the gospel, *the Spirit did not allow him.*" (Acts 16:7).<sup>73</sup> Therefore, God expresses his benevolent love toward people by providing salvation through his Son, and he calls them by guiding the preaching of his Word by the Holy Spirit.

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<sup>71</sup> Claude, "Traité de Jésus-Christ," 2:28.

<sup>72</sup> Claude, "Traité de Jésus-Christ," 2:38.

<sup>73</sup> Claude, "Traité de Jésus-Christ," 2:39.

Nevertheless, the external vocation by the preaching of the gospel, while necessary, is not sufficient for a person to be saved. There is still a need for the illumination of the mind by the Holy Spirit. Therefore, commenting on 1 Corinthians 2:10–11, Claude affirmed that the external vocation needs to be complemented by the internal work of the Holy Spirit. He explained, “The Holy Spirit comes with the external preaching of the gospel, to imprint its mysteries in the heart of men.”<sup>74</sup> This work is necessary because, as the passage says, the natural person cannot receive the things of the Spirit of God. It is only when the Holy Spirit works in the heart to give him “spiritual discernment” that one can understand these mysteries in order to trust them. Therefore, Claude viewed two aspects in the vocation of man, one external by the Word and the other internal by the Holy Spirit. He summarized his view in this way:

We must always remember that the ignorance of men of these mysteries may be considered, either in the fact that the objects were hidden to them, or in the fact that their own faculties were blind, and that, likewise, the manifestation, the declaration, the exposition in evidence is of two sorts, one external by the Word, and the other internal by the Holy Spirit.<sup>75</sup>

**The Holy Spirit and the Word in conversion.** The second work of the Holy Spirit is the one that brings the elect actually into communion with Christ through conversion. Claude explained that the conversion of the elect has its origin in God himself, who, through the work of Jesus Christ, accomplished what was necessary to bring sinners into communion with him and, through his continuous work, applies the benefits of salvation to the elect. If, by his love of benevolence, God wanted to provide a way for people to be saved, then, by his love of beneficence, he desires to bring them in communion with Christ. As Claude described, “The love of beneficence is the one by which God has determined to give actually to some among mankind . . . the power to

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<sup>74</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:488.

<sup>75</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:479.

accomplish this new right, by faith and sanctification.”<sup>76</sup> Therefore, the origin of conversion is found in the love of God for his people and a desire to be in communion with them through Jesus Christ. God’s desire to restore the communion between himself and his elect was accomplished through his plan of salvation.

God’s love of beneficence led him to elect a certain number among all people, which then leads him to accomplish his plan by the work of the Holy Spirit. Through this work, Claude explained, God efficaciously gives the faith and conversion necessary for salvation: “It is not without reason that we call it the love of beneficence, because the fruit or the formal effect of this love consists in communicating to us his Holy Spirit, and by his Holy Spirit, the faith and the conversion which are the greatest benefits that we could receive from God, and from which all others depend.”<sup>77</sup> He also described the grace of God at work in conversion, as the work that causes the elect to believe, proving, what he also said, that the Holy Spirit is the author of our faith.<sup>78</sup> It is a grace that is “efficacious and invincible” that transforms the elect and makes them “new creatures” by “establishing God’s reign and his gospel in our hearts.”<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, through this work of the Spirit, a person receives forgiveness through the cleansing blood of Christ. As Claude noted: “This internal aspersion [of Christ’s blood] is made by the efficacy of the Holy Spirit on our hearts, when we are actually converted, and that by a true and living faith we receive the blood of our redeemer.”<sup>80</sup> This cleansing brings justification and communion with God.

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<sup>76</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:28.

<sup>77</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:29.

<sup>78</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 3:135.

<sup>79</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:306.

<sup>80</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 3:76.

This efficacious work was necessary because of the natural inability of a person to repent and believe. Due to the effect of sin and rebellion, a person could not turn to God without the efficacious work of the Holy Spirit. In fact, one of the main effects of sin is to restrain people from coming to repentance. Claude held that the sin of Adam was not only disobedience that brought a curse on humanity, but also a complete upheaval of the entire creation, as the establishment of the empire of the devil, and the reign of sin and death.” The original sin thus brought corruption to all the descendants of Adam, “which keeps them all away from repentance.”<sup>81</sup> For this reason, Claude affirmed the necessity of God’s intervention through his Holy Spirit:

God . . . seeing that if he would not give his Holy Spirit to men, there would be none who would believe in his Son, nor who would enter into his communion, came to elect a certain number of people and to love them to the point of giving them his grace to make them believe, and to make them, through the means of faith, mystical members of the body of his Son.<sup>82</sup>

In other words, the conversion that is worked out by the Holy Spirit necessarily transforms the heart in order to lead the elect to believe.

Claude also mentioned that a particular aspect of this transformation is the crucifixion of the flesh: “The grace of God, being poured out upon men makes them cease to be flesh because the Spirit of God changes everything he touches, it is the fire of God, which, falling on the victim, consumes and swallows him.”<sup>83</sup> Therefore, from 1 Peter 4:1, Claude understood that believers are united to Christ in his death and sufferings on the cross when he died for them. Even more, they have suffered through conversion because it is “a crucifixion of ourselves.”<sup>84</sup> Now that believers have been crucified with

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<sup>81</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 3:76.

<sup>82</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:30.

<sup>83</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:235.

<sup>84</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 3:263.



Christ through conversion, they are separated from sin. Thus, as Claude noted, “Now . . . it follows that we have desisted from sin, meaning that we have given a letter of divorce to sin, that we have given up and broken every commerce with sin.”<sup>85</sup> This crucifixion is seen through the actual repentance of the elect at the time of conversion when it is given to him by the Holy Spirit.

**The Holy Spirit and the Word in sanctification.** In many places in his work, Claude identified the Spirit as the Spirit of sanctification. By this, he meant that the Holy Spirit is the one who purifies the elect of their unrighteousness and sets them apart to live for God’s glory. For Claude, the Spirit is “the author of our sanctification.” To be sure, he explained that the salvation of the elect is the work of the Godhead, but that sanctification is the work that is explicitly done by the Spirit. He explained that each person of the Trinity works distinctively in salvation in this way: “The Father as the first author of our salvation, who had designed it from all eternity, and who has given the orders for its execution. The Son, as the Mediator, who has shed his blood to satisfy in our place the divine justice, and to merit us heaven. And the Holy Spirit, as the author of our illumination, our conversion, and our sanctification.”<sup>86</sup> Thus, salvation has its origin in the Father, it was accomplished and merited for the elect by the Son, and it is applied to them by the Holy Spirit.

As mentioned previously, in his love of beneficence, the Father decided not only to save people from their sins but also to elect some to be his children, his people. This love is the origin of our faith and sanctification.<sup>87</sup> Thus, the Spirit of sanctification is

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<sup>85</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 3:263.

<sup>86</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:232.

