

Suk Yu Chan

Heavenly Providence

A Historical Exploration of the Development
of Calvin's Biblical Doctrine of Divine Providence



Reformed Historical Theology

Edited by
Herman J. Selderhuis

In co-operation with
Emidio Campi, Irene Dingel, Benyamin F. Intan,
Elsie Anne McKee, Richard A. Muller, and Risto Saarinen

Volume 75

Suk Yu Chan

Heavenly Providence

A Historical Exploration of the Development of
Calvin's Biblical Doctrine of Divine Providence

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek:
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data available online: <https://dnb.de>.

© 2022 by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Theaterstraße 13, 37073 Göttingen, Germany, an imprint of the Brill-Group (Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands; Brill USA Inc., Boston MA, USA; Brill Asia Pte Ltd, Singapore; Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn, Germany; Brill Österreich GmbH, Vienna, Austria)

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Typesetting: le-tex publishing services, Leipzig

Cover design: SchwabScantechnik, Göttingen

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com

ISSN 2197-1137

ISBN 978-3-647-56071-7

Preface

Heavenly Providence is a revised version of my doctoral thesis supervised by Professor Mark W. Elliott at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. I am especially grateful to Professor Elliott, Dr William Hyland, Dr Jon Balserak, and to the editors of Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht for their comprehensive reviews and helpful feedback to enhance this version. I am also indebted to the E-library of Hong Kong Evangel Seminary, which made its resources accessible during the Covid-19 pandemic. I am grateful to the donors, my home church, and Hong Kong Alliance Bible Seminary, who supported me continuously. I wish to thank the management team of my seminary for recommending me to apply for the Ming Yee Scholarship from North Point Baptist Church. I am extremely grateful for this scholarship which was the major financial source for my doctoral study. I am also very grateful for the Student Research Fellowship granted to me by the H. Henry Meeter Center for Calvin Studies in Grand Rapids, which enabled me to work on my research at this center from April-May 2019. In addition, I would like to thank my family in Hong Kong for their love, humour, and blessings, regardless of the difficult times they were experiencing. From all these people's selfless support, I have experienced divine providence.

This study is a revisit of John Calvin's interpretation of the doctrine of divine providence and it builds upon a vast repository of quality research conducted by previous Reformation scholars. It adopts an historical approach to explore Calvin's works from 1534–1559, and it argues that from 1534–1541, Calvin uses the image of the fountain to portray God as the source of everything, who has power to preserve and give life to all creatures on earth. Between the Latin edition of the *Institutes* in 1539 and the French translation of that work in 1541, Calvin is indecisive about the definition of special providence, articulating a fitful relationship between providence and soteriology in these two texts. In 1552, Calvin gradually ceased using the image of the fountain to portray God as the source of everything, and he also delivered three definitions of divine providence: general providence, special providence, and the very presence of God. Based on the theological understanding of divine providence which he developed from 1534–1552, Calvin presented his exegesis on the Book of Job and the Book of Psalms through his sermons and commentaries. He contrasts two biblical figures, Job and David, to support his exegesis and to present a more detailed elaboration of providence through the doctrine of heavenly providence. Furthermore, Calvin also discusses the importance of the human role in God's providence. While Calvin's theological understanding

of God's providence was inherited by his successor, Theodore Beza, Beza applied it differently in his exegesis on the Book of Job.

This research argues that through an historical analysis, a full picture of the spectrum of Calvin's development of the doctrine God's providence from 1534–1559 can be appreciated. While God's providence is gradually less associated with soteriological matters for the ungodly, salvation in heavenly providence for the godly is increasingly assured. Calvin conveys the message that divine providence is truly heavenly providence from the point of view of the faithful. There is a genuine existence of human agency as secondary cause in heavenly providence.

Contents

Preface	5
1. Introduction	13
2. Calvin's interpretation of the doctrine of <i>providentia Dei</i> from 1534 to 1552	35
<i>Psychopannychia</i> 1534 – <i>vivere apud Christum non dormire</i> <i>animis sanctos qui in fide Christi decedunt, assertio Ioannis Calvini</i>	38
The 1536 <i>Institutes</i>	42
The 1539 Latin edition of the <i>Institutes</i> and its 1541 French translation	47
<i>Commentarius in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos</i> 1540	52
The 1543 and 1550 <i>Institutes</i>	54
<i>De aeterna Dei praedestinatione</i> 1552	54
Conclusion.....	56
3. Calvin's interpretation of <i>providence de Dieu</i> in <i>Sermons</i> <i>sur le livre de Job</i> 1554 to 1555	59
General providence	61
Special Providence	64
Definition of human participation in divine providence from 1534 to 1554	65
Job's participation in <i>providence de Dieu</i>	70
Job's participation in God's goodness	71
<i>Sermon 12 Job 3:11–19</i>	71
<i>Sermon 13 Job 3:20–26</i>	72
<i>Sermon 29 Job 7:16–21</i>	73
<i>Sermon 41 Job 10:18–22</i>	74
<i>Does Job participate in God's goodness?</i>	75
Job's participation in God's power	76
<i>Sermon 53 Job 14:1–4</i>	76
<i>Sermon 54 Job 14:5–12</i>	78
<i>Does Job participate in God's power?</i>	79
Job's participation in God's wisdom	80
<i>Sermon 95 Job 26:1–7</i>	80
<i>Sermon 102 Job 28:10–28</i>	81
<i>Does Job participate in God's wisdom?</i>	81