<sup>87</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:28.

given to the elect through the preaching of the gospel.<sup>88</sup> Still, it is only through the work of Christ who accomplished salvation that “the Spirit of sanctification” can be given to the elect. Claude explained that, through his perfect sacrifice, Christ obtained or merited for the elect the Holy Spirit. He said, “He [Christ] has merited for us his Spirit; not the Spirit who converts us and who makes us unfaithful people faithful, but the Spirit of consolation and sanctification . . . who is given to us following our adoption” (John 1:12; Rom 8:17; Gal 4:6-7).<sup>89</sup>

Concerning the nature of the work of sanctification, Claude understood it as regeneration and as the work of Christ to transform the believer into his image. For him, the work of regeneration happens at the moment when Christ gives the Spirit of adoption. He explained,

The Spirit of adoption . . . who operates the regeneration of our soul, forms in us affections of love for God, of esteem for excellence, of hatred for lawlessness (*crime*), of peace and tranquility of conscience by the knowledge of the love that God gives us in Jesus Christ, movements of desire and hope to live for the glory of God on the earth, and to enjoy one day the celestial glory.<sup>90</sup>

Thus, at the moment of conversion, the elect is adopted and sanctified by the Holy Spirit, who transforms the “wills” and the “affections” of his heart so that he may not only turn from sin but also pursue the excellence of holiness for the glory of God.<sup>91</sup>

Furthermore, when the Spirit sanctifies and makes believers anew, he begins to transform them in the likeness of Christ. For Claude, this work is achieved both by the Spirit and the Word: “Jesus Christ operates [sanctification] as much by his Word than by his Spirit, in order to make us worthy of our communion with God our Father. For, to

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<sup>88</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:298.

<sup>89</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 3:110. Claude did not deny that the Spirit of conversion and the Spirit of sanctification are the same Spirit, but he underlined various aspects of the Spirit’s work.

<sup>90</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:312.

<sup>91</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:420.

give us this communion . . . he must . . . form in us the traits of his image.”<sup>92</sup> It was not enough for God to predestine the elect to heaven and inheritance with him, he wanted to deliver them from the bondage of sin and to make them like Christ (Rom 8:29; 2 Cor 5:17). And to that end, he uses his Spirit and his Word. The Word contains what is necessary for sanctification and produces it in the believer’s life. The Spirit thus takes the teachings contained in the Word and applies them to the heart. Claude explained,

Jesus Christ operates this sanctification in us by his Word and by his Holy Spirit . . . for the Word contains the objects that are proper for our sanctification and that produces it from their nature; and the Holy Spirit prints in our souls these objects, so that we may receive the excellence. This is the reason why he is called in Scripture, the Spirit of wisdom and knowledge (Eph 1:17).<sup>93</sup>

As the Spirit of wisdom, therefore, the Holy Spirit works sanctification by applying to the heart, the all-sufficient knowledge and wisdom of the Scriptures.

**The Holy Spirit and the Word in perseverance.** As the Holy Spirit is the divine person who works conversion and sanctification in believers, Claude also understood that it is his role to produce perseverance in the elect, which he included in the third aspect of the work of the Holy Spirit as “the Spirit of sanctification, consolation and final perseverance.”<sup>94</sup> As opposed to the Arminians, who taught that perseverance is the result of free will, Claude argued that, on the contrary, perseverance comes “only and purely from the grace of God and the Spirit of Jesus Christ.”<sup>95</sup> Again, the grace of God and the Spirit of perseverance has been merited to us by Christ, our only Mediator.<sup>96</sup> For

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<sup>92</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:439.

<sup>93</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:440.

<sup>94</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:306.

<sup>95</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:407.

<sup>96</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:432.

Claude, this final perseverance is understood as persistence in faith and sanctification until the day of Jesus Christ.

In addition to his merit, Claude mentioned seven acts that Christ as Mediator continues to perform in order to accomplish perseverance in the lives of the elect. Among these acts, he included the giving of Scripture and the grace of the Holy Spirit. For him, the canon of the Scriptures that “he [Christ] ordained his disciples to produce,” contain the instructions that guide the believer in obedience to the Lord. By his providence, God gives the protection that they need against “the enemies of their salvation.”<sup>97</sup> Therefore, God also provides “new degrees of grace or of his Spirit” in various circumstances so that they can make progress in regeneration and sanctification.<sup>98</sup> In other words, without the grace of God and the power of the Holy Spirit in the life of the elect, they could not persevere in faith. Claude summarized Christ’s works thus, “As the Mediator of God toward men, he calls us by his Word, he reveals to us the mysteries of God’s will, he blesses us, he sanctifies us, consoles us, he protects us, he guides us, he raises us, he elevates us to heaven.”<sup>99</sup> Therefore, as the Mediator, Christ works the perseverance of the elect by his Word and the grace of his Spirit.

**The Holy Spirit and the Word in assurance.** Another aspect of salvation that Claude mentioned about the Spirit and the Word is the assurance of salvation. There are many aspects to this assurance that the believer experiences in Christ. However, these aspects can be summarized as the assurance that all the promises of God contained in the Scriptures are sure and will be realized in Christ. Since Christ is the Mediator of the new covenant that God establishes with his elect, they are now reconciled with God, and they

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<sup>97</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:440.

<sup>98</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:440–41.

<sup>99</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:441.

can trust that every promise he has made will be accomplished. This reconciliation is based, not on the believers' work, but the work of Christ and God's approval of his work. Claude explained, "God executed in him the promise he makes us by his covenant, by raising him from the dead, elevating him to the eternal and blessed glory of heaven."<sup>100</sup> Therefore, since God has approved the offering of Christ in the inauguration of the new covenant, the believer can have confidence in God that he will accomplish his promises. Commenting on Hebrews 11:1, he said, "Although we do not yet possess what God promised, and do not see it accomplished in us, we see it accomplished in Jesus Christ in whom what we hope really exists."<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, believers have been raised with Christ and are now seated in the heavenly realms (Eph 2:6), so that, in the resurrection and exaltation of Christ, they possess certainty of their immortality and future joy. Therefore, Christ's work is the foundation on which the elect's assurance rests, and the Scriptures confirm this: "For you have died, and your life is hidden with Christ in God. When Christ who is your life appears, then you also will appear with him in glory." (Col 3.3-4).<sup>102</sup> In other words, Claude understood assurance as the certainty that comes from God: "Jesus Christ . . . is the pledge of the covenant, in giving us assurance from God that he will deploy for this infinite power and wisdom, and that there will be no enemy force that opposes to the execution of his promises, that he will not happily defeat."<sup>103</sup>

If the Scriptures provide the promises as well as the certainty that these promises will be accomplished, how will the hearts of the elect be filled with that certainty? How can they be sure that the promises of Scripture are true? To answer these

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<sup>100</sup> Claude, "Traité de Jésus-Christ," 2:405.

<sup>101</sup> Claude, "Traité de Jésus-Christ," 2:406.

<sup>102</sup> Claude, "Traité de Jésus-Christ," 2:406.

<sup>103</sup> Claude, "Traité de Jésus-Christ," 2:408.

questions, Claude turned to the work of God in the heart of the elect, which can be attributed to the Holy Spirit. For him, there is a divine certainty contained in the Scriptures, but there is also, according to them, a divine certainty that is given to the elect. Claude explained that the divine faith that is given to the elect also persuades them “by the power of Divine authority.”<sup>104</sup> This power is the power of the Holy Spirit that has been given to God’s people (Acts 2:17) and by which Christ dwells in the hearts by faith (Eph 3:17).

### **Sermon on the Holy Spirit (Ephesians 4:30)**

Another significant source for understanding Claude’s view on the work of the Holy Spirit is his sermon on Ephesians 4:30: “And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, by whom you were sealed for the day of redemption.”<sup>105</sup> The sermon is divided into three main points, which represent the three-parts division Claude made of this verse. The three parts are: (1) the day of redemption, (2) the sealing of the Holy Spirit, and (3) the grieving of the Spirit. It is more specifically in the introduction and in the second and third parts of the sermon that Claude described, not only the divine person who indwells believers, but also his specific work their lives. As it will be shown, this sermon reflects some aspects of the person and the work of the Holy Spirit that have been mentioned in others of his works, yet with a more specific application for the life of the believer, which is to avoid the grieving of the Spirit.

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<sup>104</sup> Claude, “Traité de Jésus-Christ,” 2:551–52.

<sup>105</sup> Jean Claude, “Sermon sur ces paroles de l’épître de Saint Paul aux Ephésiens Chap. 4 v. 30.,” in *Recueil de sermons sur divers textes de l’Écriture Sainte*, 356–406. This sermon will now be referred to as “Sermon sur Ephésiens 4.30.” Michael A. G. Haykin offers a significant presentation of this sermon and of Claude’s theology of the Holy Spirit in his ““This Glorious Seal of God’,” 321–34.

**The indwelling of the Holy Spirit.** “One of the greatest benefits that believers enjoy under the light of the gospel, and that elevate them close to the felicity of heaven, is to be able to say *God is in us*.”<sup>106</sup> These are the words by which Claude introduced the sermon and declared the blessing of believers under the new covenant. In this section, Claude underlined the benefit of God’s presence with Israel under the old covenant, in the coming of Jesus Christ, and finally with the Church after the ascension of Christ.

Claude explained that when Moses wanted to show the privilege of Israel over the other nations of the world, he told them that God was near them (Deut 4:7). In fact, he noted that God was near them “by the care of his providence, through the Law and ordinances, by the cloud, and by his tabernacle, by the water from the rock, by the manna, by the types, and by the promises.”<sup>107</sup> However, for Claude, the proximity of God in the old covenant was to become a higher benefit later in God’s dealing with his people.

When the Son of God came into the world, God’s people were able, not only to say that God is near us but also God is with us (John 1:14). Through Jesus Christ, Claude remarked, God took on human nature by which he was able to live among people and to be exposed to the same realities and sufferings. Hence, people were able to contemplate the power of God through the miracles that Jesus accomplished and the Word of God that he gave to them. Nevertheless, as Claude explained, “This joy was followed by a greater one when this same Eternal Son was willing to die for our salvation.”<sup>108</sup> Thus, God was not only near or with his people, but “for” his people (Rom 8:31–32). Through Christ’s

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<sup>106</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 356–57.

<sup>107</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 356–57.

<sup>108</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 358.

sacrifice, God established a new covenant of peace with his people by reconciling them to him (2 Cor 5:19).

However, for Claude, God's presence, "near," "with," and "for" his people, did not represent the most significant benefit of the elect. Instead, the greatest joy is found in the fact that now by the Holy Spirit, "*God is in us.*" Claude explained that when Christ ascended, the Church became "the Temple of the Holy Spirit, and this glorious person that we adore in the divinity began to dwell in us and to pour out his consolations and the eternal riches of his grace until we obtain the riches of glory."<sup>109</sup> Through the coming of the Holy Spirit, the elect became a house for God to dwell within them.

This idea points to Claude's view that the Holy Spirit is a divine person who deserves adoration and respect, which are the duties of the elect. Later, in his sermon, he underlined this reality describing the Holy Spirit as "a divine person . . . the third person whom we adore in the divinity."<sup>110</sup> Therefore, throughout his sermon, Claude emphasized the necessity for believers to give the highest respect for their God. Before presenting the main points of his sermon, he made a declaration that would guide the rest of it:

A so glorious host demands from us infinite respect, and if the rights of hospitality are inviolable with regard to men, who sometimes are less than us, how must they be sacred with regard to the Holy Spirit, a person so adorable and divine who deign to choose his dwelling in our heart, to seal the most important promises of salvation.<sup>111</sup>

A closer look at the second and third points of his sermon will help to understand why and how, according to Claude, the believer must give the highest devotion to his indwelling God.

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<sup>109</sup> Claude, "Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30," 359.

<sup>110</sup> Claude, "Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30," 384.

<sup>111</sup> Claude, "Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30," 359–60.



**The seal of the Holy Spirit.** For the elect to be indwelt by the Spirit of God is, for Claude, one of the most valuable benefits of salvation. There is, however, an aspect of this indwelling that he developed further with respect to the text of the sermon; it is the idea of the seal of the Spirit. In the second main point of the sermon, he described the purpose of the sealing of the Holy Spirit and its particular effects in the life of the elect.

Claude compared the sealing of the Spirit with the purpose of the seals used by people of his time. They were used to mark letters and other objects as coming from or belonging to a person. For example, when the king marked an object with his seal, he was identifying this object as belonging to himself. Similarly, God sealed his children by the Holy Spirit to distinguish them from the rest of mankind and to confirm that they now belong to him as his children in Christ. Claude explained, “And as we usually mark with our seal only the things that belong to us, the Apostle wanted by this expression to tell us that we belong to God, that we are his heritage, his good, his domain, or as he says himself, his most precious jewel.”<sup>112</sup> By the seal of the Spirit, God confirms to the elect that they belong to him by adoption and that he loves them with unfailing love. However, Claude noted that the Apostle Paul meant further. God did not only mark his children to confirm that they belong to him, but he also sealed them to impress his image in them by the Holy Spirit. This aspect led Claude to explain the various effects of the seal of the Holy Spirit.

The first effect of God’s sealing in the elect is “to engrave onto our hearts these three virtues; faith, love, and hope . . . which are the signs of his covenant with us.”<sup>113</sup> Claude seemed to distinguish these signs from the very image of God imprinted in the elect. Put differently, these virtues are not the result of the forming of his image in the

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<sup>112</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 372.

<sup>113</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 374.

elect, but only signs that we belong to God. Like other Reformed theologians, Claude understood the image of God imprinted in the elect consisting “in justice, peace, and holiness.”<sup>114</sup> It is only the Holy Spirit who makes the elect capable of receiving “the holy image of God whose characters are ultimately from the Holy Spirit and absolutely dependent upon his efficacy.”<sup>115</sup> As the material that receives the seal does not contribute to anything, in the same way, the elect contribute nothing in receiving the image of God. The only thing they bring to God is an obedient heart. Nevertheless, by the seal of the Holy Spirit, the elect genuinely receive from God, because the Holy Spirit possesses “the very nature and the essence of God.”<sup>116</sup> Also, their hearts are transformed. In place of a heart of stone, the Spirit transforms it into a heart of flesh. When the Spirit is given, he also remains forever, so that the image of God imprinted on the heart also remains.