Job's participation in God's justice	82
<i>Sermon 56 Job 14:16–22</i>	82
<i>Sermon 87 Job 22:23–30</i>	82
<i>Does Job participate in God's justice?</i>	83
Does Job participate in God's providence?	83
Job's pseudo repentance	83
<i>Sermon 53 Job 14:1–4 and Sermon 63 Job 16:10–17</i>	83
Job's participation in <i>providencia de Dieu</i>	85
<i>Sermon 154 Job 39:36–38 to 40:1–6 and Sermon 157 Job 42:1–5</i>	85
Job and David	87
Conclusion	89
 4. Calvin's interpretation of <i>providentia Dei</i> in <i>Commentarius</i> <i>in librum Psalmorum</i> 1557	 91
Calvin and David	93
The ' <i>exemplum Davidis</i> ' during difficult times	96
<i>Providentia Dei</i>	102
Three kinds of <i>providentia Dei</i>	102
General providence and prayer	104
<i>General providence in Psalm 8</i>	105
Special providence and prayer	107
<i>Special providence in Psalm 9</i>	110
God's providence for the Church and prayer	113
<i>God's providence for the Church in Psalm 51 and Psalm 122</i>	114
Prayer and faith: Psalm 3	116
' <i>Coelestis pater</i> ' and ' <i>coelestis iudex</i> ' in His providence for the Church	118
Conclusion	119
 5. Calvin's doctrines of ' <i>providentia coelestis</i> ' and predestination from 1554 to 1559	 121
<i>Sermons sur le livre de Job</i> 1554–1555	121
<i>De occulta providentia Dei</i> 1558	127
<i>Calvin's reply to Article 1</i>	129
<i>Calvin's reply to Article 2</i>	133
<i>Calvin's reply to Articles 3, 7, 11</i>	133
<i>Calvin's reply to Articles 3, 4, 5, 8 & 9</i>	133
The 1559 <i>Institutes</i> – ' <i>providentia coelestis</i> '	135
Relationship between ' <i>providentia coelestis</i> ' and ' <i>aeterna Dei providentia</i> ' ..	137
Conclusion	140

6. Beza's interpretation of the doctrine of <i>providentia Dei</i>	
from 1555 to 1589	143
<i>Tabula praedestinationis</i> 1555	144
The Colloquy of Poissy 1561	149
<i>Quaestionum et Responsionum Christianarum Libellus</i> 1570	150
The Colloquy of Montbéliard 1586	152
<i>Jobus Theodori Bezae partim commentariis partim paraphrasi</i>	
<i>illustratus</i> 1589	154
General providence Job 1:6	155
Special providence Job 1:12	157
Secret providence Job 28:1	159
Decree-execution framework	161
Background – Beza's Job in 1:21	161
'Intrinsecus motus'	163
Beza's Job in 3:11	166
Differences between Beza's Job and Calvin's Job	167
Elihu, Job and Calvin	168
Beza's use of the scholastic method	171
Conclusion	173
Heavenly Providence	175
<i>Psychopannychia</i> 1534	175
The 1536 <i>Institutes</i>	176
The 1539 & 1541 <i>Institutes</i>	177
<i>Commentarius in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos</i> 1540	178
<i>De aeterna Dei praedestinatione</i> 1552	178
<i>Sermons sur le livre de Job</i> 1554 to 1555	179
<i>Commentarius in librum Psalmorum</i> 1557	180
The doctrine of ' <i>providentia coelestis</i> ' in <i>Sermons sur le livre de Job</i>	
1554 to 1555, <i>De occulta providentia Dei</i> 1558 and the 1559 <i>Institutes</i>	181
Theodore Beza's <i>Tabula praedestinationis</i> 1555, <i>Jobus Theodori</i>	
<i>Bezae partim commentariis partim paraphrasi illustratus</i> 1589	183
Further research possibilities – ' <i>providentia coelestis</i> '	184
Bibliography	187
Primary Sources	187
Secondary Sources	189
Appendix	199

Index of Scriptures.....	201
Index of Names	205
Index of Subjects	207

Iob respondant au Seigneur, dit,
Je say que tu peux tout, et que nulle pensee ne sera empeschee de toy.
Qui est celuy qui obscurcist le conseil sans science? i'ay parlé, et n'entendoye point:
ces choses sont merveilleuses sur moy: ie ne les ay point cognues.
Escoute donc, ie parleray: ie t'interrogueray, afin que tu m'enseignes.
I'avoye ouy de toy de mon aurreille: maintenant mon œil t'a veu.
Livre de Iob 42:1–5

1. Introduction

Research related to John Calvin's interpretation of *providentia Dei*¹ has adopted various methodologies, including philosophical and historical approaches. Researchers

-
- 1 William J. Abraham, "Divine Action in Predestination in John Calvin" in *Divine Agency and Divine Action, Volume II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press Scholarship Online, 2017), 1–24; Josef Bohatec, "Calvin's Vorsehungslehre", in *Calvinstudien: Festschrift Zum 400. Geburtstag Johann Calvins* (Leipzig: Rudolph Haupt, 1909), 339–441; I. Bohatec "Gott Und Die Geschichte Nach Calvin", *Philosophia Reformata*, vol. 1, no. 3, (1936): 129–161; Oliver D. Crisp, "Calvin on Creation and Providence", in *John Calvin and Evangelical Theology: Legacy and Prospect*, edited by Sung Wook Chung (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009), 43–65; Edward A. Dowey, *The Knowledge of God in Calvin's Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994), 239–240; Mark W. Elliott, *Providence Perceived: Divine Action from a Human Point of View* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 141–148; Mary Potter Engel, *Perspectival Structure of Calvin's Anthropology* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002), 123–149; David Fergusson, *The Providence of God: A Polyphonic Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 84–109; Bruce Gordon, *John Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion: a Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016); Paul Helm, "Calvin, the 'Two Issues' and the Structure of the Institutes", *Calvin Theological Journal* 42, no. 2 (2007): 341–48; Paul Helm, "Providence and Predestination", in *Calvin at the Centre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 132–162; Paul Helm, *John Calvin's Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 93–128; Paul Helm, *Calvin and the Calvinists* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1982), 16–17; Stephen Leigh Hunt, "Predestination in the Institutes of the Christian Religion, 1536–1559", in *An Elaboration of the Theology of Calvin*, edited by Richard C. Gamble (New York: Garland, 1992), 185–192; Sung-Sup Kim, *Deus Providebit-Calvin, Schleiermacher, and Barth on the Providence of God* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2014); W. J. Torrance Kirby, "Stoic and Epicurean? Calvin's Dialectical Account of Providence in the Institutes", *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 5, no. 3 (2003): 309–322; Christian Link, "Wie handelt Gott in der Welt?—Calvins Vorsehungslehre", in *Calvin entdecken: Wirkungsgeschichte-Theologie-Sozialethik*, edited by Traugott Jähnichen, Thomas K. Kuhn, and Arno Lohmann (Berlin: Lit, 2010), 65–79; Peter Miln, "Hommes D'une Bonne Cause: Calvin's Sermons on the Book of Job" (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 1989); Richard A. Muller, "Reception and Response Referencing and Understanding Calvin in Seventeenth-Century Calvinism", in *Calvin and His Influence, 1509–2009* (Oxford Scholarship Online: 2011), 182–196; Richard A. Muller, "The Placement of Predestination in Reformed Theology: Issue or Non-Issue?", *Calvin Theological Journal*, 40, (2005): 184–210; Joseph P. Murphy, *The Fountain of Life in John Calvin and the Devotio Moderna: Metaphorical Theology of the Trinity in Word and Sacrament* (Palo Alto, CA: Academica Press, 2011), 59–60; Wilhelm Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin*, translated by Harold Knight (London: Lutterworth Press, 1956), 61–79; Meng-Chai Ong, "John Calvin on Providence: The *Locus Classicus* in Context" (PhD diss., King's College, London, 2003); Charles Partee, *Calvin and Classical Philosophy* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977); Joseph A., Jr Pipa, "Creation and Providence: Institutes 1.14, 16–18", in *A Theological Guide to Calvin's Institutes: Essays and Analysis*, edited by

such as Paul Helm² who follow the philosophical approach, only focus on *De occulta providentia Dei* 1558 and the 1559 *Institutes*, so they miss many critical links between *providentia Dei* and other theological elements in different genres of Calvin's writings. Researchers who follow the historical approach, such as Stephen Leigh Hunt, explore the development of the doctrine of predestination from the 1536 to 1559 *Institutes*, which simply provides an historical outline of various editions of that work, while other works in different genres, such as commentaries, sermons, and treatises are ignored. The recent discussion by William J. Abraham adopts both approaches in a work that considers topics concerning divine agency and divine action, and that amounts to three volumes of systematic theology.³ Abraham offers a diachronic analysis of the interpretation of divine agency by theologians, such as the Apostle Paul, Athanasius, various Cappadocians, Augustine, Aquinas, and Calvin. Abraham reminds readers that the chapter, 'Divine action in predestination in John Calvin' is for theologians and philosophers to appreciate.⁴ Using mainly the

David W. Hall and Peter A. Lillback (Phillipsburg: P & R Publishing, 2008), 123–150; Michelle Chaplin Sanchez, "Providence: from pronioia to immanent affirmation in John Calvin's Institutes of 1559" (PhD diss., Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2014); Susan Schreiner, "Exegesis and Double Justice in Calvin's Sermons on Job", *Church History*, vol. 58, 03 (September 1989): 322–338; Susan Schreiner, "Why do the wicked live? Job and David in Calvin's sermons on Job", in *The Voice from the Whirlwind*, edited by Leo G. Perdue and W. Clark Gilpin (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1992), 129–143; Susan Schreiner, *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found? Calvin's Exegesis of Job from Medieval and Modern Perspectives* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994); Susan Schreiner, *The Theater of His Glory* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1995); Susan Schreiner, "Calvin as an Interpreter of Job", in *Calvin and the Bible*, edited by Donald K. McKim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 53–84; Susan Schreiner, "Creation and Providence", in *The Calvin Handbook*, edited by Herman J. Selderhuis (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009), 267–275; Herman J. Selderhuis, *Calvin's theology of the Psalms* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007); Herman J. Selderhuis, "God, the Caring One: The Providence of God According to Calvin's Psalms Commentary", *La Revue Farel* 1 (2006): 17–32; Richard Stauffer, *Dieu, la Création et la Providence dans la Prédication de Calvin* (Bern: P. Lang, 1978); George Stroup, *Calvin* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2009): 30–33; George H. Tavard, "The Mystery of Divine Providence", *Theological Studies* 64, no. 4 (2003): 707–718; Derek Thomas, *Proclaiming the Incomprehensible God: Calvin's Teaching on Job* (Fearn: Mentor, 2004); Francois Wendel, *Calvin: Origins and Development of His Religious Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 177–184.

2 Helm, *Calvin at the Centre*, 132–162

3 William J. Abraham, *Divine Agency and Divine Action, Volume I: Exploring and Evaluation the Debate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Abraham, *Divine Agency and Divine Action, Volume II: Soundings in the Christian Tradition*; William J. Abraham, *Divine Agency and Divine Action, Volume III: Systematic Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

4 Abraham, *Divine Agency and Divine Action, Volume II*, 176.

1559 *Institutes* to support his arguments, Abraham asserts that Calvin's doctrine of predestination does not allow any influence of secondary causes in predestination. It appears that most studies concerning Calvin's doctrine of *providentia Dei* only refer to the 1559 *Institutes*,⁵ just as David Fergusson asserts in his recent monograph, *The Providence of God: A Polyphonic Approach*, '...the most influential Reformed approach to providence is set out in John Calvin's *Institutes*.'⁶

My research addresses the questions of how and why Calvin interpreted God's providence at different stages of his life. To answer these questions, it is necessary to adopt an historical analysis to obtain a detailed investigation into the development of Calvin's doctrine of *providentia Dei* from 1534 to 1559, and to grasp how this development affects the message Calvin delivered to believers. This historical analysis involves exploring Calvin's formulation of the doctrine of *providentia Dei* in his treatises, commentaries, sermons, and polemical works published during this period to revisit all the related issues. This kind of analysis has not been comprehensively done by any previous scholars, and therefore my study aims to fill this research gap to discover a more complete picture of Calvin's development of the doctrine of *providentia Dei*.