Another aspect of the sealing of the Holy Spirit is the end for which the elect are sealed. From the passage, Claude noted that it is “for the blessed resurrection” that is to come. He mentioned two aspects of the mark of the Spirit that will have their effects on the day of redemption. First, as mentioned previously, the Spirit will serve as the mark to distinguish the righteous from the unrighteous; the former will be resurrected for life, while the latter will be resurrected for judgment. Second, the Spirit is also the one who “forms the desires and the hope for this future redemption.” However, Claude believed that the apostle Paul’s intention in this passage was to say that “the assurance that we have of our resurrection, and of the expectation that we have of this great day is based on the Holy Spirit who is the seal of it, or as he says elsewhere a guarantee of our

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<sup>114</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 374.

<sup>115</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 375. The English translation has been taken from Haykin, “This Glorious Seal of God,” 329.

<sup>116</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 376.

inheritance.”<sup>117</sup> In other words, the Holy Spirit gives assurance to the elect that on the day of redemption, they will be resurrected for eternal life.

Claude then described the essential benefits of salvation that are confirmed to the elect by the Holy Spirit. First, from Romans 8:11, he understood that the Spirit gives the certainty that the body will be resurrected for life. He noted, “There is . . . too much glory and majesty in him to persuade us that he leaves eternally in the dust our body that had the honor to be his temples.”<sup>118</sup> Therefore, the Spirit confirms to the hearts of God’s children the certainty of all those things that makes sure the resurrection of their body.<sup>119</sup> Then, the Spirit testifies that Christ died for God’s elect, that he has conquered death by his resurrection, and that he ascended to heaven to reign at the right hand of God (John 7:39; 15:26; Acts 2:33). He also confirms to believers their adoption, that they are now and forever children of God (Rom 8:15–16), and that they are now at peace with God by the remission of their sins and by the love of God that the Spirit has poured out into their hearts (Rom 5:5).<sup>120</sup> In short, through regeneration, the Holy Spirit gives to the elect the certainty that they possess all the benefits of salvation and that God’s promises contained in the Scriptures will ultimately be realized for them when Christ will come. Thus, based on these passages of Scripture, although Claude did not mention it explicitly in this sermon, he showed that he firmly believed that the Holy Spirit works with the Word to give this certainty to the elect.

According to Claude, the sealing of the Spirit has implications for two essential doctrines of the Christian faith: the doctrine of perseverance and the doctrine of

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<sup>117</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 376.

<sup>118</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 377.

<sup>119</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 378.

<sup>120</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 378–80.

assurance.<sup>121</sup> With respect to perseverance in the faith, since God gives his Spirit to his children and seals them for the day of redemption, “it is clear that the care of his providence will endure to the end, and that he does not remove his good hand from upon them, until he guides them to glory.”<sup>122</sup> The presence of the Spirit in the elect provides the assurance that God will guard and keep them for the day of Christ. Concerning the believers’ assurance of salvation, Claude affirmed that the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit provides by itself the proof of their salvation. For those who may think that this is circular reasoning, Claude went on to prove that it is not. Through rhetorical questions, he said: “How do I know that I possess understanding? by understanding itself. How can I have the light of reason? by the light of reason itself.”<sup>123</sup> Claude thus affirmed that believers know that they have the Spirit by the light of the Spirit that they possess in themselves. He concluded, “We can, therefore, know that we have the Holy Spirit and by this knowledge be assured of our salvation.”<sup>124</sup> He went on to remind his hearers that they should never abuse their security of salvation, and this is why Paul said to the Ephesians in the passage, “Do not grieve the Spirit.”

**Grieving the Spirit.** In the third point of his sermon, Claude exhorted his hearers not to neglect the Holy Spirit in their conduct by explaining the nature of this grieving and how it is possible for Christians to grieve the Holy Spirit. First, on the nature of that grieving, he explained that the assurance the elect possess that the Spirit lives in them should lead them to make efforts not to lose the benefit he provides. Here, Claude

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<sup>121</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 381. See also Haykin, ““This Glorious Seal of God,”” 330–31.

<sup>122</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 381.

<sup>123</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 383.

<sup>124</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 383.

suggested that the concept of grieving used by Paul could be taken as a metaphor that means not to break or erase the seal of God. Therefore, he explained the value of this seal by referring to the Spirit's deity: "This is, my brothers, because he [Paul] does not want us to take the Holy Spirit of God for a mere impression, or a grace created in us, but for a divine person that we adore in the Divinity."<sup>125</sup> The deity of the Spirit should thus lead the elect in being careful not to grieve him. However, as Michael A. G. Haykin notes, for Claude, "Paul's use of the language grief should not be taken literally...since the Spirit, as divine being, cannot properly be subject of such a passion."<sup>126</sup> Instead, the Scriptures use that terminology to describe what the Spirit provokes in the hearts of the elect: "It is thus a term borrowed from human affections, and used to represent the operations of the Holy Spirit in us."<sup>127</sup> Thus, when the Spirit provokes grieving in God's children, then the Scriptures say that the Spirit is grieved.

Then, Claude described how believers could grieve the Spirit. There are various expressions used in the Scriptures to describe what the Spirit can suffer [*souffrir*] in us.<sup>128</sup> The Spirit can be quenched, resisted, sinned against or outraged, and grieved. Each of these expressions is related to specific operations of the Spirit. When the Spirit is quenched, it is related to the operation of the Spirit to provide the spiritual gifts necessary in the preaching of the gospel. When the Spirit is resisted, it refers to the work of the Spirit that makes his light to shine from the Scriptures. When the Spirit is sinned against or outraged, it is related to his work of preparing the hearts of people to enter into

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<sup>125</sup> Claude, "Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30," 384.

<sup>126</sup> Haykin, "'This Glorious Seal of God,'" 331–332.

<sup>127</sup> Claude, "Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30," 385.

<sup>128</sup> Claude, "Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30," 385. At this point, Claude had already established the fact that the Spirit is impassible. Thus, the expression that the Spirit can "suffer", must be understood that he must "endure" or "bear" what is done against him.

communion with Christ. Finally, when the Spirit is grieved, it is related to his work of indwelling in those who belong to the body of Christ.<sup>129</sup>

Therefore, the Spirit is grieved only when believers neglect his operations in them once they have been regenerated.<sup>130</sup> It is when they go against what he works in them through their union with Christ. In that context, Claude mentioned four specific operations of the Spirit and some ways to work against him. First, the Spirit produces fullness of faith, which Claude defined as the growth or perfection of faith in the elect. Second, the Spirit is to make the Christian persevere until the end (John 6:39). Third, the Spirit sanctifies and works excellence “in order that we bear the fruits of justice demanded by our vocation” (John 15:4–5).<sup>131</sup> Fourth, the Spirit gives joy and peace to the soul by his consolation (John 4:27; 14:16; 1 Cor 1:30). Concerning these operations, Claude explained what it means to grieve the Spirit:

It is to repel him by the darkness and defiance of the flesh and blood, when he works to expand our lights and distinguish our knowledge; it is to fight him with the love of ourselves and by our worldly interests, when he inspires the zeal and firmness in the profession of the gospel; it is to elevate ourselves against him by the sedition of passions, when he acts for our sanctification and that he is tracing in our souls the image of the righteousness of God; it is finally to force him by the impurities of our behavior to remove the peace of consciousness and to let ourselves to be consumed by our natural worries.<sup>132</sup>

When believers act against the works of the Spirit in them, the Spirit is grieved and thus produces godly sadness in their hearts.