I argue that Calvin's development of *providentia Dei* can be divided into two stages, but also that his interpretation is consistently related to soteriological matters. How does Calvin support this argument? This work will show that he uses the doctrine of heavenly providence to link providence to predestination. Furthermore, does Calvin agree that human beings participate in *providentia Dei*? If yes, how does this work? Calvin's successor, Theodore Beza appreciates Calvin's interpretation of the doctrines of *providentia Dei* and predestination, but he also uses other methods to explain many aspects of these doctrines. Does the use of these methods cause any differences in Beza's application? Hence this work also looks at the differences between Beza and Calvin in their exegesis of the Book of Job, their application of the doctrines to analyse Job's case, and their understanding of the issues concerning causality. Before offering an outline of this work, the most recent research, and some representative findings on Calvin's doctrine of *providentia Dei* need to be analysed.

5 "Book 1, Chapters 16–18 of the 1559 *Institutes*, according to Calvin himself, is definitive and can, therefore, be safely considered the *locus classicus* of his thought on providence." Ong, "John Calvin on Providence: The *Locus Classicus* in Context", 31; Sanchez, "Providence: from Pronoia to Immanent Affirmation in John Calvin's *Institutes* of 1559", 4; Tavad, "The Mystery of Divine Providence", 710; Kirby, "Stoic and Epicurean? Calvin's Dialectical Account of Providence in the *Institutes*", 309–322; Pipa, "Creation and Providence: *Institutes* 1.14, 16–18", 123–150.

6 Fergusson, *The Providence of God*, 84. See also Bruce Gordon's analysis of a worldly reception of the 1559 *Institutes* from the end of the sixteenth century to the twenty first century. Gordon, *John Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion*.

There is some discussion about the placement of the doctrines of providence and predestination in Calvin's works over the years.⁷ In *Calvin at the Centre*, Helm suggests that the change in the placement of the doctrines of providence and predestination is because of pedagogic reasons only, and not because there is a doctrinal separation between the two topics.⁸ This work agrees with Helm's argument that 'the two doctrines are nevertheless closely interrelated in Calvin's thought',⁹ however, it also suggests that there is another doctrine, which is developed later in Calvin's life, to link these two doctrines together.

Abraham has recently contributed a total of three volumes of theological work concerning the topic of divine agency and divine action, and in volume II, he introduces a chapter concerning divine action in Calvin's understanding of predestination.¹⁰ Writing within the Arminian tradition, he alleges that 'Calvin cannot allow for genuine human action and thus Calvin eliminates human agency as a crucial category in Christian theology'.¹¹ Abraham's argument is based on his belief that Calvin's doctrine of predestination to salvation is to be found in his doctrine of justification, and that people are not saved by works.¹² He also argues that Calvin's description of the fall of Adam in the 1559 *Institutes* implies that God is the author of sin, as He decides Adam's fall.¹³ Furthermore, Abraham also asserts that Calvin's reasoning of the hiddenness of God as an explanation of Him condemning some people is too vague and unconvincing.¹⁴ Based on only one of Calvin's works, Abraham concludes: Calvin's radical theocentric doctrine suggests that there is no human freedom in predestination but just a matter of necessity.¹⁵ Abraham's arguments lack validity as they only rely on one source—the 1559 *Institutes*, and hence he misses significant features of Calvin's doctrines. Abraham is not alone in this failing, but he is representative of a fairly widespread view of Calvin as a monist or determinist. Importantly, Calvin's doctrine of predestination is not to be understood through the lens of the doctrine of justification, but through the doctrine of heavenly providence.

7 Wendel, *Calvin: Origins and Development of His Religious Thought*, 178; Muller, "The Placement of Predestination in Reformed Theology: Issue or Non-Issue?"; Helm, "Calvin, the 'Two Issues' and the Structure of the Institutes".

8 Helm, *Calvin at the Centre*, 135, 143.

9 Ibid., 143.

10 Abraham, *Divine Agency and Divine Action, Volume II: Soundings in the Christian Tradition*, 176–197.

11 Ibid., 196.

12 Ibid., 179–180.

13 Ibid., 185.

14 Ibid., 186.

15 Ibid., 196.

Calvin's doctrine of predestination is always related to the doctrine of providence, and it also reveals the interaction between divine and human actions. Calvin suggests that there is a seamless relationship between the doctrine of *providentia Dei* and predestination. For example, the involvement of secondary cause in the reprobation aspect of predestination, is explained in the area of *providentia Dei*, which is in the area of secret providence precisely, but not in the area of predestination. The people who can benefit from predestination are those being cared for by very special providence. However, it is impossible to spot this relationship in just one of Calvin's works because his theology is 'in process' throughout his life. Therefore, one needs to read a more comprehensive selection of Calvin's works in order to appreciate this link.

In *Providence Perceived: divine action from a human point of view*, Mark W. Elliott gives an historical account of the doctrine of providence from the era of the early Christian church up to recent times.¹⁶ Elliott's monograph includes a section on the current discussion of Calvin's doctrine of providence, and he asserts that the central tenet of God's providence is that He endows believers with special providence to enable them to live on earth. Thus, God's providence should be understood as special providence. Elliott agrees with Charles Partee that God's providence is not universal, implying that certain aspects in *providentia Dei* are related to predestination.¹⁷ '*Providentia specialissima*' is a term used by theologians after Calvin, including Gulielmus Bucanus,¹⁸ J. F. König,¹⁹ Partee, and Werner Krusche,²⁰ to describe this non-universal providence for believers. The working of the Holy Spirit is in this aspect of providence,²¹ and the question must be asked: does Calvin have a similar thought or a specific term to describe the relationship between the doctrines of

16 Elliott, *Providence Perceived: Divine Action from a Human Point of View*.

17 Ibid., 142. Cf. Partee, *Calvin and Classical Philosophy*, 135.

18 Gulielmus Bucanus could be the first Reformed theologian who used '*specialissima*' to describe this non-universal providence. Gulielmus Bucanus, *Institutio theologica* (Lausanne, 1605), 151. Also quoted in Elliott, *Providence Perceived: Divine Action from a Human Point of View*, 154.

19 The influence spread to Lutheran theology in the seventeenth century. J. F. König, a Lutheran theologian, discussed *providentia* as having the most particular objects (*specialissime* objectum) of each believer briefly in 1664. He was one of the early Lutheran theologians who used this term, and to include *concursus* in it: "Specialissime autem objectum ejus sunt homines pii & fideles, Deut 32:9. seqq. Ps(s) 4:4; 33:18; 37:19,25; 73:24; 77:20; 91:11; Heb 1:14; Matt 10:31." J. F. König, *Theologia Positiva Acroamatica* (Rostock 1664), edited and translated by Andreas Stegmann (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), §260, §277. Cf. Christopher R. J. Holmes, *Revisiting the Doctrine of the Divine Attributes—in dialogue with Karl Barth, Eberhard Jüngel and Wolf Krötke* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 215.

20 Werner Krusche, *Das Wirken des Heiligen Geistes nach Calvin* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), 14. Also in Partee, *Calvin and Classical Philosophy*, 135.

21 Partee, *Calvin and Classical Philosophy*, 135.

providentia Dei and predestination? Furthermore, how does Calvin's thinking on this very special kind of providence develop? These questions are left unanswered by Elliott's work, which admittedly is not a work devoted to Calvin.

Sung Sup Kim's doctoral thesis considers a comparison between Calvin, Schleiermacher, and Barth on the providence of God.²² In particular, Kim uses Calvin's doctrine of predestination and the theology of prayer to defend Calvin's doctrine of God's providence against Barth's criticism of a lack of Christology in this doctrine. Kim stresses that there are three kinds of providence in Calvin's doctrine of providence. *Providentia universalis/generalis* is God's creation, guidance, and preservation in the order of nature. *Providentia singularis* is God's guidance for individual creation, which involves 'concursum' and 'gubernatio'.²³ Kim uses the terms from seventeenth-century Reformed theology to explain Calvin's meaning of special providence in the sixteenth-century context,²⁴ and although divine concurrence is not a theological term which Calvin adopts, it does explain the working of secondary causes in Calvin's doctrine of *providentia Dei*. However, the question arises: what precisely does human participation mean when divine concurrence is involved?

The third kind of providence is one especially for the Church and it is also the point Kim uses to argue that Calvin's doctrine of providence is Christocentric and inseparable from his doctrine of predestination.²⁵ Kim believes that Barth has missed this point, since Barth only focused on Calvin's later work such as the 1559 *Institutes*, but Calvin's doctrine of providence and its relationship with predestination should be understood in the various editions of the *Institutes* together with commentaries.²⁶ Calvin uses a special term to define this kind of providence for the Church in *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione* 1552. It was probably the first work in which Calvin used this term to describe God's providence for the Church. There is no mentioning of this significant work of Calvin in Kim's thesis even though he highlights the importance of reading different works of Calvin. While there is a development of God's providence for the Church in Calvin's formulation of the doctrine of *providentia Dei*, Kim misses this. Furthermore, Kim asserts that prayer is necessary as it is a response to God's faithful providence,²⁷ but how does human prayer influence *providentia Dei* according to Calvin?

22 Kim, *Deus Providebit: Calvin, Schleiermacher, and Barth on the Providence of God*.

23 Ibid., 26.

24 Cf. Crisp, "Calvin on Creation and Providence", 52. Crisp also refers Calvin's doctrine of God's providence to divine concurrence. In addition, Crisp uses the term 'meticulous providence' but Calvin does not use this term.

25 Kim, *Deus Providebit: Calvin, Schleiermacher, and Barth on the Providence of God*, 46.

26 Ibid., 43.

27 Ibid., 76.

Calvin was already emphasising the relevance of prayer in providence when he preached his sermons on Job early in 1554, and he also used a biblical illustration to both encourage the public congregation, and to testify to his own personal conviction. Calvin's argument about the significance of prayer offered in his sermons on Job provides an indispensable support to his claim in the 1559 *Institutes*. However, Calvin's sermons are absent in Kim's discussion, and instead Kim's view of prayer focuses rather too much on the 1559 *Institutes*.²⁸ Kim's discussions of the three kinds of providence and of the gradual relationship between providence and predestination are helpful to understanding Calvin's doctrine of providence. However, some questions stemming from his arguments raised above need further exploration. If one reads Calvin's works across their different genres, one can locate a deeper relationship between different kinds of providence and then, a stronger bond between the doctrines of providence and predestination can also be found. The indivisible relationship between these two doctrines allows human participation and it can confirm that there is a genuine existence of secondary causes in God's providence.

Richard Stauffer studies Calvin's sermons in a chronological order and subsequently discusses them according to the topics of general revelation, special revelation, the attributes of God, the Trinity, creation, and providence.²⁹ Under the topic of providence, Stauffer's focus is on general providence and special providence, and '*le problème de théodicée qu'elle ne manque pas de poser*'.³⁰ In the discussions on the two kinds of providence, Stauffer consults many sermons on different Biblical books of Calvin including his *Sermons sur le livre de Job*. He demonstrates that things do not happen by coincidence, and that God's general providence governs in the order of nature.³¹ Also, God governs human history with His power and justice in His special providence.³² In both kinds of providence, God uses human beings as the intermediaries to accomplish His purpose and he describes this process as '*concursum*'.³³

Stauffer considers God's actions in His special providence is particularly for the Church,³⁴ and his study commences the interest in the exploration of Calvin's

²⁸ Ibid., 53.

²⁹ Stauffer, *Dieu, la création et la Providence dans la prédication de Calvin*.

³⁰ Ibid., 261.

³¹ Ibid., 262, 267.

³² Ibid., 272.

³³ "Manifestation de la puissance et de la justice de Dieu, la Providence spéciale agit dans l'histoire avec le concours des hommes (*concursum*). De même que Dieu se sert des créatures pour œuvrer dans l'ordre de nature, de même il a recours à des 'moyens inférieurs.'" Ibid., 273.