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<sup>129</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 386–91. See also Haykin, “‘This Glorious Seal of God’,” 332.

<sup>130</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 398.

<sup>131</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 392.

<sup>132</sup> Claude, “Sermon sur Ephesiens 4.30,” 397.

## Letters

In 1679, Claude corresponded with a Reformed brother, who was either a student of theology or a minister, to answer some of his questions concerning the controversies between the Reformed Protestants and the Roman Catholics. In this correspondence, Claude wrote a series of letters that addressed questions concerning the authority of Scripture and how the Spirit works to convince a person of the authority and divinity of Scripture.

**Letter XL.** In his first letter of the series dated June 27, 1679, Claude answered a question of whether Scripture should be considered as “the rule by which we must examine all things about the Christian religion.”<sup>133</sup> He offers three reasons. First, to be considered the rule of faith, Scripture must possess its authority from itself; second, it must be sure and wholly truthful; and, third, it must be generally known by all believers. Thus, Claude affirmed that the Scriptures meet all these requirements of the rule of faith:

All these three things can be found in Scripture. It possesses authority by itself because it is the Word of God . . . it comes from the mouth of the Sovereign Master of the world. It is certain and not misleading because it proceeds from the one who is the first truth. Finally, it is generally known by all believers, because it belongs to all of them, by right, having no Christian in the world who does not find a point of entry to the intelligence of Scripture, provided that he may want and use the means at hand.<sup>134</sup>

In other words, Claude defended that Scripture is the rule of faith because it contains the truth that comes from God, and all believers find in it what is necessary to live by faith. His answer offered a response to the question of authority against the Roman Catholics, who also considered the tradition of the Church as authoritative.

However, in the letter, Claude did not only address issues with the Roman Catholics, but he also took the opportunity to address an issue with some Anabaptists

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<sup>133</sup> Jean Claude, “Lettre XL,” in *Les œuvres posthumes de Mr. Claude*, vol. 5 (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1689), 294.

<sup>134</sup> Claude, “Lettre XL,” 306–7.

concerning their view on the question. He described them as people who follow “their fanatic revelations,” and who refuse to receive Scripture as the rule of faith.<sup>135</sup> According to Claude, from 2 Corinthians 3:6, these people taught that the Scriptures were mainly addressed to the Jews and that it was thus necessary for Christians to seek new revelations from the Holy Spirit. In his answer against their teachings, Claude affirmed that these Anabaptists did not understand how the Spirit works in believers. The Spirit does not work with new revelations, but by engraving upon their hearts the revelation that has already been given to the prophets and apostles, and which is found in Scripture. Hence, he identifies two means by which this impression happens. It takes place either when they read the written Word or when they hear the preaching of the Word.<sup>136</sup>

Claude then went on to explain *how* the Spirit works in the heart of the elect so that one might live according to the Word. He described three main ways. First, the Holy Spirit disposes the mind to receive the teachings read in the Word or pronounced by the preacher. Thus, he works in the believers so that they may be “attentive” to receive and hear the Word of God. Second, the Holy Spirit can recall to the mind what has been read or heard in the past. And, third, he works in the soul to prepare it to receive and believe what has been said. This is necessary because a man “by nature is evil,” he is “by nature, incapable of judging properly the objects presented to him.” Thus, the Spirit works in people “to dispose to judge properly.” Claude added, “This is where the work of faith and conversion comes from.”<sup>137</sup> Therefore, for him, the Spirit does not work in the elect with new revelations, but he works with the written words of Scripture to prepare the mind and the heart to receive and believe the Word and to walk according to it. Claude concluded,

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<sup>135</sup> Claude, “Lettre XL,” 309.

<sup>136</sup> Claude, “Lettre XL,” 310

<sup>137</sup> Claude, “Lettre XL,” 310.



“The Holy Spirit thus does not provide by himself and immediately the objects, he only impresses them in the hearts of the believers, after they have been taken from elsewhere, that is from the Holy Scriptures.”<sup>138</sup> Thus, the Holy Spirit needs nothing else than the objects contained in it to work the salvation of the elect. The Spirit and the Word are thus inseparable. This is one of the main reasons why Scripture must be considered the rule of faith.

**Lettre XLIV.** In letter XLIV, destined to the same person, Claude addressed the question concerning the authority of Scripture. This question asked whether Scripture possesses authority in itself, or if it is an authority given by the testimony and judgment of the Church, and whether the Holy Spirit is a Spirit of discernment to recognize the divine authority of Scripture.<sup>139</sup> Claude’s answer to this question is as follows.

First, Claude affirmed with the French Reformed churches that Scripture possesses authority in itself. Thus, in the opening of the letter, Claude affirmed:

The authority of Scripture is a sovereign right by which all men generally are obliged, by a movement of religion and conscience, to give their approval to Scripture, and to submit to it, that is to say, to add faith to the things that it teaches us, and to obey when it commands us or forbids us something. This right is based on the excellence and sovereign dignity that this book is invested: for as it has God immediately as Author, it prevails over all other books and on all human discourses, which excellence is infinitely below it.<sup>140</sup>

The fact that the Scriptures have God, the sovereign master of all things, as their Author, makes them divine, and they thus possess authority. Furthermore, the fact that the divinity of Scripture is a characteristic that it possesses in itself leads to the fact that the testimony or judgment of the Church does not contribute anything to this. Claude

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<sup>138</sup> Claude, “Lettre XL,” 310–11.

<sup>139</sup> Jean Claude, “Lettre XLIV,” in *Les œuvres posthumes de Mr. Claude*, vol. 5 (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1689), 555.