³⁴ "Si, comme nous venons de voir, la Providence spéciale exerce une activité de 'maintenance' et de 'pourvoyance' en faveur de l'humanité, elle joue aussi pour celle-ci un rôle de 'direction' et de 'gouvernement'. A la *manutenentia* et à la *conservatio* effectuées par la Providence spéciale s'ajoutent

sermons. However, there are many critical questions stemming from Stauffer's research which need further investigation. For instance, Stauffer observes that God governs human history with His actions of power and justice, but are these actions also related to the doctrine of predestination? Furthermore, what is the relationship between the doctrines of providence and predestination according to Calvin's sermons on Job. Undoubtedly, the special providence of God is related to providence for the Church, but how precisely is this link developed? Additionally, what is the process of '*concursum*' being explained by Calvin in the sermons on Job? Job has shown his humility,³⁵ but is this a norm or is it the result of the trial for the goodness of his nature? These questions are not elaborated in Stauffer's monograph.

Edward Dowey's work on *The Knowledge of God in Calvin's Theology* endeavours to explain Calvin's meaning of the knowledge of God. Dowey argues that people are unable to know God directly through His creative activity, but only through His revelation in Scripture and redemption. Therefore, only the faithful can attain to the knowledge of God.³⁶ This assertion is insightful but how does Calvin describe the links between God's activity, His revelation, and the knowledge of God?

Although this work only reviews the studies of scholars on Calvin's interpretation of *providentia Dei* spanning the last 50 years, two significant works of Josef Bohatec published in the early 1900s need to be examined.³⁷ In the chapter of '*Calvins Vorsehungslehre*', Bohatec aims to refute Alexander Schweizer's arguments for the doctrine of predestination as being Calvin's central doctrine. Bohatec examines the interpretation of *providentia Dei* by Calvin's predecessors, and he discovers that Zwingli used the term '*summum bonum*' at the beginning of his sermons on God's providence. Bohatec finds this term connotes ethical issues because it includes the meaning of goodness, wisdom, and justice, and also has the metaphorical concept

la *rectio* et la *gubernatio*. Dieu conduit et gouverne en effet les sociétés humaines, et, *a fortiori*, cette société particulière qu'est l'Eglise." Ibid., 270.

35 Ibid., 278.

36 Dowey, *The Knowledge of God in Calvin's Theology*, 239–240.

37 Bohatec, "Calvins Vorsehungslehre", 340–441; Bohatec, 'Gott und die Geschichte nach Calvin', 129–161.

of Plato.³⁸ This is insightful, but Bohatec does not attend to Calvin's reception. Does Calvin's interpretation of *providentia Dei* relate to 'goodness, justice, and wisdom'?

Bohatec quotes some of Ritschl's arguments on the individual treatment of the doctrines of God's providence and predestination, but he opposes Ritschl's conclusion. For Ritschl argues that God's actions in the world have objective and subjective purposes, and that God acts upon everything by means of secondary causes for the '*gloria Dei*' through salvation and damnation.³⁹ In God's glory, He shows His mercy and righteousness, which are the objective deeds of God.⁴⁰ Other than the objective purpose, God also shows His subjective purpose, which is the assurance of salvation for humankind.⁴¹ Bohatec does not seem to disagree with Ritschl on this objective and subjective understanding of God's purposes in His actions,⁴² but he refutes Ritschl's assertions on the denial of the connection between the teachings in

38 "Zwar beginnt er sein Sermonis de Providentia Dei anamnema mit dem Begriff summum bonum, der scheinbar ethisch klingt; aber die folgende spekulativ-aprioristische Begriffsentwicklung beweist, daß der Begriff summum bonum der platonisch gefärbte metaphysische Seinsbegriff ist, wonach auch die ethischen Eigenschaften (Güte, Weisheit, Gerechtigkeit) bemessen sind." Bohatec, "Calvins Vorsehungslehre", 392–393. Cf. "...Zwingli argues that all things have their being from God... The chapter draws heavily on non-biblical sources: Aristotle, Plato..." W. P. Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 94. See also "The mercy and righteousness of God are held together in the goodness of God... Zwingli has engaged in a defence of God's goodness and wisdom in relation to man. 'When we see him created and redeemed, we contemplate the fact with reverence and cannot praise enough the wisdom, goodness, power, and providence of the creator in all things.'" Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli*, 95–96. Cf. Huldrych Zwingli, *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke* (Berlin, Leipzig, Zurich, 1905–), VI iii 149.14–17; *Works* II 179–180, 223.24–225.14. See also Ulrich Zwingli, "Reproduction from memory of a sermon on the providence of God, dedicated to his highness, Philip Hesse August 20, 1530", *On providence and other essays*, chapter V (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1999), 128–234. Calvin could have inherited the terms goodness, power, wisdom, and justice to describe God's actions from Zwingli. This topic will be explored in chapter 3.

39 "Im Willen Gottes ist beides auf gleiche Weise enthalten, sowohl die Seligkeit als auch die Verdammnis; und wenn man auch darum nicht die Kategorie der Notwendigkeit, sondern nur die der Möglichkeit anwenden kann, so gleicht sich in der Wirklichkeit beides dadurch aus, daß es keine Verdammten geben könnte, wenn nicht auch sie dazu dienten, den höchsten Zweck, die gloria dei, zu verherrlichen." Bohatec, "Calvins Vorsehungslehre", 395.

40 "Auch in der Bestimmung des Zweckes stimmt die Prädestinationslehre mit der Vorsehungslehre überein: a) Calvin will in erster Reihe die objektiven Taten Gottes (Gnade und Gerechtigkeit) beschreiben." Ibid., 394–395.

41 "Neben diesem objektiven Zweck Gottes steht, wie in der Vorsehungslehre, der subjektive, die salus hominum (Inst. III, 21.7; 24.3.5). Neben dem warmen Bestreben, den majestätischen Gott in seiner Allwirksamkeit aufzuzeigen, geht der große echt reformatorische Zug, die certitudo salutis, durch die Sätze Calvins hindurch: der majestätische Objektivismus wird durch den zuversichtlichen Subjektivismus ergänzt." Ibid., 395.