<sup>140</sup> Claude, “Lettre XLIV,” 544.

maintained that “the divinity of Scripture could be proved sufficiently and abundantly . . . by means of certain properties that can be found contained in Scripture itself, in which the traits of divine wisdom shine with so much brilliance that only the darkness of our corruption can hinder us from seeing them.”<sup>141</sup>

The second question concerns the role of the Holy Spirit in bringing a person to consider the Scripture as divine, which refers to the doctrine of the testimony of the Holy Spirit. Claude affirmed by nature, humanity cannot recognize the divinity of Scripture, because it is “so hidden and so unknown.”<sup>142</sup> Thus, before a person comes to recognize the divinity and authority of Scripture, there must be the illumination of the Spirit in the heart: “The actual knowledge of this divinity [of Scripture] comes from the Spirit who illuminates the heart of man.”<sup>143</sup> So, in order for a person to recognize the divinity of Scripture, the Spirit must, first, dissipate the darkness of the mind. Then, he prepares the heart for faith by giving to the mind the knowledge and the sense that Scripture is divine. Claude explained,

The faculty from which proceeds the act of our faith is the mind of man. And the power by which our mind is led to believe is by the supernatural internal light of the Holy Spirit, by which the mind is formed anew; by which it is renewed and prepared to receive the object in the manner that it must be received. Therefore, the operation of the Holy Spirit is the true efficient cause of faith.<sup>144</sup>

Hence, the Holy Spirit acts internally and immediately on the faculty of the mind and produces in the elect the belief that Scripture is divine.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Claude, “Lettre XLIV,” 549.

<sup>142</sup> Claude, “Lettre XLIV,” 546.

<sup>143</sup> Claude, “Lettre XLIV,” 548.

<sup>144</sup> Claude, “Lettre XLIV,” 551.

<sup>145</sup> Claude, “Lettre XLIV,” 552.

In this letter, Claude again defended the Reformed view that the Scriptures possess all proof in themselves to convince people of their divinity and authority. However, for people to be really and actually convinced, the Holy Spirit works in the heart to remove the darkness, prepare the mind, and give faith to believe in the divinity of Scripture. In this, the Spirit works inseparably with the Word to prepare a person to receive salvation.

### **Conclusion**

As a Reformed pastor, Claude had a high view of Scripture. For him, the Word of God that is found in the words of Scripture contains all the knowledge that is necessary for salvation. Following the Reformed tradition, he contended that Scripture alone is the authoritative rule of faith, which is the supreme authority for the Church of Christ. Thus, against the Roman Catholic Church, he argued that the tradition of the Church does not constitute authority, but its teachings must always be subjected and derived from the teachings of Scripture.

Claude also had a high view of the operation of the Holy Spirit in the life of believers. His writings are marked by the belief that in order to bring the elect to salvation, the Holy Spirit first gives the testimony in the heart that the Scriptures are divine and true, and, thus, entirely trustworthy. Furthermore, God works with the Holy Spirit, who is the seal of God, to indwell his elect so that they may enjoy his presence at every moment. The Spirit also acts to call the elect to salvation, to impress the image of God in them, to make them grow into the likeness of Christ and persevere in the faith, and to give them the assurance of salvation. To that end, the Spirit works inseparably with the all-sufficient Scriptures. Therefore, against the Anabaptists, he argued that there is no need for new revelations by the Holy Spirit, because the Holy Spirit works with what he has already given to mankind through the prophets and apostles.

In our days, the teachings of Claude may have been forgotten by many. However, in his time, he was one of the greatest preachers who could be found in France. In his works, he presented a theology that was grounded in the Scriptures, and which helps in understanding how he could have been influential during the period in which he lived. For his teaching on many subjects, but particularly on this specific topic of the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word, Claude still deserves much attention.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

The primary purpose of this dissertation was to demonstrate that the understanding of the inseparability of the Holy Spirit and the Word found in the teachings of the Francis Turretin and Jean Claude faithfully represents the view of John Calvin. This final chapter will present a summary of their perspective on the secondary questions presented in the first chapter. This will be done by comparing their understanding of the person of the Holy Spirit, the authority of Scripture, the necessity of the Spirit and the Word in the Christian life, and, more specifically, their role in the application of salvation to God's elect. This summary will serve to confirm the thesis of this study, that in their theology, these Reformed theologians of the seventeenth century followed the teachings of Calvin and affirmed the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word.

#### **The Person of the Holy Spirit**

The first secondary question explored the understanding of Turretin and Claude on the person of the Holy Spirit, especially on the deity of the Spirit. As this study has shown, in the sixteenth century, Calvin clearly supported a theology of the person of the Holy Spirit and of the Trinity that was in line with the formulations of the church fathers, supporting the creeds of the early church, especially the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed. In the works that have been explored in this study, it has been shown that, as a theologian, Calvin supported the view that the Holy Spirit is a distinct person of the Godhead. He also taught that the Spirit's deity is clearly mentioned in Scripture and is seen in his works. According to Calvin, proof of his divinity can particularly be appreciated in his works of creation and regeneration. Therefore, Calvin

supported the view that the Holy Spirit is truly God, and that he is the person of the Trinity who is at work in the application of redemption to the elect.

Similarly, as an heir of the Reformed theology of the Synod of Dort, Turretin approved the creeds of the early church on the deity of the Holy Spirit. From many passages of Scripture, he taught that the Holy Spirit is a divine person. According to him, the Scriptures teach that the Holy Spirit possesses all of the divine attributes. Like Calvin, he maintained that the Spirit's deity is seen in his works of creation, regeneration, and also sanctification. In his *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, he specifically mentioned that the work of the Spirit in the incarnation of Christ was also proof of his deity. In the end, Turretin taught that the Spirit is God because, in the pages of Scripture, worship is attributed to him. Therefore, like his predecessors, Turretin taught that the Holy Spirit is a divine person that is at work in the life of the elect.

As Claude ministered mainly as a pastor, it has been shown that the development of his thought is not found in a theological treatise like Turretin's *Institutes*, but in his sermons. Like Turretin, he also understood that the Holy Spirit is a divine person who shares the nature and the essence of God. Claude clearly taught that the Holy Spirit is a divine person and that this can be especially seen in the work he accomplishes in the life of believers. According to Claude, the elect enjoy the presence of God in them because they are the temple of the Holy Spirit. Through his presence and his sealing, the Holy Spirit is the one who is the agent of sanctification that restores the image of God in believers. Moreover, the Holy Spirit is God because he is worthy of devotion. As a divine person, the Spirit should not be grieved. When the elect act in ways that grieve him, they grieve the one who is worthy of adoration and of worship. Thus, following the theology of the Reformed tradition, Claude taught that the deity of the Spirit is shown in many ways through his work in the life of believers.

## **The Authority of Scripture**

This study has shown that in the time of the early Reformation, the Reformers mainly had to deal with the issue of authority against the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. This brought theologians like Calvin to affirm the supreme authority of Scripture and the fact that Scripture possesses authority in itself and not from the Church. Furthermore, Calvin had to affirm the necessity and authority of Scripture against some fanatics who neglected the words of Scripture because they sought new revelations from the Holy Spirit. Calvin taught that Scripture has its authority from the fact that it is inspired by God through the Holy Spirit. He explained that the Holy Scriptures are the external work of the Spirit, who revealed God's Word through human authors. Through the words of Scripture, God speaks to all people so that everyone may know him.

In their time, Turretin and Claude also had to respond to Roman Catholic teachers and to enthusiasts who undermined the authority of Scripture. Following the teachings of Calvin and the Reformed Church, Turretin considered Scripture as the source of theology. For him, Scripture is inspired by God and thus possesses authority because God is the author. Of course, he believed that the Holy Spirit worked in the past through human writers in order to bring his Word to humankind. However, the means that God used to give his Word does not weaken the fact that he indeed reveals himself through them. For Turretin, the Scriptures prove their authority by the matter and the majesty they contain. Also, their effects, mainly the salvation of people and their transformation in the image of God, are proofs of their authority. In the end, Turretin upheld the main tenets of the Reformation in his view of the Scriptures. They possess authority in themselves and not from the Church, and they are necessary for the salvation of the elect.

Claude also followed the teachings of the Reformed Church in his teachings on Scripture. For him, the Bible contains the truth that comes from God. It has authority because God himself is its author. Like Calvin and Turretin, he taught that the Scriptures

are the external work of the Spirit who spoke through human authors. Therefore, in God's Word, everyone can find the knowledge necessary for salvation, and, as such, they should not be neglected. Again, in their understanding of the authority of Scripture, both Turretin and Claude were in line with the teachings of Calvin.

### **The Necessity of the Spirit and the Word**

The third question that this study sought to answer was with regard to the necessity of both the Spirit and the Word in the work of salvation. Calvin taught that the Word of God is necessary for salvation because it contains God's revelation to mankind. Therefore, through his revelation in the Word, God provides all the knowledge and wisdom sufficient for salvation. Since through the fall, the first man and woman were separated from God, now all human beings inherit by nature the consequences of sin and need to be restored to a proper relationship with God through union with Christ. Furthermore, according to Calvin, through the fall, humanity is not only separated from God, but the image of God in which they were created has been corrupted by sin. Therefore, the image of God also needs to be restored. In Scripture, all people can find the knowledge necessary for salvation, but they need to receive its gospel by faith in order to be restored in the image of God. This work of faith and of restoration is only possible through the internal work of the Holy Spirit in the heart of the elect. The Spirit uses the knowledge necessary for salvation and restoration contained in Scripture in order to apply it to the life of believers and effect their transformation.

In the seventeenth century, Turretin followed the teachings of Calvin. He defended the truth that the Word contains the knowledge necessary for salvation and that the Holy Spirit uses this knowledge to teach the truth for people to know God. This is due to the fallenness of all people, the descendants of Adam, who experience the effects of sin. Sin in mankind causes the fact that all people are in a state of guilt and separation from God. They also experience the corruption of their whole being. To be restored in a



proper relationship with God and for the image of God to be restored in people, the Spirit uses the Word of God in Scripture to bring the knowledge necessary for salvation and restoration. To be sure, Turretin responded to the enthusiasts and the fanatics to affirm that the Spirit does not use new revelations to bring salvation and transformation, but he works inseparably with the Word of God revealed in Scripture.

Claude also supported Calvin's teachings. For him, new revelations are not necessary, since God has given all the knowledge required for salvation in the pages of Scripture. In his sermons, Claude emphasized the fact that Scripture contains the external call of the gospel to salvation. Through the Word, God calls everyone to come to Christ so that fellowship with God may be restored. But, the call of the gospel alone is not sufficient for salvation. The internal call of the Holy Spirit in the heart of the elect is essential to make the gospel call effective. Therefore, the Spirit and the Word are both necessary and, thus, inseparable.

### **The Spirit and Word in Conversion**

The goal of the fourth question was to show the implications of the necessity of the Spirit and the Word in understanding their role in conversion. Again, it is in light of Calvin's theology that Turretin and Claude understood and developed their view of the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word in the conversion of the elect. For Calvin, in conversion, the internal work of the Spirit operates on two aspects of the person, the understanding and the will. The Spirit works so that the knowledge necessary for salvation may be understood, received, and applied to the heart. Calvin defined this as the work of illumination. First, the Spirit works so that a person may ascertain the truthfulness of the Word by recognizing that God is the author of Scripture. Then, he works faith in the heart of the elect. This faith leads to confidence in the truth of Scripture and to believe Christ as the only way to salvation. When faith takes place, the Spirit also produces a desire to know God, to grow in the knowledge of who he is, his works, and

his will for the life of his people. This also leads to a desire to obey him and to live a life in conformity to his will.

In many ways, Turretin's understanding is similar to Calvin, yet developed quite differently. Turretin explained the work of conversion as the work of regeneration or recreation, which he referred to as "effectual calling." This effectual calling begins when the knowledge found in the gospel and necessary to salvation is proposed to the elect as an object of faith. The work of the Holy Spirit then is to make this knowledge effective in the heart of the elect. The Spirit works to convince the mind and penetrate the heart with the gospel. Then, the Spirit operates the two aspects of conversion that Turretin identifies as the habitual and actual aspects. The habitual aspect is passive and related to the work of regeneration, which is essentially the work of the Holy Spirit only. The actual aspect, which is the active aspect, takes place when the Word is applied to the heart and produces faith and repentance. Thus, contrary to Calvin, to explain the internal work of the Spirit in conversion, Turretin made a distinction between the habitual and actual aspects. But, essentially, like Calvin, Turretin understood that repentance and faith were the results of the internal work of the Spirit to lead someone to trust the gospel revealed by God in his Word.

In conversion, Claude's teaching was similar to Calvin and Turretin. For him, faith and repentance are given by God through the internal work of the Spirit. Yet, this work also takes place through the calling of the gospel, which is what Claude called "vocation." He explained this vocation as the call of the gospel made to everyone. Through the preaching of the Word, God calls all people to believe in Christ in order to be saved. However, for a person to be saved, the Holy Spirit must work in the heart to make the preaching of the gospel effective through faith. Claude taught clearly that this work of the Spirit is not accomplished in everyone who hears the gospel. It takes place only in those whom God has chosen through election. Therefore, although the gospel calls all people to salvation, only the elect, those who will experience the internal work of

the Spirit, will be saved. Again, similarly to Calvin and Turretin, Claude understood that the Spirit and the Word are inseparable in conversion. The Word must be preached and applied by the Spirit to the heart of the elect.

### **The Spirit and the Word in the Life of Believers**

Calvin's understanding of the work of the Spirit in the life of believers was, in many ways, similar to his work in conversion. As the Holy Spirit works through illumination to lead a person to be convinced of God's truth in the Word, to repent and trust in Christ, the Spirit continues his work of illumination in sanctification. In other words, for Calvin, the work of sanctification may be distinguished from illumination, but it is not separated from it. As he explained, in sanctification, the Holy Spirit works to restore all faculties into the image of Christ, meaning that he transforms the mind and the will to bring the believer to a life of adoration through repentance. In sanctification, the Holy Spirit operates inseparably with the inspired Word. He opens the mind, inclines the heart, and makes room in the heart for the Word to be received and applied. Then, the Spirit continues his work to bring uprightness, obedience, and perseverance in keeping the law of God.