42 "Kurz: Handelt es sich um das (subjektive) Sehgehaltsinteresse so sucht Calvin die Heilsgewißheit in dem Erlösungswerk Christi; handelt es sich ihm um die Wahrung der göttlichen Allwirksamkeit, um

the doctrines of predestination and of providence.⁴³ Bohatec argues that salvation is the ultimate end of God's providence.⁴⁴

Thus, it brings us back to Bohatec's argument against Schweizer's assertion: while the doctrine of predestination is Calvin's core doctrine, Bohatec also stresses that for Calvin, it is the doctrine of providence and not predestination that is a dogmatic principle.⁴⁵ Bohatec argues that in divine providence, God's actions operate in His righteousness and goodness⁴⁶ and hence, the doctrine of providence is the fundamental in Calvin's theology. Also, Calvin's doctrines of providence and predestination are interwoven, but they work differently. God acts through created causes in God's providence, but He assures that the godly with salvation in a non-causative way, and that they are justified by faith.

Bohatec observes that prayer is a special action undertaken by humankind to attain an intimate relationship with God, and through this action, they are strengthened in peace and tranquility.⁴⁷ All the wonderful states for humankind that result from prayer are a foretaste of eternal life enjoyed in God's providence.⁴⁸ This segment on prayer about Calvin's doctrine of providence is often not noticed by Calvin

die objektive Begründung dieses Heilsbewußtseins, so geht er zurück auf den göttlichen Ratschluß als die logisch und zeitlich höchste causa." Ibid., 413.

43 "In der der Institutio von 1559 angehörenden Lehre von der Providenz wird, so meint Ritschl, keine vorschauende Rücksicht auf die doppelte Prädestination genommen. In dieser Lehre (von der Prädestination) fehle jede Unterordnung unter die Lehre von der Providenz. Beide verhalten sich gleichgültig gegeneinander..." Ibid., 394.

44 "So müssen wir fragen, wenn wir die volle Koncinnität der Prädestinationslehre mit den Erörterungen über den Zweck der Vorsehung bewahren wollen. In der letzteren ordnet, wie wir sahen, Gott alles so, daß schließlich dabei die salus der Seinigen herauskommt. Ritschl, der den Zusammenhang beider Lehren in dieser Hinsicht leugnet, muß selber zugeben..." Ibid., 402.

45 "Die Providenzlehre, in der die allgemeine göttliche Allwirksamkeit beschrieben wird, bildet für die dogmatische Betrachtung die Grundlage der Prädestinationslehre." Ibid., 413; cf. Niesel argues that Calvin's theology is Christo-centric, but this does not mean that redemption is the central thought of this scheme. He considers that the knowledge of God is the fundamental. Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin*, 61–79.

46 "In der Geschichte kommt die göttliche Majestät zu ihrer Auswirkung; sie ist das Handeln der göttlichen Vorsehung, die Betätigung der Gerechtigkeit und Güte Gottes (ut providentiam Domini, erga suos iustitiam ac bonitatem, erga reprobos iudicia demonstraret)." Bohatec, "Gott und die Geschichte nach Calvin", 133.

47 "Die Gewißheit der Nähe und Gegenwart der göttlichen Providenz holt sich der Mensch von Gott im Gebet...Dadurch wird der Friede und die Ruhe begründet und bekräftigt." Bohatec, "Calvins Vorsehungslehre", 433.

48 "Ein männlicher Friede, welchen die göttliche Vorsehung ins Herz gießt und mitten in Kampf und Not erhält, die Demut, welche sich in aller Verworrenheit der irdischen Dinge von den göttlichen Ratschlüssen geduldig und zu Ehren des unbedingten Herrschers leiten läßt, das Gebet, welches den erhabenen, ewigen Gott als den gegenwärtigen mit heiligen Banden umschlingt – und alles das ein Vorgeschmack des ewigen Lebens, welches der Mensch hinieden bereits wesentlich, ob auch

scholars. This observation of Bohatec is perceptive because he connects the objective side of displaying glory for God in His providence through created means with the subjective side of assurance of salvation for the faithful in predestination through justification by faith. This foretaste of eternal life is gained after a believer is justified by faith. Bohatec concludes that Calvin is a witness of providence,⁴⁹ but how does Calvin apply the doctrine of divine providence in his exegesis? To answer this question, an historical analysis of how Calvin becomes the witness of providence serves the purpose.

In *The Theater of His Glory: Nature and the Natural Order in the Thought of John Calvin*, Susan Schreiner argues that God's providence is the proscenium arch forming the theatre of God's glory, suggesting providence is God's power and that this power governs the world and everything in it.⁵⁰ Furthermore, God's providence is an assurance for the believers to affirm God's special care for His people.⁵¹ This argument is insightful and it is elaborated in her another monograph, *Are You Alone Wise?: The Search for Certainty in the Early Modern Era* in 2012.⁵² Randall Zachman, in his review of Schreiner's *The Theater of His Glory*, reinforces that Calvin speaks of the universe as a theatre of God's glory because God portrays Himself to humanity as 'the fountain of every good by representing his powers, for example life, wisdom, power, mercy, and goodness,' for the assurance of faith.⁵³ He argues that Schreiner misses this central theme in her discussion on the providence of God. Zachman's recognition of the importance of the image of the fountain in Calvin's doctrine of God's providence is insightful, however, did Calvin continue using this image? Calvin does use God's action in His goodness and justice to address the assurance of salvation, but he also adopts another doctrine to explain this issue. Zachman's contribution does not extend very far into these issues. Schreiner recognises the inseparability of God's power, goodness, justice, and wisdom as a central theme in Calvin's interpretation of divine providence in his sermons on Job.⁵⁴ Chapter 3 of this book extends her discussion on this topic.

A central text for this book is that of the *Sermons sur le livre de Job* 1554–1555 in which Calvin offers a detailed description of *providentia Dei*. Schreiner contributes

verborgen und im Keime in sich trägt und auf dessen herrliche Offenbarung im Jenseits er sehnd hofft – das ist der Grundzug der Frömmigkeit Calvins nach seiner Vorsehungslehre." Ibid., 434.

49 "Calvin ist Theologe der Vorsehung geworden, da er Werkzeug der Vorsehung sein durfte." Ibid., 441.

50 Schreiner, *The Theater of His Glory: Nature and the Natural Order in the Thought of John Calvin*, 34.

51 Ibid., 33–35, 37.

52 Susan Schreiner, *Are You Alone Wise? The Search for Certainty in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology. New: Oxford University Press, 2012), 38–77.

53 Randall C. Zachman, Review of *The Theater of His Glory: Nature and the Natural Order in the Thought of John Calvin*, by Susan Schreiner, *Journal of Religion*, vol. 73, Issue 3 (Jul 1993), 413–414.

54 Schreiner, *The Theater of His Glory: Nature and the Natural Order in the Thought of John Calvin*, 34.

a crucial analysis of Calvin's sermons on Job by first discussing the exegesis of this book offered by medieval scholars.⁵⁵ Schreiner observes that various medieval thoughts influence Calvin's interpretation of the Book of Job. To summarize, Calvin refrains from using the allegorical explanation suggested by Gregory the Great but adopts the literal interpretation proposed by Thomas Aquinas. Calvin uses 'double justice' as a hermeneutical key to explain Job's case and argues that human justice can never attain divine justice because it is high and hidden in God.⁵⁶ Therefore, the problem of God as a tyrant making people suffer by using His absolute power arises. To avoid this problem, Schreiner asserts that for Calvin, the inseparability of divine 'essence', for instance, God is powerful, good, and just, can ease the tension of God's capriciousness while still declaring His omnipotence.⁵⁷

Instead of 'essence', Calvin describes God's goodness, power, wisdom, and justice as His '*choses*' (a French term, meaning 'things'), and they show God's glory. This description is in the 1541 *Institutes*, which is a French translation of the second edition of the *Institutes* he wrote in 1539. The French term '*choses*',⁵⁸ is used by Calvin in his 1541 *Institutes* and one would expect the term to be translated from '*res*' in the Latin edition of the 1539 *Institutes*. However, there is no mentioning of '*res*' in the sentence, which is supposed to contain the term, but instead '*quibus*' is

55 Schreiner, *Where shall wisdom be found? Calvin's exegesis of Job from medieval and modern perspectives*; Schreiner, "Creation and Providence", 267–275; Schreiner, "Calvin as an Interpreter of Job", 53–84.

56 Schreiner, *Where shall wisdom be found? Calvin's exegesis of Job from medieval and modern perspectives*, 105–120.

57 Schreiner, "Exegesis and Double Justice in Calvin's Sermons on Job", 338.

58 "Certes ces trois choses nous sont principalement necessaires à congnoistre: sa misericorde, en laquelle consiste le salut de nous tous; son judgement, lequel journellement il exerce sur les iniques, et lequel il leur reserve plus rigoureux à confusion eternelle: sa justice, par laquelle ses fideles sont benignement entretenus. Ces choses comprises, le Prophete tesmoigne que nous avons abondamment de quoy nous glorifier en Dieu." Jean Calvin, *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne* 1541 Tome I, edited and translated by Olivier Millet (Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 2008), 234–235.

used.⁵⁹ Elsie McKee translates ‘*ces choses*’ as “these things” in the English version of the 1541 *Institutes*.⁶⁰

Regarding the definition of essence or attributes in Calvin’s works, Forrest Buckner and Richard Muller contribute a significant discussion.⁶¹ Buckner distinguishes between the relative attributes and absolute attributes of God, and he asserts that human beings can obtain positive knowledge of God’s powers through His acts. Muller argues that power is God’s intrinsic essence, which belongs to Him only, and therefore cannot be simply referred to words of God *ad extra*.⁶² Muller argues that Buckner has a wrong translation of *virtutes* which leads him into a false interpretation. This book agrees with Muller but Calvin’s sermons on Job also emphasises that God allows the faithful to participate in His providence through His acts in His goodness, power, wisdom, and justice. However, this participation is not the positive knowledge of God’s power as suggested by Buckner. Instead, it is a taste of God’s goodness in His providence that only the faithful can enjoy.

In Calvin’s sermons on Job, he has a lot more to say about God’s glory to demonstrate these ‘things’ in *providentia Dei*. God’s glory, in His power, goodness, justice, and wisdom together, displays God’s providence in the order of nature, in all of His creation, and in His Elect, while human participation is contained in *providentia Dei*. Calvin demonstrates this participation using Job’s situation. Schreiner has not explored God’s ‘*choses*’ in *providentia Dei* thoroughly, and the issue of human participation according to Calvin in his sermons on Job is not discussed.

59 “Virtutes porro easdem hic enumerari audimus, quas notabamus in coelo et terra relucere: clementiam, bonitatem, misericordiam, iustitiam, iudicium, veritatem. Nam virtus et potentia, sub titulo Elohim continetur...Tria certe haec apprime nobis cognitu sunt necessaria. Misericordia, qua sola consistit nostra omnium salus; iudicium, quod in flagitiosos quotidie exercetur et gravius etiam eos manet in aeternum exitium; iustitia, qua conservantur fideles et benignissime foventur. Quibus comprehensis, te abunde habere vaticinium testatur, quo possis in Deo gloriari. Neque tamen ita omittuntur aut veritas eius, aut potentia, aut sanctitas, aut bonitas. Quomodo enim constaret, quae hic requiritur, iustitiae, misericordiae, iudicii eius scientia, nisi veritate eius inflexibili niteretur? Et quomodo crederetur terram iudicio et iustitia moderari, nisi intellecta eius virtute?” CO1:304.

60 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion 1541*, translated by Elsie Anne McKee (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009), 46.

61 Forrest Buckner, “Calvin’s Non-Speculative Methodology: A Corrective to Billings and Muller on Calvin’s Divine Attributes”, in *Calvinus Pastor Ecclesia*, ed. Herman J. Selderhuis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 233–243; Richard A. Muller, “Calvin on Divine Attributes: A Question of Terminology and Method”, *Westminster Theological Journal* 80, no.2 (2018): 199–218. See also Alden C. McCray, “‘God, We Know, Is Subject to No Passions.’ The Impassibility of God in Calvin’s Commentaries as a Test-Case for the Divine Attributes”, *Calvinus frater in Domino*, Papers of the Twelfth International Congress on Calvin Research, edited by Arnold Huijgen and Karin Maag (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 295–308.

62 Muller, “Calvin on Divine Attributes: A Question of Terminology and Method,” 211.