Similarly, Turretin taught the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word in sanctification. He understood sanctification as having two meanings. First, sanctification is consecration. It is a call to be holy, separated from the world in order to live for God's glory. The second meaning of sanctification is to make progress in the image of Christ, which Turretin described as a renovation of nature. This internal renovation that begins at conversion continues for all of the believer's life. The Spirit operates the transformation in the image of Christ progressively, and the believer will not reach perfection in this life. This transformation begins at conversion through habitual and actual change. Through habitual change, the believer is transformed in his status as a new creature. Through actual change, the person is changed to show the perfections of Christ externally. This

transformation leads to growth in holiness and mortification of sin. It is brought by the Holy Spirit who makes the Word penetrate the heart, so that the believer may obey the Word and live in accordance with the Scriptures. Hence, Turretin also understood that the Spirit and the Word are also inseparable for the perseverance and assurance of believers. The Spirit guards the elect by continuing his work of sanctification and keeping them in the faith until the end. Through its sealing, the Spirit gives consolation and proves to believers that they will be guarded to the end. It also brings assurance by the confirmation of God's promises and the testimony of the Spirit. In the end, the Spirit produces fruits that lead to assurance of faith.

As Calvin and Turretin, Claude also viewed the Spirit and the Word to be inseparable in the life of the believer. He also defined sanctification similarly. For him, sanctification can be viewed both as the regeneration and transformation of a person. The Holy Spirit thus operates a transformation to the likeness of Christ. More specifically, the Spirit transforms the will and the affections so that one may progressively obey God's Word and resemble Christ. As the Spirit can be grieved when the believer disobeys his commands, he also gives a heart that increasingly desires holiness. Claude also understood the Spirit at work with the Word in perseverance and assurance. For him, perseverance only comes by the grace of God and the Spirit of Christ, in relation to the redemptive work of Christ. Perseverance is thus the result of the continual work of grace in regeneration and sanctification. Furthermore, through the seal of the Spirit, there is proof that the believer will persevere to the end. With that sealing and evidence in his life, the believer gets the assurance of faith, which is a certainty given by the Spirit and which is found in the promises of Scripture. Through his presence and by the Scriptures, the Spirit thus provides assurance that God will guard and keep his elect until the day of Christ.

This comparison between Calvin, Turretin, and Claude shows that they had a similar understanding of the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word in all aspects of the

application of salvation. Although their presentation was adapted to their context, each with their own emphasis, they taught the same principles. Furthermore, their response to the various issues of their time also highlights the significant similarity of their views. Against the Roman Catholic Church, they all emphasized the necessity of the reading of the Word because of the Spirit's work in the life of every believer. Against the enthusiasts and the fanatics, they argued the necessity of the Word as the external work of the Spirit for experiencing his work in the believer's life.

### **Further Development**

This study provides a contribution to the field by showing a clear continuity in the pneumatology of Turretin and Claude with that of Calvin. Following the sixteenth-century Reformer's teachings, they both argued that the Spirit works inseparably with the inspired, authoritative, and sufficient Word to bring the elect to conversion and in his continuing work of sanctification. Although they each offered their particular responses to the various theological issues of their times on this subject, the fact that Calvin, as well as Turretin and Claude, grounded their theology in the Scriptures contributed to this continuity of thought. As most Reformed theologians, they believed in the *Sola Scriptura* of the Reformation and based their teachings on God's revelation in the Word.

This dissertation however leaves some questions unanswered in the study of the pneumatology of the seventeenth-century Genevan and French-Reformed theologians. Here are a few examples of questions that could be explored for further research on this topic. With respect to this period, a question that remains to be answered is how did other Genevan and French-Reformed theologians of the seventeenth century develop their understanding of the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word? Also, how did the pneumatology of the Genevan and French-Reformation theologian in the post-Reformation period compare to that of the Puritans or the Pietists? Are there similarities or dissimilarities? Concerning the period from the end of the seventeenth century onward,

what is the continuity between the pneumatology of Turretin or of Claude and the French Reformed theologians who followed? Furthermore, what is the impact of their understanding of the inseparability of the Word and Spirit in contemporary Evangelical theology? Research on these questions would undoubtedly enrich contemporary discussions on the inseparability of the Spirit and the Word.

### **Conclusion**

In bringing this study to a close, a few more thoughts are necessary. First, the contemporary Evangelical church can certainly benefit from Turretin's and Claude's understanding of the inseparability of the Holy Spirit and the Word in the life of believers. With the significant growth of the Pentecostal and charismatic movements in the twentieth century, many influential evangelical theologians and pastors, who often identify themselves as cessationists, have reacted against and have distanced themselves from their teachings.<sup>1</sup> However, much work still needs to be done to provide Christians with a biblical understanding of the role of the Holy Spirit in their lives. By focusing on the Word, but sometimes neglecting the role of the Holy Spirit, there is a great part of the efficacy of the Word in the Christian life that is not understood. Studying the pneumatology of seventeenth-century theologians like Turretin and Claude provides many insights into understanding the work of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit, who works with the Word, accomplishes his work of conversion and sanctification. Therefore, the two cannot be separated or something important is lost.

Second, there is also a significant implication for individual and congregational piety. Since it is the way of the Holy Spirit to work with the Word in the life of believers

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<sup>1</sup> For example, see Richard B. Gaffin, Jr., *Perspectives on Pentecost: New Testament Teaching on the Gifts of the Holy Spirit* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 1979); John MacArthur, *Charismatic Chaos* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992); and John MacArthur, *Strange Fire: The Danger of Offending the Holy Spirit with Counterfeit Worship* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2013).

to transform them into the likeness of Christ, there is a need for Christians to grow in their dependence upon him to bring that about in their lives. The Spirit himself, who was at work in the inspiration of Scripture, wants to use the Word each and every day to accomplish his work. Relying on the power of the Holy Spirit also demands that believers expose themselves regularly to the teaching of the Word. They must seek to attend a church that teaches and explains the Word through expository preaching, Bible studies, and other means. They must also, as much as they can, give themselves to the reading, meditation, memorization, and study of Scripture, so that the Spirit may accomplish his work of transforming their mind, will, and affections, and guide them in the obedience to Christ. By giving themselves to grace by means of the Word, they will experience the fruit of the Holy Spirit in their lives and be filled with “joy unspeakable and full of glory” (1 Pet 1:8) as they grow in the likeness of Christ. May God be glorified by his people in whom he accomplishes his plan by his Spirit and his Word.

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## ABSTRACT

### WORD AND SPIRIT IN FRANCIS TURRETIN AND JEAN CLAUDE

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This dissertation examines the doctrine of the Word and the Spirit in the theology of two important Reformed pastors and theologians of the seventeenth century Francis Turretin (1623–1687) and Jean Claude (1619–1687), who ministered respectively in Geneva and France. For the Reformed churches of Geneva and France, this period was a period of growth through which it affirmed and developed the teaching received from John Calvin (1509–1564) and the Synod of Dort (1619) against the theology of the Roman Catholic Church and of various groups issued from the Protestant Reformation. This dissertation demonstrates that, based on the teaching of Scripture, Turretin and Claude believed in the inseparability of the Word and the Spirit in the application of all aspects of salvation. It argues that their understanding of this doctrine proves a continuity with the teaching of Calvin, that the Holy Spirit essentially works with the revealed Word of God contained in the Scriptures to bring the elect to salvation and lead them in Christian living.



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